

**Document Review and Archaeological Assessment of  
Selected Areas from the Revolutionary War and War of 1812.  
Plattsburgh, New York**

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## **Abstract**

As part of a regional collaboration between the City of Plattsburgh, New York, and the towns of Plattsburgh and Peru, New York, the Maritime Research Institute (MRI) at the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum (LCMM) has been chosen to investigate six historical Revolutionary War and War of 1812 sites: Valcour Island, Crab Island, Fort Brown, Fort Moreau, Fort Scott, and Plattsburgh Bay. These sites will require varying degrees of evaluation based upon the scope of the overall heritage tourism plan for the greater Plattsburgh area. The MRI's role in this collaboration is to conduct a document review for each of the six historic sites as well as an archaeological assessment for Fort Brown and Valcour Island. The archaeological assessments will utilize KOCO analysis outlined in the Battlefield Survey Manual of the American Battlefield Protection Program provided by the National Park Service.

This deliverable fulfills Tasks 1 and 3 of the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) Grant 2887-16-009. Task 1 consists of a document review for six selected Revolutionary War and War of 1812 sites in the city of Plattsburgh and the town of Peru in New York: Valcour Island, Crab Island, Plattsburgh Bay, Fort Brown, Fort Moreau, and Fort Scott. Task 3 consists of a non-invasive archaeological assessment for both Valcour Island and Fort Brown.

The work completed under the scope of this grant is a regional collaboration of the City of Plattsburgh (lead), and the Towns of Plattsburgh and Peru to evaluate the needs and assets of the above six key historical Revolutionary War and War of 1812 sites. Through regional planning, public engagement, document review, and archaeological assessment, this project will lay the foundation for a coordinated strategic preservation blueprint and heritage tourism plan for the greater Plattsburgh region.

The scope of this project aligns with several regional and county-wide initiatives to grow the Plattsburgh area's tourism opportunities and allows for a wide array of partnerships to be built. The Clinton County Destination Master Plan calls for researching the happenings and tourism attractiveness of the area's forts. Additionally, the Lake Champlain Basin Program and the Champlain Valley National Heritage Partnership encourage and enhance historical offerings in the region. The project is funded, in part, by the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) of the National Parks Service and therefore will meet and follow the Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archaeology and Historic Preservation and project partners will consult with the NY State Office of Historic Preservation as needed. All work is conducted in accordance with the Code of Ethics, guidelines, and standards established by the New York State Archaeological Council and the Register for Professional Archaeologists (RPA).

This report presents the document review for the six historical Revolutionary War and War of 1812 sites: Valcour Island, Crab Island, Fort Brown, Fort Moreau, Fort Scott, and

Plattsburgh Bay as well as the archaeological assessment for Fort Brown and Valcour Island utilizing KOCOA analysis. This report is divided into three chapters. This first chapter provides an historical overview for the sites in relation to the two major battles in the region's history, the Battle of Valcour Bay (October 11-13, 1776), and the Battle of Plattsburgh (September 11, 1814). The second chapter describes the current site designations and eligibility for historical designations for each of the six sites and then describes the previous archaeological research conducted for these sites and their potential for future research. In the third chapter, the agreed upon abbreviated KOCOA analysis and archaeological assessment for Valcour Island and Fort Brown is presented including descriptions of current site conditions and viewshed analyses from site visits.

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## **Chapter 1: Historical Overview**

The present day city of Plattsburgh is the site of two significant military battles during the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812, making the site instrumental in the development of the United States. Figure 1 and Figure 2 show the area covered by this grant and identify each site's location.

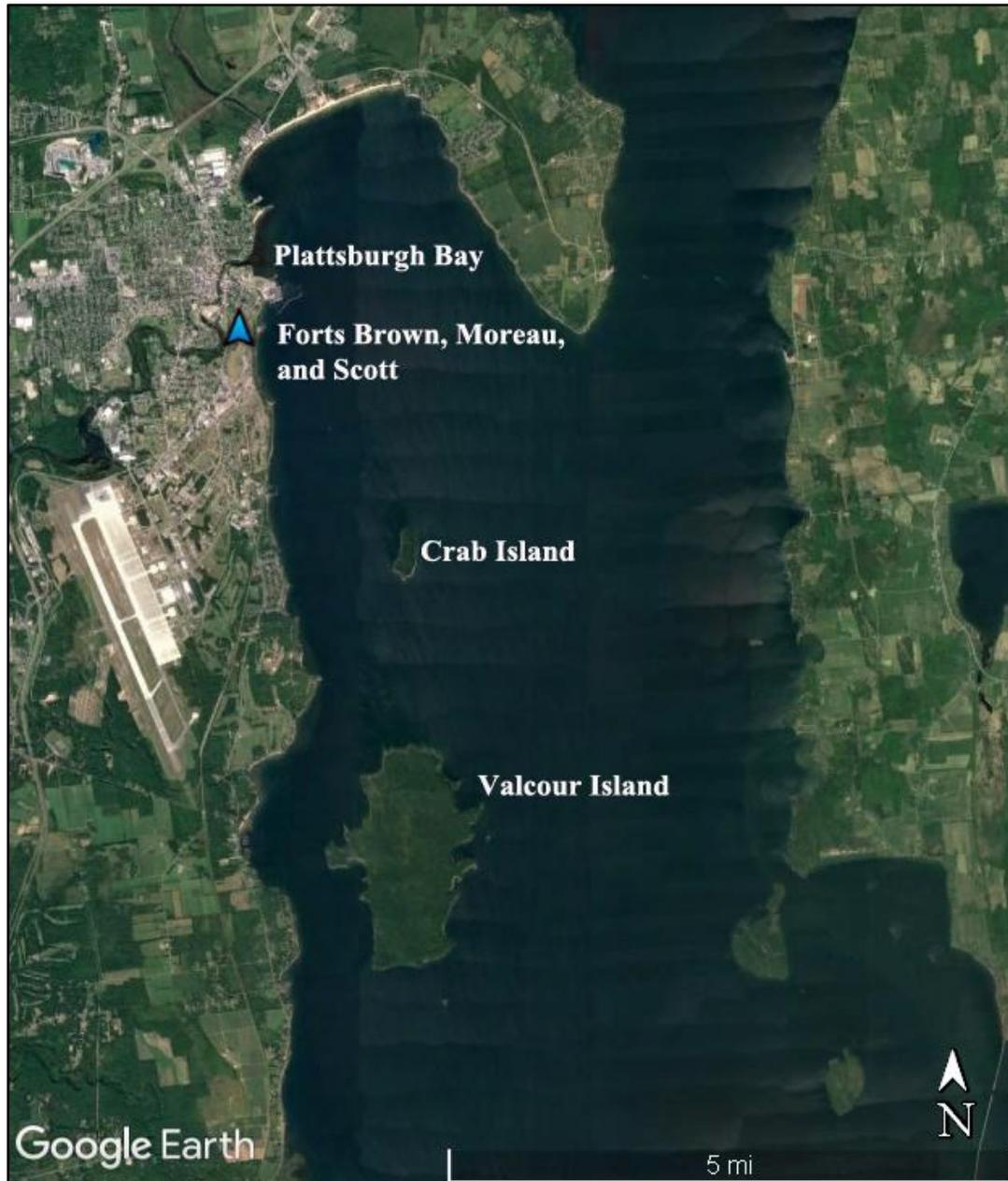


Figure 1: Aerial View of Plattsburgh with ABPP Sites Identified.

On October 11, 1776, a one-day skirmish between Benedict Arnold's American fleet and their British adversaries commanded by Captain Thomas Pringle took place in the waters

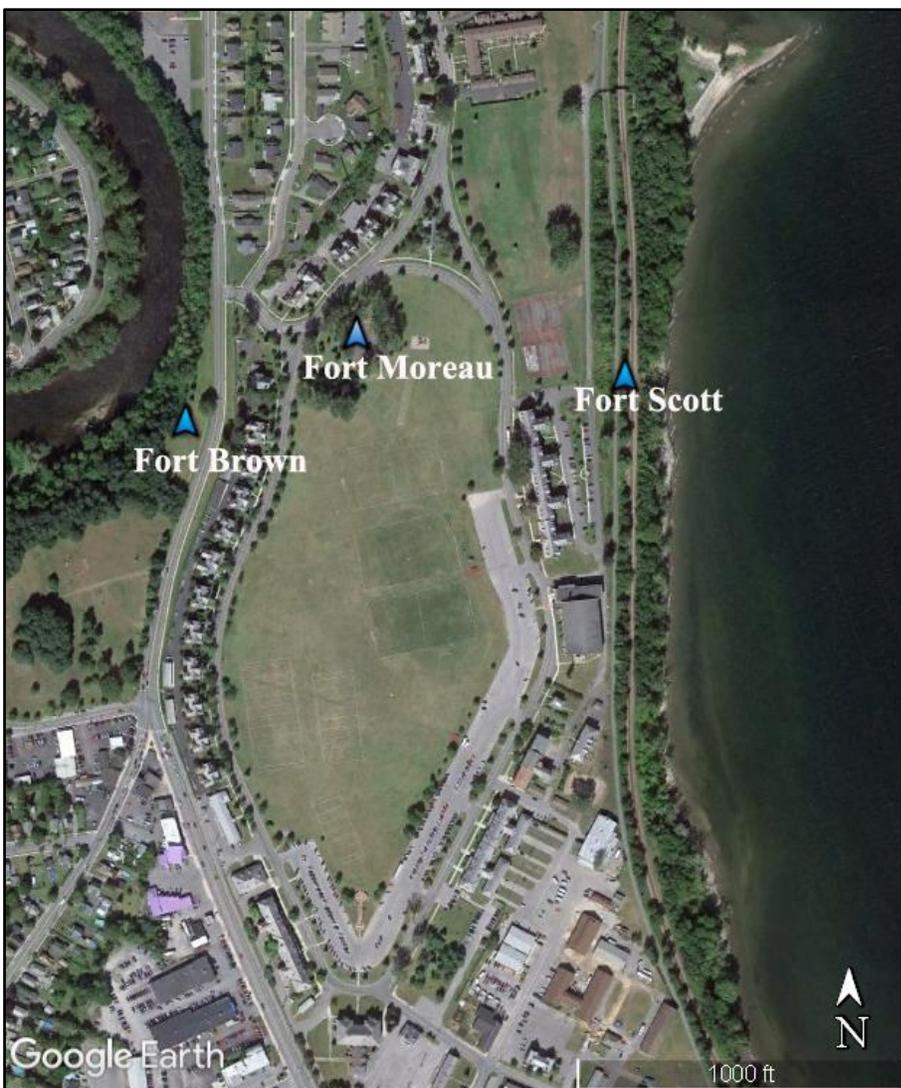


Figure 2: Aerial View of Sites of Forts Brown, Moreau, and Scott.

between Valcour Island and the New York shoreline to the west. This encounter became a two-day running battle during the Revolutionary War, heading southward to Ferris Bay where Arnold and his men abandoned their remaining vessels and fled to Fort Ticonderoga.<sup>1</sup>

Crab Island, Plattsburgh Bay, and Forts Brown, Moreau, and Scott are all significant to the Battle of Plattsburgh, which took place in September of 1814. Crab Island and Plattsburgh Bay saw the naval portion of the battle between the forces of American Commodore Thomas MacDonough and British Captain George Downie. Forts Brown, Moreau, and Scott were quickly built during the late summer and early fall of 1814 under the direction of American General, George Izard leading up to the Battle of Plattsburgh on September 11, 1814. Crab Island became the location of the hospital and was equipped with a small cannon battery just prior to the battle.

These engagements deposited an invaluable collection of Revolutionary War and War of 1812 materials on the bottomlands of Lake Champlain and at the terrestrial sites of Forts Brown, Moreau, and Scott as well as Crab Island.

## **REVOLUTIONARY WAR**

On October 11, 1776, General Benedict Arnold engaged the British Navy in perhaps the most important naval contest of the American Revolution. The hastily-built American fleet consisted of eight gondolas, three row galleys, two schooners, one sloop, one cutter and bateaux. The vessels in the British fleet were not only larger with better sailing characteristics, but they were also crewed by professional sailors under the command of skilled naval officers. The British force, under the direction of Captain Thomas Pringle and the overall command of Governor Guy Carleton, had almost twice the Americans' firepower in cannon.

Benedict Arnold chose the battle site. Lying about halfway between Crown Point and St. John's, Valcour Island provided the American fleet with both a natural defensive position and relief from the increasingly blustery autumn weather. Arnold's vessels sheltered west of the island, knowing that the British fleet would pass on the eastern side. The Americans were at a disadvantage, out-gunned and out-manned, and they hoped that the British vessels would have difficulty beating back against the wind after spotting the American line at anchor. On the morning of October 11th, the Americans' hopes were realized as the British ships sailed past the southern end of Valcour Island, then turned north against the wind as they approached to engage the rebels.

After an intensive five-hour battle at Valcour Bay with heavy casualties on both sides, darkness finally ended the conflict. Fortunately for the outmatched Americans, most of the large British vessels were unable to work far enough against the wind to engage them. Instead, the bulk of the fighting that day was undertaken by British gunboats that rowed within musket range of the American line. Both sides sustained significant casualties, and the American schooner *Royal Savage*, Arnold's flagship, ran aground on the southwestern corner of Valcour Island. One hour after the fighting stopped, the gunboat *Philadelphia* sank from damage suffered in the exchange of cannon fire.

With some 60 men killed and wounded on the American side and three-quarters of their ammunition gone, Arnold and his officers executed a daring nighttime escape past the British blockade, which spanned most of the distance between Valcour Island and the New York shoreline. The British burned *Royal Savage* which provided a useful distraction on the eastern side of the inlet, the American fleet rowed south to safety along the New York shoreline with oars muffled and a shrouded light in each vessel's stern. Remarkably, the fleet passed the British undetected and fled south. Two days later, on October 13<sup>th</sup>, the British fleet caught up with Arnold and a second, running battle ensued.

Outgunned and surrounded, Arnold deprived the British of battle prizes by intentionally destroying five of his own vessels at the spot known today as Arnold's Bay and escaped south to Fort Ticonderoga. Now firmly in mid-October, the British retreated to Canada, concerned the impending winter was too formidable to continue their southward invasion.<sup>2</sup>

Tactically, the Battle of Valcour Bay was a sound defeat that resulted in the Americans' loss of control of Lake Champlain during the winter of 1776. Strategically, however, it proved to be one of the most decisive engagements of the war by delaying the invasion of the Champlain Valley by an entire campaign season. When the fighting resumed the following year, the larger and stronger colonial forces were better able to meet and repulse the threat, which they successfully achieved at Saratoga. General George Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga in October 1777 convinced the French to enter the fray on the side of the Americans, an alliance that ultimately led to the American victory at Yorktown in 1781 and independence.<sup>3</sup>

## **WAR OF 1812**

Thirty-eight years later, conflict returned to Plattsburgh. Following two years of disorganized American war efforts against their British enemy, the summer of 1814 saw ill-equipped and poorly trained American troops again discouraged by British invasions from the north.<sup>4</sup> The British attack on Plattsburgh in mid-September 1814 was part of a broader British plan to reclaim a portion of New England and rename it Columbia after successfully winning the War of 1812.<sup>5</sup>

On September 5, 1814, American commander Thomas Macdonough chose his position carefully, ordering his vessels in Plattsburgh Bay to anchor in a line of battle about one mile (1.6 km) long, oriented north-north east and south-south west from Crab Island and out of range of the British shore batteries located north of the city of Plattsburgh. His fleet consisted of the brigs *Saratoga* and *Eagle*, the schooner *Ticonderoga*, the sloop *Preble*, six large row-galleys, and four smaller row-galleys. The galleys were arranged in a second line of two divisions inshore of the larger ships.<sup>6</sup>

The 1814 British invasion was vast, with a force of more than 11,000 troops planning an assault down the western shores of the lake. Macdonough planned to force Captain George Downie's British fleet, which was to support General George Prevost's land attack on Plattsburgh, to enter the bay to engage the American ships. He could not outgun the British on the open lake, where their greater number of long-range guns would give them the advantage; but a close-range battle in the bay would favor the Americans, who had the advantage in shorter-range carronades. Additionally, with the American squadron anchored, its relatively inexperienced crews could focus entirely on manning the guns, while their British adversaries would have to fight while sailing their ships against the prevailing northerly winds. Macdonough had also placed his ships so that there was no room for the British to anchor on his broadside out of reach of his carronades, and the enemy would be forced to attack him by standing in bows on.<sup>7</sup>

At nine o'clock on Sunday morning, September 11, 1814 the British fleet moved slowly into the bay. Captain Downie's battle plan began to falter immediately as the three largest ships were stymied by lack of winds; only one, *Finch*, was able to move into position. Soon after the battle begun, Downie was killed when a gun he was sighting was hit by an American round and slammed against him.<sup>8</sup>

As the battle continued, the Americans reaped the tactical advantage of the northerly winds, and Macdonough's *Saratoga* served as the triumphant flagship of a fleet that laid heavy damage on most of the British vessels, until both the British *Confiance* and *Linnet* struck their colors.<sup>9</sup>

Prevost's troops had hastily built fortifications, in some cases using the town's buildings as defenses atop the hilly northern embankment of the Saranac River and the bay side of the peninsula during the week leading up to the battle. The Americans had only enjoyed a few more weeks to prepare their fortifications; five rapidly built redoubts stretched from the southern banks of the Saranac westward to the shores of Lake Champlain.<sup>10</sup> Between September 7 and 10, 1814, Macdonough had the barracks and hospitals in the vicinity of the forts burned, removing convalescing soldiers from the field of battle and reducing the number of buildings available for British use. The wounded and infirm were moved to Crab Island where they were sheltered from the elements by tents. A small battery mounting two six-pounders was built on the island and manned by convalescents during the battle. When *Finch* ran up onto the rocks east of the island, the invalid battery fired upon the vessel until she struck her colors and surrendered. Then, the wounded soldiers took possession of the British brig.<sup>11</sup>

The land battle was planned to coincide with the naval battle on the morning of September 11<sup>th</sup>, according to the letter sent from Prevost to Downie on September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1814.<sup>12</sup> Primary sources on both sides report that British batteries opened fire at the signal of the beginning of the naval battle, around 9 o'clock the morning of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 1814.<sup>13</sup> In addition to this fire power, troops were supposed to advance upon Plattsburgh and assault the American forces however, there was a delay in the orders for the land troops to attack. It wasn't until about 10 o'clock in the morning, an hour into the battle that troops were ordered to ford the Saranac.<sup>14</sup> Brisbane's troops were ordered to keep the American's engaged at the two lower bridge locations while a larger party was sent further west to the ford in the river at the old location of Pike's Cantonment and make their way to the west flank of the unfinished American fortification.<sup>15</sup> The British troops were rebuffed at the bridges but the brigade sent further west under General Robinson was eventually successful in fording the river. However, due to their delayed orders of advance, and likely becoming lost along the way, their lateness in arriving meant that the naval battle was won by the Americans by the time the British managed to cross the river.<sup>16</sup> In *The Battles at Plattsburgh: September 11, 1814*, author and historian, Keith Herkalo cites General Robinson's personal accounts and local newspaper accounts which support the narrative that Robinson's troops ended up:

Being south and about a mile and a half west of where Prevost expected them to be...It would appear that the British had been successfully drawn south toward Lieutenant Sumpter's cannons and the troops stationed at Mooers's headquarters near the bridge at the Salmon River settlement.<sup>17</sup>

As the British retreated, they continued firing from their batteries to into the night to provide cover, and leaving ammunition, food, and wounded soldiers behind, made their way back toward Canada through the night.<sup>18</sup>

The American victory at the Battle of Plattsburgh on September 11, 1814 was decisive. Using the tactical advantage of the bay's calm waters and newly-constructed inland fortifications to their advantage, the Americans regained complete control of Lake Champlain's water and coastal population centers, denying the British their stronghold on the American territory along the Canadian frontier and foiling any plan of establishing a new Columbia in northeastern America. The war ended shortly afterward.

## **Chapter 2: Document Review and National Register Status**

This chapter will present the historic research and any existing historical designations or eligibility for historical designations for Valcour Island, Crab Island, Fort Brown, Fort Moreau, Fort Scott, and Plattsburgh Bay.

### **VALCOUR ISLAND**

#### **Current Site Designation/Eligibility**

A National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) Inventory Nomination Form for Valcour Bay was accepted on April 24, 1979.<sup>19</sup> Valcour Bay is National Register Listed (NRL), with a National Register (NR) number of 90NR00171 and the NYS Unique Site Number (USN) is 01911.000009. The New York State Cultural Resources Information System (CRIS) lists the National Historic Landmark (NHL) date as January 1, 1969, the NRL date as October 15, 1966, and the State Register (SR) date as June 23, 1980. The boundaries of this area that, “enclose the scene of the Battle of Valcour Bay” as the nomination form describes it, stretch from the most northern and central point of Valcour Island heading south along the western coast of the land to the southernmost central point of Valcour Island, and then stretches from the western coastline of the island to the mainland.(NR Form Valcour Bay) **The Valcour Bay nomination form does not include the island itself, though the description section of the form declares that Valcour Island retains its integrity.** This implies that the Island itself was eligible for the NRHP as of 1979, though no formal nomination form has been filed for Valcour Island nor has the island itself been formally deemed eligible for inclusion on the NRHP. Due to the fact that Valcour Island has not been physically altered or developed in any major way since the 1979 declaration of its integrity, it is recommended that Valcour Island itself remains eligible for inclusion on NRHP.

There are four sites on Valcour Island that are searchable historic resources on the NYS CRIS, all dating after the American Revolution and the War of 1812, rendering them out of the scope of this grant.

The Valcour Island Lighthouse (also known as the Bluff Point Lighthouse) located on the western coast of Valcour Island has a nomination form dated July 20, 1993 where it was deemed locally significant. The CRIS lists the SRL date as July 20, 1993 and the NRL date as August 26, 1993. The NR number for the Valcour Island Lighthouse is 93PR02582 and its NYS USN is 01911.000033. The Valcour Island Lighthouse was active from 1874-1929 during the era of commerce on Lake Champlain.<sup>20</sup> In 2016, the lighthouse underwent restoration efforts through a collaboration of NYS, the Clinton County Historical Association (CCHA), and the Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC). This site also houses a small museum focused on the history of the lighthouse, the Battle of Plattsburgh, and the Battle of Valcour Bay.

The Bluff Point Light Tower, located in close proximity to the Valcour Island Lighthouse was determined to be National Register Eligible (NRE) during a 2003 Memorandum of

Agreement (MOA) between the United States Coast Guard and the Office of Parks and Recreation and Historic Preservation (OPRHP) under Criteria C for inclusion in the NRHP. According to the CRIS, the Bluff Point Light Tower has a NRE date of September 29, 2015 and was assigned the USN 01911.000064.<sup>21</sup> The CRIS listing of the Bluff Point Light Tower does not provide any documentation apart from a summary statement of eligibility but documentation associated with the Valcour Island Lighthouse (or Bluff Point Lighthouse) describe the Bluff Point Light Tower as a steel tower built in 1929 to hold a battery powered light needing no keeper.<sup>22</sup>

The Seton House or Camp, located on the southwest coast of Valcour Island was determined National Register Eligible on February 5, 2013 (reference number 13PR00530.FM001) and given the USN 01900.000081. The Seton camp complex includes the 1929 house, pumphouse, and landscape features including steps and a wharf. It is the only surviving historic camp on the island according to its statement of significance.<sup>23</sup>

The Nomad Monument is a WWI memorial constructed in 1925 consisting of several plaques surrounded by a fence, located on the eastern coast of Valcour Island. The monument site was determined eligible on February 9, 2012 and was listed as such on the CRIS by Linda Mackey on September 29, 2015. The Nomad Monument has USN 01911.000088.<sup>24</sup>

### **Previous Archaeological Research**

Documentary research identified only one terrestrial archaeological survey on Valcour Island. Files from the New York State (NYS) Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation (OPRHP) record a prehistoric site on Valcour Island inventoried by Hartgen Archaeological Associates in 1985. The site was first discovered by Arthur C. Parker in the 1920s and then re-catalogued by Hartgen. The only information in files A019-11-0011 (USN 01911.00011) and NYSM 3090 is a categorization of the site as a camp located on the western shore of Valcour Island south of a projecting point along the shoreline. In the New York State Museum files, the location is listed as disputed but the files offer no further explanation.<sup>25</sup> This prehistoric site is not searchable within the NYS CRIS. Personal communication with a senior researcher and a project manager with Hartgen Archaeological Associates Inc., staff from NYS SHPO, and staff from the NYSM has revealed that Hartgen was hired in the 1980s to fill out site forms based on Arthur Parker's research in the 1920s.<sup>26</sup> The NYSM files read, "'ACP '..ON W. SHORE VALCOUR IS. S. OF A PROJECTING PT.' NYSM LOCAT. FROM DESCRIP, PARKER MAP DIFFERS."<sup>27</sup> In the *New York State Museum Bulletin* (Nos.237-238) by Arthur Parker entitled, "The Archaeological History of New York Part 2", a map depicts a site labeled, "23. A camp site on the western shore of Valcour Island south of a projecting point," however the placement of this site is shown in the center of Valcour Island.<sup>28</sup> This could be the reason it was labeled disputed in the NYSM file.<sup>29</sup>

The CRIS system search also revealed a re-opened project entitled 'Lake Champlain Islands Management Complex,' with project number 15PR05583. The Draft Management Plan documents provided by staff from NYS OPRHP described a Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC) project encompassing an area from Plattsburgh to Crown Point inventorying, "natural resources, existing facilities and uses, while identifying the special values that justify the protection of this area in perpetuity for future generations." This inventory document from 2015 was to be the basis for an Island Management Plan and was also the driving force establishing several of the aforementioned archaeological sites on Valcour Island to be searchable on the CRIS website.<sup>30</sup>

The crash site of *Royal Savage* is not yet recognized as an archaeological site by the state of New York, though much could be learned by scientific exploration of the remaining debris field and the site should be valued as a cultural resource. The British went back to the site shortly after the battle in order to recover cannon. Efforts were made to locate salvageable weaponry during the American Civil War as well, though the efforts were fruitless.<sup>31</sup>

Early on, this site was the focus of patriotic relic hunting, which persisted through the 20<sup>st</sup> century and arguably into the 2000s. Documents from the 1830s are some of the earliest accounts of bragging rights from people claiming to own artifacts from *Royal Savage*.<sup>32</sup> References from the *Plattsburgh Republican*, the *Burlington Free Press and Times*, and the *Essex County Republican* newspapers included excerpts from the 1850s through the 1900s describing salvors of wood and iron making profits from the production of rulers, canes, hammers, and other small objects from the wreck.<sup>33</sup> Lorenzo Hagglund raised the hull remains from *Royal Savage* in 1934. He was unable to raise enough funds to preserve and display the wreck, but Hagglund did his best to document the remains of the hull so that it could be dismantled and eventually put back together.<sup>34</sup> Once removed from the lake, *Royal Savage* remained in the Hagglund family, passing to Lorenzo's son, Hudson after his death. In 1995 Hudson Hagglund sold the remaining timbers to the city of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania under pretense of its being cared for and displayed in a future museum. It wasn't until 2015 that the remains were returned to the hands of the U.S. Navy, having never been treated or displayed. The remains are currently undergoing treatment at the Navy History and Heritage Command facility located on the Washington Navy Yard.<sup>35</sup> Hagglund's manuscripts and collection of artifacts associated with the *Royal Savage* and *Philadelphia* reside at the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum. The Clinton County Historical Association and Museum also houses artifacts associated with the *Royal Savage*.

Between 1999 and 2004, the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum conducted the fieldwork for the Valcour Bay Research Project. This was a Phase I archaeological investigation of the bottomlands of Lake Champlain encompassing the underwater battlefield at Valcour Bay. In total, 185,000ft<sup>2</sup> (17,187m<sup>2</sup>) of lake bottom were surveyed, producing 209

artifacts associated with the underwater battlefield of the Battle of Valcour Bay, as well as 22 artifacts relating to the site where the gunboat, *Philadelphia* once rested.<sup>36</sup> (The *Philadelphia* was also raised by Lorenzo Hagglund in the 1930s.)

### **Potential For Archaeological Sites/ Future Research**

Because of the ephemeral nature of the kinds of archaeological footprint shot scatter would have left on Valcour Island itself, it is not likely that a coherent battlefield site can be delineated for the southwestern shoreline of the island. On the other hand, the historic watercolor painting entitled, *God Bless our Armes* attributed to Charles Randle suggests that Indian Point on Valcour Island had a wharf and barracks. (For further discussion see Chapter 3, Valcour Island, Viewshed Analysis). Documentary research has not identified any study or investigation of Indian Point for Revolutionary-Era sites. Regardless, this area may be archaeologically sensitive. In the early 1900s, Camp Penn was established on Indian Point though again, no mention has been made concerning the presence of Revolutionary-Era artifacts in the area. There are also a number of camps and trails around the perimeter of Valcour Island, many established in the earlier half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century though they are not designated as archaeological sites and they are not within the scope of this grant.

The crash site of *Royal Savage* at the southern end of Valcour Island is much more likely to hold the best research value in the remaining debris scatter. The subsequent sites created from Hagglund's raising of *Royal Savage* and *Philadelphia* onto Valcour Island in the 1930s may also contain some research value but to a lesser extent than the crash site off the coast of the island.

## **CRAB ISLAND**

### **Current Site Designation/Eligibility**

According to the NYS CRIS, Crab Island is included within the National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form and boundaries for the Plattsburgh Bay National Historic Landmark. This listing for the Plattsburgh Bay National Historic Landmark includes three sites, Plattsburgh Bay (including Crab Island), the Macdonough Memorial obelisk, and the site of Fort Brown.<sup>37</sup> The NR number for Plattsburgh Bay, including Crab Island, is 90PR04692. The USN for the NYS Plattsburgh Bay listing is 01940.000007.<sup>38</sup>

### **Previous Archaeological Research**

Crab Island, formerly Isle St. Michel, is a 35-acre (14.2 hectare) island lying about 2.5 miles (4.0 km) southeast of present-day Plattsburgh, New York. The island is located just south of Plattsburgh Bay and Cumberland Head, and about one mile (1.6 km) north of Valcour Island. Its relatively sheltered position and proximity to the New York shore have made the island a choice landing spot during many military engagements on Lake Champlain. A recorded chronology of the usage of Crab Island follows:

- Precontact – 1609: Probable Native American usage of Crab Island

- October 1759: French navy scuttles vessels during the French and Indian War, British forces then salvage the same vessels for Royal Navy use
- 1760-1812: Probably military or recreational activity on or surrounding the island, no historical records found
- September 1814: Crab Island owned and under cultivation by Caleb Nichols; used as an American military hospital and small battery during Battle of Plattsburgh Bay; British *Finch* grounds on nearby shoals during battle; island then becomes site of military cemetery
- 1819: Recreational observations of condition of island
- 1858: Ownership of island transferred to Nichols' children
- 1867-1891: Island belongs to William Mooers and Smith Weed
- 1891: Federal Government purchases island
- 1903: Flagpole is mounted to mark military cemetery
- 1908: Crab Island monument is erected
- 1908-1915: Island has a caretaker
- 1967: Federal government sells island to Edward Troise
- 1968: Divers recover artifacts from surrounding waters
- 1986: Edward Troise sells island to developer Roger Jakubowski
- 1988: New York exercises right of eminent domain to purchase island
- 1996: LCMM/Middlebury College Lake Survey explores bottomlands around Crab Island
- 2002-2003: Interested local parties re-installs fallen flagpole
- 2010: New Crab Island monument honoring British sailors is unveiled in ceremony

The most obvious archaeological footprint on Crab Island would have been left by its usage during the War of 1812 as the site of a military hospital, a small battery of two six-pound guns, and buried soldiers. According to the historical record, both the American and British fleets buried their dead at the northern end of Crab Island after the Battle of Plattsburgh.<sup>39</sup> An interview from 1886 with Simeon Doty provides a first-hand description of the burials taking place on Crab Island:

“We went to Crab Island. I helped bury the dead there...We landed on the north part of Crab Island. There were two hospitals there made of plank. The dead were carried off southward and were buried in trenches without coffins, under command of an officer. Redcoats and bluecoats were put in together.”<sup>40</sup>

A newspaper article from *Plattsburgh Republic* dated September 22, 1877 is widely cited for another account from Doty where he describes the trenches being dug north to south, the faces of the dead oriented downward, and the heads of the soldiers pointing westward.<sup>41</sup> This 1877 newspaper article makes note of the visible mounds that marked the trenches on the landscape and also of evidence that someone had dug up part of the burial site shortly before the article was published.

In 1903, a flagpole was raised on the island and as part of the development of the Macdonough National Military Park and efforts were made to locate the graves associated with the Crab Island military hospital from the War of 1812. During the summer of 1907, Army-supervised work crews spent much of July and August digging test pits and trenches in various locations around the island. The goal was to relocate and find the boundaries of the burial area in order for it to be formally marked as a cemetery. These efforts proved fruitless; other than a single brass button, no evidence of the elusive burials was found.<sup>42</sup> In 1908, the monument was built along with a caretaker's cottage, a windmill, and gravel paths. Despite having a caretaker, the grounds of the park fell into disrepair. In 1965, the Air Force attempted to sell the island to the towns of Plattsburgh and Peru but instead it sold into private hands. This action presumably removed the island's standing as a National Military Park, as a formal statement regarding the issue has yet to be located. Eminent domain brought the island back under state control in the late 1980s after, "the self-described hot dog mogul of Atlantic City's boardwalk," Mr. Roger Jakubowski, outbid NYS at auction.

The 1983 National Register of Historic Places nomination for Plattsburgh Bay (which includes Crab Island) specifically mentions that Crab Island was not visited during the application's preparation and does not specify the location of the cemetery.<sup>43</sup> This is most likely due to the fact that the island was still privately owned. In June of 1997, the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation archaeological staff teamed up with personnel from the federal Natural Resources Conservation Service to survey the island. They used a portable backpack ground penetrating radar unit to search a series of ten transects across the northwestern quadrant of the island. Over the two-day survey, no anomalies corresponding to the historically documented burial trenches were found.<sup>44</sup> This survey was documented in the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum publication, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*.<sup>45</sup> The NYS DEC was unable to locate a report or any documentation concerning this research when asked in early 2019, and the NYS CRIS system does not hold a record of this event.<sup>46</sup>

Attached documentation with the Crab Island entry in the NYS CRIS includes a simple map of the Island with a pinpoint of the cemetery's location, but it cannot be presumed accurate.

In 1996, LCMM's Lake Survey explored the bottomlands around Crab Island. This effort identified no new submerged cultural resources within a ½ mile (0.8 km) radius of the island.<sup>47</sup> The Lake Champlain Archaeological Association (LCAA), founded in 1978 by amateur archaeologist and historian, William Legee, also worked near Crab Island and recovered artifacts immediately surrounding the island. In 1997 the LCAA turned over their artifact collection to the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum (LCMM). Unfortunately, there is limited provenience associated with these materials. It is likely some of the

artifacts in the LCAA Collection at LCMM provenience from the Crab Island area, but they would only bear the label 'Plattsburgh Bay.'<sup>48</sup>

A few historians and local experts of Plattsburgh claim to have positively identified the historic burial grounds on the island but this information has yet to be noted formally in NYS files or included in any cultural resource management publications.<sup>49</sup> The most recently published scientific report concerning Crab Island refers to the reburial of soldiers from Forts Scott and Moreau on Crab Island in 1868 and 1892 respectively.<sup>50</sup> However, investigation of their citations show that these soldiers were most likely reinterred at the military cemetery located on the mainland. An account from local historian and journalist, Marjorie Lansing Porter (1891-1973) refers to the reinternment of soldiers occurring at the, "Post Cemetery at Plattsburgh Barracks," and local historian and professor, Allan Seymour Everest describes how, "both recoveries were ceremoniously reburied in the military cemetery at the barracks."<sup>51</sup>

It is commonly reported that 150 soldiers were buried on Crab Island after the battle. This number is likely taken from the bill that the owner of Crab Island at the time, Caleb Nichols, charged to the United States government for the use of his land.<sup>52</sup> Many accounts claim that it was impossible to determine exactly how many bodies were brought to the island for burial after the battle, while others report numbers of wounded and dead from various ship's logs or general hospital documents.<sup>53</sup> The historical account of James Mann, the surgeon in charge of the hospital at Plattsburgh and then Crab Island describes how hundreds of wounded were taken to Crab Island before the battle occurred:

September 3. The sick and convalescents have been ordered to Burlington Vermont; but for want of transportation, are removing to Crabb island... More than five hundred have already arrived at Crabb island, a barren uninhabited spot...Crabb Island, September 10. We have received the wounded of the army, about forty. Four hundred, with the assistance of Commodore Macdonough, have been send to Burlington hospital from this place...On the morning of the 11<sup>th</sup> of September, the remainder of the sick were all sent to Burlington.<sup>54</sup>

Although Mann's account details that the remaining sick were sent to Burlington on the morning of the Battle of Plattsburgh, it is unclear how many died and may have been buried on Crab Island before the battle even occurred. Additionally, Mann describes performing over 30 amputations on the wounded in the following four days on Crab Island. It is unclear how many of those people survived their surgeries and from other written accounts of wounded and dead, how many more of those wounded also died and were buried on Crab Island in the days after the battle.<sup>55</sup> The commonly reported figure of 150 burials and the short lists of names of dead soldiers accounted for should be interpreted as a very conservative estimate. It is likely the actual number of soldiers buried on Crab Island is much higher.

### **Potential for Archaeological Sites/ Future Research**

Because Crab Island was the site of a hospital, a small battery, and a mass gravesite for soldiers after the Battle of Plattsburgh, the potential for sites on this island to produce archaeological data pertaining to these activities is high. Crab Island is extremely archaeologically sensitive, especially since the boundaries of the mass gravesite have not been fully defined. The interpretation presented to the public should be carefully approached in order to convey the cultural sensitivity of the burial site and help instill a sense of protection and stewardship of such a resource in the visiting public, avoiding the encouragement of treasure hunters and looting of this site.

## **PLATTSBURGH BAY**

### **Current Site Designation/Eligibility**

According to the NYS CRIS, Plattsburgh Bay is included within the National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form dated 1960.<sup>56</sup> The NYS CRIS website lists the NHL date for Plattsburgh Bay as December 19, 1960, the NR listing date as October 15, 1966, and the SR listing date as June 23, 1980. The Plattsburgh Bay National Historic Landmark listing includes three sites, Plattsburgh Bay (including Crab Island), the Macdonough Memorial obelisk, and the site of Fort Brown. The NR number for Plattsburgh Bay is 90PR04692. The USN for the NYS Plattsburgh Bay listing is 01940.000007. The NRHP nomination form including Plattsburgh Bay, Crab Island, Fort Brown, and the Commodore Macdonough obelisk was marked accepted on June 11, 1984.<sup>57</sup>

### **Previous Archaeological Research**

In 1978, a group of divers from the Plattsburgh area founded the Lake Champlain Archaeological Associates (LCAA). This nonprofit educational group was organized and directed by William Leege, an avid amateur archaeologist. Members of the organization were not formally trained in underwater archaeological techniques, but they closely followed the development of new procedures in the field.

LCAA concentrated its efforts on the study of the War of 1812 Battle of Plattsburgh and the Revolutionary War Battle of Valcour Bay, conducting documentary research as well as field archaeology. Free-swimming divers surveyed large areas of the lake bottom in Plattsburgh Bay and Valcour Bay using detailed search patterns. When LCAA divers encountered artifacts, they usually recovered, sketched, cleaned, and catalogued them. The divers also conducted public outreach about their work through local exhibits and presentations.

Unfortunately, LCAA records only provide artifact provenience from the broader Plattsburgh Bay. Although LCAA asked for advice from local museums, many of the recovered objects were not conserved completely or stored properly. In 1997, LCAA's artifact collection of more than 4,000 items was turned over to LCMM, where it was inventoried, conserved, and researched. This collection preserves an enormous wealth

of material from the battle site and could lead to the discovery of more archaeological features in Plattsburgh Bay and off the coast of Valcour Island.<sup>58</sup>

### **Potential for Archaeological Sites/ Future Research**

The historical record does not reference any sunken vessels from the 1814 naval portion of the Battle of Plattsburgh, however, much can be gleaned from the debris field of that battle. For example, spatial analyses may be able to determine locations of battle lines and amount of exchanged firepower. Although some of this underwater debris field has been disturbed over the years by local divers and others relic hunting, the site retains significant research potential.

## **FORT BROWN**

### **Current Site Designation/Eligibility**

According to the NYS CRIS, Fort Brown is included within the National Register of Historic Places evidenced by an accepted Inventory Nomination Form available online. Fort Brown is also within the boundaries for the Plattsburgh Bay National Historic Landmark. This listing accounts for three sites, Plattsburgh Bay (including Crab Island), the Macdonough Memorial obelisk, and the site of Fort Brown.<sup>59</sup> This 1978 nomination form describes the site of Fort Brown as:

A roughly pentagonal arrangement of grassy earthworks which represent the eroded defenses of the redoubt erected by American forces in 1814. The area within the defenses contains a number of humps and circular depressions: some of these may relate to undisturbed buried archaeological features, others may be the result of illicit excavation. On the south side of the earthworks, a particularly well-defined ditch runs east-west from Peru Street to the edge of the bluff overlooking the Saranac River.<sup>60</sup>

According to the National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form for Fort Brown itself, the city of Plattsburgh acquired the title to the Fort Brown parcel in 1967 under the strict stipulation that the fort site would remain and be maintained as an historic monument in perpetuity.<sup>61</sup> Following the War of 1812, the Fort Brown parcel was incorporated into a U.S. military reservation, which later became a U.S. Air Force Base. Over time, parts of the military reservation were maintained or upgraded while portions like the site of Fort Brown were no longer utilized into the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Part of the 1967 transfer documents for the Fort Brown parcel gave the Department of Interior the ability to change the strict monument stipulation if needed through the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation. The NRHP nomination dated May 2, 1978 was accepted December 15, 1978. The 1978 nomination referenced that Fort Brown appeared in a 1974 statewide inventory of historic resources and provided NYSHDP with the USN A019-40-0018 and reference number PH0067871.<sup>62</sup> Today this translates to USN 01940.000018 in the CRIS.

A 1976 NHL nomination and 1983 NRHP nomination included Fort Brown along with Plattsburgh Bay, Crab Island, the Kent-DeLord House, and the Macdonough obelisk as significant sites relating the Battle of Plattsburgh.<sup>63</sup> The site of Fort Brown is marked with a New York State Historic Marker, an NRHP plaque, and plaque placed by the Saranac Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR). The New York State Historic Marker list has not been updated to include Fort Brown although there is a marker present.

### **Previous Archaeological Research**

The National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form for Fort Brown, dated in April of 1978, states that no systematic archaeological excavations had ever taken place at Fort Brown. This document also states that a research design for archaeological investigation of the site was submitted by SUNY Plattsburgh but lack of local funding stymied the project. This same form describes evidence on the Fort Brown site that suggests the site was illegally looted. Personal communication between Doris Manley and Charles A. Florance, the archaeologist who prepared the 1978 form, presents the presence of circular depressions on site as the evidence for illegal excavation across the site. Photographs from the 1978 Nomination Form for Fort Brown point out the circular depressions on the parapet, as seen in Figure 4 and Figure 5.<sup>64</sup> The original caption for Figure 4 from the 1978 Nomination Form reads, "View: NE showing parapets and ground inside fort. U.S. Route 9 appears in background. Note large rock (holds commemorative plaque) and depression on parapet suggestive of subsurface probing." In the original captions for Figure 5 and Figure 3, the direction of U.S. Route 9 was recorded incorrectly, and instead can be seen on the right in each photo although the original captions read, "left." The original caption for Figure 5 reads, "View SW along parapet. U.S. Route 9 just off photo to left. Note large rock (holds commemorative plaque) and depression on parapet suggestive of subsurface probing." Finally, the original caption for Figure 3 reads, "View: NE along parapet. U.S. Route 9 appears at photo right. Note large rock (hold commemorative plaque)." <sup>65</sup> A 1995 report detailing the survey of what is now Plattsburgh Air Force Base mentioned Fort Brown and provided historical context. No shovel tests of the area were undertaken, and the survey provided no archaeological analysis.<sup>66</sup> The subsequent 1998 report provides primary evidence of the degradation of Fort Brown by 1838, and the order to discontinue removal of sand from Fort Brown in 1852.<sup>67</sup> It is unclear if these events contributed to the appearance of looting discussed in the 1978 nomination form.



*Figure 3: Fort Brown, Plattsburgh, Clinton County, New York View: NE along parapet.*



*Figure 4: Fort Brown, Plattsburgh, Clinton County, New York View: SW along parapet.*



*Figure 5: Fort Brown, Plattsburgh, Clinton County, New York View: NE showing parapets and ground inside fort.*

### **Potential for Archaeological Sites/Future Research**

The NR nomination form for the Plattsburgh Bay National Historic Landmark describes Fort Brown as, ‘by far the most significant archaeological resource within the landmark,’ and, “the one well-preserved site connected with the events of 1814 that survives in any substantial form.”<sup>68</sup> The site of Fort Brown has not been significantly altered since this 1978 nomination form was submitted and accepted, thus the site retains the same level of integrity. A wealth of information can be gathered from investigation of this site including but not limited to data concerning earthworks technology and building techniques from this time period, the material culture of the American and British military, potential evidence of illicit trade networks between British and American military forces during the War of 1812, and spatial analyses of projectiles across the site as a means of ground truthing historical accounts of action.

Although the archaeological investigation of Fort Brown was outside of the scope of the most recent (1998) scientific publication concerning the Plattsburgh cantonment, it is stated that the site of Fort Brown will maintain the greatest integrity along the side facing the Saranac River.<sup>69</sup> It should also be noted that there is a high probability for the presence of human remains at Fort Brown indicated by the high number of burials found at both Fort Scott and Fort Moreau when they were deconstructed. It is recommended that this site be interpreted and treated as a grave site.

## **FORT MOREAU**

### **Current Site Designation/Eligibility**

The accepted 1983 NRHP Nomination form for Plattsburgh Bay describes the reasoning behind the exclusion of Forts Moreau and Scott from the nomination:

The sites of Fort Scott, Fort Moreau and the storehouses are now within the built-up area of Plattsburgh Air Force Base, within about 500 feet of the Chapel at the north end of the oval. These sites have been graded and planted; barely visible irregularities in the ground surface may or may not be part of their remains. The sites of the blockhouses are imprecisely known and are within an urban setting. None of these sites possesses the integrity of feeling present at Fort Brown.<sup>70</sup>

A 1995 report entitled, *Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, by Morgan investigated the present day location of Fort Moreau and deemed it likely ineligible for further designation without extensive archaeological work that would require testing underneath existing asphalt.<sup>71</sup> In 1998, the United States Air Force (USAF) worked with Parsons Engineering Science, Inc. to follow the recommended archaeological investigations outlined in Morgan's 1995 survey. The 1998 archaeological survey by PESI and USAF deemed Fort Moreau eligible for the NRHP.<sup>72</sup>

The unverified location of Fort Moreau would be located within the boundaries of the original United States Oval Historic District (NR# 90PR04467 NRL 8/30/1989), and subsequently the US Oval Historic District Boundary Increase of 1997/1998 (USN # 01940-001316 Eligible but not listed).<sup>73</sup> The unverified location of Fort Moreau was also located within the boundaries of The Oval Site (A019-40-0352) in the 1990s. The USN for Fort Moreau is now listed in the NYS CRIS as 01940.000352 and marked eligible.

There is a stone monument with a plaque marking the approximate location of Fort Moreau within the oval close to a gazebo and an asphalt pad. The plaque is very similar to the one placed at Fort Brown by the DAR, though it doesn't name the organization.

### **Previous Archaeological Research**

One goal of Morgan's 1995 archaeological investigation of the Plattsburgh Air Force Base was to locate the War of 1812 forts and ancillary buildings located within the present day boundaries of the base.<sup>74</sup> Researchers used historic maps, newspaper articles, primary personal accounts and letters in order to locate remains of these structures. A commonly cited map seen in Figure 6 was sketched by Rufus McIntyre on the back of a letter dated January 1, 1815, indicating changes to the Plattsburgh cantonment following the Battle of Plattsburgh. In the accompanying note written on the back of the historic map it is stated that the actual position of Fort Moreau was incorrectly placed, the real position lying further to the west.<sup>75</sup> The 1995 researchers also cited maps by Beven (1852) and Roberveau (1816) in conjunction with the McIntyre map (1815, Figure 6) in order to identify a more accurate area to test for fort remains stating that, "although a large stone marker currently marks Fort Moreau's position, the 1816 and 1852 maps place the fort

nearer to the northwestern edge of the Oval in close proximity to the gazebo and a large asphalt pad.”<sup>76</sup> Figure 7 shows the superimposed ‘Roberveau’ survey map (1816) over a

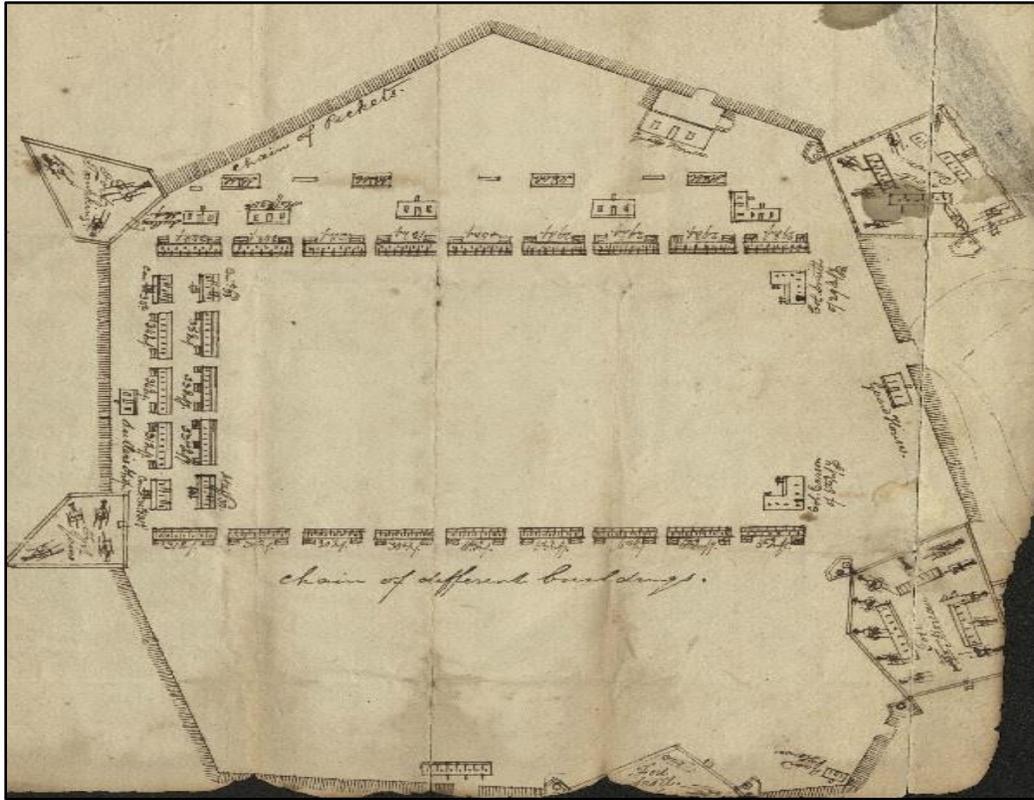


Figure 6: Rufus McIntyre Map of Modified Plattsburgh Cantonment 1815

base map from Morgan’s 1995 report. The identified area was a 100-foot (30.4m) by 100-foot (30.4m) grid that was then shovel tested in 20-foot (6m) intervals. Shovel tests were not excavated on the eastern and northern sections of the grid due to trees and the presence of an asphalt pad. Artifacts recovered from the test area were deemed not old enough to be associated with Fort Moreau.<sup>77</sup> A sketch map from the 1995 testing for Fort Moreau can be seen in Figure 8.<sup>78</sup>

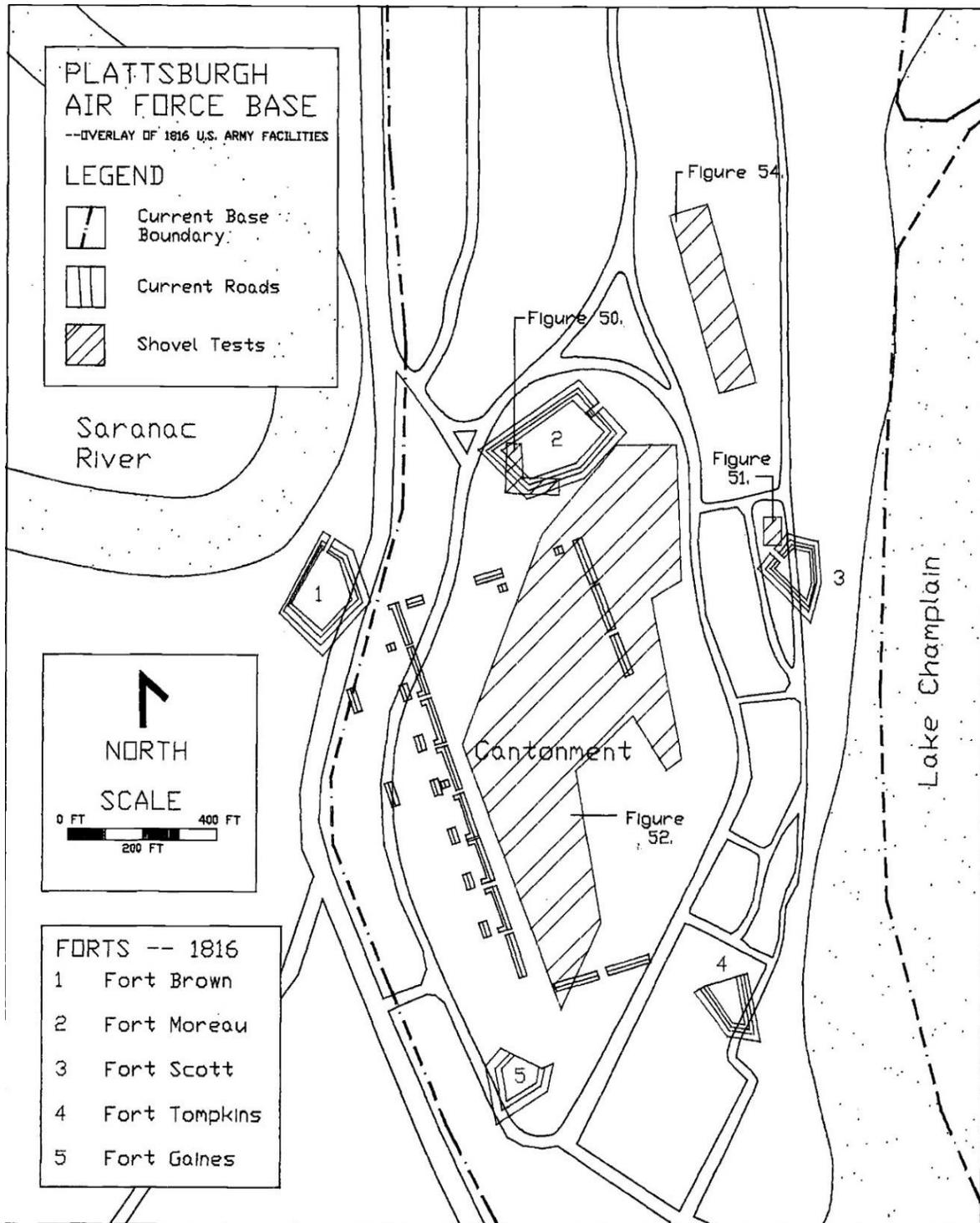


Figure 7: Map from, 'Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base, Clinton County, New York,' Showing Superimposed 1995 Base Map and 'Roberveau 1816' Map. Created by Julie A. Morgan [1995:103]. From Department of the Army Construction Engineering Research Laboratories, Corps of Engineers for Plattsburgh Air Force Base

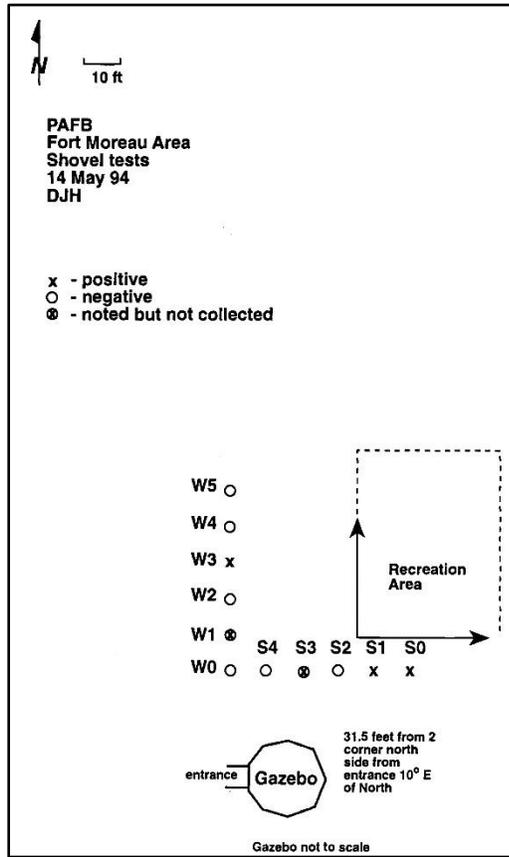


Figure 8: Map from, 'Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base, Clinton County, New York,' Showing Sketch Map of Testing Area for Fort Moreau. Created by Julie A. Morgan [1995:104]. From Department of the Army Construction Engineering Research Laboratories, Corps of Engineers for Plattsburgh Air Force Base

This researcher was unable to locate a map authored by 'Roberveau' or any other mention of this name. The closest map found to this apparent 1816 overlay in Morgan's report was created in 1866 and is titled, "Plan of Forts & Batteries at Plattsburgh 1816." This 1866 map was found in SUNY Plattsburgh's Special Collections. It can also be found in the National Archives. It is composed of three labeled sheets and a fourth sheet that appears to have been attached to 'Sheet No.2.'<sup>79</sup> [See Appendix A 1-Appendix A 3]. The first of three labeled sheets is captioned with the text, "N.B. These Sheets Nos. 1, 2 & 3 represent the ground at Plattsburgh Occupied by the American Forts namely Fort Brown, Fort Moreau & Fort Scott. It also shows the positions of the British Batteries. Forts Tompkins and Gaines were erected after the British retired. March 1866. For Report of Inspection of Barracks See (A. 2504)."<sup>80</sup> These 1866 maps show the same interior structures seen in Morgan's simplified 1995 overlay map.

The USAF and PESI followed the recommendations of Morgan's 1995 Phase I survey to further investigate the Oval Site in the 1998 report, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*. They use the same overlay map from Morgan's 1995 Phase I survey and attribute the original to the 1866 map titled, "*Plan of Forts & Batteries at Plattsburgh 1816*," citing the same National Archives Record Group (#77) that SUNY Plattsburgh's copied. Their image is the same map pieced together without inclusion of any captions seen in SUNY Plattsburgh's collection.<sup>81</sup> This map is incorrectly referred to as the '1816 survey' in both reports from the 1990s.

The USAF and PESI rightfully state in their 1998 report that the '1816 survey' overlay map (circa 1866) has no clear reference points and is based on the heavily eroded present day remains of Fort Brown, indicating the rough estimation or proximity to placement of the historic forts.<sup>82</sup> Although this survey included magnetometry and GPR readings, these means were not used for locating the footprint of Fort Moreau. Using the overlay map mentioned above, grids were placed across the oval center and were tested with remote sensing. Test Pits numbered 40-47, and 67-72 were excavated across the area of the overlay map indicating the possible location of Fort Moreau. The maps showing tested areas in proximity to Fort Moreau can be seen in Appendix B 1 - Appendix B 3.<sup>83</sup> Test Units were excavated adjacent to this estimated location: to the southeast Test units 10, 12, 14, and 15, and to the north Test Units 11, 15, 16, and 17 as seen in Appendix B 1. Tests indicated, "no evidence of features associated with Fort Moreau."<sup>84</sup> The Test Units to the north along with the survival of nineteenth century plow scars in the southwest and western area of the oval indicated that deep strata remain intact, therefore features associated with Fort Moreau and the barracks may still exist within the present oval area. Furthermore, they determined that although Forts Moreau was leveled for the construction of the present day oval parade ground:

The letter book of Joseph Totten indicates that the floor of the stone magazine located in Fort Moreau was 7 feet below the level of the parade ground. Although portions of the current parade ground may be lower than the historical grade, and Fort Moreau itself was leveled, it is very likely that remains of the magazine still survive.<sup>85</sup>

Because of the large number of burials excavated from the leveling of Fort Moreau in 1892, it should be noted that burials may still exist at this site<sup>86</sup>

### **Potential for Archaeological Sites/Future Research**

Researchers from the 1995 archaeological investigation noted that although no features associated with Fort Moreau were found during their excavation, if there was any remaining evidence intact it would likely be underneath the asphalt pad located within the tested 100-foot (30.4m) by 100-foot (30.4m) test grid.<sup>87</sup> The subsequent 1998 survey and report conducted by the USAF and PESI determined that the stone magazine from Fort Moreau may survive. Although the footprint of Fort Moreau has not yet been positively identified, and no surviving features have been found to be associated with the fort, intact

deep strata in the surrounding area lead researchers to believe that Fort Moreau features may remain in-situ, including human burials, the stone magazine, privies, or post features.<sup>88</sup>

## **FORT SCOTT**

### **Current Site Designation/Eligibility**

The 1983 accepted NRHP Nomination form for Plattsburgh Bay describes the reasoning behind the exclusion of Forts Moreau and Scott from the nomination:

The sites of Fort Scott, Fort Moreau and the storehouses are now within the built-up area of Plattsburgh Air Force Base, within about 500 feet of the Chapel at the north end of the oval. These sites have been graded and planted; barely visible irregularities in the ground surface may or may not be part of their remains. The sites of the blockhouses are imprecisely known and are within an urban setting. None of these sites possesses the integrity of feeling present at Fort Brown.<sup>89</sup>

Limited shovel testing from 1995 determined that because the site has been developed, most cultural remains have been lost. The 1995 survey deemed Fort Scott ineligible for further designation.<sup>90</sup> The subsequent 1998 USAF report did not investigate the location of Fort Scott.

There is a stone monument with a plaque marking the approximate location of Fort Scott along a walking trail close to railroad tracks. The plaque is very similar to the one placed at Fort Brown by the DAR, though it doesn't name the organization.

### **Previous Archaeological Research**

Again, the goal of the 1995 archaeological investigation of the Plattsburgh Air Force Base was to locate the forts and ancillary buildings located within the present day boundaries of the base.<sup>91</sup> The researchers used historic maps, newspaper articles, primary personal accounts and letters in order to locate remains of these structures, including a search for remains of Fort Scott. A sketch map of the 1995 ground testing for Fort Scott can be seen in Figure 9. The researchers reported that, "no evidence of disturbance was noted, however, it is likely that this area was impacted by the building and relocation of the D&H Railroad, and the construction of Building 406 and the roads immediately east and north. No artifacts were collected nor were subsurface features or cultural deposits encountered during shovel testing."<sup>92</sup>

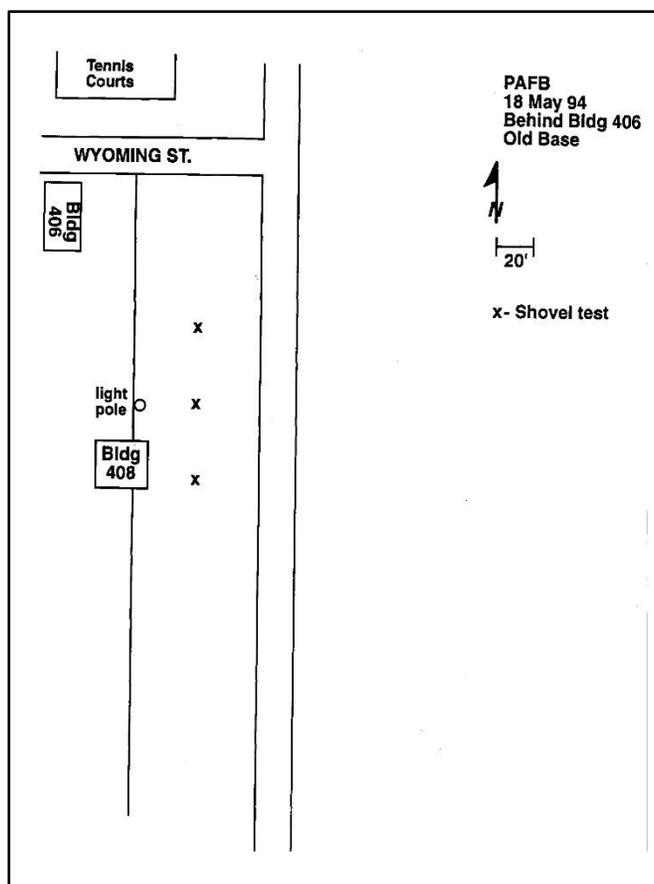


Figure 9: Map from, 'Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base, Clinton County, New York,' Showing Sketch Map of Testing Area for Fort Scott. Created by Julie A. Morgan [1995:104]. From Department of the Army Construction Engineering Research Laboratories, Corps of Engineers for Plattsburgh Air Force Base

### Potential for Archaeological Sites/Future Research

Researchers from the 1995 archaeological investigation reported that it was unlikely that remains of Fort Scott would be located due to land disturbance over time.<sup>93</sup> The subsequent 1998 USAF report did not investigate Fort Scott. There is potential that the three shovel tests excavated by the 1995 surveyors missed remnants of Fort Scott but it is also more likely that the construction of the railroad and subsequent buildings in this area disturbed a great deal of the Fort Scott site.

## **Chapter 3: Archaeological Assessment and KOCOA Analysis**

### **TERRAIN ANALYSIS STUDY AREAS**

The National Park Service American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) developed a Battlefield Survey Manual to help standardize the documentation of battlefield sites and also to help educate and train surveyors to more thoroughly investigate the sometimes elusive or ephemeral histories of battlefield landscapes. A system of analysis referred to as **KOCOA** was developed by incorporating military expertise on how to, “view the terrain through the soldiers’ eyes.”<sup>94</sup> This task is approached by investigating features of **Key Terrain, Obstacles, Cover and Concealment, Observation and Fields of Fire, and Avenues of Approach and Retreat** that would be visible within the landscape. Specific guidelines are given by the Battlefield Survey Manual to help structure research. The scope of this project is limited to smaller areas of battlefields, in this case the use of Valcour Island during the Revolutionary War and the use of Fort Brown during the War of 1812. This means that defining entire battlefield boundaries and core areas for battlefields associated with both wars are outside of the scope of this grant. The maps provided for KOCOA sections will show the potentially archaeologically sensitive areas of each site with reference to where specific artifacts and features may be found. This is not to be confused with Potential National Register Boundaries (PotNR). Fort Brown is listed on the NRHP and may contain soldier burials, therefore the boundaries for this site may be further defined based on metal detecting or GPR survey if deemed necessary. Valcour Island PotNR boundaries would require physical archaeological testing along the southwestern coast if deemed necessary, though it should be remembered that the core of this battlefield was on Valcour Bay.

### **Methods**

Research began with a collection of accounts that could point to the possible presence of archaeological remains present at both Valcour Island and Fort Brown. These accounts consisted mainly of evidence of feet on the ground at both locations. A list of defining features was generated according to the Battlefield Survey Manual for each site and will be discussed within the following sections denoting the KOCOA acronym.

Because the scope of this KOCOA analysis is particular to small areas of large battlefields, the defining features discussed will be specific to viewsheds within reach of each site. The KOCOA acronym is described below.

### **Key Terrain**

Typically described as ‘high ground,’ this is terrain that would have given advantage to the occupying side.

### **Obstacles**

Obstacle terrain would be any physical features in the landscape that would have altered troop movement. Obstacle terrain would have been used tactically by forces in order to make enemy approaches more difficult.

### **Cover and Concealment**

Cover is described as protection from enemy fire, which could have been provided by natural physical barriers in the field or man-made barriers. Concealment would be anything hiding one force from the others' field of vision.

### **Observation and Fields of Fire**

Observing the movement of enemy troops provides advantage, and observation is best gained via high ground without the enemy's knowledge. The establishment of fields of fire for weapons is dependent on clear range to targets, and avoidance of 'dead ground' where enemy forces may have access to concealment or cover.

### **Avenues of Approach and Retreat**

Avenues of transportation for both supplies and people are paramount in battle, and gaining possession of waterways, bridges, mountain gaps, and other means of transportation could provide considerable advantage to particular forces. As such, these transportation networks needed to be defended well in order to maintain supply networks.

## **VALCOUR ISLAND**

The greatest archaeological footprint left on Valcour Island during the American Revolution was produced from the grounding of the schooner *Royal Savage* on the southern point of the island. Although Valcour Island had some colorful moments in history after the Revolution, such as the Dawn Valcour Society commune in the 1870s, the building of a lighthouse and subsequent light tower, the building and operation of Camp Penn, and the raising of both *Philadelphia* and *Royal Savage* in the 1930s, the inclusion of the island in the actual Battle of Valcour Bay was brief.

Documentary research concerning the Battle of Valcour Bay on October 11, 1776 produced accounts from both sides of the conflict attesting to the presence of soldiers and Native Americans on Valcour Island during the battle. A letter written by General Benedict Arnold to General Schuyler describes the damage taken by *Royal Savage* before, "the captain thought prudent to run her on the point of Valcour, where all the men were saved."<sup>95</sup> A journal entry from British Lieutenant James Hadden describes the same scene where *Royal Savage*, "was run on shore and most of the men escaped on to Valcour Island, in effecting which they were fired upon by the gun boats."<sup>96</sup> Both of these historical accounts mention the presence of Native Americans on Valcour Island during the battle. General Arnold described how, "the enemy landed a large number of Indians on the island and each shore, who kept an incessant fire on us, but did little damage."<sup>97</sup>

Lieutenant James Hadden's description of British-allied Native Americans is slightly more illuminating:

The rebels having no land force, the savages took post on the main and Valcour Island, thus being upon both flanks they were able to annoy them in the working of their guns; this had the effect of now and then obliging the Rebels to turn a gun that way, which danger the savages avoided by getting behind trees.<sup>98</sup>

Although neither account provides a number or estimate of British-allied Native Americans during the Battle of Valcour Bay, Lieutenant James Hadden noted in his journal that on the morning of October 11, 1776 as the British fleet began moving south from Point au Fer, "a large detachment of savages under Major Carleton also moved with the fleet in their canoes...several of which would contain 30 people."<sup>99</sup>

A journal from a common soldier, Jahiel Stewart, describes the American soldiers aboard *Royal Savage* swimming ashore after the boat ran aground.<sup>100</sup> One historian's account describes the captain, David Hawley, and most of the crew of *Royal Savage* jumping overboard and swimming to the shore of Valcour Island, while some surrendered to Captain Longcroft and his boarding party from *Loyal Convert*.<sup>101</sup> Another historian submits that Longcroft, "captured as many as 20 crew members before they could escape".<sup>102</sup>

In addition to these accounts of men on the island during the battle, there are also accounts from the days leading up to the Battle of Valcour Bay where the island was in use. One example, again comes from the journal of common soldier Jahiel Stewart, describing how, "all the Skouting party and we made us some Birch huts and Camped Down that night," on Valcour Island the night of October 6, 1776.<sup>103</sup> On September 25, 1776, the day after Arnold's fleet took their position on Valcour Bay, one historian noted that the captains and lieutenants were treated by Arnold to a dinner on Valcour Island.<sup>104</sup> The journal of Bayze Wells is attributed for this account:

Wednesday 25<sup>th</sup> Sept this Day Westerly wind and Clear about ten A.M. the General invited all Capts & Lieuts to Dine with him on the Isle of Belchore {sic} accordingly we went and had A most agreeable Entertainment. About twelve O'clock we heard the Report of Several Canon toward St Johns.<sup>105</sup>

The historic watercolor painting entitled, *God Bless our Armes*, attributed to Charles Randle suggests that Indian Point on Valcour Island had a wharf and barracks.<sup>106</sup> In Figure 10 one can distinguish the labeled features on land as well as several captains and the American fleet at the bottom. Local historian Ed Scollon, also a researcher and diver for the Valcour Bay Research Project, submits that this painting, "is an accurate depiction from the south of Indian Point looking northwest."<sup>107</sup> His reasoning is the exact placement of the Adirondack mountain range in the background from popular camping grounds located just to the south of Indian Point. Furthermore he suggests that Indian Point would have been a perfect location for establishing temporary barracks for several reasons. Seeing as the troops were in Valcour Bay for several weeks leading up to the

battle, and travel back and forth to the mainland would have risked line-of-sight exposure from the north as well as hostile encounters from British-allied Native American troops and scouts, it would make sense that Arnold's troops would have kept close to Valcour Island. Water depths on the north end of the point (12 ft, 3.6m) would have been ideal for docking as well as unloading materials. Furthermore, it would be foolish to assume that troops would have stayed on boats when they had an island at their disposal, especially for the length of time that they waited in Valcour Bay. As of yet, no formal investigation of this wharf and barracks on Valcour Island has been carried out and there has been no record of artifacts found at this alleged site.

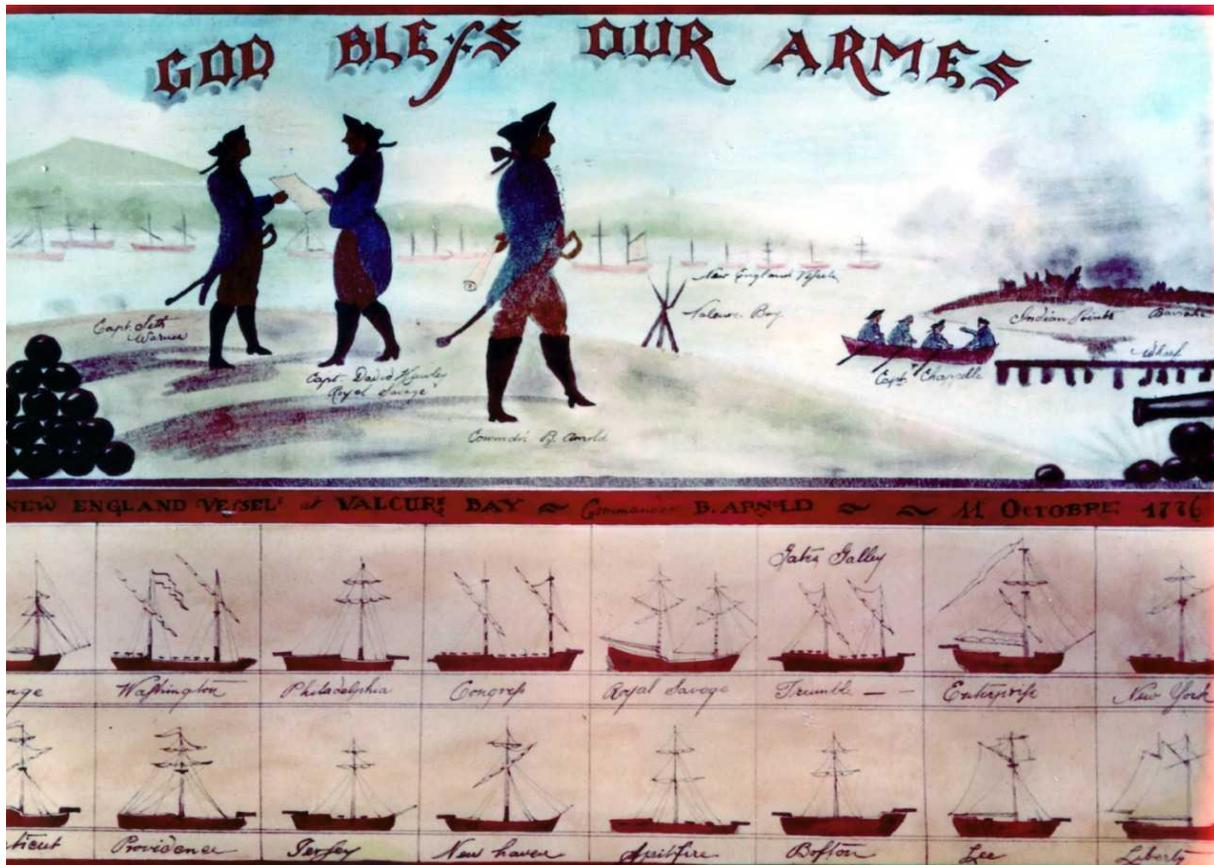


Figure 10: "God Bless Our Armes" Attributed to Charles Randle, Indicating Barracks and a Wharf Near Indian Point on Valcour Island

Surely there were countless other interactions than these listed that occurred on Valcour Island surrounding the date of the battle, though most of these interactions would be hard-pressed to have left much of an archaeological footprint save the wreckage and debris field from *Royal Savage's* demise. Since the Revolution, however, the site where *Royal Savage* wrecked and the ship itself have been greatly altered.

Salvaging efforts and looting of *Royal Savage* are described in historic documents as early as the 1830s and 1840s, which describe multiple earlier attempts to raise the hulk of the ship, as well as commonplace looting and vandalism of the site.<sup>108</sup> In 1934, Captain

Lorenzo F. Hagglund raised *Royal Savage*, dragging it to the shore of Valcour Island with the use of cables and ropes.<sup>109</sup>

Although it is possible that potential archaeological sites may exist along the western shoreline of Valcour Island associated with the Battle of Valcour Bay or the days leading up to the event across the island, it is unlikely that such ephemeral sites such as grapeshot scatter would be of much research value or that they could even be located due to the vague characteristics of reported events and the amount of activity on the island over time that could have altered those sites. Finding remnants of possible barracks or a wharf like that seen in Randle's painting would be of greater significance but it would take further investigation to determine if such a site existed in the first place.

In the first 100 years after the Battle of Valcour Bay, the island itself changed hands many times and in the 1870s, the Federal Government bought a portion of land on the western coast and built the Bluff Point Lighthouse (also known as the Valcour Island Lighthouse).<sup>110</sup> Later historic events occurring on the island included an attempt by the Dawn Valcour Society to form a commune on the island in the 1870s, and the foundation of Camp Penn on Valcour Island between 1906 and perhaps the 1920s. There is potential for archaeological sites and future research pertaining to these events, however, they are outside of the scope of this grant.

Since the date of the Battle of Valcour Bay, the bay itself and the island have remained popular sites for relic hunters.<sup>111</sup> Archaeologically, and within the scope of this grant, the location of the original site of the sunken *Royal Savage* may be of the greatest value in terms of research. This site could provide access to items and timbers missed by treasure hunters and potentially the remnants of salvaging efforts produced by Hagglund's work in the 1930s.

### **Key Terrain**

Because Valcour Island itself was not disputed terrain nor the site of a battle, the defining features to consider are few. The island was not used as a site to build fortifications or as a place to gain advantage via Key Terrain or high ground.

### **Obstacles**

Again, this criteria does not pertain to Valcour Island because the island was not used as a primary or planned battlefield.

### **Cover and Concealment**

On the morning of October 11, 1776, British-allied Native American troops deployed onto Valcour Island and the main land in order to attack American forces from land as well as the fleet. It is mentioned in Lieutenant James Hadden's journal that the Native American troops would use the trees as cover and concealment when the American forces answered their fire.<sup>112</sup> It is likely that some of the American troops escaping *Royal Savage* used the trees as cover and concealment as well when the, "gunners of on board the *Washington* swept the woods with canister shot to drive them off."<sup>113</sup>

Valcour Island itself provided cover and concealment of the American fleet, keeping them out of sight from British ships until they sailed past the island. This provided a tactical advantage to the American fleet since the British then had to tack against the wind in order to engage.

### **Observation and Fields of Fire**

A guard boat is mentioned in many accounts that sounded an alarm alerting the American forces of the British approach.<sup>114</sup> It is unclear whether a scouting party was sent on foot to Valcour Island or if the party remained in a vessel but scouting parties were clearly discussed in primary accounts leading up to the day of the battle.<sup>115</sup> In terms of observation, the northern tip of Valcour Island could be interpreted as a point where the American fleet gained strategic advantage. In the same vein, the island itself blocked British observation of American troops so that they had to pass the fleet completely before seeing them. The fact that the British fleet needed to turn around in order to fight was a great disadvantage.

The western shoreline where British-allied Native American troops under Major Carleton shot muskets at the Americans should be noted as a field of fire, since there was occasional return of fire noted in primary accounts.<sup>116</sup> In addition, the site where *Royal Savage* ran aground became a brief field of fire as British gunboats fired on the stranded crew. Once Longcroft's crew from *Loyal Convert* boarded *Royal Savage*, they fired the guns on the American fleet and drew return fire.<sup>117</sup>

### **Avenues of Approach and Retreat**

As mentioned above, British observation of American troops was blocked by Valcour Island and the position of the American fleet was hidden until the British sailed around the southern end. The position of the island also dictated the path of retreat for the American fleet at the end of the battle.

## **FIELD INVESTIGATION**

In June of 2019, a field visit to Valcour Island was conducted with local historians, Roger Harwood and Ed Scollon. Time was spent investigating historic viewsheds seen in photographs from the 1930s from the raising of *Royal Savage* and *Philadelphia* as well as a viewshed from the historic painting, *God Bless Our Armes* attributed to Charles Randle. The following sections describe this site visit and the data collected by the non-invasive investigation of potential historical sites on the western coast of Valcour Island relating to the Battle of Valcour Bay.

### **Current Site Conditions**

The western coast of Valcour Island below Bluff Point to the southern tip of the island is the portion of the island that would have been most impacted by the Battle of Valcour Bay in 1776. Today, numbered campsites line the perimeter of the island, showcasing historic sites mostly dating after the 1870s. Along the southwestern shoreline are the Bluff Point Lighthouse (1874) and the Raboff Great Camp on Bluff Point, the Gill Farm (early 1900s)

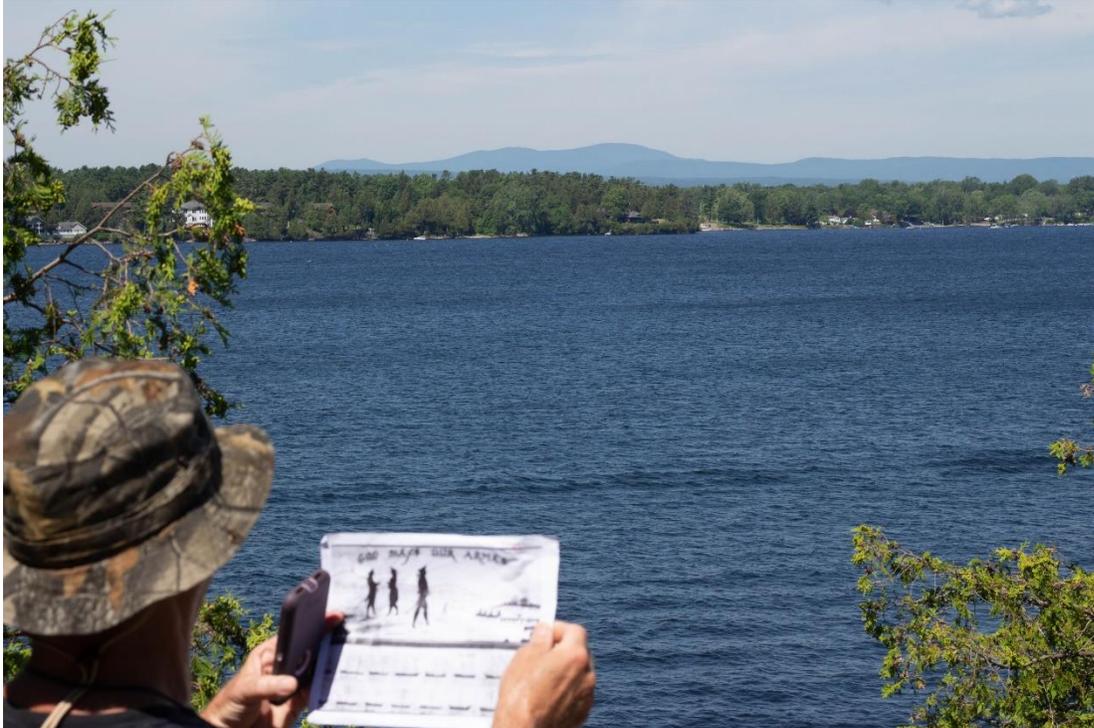
just above Indian Point, Camp Penn (early 1900s) on Indian Point, and Seton Stone House (1929) located near the south western tip of Valcour Island. These sites can be seen in the Valcour Island Heritage Tour brochure in Appendix F 1 to Appendix F 5.

Lake Champlain has maintained a higher level than average this past spring (2019), but historically the lake kept a similar level to our present day levels. The Lake Champlain Basin Program reports that, “normal annual variation between high and low average water levels is about six feet (2m) in Lake Champlain, but since the early 1870s when daily records began, the maximum range between high and low average water levels was measured at 9.4 feet (3m).<sup>118</sup> The average annual water level of Lake Champlain is reported as 95.5 feet (29.1m) with a recorded high of 103.57 feet (31.5m) in 2011 and a recorded low of 92.4 feet (28.1m) in 1908.

### **Viewshed Analysis**

It remains unclear whether the artist took artistic liberties within their painting, *God Bless Our Armes* or if they painted this image from a specific vantage point on Valcour Island. During our field visit, local historians Ed Scollon and Roger Harwood found a vantage point along the western coast of Valcour Island that lends itself to a strikingly similar perspective in that of Randle’s historic painting. The highest point of the Adirondack mountain range in the center horizon of Figure 11 appears to be the tallest mountain peak in Randle’s rendition, situated to the far left of Figure 10. Figure 12 shows the view from the same vantage point on Valcour Island but looking slightly more to the north to include Indian Point. Although the view is slightly obscured by trees, Bluff Point is clearly visible on the right of the photograph in Figure 12 and terminates at about the center of the photo or just behind Indian Point and the tree in the foreground. These field photos show that both Indian Point and the mountain range in Randle’s painting are portrayed in a strikingly similar layout from this specific vantage point on Valcour Island. Furthermore, the vantage point area is relatively flat and lies along the maintained trail system on Valcour Island, an area that would have been a comfortable campsite with good drainage and an excellent commanding view of the battlefield

In addition to Randle’s viewpoint, historic photographs of the raising of *Royal Savage* were brought on the site visit in order to determine if those vantage points could be discerned. This could help determine the actual location where *Royal Savage* was dragged ashore in the 1930s. Seven historic photographs were taken to the field and given labels A-G. These historic photographs can be seen in Appendix E 2 through Appendix E 7.



*Figure 11: High Vantage Point on Western Shore of Valcour Island Facing West Shows Similar Vantage Point to Randle's, "God Bless Our Arms" Historic Painting, View of Mountain Range*



*Figure 12: High Vantage Point on Western Shore of Valcour Island Facing West Shows Similar Vantage Point to Randle's, "God Bless Our Arms" Historic Painting, View of Indian Point*

Not all of the historic photographs had enough detail in the background to determine original perspective points but there were some interesting details to note. Historic photograph A was taken from the water looking toward the shore with the figure of Hagglund sitting on the hull taking notes (see Appendix E 2). Compare this photograph with historic photograph D, which appears to be the same subject taken from the opposite perspective, or from the shore, and note the boat in the background (see Appendix E 4). It is possible that historic Photograph A was taken from this boat. The perspective from photograph D offers a glimpse of the New York mainland shoreline. This view is consistent with views from the 2019 site visit to Seton's dock looking west to the New York mainland, although the horizon is consistently flat along the New York mainland for a long stretch.

Historic photograph C shows a distinct horizon behind the hull of *Royal Savage* that may be the best perspective to determine the site where the hull was dragged. Field photos taken from south of Savage Rock have ruled out the idea that the hull was dragged onto exposed rock between Savage Rock and a smaller rock outcrop on the southern tip of Valcour Island. The view from Seton's dock on Valcour Island looking north to Bluff Point and Indian Point can be seen in Figure 13.



Figure 13: Present Day View From Seton's Dock on Valcour Island Looking North toward Indian Point and Bluff Point

Historic photograph C appears to have been taken from the stairs leading to the Seton Stone house while the wreck appears to be beached on the rock outcrop that is now covered in a concrete slab. Figure 14 shows the view from south of Savage Rock looking north to Bluff Point. This vantage point shows that *Royal Savage* was not dragged to shore between Savage Rock (forefront) and the rock outcrop to the right of the image. Historic photographs C-F show a vantage point much higher than Savage Rock would have allowed and although the water is much lower in the historic images, it is clear that the rock formations in the background of Figure 14 are not the same as those in historic photograph C. The rock formations in Figure 13 are much more similar to those seen in historic photograph C, even with the higher water level.



Figure 14: View From South of Savage Rock Looking North to Bluff Point

## **Conclusion and Recommendations for Valcour Island**

REDACTED





## **FORT BROWN**

Fort Brown is the only fortification from the Battle of Plattsburgh that retains a partially intact, above ground component. The following section provides the situational and historic context of the fort via first-hand accounts and interactions and explores the viewshed from the remains of the site.

In May of 1814, Major General George Izard was headquartered at Plattsburgh with, “Brigadier General Winder, just exchanged ... [he] appointed his chief of staff; Alexander Macomb and Thomas A. Smith [as] his brigadier generals; William Cumming [as] adjutant general, and Major Joseph G. Totten [as] chief engineer.”<sup>119</sup> A letter from Izard at Plattsburgh to the Secretary at War dated July 3, 1814 states:

[t]he protection of the stores and public property, which are daily but irregularly arriving at his place, has determined me to raise some defensive works here. A few redoubts, judiciously placed, and flanking each other, will enable a small force to resist numbers for a given time...The work is commenced and will be executed exclusively by the troops.”<sup>120</sup>

This letter marks the initial stages of Izard’s plans to begin construction on the three redoubts that were to become Forts Brown, Scott, and Moreau. This same letter also provides information and insight about enlisted African-American soldiers, their presence, service, and treatment at Plattsburgh:

There was, some years ago, a regulation of our service, prohibiting the enlistment of negroes and people of colour. I have not heard of its being enforced. Among the New England recruits there have lately been brought hither a number of these people, to the great annoyance of the officers and soldiers here. The latter object to doing duty with them. The Inspector General is now organizing them as a sort of pioneer corps. Shall they be retained and mustered in that capacity?<sup>121</sup>

According to Altoff, “[b]lack musketmen were sprinkled among the ranks of the 30<sup>th</sup> U.S., 31<sup>st</sup> U.S., and 34<sup>th</sup> U.S. Infantry Regiments” as well as the 11<sup>th</sup>, which collectively served in the battles at Crysler’s Farm (November 11, 1813), Lacolle Mill (March 30, 1814), and the Battle of Plattsburgh (September 11, 1814).<sup>122</sup> Although the exact number of soldiers of color serving during the War of 1812 is unknown, Robert E. Greene produced a list of men from the register of enlistments in the U.S. Army described as black men, asserting that:

[d]uring the War of 1812, American Negroes provided civilian manual labor and served as seamen aboard the war vessels at sea; on land the black soldiers fought in some famous battles. Though small in number blacks again contributed to America’s defense.”<sup>123</sup>

Greene's list has high potential of including the men of color who helped build the fortifications at Plattsburgh or helped protect them during the Battle of Plattsburgh, especially locally born men listed as serving in present regiments and in active service between July and September of 1814. Several profiles mention Plattsburg specifically as locations of enlistment, discharge, and desertion. John Alfred, a farmer from Vermont, was listed as a private in the 30<sup>th</sup> infantry regiment who served from March 24, 1814 to June 17, 1815. Nathan Gilbert of Boston, Massachusetts served in the 31<sup>st</sup> infantry regiment between April 3, 1814 and June 4, 1815 and was discharged in Plattsburgh. John Moore, a barber from Londonderry, New Hampshire, served in the 31<sup>st</sup> infantry regiment and was discharged March 31, 1815. Jacob Palmer from New London, Connecticut enlisted at Plattsburgh on February 22, 1814 and deserted July 9, 1814. George Bolton Jr., a farmer from Augusta, Massachusetts enlisted March 26, 1814 and deserted at Plattsburgh in September of 1814. Frederick Lewis of Baltimore, Maryland served between July 14, 1814 and May 21, 1815 and was discharged at Plattsburgh. Solomon Sharpe, a farmer from Massachusetts was noted as absent from Plattsburgh on April 15, 1814 and later exchanged as a prisoner of war at Chazy on May 11, 1814. Sharpe was discharged on February 2, 1818.<sup>124</sup> These men are the most likely candidates from Greene's list to have potentially served at Plattsburgh leading up to and during the Battle of Plattsburgh according to their dates of service, affiliation with Plattsburgh, locality, and listed regiments. More specifically, there is a possibility that those African American men registered as the 30<sup>th</sup> or 31<sup>st</sup> regiments worked specifically to build Fort Brown.

Also of note, are a handful of written primary accounts from and about Native American participants in the War of 1812 that specifically pertain to the Battle of Plattsburgh.<sup>125</sup> The most notable of these people and their accounts are Eleazer Williams and William Apess. Williams was a Caughnawaga (sometimes reported as Mohawk) man and an Episcopalian minister who worked with American generals during the War of 1812 to ease tensions between American troops and to help gain intelligence for their side of the conflict. Williams' journals detail his work with the generals and offer first-hand accounts of the preparations for and the Battle at Plattsburgh, though some scholars discount Williams' accounts due to exaggerated and incorrect content. Apess was Pequot and in his teenage years he escaped indentured service, eventually enrolling among the American ranks and serving in battles leading up to and including the Battle at Plattsburgh.<sup>126</sup> There are certainly more accounts pertaining to the participation of Native Americans in the Battle of Plattsburgh. These two examples are meant to show some variation in occupation of Native American participants on the American side, or more colloquially, showcase some figures who may have stood within Fort Brown on the day of the Battle of Plattsburgh.

Toward the end of July in 1814, Izard placed Totten in charge of directing the building of the fortifications.<sup>127</sup> On August 10<sup>th</sup>, 1814, General Izard received orders to move the majority of his forces from Plattsburg westward to join with forces at Fort Niagara. After

receiving word of General Sir George Prevost's reinforcements of thousands of Napoleon War veterans gathering in Montreal, he felt it was a dangerous move to leave Plattsburgh and wrote back to the Secretary at War outlining his concern that British forces would take the region within days of his departure.<sup>128</sup> Izard followed his given orders by moving forces out via land and water within a few weeks and was fully removed by August 29, 1814.<sup>129</sup> On August 31, 1814, Prevost and his 11,000-14,000 troops began their march from Montreal, reaching the outskirts of Plattsburgh by September 6, 1814.<sup>130</sup> The numbers of active troops on both sides vary between primary sources and contemporary sources by several hundred to several thousand at times.<sup>131</sup>

General Izard left his sick and wounded soldiers along with 1200-1500 men to garrison Cumberland Head and the new forts on the peninsula, referred to as 'Platt's Point.'<sup>132</sup> When General Izard left, Brigadier General Alexander Macomb was left in command, head-quartered at Plattsburg. Although he had troops numbering 3500 by the end of August, about 1400 were not well enough to fight, and Macomb worked his able men around the clock in order to finish the forts and blockhouses and have them manned before enemy troops reached Plattsburgh.

Lossing provides an excellent description of the three forts at Platt's Point in, *The Pictorial Fieldbook of the War of 1812*:

The redoubts were on a curved line across the neck of the peninsula, and were named respectively Forts Brown, Moreau, and Scott. The first-named stood on the bank of the river, and its head, about half way between the lower bridge at the village and near its mouth, and the upper bridge, a mile higher up, on the road leading to the Salmon River. Fort Moreau, the principal work, was half way between the river and the lake, fifty rods eastward of Fort Brown; and Fort Scott was near the bank of the lake. Northward of it were store-houses and a hospital. Between the lower bridge, and some distance above Fort Brown, the right bank of the Saranac is steep, and from fifty to sixty feet in height; and about sixty rods above the lower bridge it is cleft by a deep ravine that extends from the river almost to the lake. Near this ravine a block-house was built, and on the point near Foquet's Hotel, overlooking the modern steam-boat landing, was another block-house. At the mouth of the river, a short distance from the lower bridge, stood (and yet stands) a stone mill, which served an excellent defensive purpose.<sup>133</sup>

Fort Moreau was manned by Colonel Melancthon Smith and the 6<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> regiments, Lieutenant Colonel Storrs manned Fort Brown with portions of the 30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> regiments, and Major Vinson with the 33<sup>rd</sup> and 34<sup>th</sup> regiments manned Fort Scott. The block-house close to the ravine at Platt's Point was manned by Captain Smith along with part of his company from the Rifles, while Lieutenant Fowler with a portion of artillery commanded the second block-house on the point along Plattsburg Bay.<sup>134</sup> Major General Mooers was the officer leading the local militia in Plattsburg.

Between September 4<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>, 1814, close to 14,000 British soldiers marched south from Odell Town, to Chazy, to Beekmantown, and into Plattsburg, endeavoring to take control of the region all the way to Ticonderoga.<sup>135</sup> The soldiers were divided into two columns:

The right column was composed of General Powers's brigade, supported by four companies of light infantry and a half brigade under Major General Robinson. The left was composed of General Brisbane's brigade, and was led by him in person. The whole were under the immediate command of Major General De Rottenburg.<sup>136</sup>

Macomb sent Captain Sproull and Colonel Appling with detachments to obstruct the pathways of the British to Plattsburgh, delaying their arrival and allowing American forces to finish preparing their defensive structures.<sup>137</sup> On September 6<sup>th</sup>, the British marched into Plattsburgh, pushing the small bands of American militia goading them back across the Saranac River.

The right column pushed back American troops until they reached the 'lower bridge' over the Saranac River, or the bridge closest to the mouth of the river, to the northeast of Forts Brown, Moreau, and Scott. Under Macomb's orders, Major John E. Wool and his troops dismantled the lower bridge while under fire, using the timbers to build a breastwork for cover on the southeast side. General Mooers and his men were pushed back by British troops in the same manner over the 'upper bridge,' which lay to the northwest of the American forts, in closest proximity to Fort Brown. Mooers also dismantled the bridge and used the wood to build a breastwork. For the remainder of the day, the British forces were kept from fording the river near the upper bridge by Mooers' forces and the aid of Aiken's Volunteers. This was a group of, "young men, or rather lads, for none of them were old enough to be legally called into the military service."<sup>138</sup>

Lossing reports that the British lost over 200 men on the September 6<sup>th</sup> march to Plattsburg while the Americans lost only 45.

Both sides continued to work on their defense structures in the days to follow. From September 7<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup>, British General Prevost ordered the construction of "several works" across the Saranac River within firing range of the American Forts Brown, Scott, and Moreau.<sup>139</sup> These works included:

Three block-houses erected at points within range of the American works; a battery on the lake shore, just north of the mouth of the Saranac; another on the steep bank above the mill-pond; a third near the burial-ground; and one for rocketeers on a hill opposite Fort Brown."<sup>140</sup>

The described British batteries can be seen in Figure 15 labeled "BATy ATTACKED BY McGLASSIN" and "MORTAR BATy."<sup>141</sup>

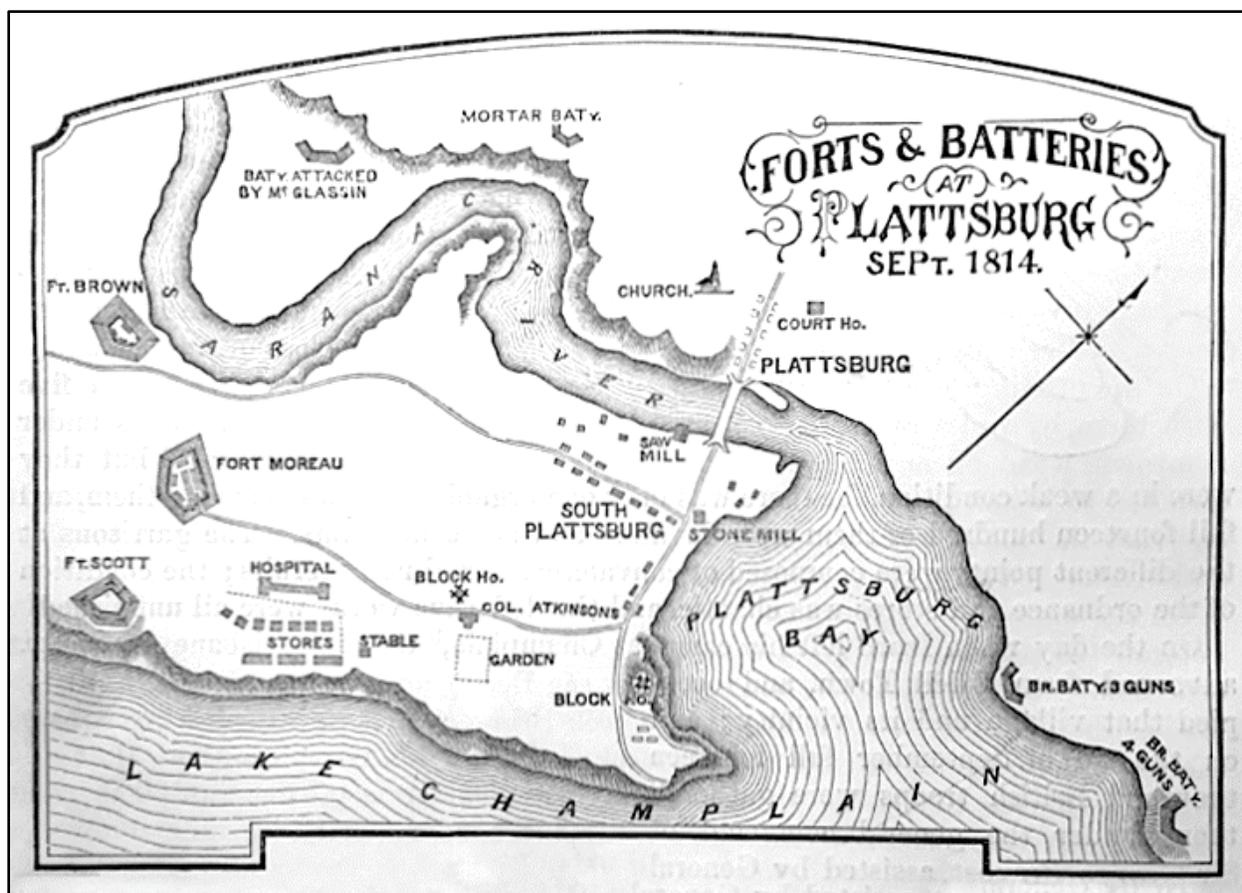


Figure 15: Forts and Batteries at Plattsburg Sept. 1814 from Lossing

On September 9<sup>th</sup>, under the cover of a night storm, American Captain M'Glassin was granted permission from Macomb to take 50 men and attack the rocket battery being constructed across the river from Fort Brown. Instructed to unload their arms to prevent accidental discharge, the men crossed the Saranac River at the halfway mark between Fort Brown and the 'upper bridge' to the northwest of the fort, reaching the battery unnoticed. Half of the men were sent to the rear of the battery and the other half to the front before they made their presence known, shouting the charge and making plenty of noise to create the illusion of a much greater number of troops. The ruse worked, and the more than 300 British soldiers (according to Lossing), taken by surprise and thinking themselves outnumbered, fled from the battery "to their main body." M'Glassin's men spiked the guns they found and returned to Fort Brown without a single loss of life.<sup>142</sup> In Lossing's *Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812*, he provides a sketch of the view of the Saranac River from Fort Brown describing the point of shallows in the forefront of the image as the location where M'Glassin and his men crossed. This image can be seen in Figure 16. The footnote for this image reads:

This view is from the mounds of Fort Brown, looking up the Saranac. The buildings in the extreme distance are at the upper bridge, where Mooers's militia were stationed. M'Glassin forded the Saranac at the point indicated by the drift-wood lodged in the stream. He crossed the little narrow plain where the cattle are seen, and up the slope to the right.<sup>143</sup>



Figure 16: Sketch by Lossing of View from Fort Brown Across Saranac River

The land battle was planned to coincide with the naval battle on the morning of September 11<sup>th</sup>, according to the letter sent from Prevost to Downie on September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1814.<sup>144</sup> The order was spread that:

When the British squadron should be seen approaching Cumberland Head, the advance of the army, under Major General Robinson, should press forward, force the fords of the Saranac, climb the steep banks, and with ladders escalate the American works on the peninsula, while the several batteries around Plattsburg village should open a brisk fire.”<sup>145</sup>

On the morning of September 11, 1814 this plan commenced as Downie's fleet rounded Cumberland Head. Macdonough's fleet, which spread across the entirety of water between Cumberland Head and Crab Island, was ready to engage the British as they arrived. During the naval battle, the American battery on Crab Island was engaged when the semi-disabled British vessel *Finch* grounded there and surrendered.<sup>146</sup> After nearly two and a half hours of battle, the few remaining British galleys pulled down their flags and began to retreat while the wounded and captured British soldiers were moved to Crab Island.<sup>147</sup>

Primary sources on both sides report that British batteries opened fire at the signal of the beginning of the naval battle, around 9 o'clock the morning of September 11, 1814.<sup>148</sup> In addition to this fire power, troops were to advance upon Plattsburgh and assault the American forces. However, there was a delay in the orders for the land troops to attack. It wasn't until about 10 o'clock in the morning, an hour into the battle that troops were ordered to ford the Saranac River.<sup>149</sup> Brisbane's troops were ordered to keep the American's engaged at the two lower bridge locations while a larger party was sent further west to ford the river at the old location of Pike's Cantonment and make their way to the west flank of the unfinished American fortification.<sup>150</sup> These land forces consisted of, "light infantry companies, 3d battalion Twenty-seventh and Seventy-sixth Regiments, and Major General Powers's brigade, consisting of the 3<sup>rd</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, and 1<sup>st</sup> battalion of the Twenty-seventh and Fifty-eighth Regiments."<sup>151</sup> The British troops were rebuffed at the upper bridge by American, "riflemen and pickets, under Captain Grosvenor and Lieutenants Hamilton and Riley, aided by some militia."<sup>152</sup> At the "upper ford," presumably the ford previously protected by Pike's Cantonment, the British brigade sent further west was met by, "the Clinton and Essex militia, under Major General Mooers and Brigadier General Wright...soon joined by a large detachment of Vermont Volunteers, and a party of artillery with a field piece."<sup>153</sup> Even with these American reinforcements, the British were eventually successful in fording the river. Unfortunately, due to their delayed orders of advance, and becoming lost along the way, their lateness in arriving meant that the naval battle was won by the Americans by the time the British forded the river at Pike's Cantonment, and Prevost ordered his troops to retreat:<sup>154</sup>

Scarcely had His Majesty's Troops forced a passage across the Saranac and ascended the Height on which stand the Enemy's works when I had the extreme Mortification to hear the Shout of Victory from the Enemy's Works in consequence of the British Flag being lowered on board the *Confiance* and *Linnet*...I did not hesitate to arrest the course of the Troops advancing to the attack."<sup>155</sup>

At Prevost's order, the British troops began to retreat though their batteries continued to fire until sunset. Fort Brown returned fire under the command of Lieutenant Mountford.<sup>156</sup> Bellico reports that, "at sundown the American forts fired one last salute with their guns accompanied by the tune 'Yankee Doodle.'"<sup>157</sup> As the British retreated, they left behind a great deal of weaponry and supplies, discarding ammunitions in bodies of water for concealment and also leaving their sick and wounded soldiers.<sup>158</sup> According to Lossing's account, the American forces were unaware of the movement of the British troops until they had reached Chazy, eight miles away, at which time Macomb sent troops in pursuit. A few prisoners were taken in this pursuit but Lossing and at least one first-hand account from a member of Aiken's volunteers described that heavy rains caused the American troops to turn back.<sup>159</sup>

After the Battle of Plattsburgh, the fortifications were reinforced with the addition of Fort Gains and Fort Tomkins, seen in historic sketched images dating to 1815 and 1816 as well as fencing between the forts, more extensive ditches and additional structures within the forts. Letters written by Joseph Totten, the engineer charged with the reinforcements outline his plans for future changes between 1814 and 1816.<sup>160</sup> Unfortunately it is not clear from other historic documents what portion of these plans came to fruition. Between 1819 and 1825, troops were moved out of Plattsburgh and the grounds were left to fall into disrepair. The grounds were used again briefly during the Seminole War and when old storehouse buildings were ordered to be outfitted into temporary barracks. After new barracks were built, which likely destroyed most of the old barracks, surrounding lands and buildings were leased to farmers and other citizens.<sup>161</sup>

A letter dating to 1838 described the disrepair of the grounds, stating that Fort Brown was almost level with the ground by that time. Another letter dating to 1852 includes an order to keep people from removing sand from Fort Brown. The later construction of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad in 1868 and the expansion of the barracks in the 1890s didn't seem to have much of an effect on the remains of Fort Brown, though Fort Scott and then Fort Moreau respectively were leveled to make room for these changes.<sup>162</sup> Fort Brown did not suffer the same fate, being farther removed and standing on the edge of the Saranac River. Because many soldier burials were discovered under Forts Scott and Moreau, it is very likely that soldiers were also buried in Fort Brown and remain in-situ.

## Key Terrain

Key Terrain pertaining to Fort Brown would include the fort itself as a means of occupying high ground. On the north side of the Saranac River, the British works that Prevost built to counter Fort Brown should also be considered key terrain. In the context of the greater Battle of Plattsburgh, there are plenty of other features from the landscape that would count as key terrain, however for this particular study the focus will remain on the small parcel of land containing the remains of Fort Brown and those features within the viewshed of that parcel. Figure 15 shows two British works labeled “BATy ATTACKED BY McGLASSIN” and “MORTAR BATy” from a map in Lossing’s *Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*.<sup>163</sup> Other historic maps show a third British battery across the Saranac River from Fort Brown, best seen in Figure 17 in the map entitled, “Plan of the Siege of Plattsburgh, and Capture of the British Fleet on Lake Champlain. The 11<sup>th</sup> September 1814. To Accompany B. Tanner’s Print of Macdonough’s Victory.”<sup>164</sup> Figure 17 is a close-up section of this map, it can be seen in its entirety in Appendix C 1. The closest British battery to Fort Brown is labeled, “British Battery 3 Guns, 1 Howitzer.” Two more are present above the first and above a ridge. One is labeled, “B. Rocket By” presumably ‘British Rocket Battery’ and the other, “B Bomb By.”



Figure 17: Detail from "Plan of the Siege of Plattsburgh" Showing Batteries and Weapons Range

The same distinction is made in a second historic map created by General Macomb and included with his after battle summary, which he provided to the Secretary at War on September 18, 1814. Macomb's map can be seen in Appendix D 1 in its entirety, while Figure 18 shows a zoomed in section of the British batteries labeled "No 1, No 2, and 3. The key for this map can be seen in Appendix D 1 in the bottom left where No 1 is labeled, "3 Guns & 1 Howitzer," No 2 is labeled, "Rocket Battery," and No 3 is labeled, "Mortar Battery." An historic copy of this map entitled, "Copy of (Original) Sketch of the Enemy's Positions and Batteries at the Siege of Plattsburg from the 6<sup>th</sup>. Sept. 1814 to the 11<sup>th</sup> Inclusive" in the War Department [Bureau of ? July 25, 1859 D. Callahan (?)] was located in SUNY Plattsburgh's Special Collections library. This copy can be seen in two pieces in Appendix D 2 and Appendix D 3. The original image was located within the National Archives and Records Administration.



Figure 18: Alexander Macomb's "Sketch of the Enemy (sic) Positions & Batteries at the Seige of Plattsburg from 6th Sept. 1814 to the 11th inclusive" used with permission from National Archives and Records Administration

### **Obstacles**

Obstacles relating to the action seen at Fort Brown consist of the fort itself and the Saranac River separating the American works from the British batteries. Herkalo describes the specifications produced for the construction of the American forts at Plattsburgh:

Access to the fortifications was to be preceded by trenches of sufficient depth and width to foul any escalade (scaling of the walls). Any ladder that the British might use in attempting to cross the trench would have to be in excess of twenty feet long. The twelve-foot wide, eight-foot-deep trench sides were angled steeply upward on the fortifications' sides, forming ramparts of sixteen feet topped by two-foot parapets. The trenches were fraised – the angled, sharpened stakes embedded in the trench bottom so as to present a thorny welcome for any raiding party. In addition, the bastions (blockhouse-style boxes at the corners of the fortification) projected far enough that the trenches beside them were within the view and range of any weapon used within them. In short, the American trench formed a serious obstruction and offered no cover for an advancing force.<sup>165</sup>

The exact citation for the primary source providing this information was unclear but was likely from the National Archives of Canada and (cited in an endnote as 'NAC M24') was unavailable in an online digital format. These specifications would have been what engineer Major Joseph Totten was either directed to build or what he designed for the fortifications. Whether these specifications were all carried out before the Battle of Plattsburgh on September 11, 1814 seems unlikely. Herkalo again describes the American fortifications, this time from the British point of view just before the battle on September 11<sup>th</sup>:

'They consisted of three redoubts, two small blockhouses, and a battery of heavy guns towards the lake. The redoubts were not finished, and the guns of the principal one were all en barbette, and consequently might be easily silenced during an assault.' Lieutenant Lang of the Nineteenth Light Dragoons reported that the American works were not built 'within established rules'; they were sand berms faced with wood board, the interior being open without shelters and the bastions arranged to sweep the trenches surrounding them.<sup>166</sup>

Again, it was unclear what sources these quotations came from but it shows that at least there were trenches and the guns at Fort Moreau were raised and therefore exposed. This implies that the guns at Forts Brown and Scott were not raised. The day after the Battle of Plattsburgh, Totten wrote a letter to DeRussy depicting his plan of reinforcing the cantonment:

The revetments should be sodded leaving no berm, and a center row of pickets placed perpendicularly in the ditches both sides of which pickets must be enfiladed by the meur-tiers [sic] or log works in the ditch. It has always been my intention to raise meilons on the north sides of all the forts, the west side of Fort Brown the East side of Fort Scott, and to sink embrasures on all the other faces according as the enemy might chose [sic] their fronts of attack. Everything else is left entirely to your discretion. [Totten to DeRussy Sept. 12, 1814].<sup>167</sup>

Efforts to locate this letter firsthand were unsuccessful, but the citation has been left within the passage as it was found in the 1998 USAF technical report, "Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh AFB."<sup>168</sup> Historic maps produced shortly after the battle depict some of Totten's plans for reinforcement.

One historic map found in the Special Collections at SUNY Plattsburgh, shows details within Fort Brown such as boxes in the corners of the fort, seen in Figure 19, which could indicate that the aforementioned specifications were carried out. This particular map is entitled "Plan of Forts & Batteries at Plattsburgh 1816" with subtitles reading, "(Sheet No 2) March 1866 For Report of Inspection of Barracks See[?] (A.2504)." (See Appendix A 2 for full image). It seems the map was created in 1866 but was meant to show the area

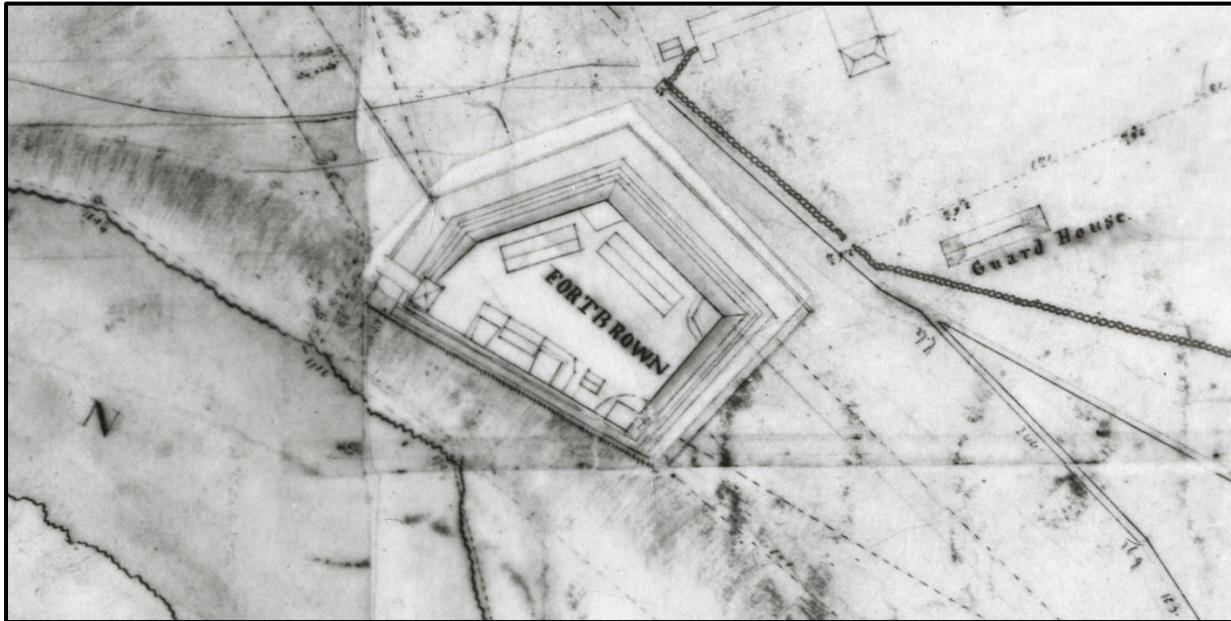


Figure 19: Fort Brown Interior Close-up From Plan of Forts & Batteries at Plattsburgh 1816. Map. From SUNY Plattsburgh Special Collections (Copied from National Archives Record Group no. 77, Civil works. Map file drawer 142), PAM 173/5 Sheet 2 of 4.

as it was in 1816. There are 4 maps within this particular collection and the images show the inclusion of Forts Gains and Tomkins, built after the Battle of Plattsburgh. These maps show some kind of measurements though these details are difficult to decipher.

One final obstacle to consider besides the fort and batteries would have been the breastwork constructed from the bridge planks lifted from the upper bridge by retreating American forces. This breastwork, visible in Figure 17 and Figure 18 on the south side of the Saranac River, was built during skirmishing to provide cover for the retreating American troops. A breastwork was built in the same manner at the lower bridge.

### **Cover and Concealment**

Similar to the Obstacles mentioned above, cover and concealment for American troops during the Battle of Plattsburgh in proximity to Fort Brown consisted of the fort itself, the breastwork built from planks of the upper bridge, and blockhouses. On the British side,

Cover and Concealment within range of Fort Brown would have been the three batteries established across the Saranac River from the American fort. Several historic maps show these British works described as a rocket battery, a bomb battery, and battery with three guns and one howitzer (See Figure 17 and Figure 18).

### **Observation and Fields of Fire**

The viewshed from Fort Brown is the most important consideration for this analysis as this will inform public interpretation on site in the future. Observations and fields of fire from Fort Brown are most clearly shown overhead in Figure 17 and Figure 18.

Determining what would have been visible from the fort is a bit more difficult. Current conditions prevent line of site as tree growth and urban development have changed the surroundings. However, personal accounts can give clues to what would have been visible or what was seen during the battle. Figure 16 gives some indication of what the view from the remains of Fort Brown looked like in the 1860s. Smoke would have been clearly visible from any area that was firing weaponry, showing some kind of proximity of action even if features may not have had line-of-sight visibility.

The main Field of Fire in this area occurred between Fort Brown and the British Batteries across the Saranac River. These features would have been visible from the American earthworks and were certainly in range of the available weaponry. Figure 17 provides the best imagery for Fields of Fire in this area with a depiction of actual lines of fire.

Observation of the enemy leading up to this battle was provided mainly by scouting and the passing or intercepting of letters between generals. Observation of the enemy from the earthworks themselves was clearly used as well, though only after the British pushed into the town of Plattsburgh beginning on September 6, 1814. Certainly, observation from Fort Brown helped in M'Glassin's raid on the British batteries across the Saranac prior to the Battle of Plattsburgh.

### **Avenues of Approach and Retreat**

Previously established roads in the town of Plattsburgh were used by the huge British columns marching south into the town. Historical accounts mention efforts on the American side of hiding or obstructing many roads in order to slow the approach of British soldiers. Obstructions like these could account for the British becoming lost when trying to cross the Saranac further up river.

## **FIELD INVESTIGATION**

In December of 2018, a field visit to Fort Brown was conducted. Time was spent investigating historic viewsheds sketched in the 1860s and photographs taken of the ruins in the 1970s. The surrounding areas across the Saranac River within the viewshed from Fort Brown were also investigated with the use of historic maps of battlefield structures and topographic features. The following sections describe this site visit and

the data collected by the non-invasive investigation of the archaeologically sensitive areas of the Fort Brown site.

### **Current Site Conditions**

The site visit to Fort Brown was carried out in the winter (December) of 2018 in order to give the best chance of seeing through the thick foliage between the fort remains and the Saranac River. There was some snow cover over the site but features of the earthworks were visible.

### **Viewshed Analysis**

Benson J. Lossing's *The Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812* provides sketched images of the ruins of Fort Brown from the 1860s. Figure 16 shows the viewshed from the ruins of Fort Brown looking up the Saranac River. An approximate view was photographed during the field visit from the west front of the ramparts of Fort Brown looking upstream of the Saranac River toward where the 'upper bridge' would have been facing west, northwest. This view from the 2018 field visit can be seen in Figure 20. From the same position, a photograph was taken looking downstream of the Saranac River. This image can be seen in Figure 21.

Although the present day conditions block much of the viewshed from the Fort Brown ruins with tree growth and foliage, it may still be of value to the public to show comparisons of the viewshed from the historic imagery to the present day conditions. Another image provided by Lossing shows the ruins of Fort Brown from the east looking west with the Saranac River and the city of Plattsburgh visible behind the fort. This image can be seen in Figure 22. Because of a present-day fence to the east of Route 9, and the historic building behind the fence, it was not possible to take a photograph from the same vantage point but Figure 23 shows a view from a more northeast perspective showing the height of the fort ruins in present conditions. The vantage point of the Lossing image in Figure 22 would have been from behind the present day fence and buildings on the far left of Figure 23, facing west.



*Figure 20: View from West Front of Ramparts of Fort Brown Looking Upstream of Saranac River, Facing West, Northwest*



*Figure 21: View from West Front of Ramparts of Fort Brown Looking Downstream of Saranac River, Facing Northeast*

Images compared with the 1978 Nomination Form for the National Register of Historic Places for Fort Brown were consistent with present day conditions, showing that not much

has changed at the site in the last 40 years apart from the growth of trees and the addition of historic markers.

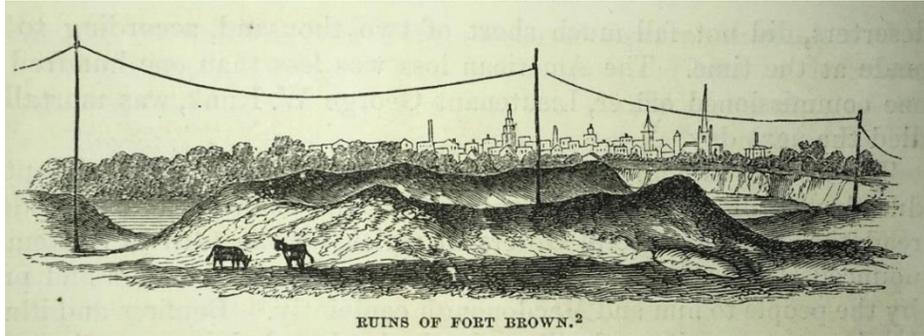


Figure 22: Sketch by Lossing of the Ruins of Fort Brown looking East to West.



Figure 23: Present Day View of Fort Brown Ruins from Northeast, Facing Southwest

## Conclusion and Recommendations For Fort Brown

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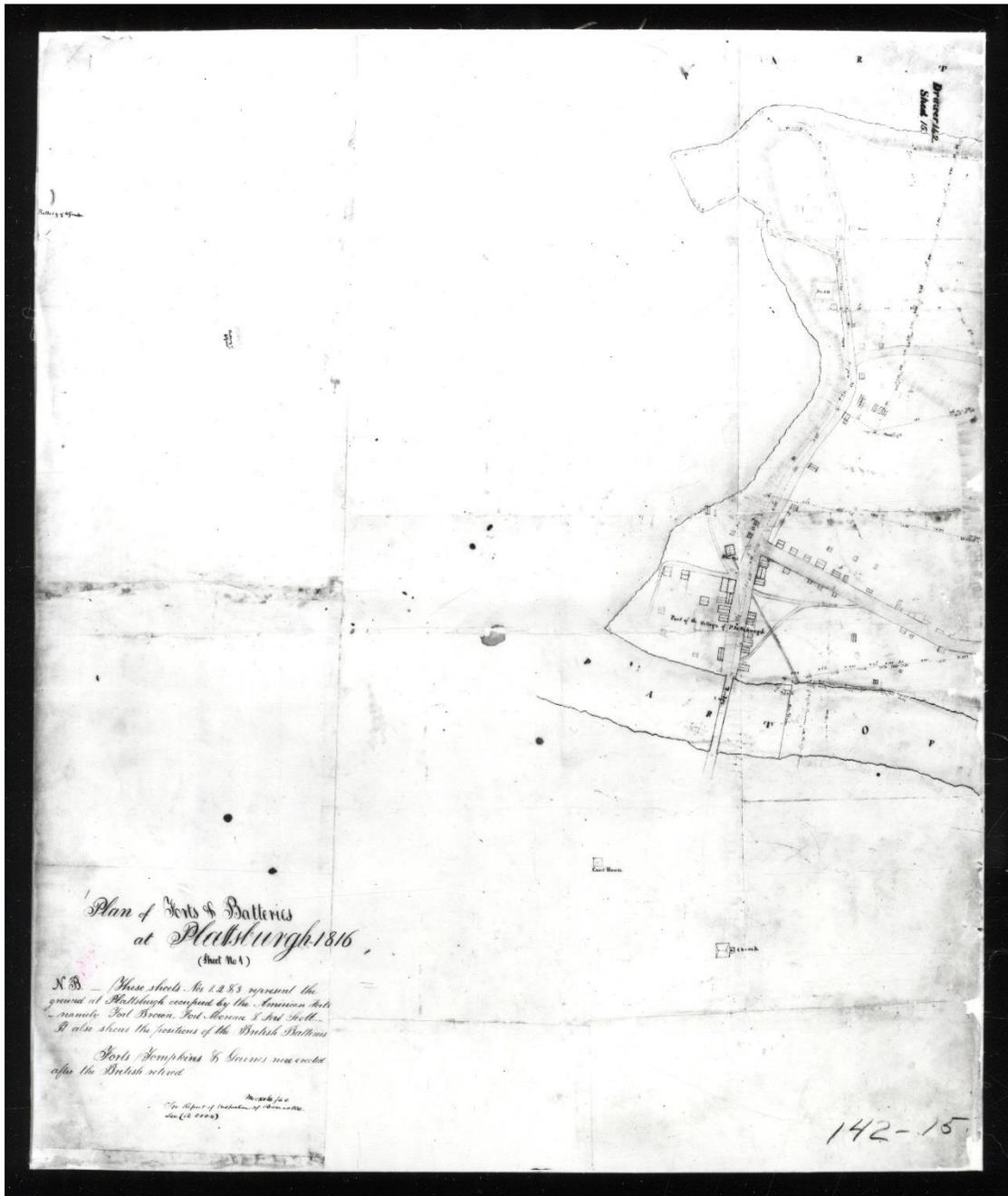
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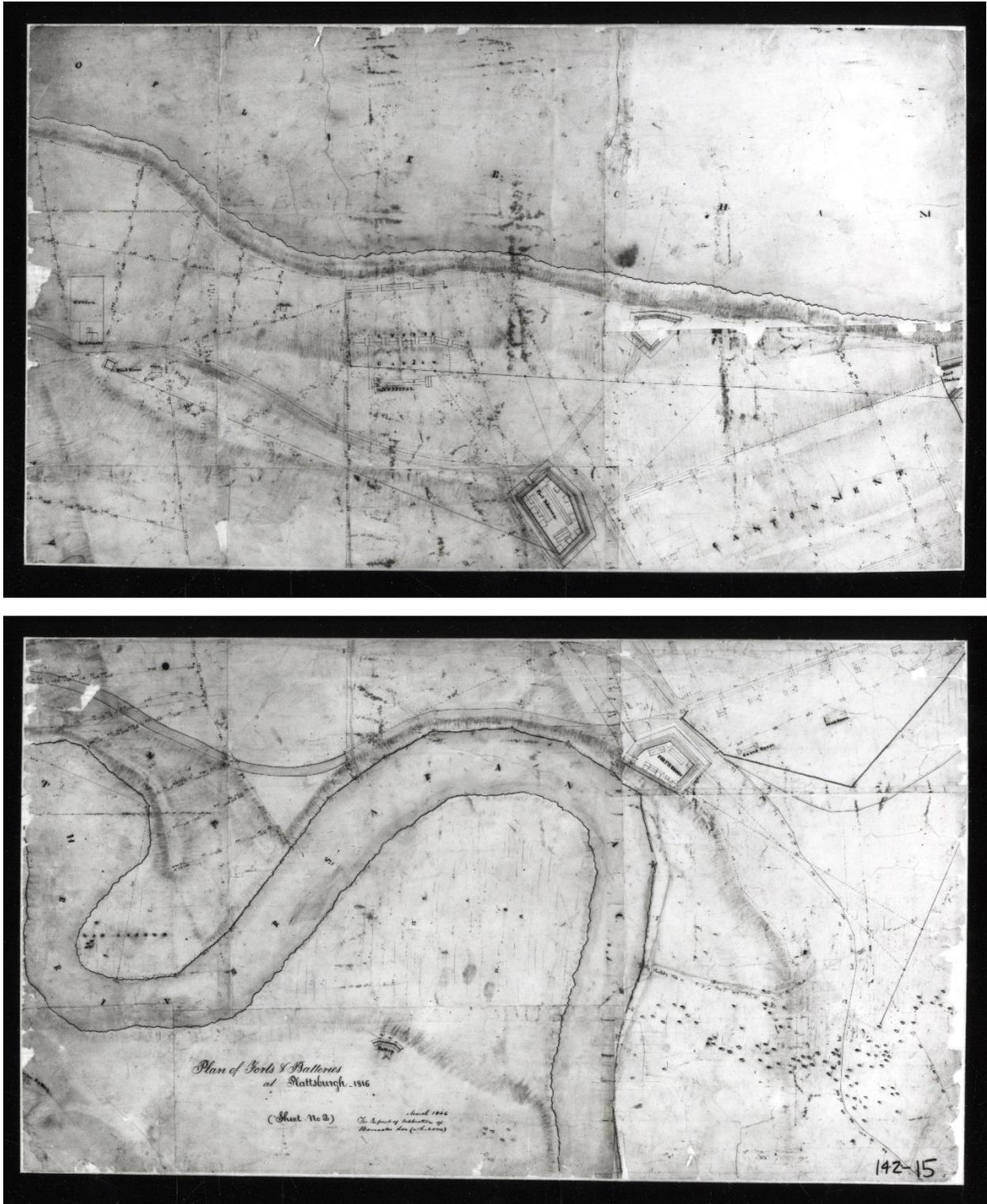
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## Appendix A



Appendix A 1: Plan of Forts & Batteries at Plattsburgh 1816. Map From SUNY Plattsburgh Special Collections (Copied from National Archives Record Group no. 77, Civil works. Map file drawer 142), PAM 173/5. Labeled Sheet 1 of 3.

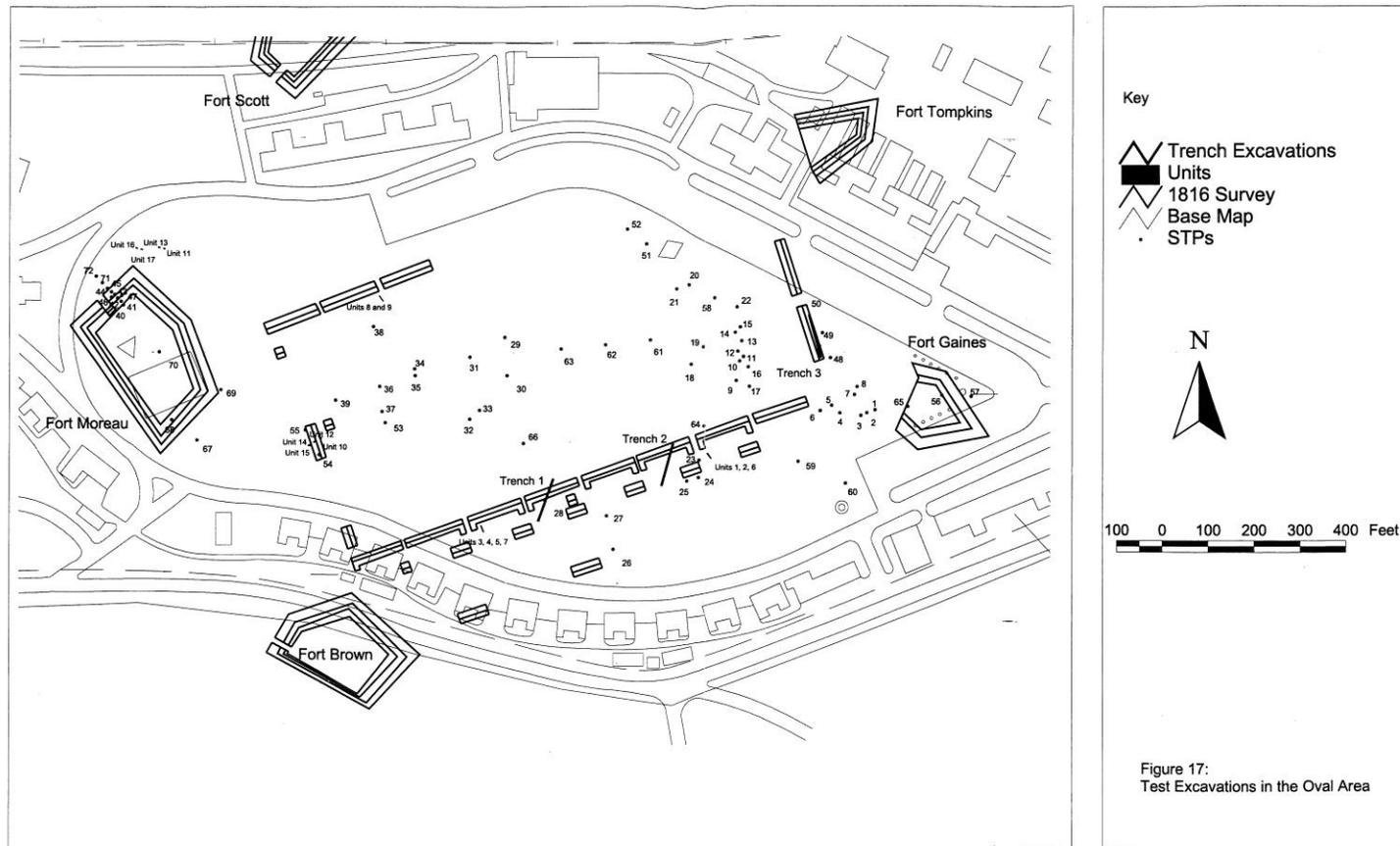


Appendix A 2: Plan of Forts & Batteries at Plattsburgh 1816. Map. From SUNY Plattsburgh Special Collections (Copied from National Archives Record Group no. 77, Civil works. Map file drawer 142), PAM 173/5. Labeled Sheet 2 of 4.in two sections



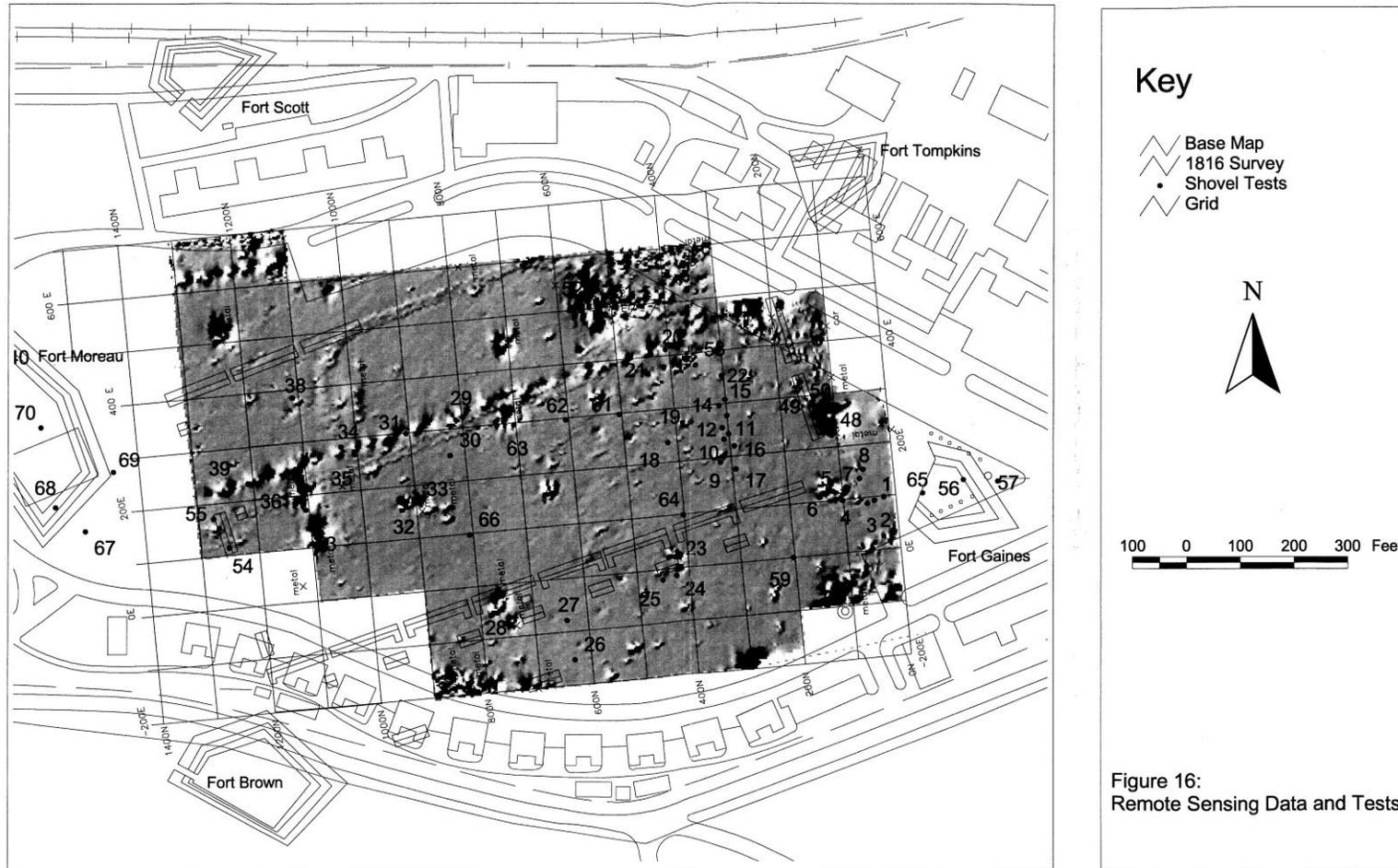
Appendix A 3: Plan of Forts & Batteries at Plattsburgh 1816. Map. From SUNY Plattsburgh Special Collections (Copied from National Archives Record Group no. 77, Civil works. Map file drawer 142), PAM 173/5. Labeled 3 of 4

## Appendix B



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Appendix B 1: Map from, 'Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base, Clinton County, New York,' Showing Tested Areas Across on Overlay Map. Created by Julie A. Morgan [1995:113]. From Department of the Army Construction Engineering Research Laboratories, Corps of Engineers for Plattsburgh Air Force Base



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Appendix B 2: Map From, 'Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air force Base, Clinton County, New York,' Showing Magnetometer Readings Across Overlay Map. Created By Julie A. Morgan [1995: 111]. From Department of the Army Construction Engineering Research Laboratories, Corps of Engineers for Plattsburgh Air Force Base

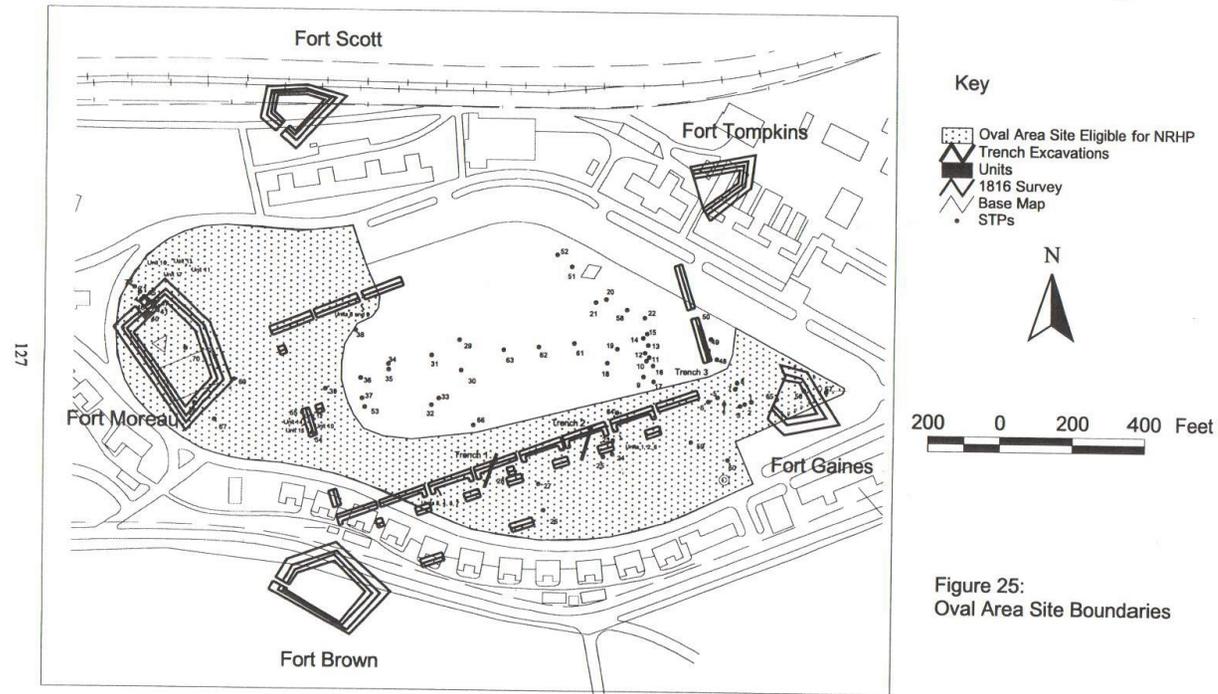


Figure 25:  
Oval Area Site Boundaries

Appendix B 3: Map from, 'Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base, Clinton County, New York,' Showing Area Deemed Eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Created by Julie A. Morgan [1995:127]. From Department of the Army Construction Engineer

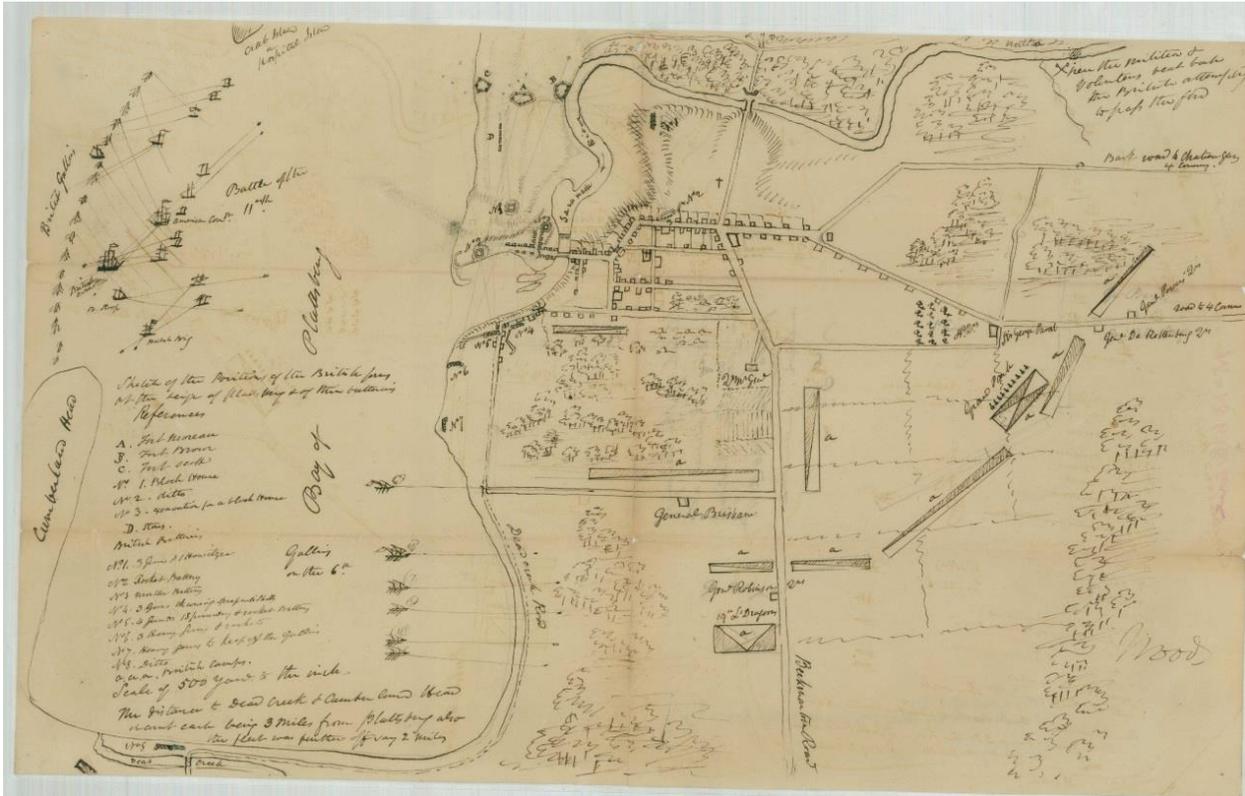


## Appendix C

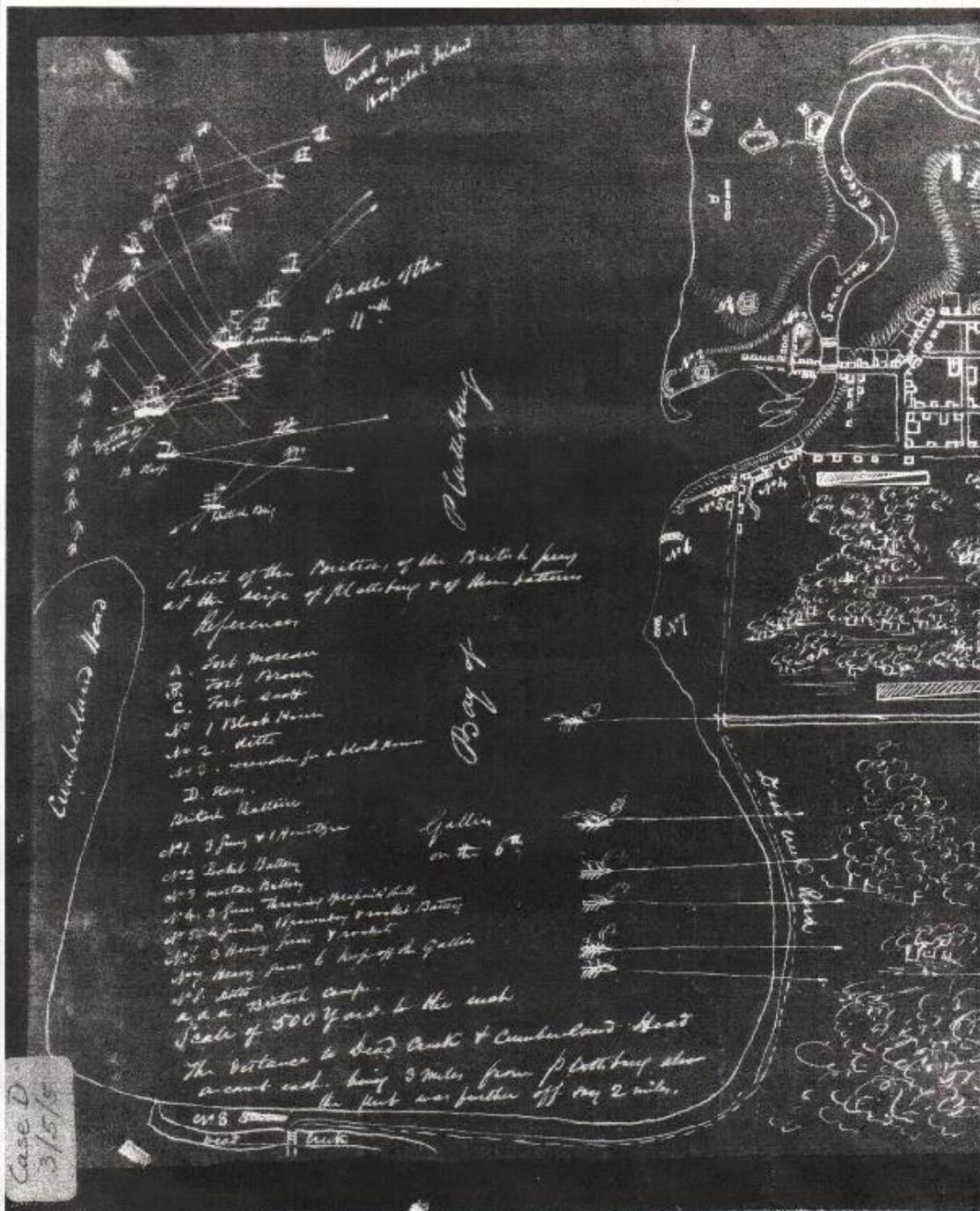


Appendix C 1: Plan of the siege of Plattsburg and capture of the British fleet on Lake Champlain the 11th Sept. 1814: to accompany B. Tanner's print of Macdonough's victory. Map. S.I: s.n., 1814. From Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division. 1 map: mounted on Linen; 25x 20cm, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3804p.ct006648/> (accessed November 20, 2018)

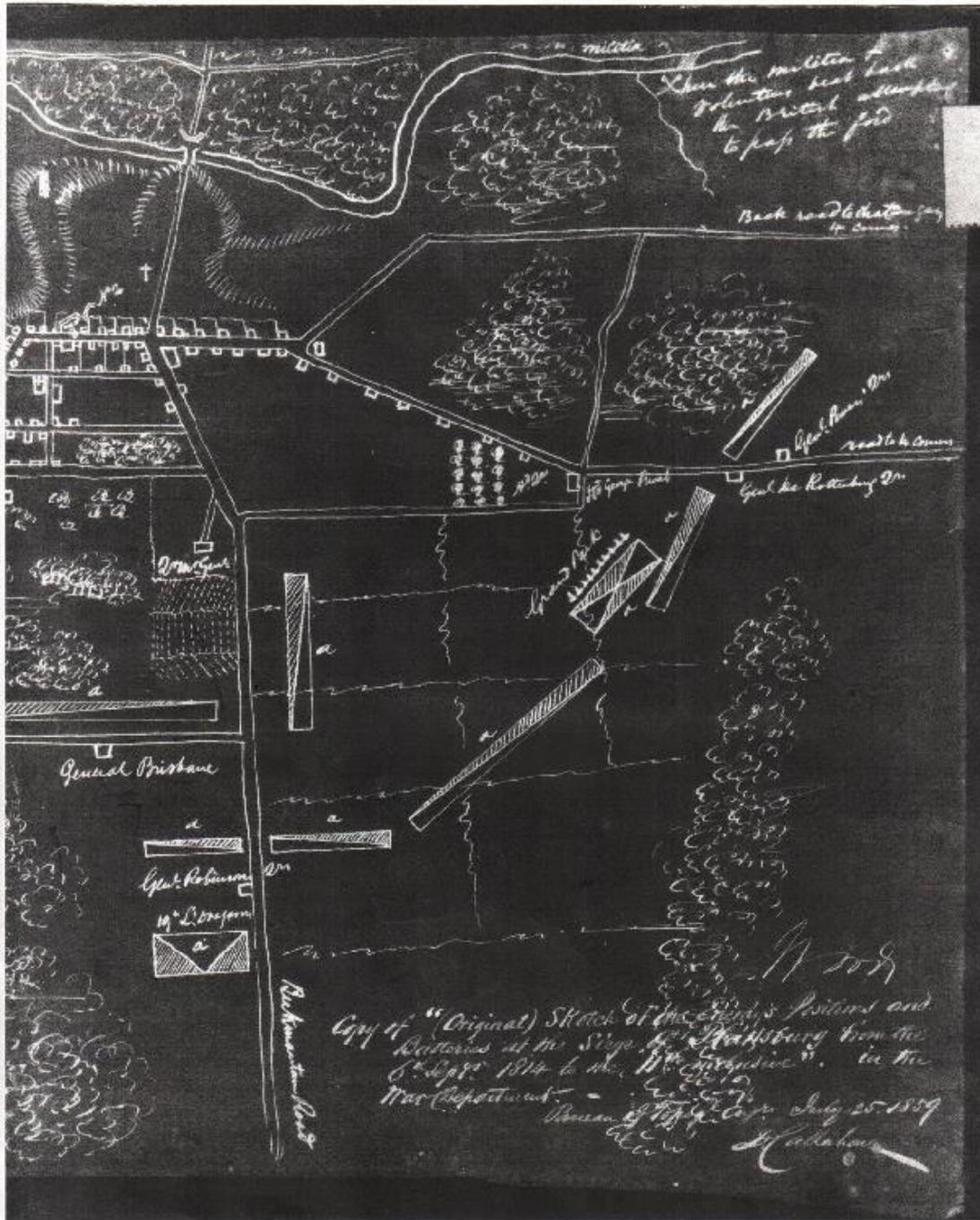
## Appendix D



Appendix D 1: Macomb's "Sketch of the Enemy Positions & Batteries at the Siege of Plattsburg from 6th, Sept. 1814 to the 11th Inclusive" Used with Permission from National Archives and Records Administration

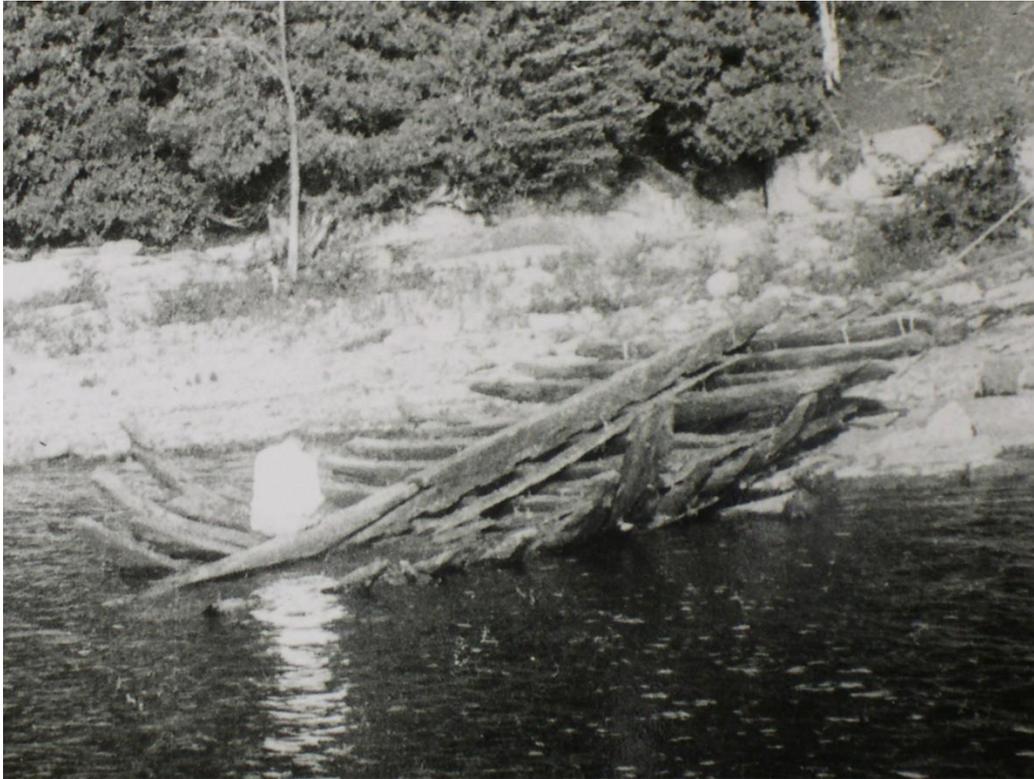


Appendix D 2: Copy of "(Original) Sketch of the Enemy's Positions and Batteries at the Siege of Plattsburg from the 6th. Sept. 1814 to the 11th Inclusive" in the War Department [Bureau of ? July 25, 1859 D. Callahan [?]. Map. SUNY Plattsburgh, Case D 3/5/5, Page 1



Appendix D 3: Copy of "(Original) Sketch of the Enemy's Positions and Batteries at the Siege of Plattsburg from the 6th. Sept. 1814 to the 11th Inclusive" in the War Department [Bureau of ? July 25, 1859 D. Callahan [?]. Map. SUNY Plattsburgh, Case D 3/5/5, Page 2

## **Appendix E**



*Appendix E 2: Historic Field Photograph 'A' Showing Hull of Royal Savage on Valcour Island. From LCMM Archives, Hagglund Collection*



*Appendix E 1: Historic Field Photograph 'B' Showing Hull of Royal Savage on Valcour Island. From Compressed Air Magazine*



*Appendix E 3: Historic Field Photograph 'C' Showing Hull of Royal Savage on Valcour Island. From LCMM Archives, Hagglund Collection*



*Appendix E 4: Historic Field Photograph 'D' Showing Hull of Royal Savage on Valcour Island. From LCMM Archives, Hagglund Collection*



*Appendix E 5: Historic Field Photograph 'E' Showing Hull of Royal Savage on Valcour Island. From LCMM Archives, Hagglund Collection*



*Appendix E 6: Historic Field Photograph 'F' Showing Hull of Royal Savage on Valcour Island. From LCMM Archives, Hagglund Collection*



*Appendix E 7: Historic Field Photograph 'G' Showing Hull of Royal Savage on Valcour Island. From LCMM Archives, Hagglund Collection*

## Appendix F

### 5 Seton Stone House N44 36.529 W73 25.380

This camp and the lighthouse are the only two remaining buildings on the island. Harvard paleontologist Henry Seton built this home in 1929 on his 129 acres of land. The empty building is closed to the public for safety reasons and to prevent vandalism.



The Seton Stone House

### 6 Nomad Monument N44 37.081 W73 24.566

This small monument is a memorial to Canadian Lt. Col. Gerald W. Birks (1872-1950) who visited Valcour Island often on his yacht, the Nomad, which was crewed by high school and college students. During World War One, Birks and some of his crewmen traveled to fight in Europe where four of his companions died. A generation later, five of his crewmen were killed in World War Two. The monument marks the fallen crewmen's and Birks' lives.



The Nomad Monument

### 1 Bluff Point Lighthouse N44 37.367 W73 25.871

Built in 1874, the lighthouse operated for 57 years before being replaced by an automated light on a steel tower. In 2004, the lighthouse returned to service and is listed on the State and National Registers of Historic Places. Oil powered the original light. Look for the old oil shed foundation behind the lighthouse.



Former Keeper Mary Herwerth.

Special thanks to Dr. Otto Raboff for granting a conservation easement to the Clinton County Historical Association (CCHA) for the lighthouse, insuring that the property and its history be preserved for future generations. For more in-depth information about the lighthouse, watch short videos on the Hometown Cable Video Gallery website [www.hometowncable.net-work.com](http://www.hometowncable.net-work.com). Guided tours of the lighthouse are offered during the summer on Sundays from 1-3 p.m. [www.historiclakes.org/Valcour/bluff\\_point.htm](http://www.historiclakes.org/Valcour/bluff_point.htm)

### Raboff Great Camp N44 37.269 W73 25.861

Heading south from the lighthouse, you'll find the remains of Dr. Otto Raboff's Great Camp near campsite #25. Raboff, of Middleboro, MA, held the title to this property for almost 30 years before the State of New York acquired it. Follow the trail east and look for the remains of a guest house, the ice house, and one of the camp's docks, which is located next to Campsite #26. The dock might be submerged if the lake is high.



The Raboff Great Camp

## Trip Tips

The best way to visit the sites is by using a handheld GPS, or a GPS-enabled smart phone using the map and GPS waypoints in this guide. You can also follow the trail descriptions. Before you begin, please remember these simple rules:

- **Pack it in, pack it out.** Valcour Island is owned by New York State and lies within the Adirondack Park, so please pack out anything you bring in so others may enjoy the Island as much as you did.
- **Respect privacy.** Many campsites are located near the historic sites. If you find a campsite occupied, please respect the campers' privacy.
- **Take only photos.** Please do not remove anything from the sites. We would like to be able to share these historic sites with future generations. A camera is a great means of recording your Journey while leaving intact, the sites for others to visit.
- **Look out for Poison Ivy!** If you know what to look for, poison Ivy is easy to identify: (1) Shiny, smooth leaves grouped in threes; (2) Smooth-edged, shiny leaves with no serrated (or sawtooth) edges with small "lobes" along the edges; (3) Reddish branches.



This guide was created by Kevin Kelley, inspired and supported by the research of Roger Harwood in conjunction with the Clinton County Historical Association.

If you have any information or questions about the island please contact the Clinton County Historical Association at 98 Ohio Ave, Plattsburgh, NY 12903 (518) 561-0340 [director@clintoncountyhistorical.org](mailto:director@clintoncountyhistorical.org)

# VALCOUR ISLAND HERITAGE TRAIL

A guide to the  
Historic 20th Century Camps  
on Valcour Island








The history of Valcour Island reflects the history of Lake Champlain. First documented by Samuel de Champlain in 1609, the island was part of New France until 1763. The French named it Isle de Valcour, or Island of Pines. One of the most important naval battles of the American Revolution raged on the waters between the island and the mainland. In 1776, Benedict Arnold led a flotilla of American gunboats that stopped a British invasion fleet from dividing New England from the other newly created states.

Valcour Island was witness to the War of 1812 Battle of Plattsburgh on September 11, 1814, but remained a quiet place for most of the 19th century. Records indicate that the island was parceled into three sections by 1849 and used for grazing and cultivation. By 1870, Orren Shipman of Colchester, Vermont, had purchased the titles of two parcels. He sold a portion of Bluff Point, on the western side of the island to the federal government for a lighthouse, which was constructed in 1874. That year, Shipman also sold property to the Dawn Valcour Agricultural and Horticultural Association, a utopian community that failed.

Lake Champlain's cool breezes made Valcour a popular place for escaping the heat of the cities in the early 20th century. Camp Penn, a summer camp for boys, operated on the island from 1906 to 1918. By the 1920s, cottages and cabins ringed the island. For the next few generations, dozens of families vacationed here.

The State of New York began buying camp properties on Valcour in the early 1960s with the intent of establishing a park. Early plans included public beaches, marinas, picnic areas, an 18-hole golf course and a giant movie screen for boaters to watch conservation films. The New York State Department of Environmental Conservation (NYSDEC) owned the 1,100-acre island entirely in 1980 and local activists worked to get it included within the Adirondack Park "blue line," which prevented the proposed park developments.

Of the numerous buildings that existed on the Valcour Island, only the lighthouse and the Seton House remain. This guide will help you visit the locations of those long-gone structures and envision what life on the island was like. The NYSDEC maintains trails and campsites along the perimeter of the island, so the hiking is relatively easy.

**3 The Gill Farm**  
N44 37.205 W73 25.423

Little remains of this large farm except for a well and the foundations of a house and barns. Look for the remains of an old truck, which was probably used to deliver milk to Camp Penn. The boys at Camp Penn worked on the farm when the camp operated in the early 1900s.

**CAUTION:** the well hole may be hidden in the grass. Proceed with care!

**INDIAN POINT**  
During early days of the American Revolution, General Benedict Arnold prepared for a major British invasion down Lake Champlain by building a fleet of small gunboats in Whitehall, New York. Arnold's fleet met a larger, better armed British force here on Valcour Bay on October 11, 1776. If you were standing here that day, you'd see a line of small American boats firing cannon at British vessels struggling against a strong headwind. The Americans, battered by the superior firepower of the British, made a dramatic escape that same night. Several American vessels were lost, including the gunboat Philadelphia, which was raised nearby in 1935. The vessel now resides in the National Museum of American History in Washington, D.C.

The heroic actions of General Arnold and his men delayed the British from reaching the Hudson Valley in 1776, giving the Americans more time to prepare for the strategic victory in Saratoga in 1777. To learn more about this battle visit:  
[http://www.historiclakes.org/Valcour/valcour\\_battle.htm](http://www.historiclakes.org/Valcour/valcour_battle.htm)

**4 Camp Penn/Shuttleworth Cottage**  
N44 37.043 W73 25.506

As you explore the site of Camp Penn, an early 20<sup>th</sup> century boys camp, look for signs of the dining hall and milk cooler to the east (N44 37.020 W73 25.413) and the Camp Penn Commons Building to the south (N44 37.990 W73 25.415)



Camp Penn Commons



**7 Brown Ledge Organization**  
N44 37.286 W73 24.323

A small girls' camp was located in the general vicinity of Tiger Point. Brown Ledge, established in 1926, is now located in Vermont and its campers continue to have overnight stays on Valcour Island.

**Hudson, Moore & Yager Camps**  
N44 37.498 W73 24.348

Only the chimney (N44 37.507 W73 24.386) and an old dock (N44 37.540 W73 24.363) remain. The chimney was built around 1900 by local geologist Dr. George Hudson. Interested in photography, Hudson operated a dark room from one of the small caves facing Paradise Bay.

Look for the Hudson Cave (N44 37.600 W73 24.313) from the dock. Hudson Hall at SUNY Plattsburgh is also named for him. The property was later owned by Father Robert Edward Moore who had the largest of the camps (N44 37.496 W73 24.357) on the east side of the island. On Sundays, boaters would receive the Sunday sermon on Father Moore's terrace. M.H. "Doc" Yager purchased the property upon the Monsignor's death and eventually sold to New York State.



Father Moore Camp

**9 Hitchcock Camp**  
N44 37.993 W73 24.721

This is the general location of the Hitchcock/Trombley Camp located near the campsites at Beauty Bay.



The Hitchcock Trombley Camp

**10 Charles Kilbourne Camp**  
N44 38.188 W73 24.990

Charles Kilbourne was a physical education teacher at Plattsburgh High School and activities director at the YMCA in the 1920s. In 1959, Harney Davey, son of Rita Davey, acquired the camp and dock on the North Point. He spent the next few years repairing them before selling to New York State.



The Kilbourne Camp at North Point

### 11 Harney Camp

N44 38.144 W73 25.170

This is the approximate location of the camp of Thomas Harney and his sister Rita Davey which burned in August 1956. Little remains although parts of a stove, bedsprings, and other metallic objects indicate there was once a structure here. This was part of the Harney Farm property.

### 12 Harney Farmhouse

N44 37.860 W73 25.470

The Harney family owned about 600 acres on the north end of the island. Sometimes referred to as the Pioneer Farm, you can find old farm implements, including a hay baler and a loader. Look for the foundations of the house and barns, along with the well and dock.

**Caution:** The well is near the barn foundations. Proceed with care!



Virginia Upton and her family rented the Harney Farm

### DAWN COMMUNITY HOUSE (N44 37.885 W73 25.434)

Located on the former Harney property was the controversial Dawn Valcour Agricultural and Horticultural Association. Colonel John Wilcox, the founder of the utopian experiment, attempted to create a commune here based on the concepts of spiritualism and free love during the summer of 1874. His short-lived dream, with only a few active members, was confined to a small one-room structure. That fall, the Dawn Community succumbed to financial challenges, legal issues and the coming winter. All that remains is a partial foundation of their building.

### 13 Washbourne Camps

N44 37.946 W73 25.521

The Washbournes bought a small amount of property from the Harney family. Robert, Lynn, and their father John Washbourne all had camps on this scenic point.



The Washbourne compound

### 14 Grant Camps

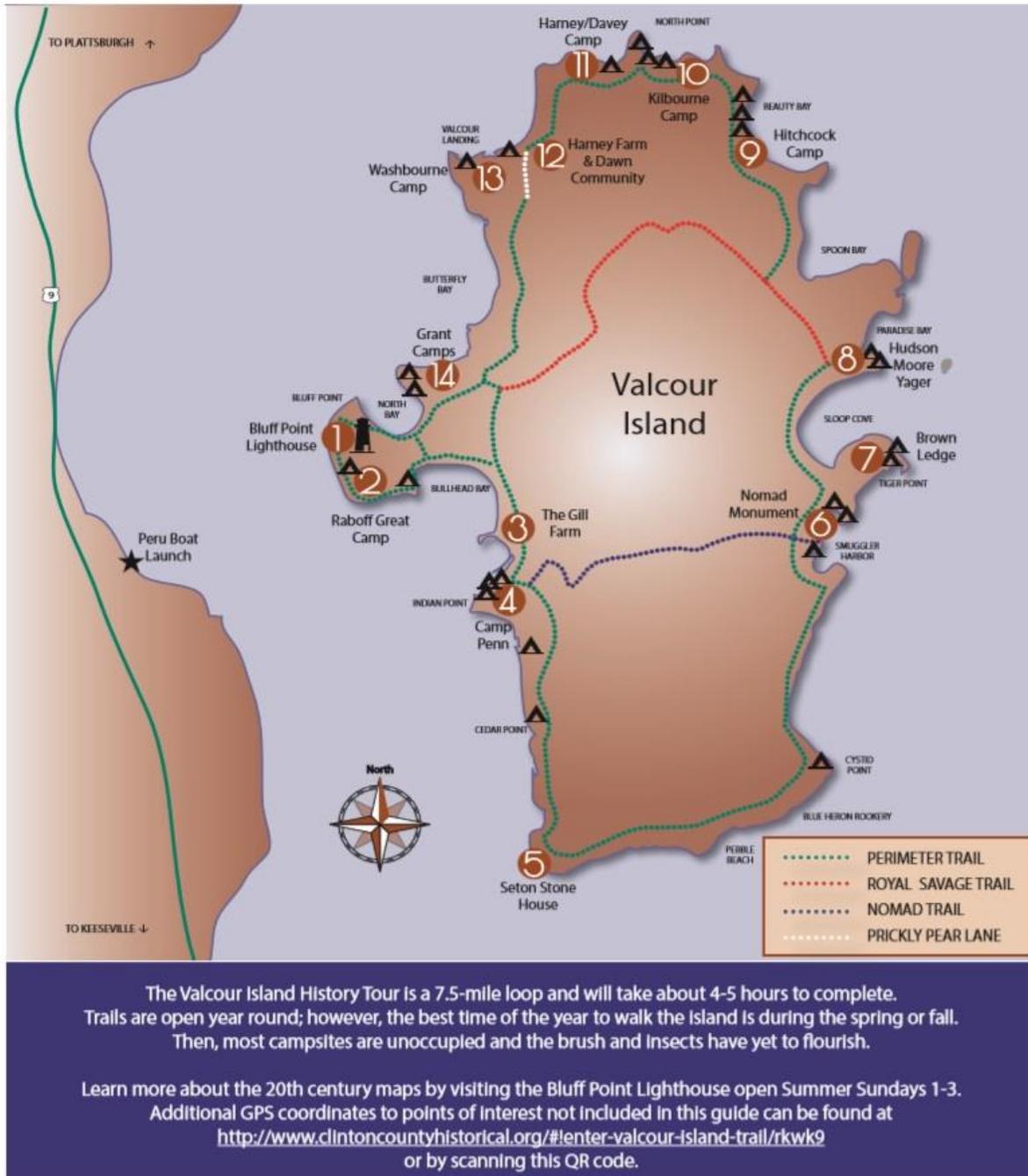
N44 37.547 W73 25.692

Look for the footers that once supported the camps owned by Ken Grant



and his son John.

The Ken Grant Camp



Appendix F 5: Valcour Island Heritage Trail Brochure 5 of 5

## **End Notes**

<sup>1</sup> Arthur B. Cohn et al., *Valcour Bay Research Project: 1999-2004 Results from the Archaeological Investigation of a Revolutionary War Battlefield in Lake Champlain, Clinton County, New York*. (Vergennes, VT: Lake Champlain Maritime Museum, 2007), 23.

<sup>2</sup> Cohn, Arthur B., *Valcour Bay Research Project*, 23-29.

<sup>3</sup> Cohn, Arthur B., *Valcour Bay Research Project*, 29.

<sup>4</sup> Colonel David G. Fitz-Enz, *The Final Invasion: Plattsburgh, the War of 1812's Most Decisive Battle* (New York: First Cooper Square Press, 2001), 42-44.

<sup>5</sup> Fitz-Enz, *The Final Invasion*, 47-49.

<sup>6</sup> Sara R. Brigadier and Adam I. Kane. *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*. (Vergennes, VT: Lake Champlain Maritime Museum, 2003), 50.

<sup>7</sup> Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 50.

<sup>8</sup> Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 51.

<sup>9</sup> Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 51-52.

<sup>10</sup> Fitz-Enz, *The Final Invasion*, 128-129.

<sup>11</sup> Russell P. Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains: A Maritime and Military History of Lake George and Lake Champlain, Revised Edition*, (New York: 2001), 223.; Fitz-Enz, *The Final Invasion*, 157-160; Keith A. Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh: September 11, 1814*, (Charleston: The History Press, 2012), 110-111; Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 50-53.

<sup>12</sup> Prevost, George. *From PRO London Adm 1/5450, 199, Sept. 10, 1814, "Head Quarters Platsburg."* Letter. Plattsburgh: September 10, 1814. From SUNY Plattsburgh Special Collections, *David Curtis Skaggs Commodore Thomas Macdonough Research Collection 6/94/3*; Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh.*, 101; Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 219.

<sup>13</sup> Macomb, Alexander. *"Head Quarters, Plattsburg, Sept 15<sup>th</sup> 1814"*. Letter. Plattsburgh. September 15, 1814. From SUNY Plattsburgh Special Collections, *Alexander Macomb Letters Collection .5 Sep. 15, 1814 7 Items, 64.2 1/5*; Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 218, 224.

<sup>14</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 224-225; Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 102.

<sup>15</sup> Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 101; Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 224.

<sup>16</sup> Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 115-120; William Wood, *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812, Volume 3 Part 1*, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1926), SWODA: Windsor & Region Publications, <https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/swoda-windsor-region/37>, 205-207.

<sup>17</sup> Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 115-120.

<sup>18</sup> Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 121-122.

<sup>19</sup> Greenwood, Richard. "Valcour Bay." National Register of Historic Places Inventory/ Nomination Form, Valcour Bay, Plattsburgh, Clinton County, New York. Filed Date December 12, 1975, Accepted Date April 24, 1979, Historic Sites Survey, Washington, D.C. Site National Register Listed Date October 15, 1966.

<sup>20</sup> Garofalini, Linda M. "Valcour Island Lighthouse, Bluff Point Lighthouse." National Register of Historic Places/ Registration Form, Valcour Island Lighthouse, Peru, Clinton County, New York. Filed Date July 7, 1993, Accepted Date July, 20, 1993, NYS Office of Parks, Rec. & Historic Preservation, Waterford, NY. Site National Register Listed Date August 26, 1993; New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation. Cultural Resource Information System. New York State Office of Information Technology Services. <https://cris.parks.ny.gov/Login.aspx?ReturnUrl=%2f>.

<sup>21</sup> New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation. Cultural Resource Information System. New York State Office of Information Technology Services. <https://cris.parks.ny.gov/Login.aspx?ReturnUrl=%2f>.

<sup>22</sup> Garofalini, Linda M. "Valcour Island Lighthouse, Bluff Point Lighthouse." National Register of Historic Places/ Registration Form, Valcour Island Lighthouse, Peru, Clinton County, New York. Filed Date July 7, 1993, Accepted Date July, 20, 1993, NYS Office of Parks, Rec. & Historic Preservation, Waterford, NY. Site National Register Listed Date August 26, 1993.

<sup>23</sup> New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation. Cultural Resource Information System. New York State Office of Information Technology Services. <https://cris.parks.ny.gov/Login.aspx?ReturnUrl=%2f>.

- <sup>24</sup> New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation. Cultural Resource Information System. New York State Office of Information Technology Services. <https://cris.parks.ny.gov/Login.aspx?ReturnUrl=%2f>.
- <sup>25</sup> Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 92.
- <sup>26</sup> Adirondack Park. New York State Prehistoric Archaeological Site Inventory Form. Site Identifier A019-11-0011, NYSM 3090, HAA 56-1, CLTN-23. Clinton County, Peru Township, Valcour Island, New York. Filed February 15, 1985; Personal communication with senior researcher and project manager from Hartgen Archaeological Associates Inc., staff from NYS SHPO, and staff from the NYSM, 2019.
- <sup>27</sup> Personal communication with NYSM staff, 2019.
- <sup>28</sup> Arthur C. Parker, "The Archaeological History of New York Part 2: VI Archaeological Localities of the State of New York," *New York State Museum Bulletin*, Nos. 237-238 (The University of the State of New York: September-October 1920):543-545, <http://nysl.cloudapp.net/awweb/main.jsp?flag=browse&smd=1&awdid=2>.
- <sup>29</sup> Adirondack Park. New York State Prehistoric Archaeological Site Inventory Form. Site Identifier A019-11-0011, NYSM 3090, HAA 56-1, CLTN-23. Clinton County, Peru Township, Valcour Island, New York. Filed February 15, 1985; Parker, "The Archaeological History of New York Part 2," 543-545; Personal communication with NYSM staff, 2019.
- <sup>30</sup> New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation. Cultural Resource Information System. New York State Office of Information Technology Services. <https://cris.parks.ny.gov/Login.aspx?ReturnUrl=%2f>; New York State Department of Environmental Conservation. Lake Champlain Islands Management Complex Draft Unit Management Plan. Ray Brook, New York. August 2015.
- <sup>31</sup> Carrigan R. Miller, "Reconsidering the Royal Savage" (Master's thesis, Texas A&M University, 2018), 33.
- <sup>32</sup> Miller, "Reconsidering the Royal Savage," 34.
- <sup>33</sup> Miller, "Reconsidering the Royal Savage," Chapter III.
- <sup>34</sup> Miller, "Reconsidering the Royal Savage, 58-59.
- <sup>35</sup> Jonathan Crise, Ben Ford, and George Schwarz, "From Ship to Kindling to Ship: The Digital Reconstruction of the Royal Savage Timber Assemblage," in *New Life for Archaeological Collections*, ed. Rebecca Allen and Ben Ford (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press and the Society for Historical Archaeology, 2019), 245-271; Miller, "Reconsidering the Royal Savage," 87-88.
- <sup>36</sup> Cohn, Arthur B., *Valcour Bay Research Project*, ii.
- <sup>37</sup> Ashton, Charles H. and Richard W. Hunter. "Plattsburgh Bay National Historic Landmark." National Register of Historic Places Inventory/ Nomination Form, Cumberland Bay and two sites in Plattsburgh, Clinton County, New York. Filed Date October 1983, Accepted Date June 11, 1984, Heritage Studies, Inc., Princeton, N.J. Site National Register Listed Date October 15, 1966.
- <sup>38</sup> New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation. Cultural Resource Information System. New York State Office of Information Technology Services. <https://cris.parks.ny.gov/Login.aspx?ReturnUrl=%2f>.
- <sup>39</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 225-226; Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 54; Allan S. Everest, *Recollections of Clinton County and the Battle of Plattsburgh, 1800-1840: Memoirs of Early Residents from the Notebooks of Dr. D. S. Kellogg*, (Plattsburgh: Clinton County Historical Association, 1964), 48-50; Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 124; James P. Millard, *The Secrets of Crab Island*, (South Hero: Americas Historic Lakes, 2004).
- <sup>40</sup> Everest, *Recollections of Clinton County and the Battle of Plattsburgh*, 49.
- <sup>41</sup> Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 11, 124-125; Millard, *The Secrets of Crab Island*, 40. Porter, *Plattsburgh 1785-1815-1902*, 115.
- <sup>42</sup> Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 58-59.
- <sup>43</sup> Ashton, Charles H. and Richard W. Hunter. "Plattsburgh Bay National Historic Landmark." National Register of Historic Places Inventory/ Nomination Form, Cumberland Bay and two sites in Plattsburgh, Clinton County, New York. Filed Date October 1983, Accepted Date June 11, 1984, Heritage Studies, Inc., Princeton, N.J. Site National Register Listed Date October 15, 1966.
- <sup>44</sup> Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 59.
- <sup>45</sup> Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 59.
- <sup>46</sup> Personal Communication NYS DEC Senior Librarian, Agency Historic Preservation Officer, and NYS Parks and Recreation Archeological Unit Coordinator; New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation. Cultural Resource Information System. New York State Office of Information Technology Services. <https://cris.parks.ny.gov/Login.aspx?ReturnUrl=%2f>.

<sup>47</sup> Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 59.

<sup>48</sup> Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 60.

<sup>49</sup> Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 11; Personal communication Roger Harwood, John Rock, Keith Herkalo, 2019.

<sup>50</sup> United States Air Force, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base* (Brooks AFB, TX: Air Force Center for Environmental Excellence, 1998), 74.

<sup>51</sup> Allan S. Everest, *Briefly Told: Plattsburgh, New York, 1784-1984*, (Plattsburgh: Clinton County Historical Association, 1984), 40; Marjorie Lansing Porter, *Plattsburgh 1785-1815-1902: Plattsburgh Barracks Anniversary Edition 1814-1964*, (George Little Press, 1964), 117.

<sup>52</sup> : Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 54; Millard, *The Secrets of Crab Island*, 42.

<sup>53</sup> Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 53-57; Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 124-135.

<sup>54</sup> James Mann, *Medical Sketches of the Campaigns of 1812, 13, 14*, (Dedham, MA: Mann & Co., 1816), 268-269.

<sup>55</sup> Mann, *Medical Sketches of the Campaigns of 1812, 13, 14*, 145-147.

<sup>56</sup> Ashton, Charles H. and Richard W. Hunter. "Plattsburgh Bay National Historic Landmark." National Register of Historic Places Inventory/ Nomination Form, Cumberland Bay and two sites in Plattsburgh, Clinton County, New York. Filed Date October 1983, Accepted Date June 11, 1984, Heritage Studies, Inc., Princeton, N.J. Site National Register Listed Date October 15, 1966.

<sup>57</sup> Ashton, Charles H. and Richard W. Hunter. "Plattsburgh Bay National Historic Landmark." National Register of Historic Places Inventory/ Nomination Form, Cumberland Bay and two sites in Plattsburgh, Clinton County, New York. Filed Date October 1983, Accepted Date June 11, 1984, Heritage Studies, Inc., Princeton, N.J. Site National Register Listed Date October 15, 1966.

<sup>58</sup> Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 60.

<sup>59</sup> Ashton, Charles H. and Richard W. Hunter. "Plattsburgh Bay National Historic Landmark." National Register of Historic Places Inventory/ Nomination Form, Cumberland Bay and two sites in Plattsburgh, Clinton County, New York. Filed Date October 1983, Accepted Date June 11, 1984, Heritage Studies, Inc., Princeton, N.J. Site National Register Listed Date October 15, 1966.

<sup>60</sup> Ashton, Charles H. and Richard W. Hunter. "Plattsburgh Bay National Historic Landmark." National Register of Historic Places Inventory/ Nomination Form, Cumberland Bay and two sites in Plattsburgh, Clinton County, New York. Filed Date October 1983, Accepted Date June 11, 1984, Heritage Studies, Inc., Princeton, N.J. Site National Register Listed Date October 15, 1966.

<sup>61</sup> Florance, Charles A. "National Register of Historic Places Inventory/ Nomination Form, Fort Brown, Plattsburgh, Clinton County, New York. Filed Date May 1, 1978 Accepted Date December 15, 1978, Dept. of Parks and Rec., Div. of Historic Preservation, Albany, N.Y.

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<sup>66</sup> Morgan, *Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 101-113.

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- <sup>67</sup> USAF, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 73.
- <sup>68</sup> Ashton, Charles H. and Richard W. Hunter. "Plattsburgh Bay National Historic Landmark." National Register of Historic Places Inventory/ Nomination Form, Cumberland Bay and two sites in Plattsburgh, Clinton County, New York. Filed Date October 1983, Accepted Date June 11, 1984, Heritage Studies, Inc., Princeton, N.J. Site National Register Listed Date October 15, 1966.
- <sup>69</sup> USAF, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 80.
- <sup>70</sup> Ashton, Charles H. and Richard W. Hunter. "Plattsburgh Bay National Historic Landmark." National Register of Historic Places Inventory/ Nomination Form, Cumberland Bay and two sites in Plattsburgh, Clinton County, New York. Filed Date October 1983, Accepted Date June 11, 1984, Heritage Studies, Inc., Princeton, N.J. Site National Register Listed Date October 15, 1966.
- <sup>71</sup> Morgan, *Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 105.
- <sup>72</sup> USAF, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 95.
- <sup>73</sup> New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation. Cultural Resource Information System. New York State Office of Information Technology Services. <https://cris.parks.ny.gov/Login.aspx?ReturnUrl=%2f>.
- <sup>74</sup> Morgan, *Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 3.
- <sup>75</sup> Morgan, *Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 144; McIntyre, Rufus. *Letter of January 1<sup>st</sup> 1815 Cantonment, Plattsburgh N. York halfpast twelve on Sunday Morning Jany 1, 1815.*. From New York State Library, *Letters of Rufus McIntire (1813-1815)*. Ink on parchment. <http://www.nysl.nysed.gov/mssc/rufusmcintire/> (2018).
- <sup>76</sup> Morgan, *Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 101.
- <sup>77</sup> Morgan, *Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 105.
- <sup>78</sup> Morgan, *Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 104.
- <sup>79</sup> *Plan of Forts & Batteries at Plattsburgh 1816*. Map. From SUNY Plattsburgh Special Collections (Copied from National Archives Record Group no. 77, Civil works. Map file drawer 142), *PAM 173/5*. 4 Sheets (001-004).
- <sup>80</sup> *Plan of Forts & Batteries at Plattsburgh 1816*. Map. From SUNY Plattsburgh Special Collections (Copied from National Archives Record Group no. 77, Civil works. Map file drawer 142), *PAM 173/5*. 4 Sheets (001-004).
- <sup>81</sup> USAF, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 103.
- <sup>82</sup> USAF, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 80.
- <sup>83</sup> USAF, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 111, 113, 127.
- <sup>84</sup> USAF, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 83.
- <sup>85</sup> USAF, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 94.
- <sup>86</sup> Everest, *Briefly Told*, 40.
- <sup>87</sup> Morgan, *Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 105.
- <sup>88</sup> USAF, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 202.
- <sup>89</sup> Ashton, Charles H. and Richard W. Hunter. "Plattsburgh Bay National Historic Landmark." National Register of Historic Places Inventory/ Nomination Form, Cumberland Bay and two sites in Plattsburgh, Clinton County, New York. Filed Date October 1983, Accepted Date June 11, 1984, Heritage Studies, Inc., Princeton, N.J. Site National Register Listed Date October 15, 1966.
- <sup>90</sup> Morgan, *Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 105.
- <sup>91</sup> Morgan, *Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 3.
- <sup>92</sup> Morgan, *Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 105.
- <sup>93</sup> Morgan, *Archaeological Survey of Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 105.
- <sup>94</sup> National Park Service. *Battlefield Survey Manual*. Washington, D.C.: American Battlefield Protection Program, 2016.
- <sup>95</sup> Henry Steele Commager and Richard B. Morris, *The Spirit of Seventy-Six: The Story of the American Revolution as Told by Participants*, (New York: Bonanza Books, 1983), 222.
- <sup>96</sup> Commager and Morris, *The Spirit of Seventy-Six*, 224.
- <sup>97</sup> Commager and Morris, *The Spirit of Seventy-Six*, 222.
- <sup>98</sup> Commager and Morris, *The Spirit of Seventy-Six*, 224.
- <sup>99</sup> Commager and Morris, *The Spirit of Seventy-Six*, 224.
- <sup>100</sup> Donald Wickman, "A Most Unsettled Time on Lake Champlain: The October 1776 Journal of Jahiel Stewart," *Vermont History: The Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society* 64, no. 2 (1996): 92.

- <sup>101</sup> James L. Nelson, *Benedict Arnold's Navy: The Ragtag Fleet that Lost the Battle of Lake Champlain but Won the American Revolution*, (Camden: 2006), 297-300.
- <sup>102</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 150.
- <sup>103</sup> Wickman, "A Most Unsettled Time on Lake Champlain," 91.
- <sup>104</sup> Bayze Wells, *Journal of Bayze Wells of Farmington: May, 1775-February, 1777 At the Northward and in Canada*, Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society. Hartford: Published by the Society, 1879. Vol. 7, 280; Nelson, *Benedict Arnold's Navy*, 282.
- <sup>105</sup> Wells, *Journal of Bayze Wells of Farmington*, 280.
- <sup>106</sup> There is some confusion concerning this painting, which is housed at Fort Ticonderoga. The curator, Matt Keagle, has explained that there are other versions of this painting and that the particular painting in Fort Ticonderoga's collections is, "a 19<sup>th</sup> century confection, but based on the original 18<sup>th</sup> century images which the artist had seen and confusingly added a 'signature' or name and the date '1776' on the bottom." In Bellico's 2001 revised version of *Sails and Steam*, this image from Fort Ticonderoga's collections is dated to 1777, though based on personal communication with Keagle, that date may be mistaken.
- <sup>107</sup> Ed Scollon, Personal Communication, May 2019.
- <sup>108</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains, 187-189*; Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 92; Miller, "Reconsidering the Royal Savage," 34.
- <sup>109</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains, 187-189*; Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 94.
- <sup>110</sup> Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 70.
- <sup>111</sup> Brigadier and Kane, *Historical and Archaeological Narrative of New York Islands in Lake Champlain*, 71; Miller, "Reconsidering the Royal Savage," Chapters 3-5.
- <sup>112</sup> Commager and Morris, *The Spirit of Seventy-Six*, 224.
- <sup>113</sup> Nelson, *Benedict Arnold's Navy*, 301.
- <sup>114</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 147; Nelson, *Benedict Arnold's Navy*, 291, 294; Wells, *Journal of Bayze Wells of Farmington*, 283.
- <sup>115</sup> Nelson, *Benedict Arnold's Navy*, 294; Wickman, "A Most Unsettled Time on Lake Champlain," 92.
- <sup>116</sup> Commager and Morris, *The Spirit of Seventy-Six*, 224; Wells, *Journal of Bayze Wells of Farmington*, 284.
- <sup>117</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 150-153; Nelson, *Benedict Arnold's Navy*, 300-301.
- <sup>118</sup> "Lake Champlain Basin Facts," Lake Champlain Basin Program, 2019, [www.lcbp.org/about-the-basin/facts/](http://www.lcbp.org/about-the-basin/facts/).
- <sup>119</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 215; Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 854.
- <sup>120</sup> Dobson, *Official Correspondence*, 45.
- <sup>121</sup> Dobson, *Official Correspondence*, 46-47.
- <sup>122</sup> Gerard T. Altoff, *Amongst My Best Men: African-Americans and The War of 1812* (Put-In-Bay: The Perry Group, 1996), 112-114.
- <sup>123</sup> Robert Ewell Greene, *Black Defenders of America 1775-1973*, (Chicago: Johnson Publishing Company Inc., 1974), 29.
- <sup>124</sup> Greene, *Black Defenders of America*, 30-40.
- <sup>125</sup> Carl Benn, *Native Memoirs From the War of 1812: Black Hawk and William Apess*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014); Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*; Benson J. Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812; Or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the Last War for American Independence* (New York: 1869).
- <sup>126</sup> Benn, *Native Memoirs From the War of 1812*, 81, 112.
- <sup>127</sup> Dobson, *Official Correspondence*, 59; Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 857.
- <sup>128</sup> Altoff, *Amongst My Best Men*, 113; Dobson, *Official Correspondence*, 65-67.
- <sup>129</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 216; Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 858-859.
- <sup>130</sup> Altoff, *Amongst My Best Men*, 113; Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 216.
- <sup>131</sup> Altoff, *Amongst My Best Men*, 114; Ansley, *Vergennes, Vermont*, 20; Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 216; Dobson, *Official Correspondence*, 74; Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 72-75; Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 859.
- <sup>132</sup> Norman Ansley, *Vergennes, Vermont and the War of 1812: The Battle of Lake Champlain* (Severna Park: Brooke Keefer Limited Editions, 1999), 21; Dobson, *Official Correspondence*, 74; Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 859.

- <sup>133</sup> Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 860.
- <sup>134</sup> Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 77-78, 82; Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 860-861.
- <sup>135</sup> Ansley, *Vergennes, Vermont*, 20; Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 859.
- <sup>136</sup> Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 862.
- <sup>137</sup> Fitz-Enz, *The Final Invasion*, 112; Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 861.
- <sup>138</sup> Herkalo, *The Journal of H. K. Averill, Sr.*, 2-8; Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 863.
- <sup>139</sup> Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 864.
- <sup>140</sup> Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 864.
- <sup>141</sup> Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 860.
- <sup>142</sup> Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 865.
- <sup>143</sup> Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 865.
- <sup>144</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 219; Prevost, George. *From PRO London Adm 1/5450, 199, Sept. 10, 1814, "Head Quarters Platsburg."* Letter to George Downie. Plattsburgh: September 10, 1814. From SUNY Plattsburgh Special Collections, *David Curtis Skaggs Commodore Thomas Macdonough Research Collection 6/94/3*; Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 101.
- <sup>145</sup> Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 865.
- <sup>146</sup> Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 868.
- <sup>147</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 225; Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 872.
- <sup>148</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 218, 224; Macomb, Alexander. *"Head Quarters, Plattsburg, Sept 15<sup>th</sup> 1814"*. Letter to Secretary of War. Plattsburgh. September 15, 1814. From SUNY Plattsburgh Special Collections, *Alexander Macomb Letters Collection .5 Sep. 15, 1814 7 Items, 64.2 1/5*.
- <sup>149</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 224-225; Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 102.
- <sup>150</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 224; Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 101.
- <sup>151</sup> Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 873.
- <sup>152</sup> Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 873.
- <sup>153</sup> Ansley, *Vergennes, Vermont*, 23-24; Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 873.
- <sup>154</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 224; Keith A. Herkalo, *The Journal of H. K. Averill, Sr.*, (Plattsburgh: Battle of Plattsburgh Association, 2001), 8.
- <sup>155</sup> William Wood, *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812, Volume 3 Part 1*, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1926), SWODA: Windsor & Region Publications, <https://scholar.uwindsor.ca/swoda-windsor-region/37>, 352.
- <sup>156</sup> Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 874.
- <sup>157</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 225.
- <sup>158</sup> Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains*, 225, Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 875.
- <sup>159</sup> Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 875; Herkalo, *The Journal of H. K. Averill, Sr.*, 8.
- <sup>160</sup> USAF, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 70-72.
- <sup>161</sup> USAF, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 72-73.
- <sup>162</sup> USAF, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 73-74.
- <sup>163</sup> Lossing, *The Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*, 860.
- <sup>164</sup> *Plan of the siege of Plattsburg and capture of the British fleet on Lake Champlain the 11<sup>th</sup> Sptr. 1814: to accompany B. Tanner's print of Macdonough's victory.* Map. S.I: s.n., 1814. From Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division. 1 map: mounted on Linen; 25x 20 cm, <https://www.loc.gov/resource/g3804p.ct006648/> (accessed November 20, 2018).
- <sup>165</sup> Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 67-68.
- <sup>166</sup> Herkalo, *The Battles at Plattsburgh*, 92.
- <sup>167</sup> USAF, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 71.
- <sup>168</sup> USAF, *National Register Evaluation of Archaeological Sites at Plattsburgh Air Force Base*, 71.