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REMEMBERING THE REVOLUTION:
MONUMENTS AND COMMEMORATIONS OF
AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY WAR SITES IN NEW YORK

BY

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology
in the Graduate School of
Binghamton University
State University of New York
2018

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Accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
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2018

May 14, 2018

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Abstract

Memorials and monuments at military heritage sites track the ways American society constructs and then reconstructs its understandings of important events. They present enticing material culture for study by archaeologists seeking to analyze the layers of meaning and the social and chronological transformations in the heritage narratives at military sites. With the prominence of recent national discourses surrounding the heritage narratives presented by Civil War Confederate monuments, there is a paramount need for archaeologists to lend their expertise in material culture studies to these dialogues. I also believe it remains important to expand this critical examination of Civil War monuments to other wars. The use of monuments to support specific discourses about the past is not an aberration but an established, consistently used means of heritage discourse. Although elites use memorials to craft heritage narratives in support of their power, ethnic-based organizations have also used memorialization to engage and challenge oppressive national ideologies. This dissertation examines the monuments and signage constructed at five Revolutionary War sites within New York State: Oriskany Battlefield, Fort Stanwix National Monument, Saratoga Battlefield, Newtown Battlefield, and Old Fort Niagara.

My dissertation foregrounds the agency of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois), Irish, and Polish in asserting their own narratives since the late 19th century. My analysis challenges portrayals of heritage as monolithic narratives defined exclusively by elite, white, Anglo-Saxons while suggesting that non-dominant ethnicities only engaged in the construction of heritage within the last few decades. My research demonstrates how heritage narratives are transformed by numerous stakeholders. This research is especially relevant with the current national discourse on the meaning, symbolism, and memory of monuments in public spaces.

I conclude that the Authorized Heritage Discourses presented at each site were more influenced by the descendants of those who fought at the site rather than whether the site was managed at the New York State or Federal level. At the same time, I

observed a clear trend by ethnic organizations of Irish-Americans, Dutch-Americans, and Polish-Americans and by the various nations of the Haudenosaunee to engage with and sometimes challenge these Authorized Heritage Discourses at these sites.

Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Sherene Baugher and Robert W. Venables, and to my amazing fiancée, Gabriella Friedman.

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Chapter 1

Introduction and Problem Orientation

Introduction

Memorials and monuments at military heritage sites track the ways American society constructs and then reconstructs its understandings of important events. They present enticing material culture for study by archaeologists seeking to analyze the layers of meaning and the transformations in the heritage narratives at military sites. With the prominence of recent national discourses surrounding the heritage narratives presented by Civil War Confederate monuments, the need for archaeologists to lend their expertise in material culture studies to these dialogues is paramount. However, in so doing it is important for archaeologists to envision these dialogues as an expansive discursive method utilized in the United States and not to see these Civil War heritage discourses as aberrations. The use of memorials to craft heritage narratives in support of those in power is far from their only use in the United States. Ethnic-based organizations have also used memorialization to engage and challenge oppressive national ideologies. Since the late 19th century, public monuments to war veterans were erected by private organizations and governments at battlefields, cemeteries, and town squares throughout the United States and Canada. Far from being simple acknowledgements of past events, people create monuments to support specific ideologies and heritage narratives.

This dissertation examines five American Revolutionary War sites in New York State to understand the ramifications of adaptations and alterations to a site's heritage narrative. In the late nineteenth century, private organizations transplanted the trend of erecting monuments to Civil War figures to the military sites of other wars. The heritage narratives and memorials presented in this study of five American Revolutionary War sites are especially meaningful because they are an integral part of the mythology related

to the founding of the United States. The study presented in this dissertation is beneficial to scholars of Revolutionary War sites. But the value of the study goes beyond the interests of archaeologists, historians, and staff of Revolutionary War sites. It has value to the educated public. At this point in time, there is a national debate on the meaning and memory of Confederate monuments in the South. Heritage decisions regarding placement of Civil War monuments in cities, once primarily the domain of government officials, and powerful and affluent groups, are being questioned and challenged by members of the public. While the current national heritage debate focuses on Civil War monuments, military monuments of other wars also contain diverse meanings and memories. The public looking at these Revolutionary War monuments may be viewing them with a new perspective in light of the Confederate monument debates. This dissertation addresses how the heritage narratives at these Revolutionary War sites have changed. It also examines how ethnic groups are ignored, silenced, and/or integrated into these changing heritage narratives.

Historical Context

I place the heritage narratives constructed at these sites within their broader socio-political contexts to examine if any change occurred through the construction of new memorials or rededication of old memorials. Just as historical archaeologists in excavating a site need to understand the stratigraphic context of the artifacts, above-ground material culture also requires that the objects be put into their historical context. The narratives and memorials at heritage sites reflect the broader socio-political framework of society at a given point in time. This broader context allows us to understand why details may appear in an initial discourse, disappear in a later narrative, and then reappear once again. Understanding the context is critical when analyzing if monuments or commemorations may have been used specifically to support or push back against established heritage narratives.

This dissertation examines who funded and erected the memorials in order to

identify motivations that would have been specific to the organizations. This dissertation also examines how the Polish-Americans, Irish-Americans, Oneidas, and Haudenosaunee First Nations in Canada consciously used the themes of lauding heroes and martial valor in the construction of monuments and commemorative events.

I analyze these heritage narratives during each site's significant anniversaries – for example, at Centennial and Bicentennial commemorations. I chose these anniversaries in part because they provide a uniform point of comparison in order to determine whether trends occurring at one site were present at another site at the same point in time. In cases where trends in commemoration discourse differ this also provides a methodically consistent means of noting lags between when a discourse emerges at one site and becomes adopted at another. Finally, I chose the Centennial and Bicentennial in order to assess how each site fit into the national discourses that centered on the mythology of the birth of the United States.

Problem Orientation

A society's continual construction and reconstruction of heritage narratives and dedication of new monuments creates a significant sense of continuity with the past. As time passes, societies formulate and alter heritage narratives by presenting new discourses, especially during commemorative events that include the inscription of narratives on new monuments and signage.

The writing of minorities out of history is part of what Michel-Rolph Trouillot identifies as a four-part process in the construction of history: “the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance)” (Trouillot 1995:26). Whenever elites or stakeholders manipulate any collective memories or heritage narratives that they create through the commemorative processes, silences may occur and a part of the past is entirely forgotten or at least ignored (Shackel 2001a:3; Smith 2006:30). Such silences

often occur at the expense of the memories of minorities, especially the importance of the heroes of minority groups (Shackel 2001a:3; Smith 2006:30). Are ethnic groups silenced at these Revolutionary War military parks? Are they left out of the national narrative? This dissertation addresses these questions and analyzes if and how the narrative at these five military sites has changed over time.

The recent focus of United States heritage discourse is critically examining the impact of Confederate monuments and their roles in upholding and ingraining the Lost Cause narrative into the public conscious. For example, monuments such as the one in New Orleans to Robert E. Lee reinforce the ideology of the pro-Confederate “Lost Cause” (Levin 2017; Nicholson 2018). The Lost Cause narrative evolved in the late 19th century as a means of providing moral justification for the Confederacy’s cause. While explaining the motive for the South’s secession, the Lost Cause emphasized the martial valor of Confederate soldiers while downplaying or ignoring the primary role of maintaining slavery (Levin 2017). This Lost Cause narrative resulted in a popular and widely believed narrative that the South’s motives for secession were broad and ambiguous “state’s rights.” The Lost Cause narrative served to shape the discourses of the Civil War, establishing language and terminology which gave the Confederacy legitimacy and equal footing to the United States (Wilson 2017).

I believe it remains important to expand this critical examination of Civil War monuments to other wars. In particular I demonstrate that the use of Civil War monuments to support specific discourses about the past is not an aberration but an established, consistently used means of heritage discourse. For example, the Civil War battlefield of Gettysburg and the American Revolutionary War battlefield of Saratoga have served as platforms which private organizations and government agencies utilized as memorials to craft national mythologies or to reconcile North and South after the bitter Civil War.

The heritage narratives of the controversial Confederate monuments with the

“lost cause narrative” silence African Americans. This dissertation looks at the question of silencing in terms of the monuments at Revolutionary War sites. Are ethnic groups silenced at these Revolutionary War military parks? Are they left out of the national narrative? This dissertation addresses these questions and analyzes if and how the narrative at these five military sites has changed over time.

Research Questions

The dissertation research addresses the following three research questions in order to understand changing heritage narratives and memorialization at these sites.

- How do changes in the narratives and memorials reflect political and/or cultural changes during each era?
- To what degree is a site’s narrative affected by who owns and/or interprets the site?
- Does a site primarily emphasize a regional, national, or international focus?

Given the role that heritage sites such as battlefields play in establishing continuity with the past, I wanted to examine how transformations in the narratives and memorials may have reflected political and/or cultural changes. Since these sites all changed ownership primarily going from private to public ownership, I investigated how the ownership of a site (Federal, State, or private) impacts how a site’s heritage narratives and memorials adapt through time. For example, do different owners of military sites create similar or different heritage narratives and memorials at the same point in time? Addressing these questions can help clarify how site-based heritage narratives were adapted to reflect changing socio-political values, and how narratives and monuments may have reinforced these changes.

During the process of site visits and archival research three additional questions emerged:

- How does the change of ownership of a site from state to federal ownership, or private to state ownership impact or change the heritage narratives?
- How are ethnic groups portrayed in the heritage narratives constructed by dominant groups in power?

- Do ethnic organizations erect monuments at these sites, and if so, what heritage discourses do these narratives engage with?

These new questions still seek to address the role heritage battlefields play in establishing continuity with the past and how changes in the narratives and memorials reflect political and/or cultural changes during each era.

The first additional research question particularly emerged at the Saratoga and Oriskany battlefields that had complex ownership histories. The second and third questions emerged when I was photographing the monuments during my fieldwork. I noted how the texts on the monuments mentioned ethnic groups. The diverse portrayal of ethnic groups in the dominant heritage narratives and the agency of ethnic organizations in altering the heritage narratives became an important research focus for this dissertation. This dissertation analyzes how minority ethnic groups disrupted these dominant heritage narratives through the construction of monuments to their own heroes.

The Revolutionary War Sites and Monuments Examined in this Dissertation

My dissertation uses the following New York State sites as case studies: Oriskany Battlefield, Fort Stanwix National Monument, Saratoga Battlefield, Newtown Battlefield, and Old Fort Niagara (Figure 1.1). In addition to these sites, I also examine the Canadian monuments to Joseph Brant in Brantford, Ontario and the Valiants Memorial in Ottawa, Ontario (Figure 1.2). The New York State sites were selected for their roles in the Burgoyne Campaign of 1777 by the British (Oriskany, Fort Stanwix, and Saratoga) and the Sullivan Campaign of 1779 by the Continental Army (Newtown and Fort Niagara). The sites bookend their respective campaigns, taking place either at the start or end of the campaign. Oriskany and Fort Stanwix were involved at the very start of the Burgoyne Campaign and helped bring about the catastrophic defeat of British General John Burgoyne at Saratoga. Similarly, the opening battle of the Sullivan Campaign occurred at Newtown while the campaign ended at the British-held Fort Niagara. The aftermath of the campaign's destruction of Haudenosaunee villages and farm fields was felt for months afterwards. Haudenosaunee refugees fled to Fort Niagara in the hopes of finding

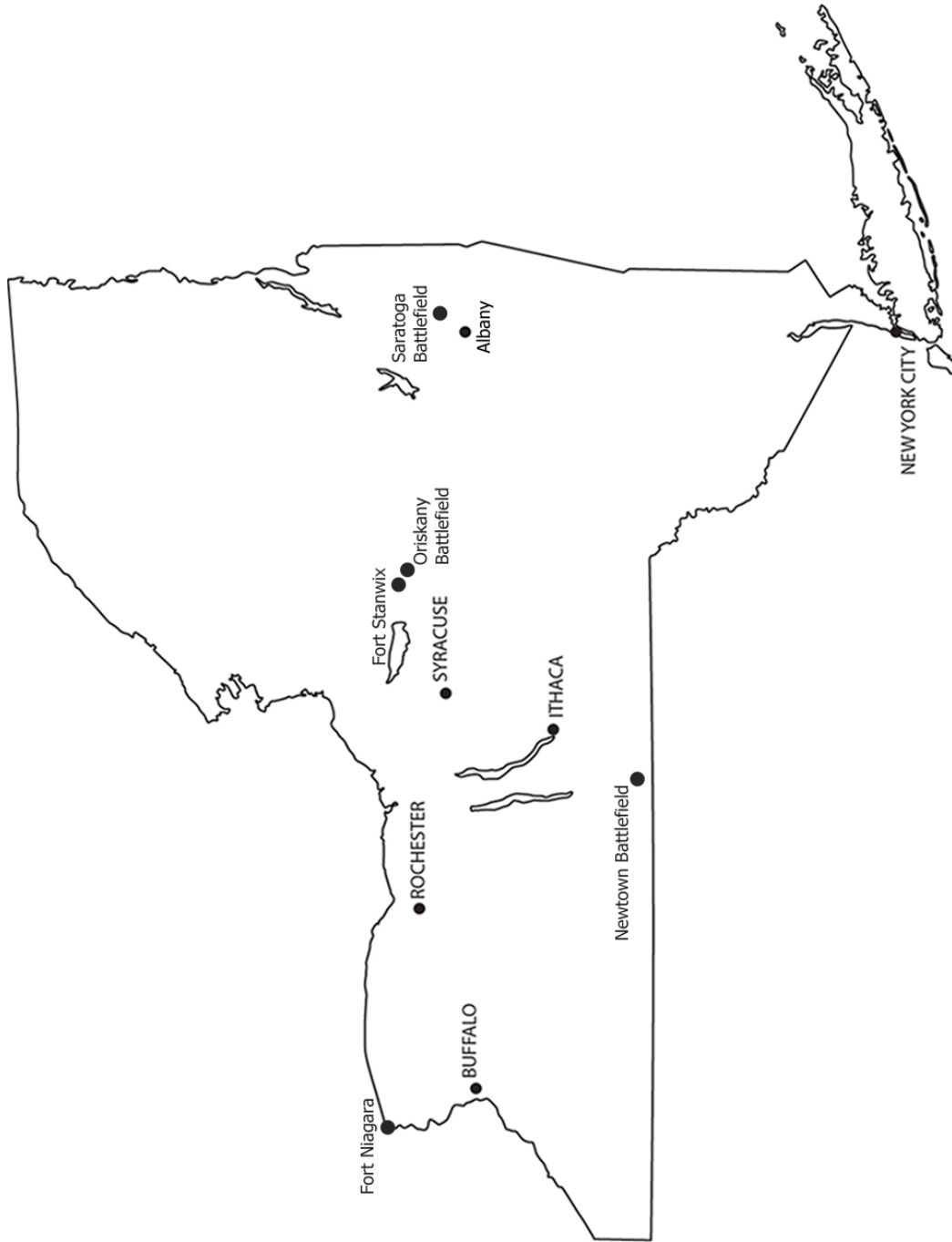


Figure 1.1: Map of New York Site Locations

(Map by Brant W. Venables)

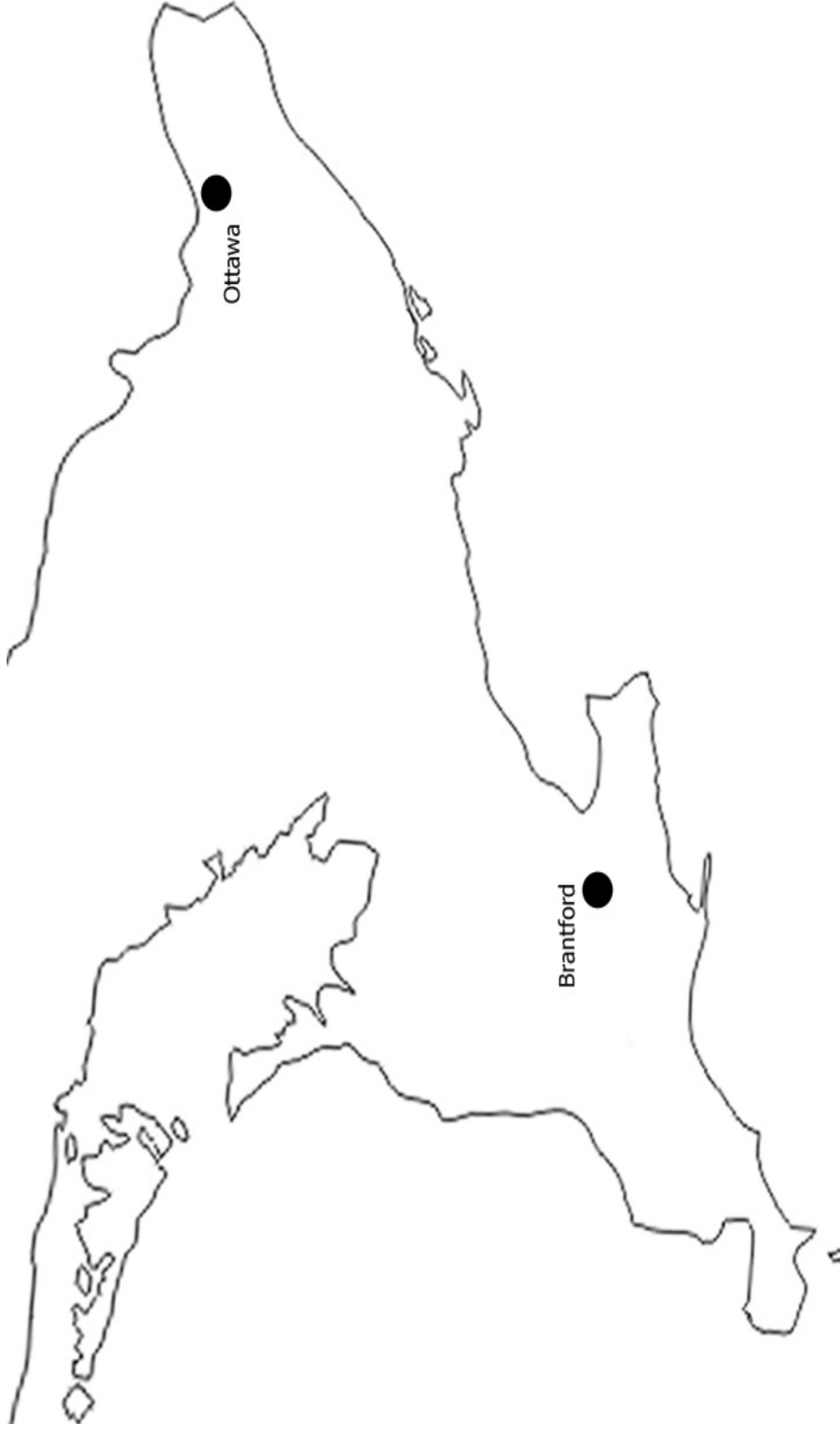


Figure 1.2: Map of Site Locations in Ontario, Canada
(Map by Brant W. Venables)

protection and supplies from the British garrison.

Throughout this dissertation, I refer to the rebelling colonial combatants as either “Continental” – the professional soldiers authorized by the Continental Congress – or “Revolutionaries” instead of “Patriots” or “patriots.” The words “Continental” and “Revolutionaries” are used because it avoids nation-centric terms, such as American and Patriot. The Loyalists were colonists who remained loyal to King George III, serving in provincial units and some of their descendants are Canadian “United Empire Loyalists.” They believed they were (and are) North Americans and patriots who defended their families, homes, and lawful government of the colonies. Native Americans who fought for the British similarly believed and still believe that they fought to defend their homes and families, as well as assisting their allies. Whenever possible, I refer to specific Native American nations by name and identify which, if any, side they fought for during the American Revolution. However, in some cases Native Americans representing a wide range of nations fought for the British Crown. Therefore, the term “Crown-allied Native Americans” is used in order to avoid cumbersome lists whenever referring to these combatants as a unified body.

Critical Discourse Analysis

My analysis uses the methods of Critical Discourse Analysis to examine the data collected at each site. Chapter 2 provides a detailed discussion of Critical Discourse Analysis. A basic definition of the goals of all Critical Discourse Analysis is to “investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, [and] legitimized” by discourse (Wodak and Meyer 2009:10). Scholars use Critical Discourse Analysis to recognize how people act and organize in particular ways, for example, “through particular discourses: movements such as ‘total quality management’; religious, political, and economic fundamentalism of all sorts; and the myriad ‘reform packages’ put forward at every level of social organization are all discourses that specify ways of interacting” (Fairclough et al. 2004:2). Using Critical Discourse Analysis, I studied the texts on the

monuments and in the commemorative speeches to determine how the Revolutionaries and the defeated forces (the British military, the Loyalists/Tories, and their Native American allies) are represented. The dissertation examined if this narrative changed over time as more monuments are placed on these historic sites. It also examined how minorities are represented.

Critical Discourse Analysis examines how heritage discourses are shaped through the use of language on physical monuments and commemorative events and their subsequent impact on the vernacular used to discuss the subject. The very vocal public discussions of Civil War monuments – particularly Confederate monuments – revealed how the use of language shaped vernacular discourses. For example, the convention of referring to the Confederacy as a “state” implies equal nationhood between the United States and the rebelling Southern states when the historical reality was no legitimate government such as Great Britain recognized the legitimacy of the Confederate government (Wilson 2017).

Another example is the convention of referring to “General” Robert E. Lee; the recognition of Lee’s military rank in the Confederacy gives implicit legitimacy to the Confederate government even though the highest military rank Lee achieved in the armed forces of an internationally recognized government was his rank of colonel in the United States Army (Wilson 2017). Moreover, by retroactively proclaiming Lee an American hero, many people can ignore he is most famous for leading “the war that was said to have happened” at “the battle of Gettysburg.” Using the particular word “Confederacy” is also necessary for understanding why certain things that would be known in today’s parlance as an army of insurgents. This and similar fictions demonstrate how historical inaccuracies have been used in the narrative of the Lost Cause for legitimacy. Especially in recent years, debates over the meaning and purposes of Civil War monuments have engaged United States citizens from all walks of life. While the current national heritage debate focuses on Civil War monuments, they are not the only monuments or heritage narratives that reflect complex

and sometimes problematic portrayals of the United States' past.

Previous research on five sites examined in this dissertation

Previous research by historians and archaeologists on American Revolutionary War military sites primarily focused on the military importance of these battles during the war. The results have been publications that emphasize the movement of combatants during the battles and the terrains of military engagement (Steele 1990; Anderson 2000; Coe 2006; Taylor 2006). Other research has focused on the personal lives of the Continental or British officers, enlisted men, military families, civilians, and the members of various Indian nations. These descriptions of personal life include experiences on the battlefields, camp life, and in the forts (Starbuck 1999a, 2004, 2010; Taylor 2006; Gale 2007).

While there have been studies of the monuments at Saratoga and Oriskany and the monument of Fort Stanwix, none of the authors use critical discourse analysis to examine the changing heritage narrative on the monuments, on the signage, or in the commemorative texts. Two preservation-focused books discuss the challenges in the creation of the two National Park Sites, Fort Stanwix and Saratoga Battlefield. *Saratoga: America's Battlefield* (2012) by Timothy Holmes and Libby Smith-Holmes do not discuss the majority of the monuments at Saratoga but instead record when the most famous monuments were erected and focus on the difficulties and challenges in funding and building a few of the monuments, such as the Tower. *Fort Stanwix National Monument: Reconstructing the Past and Partnering for the Future* (2008) by Joan Zenzen discusses the reconstruction of the Fort in the 1970s and building of the Visitor Center in the early twenty-first century. There is also a government report by John Auwaerter on the changes over the last five hundred years in the cultural landscape of Oriskany Battlefield, *Cultural Landscape Report for Oriskany Battlefield State Historic Site* (2000). This study also notes the placement and erection of monuments associated with Oriskany Battlefield but does not analyze the texts of the monuments. None of these studies address my research

questions or the larger research problem addressed in this dissertation. Except for my master's thesis and subsequent publication (Venables 2012; Venables 2013), no historical archaeologist has used Critical Discourse Analysis to examine the heritage narratives at any of these five sites (Venables 2012; 2013).

Chapters

Chapter 2 addresses the heritage theories that informed my analysis and methods used to gather the data from archives and visits to the physical sites. The chapter also discusses Critical Discourse Analysis and how this dissertation uses it. Using Critical Discourse Analysis, I examined the text on the monuments, signage, and the commemorative speeches and poems. I analyzed how the monuments and commemorative events constructed heritage narratives and placed these heritage narratives in a broader local, regional, and national context. In this dissertation I approached data collection of the monuments and signage the same way historical archaeologists approach the study of gravestones. In terms of field methods, I photographed the whole monument, took detailed photographs of any text or iconography, and recorded any text on the monuments. The chapter ends with a discussion of Civil War memorials and monuments and how they pertain to an analysis of Revolutionary War sites.

Chapter 3 provides the historical background of the Siege of Fort Stanwix, Battle of Oriskany, Battles of Saratoga, Battle of Newtown, and Old Fort Niagara during the American Revolution. This historical background covers the specific details of the events at these sites during the American Revolution, the outcome of those events, and how these sites fit into the broader Burgoyne Campaign of 1777 and Sullivan Campaign of 1779. In covering the historical background of these events, the chapter also highlights key points at each site where monuments were subsequently located. The chapter provides an understanding of the historical significance of these sites and clarifies why and how the sites were transformed into heritage sites. This chapter also provides the

historical context for the three data chapters.

The three data chapters are Chapters 4, 5 and 6. These chapters discuss the texts on the monuments, signage, and in commemorative celebrations. Chapter 4 presents the data gathered from archival research and visits to the physical sites of the Oriskany Battlefield and Fort Stanwix National Monument. Oriskany Battlefield, once privately owned, is a state-owned historic site, while Fort Stanwix, a reconstructed fort, has always been a National Park site. Chapter 5 presents the data gathered at archives and visits to the physical site of the Saratoga Battlefield. The battlefield changed ownership three times from private to state (1927) to federal (1938). Chapter 6 presents the data gathered from archival research and visits to the physical sites of the Newtown Battlefield, Old Fort Niagara historic site, Joseph Brant Monument in Brantford, Ontario, and Valiants Memorial in Ottawa. Newtown Battlefield became a New York State Park in 1912. Old Fort Niagara was an active fort until 1963 when ownership was transferred from the military to New York State. The Joseph Brant Monument, while funded both privately and publicly, was erected in the City of Brantford and city-maintained. In 2006, the Valiants Memorial was erected in Ottawa by the Canadian government memorial.

Chapter 7 discusses my analysis of the data. I compare and contrast the memorials across the sites chronologically in order to discern any common patterns. I examine if the narratives and memorials reflect political and/or cultural changes during each era. I analyze how the Authorized Heritage Discourses presented or ignored the ethnic groups who were involved in these battles and if those discourses changed over time. I also analyze how ethnic groups asserted their own heritage narratives. Chapter 8 summarizes the aims of my research project and final conclusions based on my analysis.

Conclusion

In this time of national debate on the Confederate monuments, historians, heritage specialists, preservationists, park managers, park interpreters, community members, and other potential stakeholders will be expanding their discussion to include monuments

from other wars. It is timely to examine the meaning and memory of the monuments and signage on Revolutionary War battlefields. In this dissertation I analyze the layers of meaning and the transformations in the heritage narratives at military sites by studying the memorials as above ground artifacts.

Heritage scholar David Lowenthal (1985) wrote extensively about the theme of exclusionary memory and how some individuals and subordinate groups are written out of the collective memory of a community, a state, or even a nation. But these national narratives are not fixed in time and can be altered, expanded, and changed, especially when excluded groups play a role in that transformation. Using Critical Discourse Analysis, I examine the texts on the monuments, signage, and in the commemorative speeches and evaluated how the narrative has changed over time. These case studies are also analyzed to determine if non-dominant ethnic groups understood the power of monuments and commemorations and exercised their agency to challenge the Authorized Heritage Discourses that perpetuated discriminatory or racist views.

While some of the staff at American military heritage sites may feel that long-standing, unchanging narratives are now being questioned, the reality is that these narratives are never static and they have undergone numerous changes since the nineteenth century. Understanding the transformations in the narratives will be of interest to heritage professionals, archaeologists, historians, and educators at military sites.

Chapter 2

Method and Theory

Introduction

The meaning and memory embedded in monuments is reshaped and changed as new groups enter a community (Shackel 2001a). Michel-Rolph Trouillot has written extensively on how narratives and even silences are shaped through the various stages of historical production (Trouillot 1995). Heritage scholarship on memory, meaning, memorialization, monuments, silences, and reactions of subordinate groups have all shaped my research and my case studies. I discuss this scholarship in the following section on heritage theory.

To cover all these issues, my dissertation employs Critical Discourse Analysis. I use this approach to illuminate how government and non-governmental organizations shape heritage narratives at the Revolutionary War sites I selected. I also examine the role individual monuments played in engaging in the construction of these narratives. In particular, I focus on how groups such as the Haudenosaunee, Irish-Americans, and Polish-Americans utilized monuments to alter and shape heritage narratives. In this chapter, I discuss the relevance of Critical Discourse Analysis to the examination of heritage narratives as well as the research methods that I used for this dissertation.

The final section of this chapter discusses the monuments and heritage events at Civil War battlefields, especially at Gettysburg, that directly influenced the development of heritage narratives at Revolutionary War sites. For example, George O. Slingerland, the first director of the Saratoga Battlefield historic site, hoped that Saratoga would become a national memorial landscape to the American Revolution the way Gettysburg is a national memorial landscape to the Civil War (Emery 1926). Because of the use of monuments to aid the formation of heritage narratives at Civil War sites, it is an important

contextual foundation from which my analysis of Revolutionary War sites emerged. Thus this chapter provides a brief discussion of the evolution of heritage narratives at Civil War sites and how they pertain to an analysis of Revolutionary War battlefields.

Theoretical Backgrounds in Heritage Studies

Scholars in anthropology define heritage as a cultural practice which is “involved in the construction and regulation of a range of values and understandings” (Smith 2006:11). While a physical location can exist as an “identifiable site of heritage,” cultural processes and activities give a heritage site value and meaning (Smith 2006:3). These cultural processes and activities include commemorations that can involve monuments and signage. Society preserves historical memories of important events in tangible material forms such as monuments (Moyer and Shackel 2008:109). Rituals impart and sustain “images of the past and recollected knowledge of the past” (Connerton 1989:3–4).

While past eras influence subsequent eras, these influences are invariably “understood and remade through the dominant discourses of the present day” (Smith 2006:58–59). In American history, this is manifested as a linear conception of history that focused a collective national memory on the importance of elites and national heroes (Shackel 2001a:3). For example, many of the 19th century heritage movements focused on preserving the homes of important figures in American history such as George Washington’s “Mt. Vernon” or Andrew Jackson’s “The Hermitage” (Smith 2006:22). Organizations such as the Mt. Vernon Ladies Association and the Daughters of the American Revolution funded these projects in order to “engender and bolster American patriotism in the general public” (Smith 2006:22). The resulting narratives presented patriotic, nationalistic messages that emphasized “the desirability of inheriting and passing on certain aesthetic tastes” which were believed to be for the “general good and edification of the public” (Smith 2006:22-23).

Paul Connerton (1989:2) notes that experiences in the present causally connect with past events and objects. The present is experienced by living people based on

memories that construct how past events and their impacts, such as World War I, are recalled (Connerton 1989:20). In this way, the past and present become intertwined. Specific memories are constructed and reinforced by a current generation, impacting the present, which in turn impacts what is recalled or forgotten about the past (Connerton 1989:20–21).

Although elites or stakeholders can manipulate any collective memories or heritage narratives through the commemorative processes, omissions or “silences” may cause a part of the past to be diminished, ignored, or even entirely forgotten (Shackel 2001a:3; Smith 2006:30). Such silences often occur at the expense of the memories and importance of the heroes of minority groups (Shackel 2001a:3; Smith 2006:30). These silences produce histories that contribute to the formation of biased celebrations. These create powerful narratives that enhance the perspective being celebrated while imposing silences on the perspectives being ignored (Trouillot 1995:118). Thus, when any site is preserved, interpreted, and commemorated, the question arises as to which narrative will be elevated to the status of official heritage, how past events will be interpreted to the public, and what memories the sites will elicit. Today’s archaeologists, historians, and heritage managers recognize that stakeholder groups may not share a common memory of the past (Lowenthal 1985; Linenthal 1991; Little 2007).

Critical Discourse Analysis

As Greg Marston (2004:35) notes, “there are many conflicting and overlapping definitions of discourse formulated from various theoretical and disciplinary standpoints. The simplest understanding of discourse is ‘language as social practice.’” Because language is not separated or external to any society, it is informed by “other non-linguistic features of society” (Marston 2004:35). As Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (2009:2–3) note, “discourse” is not limited strictly to language but can encompass “anything from a historical monument, a *lieu de mémoire*, a policy, a political strategy, narratives in a restricted broad sense of the term, text, talk, a speech, topic-related

conversations, to language per se.”

To provide a consistent understanding of what is meant by “discourse,” I use it to refer to the spoken and written words (both in documents and inscribed on physical artifacts like monuments) that bring about “material consequences” (Smith 2006: 14). Discourse, however, may be one generation’s reactions to texts or monuments conceived by people who are deceased, and thus the deceased people cannot be involved in a discussion or debate. This may produce material consequences independent of the original actors (Smith 2006:14). A recent example in 2017 of discourses having material consequences are the debates over the numerous monuments to Confederate figures that occupy public squares. Though the actors that erected these monuments are long dead the discourses created by these monuments, namely the identification of Confederates as heroic figures in United States history, permeated and shaped how the Civil War has been understood by many people for decades.

Discourse is not just produced but can also be reproduced or transformed which in turn has consequences for “physical and social realities” (Smith 2006:14). All these factors also demonstrate that Critical Discourse Analysis is not a single theory or method (Wodak and Meyer 2009:5). Instead, the utilization of Critical Discourse Analysis is a myriad combination of theories dictated by the data and methods employed by individual scholars (Wodak and Meyer 2009:5). Likewise, among scholars that use Critical Discourse Analysis there is no uniformly agreed upon definition of terms like “discourse,” “critical,” “ideology,” and “power” (Wodak and Meyer 2009:5). In spite of this diversity, all Critical Discourse Analysis seeks to “investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, constituted, [and] legitimized” by discourse (Wodak and Meyer 2009:10). Scholars using Critical Discourse Analysis recognize that people act and organize in particular ways and “through particular discourses: movements such as ‘total quality management’; religious, political, and economic fundamentalism of all sorts; and the myriad ‘reform packages’ put forward at every level of social organization are all

discourses that specify ways of interacting” (Fairclough et al. 2004:2).

Laurajane Smith (2006:29) describes this use of heritage as the “Authorized Heritage Discourse,” a dialogue that emphasizes aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes as a means of fostering an obligatory sense of stewardship for the current generation and crafting a common identity based on this past. According to Smith, Authorized Heritage Discourse creates an imperative that the material object or place in question must be preserved for future generations (Smith 2006:29). This imperative further undermines attempts in the present to alter or change the meaning of a heritage site unless done under the supervision of heritage professionals (Smith 2006:29). By smoothing over conflicts and societal differences, Authorized Heritage Discourse serves to craft “conservative, if not reactionary, and distinctly Western, social messages” (Waterton et al. 2006:339).

Another function of Authorized Heritage Discourse is defining heritage as a passive experience: “visitors are led to, are instructed about, but are then not invited to engage with” (Smith 2006:31). This passive experience is influenced in part by the developments of heritage tourism since the 1980s which has led to the critique of heritage as simple entertainment (Smith 2006:32–33). However, this approach of treating heritage tourists as “passive consumers” serves the goals of Authorized Heritage Discourse through the quick rebuke many heritage professionals level against non-professionals such as reenactors that begin taking an active role in heritage (Smith 2006:34). David Lowenthal (1985:325) expressed similar conceptions of heritage by noting that “we reinterpret relics and records” to justify beliefs held in the present with the purpose at individual and collective levels to “enhance self-esteem, to aggrandize property, to validate power.”

Emma Waterton, Laurajane Smith, and Gary Campbell (2006:340) demonstrate how Critical Discourse Analysis can be used to examine Authorized Heritage Discourse. They use the Burra Charter in Australia, which outlines the “best practice within

Australian heritage management and conservation processes,” as their case study. Waterton and her colleagues assert that the case study demonstrates the interaction between Authorized Heritage Discourse and law that “sustains, legitimizes, and bolsters particular identities,” making it difficult for alternative views to have a voice with which to challenge the Authorized Heritage Discourse (Waterton et al. 2006:346). They note that while the charter evolved after its original drafting in 1979 to combat “social exclusion, racism and impositions of dominant interpretations of heritage globally” as a result of changing views towards “community inclusion, participation and consultation,” it nevertheless uses language to create an appearance of “impersonal, ‘unbiased’ thinking” (Waterton et al. 2006:348). This in turn influences the language used by the charter to contrast heritage experts with non-professional participants. Specifically, the language frames non-professional participants in a beneficiary framework that makes their role passive in contrast to heritage experts who are framed with active language that casts them as the ones “who make things happen” (Waterton et al. 2006:350).

Emma Waterton, Laurajane Smith, and Gary Campbell (2006:350) conclude that laws like the Burra Charter use language that reciprocally reinforces Authorized Heritage Discourse by framing the inclusion of heritage narratives of people excluded by Authorized Heritage Discourse as passive participants in the construction of heritage. They assert that the utilization of Critical Discourse Analysis helps to reveal not just that Authorized Heritage Discourse “has achieved hegemony but also to understand how this hegemony is realized linguistically—and thus perpetuated” (Waterton et al. 2006:342).

The erasure of minorities takes place during what Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995:26) identifies as the four crucial moments of historical production: “the moment of fact creation (the making of *sources*); the moment of fact assembly (the making of *archives*); the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance).” However, heritage discourses can also sustain and legitimize specific sets of practices and social relations

(such as class or race) while simultaneously being incorporated into efforts towards social change (Smith 2006:16). Because a heritage site is a political and cultural tool, subgroups within a nation can use heritage to legitimize their “identity, experiences and social/cultural standing” (Smith 2006:52).

Of the diverse methods and theories used by scholars conducting Critical Discourse Analysis the works of Laurajane Smith and Emma Waterton influenced me most. As a theoretical platform, Critical Discourse Analysis provides a means of elucidating the relationship between discourses and the impact the resulting practices have on social actions and issues (Smith 2006:15). A foundation to this is that “discourses may be deployed to help regulate, maintain, or challenge social relations” (Smith 2006:15). Critical Discourse Analysis is a particularly useful mode of thinking about heritage because it conveys two aspects important to my dissertation: 1) “identifying and understanding how people organize themselves and act through particular discourses” and 2) the analysis of social and political contexts of discourse with particular attention to the social impacts of a given discourse (Smith 2006:15).

I chose to use a Critical Discourse Analysis framework in this dissertation because of its focus on socio-political contexts of discourse and their resulting social impacts. Critical Discourse Analysis provides the best means for engaging with the documents in archives, physical inscriptions on monuments, and material culture of commemorative ceremonies in a way that does not take the narrative presented at face value. More specifically, Critical Discourse Analysis presented a theoretical basis on which to contextualize the socio-political environment that informed the creation of discourses at a given point in time, the impact those discourses had in shaping subsequent times, and how those discourses were reshaped through the intervention of new actors.

I analyzed five sites using Critical Discourse Analysis to understand how memorialization was employed at each site to help the public remember certain narratives while either intentionally or unintentionally forgetting other narratives.

Interpretations and memorializations at these sites that omit certain perspectives can produce consequences beyond an understanding of a historical site. Specifically, public narratives of history presented at memorialization activities influence public opinion on contemporary issues. These impacts include the attitudes of many citizens of the United States towards United Empire Loyalists and Native Americans whose ancestors fought against the Revolutionaries.

Critical Discourse Analysis elucidates the subtle ways that Authorized Heritage Discourse has crafted the dominant heritage narrative of the Revolutionary War in New York State. Critical Discourse Analysis does this by focusing analysis on the “interlocutory role in the dialogues between texts and social interactions” (Waterton et al. 2006:342). More specifically, Critical Discourse Analysis advocates the examination of the socially constructive effects of the discourses expressed in text and speeches (Waterton et al. 2006:342–343).

American Revolutionary War sites in New York State are ideal locations for studying the social impact of discourses. The narratives constructed at these sites are steeped in founding mythologies of the United States and the narratives of Continental heroes fighting against the oppressions of King George III. As Emma Smith and Gary Campbell (2006:343) note, “discourses are seen both to constitute certain knowledges, values, identities, consciousness and relationships, and be constitutive in the sense of not only sustaining and legitimizing the status quo but in transforming it.” My research found that Critical Discourse Analysis is an especially useful tool for analyzing the dialogues expressed at commemorative events and through memorials at these Revolutionary War sites. Irish-Americans, Polish-Americans, and Native Americans, by erecting their own monuments, disrupted nativist and racist narratives that were covertly or overtly part of the Authorized Heritage Discourses that were founding mythologies presented and legitimized at the sites.

Data Collection Methods

My heritage research on military sites provides examples of the conflicts over how a site will be memorialized and who will be remembered. I examined monuments, interpretive signage, commemorative brochures, and other primary source publications from commemorations at the Oriskany Battlefield, Fort Stanwix, the Saratoga Battlefield, Newtown Battlefield, and Old Fort Niagara.

One way I gathered data was by visiting the military heritage sites. I visited the sites of Oriskany Battlefield, Fort Stanwix, the Saratoga Battlefield, Newtown Battlefield, Old Fort Niagara, the Joseph Brant Monument at Brantford, Ontario, Canada, and Valiant Memorial at Ottawa, Ontario, Canada. I photographed all interpretive signs and monuments from different angles with multiple manual camera exposures using a Nikon D3300 DSLR. I also recorded on a map the proximity of signs and monuments to one another. This mapping process allowed me to see how the spacing of monuments physically planned and then curated a visitor's consumption of a site's history and heritage. This notation was particularly helpful with my examination of Saratoga, one of the largest sites I studied, where the monuments and signage are intentionally clustered along the tour road at specific stops. In many cases the signage at Saratoga drew attention to physical locations where the battles unfolded or pivotal areas of the fighting. This proximity was also important for museum exhibits at the Oriskany Battlefield and Old Fort Niagara with multiple panels designed to complement one another in constructing a unified heritage narrative.

In addition to site visits, I undertook primary source research at the archives of the Historic Sites Bureau of the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation on Peebles Island; the archives at the Saratoga National Historical Park; and the archives at the Marinus Willett Collections Management and Education Center at the Fort Stanwix National Monument. This research built upon the work undertaken for my master's thesis which had used additional research gathered from the archives of the State

Library of New York in Albany and the Booth Library in the Chemung Valley History Museum.

The State Library of New York in Albany possesses a large collection of historic newspaper accounts discussing celebrations at Revolutionary War sites. The archives of the New York State Historic Sites Bureau included many valuable documents related to the signage and monuments erected at the Newtown Battlefield, Oriskany Battlefield, Old Fort Niagara, and Saratoga Battlefield during their period of ownership by New York State. These archives included memos and letters regarding the design, text, and funding of monuments, decisions associated with the centennial celebrations, text from all the speeches at the centennials, photographs of early, non-extant monuments and non-extant signage at the battlefields, and newspaper articles on the monuments and the centennials.

I conducted informal interviews with Greg Smith, the Chief Historian for the New York State Parks. He is in charge of the creation of any new historic signage installed on any of the state historic parks, including Newtown and Oriskany Battlefield. In many cases, Greg Smith had been involved in the efforts and provided first-hand accounts of the motives and goals of the subject in question. These informal interviews with Greg Smith were impromptu. Some of the information often was shared with me after I inquired if there was additional material related to late 20th or early 21st century interpretive efforts.

I formed my organization and categorization of the heritage narratives of each site around four anniversary periods in my comparisons between each site: the 100th (late 1870s), 125th (late 1920s), 200th (1970s) and 225th (early 2000s). I selected these anniversaries because they garnered national attention. I also categorized and compared additional information that fell outside of these four anniversary periods if this information furthered or supplemented my studies. This was also necessary because several monuments were erected at the sites between major commemorative dates.

I also searched archival records for information on who funded the monuments and signage, and who gave key speeches in the centennial events. Using Critical

Discourse Analysis, I analyzed the texts from the monuments, signage at the sites, and the centennial celebrations. My analysis focused on their historical context, how they engaged with contemporary events and national discourses of the time. Critical Discourse Analysis helped me contextualize how the discourse presented on each monument, sign, centennial speeches, and poems reaffirmed, altered or challenged the Authorized Heritage Discourse of the nation at that point in time. After analyzing the data from each of the three battlefields and two forts, I compared and contrasted any transformations of their heritage narratives over time.

A Comparative Model of the Civil War Memorials

During the nineteenth century, but particularly after the American Civil War, American society perceived battlefields and military cemeteries as holy places made sacred through the deaths of the soldiers (Gatewood and Cameron 2004:193). This nineteenth century concept of the sacredness of death in battle evolved to include remembrances of the “battles and martyrs” of wars other than the Civil War and this transformed the heritage narratives of battlefield sites across the country (Kammen 1991:115; Gatewood and Cameron 2004:193). Expressions of sacredness became essential in “monuments, [and] statues” and in texts such as “brochures, guidebooks, signs, plaques, and tour guides” (Gatewood and Cameron 2004:193). These expressions of memorialization shaped and defined each visitor’s experience of a battlefield (Gatewood and Cameron 2004:193). The years between 1870 and 1910 marked the most notable period in American history during which national, state, or local governments and civic-minded organizations erected monuments to honor “mighty warriors, groups of unsung heroes, and great deeds” (Kammen 1991:115).

Between 1863 and the 1890s, the Gettysburg Battlefield excluded Confederate memories from both its narrative and monumentality. The Grand Army of the Republic, an organization of United States veterans, dominated the stewardship of the battlefield. The United States veterans were determined to memorialize “their own heroism and to

honor the sacrifice of their martyred comrades” (Linenthal 1991:105).

The case of Gettysburg demonstrates the impact of an Authorized Heritage Discourse that seeks to “smooth over of conflict and social differences” through the incorporation of a conservative consensus view of history (Waterton et al. 2006:339–340). For example, during the middle of the 1890s there was a movement in the North to shift the memorialization at Gettysburg to emphasize the heroic actions and deaths by the soldiers of both sides instead of just including the valor of the United States troops in the narrative of the battle (Linenthal 1991:108). This alteration of the Authorized Heritage Discourse at Gettysburg transformed commemorative events to ones where white United States and Confederate veterans could celebrate camaraderie together while silencing the heritage narratives of African-American United States veterans and slavery as the true cause of the Civil War (Linenthal 1991:91).

Other examples from the Civil War are two separate battles won by the Confederates at Manassas, Virginia – the first in July 1861 and the second in August 1862 (Seibert 2001:69). Northerners refer to these battles as the First and Second Battles of Bull Run, while the Southerners refer to the First and Second Battles of Manassas. In 1861, no more than two months after the first battle, Confederate soldiers erected a marker to honor Francis S. Bartow of the Eighth Georgia Infantry (Seibert 2001:69). After the Civil War, the memory and memorialization of Manassas remained a Confederate memorial to Confederate victories but also came to represent a memorial to both the North and South (Seibert 2001:69). Since the late 1860s the local community, both Confederate and United States veterans and their descendants, have been involved in preserving the landscape in its 1861-1862 appearance and in interpreting the battlefield (Seibert 2001:68–71).

The two battlefields at Manassas (1861 and 1862) had a strong Confederate influence in memorialization at the start of the war, and these early memorialization later evolved into the Confederacy’s “Lost Cause” (Seibert 2001:77–78). But until the 1990s,

the interpretations at the Manassas battlefields ignored the impact of the Civil War on the enslaved and freed African-Americans who lived in the area both before and after the war (Seibert 2001:71). Even though African-Americans gained greater public attention in the 1960s due to the Civil Rights Movement, the focus of the interpretation of the Manassas battlefield did not reflect these social and political trends (Seibert 2001:71). Then, in the 1990s, archaeological excavations revealed several African-American houses that had been on the battlefield during the 1860s (Seibert 2001:77–78). This inspired a reaction among African-Americans against the prevailing story of Manassas as a memorial to the “Lost Cause” perpetuated by Southern heritage groups (Seibert 2001:77–78). The archaeological investigations and the integration of the archaeological evidence into exhibits at the visitors’ center disrupted the traditional narrative at the site with a shift that incorporated the heritage memories of the African-Americans (Seibert 2001:77–79).

Not all of the monuments studied in this dissertation are within the physical borders of a military heritage site. Therefore, I studied the construction of heritage narratives with stand-alone Civil War monuments such as Robert Gould Shaw Memorial located in the Boston Common. This provided a useful additional layer to my analytical framework. The memorial was erected by the white elites of Boston to the commander of the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer infantry – an African-American regiment that fought in the Civil War with African-American enlisted men and white officers (Shackel 2001b:141). Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and his men’s attempt to capture the Confederate-held Fort Wagner outside of Charleston, South Carolina made the 54th Massachusetts famous (Shackel 2001b: 141). Colonel Shaw along with nearly half his men died in the attack, and in 1897 the monument was erected by the elite of Boston to memorialize his sacrifice (Shackel 2001b: 141).

The plans to erect a monument to Colonel Shaw and the 54th began in Boston in the autumn of 1865 (Shackel 2001b: 148). One of the original supporters of the project was Joshua Smith, a former fugitive slave and ex-servant of the Shaw family (Shackel

2001b: 148). However, by 1870 Joshua Smith's role had decreased and in the early 1880s a new, predominantly white committee took over the role of planning a monument (Shackel 2001b: 148). The Shaw Memorial was ultimately the result of the efforts of the white committee with ties to "Boston's Brahman elite" (Shackel 2001b: 148). Designed by the sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Colonel Shaw sits astride his horse in the center and foreground of the monument, literally "above" his marching African-American infantry, despite the fact Colonel Shaw had led his men into battle on foot (Shackel 2001b: 148).

White communities dominated public meaning of the monument for over a century by emphasizing the memory of Colonel Shaw and of Boston's historic abolitionist commitment (Shackel 2001b: 141). However, the Civil Rights Movement saw the beginnings of the transformation in the interpretation of the symbolism of the monument when the African-American communities embraced the monument as one of the few Civil War monuments to depict African-American troops (Shackel 2001b: 142). The monument became a National Historic Site in 1980. In 1981, Boston's Friends of the Public Garden and Harvard's Fogg Museum rededicated the monument after a joint restoration effort (Lauerhass 1997:63). A plaque placed on the back of the monument lists the names of the 281 soldiers who died in the attack on Fort Wagner. The plaque did not include those who later died of their wounds or were missing in action as part of this restoration and rededication (Shackel 2001b: 153). Scholars have noted that the African-American soldiers portrayed on the monument are individuals who are wearing their uniforms in different ways – a reinterpretation of the portrayal of the soldiers on the monument to the earlier descriptions that described them as listless, lacking the certainty and energy of Colonel Shaw (Shackel 2001b: 151 and 154). Since the 1980s, both the city of Boston and the National Park Service refer to the monument as a memorial to the 54th Massachusetts rather than a memorial to Colonel Shaw (Shackel 2001b: 155). This example demonstrates how the construction of Authorized Heritage Discourse can be

focused around a specific monument outside the boundaries of a military heritage site and also demonstrates how the meaning of a monument can be transformed.

Conclusion

The Civil War examples informed my research on Revolutionary War memorializations. The models of Civil War military sites demonstrated a use of Authorized Heritage Discourses to construct and adapt to the goals of the site owners. These examples also reinforced existing power dynamics at the cost of – and usually intentional – erasing a minority from the narrative. As my comparative study of Revolutionary War sites indicates, the memorialization of Civil War sites directly impacted the United States' broader conception of military sites and directly led to memorializations at military sites from other wars.

Summarizing, I used Critical Discourse Analysis to assess how the Authorized Heritage Discourse at each of my Revolutionary War sites followed the patterns established at Civil War sites to construct narratives that reinforced cultural conceptions and biases. I further used Critical Discourse Analysis also to analyze how individual monuments, both within and outside of Revolutionary War heritage landscapes, engaged with this Authorized Heritage Discourse to reaffirm, alter, or challenge how the Revolutionary War was remembered. In terms of understanding the historical production of the Revolutionary War narratives, I focused on the two stages Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995:26) has identified as “the moment of fact retrieval (the making of *narratives*); and the moment of retrospective significance (the making of *history* in the final instance).” Because the monuments and signage in these dissertation case studies were erected over a one hundred and forty-year period (1877-2017), my analysis of the monuments enables an understanding of the original intent of the narratives, transformations in the narratives, and their significance today.

Chapter 3

Historical Background

Introduction

The Revolutionary War sites in the State of New York are landscapes of memory, memorialization, and conflict. This are especially regarding the roles of minority peoples because they were originally marginalized even though events in this revolutionary era are vital components of the founding myth of the United States. The military heritage sites chosen for this dissertation are: the Burgoyne Campaign of 1777 (Fort Stanwix, Oriskany Battlefield, and Saratoga Battlefield) and the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779 (Fort Niagara and Newtown Battlefield). This dissertation focuses on succeeding eras from the 1800s to the present and examines who interprets the history of the sites, what memorials are erected by succeeding generations, and whose memories are selected for remembrance.

The American Revolution began as a war between rebelling colonists and the mother country England but rapidly expanded into a multinational civil war. Among the foreign nations drawn into the fight was the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, also known as the Iroquois Confederacy. The primary members of the confederacy were the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, with Tuscaroras joining by 1722 (Engelbrecht 2005:129, 166–167) (Figure 3.1). Many issues, such as loyalty to treaties or continuing to trade with the colonists, caused the confederacy to divide amongst themselves, and the Revolution became a civil war for the Confederacy just like their European neighbors.

Less than a decade before the Revolution began, the Haudenosaunee and the British signed the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768, prohibiting American colonists from settling the lands west of Fort Stanwix – modern Rome, New York (Taylor 2006: 8, 43–

**The Geopolitical Longhouse
of the Haudenosaunee,
The People of the Longhouse
At the Time of the Founding
of the Iroquois Confederacy**

by Fredricka René Davis

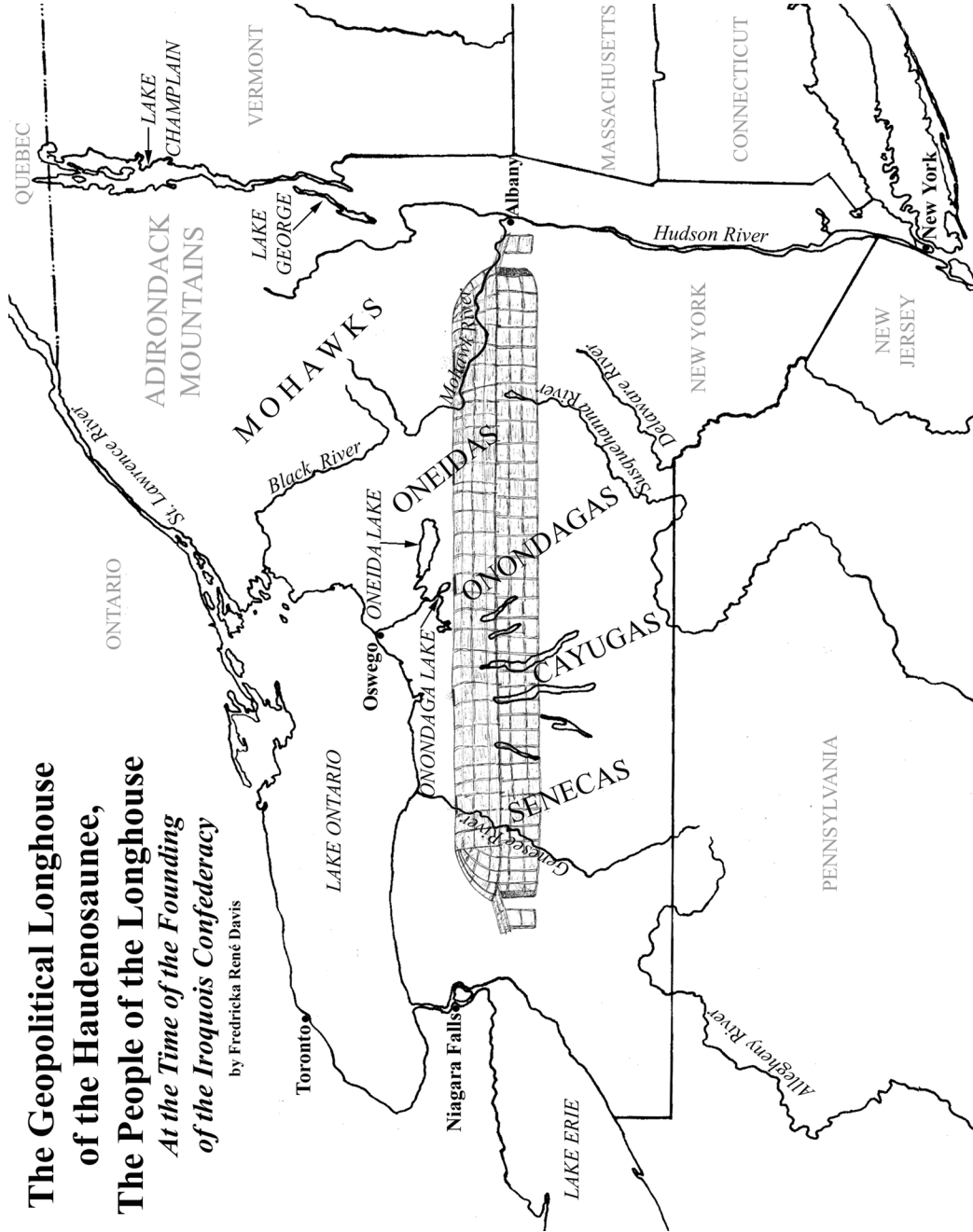


Figure 3.1: Map of Haudenosaunee Nations

(Map by Fredricka René Davis)

45). At the start of the American Revolution, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy officially declared neutrality (Fischer 1997:21–23). As the war progressed, however, factions within and between each of these nations divided the Confederacy as each party pursued their pro-British, pro-Continental Congress, or neutral agendas (Fischer 1997:21–25). By July 1777, rival factions split apart the Confederacy, thus expanding the American Revolution into a multi-nation civil war (Fischer 1997:25). Loyalists, British Regulars, and Crown-allied Native Americans would soon be fighting Oneidas and Tuscaroras who favored the Continental Congress in the battles of the Burgoyne Campaign of 1777 and in the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign of 1779.

One of the research questions addressed in the analysis chapter asks whether the ownership of the site would impact the type of memorialization at the sites; therefore, in this chapter I provided information on the changing ownership of each site. This chapter also provides the reader with the historical context and background that will be referred to in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation. Throughout this chapter I refer to the rebelling colonial combatants as either “Continental” – the professional soldiers authorized by the Continental Congress – or “Revolutionaries” instead of “Patriots” or “patriots.” This is because the Loyalists, often called Tories by the rebelling colonials, believed themselves to be patriots fighting for their king and lawful government of the colonies. This viewpoint is still held by the United Empire Loyalists and other Canadians as well as by the peoples of Great Britain and the Commonwealth. Therefore, I use Continentals or Revolutionaries in recognition that patriotism is a matter of perspective.

The Burgoyne Campaign

In 1777, the British sought to follow-up on the military successes of 1776. That year had seen the fall of New York City and a successful campaign by General Charles Cornwallis through New Jersey (Mackesy 1993:103). However, these successes did not deal a decisive blow ending the rebellion in the colonies. Lord George Germain, Secretary of State in England’s Parliament, held the responsibility for devising the

military strategy of the British generals in America and allocated any resources the generals needed (Mackesy 1993:56; Snow 2016a:14). Seeking to bring a swift end to the war late in 1776, General William Howe, commander of the British armies in the rebelling colonies, began devising a plan for 1777 to crush the rebellion by the end of the year (Mackesy 1993:109–111; Luzader 2016:2). The hot spot of rebel sentiment was New England and control of eastern New York and the Hudson River was key to cutting New England from the rest of the rebelling colonies (O’Shaughnessy 2013:84, 93). For this reason, General Howe’s campaign plan focused on first crushing the rebellion in New England (Mackesy 1993:110). If Howe’s plan succeeded, the remaining Revolutionary forces in the mid-Atlantic and southern colonies would be divided from the north and eliminated by the winter of 1777-78 (Mackesy 1993:110).

However, while Howe developed his proposed campaign plans, British General John Burgoyne was designing campaign plans of his own to present to Lord Germain (Holmes and Smith-Holmes 2012:28). As a member of Parliament, Burgoyne was well connected for his proposed campaign to gain traction with Lord Germain even though Burgoyne served under the command of General Guy Carleton, commander of the British army in Canada (Holmes and Smith-Holmes 2012:28). Burgoyne proposed a three-pronged assault that would cut New England off from the rest of the colonies. Three armies would meet at Albany, New York – one led by Burgoyne heading south from Canada along the Hudson, a second moving west along the Mohawk River Valley, and the third moving north from New York City under the command of Howe (Holmes and Smith-Holmes 2012:28). The British sought to gain control of the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers, key transportation highways in the 18th century (Taylor 2016a:179).

While Lord Germain approved Burgoyne’s campaign plans, Burgoyne was hindered by constraints imposed by London on the number of troops assigned to the campaign. As noted by the historian Andrew Jackson O’Shaughnessy (2013:145), Burgoyne’s “force was nearly a third below the number that he had requested consisting

of 7,300 men rather than the 11,000 specified in his original memorandum.” Burgoyne’s requested 11,000 did not include the Native American and Canadian militia which was intended to supplement Burgoyne’s army (Ward 1952:399). This smaller number of 7,300 soldiers was further hampered when only 400 of the hoped for 1,000 Haudenosaunee and Algonquin warriors joined the campaign along with only 800 of the expected 2,000 Canadian militia (O’Shaughnessy 2013:145). Germain also approved Howe’s plan to capture Philadelphia (Fort Stanwix National Monument Staff 2016; Taylor 2016b:179). Howe led the bulk of his army from New York City to attack Philadelphia and both he and Germain expected to have completed the Philadelphia campaign in Pennsylvania before Burgoyne had made significant progress towards Albany (Holmes and Smith-Holmes 2012:30; Fort Stanwix National Monument Staff 2016). Howe left General Henry Clinton in New York City with a garrison too small to adequately support Burgoyne before Howe’s army returned (Holmes and Smith-Holmes 2012:30). This would ultimately lead to disaster:-

Fort Stanwix

A portage “Oneida Carry” near Fort Stanwix connected the Mohawk River with Wood Creek (Starbuck 2011:51). This became a particularly important location to the British when they established a fortified trading post to the west at Oswego on the shores of Lake Ontario (Auwaerter and Curry 2000:25) (Figure 3.2). The British originally built two small forts named Bull and Williams to defend this portage (Auwaerter and Curry 2000:27). After the outbreak of the French and Indian War (1754-1763), a combined French, Canadian, and Native American force razed the two forts in 1756 (Sawyer 2016a). In 1758, the British moved to reestablish their presence at the Oneida Carry and constructed the larger Fort Stanwix on the ruins of Fort Williams (Hanson 1975:7–8; Sawyer 2016a).

Fort Stanwix was a star fort (Duffy 1985:1–2). The star pattern made it nearly impossible for an attacking army to scale the walls without being exposed to defensive

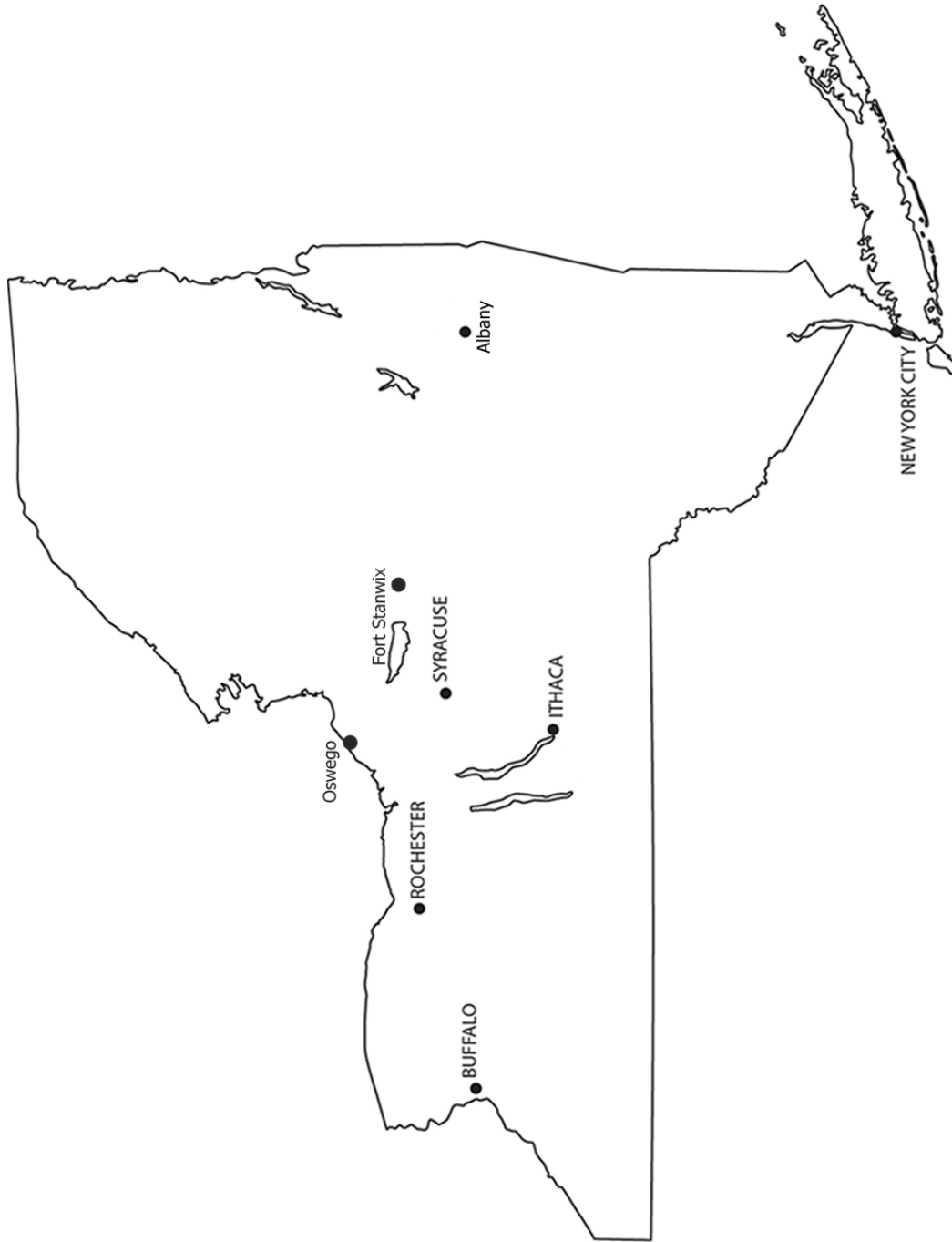


Figure 3.2: Map of Oswego and Fort Stanwix

(Map by Brant W. Venables)

fire from another part of the fort (Duffy 1985:3). Further adapting to the evolving military technologies of the 18th century, the landscape around the fort was altered by the British to give the fort a lower profile, making to make the walls harder to destroy without compromising the defenders ability to fire on the besieging forces (Duffy 1985:1). As the threat of a French attack steadily diminished until the war officially ended in 1763, the size of the garrison steadily shrank (Hanson 1975:7–8). France was forced to cede Canada to Britain in the 1763 Treaty of Paris.

In 1768, the British signed the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix with the Haudenosaunee. This treaty established the western boundary of the colony of New York and set Fort Stanwix as one of the anchors for the boundary (Hanson 1975:9). According to the terms of the treaty, all land west of the boundary and north of the Ohio belonged to the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, prohibiting settlement by European colonists (Taylor 2006:42–45). Despite this treaty, “raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands” was among the many grievances cited in the Declaration of Independence (Jefferson 1776).

After the American Revolution erupted, the Continental 3rd New Jersey regiment commanded by Colonel Elias Dayton reoccupied the abandoned fort in July 1776 (Sawyer 2016b). In the months of April and May 1777, Colonel Peter Gansevoort brought units of the 3rd New York regiment and took command of the fort (Sawyer 2016b).

The Continentals reoccupied and rebuilt the fort just in time for it to play a decisive role in British General John Burgoyne’s 1777 campaign. Following Burgoyne’s plan, General Barry St. Leger departed from Fort Oswego in late July with a force comprised of 800 British regulars, German infantry, Loyalists soldiers, and about one thousand Indian allies. St. Leger intended to capture Fort Stanwix, divert Continental forces away from Burgoyne, and recruit Loyalist soldiers (Fort Stanwix National Monument Staff 2016). After taking Fort Stanwix the British would have command of the western end of the strategic waterway of the Mohawk River.

Upon reaching the fort St. Leger's forces found the Continental garrison dug in and unwilling to yield the fort without a fight (Cubbison 2012:102; Sawyer 2016c;). Unfortunately for St. Leger, Continental forces felled trees along the length of Wood Creek to block St. Leger from bringing up his artillery (Watt 2002:131; Sawyer 2016c). St. Leger laid siege to the fort on August 3 without artillery (Sawyer 2016c). After five days, St. Leger's forces finally cleared Wood Creek of obstructions and St. Leger began bombarding the fort on August 8 (Sawyer 2016c). However, St. Leger only had field artillery, not siege artillery. Unable to significantly damage the fortification walls, an infantry assault could not be made to bring about a speedy surrender of the fort's garrison (Sawyer 2016c). The twenty-one day siege ended when word reached St. Leger's camp of a relief force of Continentals led by General Benedict Arnold (Taylor 2006:92). Arnold's Continental troops had captured several Loyalists as Arnold drew nearer to Fort Stanwix and released these Loyalists to return to St. Leger's camp with rumors exaggerating the size of Arnold's Continental forces (Holmes and Smith-Holmes 2012:36). These rumors succeeded in demoralizing the British forces, especially their Native American allies who decided to abandon the siege (Holmes and Smith-Holmes 2012:36). As the Native Americans made up a major portion of St. Leger's forces, their retreat left him with no choice but to withdraw the remainder of his forces and retreat to Canada (Sawyer 2016c).

Battle of Oriskany

In the Spring of 1777, an irregular unit of Mohawks from the Haudenosaunee settlement of Onoquaga and Loyalists living along the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers was formed by Mohawk leader Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea, meaning Bundle of Sticks, united strengths) (Taylor 2006:90). Lacking uniforms and using whatever supplies Joseph Brant could acquire from the British at Fort Niagara, the Haudenosaunee and Loyalist members alike dressed themselves as Native American warriors (Taylor 2006:91). For the Loyalists this marked them as "race traitors" subject to summary execution if captured by the Revolutionaries (Taylor 2006:91). As an irregular unit of partisans, some of the

British officers viewed these “Volunteers” with contempt, but members of the unit were intensely loyal to their charismatic leader Joseph Brant (Taylor 2006:90–91). A mere few months after being formed, Joseph Brant led them to Oswego on Lake Ontario to join St. Leger’s army.

A relief force of 800 Revolutionary militia set out from the nearby settlement of German Flatts under the command of the German-American General Nicholas Herkimer to lift the siege of Fort Stanwix three days after it began (Taylor 2006:92). However, Molly Brant observed the militia’s preparations and sent word to her brother, Joseph Brant (Taylor 2006:92). Using the intelligence provided by Molly Brant, Loyalists, British Regulars, and Native Americans set out on August 6 to ambush Herkimer’s militia six miles east of the fort at a location known as Oriskany (Taylor 2006:92) (Figure 3.3). Caught while marching in a column, the militia was ill prepared to mount an organized resistance (Sawyer 2016d). In a desperate attempt to find cover the militia quickly dispersed in small groups and then engaged the British forces in skirmishes, sometimes locked in brutal hand to hand combat (Sawyer 2016d). During this frantic combat General Herkimer was wounded in the leg. Rather than allow his men to carry him from the field he had them prop him up by a tree where he continued to direct their defense (Watt 2002:162, 172; Sawyer 2016d). The sudden outbreak of a violent thunderstorm saved the militia from being overrun. Forcing both sides to seek shelter and protect their gunpowder from the rain, the Revolutionary militia used this respite to reform into a defensive circle (Sawyer 2016d).

Loyalist John Butler, who would later organize and command the Loyalist unit Butler’s Rangers, led a contingent of Loyalists in an attempt to infiltrate the Continental’s lines after the storm lifted (Sawyer 2016d). However, because Oriskany was truly a battle of neighbor versus neighbor, some of the Loyalists were recognized by their neighbors fighting for the Revolutionaries (Watt 2002:182; Sawyer 2016d). Oneida warriors fighting alongside Herkimer’s militia faced other Haudenosaunee – the Mohawk and Seneca

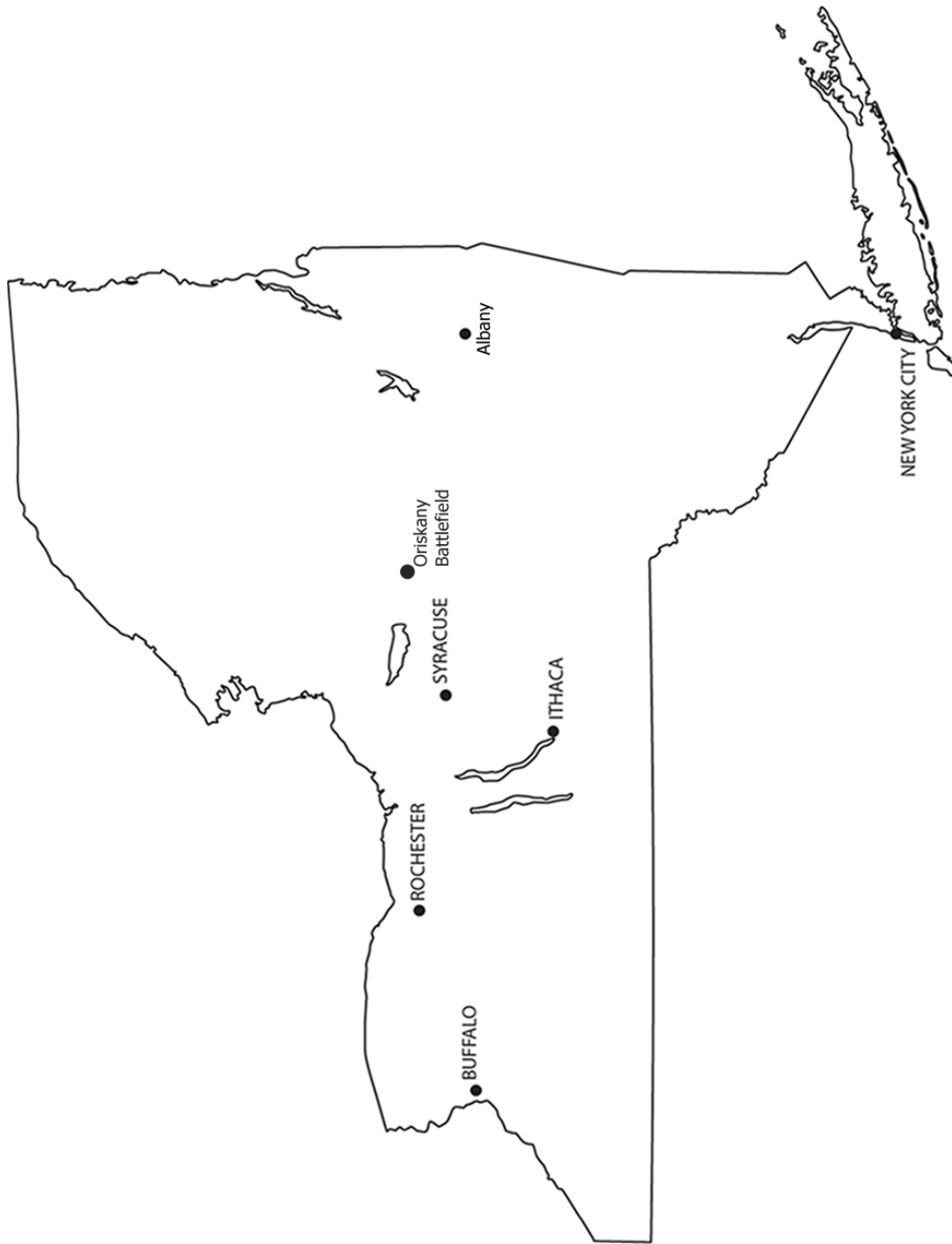


Figure 3.3: Location of Oriskany in New York

(Map by Brant W. Venables)

who had joined St. Leger (Taylor 2006:92). This made Oriskany the first battle of the Revolution where Haudenosaunee fought Haudenosaunee (Taylor 2006:92).

Historians have debated why, at this point in the battle, the Crown-allied Native Americans retreated to the British lines surrounding Fort Stanwix. The sudden loss of the Crown-allied Native Americans forced the remaining Loyalist and British infantry to withdraw. One possibility is that there were concerns that the rear of the British forces engaged at Oriskany were threatened by the sally made by Continental troops led by Marinus Willett (Sawyer 2016d). Another is that after suffering heavy casualties, the Native American forces did not wish to take even more casualties (Taylor 2006:92). Although the Crown-allied Native Americans took minor casualties compared to those taken by the Revolutionary militia, the Native Americans did not have a standing army. Native American military forces were similar in concept to European militias and as such they could not afford to take what would be deemed by a standing army as “acceptable casualties.” Given that the Revolutionary militia had been decimated, the Crown-allied Native Americans may have deemed the total destruction of the few militia remaining not worth the further casualties the Native Americans would have to take in order to do so. Regardless, while this withdrawal of Crown forces saved the Revolutionary militia from being completely destroyed, they had lost too many men to continue towards Fort Stanwix and lift the siege.

The Military Landscape after War: Razed by Economic Prosperity, Raised by Economic Decline

While the area around Fort Stanwix and nearby Oriskany remained important historical sites because of their roles in founding of the United States, the demographic and economic growth around them dramatically added new aspects to the region’s importance to the new nation and the State of New York. Following the conclusion of the American Revolution the Euro-American colonists expanded westward onto the land that the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix had once forbidden them from occupying. No

longer of military value after the war, the fort fell into decay (Sawyer 2016b). Of the Euro-American villages that were formed, one was the Rome township founded in 1796 (Zackey 2016). The location of what was once Fort Stanwix was transformed from a military site into an urban site. In 1819, the village of Lynch within this township was incorporated as the town of Rome (Zackey 2016).

The natural waterways of the Mohawk River and Wood Creek continued to be important transportation highways after the American Revolution and into 19th century. In 1797, the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company completed construction on a two mile canal linking Wood Creek with the Mohawk River, eliminating the need for the portage at Fort Stanwix (Auwaerter and Curry 2000:59). The construction of the Erie Canal between 1817 and 1825 brought an economic boon to the area of present-day Rome and by the 1840s over half of the freight carried along the canal came from the states west of New York (Auwaerter and Curry 2000:60).

While the Erie Canal steadily declined as a prime means of freight transportation the railroads that replaced it had been built along the same route (Auwaerter and Curry 2000:62). In 1839, the construction of the Utica & Syracuse Railroad was completed (Auwaerter and Curry 2000:62). Thus, the decline of the canals did not negatively impact Rome, which remained a transportation hub for goods flowing between the East and West Coasts.

The economic boom of the Industrial Revolution brought prosperity to numerous cities across the United States during the 19th century and Rome was no exception. Numerous metal industries turned Rome became a booming industrial city famous for the copper produced there and in 1870 became incorporated as the city of Rome (City of Rome 2016). As economic prosperity expanded the boundaries of the city, the city's downtown business district was built upon the buried foundations and grounds of Fort Stanwix.

By the mid-20th century the economic boom of the Industrial Revolution

had dissipated and the steady decline of Rome's economic strength was alarmingly apparent (Zenzen 2008:37). One of the heaviest blows to Rome's economy had been the development of new means of transportation – where the Erie Canal and railroads had once made Rome a transportation hub, airplanes, cars, and trucks now bypassed the city (Zenzen 2008:37). The decline in the copper industry which was brought about in no small part because of the massive growth in the use of plastics, stainless steel, and aluminum made matters worse for Rome (Zenzen 2008:37). This decline steadily reduced the range of copper products from a diverse catalog of goods ranging from agricultural tools, guns, and locomotive parts to simply electronics (Zenzen 2008:37).

The plan to rebuild Fort Stanwix emerged as an urban renewal project in the 1960s (Zenzen 2008:38–44). Reconstructing the site in time for the Bicentennial was additionally appealing because of the fort's important role in the American Revolution (Hanson 1975:1). A large portion of the buildings in the downtown business district of Rome were demolished by the government to expose the remains of Fort Stanwix (Zenzen 2008:44–45). Following this demolition, the National Park Service undertook three years of archaeological excavation directed by Dick Ping Hsu (Hanson 1975:1). The project was undertaken at the tail-end of the popularity for reconstructing no longer extant structures by the National Park Service (Starbuck 2011:52).

Unfortunately, the booming heritage tourism that many citizens of Rome had anticipated did not fully materialize. Based on video records made at the time of the fort's reconstruction, it appears that this was in part due to misunderstanding the necessity to promote the heritage site (National Park Service 1977). Because Rome lacked a cohesive advertising plan, Fort Stanwix was unable to draw a critical mass of tourists (National Park Service 1977).

While Fort Stanwix was completed in time for the Bicentennial, budget constraints and the National Park Service's desire to keep the surrounding grounds clear of obstructions prevented the construction of a separate visitor center (Zenzen 2008:86).

This meant that the NPS located all park interpretation, storage, and administrative facilities within the reconstructed fort's barracks, bastions, and other buildings (Zenzen 2008:167–168). By 1993, the archaeological collection had begun to suffer from the lack of an adequate storage facility and this led to plans to construct a visitor center that would also hold the fort's archaeological collection (Zenzen 2008:167–168). Finally, on July 2, 2005, the Marinus Willett Collections Management and Education Center opened to the public (National Park Service 2005). The facility was named by the National Park Service for Marinus Willett, the brave second-in-command during the 1777 siege (National Park Service 2005). Yet to be seen is whether the construction of the Willet Visitors Center will help create the booming heritage tourism originally envisioned when the fort was reconstructed in the 1970s.

Transformation of the Military Landscape: From Battlefield to Canal Route

In 1784, travelers to the area of Oriskany noted the presence of unburied bones, grim testament to the devastating casualties suffered by Herkimer's militia (Taylor 2006:136). In the following year, 1785, the Oriskany Patent which included the battlefield was subdivided by the State of New York into lots (Auwaerter and Curry 2000:59). The subdivision that included the battlefield was leased to tenant farmers who slowly cleared the forest from the battlefield and developed it into farm land (Auwaerter and Curry 2000:59). New York State rebuilt the road that Herkimer's militia had traveled on their ill-fated attempt to lift the siege, first as a turnpike and later a plank road (Auwaerter and Curry 2000:59). In the early 19th century, a portion of the Erie Canal was built by New York State along the northern border of the battlefield (Auwaerter and Curry 2000:59). The Oneida Historical Society purchased a five-acre plot of the battlefield from William Ringrose in 1880 to erect an obelisk monument that still stands (Auwaerter and Curry 2000:121). This plot of land became a New York State historic site in 1927 and the battlefield remains a New York State historic site in 2018 (New York State Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation 2016).

Battles of Saratoga

The culmination of the Burgoyne Campaign of 1777 occurred on the Saratoga Battlefield (Figure 3.4). On June 13, 1777, after a ceremonial transfer of command from General Guy Carleton to General John Burgoyne, the British army departed from St. Johns north of Lake Champlain (Ketchum 1997:130–133). The army included British soldiers, Loyalists, Germans under Baron Friederich von Riedesel, and Native Americans (Ketchum 1997:137; Snow 2016a:17). On July 6, Burgoyne's army successfully overcame the Continental defenses along the northern Hudson River Valley by occupying the heights of Mount Defiance (Sugar Loaf Hill) overlooking Fort Ticonderoga (Luzader 2010:55–56; Snow 2016a:9). This maneuver was virtually unopposed. When Burgoyne moved artillery to this dominant position, he forced the Revolutionaries to evacuate the fort on Lake Champlain (Luzader 2010:55-56; Luzader 2016:16).

Continuing their drive down Lake George and then the Hudson River, Burgoyne's army met minor resistance until the Battle of Bennington. The battle began as a raid into Vermont searching for horses for the German dragoons, cattle, and other supplies (Luzader 2010:94–95; Gabriel 2012:18). The British also hoped Loyalists in the area would join Burgoyne (Luzader 2010:94–95; Gabriel 2012:18). Up until this point Burgoyne's army had relied on supply lines stretching all the way from Canada, and as the army marched further down the Hudson the logistics of supplying the army became progressively worse (Luzader 2010:94). Dispatching a force to the Continental depot at Bennington, the raid's commander, Lieutenant Colonel Friedrich Baum, quickly defeated a small Revolutionary militia force as they approached the town (Luzader 2010:97). Encouraged by this victory, Baum believed that an attack on the depot would be successful (Luzader 2010:97). However, the Revolutionary militia guarding the depot was double the size of Baum's force and, despite being predominantly untested troops, they successfully enveloped Baum's troops on August 16 (Luzader 2010:105). Burgoyne dispatched Lieutenant Colonel Heinrich Breyman to Baum's aid. However, by the

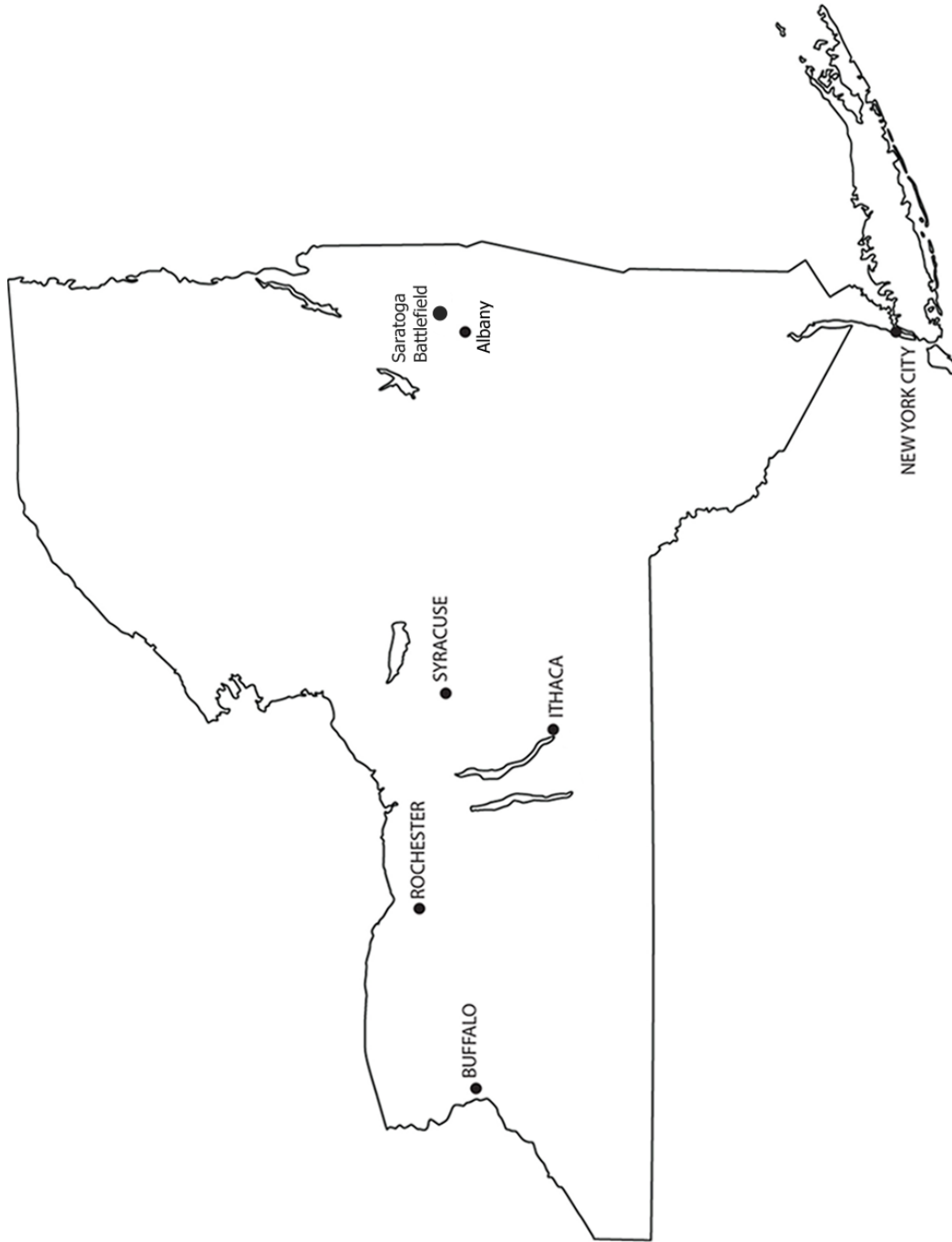


Figure 3.4: Location of Saratoga in New York

(Map by Brant W. Venables)

time they arrived Baum's force had already been routed, and the same fate nearly befell Breymann's force as well (Luzader 2010:107–111). This decisive defeat of Burgoyne's raiding force at Bennington set the stage for the Battles of Saratoga one month later.

Even though Continental General Horatio Gates had gathered a force of comparable size to Burgoyne's by early September he recognized that the superior training and experience of the German and British infantry weighted any battle in favor of Burgoyne (Luzader 2010:204). Seeking to offset that advantage, Gates moved his troops to Bemis Heights (Luzader 2010:204–205). Bemis Heights offered the Continentals a commanding view of the valley and the Hudson River below. The heights were heavily wooded, making it difficult for Burgoyne to deploy artillery to support infantry and favoring the skirmish tactics of Gates' forces, in particular Daniel Morgan's Riflemen (O'Shaughnessy 2013:154). Burgoyne's slow advance towards Bemis Heights gave the Continentals nearly a week to prepare defensive works in anticipation of a confrontation with Burgoyne's army (Ketchum 1997:348). The Polish engineer Thaddeus Kościuszko directed the construction of the Continental's defenses (Ketchum 1997:351; Griswold 2016:105, 109). Kościuszko chose the locations and then designed the Continental defensive works that forced the British to attack the Continentals at a great disadvantage to the British. In the valley, Kościuszko ordered a trench dug from the foot of the Heights to the banks of the Hudson with an artillery battery placed behind it to sweep the road in front of the trench and the opposite river bank (Ketchum 1997:354). At the top of Bemis Heights, the Continentals placed additional artillery batteries overlooking the valley to catch the British army in a murderous crossfire if they attempted to advance against the valley trench. To defend the positions on the Heights from being outflanked, Kościuszko had a U shaped breastwork constructed on the farmland of a man named John Neilson, now a soldier in General Gates' army (Ketchum 1997:354; Starbuck 2016:128).

As the British Army drew near to the town of Stillwater, Burgoyne ordered one of his generals, Simon Fraser, to take the right corps along the Heights and attempt to attack

the Continental's left flank (Ketchum 1997:357). The first Battle of Saratoga occurred on September 19, 1777 on the fields of a Loyalist farmer, John Freeman, who had gone north to join Burgoyne's army early in the campaign (Ketchum 1997:354; Valosin 2016:211). General Gates ordered Daniel Morgan to take his unit of light infantry (Morgan's Rifles) along with additional infantry under the command of Henry Dearborn to take up a flanking position and harass any of Fraser's troops that came near (Ketchum 1997:360). When Morgan's Rifles spied the advancing British light infantry they unleashed a devastating volley that sent the British into retreat (Ketchum 1997:360). Morgan's Rifles charged. They were nearly wiped out when they came against the full strength of Fraser's infantry and were simultaneously attacked along their flank by additional British infantry (Cubbison 2012:110; Schnitzer 2016:48). Morgan's Rifles managed to flee to safety, and a respite of two hours would fall on the field while both sides regrouped (Snow 2016a:97, 101). The battle heated up once again as both sides massed more infantry units and the British brought up their field artillery to support the infantry (Ketchum 1997:362–363). The brunt of the fighting focused on the center of the British line, and this led to a pitched battle between the British regulars and Morgan's light infantry as each side made attacks and counter-attacks (Ketchum 1997:363–366). Late in the day the battle at Freeman's Farm finally swayed in favor of the British with the arrival of five hundred German soldiers which reinforced the British regulars (Ketchum 1997:367). While the British victoriously controlled the field of battle, the attack had failed in its objective to dislodge the Continental forces along Bemis Heights (Starbuck 1999b:21; Taylor 2016a:181).

On the morning of September 21, as Burgoyne and his generals debated what to do next, a letter from General Henry Clinton arrived stating that Clinton might make an attempt to march 2,000 troops north from New York City to Burgoyne's aid (Ketchum 1997:375). Encouraged by this first letter from New York City since July 17 and still hopeful of a joint effort between Burgoyne's army and the British garrison in New York City, Burgoyne ordered his army to construct defensive redoubts of earth and timber

and wait for relief (Ketchum 1997:375-376; Schnitzer 2016:58-59). However, while Burgoyne's army waited for the relief force to arrive and watched their supplies steadily dwindle, the Continental army increased in size due to a steady stream of Revolutionary militia units (Ketchum 1997:375-376; Luzader 2016:22-23).

Burgoyne's situation steadily deteriorated when the Continentals recaptured Fort Ticonderoga, severing Burgoyne's much needed supply line from Canada (Ketchum 1997:376). As supplies dwindled, Continental forces made it increasingly difficult and dangerous to gather supplies from the neighboring farmland (Ketchum 1997:376, 381-382; Luzader 2016:25). On October 7, after two weeks of waiting for Clinton to arrive with a relief force from New York City, Burgoyne sent a reconnaissance in force with ten pieces of artillery to probe the Continental left flank (Luzader 2016:26). As this reconnaissance force moved into a location known as the Barber Wheatfield, Continentals attacked as British foragers were harvesting much-needed wheat (Luzader 2010:283-284).

Forced to retreat under a relentless Continental attack, General Fraser attempted to rally his outnumbered men in a spirited rear-guard action (Luzader 2016:28). At this time Daniel Morgan ordered his riflemen to target Fraser (Luzader 2016:28). Irish-American Timothy Murphy is believed by some to have fired the shot that mortally wounded Fraser (Mintz 1990:210; Ketchum 1997:400). But the archaeologist Dean Snow briefly notes he does not believe that Murphy fired the fatal shot, but rather an unknown militiaman fired the fatal shot (Snow 2016a:91, 259-260, 408-409 fn 44, 67, 68). Due to the lack of forensic evidence there is no absolute proof of who shot Fraser (Snow 2016b:99).

The initial skirmish rapidly spread to a large battle. The massed Continental army, now numbering some 12,500 men to Burgoyne's army, now likely reduced well below the 8,500 men that began the campaign, launched attacks against the main British defensive line (Schnitzer 2016:66). Despite these superior numbers the British had constructed formidable defensive works, one of which was known as the Balcarres Redoubt and the

site of an ill-fated Continental attack. John Luzader explained why some historians have championed a heroic narrative of the futile attack on the Balcarres Redoubt, stating “blind American courage in the face of certain failure has a seductive appeal, redeeming the sacrifice of brave men” (Luzader 2010:289).

Although the Balcarres Redoubt held, the decisive action that would pave the way for Burgoyne’s surrender occurred at the Breyman Redoubt on the British right flank (Schnitzer 2016:64-65). The Continentals successfully overwhelmed the 200 German Jägers under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Heinrich Breyman. The Continentals now threatened the entire right rear of Burgoyne’s army (Ward 1952:530–532; Luzader 2010:290, 295). Falling back to their final defensive position known as the Great Redoubt, Burgoyne reorganized his forces on October 8 and made preparations to retreat (Luzader 2010:297). During the evening of October 8 the British buried General Fraser within the Great Redoubt with military honors (Fraser had died of his wounds that morning) (Luzader 2010; Snow 2016a:291–292).

Slowly retreating northward the beleaguered British army arrived at the town of Schuylerville on October 9 (Luzader 2016:30). They could not cross the river and escape because Continental forces had arrived ahead of the British to block their only avenue of retreat (Luzader 2016:30). Left with few options the British once again constructed defensive works but within two days the Continental army had completely surrounded them (Kirk and DiVirgilio 2016:150–151). One week later, on October 17, Burgoyne’s army, including as many as 2,000 women and 500 children camp followers, surrendered (Riedesel 1965:63; O’Shaughnessy 2013:146). This ended the British campaign of 1777 to cut New England off from the rest of the rebelling colonies (Saratoga National Historical Park 2016). For the Revolutionaries, the victory at Saratoga was a major turning point in the war. As a result, Louis XVI and the government of France, already aiding the Revolutionaries with supplies and increasingly inclined in the Rebels’ favor, formally allied France with the Continental Congress following the battle (Ward

1952:540; O'Shaughnessy 2013:163–164).

Transformation of the Military Landscape: Saratoga after the War

Following the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, Saratoga and the neighboring battlefield returned to farmland, the once impressive redoubts falling into decay or being dismantled by farmers (Kirk and DiVirgilio 2016:151; Stull et al. 2016:168). A 22-acre parcel known as Victory Woods was the location of the final stand of Burgoyne's army and is protected by the National Park Service. On October 17, 1856, local citizens formed the Saratoga Monument Association (SMA) to erect a tower, later known as the Saratoga Monument, to commemorate the Continental victory (Holmes and Smith-Holmes 2012:62–63). Throughout the late 19th century the organization erected smaller monuments around the battlefield placing them at locations along existing roads (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:7–11). The SMA transferred control of the large tower monument (completed in 1887) as well as their smaller landholdings on the battlefield to New York State on September 13, 1895. The SMA disbanded soon after (Linebaugh 2016:242). President Franklin D. Roosevelt played a leading role in transforming the rest of the battlefield from a New York State historic site to national military park in 1938 (Linebaugh 2016:250–251). After the Bicentennial, New York State also transferred ownership of the Saratoga Monument to the National Park Service on July 23, 1980 (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:53; Linebaugh 2016:253).

Sullivan Campaign

While the American Revolution was fought on many fronts in North America, the Mohawk Joseph Brant and the Loyalist John Butler fought their war along the borderlands of the Haudenosaunee; along the southwestern parts of the province of Quebec in Canada, and along the borders of New York and Pennsylvania. Having taken part in St. Leger's portion of Burgoyne's ill-fated campaign, Butler and Brant would play key roles in 1777 when the British shifted their strategy after the Battles of Saratoga.

On September 15, 1777, Butler made his way to Fort Niagara where he organized

the Loyalist unit known as Butler's Rangers (Smy 2004:4; Williams 2005:67–68; Dunnigan 2007:23) (Figure 3.5). Men were recruited who were familiar with Native American languages, customs, and warfare tactics and made up at least two of the companies (Smy 2004:4–5; Williams 2005:68–73). By September 18, 1781, a total of ten companies would comprise Butler's Rangers; however, at the time of the Battle of Newtown in 1779, Butler's Rangers could muster no more than six companies (Smy 2004:5).

After Saratoga, the new British strategy focused the major campaigns of the main British armies on Philadelphia; New Jersey; Newport, Rhode Island; and the South (Shy 1990:195–200; Mackesy 1993:218–219). New York City became a permanent base for both the British Army and British Navy (Mackesy 1993:251–256). The British shifted from using Loyalist and First Nation forces as supplements to regular British military units to utilizing them as guerrilla forces engaging in hit-and-run attacks against settlements along the western frontiers of Pennsylvania and New York (Shy 1990:195; Fischer 1997:19–20).

Butler's Rangers, Brant's Volunteers, and other Native American allies patrolled the southern, eastern, and western boundaries between Native American and Euro-American settlements, ranging from Ohio all the way to the St. Lawrence River (Holmes 1977:2). These forces engaged in raids against Continental agricultural settlements with the goal of disrupting supply lines to the Continental army (Fischer 1997:20). They also tied up Continental troops sent to defend against these raids, thus preventing these Continental soldiers from being deployed to fight the main British armies operating along the East Coast (Fischer 1997:20). The Continental forces deployed along the frontier matched the tactics of their enemies by launching raids of their own against Loyalist and neutral or pro-British Native American settlements (Taylor 2006:8, 43–45). Initiated in 1778, these devastating raids contrasted to the lengthy campaigns of the previous year and lasted until the Treaty of Paris ended the war in 1783 (Shy 1990:184–186; Mackesy

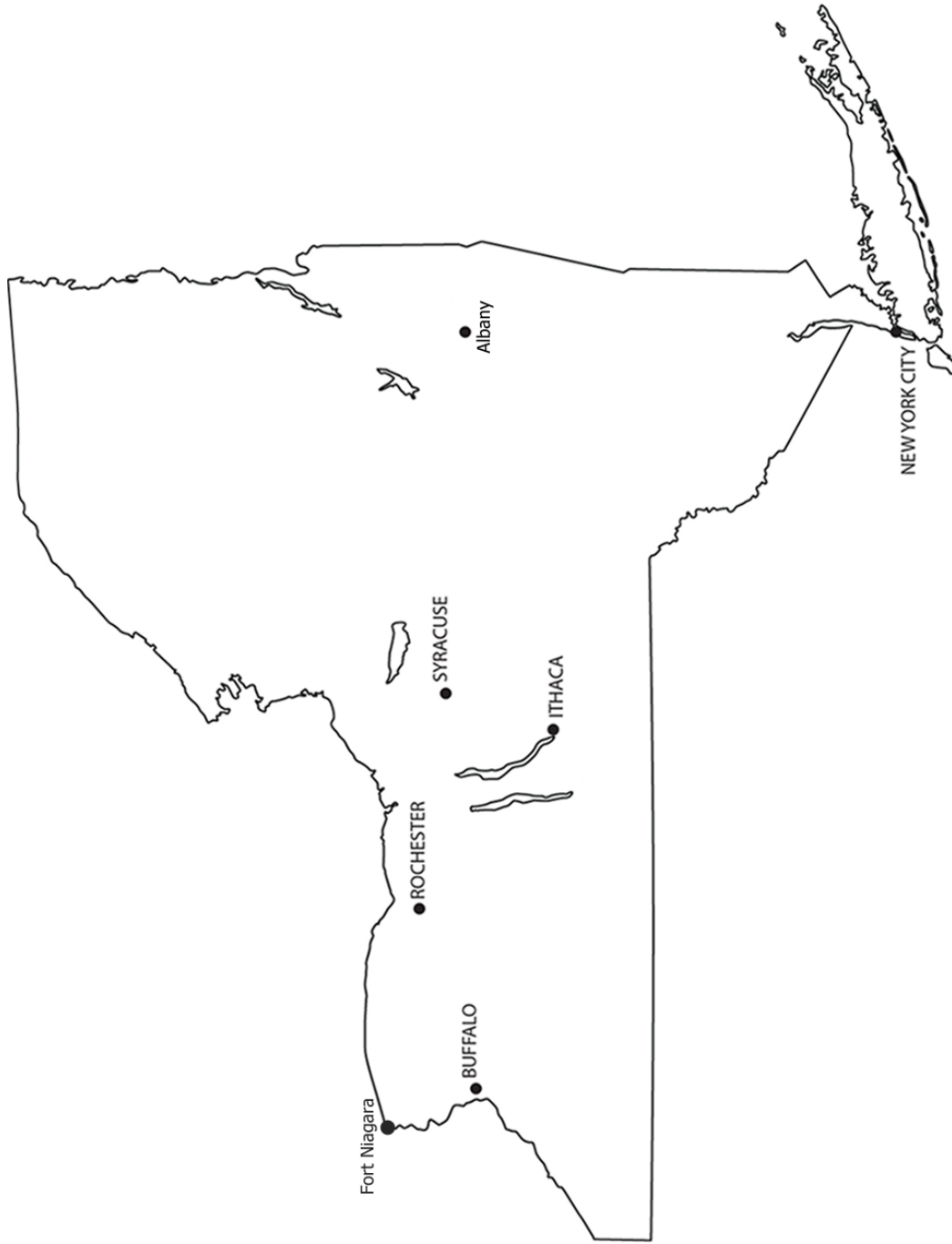


Figure 3.5: Location of Fort Niagara in New York

(Map by Brant W. Venables)

1993:130–136; Fischer 1997:19–20; Taylor 2006:91).

In 1778, violent raids by both Continental and Crown forces set the stage for the even more terrible confrontations of 1779. In fact, the events of 1778 proved to be the catalyst that permanently changed the war along the New York and Pennsylvania frontiers. On July 3, 1778, 200 Rangers and 300 Crown-allied Native Americans attacked the Continental settlement of Wyoming in Pennsylvania (Flick 1929a:9; Holmes 1977:1) (Figure 3.6). After peacefully capturing two blockhouses, the force of Rangers and Native Americans pretended to withdraw to lure the Continental garrison out of the largest fort in the area (Fischer 1997:27). The tactic worked. After the Revolutionaries left the protection of their fort to pursue the Rangers and Native Americans, the Rangers and Native Americans killed more than three hundred of them, primarily militia (Fischer 1997:27). Continental propaganda called “the Battle of Wyoming” a “massacre” and blamed the Mohawk leader Joseph Brant for the slaughter – even though Joseph Brant did not participate in the attack on Wyoming (Fischer 1997:27–28, 30; Taylor 2006:93). In truth, Brant’s forces throughout the war displayed more restraint towards civilians and prisoners than their Continental counterparts (Taylor 2006:93).

In October 1778, in retaliation for Wyoming, Revolutionaries forces from Cherry Valley, New York, launched an attack against the Native American town of Onoquaga, located along the Susquehanna River (Taylor 2006:74, 93) (Figure 3.7). Joseph Brant and his forces were out on a raid at the time and thus did not defend the settlement from attack (Taylor 2006:93). As a result, the Revolutionaries burned the homes, slaughtered the cattle, and torched the corn fields and orchards (Taylor 2006:93–94). Most of the inhabitants had been alerted in time to flee (Taylor 2006:94). However, Revolutionary forces discovered several Native American children hiding in the corn fields and brutally bayoneted them to death (Preston 1989:100–101; Taylor 2006:94). Benjamin Dixon, one of the men who committed this atrocity, gave an account to his employer, the surveyor Samuel Preston. In July 1789, Preston recorded that “Benjamin Dixon...told that he was

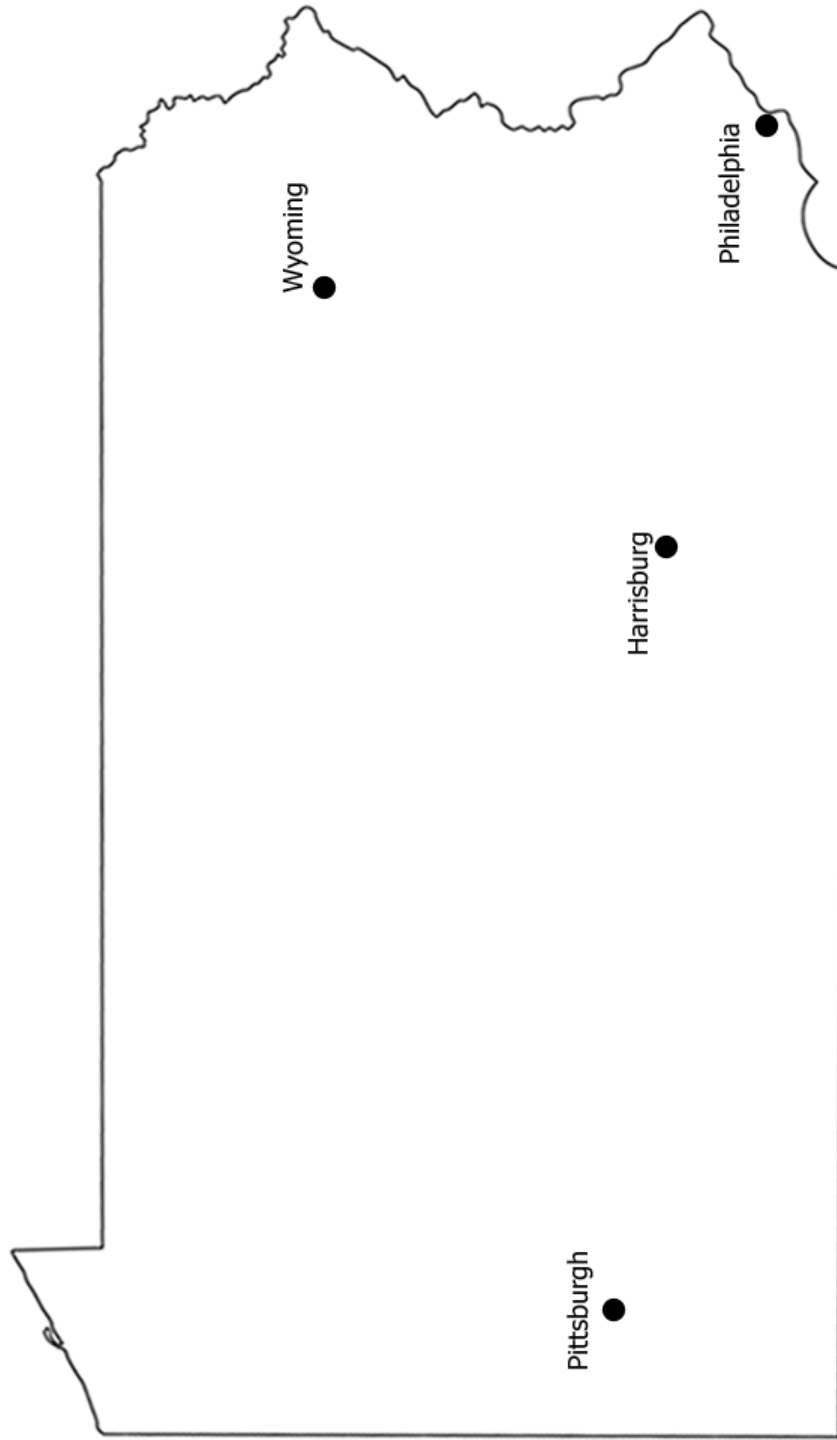


Figure 3.6: Location of Wyoming, Pennsylvania
(Map by Brant W. Venables)

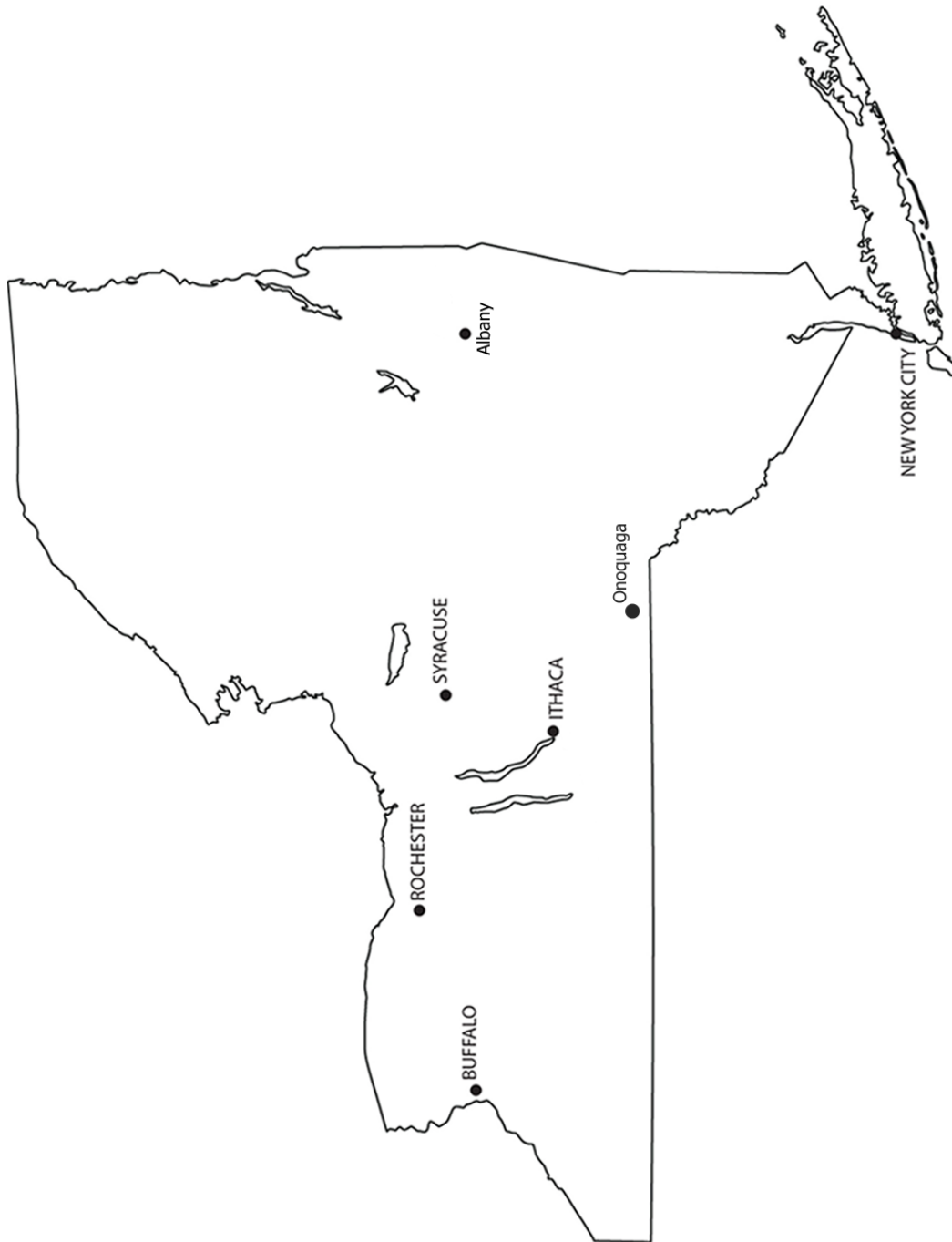


Figure 3.7: Location of Onoquaga
(Map by Brant W. Venables)

in the army...and he boasted very much what cruel deaths they put them [the children] to” (Preston 1989:100–101). In addition to the writings of Preston, Tuscarora Richard Hill Sr. recounted an oral history by Tom Porter. Porter, an Akwesasne Mohawk, recalled “a story of the Americans [on a raid] bayoneting Haudenosaunee children and smashing their bodies against the ground. We know that some Haudenosaunee scouts stayed behind to watch the Americans. It is from their accounts that such stories arise” (Hill 2012:79). While Richard Hill does not mention the name of the raid, it is possible that this Haudenosaunee oral history describes the same event recorded by Samuel Preston.

In the fall of 1778, a joint Ranger and Crown-allied Native American force returning from a raid in the Mohawk Valley discovered that the Loyalist settlement of Unadilla had been attacked by the pro-Continental Oneidas (Holmes 1977:2). As revenge for this and for the attack on Onoquaga, Major Butler mustered the 400 Rangers in the area, along with a comparable number of Seneca warriors (Holmes 1977:2). On the night of November 9, 1778 this force of Butler’s Rangers and Senecas under the command of John Butler’s son Walter and of Joseph Brant attacked the Revolutionary base at Cherry Valley (Holmes 1977:2) (Figure 3.8).

Despite the presence of a Revolutionary force inside the fort, the surprise attack by Butler’s Rangers and Senecas resulted in fourteen Revolutionaries captured, twenty-six Revolutionaries killed, the capturing of their cattle, and the destruction of everything in the valley outside the fort (Holmes 1977:2). In addition to soldiers, women, children, and men not under arms were killed in the attack (Williams 2005:182). While Joseph Brant maintained the discipline of his forces, John Butler’s son Walter Butler lost control of his forces, and these were largely responsible for the civilian casualties (Ward 1952:634–635; Kelsay 1984:231–232; Taylor 2006:94). As was the case at Wyoming, the facts did not deter the Revolutionaries from placing the blame for the civilian casualties on Joseph Brant’s shoulders (Swiggett 1963:155; Taylor 2006:94). Loyalist and British officers exonerated Joseph Brant, placing the blame for the brutalities at Cherry Valley

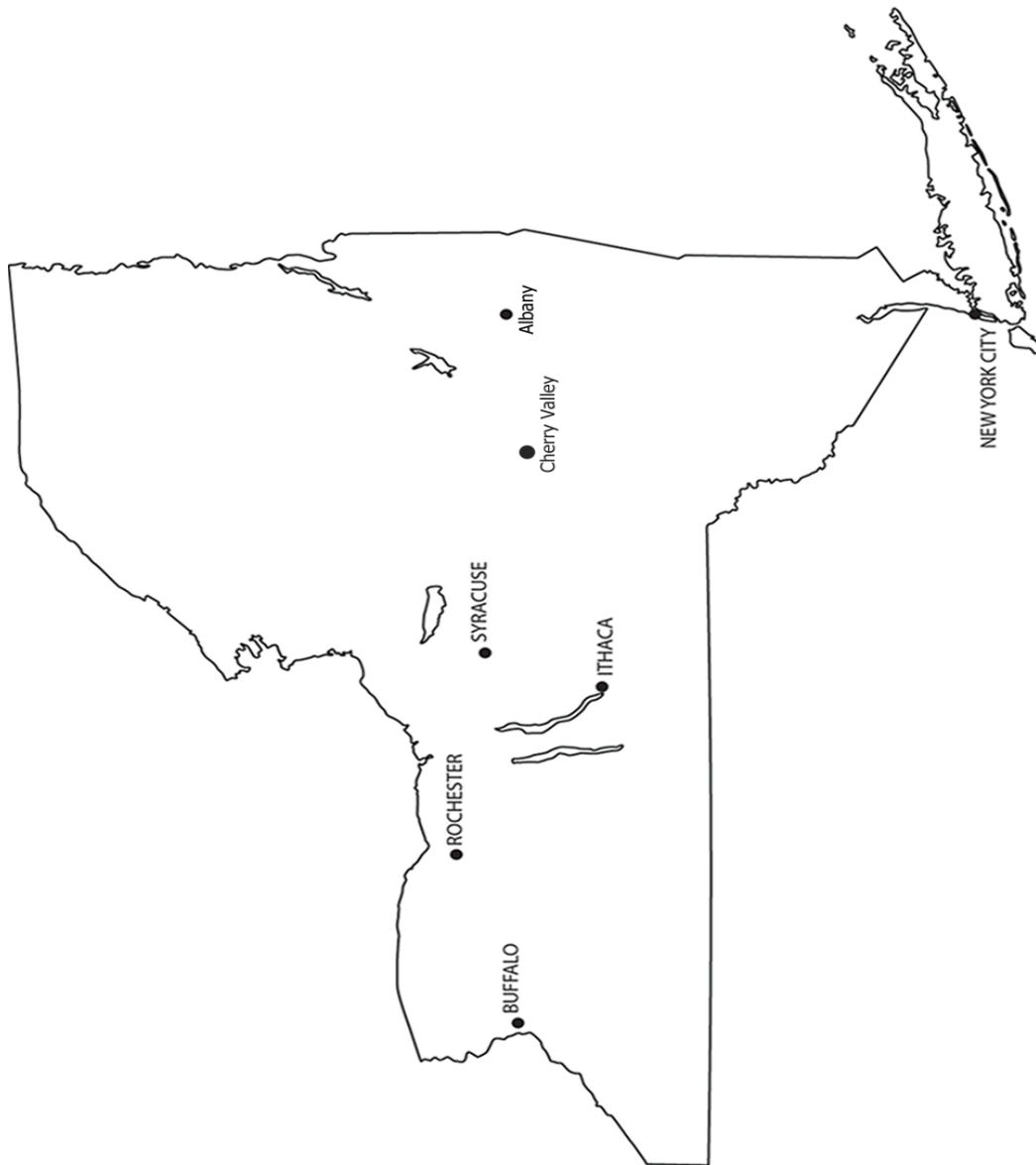


Figure 3.8: Location of Cherry Valley

(Map by Brant W. Venables)

on Walter Butler or one of the Senecas, Little Beard (Kelsay 1984:232; Taylor 2006:94). Attempting to explain the cause of the brutality at Cherry Valley, Captain Walter Butler recorded the reasons given by the Native American warriors:

Colonel Denniston and his people [Revolutionary militia from Wyoming] appearing again in arms...after a solemn capitulation and engagement not to bear arms during the war, and Colonel Denniston not performing a promise to release a number of soldiers belonging to Colonel Butler's corps of rangers, then prisoners among [the Revolutionaries], were the reasons assigned by the Indians to me, after the destruction of Cherry Valley, for their not acting in the same manner as at Wyoming. (Stone 1838:384–386)

The Wyoming militia's violation of their parole terms not to bear arms against the Crown led the British-allied Haudenosaunee to vow not to "fight the Enemy twice...meaning that they would not in the future give Quarter" (Holmes 1977:2; Williams 2005:182).

Although raids and counter raids defined the war along the frontiers of Pennsylvania and New York, the Revolutionaries conveniently forgot the brutality of their own raids and their contributions to this cycle of horror. In 1779, General George Washington issued orders to General John Sullivan to attack: "the immediate objects are the total destruction and devastation of [the Haudenosaunee] settlements, and the capture of as many prisoners of every age and sex as possible. It will be essential to ruin their crops now in the ground & prevent their planting more" (Flick 1929a:90). General Washington envisioned three goals for the campaign: first, conduct the expedition with a minimal drain on Continental resources; second, conduct the invasion during the season when it would do the most damage to the Native Americans; and third, if the Continentals had sufficient forces, to rout the Native Americans from their lands in what is now Central and Western New York (Williams 2005:192). The Continentals justified the Sullivan Campaign as a punishment of the Crown-allied Haudenosaunee for their 1778 raids against Revolutionary settlements, especially what the Revolutionaries referred to as "the Wyoming Massacre" and "the Cherry Valley Massacre" (Williams 2005:185–186, 227). To emphasize this justification, the New York brigade's route to their staging area took them near Cherry Valley (Williams 2005:227).

The Revolutionaries also conveniently forgot that, during the previous year, the Continental Congress approved funds for a campaign against the Senecas. This Congressional approval came on June 11, 1778 – several weeks before the events in Wyoming, Pennsylvania (Flick 1929a:9). Clearly, Revolutionary-centric history forgot that the Sullivan Campaign had been on the drawing board before the events of Wyoming and Cherry Valley provided a justification for the invasion.

Battle of Newtown

According to the July 1779 planned Order of March for the Sullivan Campaign, the Continental forces would be split up into multiple columns (Williams 2005:262–263). The infantry columns formed a box around the artillery train and pack train (Williams 2005:262–263). Lieutenant Colonel Henry Dearborn recorded that the Continental forces encountered difficulties traversing some terrain, so it is unclear how well the Continental forces maintained the planned Order of March (Cook 1887:70). In any typical column formation, the troops stretched out behind the lead soldiers with most of the soldiers unable to fire at any enemies in front of them (Haecker and Mauck 1997:98). Therefore, an ambush at the head of the Continental column would give the outnumbered Loyalists and Crown-allied Native Americans at least a temporary advantage by decreasing the Continental's numerical advantage.

For this reason, Major John Butler and the Mohawk leader Joseph Brant initially favored harassing the Continental forces while avoiding open battle (Fischer 1997:86; Public Archaeology Facility 2010:25). The Senecas and Delawares argued that the Continentals should be stopped at Newtown (Fischer 1997:86; Public Archaeology Facility 2010:25). Because the Continental forces outnumbered the forces of the Loyalist and Crown-allied Native Americans by more than four to one, a plan evolved to ambush the Continentals while they were still marching (Flick 1929a:136).

The location the Loyalists and Indians chose for the ambush was a small settlement called Newtown. In 1779, Newtown was a Native American settlement and

agricultural center three miles southeast of present-day Elmira, New York. Many of the Crown-allied Native Americans had moved to Newtown after Continental raids destroyed their homes located further to the east (Swiggett 1963:143–144; Williams 2005:168–171).

During the battle, Major John Butler of the Loyalist Rangers commanded the Crown's non-Indian forces. Joseph Brant (Mohawk), Old Smoke (Seneca), and Hochha-dunk (Delaware) led the Native Americans (Abler 2007:50). The Crown forces at the Battle of Newtown included four hundred Crown-allied Native Americans, primarily Seneca and Mohawk Haudenosaunee and about thirty Delawares; fourteen British Regulars ("Redcoats") from the 8th Regiment; and two hundred Loyalists, mostly Rangers (Flick 1929a:136–139).

Despite the efforts of Brant and Butler to conceal their forces, Continental scouts discovered the ambush. The forward-most infantry columns of Continental forces deployed into a "line of battle" to engage the Crown forces (Peterson 1968:26; Haecker 1994:74; Williams 2005:268–269). If the Continentals had been ambushed in a column formation, the volume of fire they could have directed at the Crown forces would have been significantly decreased. But by being able to form into a line of battle, the Continentals could exploit the advantage of the volume of fire their superior numbers provided.

Unlike a column formation, a "line of battle" consisted of two or three ranks (each rank is a line of soldiers standing side by side) (Peterson 1968:26; Haecker 1994:74). The tactic of massed infantry standing shoulder to shoulder reflected the capabilities and limitations of the smoothbore musket, the most common infantry weapon (Peterson 1968:27–38; Hogg and Batchelor 1975:53–67; Neumann and Kravic 1975:200–213). Muskets, highly inaccurate beyond 100 yards, nevertheless produced a high concentration of deadly musket balls because well-trained infantry fired four volleys a minute (Peterson 1968:26; Hogg and Batchelor 1975:64). The resulting cascades of musket balls made up for the inaccuracy of an individual musket (Peterson 1968:26; Hogg and Batchelor

1975:64).

Once formed into their line of battle, over 4,000 Continental soldiers engaged about six hundred Loyalist and Crown-allied Native Americans (Graymont 1972:206–213; Fischer 1997:93). Continental riflemen and light infantry were deployed by Sullivan and his officers to engage the outnumbered Crown forces with a mixture of musket and highly accurate rifle fire (Williams 2005:268–269). Meanwhile the bulk of the Continental forces, armed with muskets, marched in columns through a swamp to attack the Crown force’s left flank (Williams 2005:268–269). Despite the overwhelming odds, the outnumbered Crown forces held the Continental forces at bay for two hours (Williams 2005:269). However, after two hours, the attack by Continental infantry on the left flank of the Crown forces, along with the support of a Continental artillery barrage, finally forced the Crown forces to withdraw or risk becoming surrounded and being destroyed (Public Archaeology Facility 2010:22–23).

The Battle of Newtown turned out to be the only major battle of the Sullivan Campaign (Graymont 1972:218). Following this battle, the Continental forces marched through the Haudenosaunee lands of what is now Central and Western New York (Williams 2005:293). This “Sullivan Campaign” was in fact supplemented by two other coordinated Continental expeditions – against the Onondagas launched from Fort Stanwix (Rome, New York) and the other from Fort Pitt (Pittsburgh) against some of the Seneca towns that were too far west for Sullivan to reach. The combined Continental forces destroyed forty Native American towns, burned 160,000 bushels of corn and vegetables, ruined apple and peach orchards, and took \$30,000 worth of plunder (Williams 2005:293). The fertility of the Haudenosaunee countryside impressed the officers and common soldiers in the Continental forces, and many eagerly anticipated returning as settlers after the war (Taylor 2006:98).

As a result of the devastation, the Haudenosaunee fled to Fort Niagara seeking protection, food, and supplies from the British (Williams 2005:291–292). However,

the British failed to appreciate the level of destruction that the Sullivan Campaign had wrought and they did not provide supplies in sufficient quantity to adequately support the more than five thousand refugees who had fled to Fort Niagara (Graymont 1972:220; Williams 2005:292). A brutal winter, one of the worst recorded, added to the hardship (Fischer 1997:192). The Continentals had anticipated this possibility and defined two possible courses of action they could take: 1) allow the Haudenosaunee refugees to tax the British military's logistics and finances further; or 2) offer American provisions and supplies to any Native Americans who entered into a treaty with the Continentals, turned on the British at Fort Niagara, and delivered the fort over to Continental control (Williams 2005:293–294). However, the pro-Crown Haudenosaunee at Fort Niagara refused to surrender, and so Fort Niagara remained in British hands (Williams 2005:293–294).

For the Haudenosaunee already allied with the British, the Sullivan Campaign strengthened their antagonism against those supporting the Continental Congress, and in 1780 raids resumed against both Revolutionary settlements and the settlements of Continental Congress-allied Native Americans (Taylor 2006:99–101). The Sullivan Campaign failed to permanently drive the Haudenosaunee from the lands of what is now Central and Western New York. The victory at Newtown and the destructive success of the Sullivan Campaign, however, meant that the Haudenosaunee country could be added to the lands that the Revolutionaries claimed at the conclusion of the war (Flick 1929a:10, 16).

Transformation of the military landscape: Newtown after the War

Following the conclusion of the American Revolution, John Butler, Joseph Brant, the men they led in war, and their families along with numerous other Loyalist and First Nation peoples who had sided with the Crown fled to Canada (Mackenzie 2008:4). Joseph Brant and his followers settled the land at Grand River, including present-day Brantford, Ontario (Mackenzie 2008:4; Grand River Branch - United Empire Loyalists'

Association of Canada 2017). John Butler went on to command the newly-founded Lincoln Militia in Ontario (Lincoln and Welland Regiment Museum 2016). Lincoln County was the location where many veterans from Butler's Rangers settled after the Revolution (Lincoln and Welland Regiment Museum 2016). This militia unit, with the veterans of Butler's Rangers, would go on to fight with distinction in the War of 1812, successfully defending their lands from repeated attempts by the United States to annex their new homes (Lincoln and Welland Regiment Museum 2016). On November 9, 1789 the Crown's representative, Lord Dorchester, Governor of Canada, granted these Loyalists and their descendants a special privilege:

those Loyalists who have adhered to the unity of the Empire, and joined the Royal Standard before the Treaty of Separation in the year 1783, and all their children and descendants by either sex, are to be distinguished by the following capitals, affixed to their names: U.E. alluding to the great principle the unity of the Empire (Lord Dorchester 1789).

Today the descendants of the Loyalists participate in an extensive Canadian organization founded on May 27, 1914 known as the "United Empire Loyalists" (United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada 2012).

Back in New York State, sometime between 1878 and 1879, public-spirited citizens gathered at the Fisher House in Wellsburg, New York, to organize a commemoration for the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Newtown (Appleman 1935:1). They proposed to create a commemorative park (Appleman 1935:1). Prior to this, no formal celebration events had been held at the site during the 25th, 50th, or 75th anniversaries. As part of the centennial celebration, the citizens who had originally assembled at the Wellsburg gathering – together with their friends – erected a stone tower as the first monument on the Newtown Battlefield. In part, this absence reflected the fact that no official park existed prior to 1879 to hold formal commemorative events. In 1912, Hattie F. Elliott donated 15 acres of land adjacent to the 1879 tower to New York State (Venables 2012:152). Since 1912 the preservation of the Newtown Battlefield and its interpretation to the public has been the responsibility of New York State.

Fort Niagara

Fort Niagara is situated at the mouth of the Niagara River and Lake Ontario (See Figure 3.5). The location of Fort Niagara controlled a strategic portage around Niagara Falls. Until 19th century canal systems eliminated the need for the portage, whoever controlled the portage could control travel between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario (Dunnigan 2007:5).

The French first occupied the location of Fort Niagara in 1679 when they built a stockade supply outpost named Fort Conti (Dunnigan 2007:6). This outpost would last less than a year when carelessness on the part of the garrison resulted in the outpost being destroyed by fire (Dunnigan 2007:7). Years later, French forces then built Fort Denonville at this location in 1687 (Chartrand 2010:19). As was the case with Fort Conti, this new fort would not last long – it was abandoned the following year, 1688, after the garrison suffered because of inadequate supplies (Chartrand 2010:20).

King William's War (1689-1697) and Queen Anne's War (the name of the North American theatre of the War of Spanish Succession) (1702-1713) put a temporary halt to French efforts to establish a presence in the area (Dunnigan 2007:9; Chartrand 2010:20). Only after the Treaty of Utrecht ended the War of Spanish Succession in 1713 would French traders once again become active along the Great Lakes (Dunnigan 2007:9; Chartrand 2010:20). Once again seeking to control the portage north of Niagara Falls, between 1726 and 1727 the French constructed a new fort at the old site of Fort Denonville (Chartrand 2010:20). Since the French built this new fortification on land controlled by the Seneca, the agreement made with the Seneca only allowed the French to build a "house of peace" for trade (Chartrand 2010:20). However, while the single stone structure built by the French outwardly appeared to keep this agreement, it was in fact a well-fortified blockhouse (Chartrand 2010:20–21).

By the start of the French and Indian War in 1754, the French realized that while the "house of peace" could withstand an attack by Native American forces, it would be

unable to repel any attack by a British force equipped with artillery (Chartrand 2010:20). For this reason, the French began expanding the fortifications to include more robust walls and a dry moat (Chartrand 2010:20–21). In 1756, the French completed a stone gate with a drawbridge they dubbed “Porte des Cinq Nations” (“The Gate of the Five Nations”) in honor of the Haudenosaunee (Chartrand 2010:21). The stoutness of the defenses would be tested in 1759 when an army of British Regulars and Haudenosaunee warriors laid siege to the fort on July 6 (Dunnigan 2007:15). On July 25, after the British decisively defeated a French relief column, the garrison surrendered (Dunnigan 2007:15). This defeat ended French control of the Niagara River portage. At the conclusion of the war in 1763, as part of the French cession of their Canadian territory, the French ceded Fort Niagara to the British.

While Fort Niagara was never attacked during the American Revolution, it was an important British outpost on the western frontier. It served as a safe-haven for Loyalists and Crown-allied Native Americans fleeing Revolutionary attacks (Cruikshank 1893:34). Butler’s Rangers, mustered in the fall of 1777, continued throughout the remainder of the war, launching raids against their former neighbors (Dunnigan 2007:23). During the Sullivan Campaign the Continental Army came within eighty miles of Fort Niagara. However, the rapidly approaching winter and lack of siege artillery prevented the Continentals from attempting to take the fort (Dunnigan 2007:25). In addition to being the base of operation for Butler’s Rangers, the fort served as a hub for intelligence gathered by Loyalist spies. Intelligence dispatches to the Governor of Canada on the progress of the war along the East Coast often arrived from Fort Niagara ahead of those sent by sea (Dunnigan 2007:26).

In 1796, well after the American Revolution, England ceded Fort Niagara to the fledgling United States as part of the terms of the 1794 Jay Treaty (Dunnigan 2007:27). In 1799, responding to the loss of control of the fort’s eastern portage along the Niagara River, the British constructed Fort George and a road on the opposite bank (Dunnigan

2007:29–30).

While the Jay Treaty had delayed another war between Britain and the United States, it would not prevent the outbreak of hostilities that became the War of 1812. Fort Niagara was designed to repel an attack by land rather than defend against an attack from the western shore of the Niagara River or from Lake Ontario. When the British built Fort George on the opposite shore of the Niagara River on higher ground than Fort Niagara, they exposed the serious flaw in the defensive structure of the fort (Dunnigan 2007:30, 32). As a result, the United States proceeded to improve the defenses facing the Canadian border by mounting cannon on the top floors of the redoubts and the main structure, the so-called French Castle (Dunnigan 2007:33). While tensions between Britain and the United States remained after the end of the War of 1812, the fort saw no further action against British forces.

By the end of the Civil War, the introduction of more powerful artillery that could reduce even the thickest brick or stone walls to rubble ended the days of military strongholds like Fort Niagara. However, post-Civil War tensions between Britain and the United States were exasperated when Irish-American veterans of the Civil War joined the Fenian movement and invaded Ontario in 1866. They hoped to conquer British Canada for use as a bargaining chip to gain Ireland's independence (Dunnigan 2007:43). While British and Canadian forces quickly repelled the Fenians, continued Fenian activity in the early 1870s prolonged the tension along the border (Dunnigan 2007:43). Work on strengthening Fort Niagara's already obsolete walls continued until 1872, likely more as a symbol of a well-defended border than of a militarily practical one (Dunnigan 2007:43). By the 1880s, the military use of Fort Niagara transitioned to a training base (Dunnigan 2007:45–47).

Transformation of the military landscape: From Military Fort to Memorial

In 1927, local civilians became increasingly concerned with the deterioration of the historical structures of the fort and organized the Old Fort Niagara Association. The

association, in cooperation with the Army, embarked on a restoration project that they completed in 1934 (Dunnigan 2007:47–48). Even though the site remained an active military base, the Old Fort Niagara Association operated the restored fort as a museum for the next thirty years (Dunnigan 2007:48–51). Over the course of its final decades as an active military post, the United States used Fort Niagara as a prisoner of war camp in World War II and then as barracks and headquarters facilities for early Cold War air defense missile personnel (Dunnigan 2007:49–51). Finally in 1963 Fort Niagara's role as a military base came to an end when the Army formally ceded the fort and surrounding grounds to New York State to become a park (Dunnigan 2007:51). Most of the 20th century military buildings were removed between 1965 and 1966 when the fort transitioned to a park (Dunnigan 2007:51). Today a United States Coast Guard station is the only remaining military presence on the grounds of Fort Niagara (Dunnigan 2007:51). As of 2016, the historic buildings of the fort have been restored to the approximate appearance they would have had at the time of their original construction.

Conclusion

These five sites played important roles in the American Revolution. The sites were selected for my dissertation due to their relation to the Burgoyne Campaign of 1777 and the Sullivan Campaign of 1779. Fort Stanwix and the Oriskany Battlefield form one bookend that is the start of the Burgoyne Campaign while the Saratoga Battlefield forms the other bookend. Similarly, the Newtown Battlefield bookends the start of the Sullivan Campaign with Fort Niagara forming the other bookend that saw the terrible aftermath of the total war campaign against the Haudenosaunee. After the end of the war these sites survived a variety of fates before being established as formal heritage sites in the late 19th and 20th centuries. In the 21st century, as in the past, all five sites are reminders of the struggles of North America's diverse ethnic groups.

The next three chapters, four, five, and six, present the data gathered from the monuments, battlefield plaques and signage, and the text of speeches given at key

commemorative events. Chapter four focuses on the memorialization at Fort Stanwix and Oriskany, followed by discussion of the monuments and ceremonies at Saratoga in chapter five. Chapter six is the final data chapter and presents the heritage narratives at Newtown Battlefield and at Fort Niagara.

Chapter 4

Oriskany Battlefield and Fort Stanwix Data

Introduction

This chapter presents the data gathered for Oriskany Battlefield and Fort Stanwix. It provides information on the memorials at the Oriskany Battlefield integrated with the data from documentary research on the commemorative events. The chapter will discuss four key time periods: the 100th anniversary (1877); the 150th anniversary (1927); the 200th anniversary (1977); and the 225th anniversary (2002). In addition, this chapter covers monuments and commemorative events that fall outside of these four anniversaries. It provides information on the reconstructed Fort Stanwix, which is a memorial in and of itself. The Fort Stanwix data deals with how the fort has been interpreted by the National Park Service to the public since its reconstruction by the National Park Service for the Bicentennial. I discuss the data for these two sites in a single chapter because the historical events intimately connect them. This is particularly true of the Battle of Oriskany, which never would have happened if Fort Stanwix had not been besieged by Crown forces. Fort Stanwix was not developed as a heritage site until the Bicentennial, and it will be discussed after the Oriskany Battlefield. Because the Oriskany Battlefield was transformed into a heritage site first, the late 20th century commemorative events at Fort Stanwix built off of the already existing heritage ceremonies at Oriskany.

The Monuments and Commemorative Events at Oriskany Battlefield

Four monuments are located on the Oriskany Battlefield State Historic Site while a fifth monument is located beyond the park's boundaries. In 1926, the State Historic Marker Program initiated by the New York State Education Department placed four markers around the battlefield (The New York State Museum 2017). Seven interpretive

signs put up by New York State are spread across the battlefield park, five of which are about the battlefield itself and two are focused on the battlefield after the American Revolution. In citing the text on the monuments and signage I have retained the exact indentations and spacing used on the plaques.

Memorials and Commemorations in the 19th Century

The following sections cover the 100th anniversary and the dedication of the Oriskany Battle Monument in 1883. These were the only two memorial or commemorative events during the 19th century.

The 100th Anniversary

The 100th Anniversary was celebrated by between 70,000 and 75,000 people on August 6, 1877. The opening address was given by Ellis H. Roberts, the editor of the *Utica Morning Herald* who had represented Utica in the United States Congress from 1871-1875. He addressed the historical significance of the Battle of Oriskany but started by covering the beginning of the Revolution and the battles that led up to the events of 1777. Roberts then described the battle in detail and both the immediate and long-term aftermath of the battle.

In his opening of the address, Roberts commented on the importance of celebrating the centennial anniversary of Oriskany:

Our prosperity has been so steady and so broad that we have looked forward rather than backward. Other States, other parts of the country, have been recalling the scenes which render their soil classic, and from the end of the century summoning back the men and the deeds of its beginning. A duty long neglected falls upon those whose lot is cast here in Central New York. These hills and these valleys in perennial eloquence proclaim the story of prowess and of activity. To translate from them, to gather the scattered threads of chronicle and tradition, to hold the place that has been fairly won by the Mohawk valley, is a task which has yet been only partially done....The privilege of this hour is to revive the memories and to celebrate the heroism of the battle of Oriskany (Roberts 1877:1).

By referring to this task as only “partially done,” Roberts may be referring to the movement after the Civil War to memorialize battlefields including Revolutionary War

battlefields.

Roberts then sets the stage for Oriskany by describing the military situation facing the Revolutionaries in 1777: Tory bands were ravaging the country southward in Schoharie and towards Kingston. Cause of alarm there was to the patriots; ground of confidence to the invaders. The war hung on the events in this field; and the scales of destiny inclined to the side of the king (Roberts 1877:4).

Following this Roberts describes the dramatis persona that will be the focus of his narrative of the Battle of Oriskany and Siege of Fort Stanwix. He emphasizes the Mohawk leader Joseph Brant; Loyalists John Johnson and John Butler; the pro-Continental Congress Oneidas; and the Revolutionary militia's Nicolas Herkimer.

Roberts says the following about Joseph Brant:

Inferior to St. Leger in rank, but superior to him in natural powers and in personal magnetism, was Joseph Brant–Thayendanegea–chief of the Mohawks. He had been active in arraying the Six Nations on the side of King George, and only the Oneidas and Tuscaroras had refused to follow his lead. He was now thirty-five years of age; in figure the ideal Indian, tall and spare and lithe and quick; with all the genius of his tribe, and the training gained in Connecticut schools, and in the family of Sir William Johnson; he had been a lion in London, and flattered at British headquarters in Montreal. (Roberts 1877:10)

Roberts follows this with a description of John Johnson:

Sir John Johnson led the regiments which had been organized from the settlers in the Mohawk valley....He had early taken sides with the King against the colonists, and having entered into a compact with the patriots to preserve peace and remain at Johnstown, he had violated his promise, and fled to Canada. (Roberts 1877:11)

Then Roberts assesses John Butler:

Besides these was Butler–John Butler, a brother-in-law of Johnson; lieutenant colonel by rank, rich and influential in the valley, familiar with the Indians and a favorite with them, shrewd and daring and savage, already the father of that son Walter who was to be the scourge of the settlers, and with him to render ferocious and bloody the border war. (Roberts 1877:11)

Roberts portrays the Native Americans on both sides who fought at Oriskany, and

does so only briefly:

The Indians were the terror of the land. The Six Nations had joined the expedition in full force except the Oneidas and Tuscaroras. With the latter tribes the influence of Samuel Kirkland had overborne that of the Johnsons, and the Oneidas and the Tuscaroras were by their peaceful attitude more than by hostility useful to Congress to the end. (Roberts 1877:12)

Finally, Roberts describes Nicolas Herkimer:

[Herkimer] had been appointed a brigadier general by Congress in the preceding autumn. His family was large, and it was divided in the contest. A brother was captain with Sir John Johnson, and a brother-in-law was one of the chief of the loyalists. He was now forty-eight years of age, short, slender, of dark complexion, with black hair and bright eyes. He had German pluck and leadership, but he had also German caution and deliberation. (Roberts 1877:15)

Roberts draws attention to the mix of ethnicities in the Tryon County Militia. He particularly emphasizes the large number of German and Dutch colonists in the militia unit Herkimer led to Oriskany:

Herkimer's order was promptly issued, and soon brought in eight hundred men. They were nearly all by blood Germans and low Dutch, with a few of other nationalities. The roster so far as can now be collected, indicates the presence of persons of English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh and French blood, but these are exceptions, and the majority of the force was beyond question German. (Roberts 1877:16)

According to Roberts, in 1877 a flagstaff that no longer exists marked where Herkimer lay wounded during the battle (Roberts 1877:20). It is unknown where on the battlefield Herkimer's mortal wound occurred and thus where this 1877 flagstaff was located. The extant 1883 monument marks where New York State Parks currently believes is the approximate location of Herkimer during the battle. However, since the monument's erection it has been moved at least once. Except for the now-lost flagstaff, no other marker or monument was on the battlefield in 1877.

Roberts claims that the Crown-allied Native Americans intentionally fired on the Loyalists: "The Indians finding they were losing many, became suspicious that their allies wished to destroy them, and fired on them, giving unexpected aid to the patriot band"

(Roberts 1877:22). Roberts' own footnote indicates that this is based on oral histories of "persons living near the battle-field" recorded by "President Dwight" in 1799 (Roberts 1877:22). He also records that "Tradition relates that an Oneida maid, only fifteen years old, daughter of a chief, fought on the side of the patriots, firing her rifle, and shouting her battle cry" (Roberts 1877:22). Roberts' footnote for this fact indicates it comes from a newspaper account of the oral tradition from George Wagner's family (Roberts 1877:22). Recounting the immediate aftermath of battle, Roberts states "frightful barbarities were wreaked on the bodies of the dead, and on the prisoners who fell into the hands of the Indians" (Roberts 1877:24).

In discussing the aftermath and importance of Oriskany, Roberts again draws attention to the descendants of Palatine Germans in the Mohawk Valley:

The dangers to the American cause in the valley, were peculiar. To the German settlers King George had always been a foreign king. They owed him neither affection nor allegiance. It was easy for them to sustain Congress and to fight for independence. They had been jealous of the influence of the Johnsons over the Indians, and over the valley, and that pique was fully reciprocated. Besides the ties of family favor and apparent interest, the Johnsons clung all the more closely to the royal cause, because the Germans took the other part. Something of religious feeling entered into the division, for the Johnsons stood for the Church of England, and Kirkland and other dissenting ministers had been pressing for independence in faith and practice. (Roberts 1877:37–38)

Roberts follows this by further reinforcing the ethnic demographics of the Mohawk Valley, italicized in his printed text:

yet the first permanent settlers in a portion of the valley were Germans from the palatinate, who came hither in 1712-1713, after stopping on the Hudson....The German immigration prevented tendencies so distinctively British as prevailed in other colonies....Here between Ontario and Champlain, it was decided that the nascent State should be cosmopolitan and not Dutch (Roberts 1877:40).

As he reaches the conclusion of his address, Roberts compares the treatment of Oriskany to other important battles in history:

Calm men praise the determination which at Lepanto, set limits to Turkish conquests in Europe. Waterloo is the favorite of rhetoric among English-

speaking people. But history no less exalts the Spartan three hundred who died at Thermopylae, and poetry immortalizes the six hundred whose leader blundered at Balaklava. Signally negligent have the people of Central New York been to the men and the deeds that on the soil we daily tread, have controlled the tides of nations, and fashioned the channels of civilization. (Roberts 1877:42)

He continues this theme, concluding:

In that Place of Nettles [Oriskany], Central New York may find much to stir it to deeper knowledge of its history and its relations, to greater anxiety to be just to those who have served it worthily, to keener appreciation of the continental elevation which nature has reared for us, and upon which we may build a structure more symmetrical and more beneficent than the Parthenon,—a free State based on equal justice, strong in the virtue of its citizens, devoted to all that is best and most beautiful in mankind, inspired by the noblest achievements in history, manfully meeting the humblest duties, and struggling upward to the highest ideals....Central New York must have a worthy career before it to justify the traditions of the Long House of the Iroquois; of the real statesmanship of the League of the Six Nations, and of the eloquence of their chief men; of the Jesuit missionaries and the Samuel Kirklands and Lutheran clergymen, who consecrated its waters and its soil and its trees; of those who saved it from French occupation; of those who kept out the Stuarts and drove out King George. (Roberts 1877:43)

The Oriskany Battle Monument, 1883

The largest monument is an obelisk towering over the rolling grass fields of the battlefield (Figure 4.1). The Oneida Historical Society erected the monument in 1883 with aid provided by the Federal and New York State governments. The monument is limestone recycled from an Erie Canal weigh lock located in Utica, New York (Umstead 2017). The monument has a plaque bearing the inscription:

HERE THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY WAS FOUGHT
ON THE SIXTH DAY OF AUGUST, A.D. 1777
HERE BRITISH INVASION WAS CHECKED AND THE WARTED
HERE GENERAL NICHOLAS HERKIMER, INTREPID LEADER
OF THE AMERICAN FORCES THO' MORTALLY WOUNDED
KEPT COMMAND OF THE FIGHT TILL THE ENEMY FLED
THE LIFE BLOOD OF MORE THAN TWO HUNDRED
PATRIOT HEROES MADE THIS BATTLE GROUND
SACRED FOREVER



Figure 4.1: Oriskany Battle Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

Two plaques hang on the back of the monument listing the names of the Revolutionaries who fought at the Battle of Oriskany. The first list was part of the monument when it was erected in 1883. The second list was installed as part of the 150th anniversary celebrations on August 6, 1927. It records additional names of Revolutionaries whose service records were, according to the plaque, “found since the placing of the first roster.”

In addition to these plaques, there are two bas relief sculptures. One depicts Herkimer and bears the caption “Herkimer directing the Oriskany Battle” (Figure 4.2). The second bas relief portrays a militiaman engaging a Native American warrior in melee combat while a fallen soldier lies beneath them (Figure 4.3). The fighting militiaman has firmly placed his forward foot on top of the chest of the fallen soldier in order to lunge at the Native American with the muzzle of his musket. The scene evokes the desperate melee combat that took place during the battle as the militiaman fights desperately for his own survival, unaware that he treads on a comrade.

Memorials and Commemorations, 20th Century

The following sections cover the commemorations and monument dedications in the 20th century. The discussion focuses on the period of the site’s stewardship by New York State after being deeded the Oriskany Battle Monument and grounds as part of the 150th anniversary. The chapter also covers the anniversary events during the mid-20th century and concludes with a description of the interpretive signs placed on the battlefield in the 1990s.

The Oriskany Beech Tree Monument, 1912

On June 14, 1912 the Oriskany Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution erected a granite monument on the battlefield near the supposed location of the beech tree where the wounded Herkimer sat while he directed the militia during the battle (Figure 4.4). The monument has a plaque divided into two sections. The top is a bas relief map showing the route the Tryon County militia took during their attempt to relieve the siege of Fort Stanwix (Figure 4.5). This portion of the plaque has the



Figure 4.2: Oriskany Battle Monument Detail of Herkimer

(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 4.3: Oriskany Battle Monument Detail of Combat

(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 4.4: Oriskany Beech Tree Monument

(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 4.5: Beech Tree Monument Top Detail
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

following inscription accompanying the map:

40 MILE ROUTE TAKEN BY GEN. HERKIMER AUG. 3-6
1777 FOR THE RELIEF OF FORT STANWIX, THE
BATTLE OF ORISKANY AUG. 6, BETWEEN
HERKIMER'S MEN AND ST. LEGER
WITH HIS INDIANS WAS THE
TURNING POINT OF THE REVOLUTION

Below this the second half of the plaque has the following inscription:

NEAR THIS SPOT
STOOD THE BEECH TREE,
WHICH DURING THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY
SHELTERED THE WOUNDED GEN. HERKIMER
WHILE HE GAVE ORDERS
THAT MADE SARATOGA POSSIBLE
AND DECIDED THE FATE OF A NATION

The bottom plaque qualifies the top plaque's statement that the Battle of Oriskany was "the turning point of the Revolution" by noting that Oriskany "made Saratoga possible."

150th anniversary, 1927

The Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee organized an elaborate pageant to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Oriskany. This anniversary event combined a celebration of the anniversary of the Battle of Oriskany and Siege of Fort Stanwix. In contrast to the Oriskany Battlefield, the urban streets and buildings of Rome, New York, rested over the remains of Fort Stanwix, leaving no monument or specially demarcated section of land to gather at. This may have influenced the choice to celebrate the two anniversaries together rather than having a separate anniversary pageant for the anniversaries of the Battle of Oriskany and lifting of the Siege of Fort Stanwix.

The anniversary began with a rendition of the "Spirit of '76" by the Watertown Fife and Drum Corps (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927). An invocation by Reverend Charles Fiske, Episcopal Bishop of Central New York, followed the music (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927). The Oneida Historical Society ceremoniously presented the deed of the 1883 Oriskany Battle Monument and 4.87 acres of land to New York State (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927). During this presentation G.L.

Prescott, whose father had been involved in the movement to erect the Oriskany Battle Monument in 1883, gave brief remarks (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927).

Following this presentation, the program simply notes that the second roster tablet was added to the Oriskany Battle Monument (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927). A luncheon in Rome with “patriotic addresses” by individuals unspecified in the official anniversary program immediately followed this part of the program (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927).

In the afternoon, the pageant continued at the location referred to as “Mohawk Acres” in the official anniversary program. In this pageant 1,000 individuals depicted the Siege of Fort Stanwix and Battle of Oriskany (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927). The pageant took place in a reconstruction of Fort Stanwix. Based on photographs, the reconstructed fort was of sufficient size to have the reenactors manning the ramparts. It is unclear if the reenactors reconstituted the entire fort. However, a full rebuilding is unlikely as they made the reconstruction exclusively for the pageant. It is more probable that they only reconstructed the bastion and/or wall of the fort facing the pageant’s audience.

The official anniversary program includes an essay by local historian John Albert Scott. Scott recounts an apocryphal story that during the Siege of Fort Stanwix the first United States flag was flown by the garrison in the face of the enemy (Scott 1927:10). Scott also attributes Molly Brant, sister of Joseph Brant, to alerting St. Leger that the Tryon County Militia was coming to lift the siege (Scott 1927:10). Scott does not specify the ethnic makeup of the Tryon County Militia.

The afternoon pageant was broken up into several “episodes” like the acts and scenes of a play. Each episode represents distinct sequences of time. The episodes are organized chronologically.

The first episode is called “The Great Carrying Place.” Part of the prologue involves a sentry on the reconstruction of Fort Stanwix stating to the audience “Here

savage tribes command the natural gateway through this wondrous land, the great ‘Six Nations,’ in one compact bound, of these, Oneida’s tribe, here on this ground behold!” (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:17). The scene description for this episode describes the following:

An encampment of Oneida Indians. Runners appear first—then in single file, chanting, come the sachems—then the warriors—followed by squaws and children. The sachems sit in circle smoking the peace pipe; squaws grind corn—prepare the meal; a moccasin maker is at work; a peace dance. Suddenly some warriors enter with an Indian prisoner bound with thongs; he is thrown on the ground to be killed. An Indian princess offers him adoption in the tribe; he is released, his moccasins stripped and Oneida moccasins put on his feet. He is led off by the princess. (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:17)

The second episode is titled “The Coming of the Dutch (1644).” The episode contrasts the Dutch, who the presentation described as “kindly, just, and honest,” with the French who are implied to have the opposite qualities (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:18). This episode depicts peaceful trade occurring between the Dutch and Native Americans.

The third episode is titled “The Treaty of Fort Stanwix 1768.” This episode’s prologue focuses on the establishment of the western boundaries of the colonies and portrays these treaties as unjust to the White settlers because they limit the further taking of Indian homelands:

By conquest—then by treaty—o’er all this land England from France and Holland took command. . . . Here, in seventeen sixty-eight, the British with Six Nations congregate (with subjugated tribes)—by treaty-deed unto King George the land the Indians cede. The king’s possession blocked effectively (save by a royal grant) to colony all hope then, of expansion. From that day was felt the unjust weight of British sway! Sir William Johnson and commissioners signed this treaty grim, whose unfairness stirs among the young and striving colonies intense and bitter opposition. These and further instances of England’s power awakened thoughts of freedom from that hour! (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:19)

The scene for this episode depicts the negotiating of the treaty and subsequent celebrations once the treaty is signed.

The fourth episode titled “The Beginning of the Siege 1777”, focuses on the start of the Siege of Fort Stanwix. The episode portrays Revolutionary soldiers “rebuilding” the fort and strengthening the fortifications while women and children go about daily camp life (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:20). This goes on until a bugle call summons the soldiers, women, and children to return to the fort (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:20). Three girls leave the fort to gather berries only to be ambushed and Native Americans scalp two (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:20). After the soldiers rush from the fort to rescue the girls (only one of whom the script describes as being carried back to the fort), a soldier exclaims that the Native Americans have murdered his love (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:20–21).

The fifth episode focuses on the now-known to be apocryphal flying of the first United States flag. Unlike previous episodes, the sentry speaks a narration halfway through the episode rather than as a prologue of the episode. The first half of the episode depicts reinforcements commanded by Colonel Mellen arriving at Fort Stanwix under the watching eyes of “skulking Indians” (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:21). The women and children of the fort, under the direction of the fort’s officers, sew the first United States flag out of a blue camlet cloak, red petticoat, and white linen shirts (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:21). The sentry presents a poem proclaiming the brilliance of the new, rough sewn flag and actors portraying Revolutionary soldiers then raise the flag on the reconstructed fort’s flagstaff as British soldiers enter the scene (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927). This leads to episode six in which the British surround the fort and set up their camps (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:22).

Episode seven takes place during the Battle of Oriskany. The action revolves around the reconstructed fort and the sortie by Colonel Marinus Willet during the battle. This may have been done for practical reasons, where attempting to stage a reenactment of the Battle of Oriskany in a woods would have made it difficult for viewers to observe the action. It may also have been due to logistical reasons of it being too time

consuming to have the audience physically move to a wooded area to reenact the battle in one episode of the pageant and then move the audience back to seating in front of the reconstructed fort. Part of the prologue to this episode states:

Nicholas Herkimer, commander then of Tryon county's brave militia-men, marched to relieve the Fort. An Indian scout through Molly Brant, learned this; a force set out to intercept him. At Oriskany the fearless general and his company gave bloody battle—winning the fierce fight—but so exhausted, that in fearful plight, brave Herkimer, sore wounded, sent three men with tidings to Fort Stanwix. And again that garrison must do its work alone!.... Five British standards captured in this raid, with wagon loads of spoil. A great prize made! How proudly then, the Stars and Stripes looked down upon the captured colors of the Crown! (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:23)

The scene description that follows indicates that Herkimer's three messengers enter the pageant area while sounds of battle are heard in the distance (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:23). It is unclear from the scene description if the pageant reenacts Willett's sortie or only depicts their return with their spoils taken from the British camps (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:23). The scene ends with the five captured British regimental standards being raised on the flagstaff below the Stars and Stripes (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:23).

Episode eight depicts the British presentation of terms of surrender to the garrison of Fort Stanwix following the Battle of Oriskany. The episode focuses on the surrender terms demanded by British Major Ancrum and Revolutionary Colonel Willett's response. The actor playing Major Ancrum gives the following speech:

I am directed by Col. St. Leger, the officer who commands the army now investing the garrison, to inform the Commandant, that the Colonel has, with much difficulty, prevailed on the Indians to agree, that if the garrison, without further resistance, shall be delivered up to the investing army, that not a hair of the head of any one of them shall be hurt....

...Colonel St. Leger, from an earnest desire to prevent further bloodshed, hopes these terms will not be refused; for, should the terms be rejected, it will be out of the power of the Colonel to restrain the Indians from executing their threats—to march down the country, and destroy the settlement with its inhabitants. In this case, not only men, but women and children, will experience the sad effects of their vengeance. The

considerations, it is ardently hoped, will induce the Commandant, by complying with the terms now offered, to save himself from future regret. (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:24)

Colonel Willett gives the following response:

This garrison is committed to our charge and we propose to defend it. After you get out of this Fort, you may turn around and look at its outside, but never expect to come in again, unless you come as prisoners. I consider the message you have brought a degrading one for a British officer to send, and by no means reputable for a British officer to carry. For my own part, I declare that before I would consent to deliver this garrison to such a murdering set as your army, by your own account, consists of, I would suffer my body to be filled with splinters and set on fire, as you know has at times been practiced by such hordes of women and children killers as belong to your army. (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:24)

This concludes the episode. It appears this exchange references the surrender of Fort William Henry to the French in 1757 and subsequent events, possibly drawing additional influence from James Fenimore Cooper's still-popular novel from 1826, *The Last of the Mohicans*.

Episode nine is set immediately prior to Benedict Arnold's arrival to end the siege. A portion of the prologue describes how Arnold deceived St. Leger into believing a much larger Continental force was approaching:

....A simple minded spy had just been captured and condemned to die. The Indians knew him well, "Half wit"—Han Yost! They gazed with awe upon him—as he'd boast. So Arnold said he'd save him—on one term. Han Yost must hasten to the Fort and squirm his foolish way about the Indians—start a panic there and make them flee! His part Han Yost played well! "They come—they come" he cried, "As many as the leaves upon the trees!" Full tide, the Indians gathered round! His cries—his fright—convinced them all—in fear they put to flight! (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:25).

The scene then picks up with Han Yost's arrival at the fort where "curious Indians" immediately surround him and he tells them of Arnold's imminent arrival (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:25). In addition the episode description states "A friendly Oneida Indian follows him [Yost], carrying a wampum belt, also giving news of the oncoming of the American Army" (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:25).

The final episode, episode ten, focuses on the withdrawal of St. Leger. The episode's description states:

Panic among the Indians follows the news brought by Han Yost Schuyler; and, grieving over the loss of many warriors at Oriskany and the loss of their blankets and cooking utensils from Willett's sortie, with no promised plunder in sight, the Indians raid the British camp, steal the officers' camp equipage and private stores of liquor and crazed by drink fall upon their former allies.

The British vainly try to quell the panic. There are hand to hand struggles and at last the entire army flees—leaving artillery, tents and stores behind.

To bugle call—fife and drum beat—the men of Fort Stanwix headed by Gansevoort march out to drive the enemy back to Oswego. (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:26)

Thus concludes the pageant.

The anniversary celebration ended with speeches by John H. Finley, former president of the University of the State of New York and editorial staff of the New York Times, and by Alfred E. Smith, governor of New York (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927). The program also notes that a “fleet of ten airplanes” escorted Assistant Secretary of War F. Trubee Davison to Rome and gave an exhibition flight (Fort Stanwix-Oriskany Committee 1927:4). The program does not state at what point during the anniversary the ten airplanes made their exhibition flight or what branch of the military (Navy, Marines, or Army Air Corps) they represented.

The Unknown Soldiers Monument, 1928

On August 8, 1928 the Mohawk Valley Historic Association erected a granite monument to the unknown Revolutionary soldiers who died at the Battle of Oriskany (Figure 4.6). The monument has a large plaque that states:

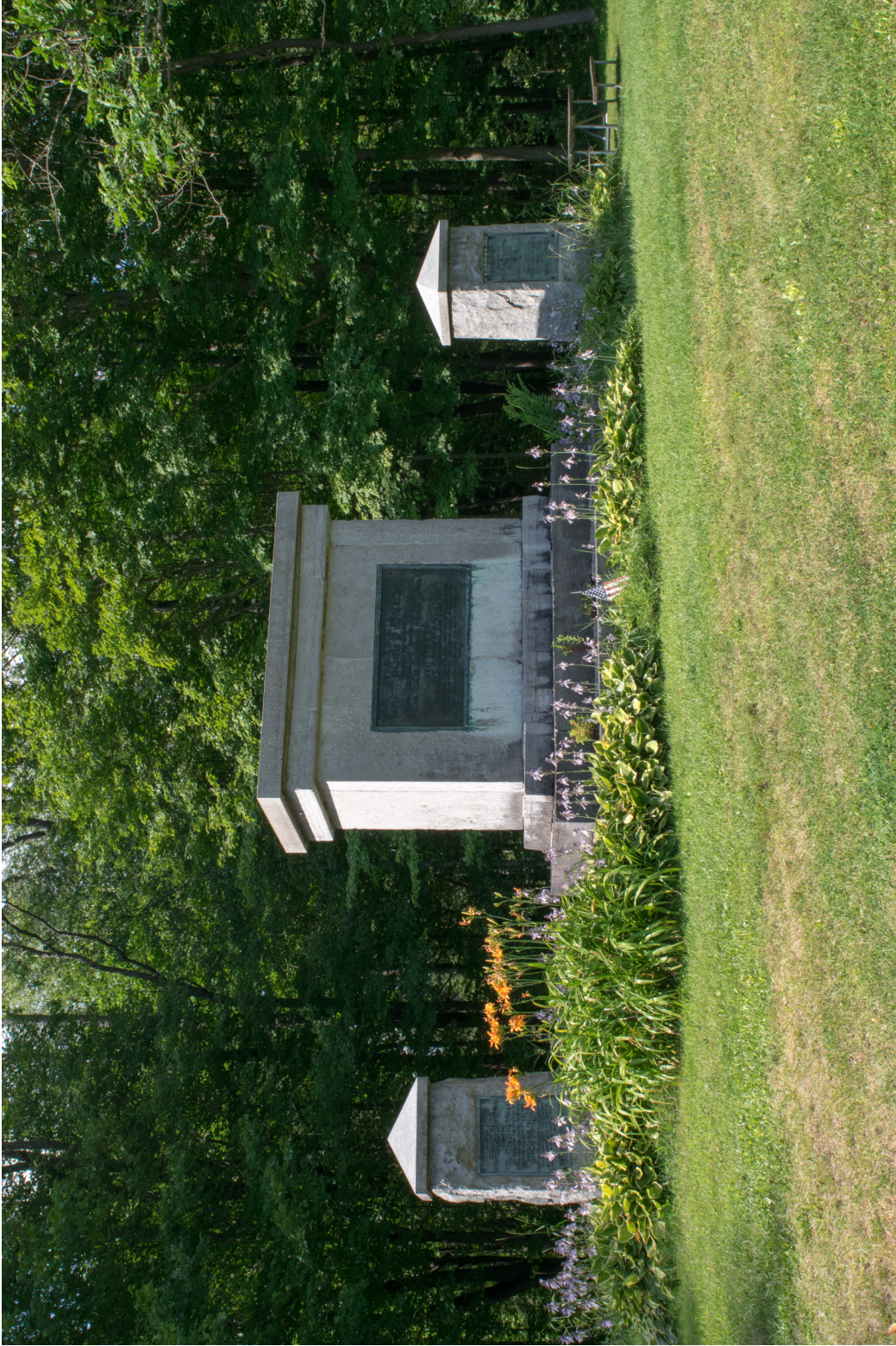


Figure 4.6: Unknown Soldiers Monument

(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

TO THE UNKNOWN
PATRIOTIC SOLDIERS OF TRYON COUNTY
WHO UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF
COLONEL EBENEZER COX COLONEL JACOB KLOCK
COLONEL PETER BELLINGER COLONEL FREDERICK VISSCHER
FOLLOWED
HERKIMER
THROUGH THE BLOODY BATTLE OF ORISKANY AND HERE ON
AUGUST 6, 1777
CHECKED ST. LEGER'S ADVANCE UPON ALBANY
ADMINISTERING THE FIRST DEFEAT TO THE
ADVANCING COLUMNS OF BURGOYNE. THEIR PATRIOTIC
SACRIFICES ARE COMMEMORATED BY
THE MOHAWK VALLEY HISTORIC ASSOCIATION IN THE
ERECTION OF THIS MONUMENT
AUGUST 6, 1928

On the opposite side of the monument hangs a second plaque with the following text:

TRYON COUNTY
ERECTED FROM ALBANY IN 1772 BY REQUEST OF
SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON
AS THE FIRST RE-DIVISION OF THE ORIGINAL SIXTEEN
COUNTIES ERECTED IN 1683 IN THE PROVINCE
OF NEW YORK: OCCUPYING ON EACH SIDE OF THE MOHAWK
RIVER THE INDIAN FRONTIER WITH
FORT STANWIX
AS ITS WESTERN EXTREMITY. – TRYON COUNTY WAS DIVIDED
INTO THE
DISTRICTS OF MOHAWK, CANAJOHARIE, PALATINE,
GERMAN FLATS AND KINGSLAND

FORT STANWIX, FORT DAYTON, OLD FORT SCHUYLER, FORT
HERKIMER AND THIS
BATTLEFIELD OF ORISKANY
WERE IN THE KINGSLAND-GERMAN FLATS DISTRICTS

DAR Posts, 1929

Two small gray granite posts flank the Unknown Soldiers monument (Figure 4.7). The Oriskany Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution erected these stone posts. Each post has a plaque with an inscription. The inscription on one plaque reads:



Figure 4.7: One of the DAR 1929 Posts
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

THESE POSTS
ERECTED BY THE
ORISKANY CHAPTER
DAUGHTERS
OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION
ORGANIZED WITH THE
SPECIAL OBJECT OF MAKING A
NATION PARK
OF THE
ORISKANY BATTLEFIELD
1929

The inscription on the second post's plaque states:

ERECTED BY
ORISKANY CHAPTER
DAUGHTERS AMERICAN REVOLUTION
A TRIBUTE TO
COL. JOHN W. VROOMAN
WHO FEDERATED THE COUNTIES OF
ONEIDA, HERKIMER, FULTON, MONTGOMERY,
SCDHARIE AND SCHNECTADY INTO
THE MOHAWK VALLEY
HISTORIC ASSOCIATION
WHICH LED THROUGH POPULAR SUBSCRIPTION
TO THE PURCHASE OF THIS 48 ACRES
AND THE ERECTION OF THE MEMORIAL
MONUMENT TO THE UNKNOWN DEAD
OF THE
ORISKANY BATTLEFIELD

Based on a newspaper article from 1929, these may have originally been located at the entrance to the park as gateposts (Daily Sentinel 1929). The newspaper records the plaques on the two gateposts and the texts match the posts now flanking the Unknown Soldier's memorial (Daily Sentinel 1929). Curiously, the newspaper indicates that the gateposts stood more than eight feet tall, yet the current posts are far shorter (Daily Sentinel 1929). I could not determine if the current heights of the posts result from damage suffered after 1929 or if most of the post lengths lie beneath the ground.

Historic Lower Landing Place Marker, 1928

The New York State Historical Marker program placed the gray granite marker in

1928 (Figure 4.8). The marker has a simple plaque that states:

HISTORIC LOWER LANDING PLACE
FOR GENERATIONS, IN SEASONS OF LOW WATER, THE
BATEAUX OF TRADERS AND OF THE ARMIES WERE HERE
REMOVED FROM THE MOHAWK (AS THE RIVER THEN FLOWED)
AND CONVEYED ACROSS THE ONEIDA CARRYING PLACE
TO BE RE-LAUNCHED IN WOOD CREEK.
HERE AUG. 2, 1777, LIEUT. HENRY BIRD, COMMANDING ST.
LEGER'S ADVANCE GUARD COMPOSED OF 30 REGULARS AND
A PARTY OF INDIANS UNDER JOSEPH BRANT, ESTABLISHED
THE FIRST CAMP OF THE BRITISH INVESTMENT OF FORT
STANWIX. THIS WAS ATTACKED AND LOOTED, AUG. 6, BY
LT. COL. MARINUS WILLETT AND 250 CONTINENTAL TROOPS.
CAPT. LERNOULT AND 110 BRITISH REGULARS THEN
ERECTED HERE A FORTIFIED CAMP WITH TWO SMALL
CANNON
AND HELD IT FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE SIEGE.
HERE ALSO WAS THE LOCK, THE STARTING POINT FOR THE
FIRST CANAL CONNECTING THE WATERS OF THE MOHAWK
AND WOOD CREEK. COMMENCED BY THE WESTERN INLAND
LOCK & NAVIGATION CO., IN 1792
NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL MARKER, 1928

New York State Historic Markers

In addition to monuments, four metal New York State Historic Markers stand scattered throughout the battlefield (Figure 4.9). The markers do not have date stamps.

The text on the first marker proclaims:

“In the Valley homes was great mourning. For such a small population, the losses were almost overwhelming. In some families the male members were wiped out. It was many a long, weary year before the sorrow and suffering caused by the sacrifices at Oriskany had been forgotten in the Valley of the Mohawk”

Nelson Greene, History of the Mohawk Valley

The second marker's text reads:

THE RALLY

Both sides regrouped during a driving rain. Herkimer's troops concentrated here, forming an irregular circle. The attackers were on all sides.



Figure 4.8: Historic Landking Place Marker

(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 4.9: New York State Historic Markers Example
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

The third marker's text states:

AMBUSH STARTED HERE

The militia column, on its way to the relief of Fort Stanwix, marched into this ravine, August 6, 1777, and were ambushed by Loyalists and British. The attackers came out of hiding in woods on the west, the south and the north.

The fourth marker declares: "General Herkimer's Troops entered the ravine at this point."

In addition to these four markers, a large metal marker cast in the same style (Figure 4.10) stands at the start of the path from the parking area up to the Oriskany Battle Monument. It appears to have been intended as an introductory interpretive plaque for the whole battlefield. Unlike the smaller markers this large marker is dated 1963. The text on this marker reads:

HISTORIC NEW YORK
SITE OF THE BATTLE OF ORISKANY
AUGUST 6, 1777

The Battle of Oriskany was one of the bloodiest engagements of the American Revolution. British and Indians here ambushed the Tryon County militia as they were marching to the relief of Fort Stanwix (Rome). General Nicholas Herkimer, though wounded, rallied his forces and directed the fighting until the enemy fled.

Defeated at Oriskany and unable to force the surrender of Fort Stanwix, the British retreated to Canada. These reverses, with their defeat at Saratoga, thwarted Burgoyne's plan to divide the colonies by conquering New York.

Mid-20th Century Anniversary Events

In 1952, a public celebration of the 175th anniversary of the Battle of Oriskany included speeches by Captain Percy H. Lyon who had served as the first commanding officer of the aircraft carrier USS Oriskany and by William R. Rockwell, an Oneida chief (The Oriskany Historical Society 1952). The commemoration of the 175th anniversary appears to have begun a semi-annual celebration of the anniversary of the Battle of Oriskany, as newspapers in 1954 and 1955 note celebrations of the 177th and 178th anniversaries (Unknown Newspaper 1954; Utica Observer-Dispatch 1955).

On August 3, 1963 a double memorial ceremony celebrated the significance of

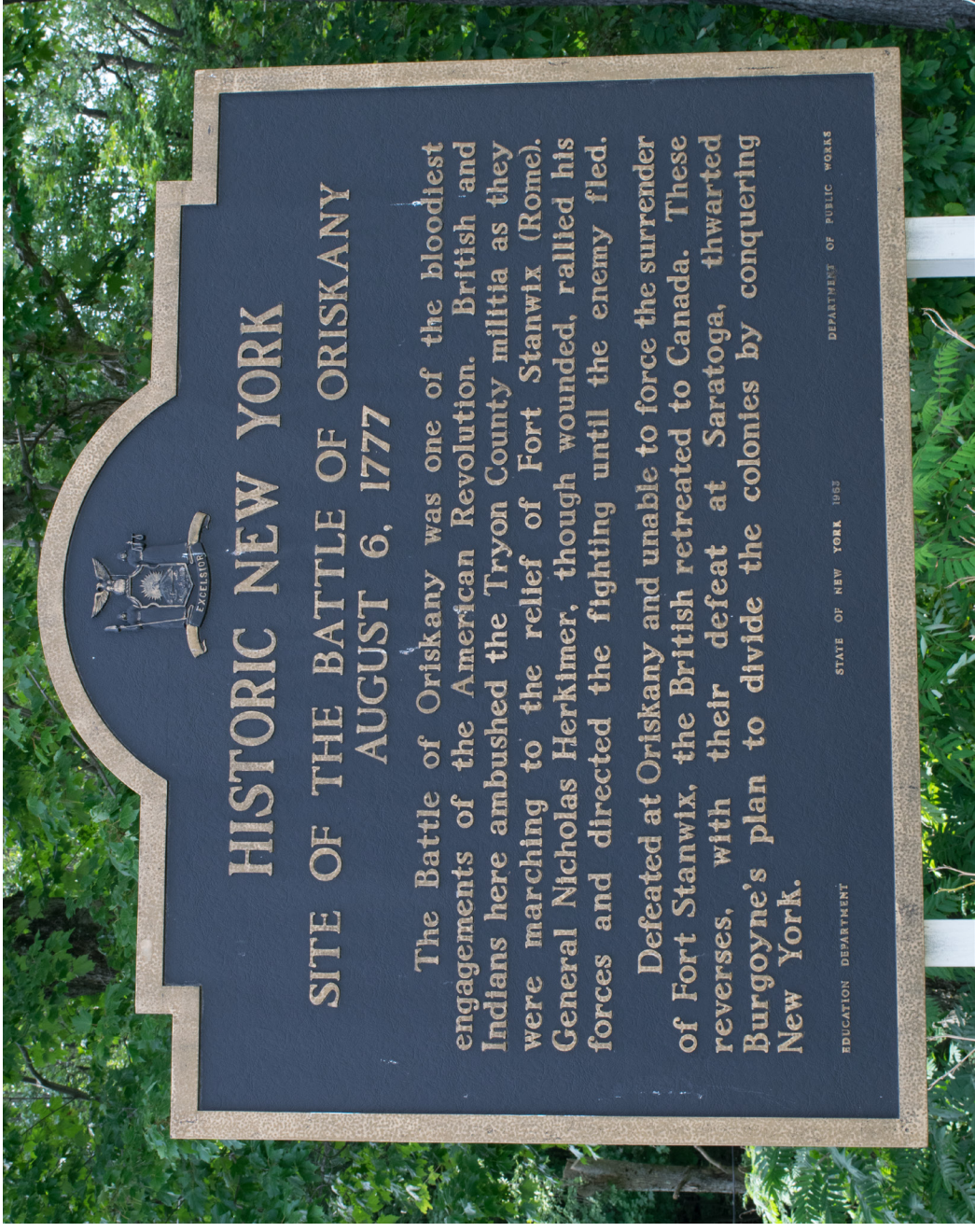


Figure 4.10: 1963 Battle of Oriskany Metal Marker
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

Fort Stanwix and Oriskany (Daily Sentinel 1963). At the “actual site of Ft. Stanwix,” Dr. Sydney Bradford, a representative of the National Park Service, presented the National Historic Landmark citation to the mayor of Rome, New York, Lewis C. Wood (Daily Sentinel 1963). This ceremony was followed by another ceremony that opened an interpretation “room” that had recently been constructed at the Oriskany Battlefield (Daily Sentinel 1963). According to the newspaper, this new room included dioramas depicting the battle and the “life and times of Gen. Nicholas Herkimer” (Daily Sentinel 1963).

In 1966, newspapers dubbed August 6th as “Oriskany Day” to mark the public celebration of the 189th anniversary (Kahler 1966). The anniversary included a flyover by unspecified jets from Griffiss Air Force Base, Rome, New York (Kahler 1966). The Carl Schurz Society of Utica, a German-American organization, participated in the ceremonial wreath laying at the Oriskany Battle Monument (Kahler 1966).

The official program for the 190th anniversary in 1967 opens with the history of the aircraft carrier, USS Oriskany (Oriskany Day Committee 1967). As with previous anniversaries, this program includes a history of the Siege of Fort Stanwix and the Battle of Oriskany (Oriskany Day Committee 1967). The program notes that the Dutch and Palatine Germans comprised a majority of the colonist population in the Mohawk River and that they made up the majority of the Tryon County militia (Oriskany Day Committee 1967). The program speculates on what might have happened had the Siege of Fort Stanwix succeeded:

...no stand could have been made this side of Albany; the Mohawk Valley would have been swept by Brant and his Indians, as with the besom of destruction; the tomahawk, the scalping knife, and the firebrand would have left it without a dwelling or an inhabitant. And if Burgoyne had been reinforced by such a force, surrounded as he was by forests and mountains, every foot of which was known to the savages, the issue might have been widely different, and slavery, instead of freedom, been the result. (Oriskany Day Committee 1967)

The program also identifies the Oneida and Tuscaroras as faithful allies of the Continental

Congress during the American Revolution and notes that “it is impossible at this time to do justice to the Oneidas, and other friendly Indians who took part with the Americans, by recounting their deeds of valor, or recording the various services which they rendered” (Oriskany Day Committee 1967).

The 190th anniversary included a wide range of events from three different memorial services to a flyover by Navy jets. For the first time, the Oneidas had a prominent role in the ceremonies of the 190th anniversary. The Oneidas participated in two activities: an “Oneida Indians Pow-Wow and Authentic Iroquois dances” on August 5th; and on August 6th they joined the memorial service at the Oriskany Battlefield (Oriskany Day Committee 1967). The Oriskany Day Committee scheduled three separate Memorial Service ceremonies: “General Herkimer Memorial,” “Oneida Indians Memorial,” and “USS Oriskany Memorial”. A flyover by Navy Skyhawk jets and the presentation of a plaque for the USS Oriskany were part of these memorial services (Oriskany Day Committee 1967).

Interpretive Signs, c. 1990s

In the 1990s, New York State placed six fiberglass signs across the battlefield. These signs each used only one or two pictures. With the exception of sign five, the other signs have no supplemental inset texts.

The first interpretive sign sits by the Oriskany Battle Monument and states:

On August 6, 1877, the centennial commemorating the Battle of Oriskany was celebrated. Ex-Governor Horatio Seymour was the main speaker. At sunrise, salutes fired from the guns on the battlefield announced a glorious day. Every home in the village of Oriskany was decorated, and 70,000 people came to the celebration on foot, by wagon, horseback, carriage, boat and by rail. It was a day to remember!

Spurred on by the centennial festivities, funds for a monument were collected. This monument, erected from the stones of the dismantled Erie Canal weigh lock at Utica, was dedicated in 1884.

The second sign is titled “Campaign of 1777.” The main text states:

A three-pronged attack, known as the Campaign of 1777, was launched by

the British under the direction of Maj. Gen. John Burgoyne. The strategy was to split New England from the other colonies by gaining control of New York State.

During his march down the Mohawk Valley from Oswego to Albany, Lt. Col. Barry St. Leger met unexpected resistance at Fort Stanwix, then under the command of Col. Peter Gansevoort. St. Leger's small army of British regulars, loyalist Royal Greens and Indian allies laid siege to the fort.

Upon hearing of St. Leger's advance, Brig. Gen. Nicholas Herkimer assembled the Tryon County militia at Fort Dayton to go to Gansevoort's aid. On August 4, 1777, Herkimer, with 800 militiamen, began the forty-mile march west from Fort Dayton to Fort Stanwix.

When St. Leger learned that Herkimer and his relief expedition were on their way, he sent Joseph Brant, a Mohawk chief, with 400 Mohawk and Seneca, and Sir John Johnson, with 50 of his Royal Greens, to stop them. Their clash at the Battle of Oriskany was one of the key episodes of the Campaign of 1777.

The third sign entitled "A Final Attempt" has the text:

Down this valley, the Indians, realizing the battle had been turned in favor of the Patriots, began to yell their cry of retreat: "Oonah, oonah!" vanishing into the valley as quickly as they had appeared, they would carry terror to the settlements below.

After the Indians left, a detachment of Royal Greens decided to make one last try. They turned their coats inside out to disguise themselves to look like a relief party coming up the valley from Fort Stanwix. One Patriot soldier recognized the face of a Loyalist neighbor, however, and the battle raged once more.

Six hours after the battle began, both sides gradually withdrew. Although the Tryon County militia never made it to Fort Stanwix, the Iroquois losses at the Battle of Oriskany would lead them to withdraw their aid to St. Leger. Without enough artillery or other resources to continue the siege, St. Leger retreated to Canada, causing this prong of the Campaign of 1777 to collapse.

The only supplemental text incorrectly gives the official name of the Royal Greens as "Johnson's Royal Regiment" and states that the regiment drew men from the Loyalist populations of New York and Canada.

The fourth sign titled "I Will Face The Enemy!" has the following text:

Gen. Nicolas Herkimer, wounded early in the battle, was carried to a safer spot beneath a beech tree now marked by a stone monument. Although urged by his militiamen to retire from danger, he replied: "I will face the enemy!"

Directing the battle while leaning against his saddle and smoking his old black pipe, Herkimer noticed that the Indians were watching the white puffs of smoke from the militiamen's muskets. The Indians knew that in the few seconds it would take to reload, they could rush in to attack with their tomahawks.

After a violent thunderstorm caused a one-hour lull in the battle, Herkimer had his men regroup on higher ground. This time they would fight by twos, so that while one reloaded the other fired. This strategy quickly discouraged the Indians, who soon retreated from the battlefield.

The fifth sign titled "The Ambush" has the following text:

Parched and exhausted from the heat and humidity on their march to Fort Stanwix, some of General Herkimer's men broke ranks and ran to this creek for water. Although Sir John Johnson had told his Indian allies not to attack until all of Herkimer's men had entered the ravine, they could not resist this opportunity.

As the militiamen laid down their muskets and placed their heads to the water, the Indians attacked. Tradition states that an hour into the battle, this creek ran red with blood. Thus the battle of Oriskany has also been called "the battle of bloody creek."

The sixth sign is broken up into two parts. The first part's main text is under the title "The Military Road" and states: "On August 6, 1777, the Tryon County militia marched down a wilderness road that entered this ravine. A 'corduroy' road, made of logs, it was the only means by which General Herkimer and his men could reach Fort Stanwix other than by boat." The second part titled "and The Ravine" has the following text:

The Military Road dipped more than fifty feet into this marshy ravine. A small stream, barely three-feet wide, meandered along the bottom. It was a splendid spot for an ambush. While 50 of Sir John Johnson's Royal Greens waited behind a rise, 400 Iroquois, led by the Mohawk chief Joseph Brant, concealed themselves on both sides of the ravine. It was into this trap that General Herkimer's militiamen advanced, with Herkimer at the head of the column.

Anniversaries and Battlefield Interpretation, 21st Century

The following sections focus on a description of the interpretive signs that replaced the 1990s' interpretive signs and still exist on the battlefield in 2017. In addition, this section covers the exhibits housed in the one-room visitors' center located on the battlefield grounds.

Interpretive Signs, c. 2000s

There are a total of seven interpretive signs spread out over the battlefield. These signs replaced the fiberglass signs from the 1990s, often adding additional visuals and text to supplement the primary text of the signs.

A pair of interpretive signs sit on the path leading up from the parking lot to the Oriskany Battle Monument. This pair appear to supplement and revise the battlefield interpretation presented on the 1963 metal marker. The main text for the first interpretive sign describes the battlefield:

Oriskany Battlefield stands at the very heart of the American Revolution in the Mohawk River Valley. As in past conflicts, in 1777 the valley again became a critical military corridor for the movement of men and materials. The story of the battlefield reflects the subtlety and depth of human experience as British Loyalists with their Seneca and Mohawk sympathizers ambushed colonists and their Oneida allies, each side determined to defend its values and way of life to the death. It was here, on August 6, that the British Campaign of 1777, a strategic effort to isolate New England from the rest of the colonies, began to fail.

In addition to this text, there is a map depicting the three strategic drives originally called for in the Burgoyne Campaign with text describing the campaign:

The British invasion of New York in 1777 attempted to separate the New England colonies from the southern colonies. General John Burgoyne would move south through the Champlain Valley from Canada, while General Barry St. Leger would move west up the St. Lawrence River to Fort Ontario at Oswego and then east along the Mohawk. Clinton's army would strike northward up the Hudson Valley from New York City, meeting the others at Albany.

A final insert to this panel is a reproduction of the 1902 painting *The Army of General Burgoyne* by Edward Lamson Henry. The text accompanying this painting states:

This 1902 painting, The Army of General Burgoyne, by Edward Lamson Henry, depicts the British army marching south along the Hudson River. The early success Burgoyne enjoyed did not bode well for the American rebellion. After St. Leger's army, 1,200 strong and comprised of British regulars, German mercenaries, and Loyalist divisions working with Native American allies, stalled at Fort Stanwix, Burgoyne found himself increasingly isolated as he approached Albany. He finally surrendered his entire army at Saratoga on October 17, 1777.

The second welcome interpretive sign entitled "Relief for Fort Stanwix" focuses on the battle itself. The main text on this sign states:

On August 3, 1777, when British General Barry St. Leger reached Fort Stanwix, he found it held by colonial forces and began a siege. Soon after, to relieve the fort, about 800 men of the Tryon County Militia, commanded by General Nicholas Herkimer, and a contingent of Oneida allies began marching westward down the Mohawk Valley, following the military road.

When St. Leger learned of their approach, he dispatched a force of about 100 Loyalist troops and roughly 400 Indians, principally Seneca and Mohawk, to intercept the relief column. Here at Oriskany, hiding in dark forests at the edge of a deep ravine along the military road, the British and allied Indians ambushed the Tryon County Militia in a bloody battle. Facing heavy losses and stubborn resistance, the British and their Native American allies abandoned the fight, leaving the militia badly mauled.

The retreating British returned to the fort to find their siege camps raided by the garrison from Fort Stanwix. The assault against the fort continued indecisively until St. Leger's Native American allies withdrew in frustration, ultimately forcing St. Leger to return to Canada and abandon the overall effort to take the Mohawk Valley. Thus, the Battle of Oriskany assisted in derailing Burgoyne's campaign and helped lead to the decisive American victory at Saratoga later that fall.

In addition to this main text the visitor may read three briefer texts. One is next to a detail from the Robert Griffing painting *One Mile to Bushy Run Station*. The painting is actually an illustration of a 1763 ambush by Native Americans in the war of the Ojibwa chief Pontiac. Despite depicting a battle from a different war, the sign states "the ambush caught the militia completely by surprise. Many of the militiamen fled through the woods pursued by Mohawk warriors." A second inset alongside an engraving of the battle taken

from *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion* (1857) states “despite efforts to move him out of harm’s way, a wounded General Herkimer attempts to direct the battle from a high point north of the ravine.” The third inset accompanies a detail of a militiaman swinging his musket like a club from the painting *Bunker Hill, 17 June 1775* by Charles McBarron. This third inset text states “initially disorganized and frightened, many militiamen hid behind trees, fighting for their lives in small, scattered groups.”

A third interpretive sign is titled “A Clash of Cultures.” The main text of this panel states:

The outbreak of the Revolutionary War in 1775 inflamed existing division within the Mohawk Valley’s European communities and eventually affected individuals as well as tribes of the Iroquois Confederacy of the Six Nations. Forced to choose sides in the conflict, neighbors fought against neighbors and brothers against brothers. Men suspected of supporting the king were required to sign oaths of loyalty to Congress and the Revolutionary cause. Those who refused were harassed and sometimes badly beaten. Many fled with their families to Canada for safety.

As European tensions rose, debate within the Iroquois Confederacy tore at the centuries-old tradition of the Great Peace that bound the tribes together. Unable to remain neutral, the Iroquois Confederacy split over which side to support. Most of the Oneida and Tuscarora supported the Revolution and fought with the New York militia. Most Mohawk and Seneca warriors fought with the British. The Cayuga and Onondaga remained neutral until 1779. Individuals throughout the Iroquois Confederacy, however, were free to follow their own convictions.

In addition to this main text, there are three inset texts. The first accompanies a detail of a group of militiamen from the painting *Bunker Hill, 17 June 1775* by Charles McBarron. While the painting depicts English Americans in Massachusetts, the inset text states “a great majority of militiamen were of Palatine German descent and had strong historic reasons for disliking the British and fighting for greater personal freedoms.” The second inset text lists the member nations of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and is next to a reproduction of the painting *I Have Something to Say* by Robert Griffing. The third inset accompanies an engraving (circa 1850) titled *Burgoyne addressing the Indians, 1777* by J.C. Armytage. This text states “Iroquois clan mothers urged their tribes not to get

involved in a white man's war.”

The next interpretive sign titled “Alliances Drawn” has the following main text:

When British General Barry St. Leger received word that the militia was coming, he sent out a formidable attack force comprised predominantly of Mohawk and Seneca warriors working with Sir John Johnson's Kings Royal Regiment, Col. John Butler, and other loyalist rangers to ambush the militia forces and stop them from reaching the fort with supplies and men. The British expected and promised their native allies an easy fight at Oriskany, boasting that the militia would run like “scared rabbits.”

The Tryon County militiamen and the Oneida comprised a force of about 800 men, at least one woman, and 15 heavy supply wagons pulled by oxen. Their noisy relief train stretched along the winding military road for over a mile. Although untested in combat, the colonial forces were determined to relieve the fort's garrison of Continental soldiers and, perhaps more importantly, to prevent the British regaining control of the valley for the Crown. Behind them to the east, lay homesteads protected now only by their women and children, the elderly, and the infirm. The militia could not afford to lose this fight.

Also on this panel are the portraits of six of the principal officers for the Crown forces and Tryon County militia. The text accompanying the portrait of Nicholas Herkimer states “General Nicholas Herkimer became a hero to the Patriots' cause by maintaining his calm and directing his troops' defense despite being badly wounded during the opening moments of the battle. Herkimer died 10 days following the battle.” The text next to Samuel Campbell states “Lieutenant Samuel Campbell, 1st Regiment, Tryon County militia, eventually led the devastated colonial forces from the field after General Herkimer was wounded and Campbell's regimental commander killed.” The text next to the portrait of Joseph Brant states “Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) was a Mohawk captain who sided with the British during the Revolutionary War.” Next to John Johnson's portrait is the following text: “Sir John Johnson raised a regiment of loyalist soldiers in Canada called the Kings Royal Regiment of New York, also called the Royal Greens.” Next to Cornplanter's portrait is the text “Cornplanter (Gayentwahga) became a chief of the Seneca Nation of Indians at the age of 18.” Finally, the text next to the portrait of John Butler states “Colonel John Butler was instrumental in inducing the Senecas to fight

on behalf of the British.”

A fourth interpretive sign titled “The Ambush: August 6, 1777” reads:

Sir John Johnson and Joseph Brant prepared an ambush along the military road to Fort Stanwix where it passed through this ravine. When most of the militia had entered their trap, the hidden Mohawk and Seneca warriors attacked. Johnson’s Royal Greens blocked the road to the fort, while Mohawk and Seneca fired a sudden volley, killing hundreds in an instant, and then charged with tomahawks and knives. The fighting was close, savage, and personal.

Survivors of the initial strike regrouped on higher ground west of the ravine and waged a more organized defense by fighting in pairs, one man reloading his musket while the other fired. The battle at Oriskany lasted over four hours. As the afternoon wore on, the Mohawk and Seneca grew discouraged and eventually left. Johnson’s Royal Greens ultimately retired as well, leaving the militia badly damaged, but not destroyed.

After the battle, the few devastated militiamen and the Oneida left standing could only care for a few wounded. According to oral tradition, the Oneida saved many of the wounded militiamen by hiding them until they could be removed under the cover of darkness. Most of the dead were left on the battlefield – Loyalist, rebel colonist, Native American warrior – tangled together. Early historians suggest that some of the bodies were buried in a series of mass graves, some as early as 1795. Today, the entire battlefield is recognized as hallowed ground.

Like other interpretive panels this also has inset text. One figure caption accompanies a 2005 painting by Don Troiani titled *Oneida at the Battle of Oriskany* (Figure 4.11). The caption reads “this painting depicts Two Kettles Together (Tyonajanegen), assisting her husband, Oneida war chief Honyere Doxtator (Tehawenkaragwen), in the battle after he was wounded.” There is also an inset under the heading “Who Won?” with the following text:

That depends on your point of view. Although the Tryon County militia held the battlefield at day’s end, they failed to relieve Fort Stanwix, suffered 500+ casualties, and lost most of their commanders, including General Nicholas Herkimer. The British failed to regain the valley or move on to support General Burgoyne’s army at Saratoga. Sir John Johnson and the other Loyalists became refugees, never recovering their homes in New York. The Mohawk, Seneca, and Oneida not only lost lives and property, but also suffered from a lasting rift in the Iroquois Confederacy of the Six Nations.

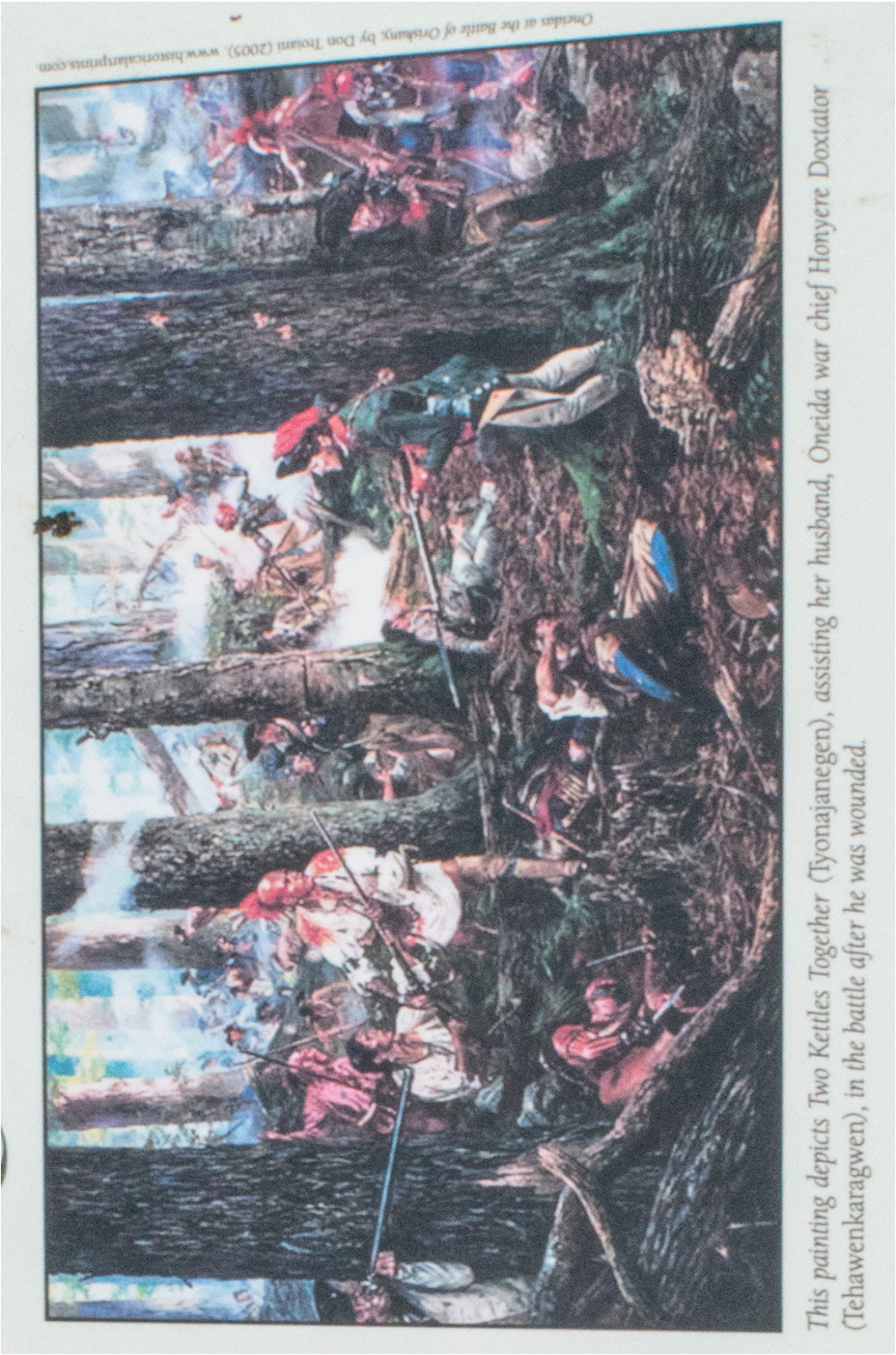


Figure 4.11: Oneida at the Battle of Oriskany
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

A fifth interpretive sign titled “Aftermath of a Tragedy” discusses the changing landscape of the Oriskany Battlefield after the American Revolution. The panel principally focuses on the impact of agriculture, deforestation, and division of the land into separate plots had on altering the battlefield landscape. To help illustrate this change a painting from 1848 and aerial photograph from 1949 are used with captions drawing attention to features in each illustration that changed during the century separating the creation of the two pictures.

A sixth interpretive sign titled “Preserving a Memorial Park” has the following main text:

Since the profound impact of Lincoln’s Gettysburg Address first sanctified battlefields as grounds of sacrifice, America’s battlefields have become gathering places to commemorate heroic deeds and honor patriotic ideals. Today, battlefields remain important cultural resources not only because they keep a battle’s legacy alive, but also because they preserve the hallowed and memorial nature of the landscape.

Oriskany Battlefield’s grand centennial celebration in 1877 attracted nearly 70,000 visitors and renewed the call for a lasting monument to Herkimer’s valor in the Summer of 1777. In 1880, the Oneida County Historical Society purchased nearly five acres, creating the first memorial park on site. Construction of the Herkimer monument began in 1883. By 1927, the 150th anniversary of the battle was again commemorated through elaborate pageantry wherein the property’s deed was presented to Governor Alfred E. Smith, signifying its transfer to the State of New York to be held in public trust. By 1962, Oriskany Battlefield was listed on the Nation Register of Historic Places and designated a National Historic Landmark.

Research efforts continue in order to better understand and appreciate the significance of this special place and the people who forged its history and to share the information with succeeding generations.

There is also an inset under the heading “Why Did You Come to Oriskany Battlefield Today?” with the following text: “some people visit Oriskany Battlefield to reflect on its hallowed ground or to enjoy its natural beauty and the serenity of this place. Others come to study the logistics of the battle. Still others come to honor the memories and sacrifices of those who fought in 1777.”

Visitors' Center Exhibit 2017

A modest one-room visitors' center stands near the Oriskany Battle Monument. The visitors' center contains four main interpretive panels and several text panels with accompanying artifacts or images. While the titles of the panels in the visitors' center overlap with the interpretive panels placed on the battlefield, no overlap occurs in the content of the main text of similarly-titled panels. The content of these two panel types is similar, and primarily contain the historical facts of the battle.

The first main interpretive panel titled "The Ambush, August 6, 1777" has the following main text:

The Tryon county Militia, made up of 800 young and middle-aged men from the communities of the Mohawk Valley, set out for Fort Stanwix to break the siege and relieve the fort's garrison. They were accompanied by about 60 Oneida warriors. When the British General Barry St. Leger received word that the militia was coming, he sent 50 of Sir John Johnson's Royal Greens, some additional loyalist rangers, and roughly 400 Mohawk and Seneca warriors to set an ambush and stop the militia from reaching the fort.

Sir John Johnson and Joseph Brant prepared an ambush along the military road to Fort Stanwix where it passed through a ravine. When most of the militia had entered the trap, the Mohawk and Seneca warriors attacked the column of advancing soldiers, catching them by surprise.

The initial fighting was savage and brutal. The militiamen who had not yet entered the ravine quickly fled, pursued through the woods by Seneca and Mohawk warriors. Those in the ravine ran for cover in the woods, only to find that they were surrounded.

Like the interpretive panels spread over the battlefield, these interpretive panels in the visitors' center also have inset text. One inset on this panel reads: "When the first shots were fired, the militiamen caught in the ravine were forced to take cover from the hail of bullets. Disorganized and frightened, they hid behind trees and whatever other cover they could find, fighting for their lives in small, scattered groups." Another inset, accompanying a reuse of the engraving *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion* (1857), states "General Herkimer tried to reorganize and rally his scattered men, but an

enemy bullet struck his leg and killed his horse. Herkimer's men carried him to a high point north of the ravine, where he continued to direct the battle." Another inset beside a reuse of the image *One Mile to Bushy Run Station* by Robert Griffing states "Mohawk and Seneca warriors chased the disorganized militia through the woods. The fighting quickly turned into a hand-to-hand struggle as the Indians inflicted terrible casualties with their spears and tomahawks, and the militiamen used whatever was handy to defend themselves." Reusing the 1830s painting *General Nicholas Herkimer* from the outdoor panels the accompanying inset text states "an experienced soldier, General Nicholas Herkimer commanded the Tryon County Militia and was one of the most powerful men in the Mohawk Valley." A final inset text accompanies a photograph by Janice Lang of reenactors of the King's Royal Regiment of New York. The inset states "the leading companies of the militia ran into Johnson's Royal Greens who were blocking the road to Fort Stanwix. Here too, the fighting was brutal and personal, as the loyalists took revenge on the men who had forced them from their homes."

The second interpretive panel is titled "Neighbor vs. Neighbor" with the following main text:

The Battle of Oriskany has traditionally been called the bloodiest battle of the Revolutionary War. It was fought by men who had once been neighbors in the Mohawk Valley, but who had chosen opposite sides when the war began. The tension between those who supported the revolutionary Congress and those who supported the British government grew until many of the loyalists left their homes and fled to Canada.

Iroquois warriors also fought against one another at Oriskany, reflecting the breakdown of the Iroquois confederacy [sic] of Six Nations. While Oneida warriors at Oriskany fought for the cause of the Revolution, Mohawks and Senecas supported the British.

As with the first panel, this interpretive panel has a number of images with inset text. One inset accompanies a picture of the belt plate of Captain John McKenzie of the King's Royal Regiment of New York. The inset text states "When Sir John Johnson reached Canada in June 1776, he formed the King's Royal Regiment of New York and

enlisted his tenants and other loyalist refugees. They were commonly called the Royal Greens because of their green uniforms in the early part of the war.” A second image of the 1927 painting *Sunrise at Fort Stanwix* by Edward P. Buyck has the following inset text (Figure 4.12): “Before he could march down the Mohawk Valley to Albany, St. Leger had to capture Fort Stanwix (renamed Ft. Schuyler by the Americans). At the beginning of August 1777, General Barry St. Leger laid siege to the fort, hoping that its garrison would give in.” Reusing the George Romney 1776 painting of Joseph Brant, this panel has the following text:

Mohawk and Seneca warriors joined General Barry St. Leger’s small army at Ft. Stanwix. Among them was the famous Mohawk war chief, Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), whose portrait was painted in London the year before the battle at Oriskany. His clothing, a mix of British and traditional Mohawk dress, is symbolic of the very close and interdependent relationship the Iroquois had developed in over a century of contact with Europeans.

Inset text accompanying the reuse of the Robert Griffing painting *I Have Something to Say* states “the Iroquois confederacy [sic] of Six Nations included the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, Tuscaroras, Oneidas, and Mohawks. Unable to remain neutral, the Six Nations split over which side to support during the Revolutionary War. Most Oneidas and Tuscaroras supported the Revolution, while most of the other Iroquois warriors fought on behalf of the British.” Accompanying a map of New York that highlights locations within the Mohawk Valley is the following inset text: “the outbreak of the Revolutionary War in 1775 inflamed existing divisions in the communities of the Mohawk Valley. Men suspected of being loyal to the King were required to sign oaths of loyalty to Congress and the Revolutionary cause. Those who refused were harassed, intimidated, and threatened.” A map detail outlining the three-pronged campaign plan of Burgoyne has the following text: “the British Campaign of 1777 called for three armies to converge on Albany. General Barry St. Leger’s army consisted of British soldiers, German mercenaries, Sir John Johnson’s Royal Greens, and other loyalist rangers. Johnson and the other loyalists expected to regain control of the Mohawk Valley and take back their



Before he could march down the Mohawk Valley to Albany, St. Leger had to capture Fort Stanwix (renamed Ft. Schuyler by the Americans). At the beginning of August 1777, General Barry St. Leger laid siege to the fort, hoping that its garrison would give in. *Sunrise at Fort Stanwix*, 1927, by Edward P. Buyck, reproduced courtesy of the Rome Historical Society.

Figure 4.12: Sunrise at Fort Stanwix Painting
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

homes and property.”

The second panel includes a reproduction of Edward Lamson Henry’s 1903 painting *Johnson Hall* and has the following inset text: “pictured is Johnson Hall, the home of Sir John Johnson. Most of Sir John’s tenants remained loyal to the British government. In May 1776, Johnson and 170 of his loyal followers fled to Canada, leaving behind their homes and property.”

The third exhibit panel at the visitors’ center is titled “Battlefield Preservation” and addresses the subjects of archaeology, historical preservation, and motivations people have for visiting historic sites. Like the interpretive panel on the battlefield, they address similar subjects.

The final exhibit panel at the visitors’ center is titled “Memorial Park to State Historic Site” and discusses what happened to the site after the Revolutionary War. This panel combines information about the development of the land for agricultural and transportation uses until its transformation to a memorial landscape. The main text of the panel states:

After the battle, the few militiamen and Oneidas left standing could only care for the wounded. According to oral tradition, the Oneidas saved many of the wounded militiamen by hiding them until they could be removed under the cover of darkness. Most of the dead were left on the battlefield. Although some historians have suggested that many of the bodies may have been buried in a mass grave, no one knows for certain.

Following the Revolution, the battlefield’s dense forest was cleared and the land farmed until the Oneida County Historical Society purchased nearly five acres in 1880 to create a memorial park. Over the years, the Historical Society hosted several major anniversary celebrations before donating the site to the State of New York in 1927. In 1962, Oriskany Battlefield was added to the National Register of Historic Places and designated a National Historic Landmark. Today, New York State’s Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation has renewed its commitment to preserving this important piece of America’s past.

This final panel includes a number of historical photographs. One depicting the Oriskany Battle Monument dedication in 1884 has the following caption: “Photograph

of the Oneida County Historical Society's dedication of the Oriskany Battle Monument in 1884. A centennial celebration seven years earlier was said to have attracted as many as 75,000 people." A photograph of the 1912 "Oriskany Day Celebration" has the following caption: "Photograph of the 1912 Oriskany Day Celebration. In 1927, the 150th Anniversary of the battle was commemorated with an elaborate pageant. The deed to the property was presented to Governor Alfred E. Smith, signifying the transfer of the site to the State of New York." A contemporary photograph of memorial wreaths and a photograph showing visitors gathered for an event on the battlefield has the joint caption "the anniversary celebrations begun by the Oneida County Historical Society are continued today in annual solemn commemorative ceremonies. Descendants are invited to these ceremonies to help keep the battle's legacy alive."

Visitors' Center Portrait Exhibit, 2017

In addition to the main exhibit panels, a number of smaller panels focus on individuals or artifacts important to the battle. A sketch of an Oneida man and woman firing pistols has the following caption: "Hanyerry (Tehawengaragwen) was a head Oneida warrior of the Wolf Clan in the village of Oriska. Even though shot through the right wrist during the Battle of Oriskany, he continued to fight while his wife, Tyonajanegen, loaded his gun. He was awarded a commission in June 1779 as captain in the Continental Army. No likeness of Hanyerry or his wife exists." Another sketch of an Oneida chief has a caption that states "War Chief Skenedon (Oskanondonha) was a member of the Wolf clan. His influence within the Oneida nation was a factor in their joining the Patriots. He lived to be 110 years old, dying in 1816. No likeness of Skenendon exists." A profile painting of Marinus Willett has the accompanying caption: "Lieutenant Colonel Marinus Willett led a sortie that raided nearly empty Loyalist and British-allied American Indian camps during the Battle of Oriskany. He later commanded all Mohawk Valley troops that fought to end Loyalist and American Indian raids." Reusing the painting of Herkimer from other exhibit panels a smaller panel has a caption

“Nicolas Herkimer, General of Tryon County Militia, was an influential person in the Mohawk Valley. On August 6, 1777, he was provoked by junior officers to lead his troops into an ambush at the Battle of Oriskany. Herkimer died ten days later of wounds he received at the battle.”

There are also small panels depicting individuals who fought for the Crown. An engraving of Sir John Johnson has the caption “Sir John Johnson, son of Sir William, initially lacked his father’s political ambitions. However, after moving to Canada, he became the commander of the Loyalist Kings Royal Regiment of New York throughout the Revolutionary War, and an important official during the Canadian settlement period.” There is also a panel with a painting of Sir William Johnson with the caption “Sir William Johnson was superintendent of the Northern Department of Indian Affairs and the King’s representative among American Indians. His capable leadership maintained peace between American Indians and settlers in the Mohawk Valley until his death in 1774.”

Joseph Brant and his sister Molly Brant also have panels in this section of the visitors’ center. The image for Molly Brant is taken from the commemorative Canadian stamp and has the following caption:

Molly Brant (Tekonwatonti) was Joseph’s sister and second wife of Sir William Johnson. She sent the intelligence report to alert Loyalist forces surrounding Fort Stanwix that the Tryon County Militia was advancing to relieve the siege. This set the stage for the Battle of Oriskany. Forced from her Canajoharie home, Molly became an important person during the Canadian settlement period. No likeness of Molly Brant exists.

The panel for Joseph Brant uses a different painting from those used on the battlefield and main interpretive panels in the visitors’ center. The accompanying caption states “Captain Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) was a British-allied Mohawk in the Indian Department during the American Revolution. He successfully recruited many warriors by accusing them of being cowards. Brant led forces in battles against Patriots across the New York and northwestern frontier.”

Visitors' Center Artifact Exhibit Panels, 2017

Several moderately sized exhibit cases with a number of historical objects ring the walls of the visitors' center. Some of these items are notable for the labels that accompany them and are discussed below.

One object on display is a tomahawk. The descriptive label that accompanies it states:

Like knives, tomahawks were an all-purpose item that was popular with both whites and Indians on the frontier. As with knives, many Tryon county militia men [sic] carried a tomahawk in place of a bayonet. On the morning of August 6th, a small group of Oneida warriors from the nearby village of Oriska joined the militia on its march towards Fort Stanwix. Two in particular distinguished themselves with the use of their tomahawks. The following two accounts come from the Oneida oral traditions recorded by Lyman C. Draper in 1877 during interviews with Oneidas in Wisconsin.

“...Baltcop particularly distinguished himself there – went three times through the fight, fighting with his tomahawk in hand to hand fight, knocking right and left...Much hand to hand fighting – Indians using spears and tomahawks...” – Cornelius Doxtator

“Baltcop was in a fight and tomahawked and wounded a British Indian there, breaking his arm when some friend of Baltcop came up and helped him dispatch him...” – Elijah Skenado

“Aug. 23-....At the late battle between General Herkimer and the enemy at Oneida Creek, there was a friendly Indian, with his wife and son, who distinguished themselves remarkably on that occasion. The Indian killed nine of the enemy, when having received a ball through his wrist that disabled him from using his gun, he fought with his tomahawk...” – The Pennsylvania Journal, Sept. 3rd, 1777

Another label accompanies a replica of a Brown Bess musket. Half of the label describes the musket, explaining the technical aspects of its use and why the musket was the favored firearm for armies of the day. The portion of the text that is of particular interest relates to the Battle of Oriskany:

The Battle of Oriskany was a particularly fierce and bloody battle with much of the fighting being done hand to hand. Even by the time of the American Revolution, it was rather unusual for so many men to be killed or wounded directly at the hands of their enemies. The heavy forests and

rugged terrain of the ambush site however, forced the combatants to close in on one another. Another factor that led to so much hand to hand fighting was the preferred tactics of the Indian allies of the Loyalists and militia. While the Indians had readily adopted firearms into their weapons of war, the preferred method of fighting, and the one main way to prove your prowess as a warrior, was to engage your enemy in hand to hand combat.

Visitors Center Oneida Panels, 2017

In addition to the primary interpretive panels, portrait panels, and artifact exhibit cases, there are a few additional panels that specifically discuss the Oneidas. These panels focus on Han Yerry, Two Kettles, and the Oneida Nation's role in the Revolution.

The text for Han Yerry states:

Han Yerry was an Oneida Indian Warrior who stands out as a notable figure at the Battle of Oriskany. He was said to have taken the lives of nine enemies during the course of the battle. During the battle, he was shot through his wrist, but continued to fight after being wounded. He was aided by his wife Two Kettles during the course of the battle as she loaded the pistols for him to fire. Han Yerry was known as quite a gentleman in his demeanor.

Biography:

Date of Birth about 1720 – Died before 1794

Oneida Chief Warrior

Member of: Wolf Clan

Native American name: Tehawenkaragwen which means, "He who takes up snowshoe"

A.K.A.s: Hon Yerry, Hon Yurrie, John George, John Jorg, Henry Doxtator

Stance: Pro American, Patriot

It is unclear from the visitors' center signage if this panel predates the portrait exhibit panel or if it adds supplemental material to the portrait panel's text:

Two Kettles who was Han Yerry's wife was also at the battle. She bravely fought side by side with her husband during the course of the battle. This makes her one of the first Native American females to serve in or with American Military forces and one of America's first female combat veterans.

Biography:

Date of Birth about 1728 – Died 1833

Native American name: Tyonajanegen which means, “Two Kettles”

American name: Sarah martin [sic]

Stance: Pro American, Patriot

The final panel focuses on the Oneidas as “America’s First Allies:”

The Oneida Indians played a pivotal role in the Revolutionary War. The Oneida Indians aided the American’s in their fight for independence. Oneida Indians fought alongside Continental forces at conflicts such as the Battles of Oriskany, Saratoga, Barren Hill, Yorktown, and many more engagements. They were at Valley Forge with Washington’s troops in support of the cause. Because of their allegiance and support of America’s independence the Oneida Indians are our America’s first allies.

240th Anniversary, 2017

On August 6, 2017, I attended the 240th anniversary which was open to the public and jointly overseen by the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation and the National Park Service. This joint organization reflects the broader recent interpretive collaboration between the New York office (which owns the site) and the National Park Service (which owns Fort Stanwix). Numerous Daughters of the American Revolution and Sons of the American Revolution chapters participated in the anniversary. Additionally, representatives of the Kingston and St. Lawrence Branch of the United Empire Loyalists attended and participated in the ceremonial wreath-laying. The Oneida Nation had a prominent role in all stages of the celebration.

Prior to the celebration reenactors representing the Revolutionary militia (stationed near the Herkimer monument) and Loyalists (stationed 100 yards away underneath a grove of trees) stood on the battlefield. At this time, the public could approach the reenactors and ask questions about the history, their equipment, or the units they represented. The Loyalist reenactors wore the uniforms of the King’s Royal Regiment. I informally asked where the members of the unit were from. I found out that

both Americans and Canadians made up the unit membership. The reenactors volunteered that their motives for being at the anniversary were to represent all sides in the battle. I also asked the reenactors representing the Revolutionary militia where they originated and learned that they came from throughout New York State. The Revolutionary militia reenactors present for the anniversary actually wore the uniform of the Albany County militia (rather than Tryon County).

The anniversary began with a ceremonial march of the Loyalist and Revolutionary reenactors and representatives of the Oneida Nation. The Oneida Nation representatives led the procession dressed in the *Gustoweh* of the Oneida Nation and ribbon shirts. The *Gustoweh* is a traditional Haudenosaunee headdress made of wood and adorned with “eagle, hawk, pheasant, or turkey feathers” (Onondaga Nation 2014). The pattern of feathers identifies a wearer’s nation (Onondaga Nation 2014). For example, “one feather pointing upward and another pointing downwards” indicates the wearer is Onondaga (Onondaga Nation 2014).

After the march, the various reenactors raised the United States flag, Union Jack, and Oneida Nation flag on flagpoles and then lowered them to half-staff in recognition of the losses by both sides. Frank Barrows, the superintendent of the Fort Stanwix National Monument, drew special attention to the representatives from the Oneida Nation and Cheyenne Nation. It was unclear why members of the Cheyenne Nation from the Great Plains attended, as they did not take part in any of the subsequent ceremonies (nor had the Cheyenne taken part in the original battle). No representatives of the other Haudenosaunee nations participated in the ceremony.

Merry Ann T. Wright, Honorary President General of the Daughters of the American Revolution, gave the keynote address. In her speech she emphasized the Oneida Nation as the first allies of the United States, reinforcing the decades-long narrative promoted by the Oneida Nation. She also reinforced that while women are often left out of the historical narrative, they were just as impacted by the American Revolution

as the men who fought as soldiers and militia. She then proceeded to give examples of notable women from the American Revolution, including the Oneida woman Two-Kettles who appears as a prominent figure in the Oriskany Battlefield visitors' center exhibits.

Following this speech was a ceremonial laying of wreaths. Each individual organization placed their wreath by the Oriskany Battle Monument. Both the representatives of the United Empire Loyalists and Oneida Nation placed wreaths at the monument.

The anniversary celebration concluded with remarks by Brian Patterson (Bear clan) representing the Oneida Nation Men's Council. His speech began by emphasizing that alliance and friendship spans generations. He then strongly emphasized that when Joseph Brant attempted to sway the Oneida to side with the British, they chose to ally themselves with the Continental Congress and that they served as faithful allies throughout the war. He concluded by emphasizing that the Oneida and United States had been "allies in war and partners in peace" followed by the ceremonial singing of the Oneida song of thanksgiving.

The Monuments and Commemorative Events at Fort Stanwix

The National Park Service built and maintains the reconstructed fort currently extant in downtown Rome, New York. Thus this dissertation considers the fort itself as a monument. A very detailed 2008 book by Joan M. Zenzen, *Fort Stanwix National Monument: Reconstructing the Past and Partnering for the Future*, discusses the social, political, and economic events surrounding both the reconstruction of the fort and the visitor center. Therefore, this portion of the chapter primarily focuses on memorialization and commemoration at the fort following its reconstruction in the early 1970s.

In 1960, "Fort Stanwix Days" began getting national attention leading up to the reconstruction of Fort Stanwix. This tradition appears to have begun with the 184th anniversary in 1960, the date of the anniversary of the now-apocryphal first raising of the Stars and Stripes in the face of an enemy (Copper City Stamp Club 1960). In 1988, the

post cards became sponsored by the Ft. Stanwix Stamp Club. The sequence of the stamps is:

Copper City Stamp Club 1960; Copper City Stamp Club 1961; Copper City Stamp Club 1962; Copper City Stamp Club 1963; Copper City Stamp Club 1964; Copper City Stamp Club 1965; Copper City Stamp Club 1966; Copper City Stamp Club 1967; Copper City Stamp Club 1968; Copper City Stamp Club 1969; Copper City Stamp Club 1970; Copper City Stamp Club 1971; Copper City Stamp Club 1972; Copper City Stamp Club 1974; Copper City Stamp Club 1975; Copper City Stamp Club 1976; Copper City Stamp Club 1977a; Copper City Stamp Club 1977b; Copper City Stamp Club 1978; Copper City Stamp Club 1979; Copper City Stamp Club 1980; Copper City Stamp Club 1982; Copper City Stamp Club 1983a; Copper City Stamp Club 1984; Ft. Stanwix Stamp Club 1988; Ft. Stanwix Stamp Club 1989

I could not determine if the Copper City Stamp Club is the same stamp club rebranded with a new name or if the Copper City Stamp Club disbanded and the Ft. Stanwix Stamp Club replaced it.

Some postcards depict an individual or object important to the history of Fort Stanwix (such as the commander Peter Gansevoort), in which case a brief historical note occurs on the opposite side of the postcard (Copper City Stamp Club 1963). A postcard for the year 1964 notes the 5th anniversary of the dedication of the Fort Stanwix Museum on the original fort's site (Copper City Stamp Club 1964). The 1969 Fort Stanwix Day postcard celebrated the 10th anniversary of the Fort Stanwix Museum (Copper City Stamp Club 1969). This museum would be replaced by the reconstructed fort. The 1971 postcard highlighted the archaeological discovery of the northwest bastion of Fort Stanwix as part of the NPS excavations undertaken in preparation for reconstructing the fort (Copper City Stamp Club 1971). The 1976 postcard focused on the dedication of the reconstructed fort (Copper City Stamp Club 1976). These celebrations of Fort Stanwix Day appear to have been separate events from the Oriskany Days as evident by separate 1983 postcards for Fort Stanwix Day for August 3 and Oriskany Day for August 6 (Copper City Stamp Club 1983a; Copper City Stamp Club 1983b).

By 1984 an umbrella community celebration called Honor America Days had slowly replaced the separate Fort Stanwix Day and Oriskany Day (Charzuk 2004). By

2002, Honor America Days ran as a ten-day-long event (Daily Sentinel 2002). The Oneida Indian Nation of New York was among the list of sponsors for the celebration in 2002 (Daily Sentinel 2002).

Although a visitors' center was originally planned in the 1970s, it was not until 2003 that funding for a visitors' center was allocated by the Federal government for construction to begin (Jones 2003). On March 18, 2004 the Oneida Indian Nation of New York presented a \$150,000 check to help fund construction of the visitors' center and presented a framed two-row wampum belt to Fort Stanwix National Monument Superintendent Michael A. Caldwell (Hawley 2004). The NPS used this money to fund exhibits and make a sculpture depicting the Oneidas and European colonists trading along the Great Carry (Jones 2003). Based on photos of the ground-breaking ceremony, representatives of the Oneida Indian Nation wore traditional Haudenosaunee Gustoweh headdresses (Jones 2003). As part of the preparation for the new visitors' center, filming was undertaken by the National Park Service for a series of interpretive movies that would be shown with the exhibits. These videos, still in use in 2017, portray a German colonial woman, an Oneida Bear Clan mother, a Dutch Continental Soldier, and a Scottish trader (Daily Sentinel 2004). These four individuals represented those in the Mohawk Valley who aligned with the Continental Congress, Loyalists, or remained neutral, the reasons they had for making their choice, and the struggles they faced (Daily Sentinel 2004). In addition to expanding the fort's interpretation with a dedicated visitors' center, a swearing in ceremony for naturalized citizens was held by the Federal government in 2004 (Jones 2004). This ceremony for naturalized citizens reinforces the contributions of many ethnic groups in 1777.

Conclusion

The monuments and signage found at Oriskany Battlefield are detached objects, whereas the entire reconstructed Fort Stanwix is a monument in and of itself. Only four monuments are located on the Oriskany Battlefield State Historic Site and were primarily

or completely privately funded: the 1883 Obelisk (Oneida Historical Society with some additional funds from state and federal governments), the 1912 Beech Tree Monument (DAR), the 1928 Unknown Soldiers Monument (Mohawk Valley Historical Association) and the 1929 DAR Posts. New York State funded the fifth monument, located beyond the park's boundaries. New York State also produced the interpretive signs around the park and in the Visitor Center. Over time, the portrayal of the Continental Congress-allied Oneida Native Americans changed. The narrative shifted from one that omitted their role as much as possible to one that integrates the Oneida narrative as America's "First Allies." In both the monuments and the signage, the historic narrative regarding the German and Dutch Americans also changed. The 19th century ceremonies noted their ethnicity, but because of two world wars during the first half of the 20th century, the ceremonies do not mention the German-American militiamen. By the end of the 20th and start of the 21st centuries, the narrative again recognizes their ethnicity and contribution.

Chapter 5

Saratoga Battlefield Data Collection

Introduction

This chapter presents the data gathered from the Saratoga Battlefield. The data comes from the modern National Park Service (NPS) sites of the Saratoga National Historical Park; the Saratoga Victory Monument (managed by the NPS) located in Victory, New York; the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation archives at Peebles Island; and the NPS archives at the Saratoga National Historical Park. This data includes physical monuments and interpretive signage; primary source documents related to the erection and dedication of monuments; and primary source documents from various commemorative and anniversary events. I present the data chronologically, starting with the erection of the first monuments and commemorative events in the late 19th century and up to 2016. Photographs of the monuments as they exist today (2017) accompany the descriptions of the monuments and the content of the text of any plaques mounted on the monument.

The chapter chronologically presents data on the monuments, data of commemorative ceremonies specific to individual monuments, and data on the commemorative ceremonies for key time periods: the 100th anniversary (1877); the 135th anniversary (1912); the 150th anniversary (1927); the 200th anniversary (1977). This format was chosen to most easily present the evolution of the site from its first commemorative events to recent commemorative events. This sequence is also consistent with my other chapters.

Memorials and commemorations in the late 19th century

The two battles of Saratoga occurred in 1777, but the first official monument was not placed on the battlefield until 1883 when one was erected by the Saratoga Monument

Association (SMA). The SMA began in 1856, before the start of the American Civil War (Walworth 1891:45). On October 17, 1856 John A. Corey, George Stover, “and other patriotic gentlemen” met to discuss how to proceed with memorializing the Battles of Saratoga and the subsequent surrender of Burgoyne and his army (Walworth 1891:45). However, it was not until 1859, three years after this first meeting, that the SMA was officially formed (Walworth 1891:45). The original board members all came from New York State. Some were from the Capital District and towns near the battlefields, while others resided as far away as Utica and Brooklyn (Walworth 1891:45). The Civil War (1861-1865) disrupted plans to construct a monument, and it was not until 1872 that the SMA resumed their activities (Walworth 1891:46).

During the 19th and early 20th century, the SMA played a major role determining what monuments were installed on the battlefield. Individuals or private organizations financed some monuments. With this start, by 2017 a total of twenty-five monuments have been dedicated at the Saratoga National Historical Park. Several miles outside of the park, the Saratoga Victory Monument commemorates the location of the surrender of the British commander, John Burgoyne, and his army. The original goal when the SMA was founded was erection of this monument (Brandow 1919:380). However, both the American Civil War and economic depressions of the 1870s prevented this monument from being completed until 1882 (Brandow 1919:380). This brought the total number of monuments related to the two battles of Saratoga to twenty-six. In addition, several stone markers were placed on the outskirts of the battlefield between 1904 and 1909 to direct travelers to the battlefield (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:58).

The Centennial, 1877

Until Saratoga’s Centennial there were no official, organized commemorative events at the Saratoga Battlefield. The former battlefield remained in private hands, a point emphasized as late as 1919 when a printed guide to the battlefield explicitly told readers to “first obtain permission to look over the grounds” (Brandow 1919:496). During

the end of the 18th and throughout the 19th century, individuals would make trips to visit the battlefield and they sometimes recorded their visits in letters (Stone 1895:63–273).

The first official commemorative event of the Continental victory at Saratoga took place during the backdrop of the nation-wide wave of patriotic fervor that occurred with the celebration of the Centennial of the American Revolution. The centerpiece of the celebration was beginning the foundations for the Saratoga Victory Monument by the SMA. The site for the monument was near the location where General John Burgoyne had formally surrendered to General Horatio Gates in 1777.

The Centennial celebration was elaborate and began with a grand military parade by the military bands and members of the New York State National Guard (Stone 1878:14). Additionally, units from Vermont and Connecticut dressed in period clothing that represented both the British and Revolutionaries (Stone 1878:14). Processions of fraternal societies including the Knights Templar and the Masons followed these units (Stone 1878:15). This parade of nearly three thousand individuals stretched for more than a mile (Stone 1878:17–18).

After the parade reached the location of the Saratoga Victory Monument, M.W.J.J. Couch, Grand Master of Masons of the State of New York, led a ceremony to place the foundation stones of the monument (Stone 1878:34). As part of the ceremony, various groups and individuals interred numerous articles underneath one of the corner stones (Stone 1878:35). Interred objects included a history of the SMA, a history of the battles of Saratoga, post-Revolutionary War histories of the local area and towns, and a visitor guide to the Saratoga Battlefields written by Ellen Hardin Walworth of the SMA (Stone 1878:35–36).

Following this ceremony, prominent New Yorkers including a former governor made several orations. Among the orations I will focus on the sentiments articulated by the following individuals: Charles S. Lester; Horatio Seymour; George William Curtis; Connecticut Senator Lafayette S. Foster; George W. Schuyler; William Leete Stone; B.W.

Throckmorton; H.L. Gladding; and A.A. Yates. Poems by the following individuals were also read: Alfred B. Street (read by Colonel E.P. Howe), Fitz Greene Halleck (written in 1831, read by his biographer General James Grant Wilson); and General J Watts De Peyster (read by Reverend D.K. Van Doren) (Stone 1878:88–95, 123–125, 146–148). The majority of the orations sought to inspire patriotic fervor. However, the orations of William Leete Stone and B.W. Throckmorton were the exceptions, focusing instead on recounting the historical events of the battles of Saratoga and the rise and fall of Benedict Arnold respectively (Stone 1878:125–132, 104–123). The following paragraphs will focus on the orations by Seymour, Curtis, Throckmorton and De Peyster’s poem.

Former Governor of New York Horatio Seymour’s speech contained the expected appeals to patriotism and call for reverence for the Revolutionary heroes of the American Revolution. He noted the economic depression sweeping the country in the 1870s and, more significantly, drew attention to the importance of the geography of New York throughout history (Stone 1878:49–50). Seymour asserts that the geographically advantageous orientation of the hills and waterways directly contributed to the economic, military, and political dominance of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy (Stone 1878:50). Seymour suggests that the same geographic advantages that benefitted the Haudenosaunee proved great advantages to the Union during the Civil War (Stone 1878:51). In an appeal to unity, he notes the contributions of German immigrants, such as Nicholas Herkimer, to the Revolutionaries’ cause (Stone 1878:54–55). Finally, he also makes specific mention of the Oneidas as the only member of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy to side with the Continental Congress (Stone 1878:57).

George William Curtis was an author, editor for *Putnam’s Magazine*, and columnist for both *Harper’s Weekly* and *Harper’s Monthly*. The defeat of Burgoyne in the Loyalist stronghold of New York was Curtis’ main point in his oration. Curtis emphasized the fickle support of the Loyalists and Crown Allied Native Americans for the British (Stone 1878:85).

B.W. Throckmorton's oration was the only address that specifically focused on the legacy of Benedict Arnold. The oration explained and justified why the niche for Arnold's statue in the Saratoga Victory Monument was deliberately left empty.

General J. Watts De Peyster served as a Union officer during the American Civil War. He donated the Arnold monument (the Boot Monument) that the SMA dedicated in 1887. The contents of his poem largely recount the battle using classical references to Ulysses and patriotic language. Towards the end of his poem, he suggests that the United States was born in 1777 with the defeat of Burgoyne on the soil that is now New York rather than in 1776 (Stone 1878:148). The implication of this suggestion was that Philadelphia (where the Declaration of Independence was signed) is not the true birthplace of the nation.

The Saratoga Victory Monument

The Saratoga Victory Monument stands several miles outside of Saratoga National Historical Park at a small town known as Victory (Figure 5.1). The monument, a granite obelisk, marks where Burgoyne surrendered in 1777 (Brandow 1919:379-380). Originally planned to be an impressive 230 feet high with an 80 square foot base, funding limitations forced the SMA to scale back the size of the monument to 150 feet high with a 40 square foot base (Brandow 1919:380; Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:80–81). The SMA laid the monument's cornerstone as the focal point of the centennial celebrations of Burgoyne's surrender in 1877 (Brandow 1919:380). In 1882, the SMA finally completed the monument (Mechanicville Mercury 1912a). In 1895, the SMA transferred ownership of the monument to New York State (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:85).

The monument's external sides have four niches, three of which hold statues. The statues depict General Horatio Gates, Daniel Morgan, and General Philip Schuyler (Figure 5.2, 5.3, and 5.4). The statue of Gates is on the north side of the monument, looking in the direction the British marched from Canada; Morgan's statue looks west



Figure 5.1 Saratoga Victory Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 5.2: Saratoga Victory Monument General Gates
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 5.3: Saratoga Victory Monument Daniel Morgan
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 5.4: Saratoga Victory Monument General Schuyler

(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

to where his riflemen besieged the British in their final days; and Schuyler's looks east towards what was once his expansive estate and towards the canal he dreamed of (Holmes and Smith-Holmes 2012:66). The final southern niche is left empty for Benedict Arnold, the emptiness impressing upon the viewer the severity of his later betrayal (Throckmorton 1878:132).

The SMA placed bronze tablets with reliefs depicting "continental citizens and soldiers, the progress of the [Burgoyne] campaign, and the principal characters of the period" inside the first two stories of the monument for the official dedication in 1912 (Allen 1912:21). Each bronze plaque stands above a granite block with a description of each scene (Allen 1912:21). Installed in 1912, the plaques reflect the biases and stereotypes of the time. One plaque depicts the "Ladies of the British court" as "idle effeminate, sensuous, extravagant and wasteful" (Allen 1912:23). This depiction is contrasted in the plaque "Women of the Revolution" whom the plaque portrays as "industrious, self-denying, frugal, clothing and feeding themselves and their families and giving comfort to an army of defense" (Allen 1912:23). In 1912, the SMA intentionally left nineteen empty places so that at a later date there would be spots to add more plaques depicting scenes of the Revolution (Allen 1912:23).

In 1980, New York State transferred the monument to the National Park Service. Over the past decades, however, the monument had slowly been deteriorating, forcing its closure to the public in 1987 (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:86). The monument would go through over a decade of repairs, finally being reopened to the public in 2002 (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:86).

Five 1883 Monuments

The SMA erected five monuments in 1883 to mark the centennial of the end of the Revolutionary War. One of the monuments is the Second Battle of Saratoga Monument. The SMA placed this marble monument on the battlefield in 1883 and it marks the approximate location of the first assault by Continental forces on the

British lines on October 7, 1777 (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:9). The inscription reads: “SARATOGA/1777/HERE THE FIRST ASSAULT WAS/MADE BY THE AMERICANS ON/THE BRITISH LINE OF BATTLE/OCTOBER 7, 1777/ IN MEMORY OF/JOHN V.L. PRUYN.” Pruyn had been a New York member of the U.S. House of Representatives. Unfortunately, today the elements have worn away the inscription on the marble, making portions of the text almost illegible.

In 1883, the SMA erected a second monument, the Fraser Monument (Figure 5.5). This monument marks where British General Fraser was mortally wounded (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:9). The monument bears the simple inscription: “HERE FRAZER [sic] FELL/OCT. 7TH 1777/ HIS FORCES SCATTERED/BY MORGAN’S RIFLEMEN/GIFT OF J.W. DREXEL.” Drexel was a prominent Philadelphia and New York City banker.

In 1883, the SMA placed a third monument known as the Freeman’s Farm Monument on the battlefield (Figure 5.6). Marking the location of the first battle at Freeman’s Farm, the monument is a short, granite obelisk with the simple inscription: “Saratoga/1777/The Battle Of/Sept. 19th/Freeman’s Farm/The Gift of Hon. Geo. West.” West was a wealthy owner of paper mills.

A fourth monument erected in 1883 stands just beyond the grounds of the National Park Service boundary (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:56). This monument is dedicated to Nicholas Fish, a major in the 2nd New York (Figure 5.7). While the brief inscription of the monument makes no mention of who dedicated the monument, NPS documents indicate that Nicholas Fish’s son Hamilton Fish (the first president of the SMA) donated the monument (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:56).

A final monument placed during this early phase of monument dedications marks the location of the Bemis Tavern. The tavern no longer exists, and the inscription simply notes the name.



Figure 5.5: 1883 Fraser Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 5.6: Freeman's Farm Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 5.7: Nicholas Fish Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

Four Monuments in 1887

In 1887, Estelle Willoughby donated the Great Ravine Monument and the SMA erected it (Figure 5.8). The monument is dedicated to British Major Acland who was wounded fighting in what became known as the Great Ravine. The monument bears the inscription: “SARATOGA/1777/THE GREAT RAVIN/HERE THE BATTLE RAGED/BACK AND FORTH ON/SEPT. 19 AND OCT. 7/HERE MAJOR ACLAND/WAS WOUNDED/THE GIFT OF/MRS. ESTELLE WILLOUGHBY.”

That same year, Marin Hardin donated the Hardin Monument to commemorate his great grandfather John Hardin of Morgan’s Rifles (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:56) (Figure 5.9). The monument has the following inscription:

SARATOGA
1777
BRITISH REDOUBT
TO COMMEMORATE THE
SERVICES OF LIEUTENANT
JOHN HARDIN OF
MORGAN’S RIFLE CORPS
WHO LED A SUCCESSFUL
RECONNAISSANCE
SEPT. 18 1777, WHO ALSO DISTINGUISHED HIMSELF
IN THE BATTLES FOUGHT
ON THIS GROUND SEPT. 19
AND OCT. 7 AND OF WHOM
HIS COMMANDING OFFICER
WROTE “A BRAVER SOLDIER
NEVER LIVED – A BETTER
MAN HAS RARELY DIED”
ERECTED BY HIS GREAT-GRANDSON
MARIN D. HARDIN
U.S. ARMY

In 1887, the SMA dedicated a monument to Benedict Arnold (Figure 5.10). Sometimes known as the Boot Monument, it is a marble slab with a bas relief of a boot draped over a cannon barrel with laurels and two-star epaulet (the rank insignia for major general) wrapped over the top of the boot and cannon. The boot symbolizes the leg



Figure 5.8: Great Ravine Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 5.9: Hardin Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 5.10: Benedict Arnold "Boot" Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

wound Benedict Arnold sustained while leading Continental troops in an attack on the Breymann Redoubt. The laurels and epaulet represent his martial triumph and promotion to major general respectively. A subtly placed crown rests beneath the laurels, the crown symbolizes Benedict Arnold's later betrayal of the Revolutionary cause. The inscription of the monument on the back of the slab reads:

Erected 1887 By
JOHN WATTS de PEYSTER
Brev. Maj. Gen. S.N.Y.
2nd V. Pres't Saratoga Mon't Asstn.
In Memory of
The "most brilliant soldier" of the
Continental Army
who was desperately wounded
on this spot, the sally port of
Burgoyne's "Great (Western) Redoubt"
7th October 1777
winning for his countrymen
the Decisive Battle of the
American Revolution
and for himself the rank of Major General

The monument is the only monument on the battlefield that does not mention by name the individual being commemorated (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:10). Originally located at the crest of the Breymann Redoubt, the monument was moved by the Park in 1975 to its current site, surrounded by a decorative iron fence (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:10).

Daniel Morgan's great-granddaughter Virginia Neville Taylor dedicated a memorial to him in 1887 (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:57) (Figure 5.11). The inscription of the monument states:



Figure 5.11: Morgan Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

Saratoga 1777
Here Morgan
Reluctant To Destroy
So Noble A Foe, Was
Forced By Patriotic
Necessity To Defeat And
Slay The Gentle And
Gallant FRASER

To Commemorate
The Magnanimity
Of MORGAN'S Heroic
Nature And His Stern
Sense Of Duty To His
Country, This Tablet
Is Here Inscribed
By
Virginia Neville Taylor
Great Grand Daughter
Of
Gen. DANIEL MORGAN

Several hundred yards from this monument, opposite a row of trees dividing the tour roads on the battlefield, stands a monument marking where General Fraser fell, mortally wounded.

An 1890 Monument

The SMA marked the location of Continental General Horatio Gates's headquarters with a monument in 1890 (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:10) (Figure 5.12). The obelisk bears a simple inscription denoting that it marks the place of the headquarters and that George Pullman donated it.

First Kosciuszko Monument, 1892

The Water Battery Monument marks the location of a battery that overlooked the Hudson River and the roadway being used by the British army on their march towards Albany (Figure 5.13). This was the first monument dedicated to Thaddeus Kościuszko and was erected in 1892 (another was erected in 1936). There is no inscription or documentary data indicating that the monument was sponsored by an outside group of



Figure 5.12: Gates' Headquarters Monument

(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 5.13: 1892 Kościuszko Monument

(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

Polish Americans, and it is therefore likely that the SMA placed this monument on the battlefield. Moreover, on the monument, Kościuszko's name is spelled "Kosciusko." I doubt that a group of Polish-Americans would have made such a spelling error, lending further support to the conclusion that SMA rather than a Polish organization created the monument.

The inscription reads:

SARATOGA
1777
WATER BATTERY
DEFENDING
BRIDGE OF BOATS

IN MEMORY OF
KOSCIUSKO
WHO SELECTED THE
WHOLE LINE OF DEFENSE

This 1892 monument was placed on the battlefield by the SMA.

The 135th Anniversary, 1912

While the Saratoga Victory Monument was finished in 1882 and ownership transferred to New York State in 1892, it was not formally dedicated until 1912 (Mechanicville Mercury 1912a). According to the souvenir program, the reason for the multi-decade delay between the monument's completion and dedication was a lack of interest. And so the program goes on to say that several "patriotic and public spirited citizens" from Schuylerville and neighboring areas took it upon themselves to organize a formal dedication ceremony (Carson 1912:89). The "patriotic and public spirited citizens" formed the "Historical Week Committee" to organize and oversee a week-long dedication ceremony of the Saratoga Victory Monument. State governors, civil officials, and state military officials represented the majority of the original thirteen colonies at the dedication ceremonies (Mechanicville Mercury 1912a). The governor of New York at the time, John A. Dix, lived in Schuylerville and served as chairman of the dedication ceremony while the editor Charles C. Allen of the local newspaper *The Standard* was

secretary of the ceremony (Carson 1912:89).

As was the case at the Saratoga Centennial, a military parade preceded the dedication ceremony and included the 2nd Regiment and 1st Cavalry of the New York State National Guard (Mechanicville Mercury 1912a). A commemorative program to celebrate the 135th anniversary of the battle and dedication of the Saratoga Victory Monument portrayed the battle as “America’s Marathon” (Carson 1912:77). The program made comparisons between the significance of Saratoga and the Civil War Battle of Gettysburg (Carson 1912:91). The program drew attention to the late English historian E.S. Creasy’s inclusion of the Battles of Saratoga in his 1851 publication “Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World” (Carson 1912:91). J.W. Carson noted in the souvenir program that Creasy published his text over a decade before the Battle of Gettysburg (Carson 1912:93).

The “Historical Week Committee” planned several days of activities for the anniversary, lasting from October 12 through October 18, 1912 (Mechanicville Mercury 1912b). The Historical Week Committee set aside three days for ceremonies by specific organizations. The “Grangers” (the National Grange of the Order of Patrons of Husbandry) went first and scheduled addresses at the monument by national and state officers of the organization and an evening “illustrated firemen’s parade” (Mechanicville Mercury 1912b). The Masonic Order got the second day and they planned a parade and addresses by officers of the grand lodge (Mechanicville Mercury 1912b). On the third day, The Ancient Order of Hibernians (A.O.H.) scheduled a parade and an address by their national president (Mechanicville Mercury 1912b). The Ancient Order of Hibernians are an Irish-American organization founded in 1836 when Irish miners who made up the Hibernian Benevolent Society in Pennsylvania merged with the St. Patrick’s Fraternal Society in New York City (Ancient Order of Hibernians 2017). Organizations like the Hibernians provided social welfare to Irish immigrants (Ancient Order of Hibernians 2017). Due to the hostility towards Irish immigrants and Catholics in general during the

19th century, members of organizations like the Hibernians often acted to protect Irish communities and churches from violence by nativists, including by members of the Know Nothing Party (Ancient Order of Hibernians 2017).

The welcome address for Masonic Day gives a brief recounting of the Battles of Saratoga and their larger significance. It connects Saratoga to other, more recent and famous battles: “O men of 1912...as you recall Lexington and Yorktown, and stand in the presence of those whom are fresh the memories of Gettysburg, Appomattox and San Juan Hill, do not your hearts swell with pride within you that this is your own, your native land, and exultantly breathe the sentiment ‘My Country ‘Tis of Thee, Sweet Land of Liberty’” (Webster 1912:11–12). New York State Grand Master of Masons Charles Smith reinforced this idea in his address: “it was the Gettysburg of the Revolutionary War, as Yorktown was its Appomattox” (Smith 1912:17).

Daniel J. Falvey, serving the Ancient Order of Hibernians as the Secretary of the Committee for A.O.H. Day, published a brief article in the souvenir book for the 1912 celebrations. In the first paragraph he stated:

we are particularly pleased as in this souvenir is revealed the broadness of opinion and generally enlarged spirit of toleration, which marks the later day phase of American civilization...while our organization is composed entirely of Irishmen, and men of Irish descent, we are, and always have been, willing and anxious to extend the hand of friendship to all races and creeds, and we being essentially and Irish organization, our patriotism to American institutions and American interests need not be questioned for the reason as long as America has had a history, Ireland’s sons and daughters have figured in it...and that we may have a demonstration that will reflect the interest we have taken in preserving the memory of our people who took so prominent a part in the Battle of Saratoga and Bemis Heights (Falvey 1912:97).

Falvey goes on to emphasize the long history of the military service by Irish-Americans:

Irishmen swarmed in the Civil War and in the Continental regiments of the Civil War, as a reference to the muster rolls will show. They took a prominent part in the War of 1812; they fought bravely in Mexico and in our Indian wars, but in none of the great battles of the world are we as proud of the military prowess of the Irish soldier and his signal gallantry on the field of battle as at the Battle of Saratoga....many interesting

papers have been read at our County Board meetings that have never failed to interest and enthuse our members with sincere appreciation and admiration for the many soldiers of Irish birth or descent who did heroic and exception service in the battle.

...If monuments are an inspiration and a mark of respect and admiration, what better act can we do than to honor the men of our race, who fell in the cause of freedom so dear to Irish hearts, than to erect a monument on the Battlefield of Saratoga, where one of the fifteen most important battles of the world was fought, and where our country won so important a victory? (Falvey 1912:99-101)

Falvey recounts the death of General Fraser, drawing attention to the presence of monuments to Fraser's death to give further justification for the AOH's decision to erect a monument at Saratoga. After establishing the importance of Fraser's death, Falvey states: "That being so important an incident, there should be some significant mark to the memory of Timothy Murphy. The sacrifice of General Frazier's life probably saved the lives of hundreds, as he was the commanding spirit of the British Army" (Falvey 1912:101).

Early 20th Century Monuments, 1913-1924

Following the 135th anniversary, private organizations or individuals erected three more monuments. It is unclear how much impact the First World War may have had on memorial efforts. Unlike Civil War sites such as Gettysburg where numerous sculptures in bronze or other metals are used, Saratoga's monumental landscape up to this time period comprised monuments made of stone. Thus when the nation melted down existing metals to make munitions, it is unlikely that shortages of metal as a strategic material had an impact on the memorials.

Timothy Murphy Monument, 1913

The Ancient Order of Hibernians dedicated the Timothy Murphy monument in 1913 (Figure 5.14). The inscription on the monument states:



Figure 5.14: Timothy Murphy Monument

(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

This Monument Is Erected by the Ancient Order of Hibernians of Saratoga County to the Memory Of Timothy Murphy

Celebrated Marksman Of Colonel Morgan's Rifle Corps Whose Unerring Aim Turned The Tide Of Battle By The Death Of The British General Frazer On October 7, 1777. Thereby Adding To The World's History One Of It's Decisive Battles. In This Monument Is Commemorated Heroic Deeds Of Hundreds Of Other Soldiers Of Irish Blood Who Laid Down Their Lives On This Bloody Field That The Union Of States Might Be Triumphant.

This is one of several monuments where the monument's inscription draws attention to the ethnicity of the individual being memorialized. In 1948, the National Park Service relocated the monument to its current location on the battlefield (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:58). The new location was chosen by Park personnel based on research that indicated it to be closer to the likely position of Murphy during the battle when he mortally wounded Fraser (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:58). In 1976, the Ancient Order of Hibernians and their Ladies Auxiliary rededicated the monument as part of the nation-wide Bicentennial celebrations.

Ten Broeck Monument, 1917

The Phillip Livingston chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution (SAR) placed the Ten Broeck Monument on the battlefield in 1917 (Figure 5.15). They dedicated the monument to Brigadier General Abraham Ten Broeck and the Albany County militia he commanded during the Second Battle of Saratoga.

Bidwell Monument, 1924

The Bidwell Family Association erected the Bidwell Monument on September 19, 1924 to commemorate Captain Zebulon Bidwell who served in Cook's Regiment of the Connecticut Militia (Figure 5.16). Captain Bidwell died during the First Battle of Saratoga and the monument marks the approximate location of where he fell (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:58). No further monuments were erected on the battlefield during the final years of the Saratoga Monument Association's stewardship (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:58).



Figure 5.15: Ten Broeck Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 5.16: Bidwell Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

The 150th Anniversary, 1927

By 1895, the SMA, under the leadership of Ellen Hardin Walworth, had erected many of the monuments mentioned in previous sections (Stone 1895:311). Ellen Hardin Walworth was the only woman member of the Saratoga Battle Monument Association (Jean M'Gregor 1945). The unification of the monuments into a park and the design of a cohesive tour route did not begin until the 1920s. In 1923, local community members formed the Saratoga Battlefield Association and the association began buying the battlefield for the purpose of creating a historic sites park (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:6). By 1926, funds had been obtained from the New York Legislature for the purpose of commemorating the Battles of Oriskany, Bennington, and Saratoga (Emery 1926). Some of these funds went to restore the two Saratoga battlefields, build tour roads to grant access to key points, and establish park facilities for tourists and campers (Emery 1926). The ultimate purpose of these efforts of citizens, organizations, and politicians was to transform Saratoga into a national pilgrimage site of equal importance to Gettysburg (Emery 1926).

For the 150th anniversary of the battles in 1927, New York State planned an ambitious pageant. The pageant began with an 150 gun salute followed by a “pilgrimage over the Battlefield of Saratoga under the escort of the Sons of the Revolution dressed in the uniform of Continental soldiers” (New York State 1927a). During this pilgrimage, guides from local chapters of the SAR provided explanations for the movement of the troops and evolution of the battles (New York State 1927a).

A “gigantic historical pageant depicting in dance, song, and drama the opening scenes of the American Revolution, and more particularly the striking events and episodes in the Battle of Saratoga and the Surrender of Burgoyne” highlighted the 150th anniversary celebration (New York State 1927a). Six thousand two hundred “musicians, choristers, dancers, soldiers, farmers, Indians, women and children” dressed in period costumes participated in the pageant (New York State 1927a).

The pageant was broken up into six “epochs” divided into scenes titled “episodes” (New York State 1927b:70). Epoch I, A New Soil in the Making, was a pantomime dance depicting the forming of the landscape of New York by the glaciers (New York State 1927b:71). Epoch II addressed the settling of the area first by the Haudenosaunee and later the colonization by Europeans (New York State 1927b:72). Epochs III through IV were short plays depicting the political stirrings that will eventually led to the start of the American Revolution and the signing of the Declaration of Independence (New York State 1927b:73–87). Epoch V began the story of the Burgoyne Campaign with the first “episode” (scene) titled “New York’s Downfall Planned in London” (New York State 1927b:87). The prologue for this episode proclaimed that New York was the keystone of the Revolution, linking the rebelling colonies in New England with the colonies in the South (New York State 1927b:87–88). The second episode depicted colonists learning of the murder of Jane McCrea, suggesting her murder so enraged the colonists that it even motivated pacifist Quakers to take up arms against the British and their Native American allies:

Rider – There had been a fight and the men were driven back to the Fort by the Indians. Then the redskins swooped down into Fort Edward and took Jane McCrea from her home. They put her on a pony and started north with her. They’d gone on a few miles when another band of bloody Indians caught up with them and the two leaders quarreled as to who should have Jane, and that blood-thirsty fiend, the Wolf, drove his tomahawk into her head. She fell from the horse and he seized her by her long and beautiful hair and scalped her! Wednesday, we found her stripped body in the woods! And that’s the story. My God, men! What are you going to do now?

Cries [by ensemble] of: “Well avenge the murder” “We’ll get the savages and we’ll scalp them!” “We’ll drive the tories to hell!”

Sixth Man (turning to the two Quakers nearby) – Gabriel and Isaac Legget will have to fight, Quakers tho you be!

Gabriel and Isaac (together) – Aye, we will sire! (New York State 1927b:93)

The next episode shifted to General Philip Schuyler’s preparations to engage Burgoyne’s army. The prologue proudly proclaimed that the blood of the soldiers of

New York, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut baptized the soil of Saratoga (New York State 1927b:94). The episode depicted recruitment officers also rallying militia to Schuyler's army:

John Lewis (stepping forward, with his newly wedded wife) – General Schuyler, I have decided to join the recruits. (He turns to his bride.) My dear, I must leave you. You will be brave.

Sally Lewis – it is right for you to go, John, if I were a man I would fight, too!

Recruiting Officer (advancing from behind Schuyler and clapping John on the shoulder.) – That's the kind of a wife for a patriot to have. (To bride with his hand still on John's shoulder.) And he is the kind of husband to have. (New York State 1927b:95).

This episode includes dialogue where Schuyler compliments Thaddeus Kościuszko:

Schuyler (to the officers) – General Washington did well when he chose this Pole to plan our fortifications. He is a master engineer. (New York State 1927b:95)

This episode also made reference to the Battle of Oriskany, portraying it as a Revolutionary victory and then portraying Benedict Arnold as a patriotic hero volunteering to lead men to rescue the garrison of Fort Stanwix:

Willett (reigning up and saluting) – General Schuyler, we are Willett and Stockwell from Fort Stanwix. You have heard the news of Oriskany, General?

Schuyler – Aye

Willett – Brave Herkimer and his mighty militia men from Tryon County stopped the British there!

Schuyler – News of Oriskany will bring us fresh recruits!

Cries from the crowd as they point in various directions. “see, some are coming now!” “there's more coming from the south!” “Aye and from the east!” “And the South!” “From everywhere!”

Willett – Aye, General Schuyler, brave Herkimer fought a glorious battle, but Fort Stanwix is left in desperate straits. We come for aid.

Stockwell – never was any fort in greater distress. For God's sake, General Schuyler, let us have men.

Schuyler (looks to Generals) – Gentlemen, you hear?

General St. Clair – In my opinion, Sir, we cannot spare one man.

General Glover – It would be the height of folly, General, to weaken our forces by a single company.

Willett – In the name of God, General Schuyler, we must have aid or we will be wiped out!

Schuyler –Gentlemen, in the face of this wonderful news, can we still refuse to aid the brave garrison at Fort Stanwix? Is there no brigadier who will go?

General Arnold (advancing quickly) – I will, General Schuyler, General Washington sent me here to make myself useful. I will go! (New York State 1927b:96).

The episode closed with Schuyler transferring command of the army to Gates; Gates seeking Kościuszko's advice on the best defensive position to place the Continental army; and Kościuszko advising Gates to move the army to Bemis Heights (New York State 1927b:98–99).

The following episodes began after the first Battle of Saratoga and set the stage for the decisive second Battle of Saratoga. The prologue was on the day of the second battle and contrasted the British and their allies with the Continentals, proclaiming:

Above God's peaceful sky
Looked down upon that motley from on high.
Strange types of manhood – hideous Indian chief
And helmeted dragoon in bold relief.
British aristocrat, Canadian horde –
Cannon and scalping knife, gun, spear and sword!
And stemming here the will and might of kings,
A simple people, whose bold spirit brings
The gift of freedom to America! (New York State 1927b:100)

The souvenir program outlined the ensuing dramatic reenactment of the second Battle of Saratoga. This reenactment included a portrayal of the death of General Fraser. The following description used numbers on the lines of the scene to help the audience follow the sequence that reenacted Fraser's death. The excerpt begins here at number 40:

40 Morgan calls 12 of his best sharpshooters together

41 Then Morgan, pointing out Fraser to his sharpshooters, says: That gallant officer on the gray horse is General Fraser. I admire and respect him, but it is necessary for our cause that he should disappear. So take your station in that clump of trees and do your duty

42 Soon Fraser falls from his horse, wounded, having been shot by Tim Murphy, one of Morgan's Sharpshooters, and is borne from the field by a detail of his Grenadiers. (New York State 1927b:102)

This episode closed the Battles of Saratoga. The next epoch briefly covered the surrender of Burgoyne (New York State 1927b:104). A triumphal procession marched out:

The Angels of Victory with golden trumpets announce the thirteen original States headed by New York State who takes her place in center, the other States dividing into two wings one at each side

The Spirit of Saratoga enters, a beautiful maiden carrying the seal of New York as a shield, and takes her place at the right of New York State. Together Saratoga and New York receive the foreign nations, who after the Battle of Saratoga, offered their friendship and their aid to the United States of America, France, Sweden, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Imperial City of Hamburg, Portugal, Holland.

The foreign nations also divide into two groups on either wing. This great semi-circle is now augmented by the remaining thirty-five States.

To Saratoga and New York come the members of the D.A.R. accompanied by messengers of Peace carrying laurel wreaths; trumpets sound and Saratoga raises high the flag of the United States of America. Star Spangled Banner is sung.

This conclusion to the pageant also ended the anniversary celebrations (New York State 1927a).

New Hampshire Monument, 1927

Following this pilgrimage, the state of New Hampshire dedicated the New Hampshire Men monument (New York State 1927a). The monument is dedicated to Brigadier General Enoch Poor who commanded all the New Hampshire troops during the battles, the New Hampshire regimental commanders Colonel Joseph Cilley, Colonel Henry Dearborn, Colonel Alexander Scammel, and all the New Hampshire men who fought in both battles (Figure 5.17). The dedication of this monument was a major event during the 150th anniversary events (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:58). The monument stands near the John Nielson House. The Nielson House was the focal point of New York State interpretive activities in the 1920s and 1930s (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:58).



Figure 5.17: New Hampshire Men Monument

(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

Pre-World War II Monuments, 1931-1936

Despite the depression's economic impact on the United States, there were still continued efforts to erect monuments at the Saratoga Battlefield. The New York State superintendent of the battlefield George O. Slingerland intended to create a monumental landscape on the Saratoga Battlefield and entreated states to erect monuments to the Continental soldiers who came from their states (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:58). Unfortunately, only New Hampshire erected a monument for the 150th anniversary and in the following years no other states dedicated monuments. Superintendent Slingerland desired Saratoga to have a monumental landscape like that at Gettysburg (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:58). However, Slingerland's sudden and untimely death in 1932 kept this vision from ever being realized, although his vision is still held by Park staff.

Monument to the Unknown American Dead, 1931

On October 10, 1931, the DAR dedicated their Monument to the Unknown American Dead, located near the John Nielson Farmhouse (New York State Conference, Daughters of the American Revolution 1931). The monument is an octagonal granite obelisk (Figure 5.18). The Daughters of the American Revolution had the monument designed to "typify the spirit and metal of the Revolutionary patriots" through the monument's "simplicity and sturdiness" (Daughters of the American Revolution 1931). Four sides have stars, three sides with three stars each with the fourth side having four stars (Figure 5.19 and 5.20). These stars represent the "parts of the new America indissolubly bound together by common suffering" (Daughters of the American Revolution 1931). Beneath the sides with stars, lines radiate up from the base of the monument evoking the image of a sunrise, "the dawn of freedom, liberty, and justice, "The Birth of a Nation" (Daughters of the American Revolution 1931). The four sides without stars are smooth granite. The sculptor specifically chose the octagonal shape so these four sides would be blank, forming four crosses with the arms of each cross



Figure 5.18: Monument to the Unknown American Dead
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 5.19: Example of Three Star Side of Monument to Unknown American Dead
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 5.20: Example of Four Star Side of Monument to Unknown American Dead
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

forming the arms of a cross on another side of the octagon (Daughters of the American Revolution 1931). By making each cross incomplete by itself the “interweaving of the symbols denotes the Union made possible through the sacrifice of many” (Daughters of the American Revolution 1931). A bronze sword pointing towards the ground with a laurel wreath draped over its hilt decorates the side of the obelisk facing the walkway up to the road. The sword symbolizes death while the wreath draped on the hilt represents victory (Daughters of the American Revolution 1931). At the base of the monument on the same side as the sword hangs a plaque. The text of the plaque reads:

The Unknown American Soldiers
Who Perished In the Battles of
Saratoga
September 19 And October 7 1777
And Were Here Buried In Unmarked
Graves
Helped To Assure The Triumph Of The
War Of Independence
To Create The Republic Of The
United States Of America
And To Establish Liberty Throughout The World
In Honor Of These Patriots And In Recognition Of The
Bicentennial Of the Birth Of George Washington
This Memorial Is Erected
By The
Daughters Of The American Revolution
Of New York State
1931

In 1931, the memorial landscape to the Continental dead was grander than what is present today. Alterations by the National Park Service during the mid-20th century removed much of this memorial landscape, leaving only this memorial and its associated three granite benches in place. Below is a brief description of this no longer extant memorial landscape to place the Monument to Unknown American Dead within its original context.

The dedication ceremony included a rendition of the song “Fair Saratoga Glorious” and a reading from the 1927 anniversary’s pageant, specifically the prologue from the final Epoch VI: A New Soul in the Making” (New York State Conference,

Daughters of the American Revolution 1931). The dedication program includes a poem written by Fred Lape specifically for the occasion. The poem metaphorically states that the blood of the unknown soldiers who fell at Saratoga is now sealed in the industry and economic might of the United States:

Their blood has run/Beyond these fields. Look for its living drops/Sealed in the web of steel outwardly spun/Across the land in wheels and rails and shops./Their blood mounts not in grass but in the high/Girders of office buildings soaring straight/And resolutely to a jealous sky--/New York, Chicago, and the Golden Gate./Look for its strength in steel among the ribs/Of mountains to the west, its heat in fire/Of furnaces that melt the ore. Great jibs/Of cranes hold blood ascended from this mire./Their blood will run in unguessed future dreams,/Its strength still unexhausted. Soil or root/Can never make it die, nor hide its gleam/Among the nation's years, like ripened fruit. (New York State Conference, Daughters of the American Revolution 1931)

The DAR added three granite seats to the monument three years later in 1934 (New York State Officers Club, Daughters of the American Revolution 1934) (Figure 5.21). This dedication completed the landscape around the Monument to the Unknown American Dead (New York State Officers Club, Daughters of the American Revolution 1934).

As part of the nation-wide program to plant trees in celebration of the bicentennial of George Washington's birthday, Park Superintendent George O. Slingerland planted a memorial grove of elm trees next to the Monument to the Unknown American Dead (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:59). However, the grove no longer exists. This memorial grove consisted of 27 elm trees, 1 tree located at the center representing George Washington, an inner ring of 13 elm representing the colonies, and an outer ring of eight elm trees representing the eight Continental generals who took part in the Battles of Saratoga (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:65).

In 1938, the Daughters of the American Revolution placed a granite marker with a bronze plaque at the base of the center elm tree with the names of the Continental generals who took part in the battle (Barrett 1943:24). This plaque mentioned Benedict Arnold by name, the only monument on the battlefield to list his name (Barrett 1943:24).



Figure 5.21: DAR Granite Seats
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

This granite marker, like the elm grove, no longer exists.

This monument and its memorial grove were the final additions to the 1928 symbolic memorial cemetery (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:59). The focal point of this symbolic cemetery was the 1928 Neoclassical Pavilion inscribed with the text “They died in War that we may live in Peace” (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:59). This pavilion was used both for outdoor events and as a solemn place for contemplation (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:64–65). The Memorial Pavilion was removed by the National Park Service in the 1960s (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:59). The date for the removal of the memorial grove is unknown. Up until at least 1998, the DAR annually commemorated the date of the first Battle of Saratoga, September 19, with a ceremonial wreath laying at the base of the monument (Wing 1998). On my visit to the battlefield in November 2015, I saw ceremonial wreaths at the base of the monument, so this annual tradition has likely been carried on into the 21st century.

Rockefeller Monument, 1932

In 1931, the Rockefeller Family Association decided that they would erect a monument to the Rockefeller family members who had fought at the Battles of Saratoga (Board of Directors 1931) (Figure 5.22). This was at least in part motivated by the observations that other families and societies had erected monuments on the battlefield to family members or, in the case of Timothy Murphy, membership in an ethnic group (Board of Directors 1931). The board of directors for the Rockefeller Family Association sent out a letter soliciting money for the monument from the members of the organization (Board of Directors 1931). The Rockefeller Family Association was founded in 1905 to contribute to the welfare and education of Rockefellers throughout the United States (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:59). While the elderly John D. Rockefeller was the most famous member of the family, he did not actively participate in the founding or management of the organization, although he was a member (Saratoga National



Figure 5.22: Rockefeller Monument

(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

Historical Park 2012:59).

The dedication of the monument took place one year later on October 15, 1932 (Rockefeller Family Association, Inc. 1932). The dedication ceremony included singing a song “Fair Saratoga Glorious” and reading from the 1927 anniversary’s pageant, specifically the prologue from the final Epoch VI: A New Soul in the Making” (Rockefeller Family Association, Inc. 1932). The State Superintendent of the Battlefield, George O. Slingerland, was originally scheduled to make an address of welcome (Rockefeller Family Association, Inc. 1932). However, his unexpected death in 1932 required a last minute change. His death came so quickly the official printed programs could not be amended, and it is thus no longer known who gave the opening address in his stead. The address said:

This State reservation is maintained as a memorial to those whose courage aided in the defeat of General Burgoyne’s army and also that by its dedication as a National shrine, it may bring to the American people who visit it a realization of the suffering and hardships which were necessary to establish our free government. (Saratoga Battlefield Staff Member 1932)

The speaker closed by expressing their hope that the members of the Rockefeller Family Association would gather at the battlefield “in the years to come” (Saratoga Battlefield Staff Member 1932).

This monument was dedicated to nine members of the Rockefeller family who served during the American Revolution (Saratoga National Historical Park 2012:59). Four of the Rockefellers were officers, while five served as privates. The monument makes no mention of what units the nine Rockefellers enlisted in or whether they all survived the war.

Second Monument to Kościuszko

In 1933, the Polish community in New York State began planning a monument to Thaddeus Kościuszko as part of their celebration of the 150th anniversary of the naturalization of Kosciuszko and his appointment as brevet brigadier general (Assistant Director, Land and Forests 1933). In 1936, Polish Americans from the New York cities

of Albany, Amsterdam, Cohoes, Schenectady, Troy, and Watervliet erected a monument to Kościuszko as part of the anniversary ceremony (Figure 5.23). No further information could be found on specific names of individuals or organizations that financially contributed to the monument and were from the cities listed on the monument.

The primary speakers at the ceremony were Polish Ambassador Count George Potocki and New York Governor Herbert Lehman (Halpin 1936b:1). A pageant was also held as part of the anniversary in which “National Guard detachments from Saratoga, Glens Falls, and Schenectady, as well as Polish veterans organizations and members of the Daughters of the American Revolution” participated (Halpin 1936b:1). The Daughters of the American Revolution volunteered to serve as hostesses for the anniversary celebrations, the Regent of the Saratoga Chapter of the DAR stating in a letter “As has been our custom for several years on special occasions we are planning to have Saratoga Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution act as hostesses at the Battlefield on the day of the General Kosciuszko Celebration” (Cook 1933).

The front of the monument bears the following inscription:

1746 1817
In Memory Of
The Noble Son Of Poland
Brig. General
Thaddeus Kosciuszko
Military Engineer
Soldier Of The War Of Independence
Who Under Command Of General Gates
Selected And Fortified These Fields
For The Great Battle Of Saratoga
In Which The Invader Was Vanquished
And American Freedom Assured
Erected By His Compatriots
A.D. 1936



Figure 5.23: 1936 Kościuszko Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

The rear of the monument bears the inscription:

Pomnik Ten
Wystawili Polacy
Z
Albany
Amsterdam
Cohoes
Schenectady
Troy
Watervliet
J Okolicy
1936

[Translation:]¹

This monument is erected by Poles from the areas of
Albany
Amsterdam
Cohoes
Schenectady
Troy
Watervliet
1936

While not directly linked to the memorialization of Kościuszko at Saratoga, around July 1936 an urn filled with soil from one of the Continental breastworks laid out by Kościuszko was sent by New York State to Poland to be made part of the Marshal Pilsudski Memorial Mound (Halpin 1936a). F. Piskorski, Chairman of the Greater Poland, Silesian and Pomeranian Alliance of America had sent a request to New York State Governor Herbert Lehman to send soil from a spot in New York associated with Kościuszko; similar gifts were sent to Poland from other States (Halpin 1936a). The Marshal Pilsudski Memorial Mound was erected by the Polish government near the capital of Poland and dedicated to celebrate the 15th anniversary of the Republic of Poland (Halpin 1936a).

Beginning in 1950 and continuing for the remainder of the 20th century, the Polish American Congress held annual commemorations at the 1936 Kościuszko monument, celebrating the contributions Kościuszko made to American independence during the

1 Translated using Google Translate and Bing Translate

Revolution (Christine Valosin 2015, pers. comm.).

The roots of the Polish American Congress began with Germany's invasion of Poland in September 1, 1939 (Pienkos 2013). Pro-Soviet Polish Americans founded the American Slav Congress and the American Polish Labor Council to lobby the American government for further support for Soviet Union which now controlled part of Poland (Pienkos 2013). While there were numerous other Polish-American organizations that were opposed to the pro-Soviet organizations they were not unified as a single entity (Pienkos 2013). This changed when these numerous organizations gathered in Buffalo, New York in May of 1944 (Pienkos 2013). Over 2,500 individuals representing Polish communities from across the United States came to this meeting, expressing both their unwavering support for the complete defeat of the Axis powers and calling for the restoration of Poland's independence at the conclusion of hostilities (Pienkos 2013). Although the Polish American Congress failed to secure Poland's independence at the close of World War II it remained an active organization throughout the Cold War (Pienkos 2013).

Mid-20th century commemorative events

No commemorative events occurred during the Second World War and in its immediate aftermath. No new monuments or interpretive signage were erected during the war years or immediately after. While commemorative events did begin again in the 1950s, no one placed any new monuments on the battlefield until the Bicentennial in 1977.

Kościuszko Monument Re-dedication Ceremony 1950

On July 2, 1950 the Polish American Congress Central and Northern New York Division held an "American Independence Celebration" at the Kościuszko Monument (Central and Northern New York Divisions, Polish American Congress 1950). The guests of honor included Major Thomas Chester Dutton of the United States Marine Corps and T. Aaron Levy, president of the Americanization League of Syracuse and Onondaga

County (Central and Northern New York Divisions, Polish American Congress 1950).

Kościuszko remained an important figure for the Polish-American community and Poles took pride in his service during the American Revolution. An address by Stephen P. Mizwa of the Kosciuszko Foundation gave an overview of Kościuszko's service during the war and concluded:

He possessed traits of character and homespun virtues which, in national esteem, raised him above mere genius. And to those of us who came to America after Kościuszko, to share in the fruits of liberty which he helped secure, and to our children and our children's children, he will forever remain a reminder that we have not come empty-handed (Mizwa 1967:17).

The document also contains an appendix with photographs of the numerous monuments to Kościuszko within the United States, ranging from Chicago to Boston, and of course, Saratoga (Mizwa 1967).

By the 1960s the National Park Service had interpretive brochures available for visitors. The brochure explains the strategic benefits for the location of the Continental forces, noting that Kościuszko chose the location for its defensive character (National Park Service 1962). The 1962 interpretive pamphlet also describes the death of Fraser: "In the confusion of battle, Fraser was shot, possibly by a member of a party detailed by Colonel Morgan for that purpose" (National Park Service 1962).

Bicentennial, 1977

There were several commemorative events in the 1970s leading up to the Bicentennial. On June 9, 1974 the Saratoga County Bicentennial Commission held a ceremonial flag raising (Saratoga County Bicentennial Commission 1974). As part of the ceremony, Eagle Scouts from Saratoga County carried the flags of the colonies that contributed soldiers to the Battles of Saratoga (Saratoga County Bicentennial Commission 1974). Notably after a "special flag" was raised, the Mid-New York 64th Regiment of Foot, a reenactor unit representing a British regiment, fired a volley (Saratoga County Bicentennial Commission 1974). On August 4, 1974 the Sons of the American Revolution held a ceremony to unveil their commemorative monument

for the Bicentennial (Admiral George Browne Capital District Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution 1974). USAF Saratoga Air Force Station, 656 Radar Squadron; USN 3-18 Reserve Naval Mobile Construction Battalion 12; and the US Army 101st Division presented the colors (Admiral George Browne Capital District Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution 1974). It is unclear why the SAR unveiled their Bicentennial monument three years before the bicentennial of Saratoga.

Bicentennial

On September 18, 1977, The Central and Northern District of the New York State branch of the Polish American Congress held a Bicentennial celebration of Kościuszko's service at Saratoga (Central and Northern New York Divisions, Polish American Congress 1977). The celebration was held at the Kościuszko 1936 monument (Central and Northern New York Divisions, Polish American Congress 1977). The program lists the singing of the National Anthems (plural), presumably the American and Polish national anthems (Central and Northern New York Divisions, Polish American Congress 1977). The national president of the Polish American Congress, Aloysius A. Mazewski, and Lt. Governor of New York, Mary Anne Krupsak, both gave addresses at the celebration (Central and Northern New York Divisions, Polish American Congress 1977). Three members of the Polish Veterans of WWII, Post 16 S.P.K served as wreath bearers and laid wreaths at the base of the Kościuszko monument (Central and Northern New York Divisions, Polish American Congress 1977). The program mentions several Continental reenactor units. However, the program does not reveal the specific role of the reenactor units in the celebration (Central and Northern New York Divisions, Polish American Congress 1977).

By the time of the Bicentennial, the town of Stillwater contested the name of the battles with an effort to return the "rightful" name to the battle. Stillwater claimed that the Battles of Saratoga became named for Saratoga because of the successful efforts of the "Spa Forefathers" (founders of Saratoga Springs) to brand the battles as the Battles

of Saratoga in order to further “their greedy and lustful desires” and the perpetuation of this narrative by the “Spa Fathers” (Robbins 1977). The town of Stillwater, New York held their own bicentennial celebration of the self-proclaimed “First Battle of Stillwater” on September 19, 1977 (Stillwater Bicentennial Committee 1977). As part of the opening ceremony the Schenectady Bagpipe Band played “Scotland the Brave” in honor of the British soldiers (Stillwater Bicentennial Committee 1977). The ceremony closed with placing a wreath at the “Burial Monument of Americans” killed in the Battles of Stillwater (Stillwater Bicentennial Committee 1977). It is unclear if the committee for the celebration sought to rebrand the DAR’s Monument to the Unknown American Dead. Stillwater, New York contested the naming of the battle through at least October 6, 2002 when the town held a “Battles of Stillwater Victory Parade” (Saratoga County Chamber of Commerce 2002).

The 200th anniversary of the “birth of the [New York] state” in 1977 and the significance of the Battles of Saratoga in making the culmination of the war at Yorktown possible emerged as two important themes leading up to the battles’ bicentennial (Tucker 1976). An opinion piece by Louis Tucker stated “Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, get out of the spotlight! 1977 is New York’s turn for center stage in American’s Bicentennial” (Tucker 1976). The 200th anniversary of the battles was officially celebrated on October 7, 1977 (Saratoga County Bicentennial Commission 1977:77). Rabbi Mischael Turk conducted the invocation (Saratoga County Bicentennial Commission 1977:77). Special remarks were made by representatives of several countries: Barry C. Steers, Consul General for the Canadian Embassy; Gerard Gausson, Consul General for the Embassy of France; Laurence O’Keeffe, Director General of British Information Services; Dr. Joachim Sartorius, Consul for Consul Affairs Federal Republic of Germany (Saratoga County Bicentennial Commission 1977).

A ceremony was held on October 7, 1977 commemorating the issue of a special anniversary stamp (The Saratoga County Bicentennial Commission 1977). The special

anniversary stamp depicts a detail of the painting by John Trumbull showing Burgoyne surrendering to Gates. Both the Regional Postmaster General, Frank M. Sommerkamp, and the Deputy Postmaster General, William F. Bolger, participated in the ceremony (The Saratoga County Bicentennial Commission 1977).

Because National Park Service policy prohibits reenactments which involve opposing lines, reenactors had to contact the Bicentennial Committees at Stillwater and Schuylerville to arrange a reenactment of the battle (Trickey 1978:37). The reenactment was held on land beyond the NPS boundaries from October 8 through 9, 1977 (Trickey 1978:37). The reenactor units came from New York and the New England area (Trickey 1978:37–38). However, gathering together sufficient numbers of reenactors required the participation of reenactor units that portrayed units that were not historically present at the battle (Trickey 1978:37–38). A banner over the main street of Stillwater proclaimed “Burgoyne, We Gotcha!” and was described by Earle N. Trickey (1978:38) as setting the overall tone for the reenactment.

Bicentennial Monument

During the Bicentennial celebrations, the SAR erected a granite memorial to commemorate the 200th anniversary (Figure 5.24). On July 4, 2002, the SAR replaced the original bronze plaque with a new one to commemorate the 225th anniversary. The new plaque reads as follows:

225TH ANNIVERSARY
BATTLES OF SARATOGA
1777-2002
TURNING POINT IN THE
STRUGGLE FOR AN INDEPENDENT
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
SARATOGA BATTLE CHAPTER
SONS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
4 JULY 2002
ORIGINALLY PLACED IN HONOR OF OUR
NATION’S BICENTENNIAL

The original bicentennial plaque is no longer present on the memorial and the text of the



Figure 5.24: Bicentennial Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

plaque is unknown.

Ceremonies and Monuments after the Bicentennial, 1980s

After the Bicentennial, years passed with no major ceremonies. In some years there was a focus on a particular theme such as a rededication of a memorial.

On June 28, 1981, the Polish American Congress held a ceremony rededicating the Kościuszko monument (Polish American Congress 1981). As was the case at previous celebrations at the Kościuszko monument, both the American and Polish National Anthems began the ceremony (Polish American Congress 1981). In the 1981 ceremony, “Mrs. Stephen Szozda” of Cohoes, New York and St. Michael’s Choir of Cohoes, New York sang these two anthems (Polish American Congress 1981).

On October 7, 1984 the DAR held a memorial service at the Monument to the Unknown American Dead (Daughters of the American Revolution 1984). The 109th Tactical Airlift Group of the New York State National Guard provided the color guard for the service (Daughters of the American Revolution 1984). The ceremony included an address by retired Colonel Robert Lilac of the United States Air Force who had been an advisor on the National Security Council (Daughters of the American Revolution 1984).

On September 19, 1987, the Boy Scouts of America held a celebration of the 210th anniversary of the battles (Boy Scouts of America & National Park Service 1987). The Boy Scouts dedicated the Wilkinson Trail, a hiking trail that “follows the same road system that the British army used” (Boy Scouts of America & National Park Service 1987). This hiking trail is still in use as of 2017. In addition to the ceremonial opening of this trail, the National Park Service placed a bronze plaque on the graves of two unknown soldiers who were reinterred near the Visitors’ Center (Gray 1987). In 1972, these skeletons had originally been uncovered by archaeological excavations at Saratoga (Harrison 1987). Myra Harrison, Chief of Cultural Resources for the North Atlantic Regional Office of the National Park Service, addressed the commemoration attendees and noted:

Whether one is German or English, Canadian, or any other, particular nationality or race should and does make little difference in the United States of today. One of the long-term results of the battles at Saratoga and the other events that led to our independence was the creation of a society that weaves the strands of many nations and cultural influences. (Harrison 1987)

Fraser Monument, 1986

In 1986, members of the Fraser clan in Scotland placed a new monument near the visitor center dedicated to British Brigadier General Simon Fraser (Figure 5.25). The monument bears the following inscription:

BRIGADIER GENERAL SIMON FRASER
BORN DIED
INVERNESSHIRE, SCOTLAND SARATOGA, NEW YORK
THIS MEMORIAL COMMEMORATES THE DEATH AND
BURIAL OCTOBER 8, 1777 OF GENERAL SIMON FRASER,
A LOYAL HIGHLANDER, TRUSTED SOLDIER, AND
RESPECTED LEADER OF BURGOYNE'S AVANCED
CORPS WHO WAS MORTALLY WOUNDED DURING THE
SECOND BATTLE OF SARATOGA, DEDICATED THIS 31ST
DAY OF AUGUST 1986 ON BEHALF OF ALL HIS FELLOW
FRASER CLANSMEN.

This memorial is significant because it is the first monument to Fraser erected by Scots, not Americans. It is also the only monument on the battlefield commemorating a fallen soldier who fought in Burgoyne's army that was erected by the British soldier's descendants.

Memorial to Unknown Soldiers, 1987

The following year, 1987, a small granite memorial was placed at the burial location of two unknown soldiers who had been discovered during archaeological excavations on the battlefield (Figure 5.26). The text of the monument states "IN MEMORY OF/UNKNOWN SOLDIERS/REINTERRED HERE/DEDICATED/SEPT. 19, 1987." Myra Harrison, Chief of Cultural Resources, North Atlantic Regional Office of the National Park Service conducted the dedication ceremony (Boy Scouts of America & National Park Service 1987). However, it is unknown if the monument was funded



Figure 5.25: 1986 Fraser Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 5.26: 1987 Memorial to Unknown Soldiers

(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

exclusively by the National Park Service or in cooperation with other organizations such as the SAR or DAR.

Commemorative Events, 1990s and early 21st century

For the 220th anniversary in 1997, the “Old Saratoga/New Schuylerville Association” held an event for reenactors from September 19 through 21 (The Old Saratoga/New Schuylerville Association 1997a). The Old Saratoga/New Schuylerville Association had been founded seven years prior in 1990 to “enhance the economy and quality of life within its service area” (The Old Saratoga/New Schuylerville Association 1997b). The event featured British and Continental encampments, a military review, a “tactical exercise,” and display of 18th century military life with “sutlers, surgeons, and court martials” (The Old Saratoga/New Schuylerville Association 1997a). The reenactors did the tactical exercises on private land and they included the participation of infantry, cavalry, and artillery reenactor units (The Old Saratoga/New Schuylerville Association 1997a). Due to NPS prohibitions of mock battles between opposing lines of reenactors on NPS lands, the use of private land for the “tactical exercises” indicates these were likely staged combat between opposing lines of reenactors although this is not explicitly stated in the program. This celebration of the 220th anniversary of the battle sought to attract “20,000 visitors from the Northeast and Canada and 1,000 re-enactors from locations throughout the Northeast including Pennsylvania and Canada” (The Old Saratoga/New Schuylerville Association 1997b).

The 220th anniversary also included a “review” of the British and Continental troops by the invited dignitaries from England (The Old Saratoga/New Schuylerville Association 1997b). During this portion of the celebration the Sons of the American Revolution also placed a memorial wreath at an unspecified monument (The Old Saratoga/New Schuylerville Association 1997b). A VIP from France, “Major Overall,” also laid a wreath at Stop 10 (The Old Saratoga/New Schuylerville Association 1997b). Stop 10 is the interpretive stop on the battlefield for the Fraser burial site. This part of

the celebration was scheduled by The Old Saratoga/New Schuylerville Association as a ceremony to remember General Fraser (The Old Saratoga/New Schuylerville Association 1997b).

In 1999, the National Park Service celebrated the 222nd anniversary of the battles (National Park Service 1999). As was the case with the 220th anniversary, the celebration included a reenactor encampment portraying everyday life and a “tactical demonstration” (National Park Service 1999). The SAR ceremonially laid a wreath at the Monument to the Unknown American Dead (National Park Service 1999). The National Park Service repeated this celebration schedule annually for the 223rd, 224th, 225th, 226th, 227th, 228th, 229th, and 230th anniversaries of the battle (National Park Service 2000; National Park Service 2002; National Park Service 2003; National Park Service 2004; National Park Service 2006; National Park Service 2007).

The National Park Service consciously chose to have these annual celebrations as a means of:

Offer[ing] a way to focus attention on an important part of the American story without the pressure of staging a full-scale national celebration. It also comes at a time when national parks are rethinking the stories they tell, reshaping their relationships with partners and communities, and searching for new strategies to protect the lands they hold in trust. Finally, NPS park and program managers recognize that a new generation of park staff and visitors has emerged since the national Bicentennial celebration, many only dimly aware of the significance of the American Revolution and the NPS’s role as stewards of Revolutionary War sites and treasures. (National Park Service 2001:3)

This was seen by the National Park Service as a way for the 225th anniversary to have a “more lasting legacy. By enhancing research, interpretation, education, partnerships, outreach, communication, and protection, our work will have an impact into the period of the 250th anniversary and beyond” (National Park Service 2001:4).

In 2002, the SAR, DAR, Polish American Congress, and Ancient Order of Hibernians all held rededication and wreath laying ceremonies at monuments important

to their organizations. The SAR rededicated the Bicentennial Monument (Saratoga County Chamber of Commerce 2002). Additionally, on September 15 the Polish American Congress held a ceremonial wreath laying at the Kościuszko Monument and during the ceremony did a presentation on the life of Kościuszko (Saratoga County Chamber of Commerce 2002). The SAR and DAR held a joint wreath laying ceremony at the Monument to the Unknown American Dead on September 22 (Saratoga County Chamber of Commerce 2002). Also, the Ancient Order of Hibernians had a ceremonial wreath laying at the Timothy Murphy Monument (Saratoga County Chamber of Commerce 2002). *The Post-Star* retold the tale of Fraser's death: "Morgan objected at first, but realized the necessity and summoned a trio of his riflemen. 'That gallant officer is General Fraser,' he said. 'I admire him, but it is necessary he should die. Do your duty.'" (The Post-Star Staff 2002a). The words supposedly spoken by Morgan come almost verbatim from the 1927 pageant.

During the 226th anniversary in 2003, the National Park Service premiered their updated orientation film (Johnson 2003a). This film replaced the 30-year-old film that had been in use since the 1970s (Johnson 2003a). The Bicentennial film used "tin soldiers and two contrived characters to tell the story of the battles" whereas the new film used reenactment scenes shot at Fort Edward during the 225th anniversary of the battles (Crary 2003).

The Oneida Indian Nation participated in a weekend event called "Fields of Valor and Honor" October 11 and 12, 2003 (Johnson 2003b). The Oneida held a campfire program with "Oneida storytelling, dancing and 'fire-dragons'" (Johnson 2003b). The previous year, 2002, an article in *The Post-Star* discussed the Haudenosaunee involvement in the Revolution, noting that while the Mohawks had sided with the British, repeated attacks on Oneida settlements pushed them to side with the Continental Congress. The Oneidas brought food to the Continentals at Valley Forge in addition to serving alongside Continental soldiers in battles (The Post-Star Staff 2002b). The Oneida

repeated the “Fields of Valor and Honor” program in 2004 (Johnson 2004a). In addition to the “Fields of Valor and Honor” program, the Oneida Indian Nation also had a living history encampment on the grounds of the Schuyler House near Saratoga (also owned by the National Park Service) (Johnson 2004b). At this encampment, Oneida portrayed artillerymen, demonstrated how to fire a cannon, and talked about “the role the Oneidas played in supporting American Independence” (Johnson 2004b).

In 2005, as part of the 228th anniversary celebrations, the Oneida Indian Nation held an “Oneida Scouting Mission” hiking event (Saratoga National Historical Park 2005a). The event was described by the Oneida Indian Nation as “intelligence about an enemy’s activities was vital to an army’s survival and victory. Join members of the Oneida Nation, America’s First Allies on a scouting patrol towards British lines” (Saratoga National Historical Park 2005a). It is unclear if this was just a walk along the hiking trails of the park or if it was more interactive, utilizing reenactors portraying British soldiers. The “Oneida Scouting Mission” activity was repeated for the 229th anniversary in 2006 (Saratoga National Historical Park 2006a). This activity did not occur during the 230th anniversary.

In 2004, Independence Day was celebrated with a Citizenship Ceremony (Johnson 2004c). Twenty immigrants became naturalized citizens in this ceremony (Johnson 2004c). In 2005, 20 more immigrants living in New York were sworn in as naturalized citizens as part of another Citizenship Ceremony (Johnson 2005).

In 2005, the Saratoga Victory Monument, after having been closed for extensive repairs since the 1980s, was rededicated by the National Park Service (Saratoga National Historical Park 2005b). The Sons of the American Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution, and Ancient Order of Hibernians all participated in a ceremonial laying of wreaths during the rededication (Saratoga National Historical Park 2005b).

In 2006, during the 229th anniversary, the SAR and DAR held a joint wreath-laying ceremony at the Monument to the Unknown American Dead (Saratoga National

Historical Park 2006b). They repeated the joint commemorative wreath-laying for the 230th anniversary in 2007 (Saratoga National Historical Park 2007).

Conclusion

There is a consistent theme in the Saratoga Authorized Heritage Discourse that spans two centuries of memorialization and commemorative ceremonies. The theme centers on the key role that Saratoga played in the American Revolution. There is a continual reference to seeing Saratoga as the “Gettysburg of the Revolution” meaning it was a key battle and a turning point in the war. In 1877, General J Watts De Peyster’s centennial poem suggests that battle was so decisive that Saratoga is the birthplace of the United States. In this anniversary ceremony the Grand Master of the New York State Masons, Charles Smith, compared Saratoga to Gettysburg in terms of its importance. In 1927, George O. Slingerland, the New York State Superintendent of Saratoga Battlefield, noted that he wanted to transform Saratoga into the memorial center for the Revolutionary War in the same way Gettysburg was the key site for the Civil War.

Other heritage discourses focused on the major contribution and sacrifices of individual soldiers in winning the battle and turning the tide of the war. Officers were the focus of eight monuments erected by the Saratoga Monument Association (SMA). While the majority of the officers memorialized by the SMA were Continentals, the SMA did erect one monument to a British officer, General Simon Fraser.

By 1931, enlisted men were memorialized as well as officers. The DAR erected a large memorial to the Unknown American Dead. In 1931, Rockefeller Family Association erected a monument to nine members of their family who fought on the Continental side. In 1987, the National Park Service erected a memorial to two unknown soldiers whose bodies were unearthed in an archaeological excavation in 1972. Ethnic organizations are responsible for three twentieth century monuments. These are: 1913 Timothy Murphy (Irish), 1936 Thaddeus Kościuszko (Polish), and 1986 Simon Fraser (Scottish).

Native Americans are occasionally mentioned in the Saratoga commemorative

ceremonies of the 19th and 20th centuries, but they are not mentioned on the text of any monument. This absence changed at the start of the 21st century. Between 2003 and 2006, members of the Oneida Nation participated in yearly weekend programs called “Fields of Valor and Honor.” The Oneidas were involved in diverse activities from story-telling and dancing to participating in reenactments as Continental Scouts and soldiers.

Summarizing, the heritage narratives at Saratoga have been patriotic towards the United States for the most part, claiming Saratoga as the turning point in the Revolutionary War. But this is not the only theme in the heritage discourses at Saratoga. Other monuments focus on the deeds and accomplishments of individual soldiers. Ethnic organizations also erected monuments to their ancestors. Native Americans play only a minor role in the Saratoga heritage narratives. The differences in the heritage narratives at the three battlefields (Oriskany, Saratoga and Newtown) is discussed in the analysis chapter (chapter seven).

Chapter 6

Newtown Battlefield and Fort Niagara Data

Introduction

This chapter presents the data gathered for Newtown Battlefield and Old Fort Niagara. It provides information on the memorials at the Newtown Battlefield integrated with the data from documentary research on the commemorative events. The four key time periods discussed in this chapter are: the 100th anniversary (1879); the 150th anniversary (1929); the 200th anniversary (1979); and the 225th anniversary (2004). In addition, this chapter covers monuments and commemorative events that fall outside of these four anniversaries, concluding with a discussion of the data gathered on Old Fort Niagara. The Sullivan Campaign began with the Battle of Newtown and ended when the Continental Army retreated rather than besiege Fort Niagara. Because the Battle of Newtown and Fort Niagara formed temporal and geographical bookends to the Sullivan Campaign, I have included the two sites in this data chapter.

The Monuments and Commemorative Events at Newtown Battlefield

The Newtown Battlefield is located near Elmira, New York. Until the Centennial of the battle in 1879, there were no commemorative events or memorials located on or near the battlefield. After the American Revolution, the battlefield was privately-owned farmland. A large portion of the battlefield remains farmland to this day. As is the case with other battlefields studied in this dissertation, private organizations dedicated to commemorating the battle bought the parcels of land and then set them aside specifically for commemorative use. A private donor contributed the first one acre for the battlefield's original monument. Then, beginning in 1912, New York State acquired major portions of the battlefield, initially as a gift to the State of fifteen acres.

The 100th Anniversary, 1879

No formal celebration events were held at the site during the 25th, 50th, or 75th anniversaries. But in 1879, New York State and the Revolutionary descendant community celebrated the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Newtown. Sometime between 1878 and 1879, public-spirited citizens gathered at the Fisher House in Wellsburg, New York, to organize a commemoration for the 100th anniversary of the Battle of Newtown (Appleman 1935:1). They proposed to create a commemorative park (Appleman 1935:1). Alfred Searles donated an acre atop a hill now known as “Sullivan Hill” to the organizers of the 100th anniversary celebration to create the Newtown Battlefield Park (Appleman 1935:1). The Newtown Battlefield Park actually overlooks the battlefield in the valley below. The members of the local Masonic Fraternity dedicated the first monument, known as the “Sullivan Monument” (Elmira Adviser 1879; Cook 1887: 391-393). “The Newtown Monument Association” paid for the monument and organized the commemorative event (Elmira Adviser 1879; Cook 1887:391–393). Through subscriptions, the Newtown Monument Association raised two thousand dollars to construct the monument (Appleman 1935:1).

The 1879 Centennial Monument

The forty-foot-high stone tower was made out of rough fieldstones quarried from the local area, although a specific quarry is not identified for the material (Appleman 1935:1) (Figure 6.1). A staircase within the tower allowed visitors to climb to the top and view the landscape of the Battle of Newtown. The tower was only located on a very small section of the battlefield where some of the Crown forces had retreated at the end of the battle. However, the organizers of the 100th anniversary felt that it was more important for the monument to be dramatically visible to all travelers in the area, rather than located in the valley where most of the fighting had occurred (Appleman 1935:1). The monument stood on the highest cleared location in what is now State Park property, near the location of the present Newtown Monument that replaced the earlier tower in 1912.



Figure 6.1: 1879 Centennial Monument

(Photo Courtesy of Chemung County Historical Society)

A plaque on the 1879 monument attributed national significance to the battle and celebrated this expansion of white settlement:

the forces of the Six Nations...were met and defeated by the Americans... whose soldiers...completely routed the enemy and accelerated the advent of the day, which assured to the United States their existence as an INDEPENDENT NATION. (Cook 1887:393)

The orations given at the 100th anniversary celebration echoed the nationalist sentiment of the monument.

William Fiske Warner and Ariel S. Thurston prepared an 1879 document recording the organization of the 100th anniversary events. They emphasized a renewed importance of the Battle of Newtown and the Sullivan Campaign. Warner and Thurston stated:

From the obscurity of a century, the Sullivan Expedition was at once raised to the front rank of the military exploits of history, and took its place, and will hereafter be recognized among the most important events of our revolutionary history.(Cook 1887:392–393)

During the memorial events, several speakers addressed the audience. One of these speakers was General William T. Sherman. He was the United States General during the American Civil War who was famous for his capture of the Confederate city of Atlanta, Georgia, and his subsequent “March to the Sea” in 1864. The crowd responded so enthusiastically to his first speech that he agreed to give a second one (Cook 1887:440). At the beginning of his first speech, General Sherman made a very important point:

Wherever men worked for liberty and for law, if a single man falls, the ground becomes sacred; and you are the better for coming to honor it by an occasion of this kind. When you go home, you will be better patriots and better men, because you have come here to recognize the fact that you have stood upon the battle-field, where fell even but four men, in a battle where liberty and law was the issue of that fight. (Cook 1887:439)

Sherman’s speech reflected the broader 19th century belief in America, particularly after the Civil War, that the deaths of soldiers made battlefields sacred (Gatewood and Cameron 2004:193).

In 1879, Sherman was the four-star commanding general of the entire United States Army directly involved in the ongoing Indian Wars in the western United States (Utley 1973:15–16). In his first speech, Sherman clearly tied the Sullivan Campaign to current events:

We are all at war. Ever since the first white man landed upon this continent, there has been a battle. We are at war to-day—a war between civilization and savages. Our forefathers...came to found an empire based upon new principles, and all opposition to it had to pass away, whether it be English or French on the north, or Indians on the west....[Washington] gave General Sullivan orders to come here and punish the Six Nations, for their cruel massacre in the valley of the Wyoming....General Sullivan obeyed his orders like a man and like a soldier, and the result was from that time forward, your people settled up these beautiful valleys all around here....This valley was opened to civilization; it came on the heels of General Sullivan's army, and has gone on, and gone on until to-day. The same battle is raging upon the Yellow Stone. (Cook 1887:439)

General Sherman referred to the French and Indian War of 1754-1763 when he stated the need for the opposition of the “French on the north” to pass away. In 1763, following the victory of the British in the French and Indian War, France ceded Canada to Great Britain. After the American Revolution in 1783, the lands south of the Great Lakes that were once claimed as colonies by France and Britain alike became part of the new United States.

Another important speaker was Reverend David Craft. He presented historical addresses at four events that celebrated the 100th anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign, including the centennial celebration of the Battle of Newtown. Except for the introduction, which he tailored to each event, the historical substance of each address remained the same (Cook 1887:335). In introducing the significance of the Sullivan Campaign Reverend Craft stated:

In the current of human history, there arise great events which materially modify the structure of society, turn the stream of national life into new channels, give a new coloring to national character, and secure development of new resources....such an event, to this country, was the Sullivan Expedition....It determined, at a single blow, whether white men or red men should hold domination over these fertile vales and along

these streams, and over these lakes and mountains...it solved the question, whether the American Indian, with his deeply rooted prejudices, with his unconquerable aversion to civilization, with his undisguised hatred for the religion and culture of the European, was longer to stand in the way of human progress...to whichever party our sympathy may cling...we shudder to think what might have been the fate of free institutions on this western continent, had the wager of battle between the races, as that awful crisis, given victory to the vanquished. (Cook 1887:336)

Reverend Craft characterized the Loyalists as conducting a guerrilla war more brutal than the Native Americans themselves and suggested that the most brutal of the Loyalists did not fight as part of an official uniformed unit:

Besides the regularly enlisted and uniformed companies of [Royal] Greens and Rangers, a considerable number of disaffected people had been driven from the border settlements by the Whigs, as public enemies, and became refugees about the British camps and garrisons...They, burning with rage toward the Whigs, and frequently disguised as Indians, either in company with them, or in bands by themselves, kept up a predatory guerilla warfare along the frontiers and in cruelty and inhumanity far exceeded the savages themselves. (Cook 1887:338)

He goes on to demonize the British command's employment of the Loyalists and Native Americans in the effort to subdue the Revolutionaries along the frontier:

With such a horde of white men and red...men whose passions were inflamed with intensest [sic] hatred against the patriots, who were stimulated to deeds of reckless bravery by hope of plunder, who were encouraged to a mad rivalry with each other in acts of savage barbarism and merciless cruelty—with such a horde, whose battle-cry was “No quarter,” and whose purpose was extermination, without military discipline and without susceptibility of control, let loose upon the scattered and unprotected settlements on the frontiers, British Generals and British statesmen sought to subdue the rebellion in their western colonies, and crush out the life and liberty from the new-born nation. (Cook 1887:338)

In addition to the speeches at the memorial ceremonies, the audience heard a poem. Guy Humphreys McMaster of Bath, New York, both wrote and recited the poem. The poet divided his poem into sections (Cook 1887:402–408). The first section deals with the commanders of the two sides of the battle: the Continental commander General John Sullivan and the Mohawk leader Joseph Brant (Cook 1887:402–407). McMaster

chose Brant to represent all of the Loyalist/Crown-allied Native American forces (Cook 1887:402–407). McMaster described a rallying speech that the poet imagined Brant giving to his warriors and Loyalist allies prior to the Battle of Newtown:

These are the hungry eaters of land—the greedy
Devourers of forest and lake and meadow and swamp;
Gorged with the soil they have robbed from the helpless and needy,
The tribes that trembled before their martial pomp.

These are the rich, who covet the humble goods of the poor;
The wise, who with their cunning, the simple ensnare;
The strong, who trample the weak as weeds in the moor;
The great, who grudge with the small the *earth* to share.

But you are the valiant braves of Ho-de-no-sau-nee;
The tribes of the East were weaklings, with hearts of the deer;
Unconquered in war you are, and ever shall be,
For your limbs are might—your hearts are void of fear.
(Cook 1887:406)

The final verse of McMaster’s poem conveys the triumph of the audience’s own nation when McMaster introduces a personification of the United States flag:

What was, is not to be—thus heaven
Has ordered, and I [the U.S. Flag] come. The blight
Must fall; the wilderness must wither;
The ancient race must disappear, and hither
New men must come; another tree [that of the U.S.] must root,
And grow and sent its stately branches up,
While your great tree [the Tree of Peace and symbol of the Haudenosaunee
Confederacy] lies prostrate at its foot
(Cook 1887:408)

Additional Monuments Erected Between 1880 and 1912

Sometime in the 1890s, the Elmira Sons of Veterans Reserve Company of the “Sons of Union Veterans” erected a marble marker on the supposed mass grave of the Loyalists and Crown-allied Native Americans (Elmira Star-Gazette 1962). The marker was designed as a gravestone (Figure 6.2). The dedication text read: “Our Foe, Redmen and British who Fell, Aug. 29, 1779, Lie Here” (Elmira Star-Gazette 1962). Today the marker lies in the Knoll Cemetery, a small cemetery within the original extent of the



Figure 6.2: Sons of Union Veterans Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

Newtown Battlefield.

In 1907, the “Newtown Battle Chapter” of the Sons of the American Revolution inscribed a large, granite boulder to mark a part of the battlefield that lay on the low ground below the Sullivan Monument (American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society 1913) (Figure 6.3). The organization sought to designate the location of some of the most significant fighting on the battlefield. It is unknown if tourists who visited the 1879 Sullivan Monument, located atop the mountain overlooking the main battlefield, had expected the tower monument to be located on the main battlefield, as would have been the case with monuments to Civil War battles. Therefore, the 1907 commemorative boulder may have been placed from a practical interpretative standpoint as much as it may have been motivated by a desire by the Sons of the American Revolution to reinforce the Continental’s claim to how the battle should be interpreted.

The 1912 Monument

The 1879 monument collapsed during a thunderstorm on August 29, 1911 (Elmira Star-Gazette 1929). The collapse was attributed to structural weaknesses resulting from a large hole in the side of the monument. It is unknown when or how this damage occurred. Local legend, however, records that several boys had been exploding black powder near the monument and this had created the initial hole which the forces of nature subsequently expanded (Smith 2012). In 1912, Hattie F. Elliott donated fifteen acres of land adjacent to the old tower to the State of New York (American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society 1913). She was the daughter of Alfred Searles, the man who had donated the original acre for the 1879 Sullivan Monument (American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society 1913:245). The land became the core of the “Newtown Battlefield Reservation” (American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society 1913:245). Then, on August 29, 1912 New York State dedicated a new granite obelisk monument atop Sullivan Hill as a replacement for the 1879 tower (American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society 1913:245) (Figure 6.4). The monument also had a new plaque



Figure 6.3: 1907 SAR Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 6.4: 1912 Sullivan Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

installed with the following text:

Near This Site
Sunday, August 29, 1779, Was Fought
The Battle Of Newtown.
Between
Continental Troops Commanded By
Major General John Sullivan
And A Combined Force Of
Tories And Indians Under
Colonel John Butler
And
Joseph Brant,
Avenging The Massacres Of
Wyoming And Cherry Valley
Destroying The Iroquois Confederacy
Ending Attacks On Our Settlements
And Thereby Opening Westward The Pathway Of Civilization receding
several centuries of colonialism.

The 1912 Commemorative Ceremonies

The celebration in 1912 was a product of the destruction of the 1879 monument. Had the 1879 monument remained standing there is no reason to believe a commemorative celebration would have been held. However, for the dedication of the replacement monument, a relatively large ceremony was organized by New York State for the dedication of the replacement monument.

The dedication ceremony included a parade of both military and civic organizations that stretched for a mile and a half through the streets of Elmira, New York (American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society 1913:245). Eight hundred National Guard and Regular Army soldiers marched in the parade (Elmira Weekly Advertiser 1912a; American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society 1913:245). Numerous important individuals attended the events including Governor John Alden Dix, and Brigadier General Albert L. Mills of the United States Army who attended as the representative of President William Howard Taft (American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society 1913:246). Others in attendance included members of the New York State government, the presidents of several historical societies, and a direct descendent

of General Sullivan, Lynde Sullivan (Elmira Weekly Advertiser 1912b). The newspaper does not mention the presence of any representatives from Native American nations or the United Empire Loyalists.

The 150th Anniversary, 1929

The 150th anniversary saw a noticeable expansion in the interpretation of the Newtown Battlefield. This expansion ranged from the publication of books on Newtown and the Sullivan Campaign to the placement of cast iron historic markers, augmenting the interpretation presented on the 1879 and 1912 monument plaques.

State Commemorative Cast Iron Markers

In 1926, the New York State Education Department initiated the State Historic Marker Program (The New York State Museum 2017). This program began as part of the commemorations of the sesquicentennial anniversary events of the American Revolution and continued until 1939 by which date over 2,800 of the cast-iron site markers had been erected (The New York State Museum 2017). These road signs gave the date of the event along with a small paragraph of text explaining why it had been important in New York State history. Of the 2,800 markers, the state placed eleven on or near Newtown battlefield. These markers only provide brief texts to describe the events at each location (Figure 6.5):

- 1) **Line of rude** breastworks where British and Indians disputed advance of Sullivan's Army August 29, 1779
(Location: at intersection NYS 17 & 367)^[L]_[SEP]
- 2) **The ridge** fortified by the British formed the south line of defense August 29, 1779
(Location: on NYS 367 south of Lowman)^[L]_[SEP]
- 3) **Line Occupied** Rifle Corps under General Hand at opening of battle August 29, 1779
(Location: On NYS 17 at Lowman)
- 4) **Camp of** Gen. Clinton's Brigade Sullivan-Clinton Campaign August 28, 1779
(Location: on NYS 17 2 miles west of Chemung)^[L]_[SEP]



Figure 6.5: Example of 1926 State Historic Marker
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

- 5) **Camp of Gen. Maxwell's Brigade Sullivan-Clinton Campaign August 28, 1779**
(Location: on NYS 17 2 miles west of Chemung)^[1]_[SEP]
- 6) **Military route of the Sullivan-Clinton Army on its campaign against the British and Indians of Western New York in 1779**
(Location: on NYS 17 at Chemung)^[1]_[SEP]
- 7) **Military route of the Sullivan-Clinton Army on its campaign against the British and Indians of Western New York in 1779**
(Location: on NYS 17 near Chemung-Tioga County line)
- 8) **Sullivan-Clinton Campaign army camp on River Flats to south August 27, 1779**
(Location: on NYS 17 1/2 mile west of Chemung)^[1]_[SEP]
- 9) **[Arrow] Sullivan road over Narrows Mountain built for use of Sullivan's Army expedition against Indians 1779**
(Location: on NYS 17 1/2 mile west of Chemung)^[1]_[SEP]
- 10) **Military route of the Sullivan-Clinton Army on its campaign against the British and Indians of Western New York in 1779**
(Location: on NYS 13 & NYS 17 in Elmira Heights)
- 11) **Military route of the Sullivan-Clinton Army on its campaign against the British and Indians of Western New York in 1779**^[1]_[SEP]
(Location: on NYS 17 at entrance to Newtown Battlefield State Park)

The New Hampshire Sullivan Monument

In 1929, the State of New Hampshire erected a granite monument to Sullivan and the New Hampshire brigade of the Continental Army that participated in the campaign (Figure 6.6). The plaque on the monument simply refers to the “memorable ‘Sullivan Campaign’ against the Six Nations of Indians.” The text of the monument makes no negative comments about Native Americans or Loyalists.

The New York State Sullivan Monument

In 1929 the State of New York placed a granite monument midway between the location of the breastworks of the Loyalists and Crown-allied Native Americans and Sullivan Hill (Figure 6.7). The plaque on the monument displayed a map of the route of the Sullivan Campaign with the caption “Routes of the armies of General John



Figure 6.6: New Hampshire Sullivan Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 6.7: New York Sullivan Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

Sullivan and James Clinton 1779 an expedition against the hostile Indian Nations which checked the aggressions of the English and Indians on the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania, extending westward the dominion of the United States.” Unlike New Hampshire that had no Haudenosaunee reservations, New York has reservations for the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Tuscarora, and Seneca Nations.

The 150th. Anniversary Commemorations, 1929

On August 29, 1929 the 150th anniversary of the Battle of Newtown was celebrated by local organizers, New York State officials, and federal authorities. Alexander C. Flick wrote and edited publications for the 1929 anniversary (Flick 1929a; Flick 1929b). These publications included reprints of documents from all three sides: the Continentals, the Loyalists, and the Native Americans. Flick was the official State Historian and the Chairman of the Executive Committee on the Commemoration of the Sullivan-Clinton Campaign (Flick 1929a:3).

A fly-over by the U.S. Navy dirigible the “Los Angeles” marked a major highlight of the 150th anniversary celebration. This blimp was produced during World War One in Germany. As a reparation after the First World War, this airship was presented by the Germans to the United States (Chemung Historical Journal 1992:4154–4155). The US Navy operated the Los Angeles into the mid-1930s when it was finally retired and dismantled at the Lakehurst Naval Air Station in New Jersey (Chemung Historical Journal 1992:4154-4155).

A 1973 Monument

In 1973, the New York State Historical Commission and Newtown Battle Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution placed a plaque on the back of the 1929 New York monument (Figure 6.8). The text of the new plaque reads:



Figure 6.8: 1973 Plaque
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

Newtown
1779
Here by the nightfall of august
29, 1779 Only Smoke and ashes
Marked the sites of log
Cabins and storage sheds and
The trampled corn fields of a
Loyalist “tory” and Indian
Settlement sometimes called
Butler’s Newtown
Faced by nearly one third of
All the American Continental
Forces here died the hopes and
Prestige of the ancient league of
Ho-De-No-Sau-Nee
The fabled long house confederacy
Of the
Iroquois Six Nations

It is unknown why they installed the plaque before the 1976 Bicentennial celebrations or the Bicentennial anniversary of the Battle of Newtown in 1979.

The 200th Anniversary, 1979

As part of the celebrations, the State of New York erected three new interpretive signs on the Newtown Battlefield Park lands. One sign addressed some of the events and motives leading to the Sullivan Campaign. The second sign presented a large map of the battlefield that located various important geographic features and identified the initial locations of the combatants: the Loyalist/Crown-allied Native American forces and the Continentals. The final sign described the movements of the combatants during the Battle of Newtown and the ultimate Continental victory.

The first sign maintained a Continental-centric narrative of the causes of the Sullivan Campaign:

During 1778 pillaging raids and attacks were increasingly numerous and disastrous to frontier settlements in New York and Pennsylvania. Massacres at Wyoming Valley and Cherry Valley emphasized the need to organize a drive against the marauders.

The sign acknowledges other motives by the Continentals beyond immediate military

objectives:

General George Washington, in planning the campaign, had also realized that unless the Americans were in possession of these lands at the end of the war, they might not become part of the new nation. Although the Sullivan-Clinton campaign failed to capture the British forts [at Oswego and Niagara], it secured this territory for the United States in 1783. Within a very few years, thousands of settlers moved into what was then the western frontier.

In this regard, the sign delineates one of the major issues important to the Haudenosaunee descendant communities: that the Sullivan Campaign was part of a Continental land grab that had a permanent impact on the demographics of the area.

A second sign states:

As the Americans proceeded up the Chemung Valley that Sunday morning, their scouts observed fortifications built of logs, stones, and earth...near the Indian village of Newtown. Concentrated at the angle of the fortifications, and with another force on the higher ridge, the Indian strategy was to pour a deadly fire into Sullivan's advancing army.

The American's basic strength lay in the artillery they placed on a ridge 300 yards from the angle of the enemy's fortified line. With a frontal attack by cannon and rifle fire, and simultaneous flanking assaults, the Continental troops were able to force a retreat, for most of the Indians were not accustomed to these regimented warfare tactics. Without their Indian allies, the British and Loyalists were also forced to retreat, and the opportunity to destroy or cripple the Sullivan-Clinton campaign was lost.

The sign includes some historical inaccuracies such as, "most of the Indians were not accustomed to these regimented warfare tactics." It also incorrectly states that the Continentals' frontal and flanking attacks were simultaneous. Finally, the sign neglects to mention that the Native Americans and Loyalists held out for two hours, without artillery and outnumbered more than four to one, implying instead that they were defeated swiftly after the opening artillery salvos.

Near the 1912 Newtown obelisk there is a small granite plaque erected by members of the Masonic Order (Figure 6.9). The text simply states: "Sullivan-Clinton Campaign 1779-1779 Lasting Memory To Our Masonic Brothers." The combatants on all



Figure 6.9: Masons Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

three sides had members of the Masonic Order, including Joseph Brant, John Butler, and John Sullivan.

The 200th Anniversary, 1979

The year 1979 marked the 200th anniversary of the Sullivan Campaign. The celebration lasted two days from Saturday, August 25, to Sunday, August 26 (Star-Gazette 1979a). On the first day of the event, an estimated 5,000-6,000 people attended (Jennings 1979a). Local newspapers had run advertisements for the upcoming 200th anniversary celebration (Chemung Valley Reporter 1979; Star-Gazette 1979a). The ads were inexpensive, primarily simple in design, and not in color. The ads did not specify who had paid for them. The image chosen to represent Newtown was the obelisk which had been erected in 1912.

The New York State Bicentennial Commission encouraged a wider perspective in their 1974 publication *A New York State Guide to Local Bicentennial Planning*. On the very first page, the commission noted:

The American Revolution has made a lasting impression on the American memory because it was more than a war for independence: it was also a revolution in American life. . . . Yet not everything the war brought was good. Some Americans suffered even as other Americans sought freedom. American Indians and Americans who remained loyal to the king were victimized. Revolutionary ideology spurred the move toward freedom for some black Americans, but for thousands of others, the promise of liberty and equality was unfulfilled.

It is precisely this mixed legacy that gives the Revolution its significance. (New York State Bicentennial Commission 1974)

In Newtown's bicentennial year of 1979, the memorialization sought to more actively involve the audience through the use of reenactors who could give visitors a sense of immersion and "transport" the visitors back to the 18th century. Reenactors from the "Brigade of the American Revolution" were invited to provide demonstrations. The Brigade of the American Revolution is a national historical society founded in 1962 that recreates the lives of soldiers during the American Revolution (Hartley 1979). It portrays

more than battles, and it incorporates women and children reenactors who portray the camp life of the women and children who accompanied 18th century armies (Hartley 1979). These women and children were the wives, girlfriends, and families of the soldiers (Hartley 1979). Approximately 200 reenactors from the Brigade attended the event (Hartley 1979).

The “Brigade of the American Revolution” provided units that portrayed soldiers from both sides (Hartley 1979). The reenactors also held firing demonstrations and a mock skirmish while one of the reenactors explained these drills to the audience (Hartley 1979). These skirmishes were not a full-scale reenactment of the battle, partially due to limitations in the number of reenactors available. Instead, the skirmishes gave the audience an idea of the tactics that were used in 18th century warfare as combatants moved across a battlefield under the commands of their leaders (Hartley 1979). The two-day Bicentennial Celebration and reenactor demonstrations occurred on farmland in Lowman, part of the actual Newtown Battlefield (Jennings 1979b).

The Brigade of the American Revolution “adopted the identity and uniforms of about 130 actual units that served on both sides in the American Revolution” (Hartley 1979). A newspaper article makes the point that these reenactors prepared by learning about the history of the time period they are portraying and wish to share that knowledge with the audiences that come to see their demonstrations (Hartley 1979). Furthermore, one reenactor emphasized that the overwhelming majority of the colonists living in the Thirteen Colonies did not support the revolution (Hartley 1979). This same reenactor, while discussing 18th century Native American methods for tanning leather, referred to the Native American women as “squaws” (Jennings 1979c). The word “squaw” is offensive because in Algonquin, “squa” is a word referring to the vagina, and hence “female” (Williams 1973:114).

The reenactors who represented Butler’s Rangers in the Brigade of the American Revolution all came from the Northeastern United States. It is unknown what portion

of these reenactors were Canadians living in the United States. Based on the interviews quoted in the newspaper (Hartley 1979; Jennings 1979c), some of these reenactors based their decision to wear a Loyalist or British uniform because of the underrepresentation of that side in the Brigade.

While many of the 1979 events focused on the Newtown Battlefield, the local Lowman Historical Society decided to hold a small commemoration for the Loyalist and Crown-allied Native Americans who served at Newtown. There are unmarked graves near Baldwin cemetery of at least five soldiers who had fought against the Continentals. Some of these remains may be commemorated by the marker erected in the 1890s by the “Sons of Union Veterans” Company E (E for Elmira). The Lowman Historical Society arranged to have a Union Jack flag delivered from the British Embassy in Washington D.C., so it could be flown over the graves of the unnamed soldiers during the bicentennial of the Battle of Newtown (Star-Gazette 1979b).

Other 1979 Memorializations

In addition to the celebrations at the Newtown Battlefield Park, other communities that had been impacted by the Sullivan Campaign held celebrations to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the Campaign. The celebrations in Schuyler County were particularly noteworthy. Kathy Gill of Burdett in Schuyler County, New York, wrote a play called “A Republic born – A Nation Wasted.” The Schuyler County Bicentennial Commission emphasized that this play and other events were designed to emphasize all three sides of the Sullivan Campaign (Star-Gazette 1979c). At the celebration, the Canadian artist and Loyalist descendant Murray Killman displayed his paintings of individuals such as Joseph Brant and the landscape of the Northeast 200 years ago (Star-Gazette 1979c; Killman 2006). Killman also gave a talk on the American Revolution from the British and Native American points of view (Star-Gazette 1979c).

Interpretive signs in 2009

By 2009, the New York State Parks Service erected interpretive signs with

new texts that correct some of the historical inaccuracies present in the original 1979 interpretive signs (Smith 2012). These new signs cover more than just the military aspects of the Battle of Newtown and the Sullivan Campaign (Figure 6.10). One sign discusses the African-American Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) company that worked at the park during the 1930s. The second sign covers the history of the Newtown Battlefield Park since its creation in 1879. The third sign addresses the wider impact of the American Revolution on the Haudenosaunee. The fourth sign describes frontier combat in 1778. A fifth sign covers the entire Sullivan Campaign and its impacts. The sixth, final sign summarizes the Battle of Newtown.

The last three signs will be discussed below in greater detail, due to the relevance of their content to this dissertation: 1) How the battles of Wyoming Valley and Cherry Valley were used to justify the Sullivan Campaign that is the focus of the sign describing the frontier in 1778; 2) a map supplementing the sign's text which highlights the settlements attacked by Revolutionaries as well as those attacked by the Loyalists and Crown-allied Native Americans; 3) the caption under a painting of the Mohawk leader Joseph Brant notes that "although he was a force of restraint, Americans associated his name with the worst violence and alleged atrocities of the frontier warfare." 4) The new interpretive sign on the Sullivan Campaign notes: "thousands of Seneca and Cayuga refugees sought relief at British-held Fort Niagara, and that winter many died of starvation and exposure." A sidebar on this sign states bluntly that "some historians contend that opening Indian lands for settlement was General George Washington's ultimate purpose for Sullivan's expedition." 5) Lastly, a new sign erected atop Newtown's Sullivan Hill emphasizes how the Loyalists and Native American forces withdrew when threatened with encirclement and certain destruction. This new sign indicates that General Enoch Poor's flanking attack encountered spirited resistance and erupted into the fiercest fighting on the battlefield. The new interpretive sign also notes that a "running fight" occurred for about a mile as the Loyalist and Crown-allied Native Americans retreated, a

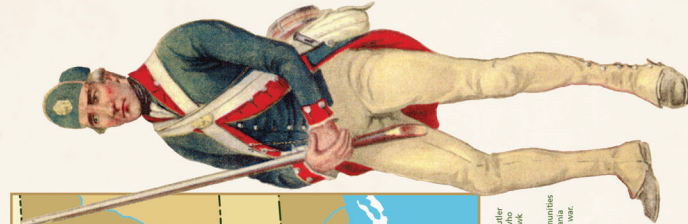
Fire on the Frontier – 1778



This Seneca, who became an orator and chief, was a British ally and a British captain who formed a regiment of Seneca warriors to fight against the Continental Army. Although he was a force of resistance, Americans associated his name with the atrocities of the frontier warfare.



In late 1777, Major John Butler had fled New York. Mifflin had returned to Lancaster (depicted here) temporarily. He attacked the frontier communities throughout the rest of the year.



In 1778, the British government encouraged loyal colonists and Native American allies to attack frontier settlements. In July, Major John Butler led an attack on the Wyoming Valley, leaving more than 300 patriot soldiers dead, and by Butler's estimate, 1,000 homes destroyed.

The July attacks on the Wyoming Valley and the November deaths of women and children at Cherry Valley left the most enduring impressions of the frontier warfare of 1778. Many New York communities panicked and demanded help. Congress concluded that only a major offensive expedition could successfully protect the frontier communities.

Figure 6.10: Example of 2009 Interpretive Sign

(Image Courtesy of New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation)

detail left out of the 1979 interpretive sign.

The 225th Anniversary, 2004

In 2003, planning began for the 225th anniversary in 2004. The owners of Lowman Farm, on whose land some of the battle took place, enthusiastically supported the celebration. They created their own brand to market their jams, jellies, preserves, and other goods (Aaron 2004). These were labeled “Battlefield Brand” with a logo specially designed for the 225th anniversary. This logo included a Continental soldier, a Native American warrior, the American flag, and a variation of the Union Jack (Aaron 2004).

Since 1991, control of the Newtown Battlefield has passed from New York State to the Chemung Valley Living History Center in order to circumvent budget cuts that would have otherwise closed the park (Chemung Valley 2017). Around this time, the Chemung Valley Living History Center began holding anniversary events every year (Murray 2004a). To commemorate the 225th anniversary, they planned to make the celebration much grander than their preceding anniversary (Murray 2004a). One article announced that the two-day anniversary would include a series of events that would honor those who had died and/or lost their homes as a result of the Battle of Newtown:

Sunday marks the 225th anniversary of the battle in which American troops led by Maj. Gen. John Sullivan forced American Indian, British and Loyalist forces from the area and destroyed Indian crops and villages. A series of events held today through Sunday will honor those who died or lost their homes in the Battle of Newtown. (McCarthy 2004b)

Just as in 1979, reenactors came to the battlefield to give visitors a taste of the 18th century (Star-Gazette 2004). The reenactors staged several mock skirmishes to give the audiences an idea of 18th century military tactics (Murray 2004b; Star-Gazette 2004). For the 225th anniversary, around 800 reenactors attended – more than double the number of reenactors in 1979 (Murray 2004b).

At least one of the reenactors, Glen Bentz, was of Seneca descent (Bentz 2004). He portrayed Seneca working as a Sutler, a merchant who supplied items to soldiers that were not issued by any government suppliers (Bentz 2004). In a letter to the editor he

explained that for fourteen years he had been portraying a Seneca reenactor to make more audiences aware of a Seneca viewpoint (Bentz 2004).

In addition to the reenactments, men of the General William Whipple Military Lodge, representing “the grand lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the state of New Hampshire,” rededicated the Sullivan Monument obelisk (McCarthy 2004c). The Union Cooley Lodge of Elmira and local chapter Sons of the American Revolution had invited the New Hampshire Masons to lead the ceremonies because General Sullivan had been elected the first grand master of the New Hampshire Masons grand lodge in 1789 (McCarthy 2004c). Complementing the events that took place on the actual battlefield, the Chemung Valley History Museum in Elmira created a special Revolutionary War/ Sullivan Campaign exhibit (McCarthy 2004a). The exhibit presented the history of the Sullivan Campaign and displayed many Revolutionary War era items (McCarthy 2004a).

Memorializations to 2017

Every year, the anniversary of the Battle of Newtown is celebrated by the Chemung Valley Living History Center on the Newtown Battlefield Park grounds. The continued inclusion of reenactors is one key aspect of these events even though most of the actual battle occurred on what are now private lands and off-limits to reenactors. The reenactments of the battle on State Park land project more of the mood of the battle and 18th century tactics rather than recreations of sweeping movements across the battlefield.

Unlike previous anniversaries, in 2011 reenactors from the United Empire Loyalist descendant community participated (Petrin 2011: 22). In addition, not all reenactors portraying the Native Americans were white men dressing up as Native Americans: the reenactors portraying the Native Americans included one man of Mohawk descent and another of Delaware descent (United Empire Loyalists’ Association of Canada 2011).

Additional Loyalist Monuments of Those Who Fought At Newtown

In addition to monuments at the Newtown Battlefield and in the immediate

vicinity, there are a number of monuments in Canada which are related to the Loyalists and Crown-allied Native Americans who fought at Newtown. These monuments represent over a century of engagement by Canadians and First Nations with the United States' Authorized Heritage Discourse constructed at Newtown since the centennial celebrations in 1879. Below I discuss these monuments in chronological order, beginning with the oldest monument in 1886 and ending with the most recent monuments from 2006.

Joseph Brant Monument, 1886

By the early 1870s the United States was gearing up to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the Revolution. The heritage narrative of the United States had long championed the patriotism and heroic virtues of the Revolutionary soldiers, casting the Loyalists, First Nations peoples, British Regulars, and Hessian soldiers as villains. To counter this narrative, in 1874 the Hereditary Chiefs of the Six Nations Reserve at Grand River, Ontario, proposed a monument to Joseph Brant (Figure 6.11). They allocated \$5,000 to the project in 1877 (Grand River Branch - United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada 2017). Over the next few years, donations to cover the \$16,000 cost of the monument were gathered from the Six Nations Reserve, the Chippewas, the Canadian government, the Ontario government, the City of Brantford, Ontario, Brant and Bruce County, and private donations (United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada 2017). The diverse donations demonstrate the broad-based support for the Joseph Brant memorial in Canada.

Percy Wood from London, England, designed the monument, utilizing the likenesses of a chief from each of the Six Nations for the statues at the base of the monument. These statues at the base represented the peoples that made up each of the Six Nations: Mohawk, Oneida, Tuscarora, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca (Grand River Branch - United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada 2017) (Figure 6.12 and 6.13). The base of the monument was laid out in the plan of the Union Jack with the statue of



Figure 6.11: Joseph Brant Monument
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 6.12: Sculptures Depicting the Six Nations

(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 6.13: Sculptures Depicting the Six Nations
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

Joseph Brant rising from the center (United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada 2017). At the request of the Six Nations, Percy Wood included the symbols of the Bear, Wolf, and Turtle Clans (United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada 2017).

The British government donated 13 bronze cannons to be melted down to make the statues (Grand River Branch - United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada 2017). As prestigious icons of military might, the donation of artillery pieces symbolically recognized Joseph Brant's importance. Some of these cannons had been used at Wellington's victory at Waterloo in 1815 while others had been used in the Crimean War of 1853-1856 (Grand River Branch - United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada 2017).

On August 11, 1886 Chief Ka-non-kwe-yo-the set the cornerstone of the monument (United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada 2017). At the ceremony, William Cockshutt read a poem written by Pauline Johnson of the Six Nations Reserve specifically for the occasion (Grand River Branch - United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada 2017). Pauline Johnson's grandfather, John Smoke Johnson, attended the ceremonies (Grand River Branch - United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada 2017). A veteran of the War of 1812, he had known Joseph Brant (Grand River Branch - United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada 2017).

The poem opens by speaking to Canadians of European descent, reminding them that while the people of the Six Nations are not the power they once were, they made significant contributions to the nation's history:

Young Canada with mighty force sweeps on/To gain in power and strength
before the dawn/That brings another era, when the sun/Shall rise again,
but sadly shine upon/Her Indian graves and Indian memories./For as the
carmine in the twilight skies/Will fade as night comes on, as fades the
race/That unto Might and doubtful Right gives place./And as white clouds
float hurriedly and high/Across the crimson of a sunset sky/Altho' their
depths are foamy as the snow/Their beauty lies in their vermilion glow./
So, Canada, thy plumes were hardly won/Without allegiance from thy
Indian son. (Grand River Branch - United Empire Loyalists' Association
of Canada 2017)

Lieutenant Governor of Ontario John Beverley Robinson officially unveiled the monument on October 13, 1886, completing over a decade-long process of planning and implementing a memorial to Joseph Brant (United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada 2017).

Pauline Johnson's poem compliments the themes of the Joseph Brant Monument by reinforcing that Joseph Brant, along with the Mohawks and other First Nation peoples who fought beside him, are heroes to both the Six Nations and Canada:

Thy [Canada's] glories, like the cloud, enhance their charm/
With red reflections from the Mohawk's arm./Then meet we as one common
brotherhood/In peace and love, with purpose understood/To lift a lasting
tribute to the name/Of Brant, who linked his own with Britain's fame./
Who bade his people leave their Valley Home/Where nature her fairest
aspects shone,/Where rolls the Mohawk River and the land/Is blest with
every good from Heaven's hand,/To sweep the tide of home affections
back/And love the land where waves the Union Jack. (Grand River Branch
- United Empire Loyalists' Association of Canada 2017)

The poem continues by emphasizing that Canada is the home of the Six Nations and that they enjoy equal protection under the protection of Queen Victoria:

The Six Red Nations have their Canada./And rest we here, no cause for us
to rise/To seek protection under other skies./Encircling us an arm both true
and brave/Extends from far across the great salt wave./Tho' but a woman's
arm, 'tis firm, and strong/Enough to guard us from all fear of wrong,/An
arm on which all British subjects lean --/The loving hand of England's
noble Queen. (Grand River Branch - United Empire Loyalists' Association
of Canada 2017)

The elaborate monument in Brantford, Ontario, and the Commemorative event present a dramatically different portrayal of Joseph Brant and the Haudenosaunee soldiers than the text on the Newtown monuments and speeches given at the Newtown memorial events in 1879.

Valiants Memorial, 2006

In 2006, the Canadian government placed the Valiants Memorial just east of the Parliament Building in Ottawa (Curry 2006). The monument pays "tribute to the people who have served [Canada] in times of war and the contribution they have made

in building [Canada]. The monument was a collaboration between the Department of Canadian Heritage, the National Capital Commission, and the Valiants Foundation (an organization comprised of representatives from veterans organizations, Canadian military historians, and “other notable advisors recognized in their fields”) (Government of Canada 2006). These 14 men and women were selected by members of the collaboration for their heroism, and because they represent critical moments in Canada’s military history” (Government of Canada 2015). This memorial is comprised of fourteen busts and statues of Canadian heroes from the “French Regime” period of Canadian history (1534-1763), the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the First World War, and the Second World War. Each monument has a bronze plaque briefly describing the memorialized individual’s contribution to Canadian history. Each time period has a plaque that briefly describes the overall significance of that time in Canadian history.

Of the many individuals who fought for the Crown during the American Revolution and later resettled in Canada, the committee choose Joseph Brant and John Butler to represent the American Revolution at the Valiants Memorial (Figure 6.14 and 6.15). The Valiants Memorial includes statues or busts of heroes from the War of 1812, First World War, and Second World War. The depiction of two heroes from the American Revolution was not due to a limit for each time period represented to just two heroes each. The monument briefly describes the American Revolution: “This ruthless, bloody conflict, fought along an extended frontier, divided the continent into two entities: the United States of America and British North America.” The John Butler’s plaque states: “John Butler gathered backwoods intelligence, led Aboriginal troops, and raised a force of Loyalist refugees – Butler’s Rangers – to fight for Britain. Under his command, the Rangers fought from Kentucky to Niagara, where many settled.” The plaque for Joseph Brant first gives his Mohawk name Thayendanegea and then describes his contribution: “A notable Mohawk warrior and statesman, and principal war chief of the Six Nations, he led his people in support of the British. After the war, he brought his people to Canada to



Figure 6.14: Valiants Memorial - Joseph Brant
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)



Figure 6.15: Valiants Memorial - John Butler
(Photograph by Brant W. Venables)

settle near where Brantford now stands.”

Old Fort Niagara

The final site I will discuss in this chapter is Old Fort Niagara. This fort is the historical site that ties together all the other sites and monuments discussed in this chapter. While Sullivan’s army retreated rather than attempt to lay siege to the fort, it nevertheless figured as an important site in the aftermath of the devastation of the Sullivan Campaign. The following paragraphs discuss the site as it is today and what interpretive materials at the site are relevant to the questions asked in this dissertation.

Because the site remained an active military post into the 20th century, the fort has changed substantially from the way it would have appeared during the American Revolution. As a monument in its own right, this makes it significantly different from other forts in New York State which are reconstructions attempting to replicate the appearance of a no longer extant fort or the preserved ruins of an 18th century fort. Examples of reconstructed forts in New York include Fort Ticonderoga, Fort William Henry, and Fort Stanwix. In contrast, the ruins at Crown Point, located in the southern end of Lake Champlain, is a prominent example of fortress ruins intentionally preserved with no attempt to reconstruct the walls or buildings. This in turn has led to a different approach to the interpretation of Fort Niagara for tourists. The Old Fort Niagara Association operates the fort with the cooperation of the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation (Old Fort Niagara Association 2017).

The focus of the fort’s interpretive brochure identifies when each structure of the fort was built, what nation built the structure (French, British, or American), the purpose of the structure, and any notable event related to a specific structure within the grounds (Old Fort Niagara Association 2016). The primary interpretive focus revolves around the earliest occupation of the site by the French prior to the Seven Years War, the involvement of Fort Niagara during the War of 1812, and the fort’s further development during the 19th century due to the continued hostilities between the British Empire and

United States throughout that century (Old Fort Niagara Association 2016).

A sparsity of signage within the grounds is surprising. The Old Fort Niagara Association runs a visitors' center which covers the entire time period of the fort's history from its founding by the French to its transformation to a historic site. The visitors' center has several panels covering the fort's role in the American Revolution. One panel relates to Loyalist refugees titled "Rebels, Raids & Refugees:"

Though far removed from the better known scenes of fighting, Fort Niagara was a place of tremendous activity and importance during the American War for Independence. As the conflict progressed, the fort became a place of refuge for colonists who opposed the rebellion and for the Six Nations of the Iroquois.

This panel has an inset titled "Loyalists" that further expands on the mention of the colonists who opposed the rebellion:

The story of Fort Niagara during the American Revolution is one of loyalty, not independence. Approximately 30% of the American colonists actively opposed the move to sever ties with Great Britain. Often threatened and persecuted by their former neighbors, many Loyalist families from New York and Pennsylvania fled to Fort Niagara for British protection. Leaving their former lives and homes behind, a large number of these individuals would cross the Niagara River and begin a new life in Canada.

The remainder of the panels relate to the events of 1778 and the Sullivan Campaign of 1779.

One interpretive panel discusses "Frontier Raids" generally and "The Wyoming Valley 'Massacre'" in particular. The text for the "Frontier Raids" states:

Beginning in the spring of 1778, bands of Loyalists and Native warriors conducted raids along the colonial frontier, using Fort Niagara as a base. Raiding parties burned crops and villages, returning with scalps, captives and intelligence. British officers at Niagara did what they could to ransom captives and most were eventually returned to their homes. Reaching as far west as modern Kentucky and as far east as New Jersey, these raids would have a tremendous impact on the Patriot war effort.

The text on the Wyoming Valley Massacre describes the event:

In July 1778, John Butler, along with Loyalist and Iroquois raiders, struck the Wyoming Valley in Pennsylvania. In October, a similar raid was

conducted against New York's Cherry Valley settlement by John's son, Walter. This 19th century painting [inset to the right side depicting frantic melee combat between militia, Loyalists, and Native Americans] conveys the popular image of the horrors of frontier warfare. In fact, atrocities were committed on both sides, as Patriots and Loyalists alike struck at their former neighbors and political adversaries, sometimes settling private feuds in the name of their cause.

But no panel names any of the Revolutionary raids on Loyalist or Native American settlements.

A panel describing the Sullivan Campaign is entitled "The Patriots Strike Back: The Clinton-Sullivan Campaign, 1779:"

In the summer of 1779, a portion of the Continental Army was sent into upstate New York to punish the Iroquois for their allegiance to the British. The expedition was led by Generals John Sullivan and James Clinton. The troops moved through the Iroquois territory destroying crops and villages, and sending thousands of Native refugees to Fort Niagara for protection and shelter. Sullivan's army ventured to within 85 miles of the fort, but lack of supplies and the approach of winter made an attack on the British impractical.

Another panel called "The Winter of Hunger" discusses the fate of the Native American refugees:

The Clinton-Sullivan expedition failed to destroy the Iroquois war effort, but it did destroy many villages and a large portion of the corn crop. Huge numbers of Iroquois families turned to the British at Fort Niagara for aid. The British were not prepared to feed and shelter such a large number of people, and the lateness of the season prevented importation of the necessary supplies from Quebec. As a result, thousands of people spent the harsh winter of 1779-80 in makeshift series of camps around the fort. All suffered from the effects of cold and hunger, and hundreds starved to death.

This is the only mention at the fort of the suffering of the Native American refugees.

Two panels specifically describe the roles of John Butler and Joseph Brant during the war. One titled "John Butler, Loyalist and Raider" states: "This New York Loyalist began recruiting a military unit from the male refugees seeking protection at Fort Niagara in the fall of 1777. Butler's Rangers would grow to a full regiment, and would be one of

several such units raised at Niagara.” The panel pertaining to Joseph Brant briefly states: “Brant was one of a number of Iroquois leaders who conducted offensive raids against the American frontier during the American Revolution.”

A separate panel titled “The Value of Native American Support” discusses general Native American involvement in the war on the British side:

Throughout the struggle, British officials took great pains to court the support of the Iroquois Confederacy. They held numerous councils at Fort Niagara and handed out large amounts of trade goods, weapons, food and other gifts. The support of these Native peoples was critical to the British war effort on the frontier.

Two final panels describe the Loyalist and British units stationed at the Fort. The panel titled “Guardians of the Lakes: The King’s Regiment, 1774-1785,” notes that the Eighth Regiment stationed at the fort “while far from the center of the conflict, [the regiment] nonetheless rendered a varied and important service to their king.” The second panel focuses on Butler’s Rangers and is part of a display of two artifacts (a button and larger “cartridge box badge”) related to the Rangers. This panel states, “While many units of Loyalist raiders wore their civilian clothing, some of the larger units were issued uniforms (or parts thereof) by the British. Butler’s Rangers wore green coats with red ‘facings’ (collars, cuffs and labels), with buttons and badges bearing the name of the corps.”

The panels pertaining to the Sullivan Campaign appear to be a revision of interpretive material dating to the 1950s based on an “illustrated history” book originally published by the Old Fort Niagara Association in 1954 and republished as an annotated edition in 1988. The 1988 edition’s page relating to the American Revolution states:

During the American Revolution Fort Niagara was a British base of warfare against the American colonists on the frontier. It was the seat of Col. John butler’s Tory Rangers, who, assisted by Iroquois warriors under Chief Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), carried out the bloody raids on the settlements in Cherry Valley (N.Y.) and Wyoming (Pa.). Back to Niagara came these marauding parties with American scalps and prisoners. So serious became the threat to the American frontier that General Washington, in 1779, sent General John Sullivan and an army against the

Iroquois. Sullivan drove deep into hostile country, destroying villages and crops and reaching the Genesee River, 84 miles from Fort Niagara, before turning back because of lack of supplies. (Ray 1988)

It is unknown if either the 1954 or 1988 editions of the illustrated history were published for broader commemorative events or larger interpretive initiatives.

There are only four monuments within the fort grounds. The Knights of Columbus erected Millet Cross in 1926. They dedicated this monument to the French soldiers stationed at Fort Denonville (one of the early French forts on the grounds that become Fort Niagara). During the winter of 1687-88 disease and starvation reduced the garrison from 100 to 12 (Old Fort Niagara Association 2016). The monument is a simple cross located near the location where Father Pierre Millet held Mass for the survivors after a relief force arrived in the spring (Di Camillo 2016). This monument contrasts with the lack of a monument dedicated to the Haudenosaunee refugees who were similarly decimated by disease and starvation but on a much larger scale.

The other three monuments are three historical flags; the Rush-Bagot Memorial; and La Salle Monument. The three historical flags memorial representing France, Britain, and the United States fly on the parade ground and have been flown since the early 1930s (Dunnigan 2007:65–66). These flags represent the three nations that have controlled Fort Niagara over its multi-century history (Dunnigan 2007:65–66). The Rush-Bagot Memorial was erected in 1934 to commemorate the Rush-Bagot Treaty of 1818 between the United States and Britain that imposed limitations on naval armaments on the Great Lakes (Dunnigan 2007:69–70). The La Salle Monument, erected in 1934, commemorates the 17th century French explorer Rene-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle (Dunnigan 2007:86).

Conclusion

New York State erected most of the monuments at Newtown Battlefield. This differs dramatically from the pattern at Oriskany Battlefield (Chapter 4) and at Saratoga Battlefield (Chapter 5) where most of the monuments were erected by private

organizations. As in the two previous chapters, there was a transformation in the heritage narratives from the nineteenth century to the twenty-first century.

The heritage narrative focused on the Continental victory in defeating the Haudenosaunee at Newtown and the successful start of the Sullivan Campaign against them. Mohawk leader Joseph Brant and Loyalist Captain John Butler are singled out as enemies. They are depicted as leaders of savage and brutal attacks upon innocent colonists. Native Americans are described as “savages.” The heritage narratives on most of the Newtown monuments focused on the Sullivan Campaign against the Iroquois and not on the Revolutionary War with the British.

In 1879, a fieldstone tower was erected by the Newtown Battlefield Association. The speeches at the 100th anniversary celebrations reinforced this narrative. The negative and racist portrayal of Native Americans and Loyalists on state-funded monuments continued from 1912 until the Bicentennial in 1979. The 1912 text on what is called “the Sullivan Monument” declares that destroying the Haudenosaunee would open up “the pathway toward civilization.”

Unlike the New York monuments, the 1929 New Hampshire Sullivan monument is neutral in tone. While New York State Newtown monuments are filled with value-laden words, the New York State roadside markers at Newtown provide brief neutral descriptions while discussing other aspects of the battlefield.

By 1979, the information on the state signs, while sometimes inaccurate and misleading, attempted to be more neutral. In 2009, the Newtown heritage narrative received a major transformation. The pro-patriotic and anti-Indian narrative was discarded. In its place is a balanced narrative that includes a discussion of the economic and political motivations for Native American land acquisition by the Revolutionaries. The state signs clarify the complex motivations of the Native Americans and Loyalists and note that the Native Americans were fighting to defend their homeland.

Canadian monuments provide a major contrast to the negative Native American

and Loyalist heritage narratives at Newtown Battlefield. The 1886, Joseph Brant monument in Brantford, Ontario, and the 2006 Joseph Brant and John Butler monuments in the Valiants Memorial in Ottawa portray these two men as brave heroes. Brant is depicted as a leader defending his homeland. This portrayal is in stark contrast to the savage villain from Newtown narratives.

The similarities and differences in the heritage narratives at the three battlefields (Oriskany, Saratoga and Newtown) are discussed in chapter seven. Ethnic groups have been presented differently in the heritage narrative at these three battlefields. The reasons for these differences is analyzed in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 Analysis

Introduction

This chapter brings together the data discussed for the Oriskany Battlefield, Fort Stanwix, the Saratoga Battlefield, the Newtown Battlefield, and Old Fort Niagara. In this chapter, I argue that the Authorized Heritage Discourse at each site was not chiefly impacted by ownership by government agencies but rather by the descendant organizations. In particular, I assert that the organizations representing specific ethnicities used memorialization to actively participate in the construction of the Authorized Heritage Discourse at each site. The analysis of the data is broken down chronologically, starting with the centennial anniversaries in the 1870s. I took a chronological approach to my analysis because I believe the various commemorative themes occurring at specific points in time were directly influenced by cultural views and norms of the time. Additionally, Old Fort Niagara and Fort Stanwix did not become heritage sites until the 1920s and 1970s respectively. When they did become heritage sites, the discourses that had already been created over the previous decades at the other sites examined in this dissertation influenced them.

Beginning with Civil War battlefields, especially Gettysburg in 1863, and then expanding to Revolutionary War military sites, memorials served as platforms to craft national mythologies and laud military heroes. The Authorized Heritage Discourse adjusted to evoke national founding mythologies that resonated the most with contemporary audiences. However, the heritage narratives transformed as the values of United States culture changed. These alterations in the Authorized Heritage Discourse at each site reflected changes from one of patriotic nationalism in the 19th century, to a more neutral tone in the 20th century, and finally in the 21st century to a complex pluralism and

multi-national narrative. These transformations increasingly integrated the perspectives of the men and women who fought for the Crown or remained neutral. A second trend is to construct heritage narratives by specific ethnic groups to influence how their group's involvement in the Revolutionary War was remembered. I assert that simultaneous with adaptations of the Authorized Heritage Discourse at each site, ethnic groups utilized the prominence of each site to develop heritage discourses that subverted mainstream anti-immigrant and racist attitudes. A major reason for these assertions of agency is economic power.

Centennial Anniversaries

Within the broader 19th century American cultural framework, historical orations were used as key components of commemorative programs (Glassberg 1990:9). During this time, orations of past events by prominent public officials formed the centerpiece to the entire commemorative event, expressed in a sermon-like format that established the sacred and worldly significance of the event being commemorated (Glassberg 1990:9). Orators tailored these presentations to both reinforce a "sacred national destiny" and to reinforce the local community's identity (Glassberg 1990:12). Besides participating as part of a communal reinforcement of patriotic fervor, local residents might also participate in these commemorations as a means of expressing their wealth or status through acts like donating historic relics to be displayed during the commemoration (Glassberg 1990:20–21). Alongside monuments, community leaders used this oratory format to construct Authorized Heritage Discourses at local sites and place values of the local community into the broader values of the nation.

Bunker Hill was the first Revolutionary War site memorialized in the 19th century. The Bunker Hill Monument Association erected the Bunker Hill Monument in 1843 (National Park Service 2018). However, it was not until after the American Civil War that erecting memorials on battlefield sites became common. In the decades following the United States victory over the Confederacy in the Civil War, veterans of United

States regiments and their supporters in state legislatures began erecting monuments on battlefields such as Gettysburg. This change was in no small part due to Lincoln's Gettysburg Address which firmly established battlefields as hallowed grounds: "...we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead who struggled here have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract" (Lincoln 1863).

The battlefields of Oriskany, Fort Stanwix, Saratoga, Newtown, and Old Fort Niagara were not originally set aside for historic preservation even though nobody doubted the historical importance of the events that unfolded at these sites. Instead, after the smoke of combat wafted away, the battlefields of Oriskany, Saratoga, and Newtown returned to civilian use. After the battles, army camps moved to the next site of conflict. At Saratoga and Newtown, this meant the land returned to farmland. At Oriskany, the ambush site became farm fields and pasture land. The industrial development by the City of Rome, New York slowly, consumed Fort Stanwix. Old Fort Niagara remained an active military post into the 20th century. However, by 1880 it had transitioned to a training base. Although restoration efforts of the historic structures began in the 1920s, it was not until the 1960s that the military deemed that Fort Niagara no longer had any practical purpose and ceded the fort and surrounding lands to New York State to be made into a historic park.

The Centennial of the American Revolution in 1876 occurred a little over a decade after the end of the American Civil War. As memorialization at Civil War battlefields gathered momentum among United States veterans, celebrations occurred at Oriskany Battlefield, Saratoga Battlefield, and Newtown Battlefield.

At the centennial anniversary of the Battle of Oriskany, one of the speakers was Ellis H. Roberts, editor of the *Utica Morning Herald* and a United States Congressman from 1871-1875. In his long oration, he drew attention to the German and Dutch ethnicity that made up the bulk of the Tryon County militiamen, including General Nicolas

Herkimer.

Two months later at the Centennial celebration of the Saratoga Battlefield on October 17, the former Governor of New York, Horatio Seymour, also drew attention to the German ethnicity of many of the settlers in the Mohawk Valley area of New York. Seymour took his praise further, noting that the German settlers “could not, from their position and their language receive impressions from the other colonists...[yet] gained the same political convictions which animated the colonists in all parts of our country” (Stone 1878:54).

At both of these centennial commemorations, the speakers recognized the ethnic makeup of the colonists who lived in the region where the Revolutionaries and British fought the battles of Oriskany and Saratoga. This created a more complex heritage narrative at these sites than a simplistic story of British colonists versus British Regulars. At Saratoga, this emphasis stands out because German soldiers employed by the Crown fought at one of the key locations of the Second Battle, the Breymann Redoubt.

During both the Dutch and British colonial periods, there was a large influx of German immigrants to New York State. In the 19th century, New York City was one of the major ports for immigrants. This may have made the more complex heritage narrative presented at Oriskany and Saratoga more appealing to a New York audience. As politicians, it is probable that Roberts and Seymour had German Americans as part of their voting constituency, adding a layer of self-serving motivation to their praise at the Centennial.

The narrative presented at both Oriskany and Saratoga’s Centennial anniversaries distinctly contrast with the Centennial anniversaries at the Newtown Battlefield two years later. At Newtown, no one focused on drawing attention to the ethnicities that made up General John Sullivan’s Continental army. This may have been in part due to the location of Newtown outside of the Mohawk Valley region where many German and Dutch colonists had settled. However, this contrast appears to have been due to the different

heritage narrative goals of the groups organizing the Centennial anniversaries and the different military goals of the original battles. Whereas the Siege of Fort Stanwix, the Battle of Oriskany, and the Battles of Saratoga are all part of an offensive campaign by the British military, the Battle of Newtown was part of a campaign of conquest by the Continental army against Haudenosaunee defending their homeland where they had lived for centuries and had been recognized by treaties with European imperial powers.

The Centennials of Oriskany and Saratoga emphasized the ethnic diversity of the Revolutionary soldiers who fought against the Crown forces deployed as part of the Burgoyne Campaign. In contrast, the Centennial of Newtown emphasized an “us versus them” heritage narrative, pitting a monolithic Continental Army against a small army of Loyalists and Native Americans. These two differing approaches to portrayals of the same war at these sites lasted until the late 20th century.

The selection of William Tecumseh Sherman to deliver the keynote address at the Newtown Centennial played no small part in the contrast between the three centennials. Sherman chose to tie the current military campaigns aimed at crushing Native American resistance to the westward conquest by the United States to the Sullivan Campaign of 1779. Sherman also emphasized how in previous conflicts European powers (chiefly the French and later British) had to “pass away” to allow the rise of the United States. This theme of vanquishing Native Americans and pushing aside European powers was distinctly absent from the commemorations at Oriskany and Saratoga two years prior.

At Oriskany, Ellis H. Roberts made no mention of conquering Native Americans. The Haudenosaunee still lived on reservations spread throughout New York State, and the omission by Roberts cannot be explained by the physical absence of Haudenosaunee communities in New York. Rather, I suggest the omission was because the Battle of Oriskany was a defense of Revolutionary homelands and not part of a campaign to conquer Native lands. But the Sullivan campaign clearly was the invasion of a separate homeland. Nevertheless, Roberts notes that the Haudenosaunee largely allied with the

Crown or remained neutral. In the case of the Oneidas and Tuscaroras who allied with the Continental Congress, Roberts downplayed the martial role the Oneidas and Tuscaroras played in the Revolutionary victory. He instead suggests the Oneidas' primarily helped the Revolutionaries cause by their lack of hostility. His only acknowledgement of Oneida military aid to the Revolutionaries was the passing remark that an "Oneida maid, only fifteen years old" fought alongside the Tryon County militia. His comments reflect the racism of the time. It would have been impalpable to suggest that any group of Native Americans had contributed to the Revolutionaries ultimate military victory, especially at a ceremony meant to engender patriotic fervor and contribute to a patriotic heritage narrative of the American Revolution.

Similarly at Saratoga, former Governor Horatio Seymour only mentioned the Oneidas in passing as allies of the Continental Congress. Seymour's downplaying the role of the Oneidas was probably due to his paternalism and to similar reasons to Roberts. Other orators at the Saratoga Centennial anniversary, such as George William Curtis, chose to discuss how the Loyalists and Crown-allied Native Americans failed to join Burgoyne's army in the quantity expected and that this reflected the "fickle" support these populations had for the Crown's cause. The poem by General J. Watts De Peyster further reflects the difference in focus between the Newtown Centennial anniversary and the Saratoga Centennial anniversary. Specifically, how De Peyster focuses on placing Saratoga within a national context and establishing it as a nationally important site. De Peyster's poem most explicitly conveyed this where he suggests the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga is the birthplace of the nation, not the signing of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia. Of Dutch descent, De Peyster served as a United States officer during the American Civil War and later helped fund the Benedict Arnold "Boot Monument" at Saratoga.

Only the heritage narrative at Newtown engaged with the Revolutionary War conflicts along the western border of New York and Pennsylvania. Equally notable is

how Ellis H. Roberts ignored this conflict but instead drew attention to Haudenosaunee warriors who were present at Oriskany, some fighting for the Loyalists, some for the Revolutionaries. For the Loyalists, Roberts mentions the Mohawk leader Joseph Brant in particular, describing him in a relatively complimentary fashion. Joseph Brant's portrayal was as a far more infamous figure two years later at the Centennial ceremonies at Newtown Battlefield. At Newtown's centennial, Reverend David Craft condemns Joseph Brant for his conduct in the war. Craft's condemnation is particularly distinct as moments earlier in his speech Joseph Brant is commended for his "of dauntless courage" and chivalry. Craft clearly plays to the audience's racist stereotypes of Native Americans as having a façade of being strong, silent, and noble that nevertheless masks their bloodthirsty, cruel, and savage nature. By suggesting Brant's legacy is one of violence and terror, he contradicts his earlier praise of Brant. Roberts uniformly vilified Loyalist Walter Butler for the border raids perpetrated by Crown forces.

The overall tone of the Saratoga Centennial places the Battles of Saratoga as the key event in the nation's history while also challenging the heritage narrative of Philadelphia as the birthplace of the nation. While not making as lofty a pair of claims, the Oriskany Centennial similarly concentrated on establishing the battle's importance in national history, the key role it played in connection to Saratoga, and its place in the heritage narrative of the country. But Newtown's celebration contrasted greatly with these two Centennials. Instead of focusing on establishing Newtown's military significance within the Revolutionary War, the celebration focused on establishing the battle's place in the national heritage narrative as a colonial example of the morality of United States conquest of Native peoples. Thus, Newtown's centennial reinforced the moral precedent that justified New York's expansion onto Haudenosaunee territory and the United States' own wars of westward conquest and expansion that were still being fought at the time of Newtown's Centennial.

Three Late-19th Century Monuments and Commemorations

In 1874, the Hereditary Chiefs of the Six Nations Reserve at Grand River, Ontario, proposed to erect a monument to Joseph Brant that would counter the broad United States heritage narrative that cast First Nations peoples as villains. The monument was completed on August 11, 1886 and remains today as the central focus of Victoria Square in Brantford, Ontario.

The monument challenges the U.S. heritage narrative that vilified Joseph Brant by using the symbolism of monuments to overtly declare Joseph Brant a hero to the Six Nations and to Canada. The monument's inscription also engaged with and challenged the U.S. Revolutionary-centric narrative being constructed across the border. The heritage narratives presented at sites such as at Newtown vilified Joseph Brant and reduced Native Americans to two-dimensional villains standing in the way of white superiority. By commending both Joseph Brant and the Six Nations for "their long and faithful service" the inscription directly engages with United States heritage narratives of portraying only the Revolutionaries as patriotic.

Pauline Johnson's poem further reinforces this challenge to the Revolutionary-centric interpretation of patriotism by heralding Joseph Brant's patriotism. That Joseph Brant's alliances were not fickle is emphasized in her lines describing Joseph Brant's choice to move to Canada "where waves the Union Jack" rather than remain in the land invaded by the Revolutionaries.

The monument also subtly challenges anti-Native American sentiment in Canada by stating that both Joseph Brant and the Six Nations strictly observed treaties. This clearly challenges any contemporary racist Canadian perceptions that Native Americans could not be trusted to uphold treaties or that Native American treaty violations perpetrated contemporary conflicts. Like the United States, Canadians held similar racist ideas, while also celebrating Canada's 19th century development from colony to dominion in the British Commonwealth. Johnson's poem directly challenges racist heritage

narratives that erased First Nation peoples from Canada's history. She asserts that the sacrifices of Canada's Native American allies in war and the deaths of countless Native Americans won Canada's status as a dominion in the Commonwealth.

In the decade following the erection of the Joseph Brant monument, two more important monuments were erected on the United States side of the border. In the 1890s, the Elmira Sons of Veterans Reserve Company of the Sons of Union Veterans placed a monument dedicated to the Loyalists and Native Americans who fought the Continental forces at Newtown. As is the only monument studied in this dissertation erected by a Civil War descendant organization I believe this monument is an extension of the national theme of reconciliation between North and South.

Starting in the 1880s, commemorations at battlefields such as Gettysburg began to reflect an ideology of reconciliation. This ideology judged the North and South's emotional dedication to their causes as equal because of the martial valor and devotion that the soldiers on both sides demonstrated (Linenthal 1991:93). This ideology manifested itself in reunions for United States troops at Gettysburg regularly included Confederate veterans (Linenthal 1991:56–66, 93). Initially modest, the reunions became elaborate reconciliation rituals celebrated during commemorative ceremonies (Linenthal 1991:93). The landscape of Gettysburg was thus transformed and reinterpreted by the Federal government to be a place for United States and Confederate veterans to celebrate "a joint and precious heritage" (Linenthal 1991:90). Gettysburg transformed from an important symbol of the United States victory in the Civil War to an "American" victory that lauded the bravery and heroism of both United States and Confederate troops without critical consideration of slavery and the underlying causes the soldiers fought for (Linenthal 1991:90).

The martial valor and devotion that the Loyalists and Crown-allied Native Americans displayed at Newtown may have inspired respect for their cause, according to this ideology of reconciliation. Thus, this national ideology of reconciliation may

have inspired the members of the Elmira Sons of Veterans Reserve Company to erect the monument. No one erected similar monuments at the Oriskany or Saratoga battlefields. Therefore, this monument is an early expression of the gradual movement away from a strictly Revolutionary-centric heritage narrative and towards the construction of a more inclusive heritage narrative. This more expansive narrative would fully emerge in the final decades of the 20th century. It is unclear why there were no similar monuments specifically recognizing the martial valor of the Crown forces at Oriskany and Saratoga. What we would now term “citizen-soldiers” (or draftees later in the war) chiefly fought the Civil War. A subconscious component of the reconciliation ideology may have been admiration for the valor and sacrifice of citizen-soldiers. With the Crown forces at Saratoga chiefly comprised of professional soldiers, this may partly explain why no monument similar to the one at Newtown was erected at Saratoga. At Oriskany, the ambiguity of who won the battle and the severity of Revolutionary casualties may have exceeded the limit of reconciliation ideology’s ability to laud the martial valor of the opposing side.

The Water Battery Monument at the Saratoga Battlefield, erected to Thaddeus Kościuszko in 1892 by the Saratoga Monument Association (SMA), is the second important late 19th century monument. As at Oriskany, the Water Battery monument illustrates how a member of an ethnic minority is recognized by those already in power rather than the push-back of an ethnic group’s direct action.

The Joseph Brant monument in Ontario, Canada, represents the earliest example at my sites in which an ethnic group, the Haudenosaunee, expressly challenged mainstream heritage narratives. The creation of the very large and complex Joseph Brant Monument also exemplifies the success of the Six Nations Reservation to raise funds and gain the support of local and national government agencies. However, during the late 19th century the Joseph Brant Monument is the exception rather than the rule. It is not until the 20th century that ethnic groups in the United States participated in the construction of

heritage narratives at the Revolutionary War battlefields of Oriskany and Saratoga.

135th Anniversaries and Four Early 20th Century Monuments

In 1912, a new monument was dedicated at the Newtown Battlefield after the 1879 monument collapsed. The 1912 Newtown obelisk is known as the “Sullivan Monument.” The monument’s plaque reinforced the 19th-century concept of the vanishing Indian and expanded on that theme by emphasizing the destruction of the government of the Haudenosaunee. While members of the Haudenosaunee may not have completely disappeared, a visitor might assume that the Haudenosaunee no longer existed as a functioning political entity or a unified people. In fact, the Haudenosaunee government of chiefs and clan mothers was still meeting at Onondaga, the capital of the Confederacy, where it continues to meet today.

By the time New York State erected the 1912 tower, the ideological power of “Manifest Destiny” extended overseas from its application of military might during the Indian Wars. Manifest Destiny once again justified the use of military power in the quest for land, power, and wealth that defined America’s elite. Allan R. Millett noted that “[s]ome people thought that the closing of the frontier, industrial overproduction, and labor unrest portended a crisis. They believed that America’s history was one of expansion” (Millett 1984:249). The 1912 commemoration took place in this context. Because of this attitude and the inability to expand further on the North American continent, it became imperative to apply the ideology of Manifest Destiny to expansionist efforts in other areas of the globe to stave off any perceived crises. Such expansionist efforts included the 1898 Spanish-American War, the 1899 Open Door Policy that forced China to U.S. trade, the 1910 intervention in Mexico, and the intervention in Nicaragua during 1911–1912 (Millett 1984:267–284, 301, and 319).

The United States began to build an overseas empire after the conclusion of the Indian Wars, expanding the ideology of Manifest Destiny beyond the North American continent. The text on the 1912 monument reflected this ideology, and this monument

represents continuity in the patriotic interpretation of events at Newtown. Just as in 1879, the 1912 heritage narrative of Newtown continued the trend of constructing a heritage narrative that pits a monolithic Continental force against Native Americans and Loyalists and the continued negative portrayal of the groups which opposed the Continentals.

In 1912, at Oriskany, the local chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) dedicated a stone monument called the “Oriskany Beech Tree Monument.” This monument represents a carry-over of the 19th century pattern of recognizing the contributions of non-Anglo-Saxon ethnic groups while not explicitly erected by members of that ethnicity. Membership rules for the DAR would not have banned German or Dutch Americans from membership if they could provide proof that an ancestor had fought for the Revolutionary cause. It is therefore possible that some of the members of the local DAR chapter of German or Dutch descent encouraged their fellow members to help fund the monument.

That same year, during the 135th anniversary of the battles of Saratoga, Daniel J. Falvey, Secretary of the Committee for Ancient Order of Hibernians Day, published a brief article in the celebration’s souvenir book. Falvey’s list of American wars in which the Irish fought evokes the image of the Irish Brigade whose service became famous during the Civil War. Falvey also uses the opportunity to push back against nativism through his suggestion that a “generally enlarged spirit of toleration” is a development from the more recent or “later day phase of American civilization.” Falvey thus reminds the reader that despite Irish-Americans’ long-standing service to the United States that they frequently faced nativist prejudice.

Immediately after proclaiming the longstanding service of Irish-Americans to the country in his article, Falvey expresses the importance of erecting a monument to the Continental Irish soldiers at Saratoga. Falvey uses the term “race” to describe the Irish in his article because of the racialization of the Irish. Archaeologist Charles Orser (2007:110) notes that “nativists initially racialized the Irish as nonwhite because of their

[“peasant”]customs and [Catholic] beliefs, by the end of the [19th] century, when it was clear that the Irish were willing to be Americanized, nativists began to view them as white.”

By the end of the century, the social position of the Irish had greatly improved as “many Irish individuals had become prominent as political leaders and powerful business owners” (Orser 2007:110). Nevertheless, nativists argued that the Irish had to be domesticated through an assimilative agenda that demanded, among other things, that the Irish abandon their “foreign allegiance” to the pope (Orser 2007:110). One of the ways the Irish countered the anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sentiments of nativists was by emphasizing their bravery and loyalty to the United States through military service. This narrative gained great prominence during the Civil War. The original commander of the Irish Brigade, Thomas F. Meagher, argued that service affirmed the Irish soldiers’ identity as American citizens, pushed back against the smear of nativism on the ideals of the United States and the letters of common soldiers in the Irish Brigade echoed this sentiment (Samito 2009:29, 32). Falvey implicitly conveys his call to erect a monument to the Irish Continental soldiers at Saratoga. This was in keeping with the precedent of memorializing Irish-American military service, particularly that of the Irish Brigade.

In 1913, the Ancient Order of Hibernians – for whom Falvey had been secretary – erected a monument to Timothy Murphy, an Irish-American in Daniel Morgan’s Rifle Corps. Murphy became famous for killing British General Simon Fraser during the Second Battle of Saratoga on October 7, 1777. Prior to the dedication of the Timothy Murphy monument, Murphy’s commander, Daniel Morgan, had been given the credit for killing General Fraser. This was repeated in an 1887 monument dedicated by Morgan’s great-granddaughter. The inscription on the monument to Murphy, however, firmly attributes the lethal shot to Murphy, thus challenging the heritage narrative presented by the Daniel Morgan monument.

Besides challenging the heritage narrative created by the Morgan monument,

the monument exemplifies another important engagement with the crafting of heritage narratives. In addition to memorializing Murphy, the monument also commemorates all Continental soldiers of Irish descent who gave their lives at Saratoga. This inscription evokes similar sentiment to the 1888 Irish Brigade monument at Gettysburg. The Gettysburg inscription notably drew attention to the fallen soldiers: “The brigade entered the battle...530 strong, of which this contingent, composing three battalions... [the] original strength [of these three] battalions was 3,000 men.”

The Gettysburg monument to the Irish Brigade’s chaplain Father Corby replicated this theme focusing on loss. In 1910, three years prior to the monument to Timothy Murphy at Saratoga, the Catholic Alumni Sodality of Philadelphia erected a bronze life-size sculpture of Father Corby at Gettysburg. The monument was funded through private donations and the support of alumni of the University of Notre Dame (McMahon 1909:332). The Catholic Alumni Sodality of Philadelphia placed the sculpture on the rock Corby stood on to administer general absolution to the Irish Brigade moments before they went into combat during the Battle of Gettysburg. The Catholic Church only permits general absolution, the forgiving of the sins of a large group of people without first hearing individual confessions, in extreme circumstances such as when death may be imminent. By choosing to memorialize the moment when Corby gave general absolution to the Irish Brigade, it subtly placed additional significance on the losses suffered by the Brigade. It reminds viewers that many of the men to whom he gave absolution died in the next few hours of bloody conflict. It is also probable that, like the 1888 Irish Brigade monument with its prominent Celtic Cross, this prioritization of many of the Brigade’s soldiers’ Catholic faith was an engagement with nativism’s anti-Catholic sentiment. Questions of Irish loyalty to the United States because of their allegiance to the pope and other issues had especially been issues since the nativist Know-Nothing political movement in the decade before the Civil War (Orser 2007:110; Samito 2009:32). The Murphy monument at Saratoga is therefore consistent with the themes expressed at other

Irish-American military monuments, chiefly a theme of losses suffered by the loyal and patriotic Irish-American community in the service of the United States.

Several years later, in 1917 at the end of the First World War, a chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution (SAR) placed a monument to Brigadier General Abraham Ten Broeck and the Albany County militia. Ten Broeck was a Dutchman whose family had long-standing ties to the Albany area (Bielinski 2016). Similar to the earlier Beech Tree monument at Oriskany, the monument to Ten Broeck was not erected by an organization specifically made up of Dutch-Americans. Given the Dutch heritage of the Albany area, it is probable that members of the SAR chapter that dedicated the monument were of Dutch descent and helped push for the monument's dedication.

The monuments and commemorations at Oriskany and Saratoga between 1913 and 1917 reflect the emergence of direct engagement with mainstream heritage narratives and participation in the construction of heritage narratives by ethnic communities in New York. The pro-Irish American historical essay by Daniel J. Falvey and subsequent erection of the Timothy Murphy monument at Saratoga by the Ancient Order of Hibernians is the most explicit expression of agency by an ethnic community at this time. But the Beech Tree Monument at Oriskany, and Ten Broeck Monument at Saratoga, also reflect the possible participation of members of German and Dutch descent in the construction of heritage narratives that continued to embrace the rhetoric espoused during the Centennial anniversaries in 1877. The Sons of Union Veterans monument at Newtown signaled a gradual shift of incorporative cultural views due to the emergence of the theme of reconciliation at battlefields of the American Civil War. The 1912 monument signaled that the 1879 heritage narrative retained its position as the mainstream heritage narrative at Newtown. Unlike other sites, Newtown retained a homogenous portrayal of the Continental army arrayed against the ethnically diverse Crown forces made up of Loyalists and Native Americans.

150th anniversaries

By the start of the 20th century a new form of public commemoration had emerged – the historical pageant. This format replaced the 19th century tradition of the historical oration, as was used in the centennials of Oriskany, Saratoga, and Newtown. The historical pageant in the United States evolved from the historical pageant celebrations in England (Glassberg 1990:43). In England, this celebratory format had evolved from the late 19th century arts and crafts movement that sought to revive Medieval and Renaissance imagery and crafts (Glassberg 1990:43). Up until this time pageants in the United States had been associated with carnivals and burlesque parades (Glassberg 1990:43). However, the English historical pageant appealed to United States intellectuals, artists, patriotic, and hereditary societies as an “artistic, visually instructive” means of imparting the “moral principles associated with the past” to the public in a format that would kindle public interest “without sacrificing artistic standards and the marrow of Anglo-American history” (Glassberg 1990:44). Serving a similar purpose to 19th century historical orations, pageants were seen by United States intellectuals, artists, patriotic, and hereditary societies as the pinnacle of the goals of this older means of public commemoration (Glassberg 1990:44). In particular, organizers of public commemorations saw the historical pageant as a means to project “an overarching civic identity, modeled on an imagined deferential consensus and social hierarchy of the past that the elite claimed could transcend neighborhood, class, and ethnic conflicts and differences” (Glassberg 1990:52).

David Glassberg (1990:281) argues that the reason that historical pageant rose to such prominence in the early 20th century was due to the impact of new transportation and communication technology that “enabled national corporations, as well as media, to reach even the smallest of towns, increasing residents’ contacts with the world beyond local boundaries.” As these new technologies altered the American way of life, organizers of commemorative events turned to historical pageants as the perceived solution to the

limitations of the 19th century historical oration's content and ability to appeal to an increasingly diverse audience (Glassberg 1990:281–283). The role the media served in supporting the United States' aims during World War I impacted historical pageants, ultimately leading towards a format that concentrated on increasing spectacle with more concise, focused messages (Glassberg 1990:286). However, by the 1930s the impact of the radio as a means for public officials to reach the general populace without requiring families or individuals to leave the comfort of their homes led to the decline, and eventual disappearance, of historical pageants as a commemorative format (Glassberg 1990:287).

In 1927, a grand pageant celebrated the Battle of Oriskany with numerous orations. This pageant, together with the essay by local historian John Albert Scott, is the first notable mention of Mohawk Molly Brant's role in alerting the Crown forces besieging Fort Stanwix of the approach of the Tryon County militia. But Scott's essay does not mention the ethnic makeup of the Tryon County militia. The anniversary celebration occurred nine years after the conclusion of the brutal slaughter of World War I. Alongside the grief over the significant loss of life was intense, nation-wide, anti-German sentiments that likely led to an intentional removal of any explicit mention of the ethnic makeup of the Tryon County militia.

One year later, on August 6, 1928, the Mohawk Valley Historic Association dedicated the Unknown Soldiers Monument. Honoring the unknown militiamen of Tryon County who fell at Oriskany, this monument largely follows the trend of the 1927 150th anniversary pageant, leaving out explicit mention of the predominant German ethnicity of those militiamen. The only acknowledgement of the militia's ethnicities are the surnames of Herkimer and his commanding officers who are primarily Dutch or German in origin. This absence would be carried on through to at least 1963 when New York State erected an interpretive metal plaque near the Oriskany Battle Monument. The bloody devastation of World War II reaffirmed the animosity towards Germans that had been created during World War I and is no doubt responsible for this continued absence.

Similar to the celebration at Oriskany, the 150th anniversary of Saratoga in 1927 involved an elaborate pageant. Among the many scenes in the Saratoga pageant, two aspects seem particularly important. First the pageant specifically draws attention to Kościuszko and his role in choosing the ground and designing the fortifications that played such an important role in hindering Burgoyne's advance along the Hudson. This reflects the continued awareness of Kościuszko's role at Saratoga even though it would be another decade before a Polish-American organization dedicated a monument to him. Next, a person portraying Daniel Morgan orders a handful of his riflemen to target Fraser and then explicitly gives credit to Murphy for firing the fatal shot. This reflects the impact of the Murphy monument, in attributing the fatal shot that killed Fraser to Murphy rather than Morgan.

Two years later in 1929, the 150th anniversary was publicly celebrated at the Newtown Battlefield. While there was no elaborate pageant like that at the Saratoga and Oriskany anniversaries, it was marked by three events: 1) the erection of two new monuments, 2) a fly-over by the U.S. Navy dirigible *Los Angeles* and 3) the publication of new interpretive material by the state historian Alexander Flick.

The State of New Hampshire commissioned one of the two new monuments in 1929. This monument breaks with previous heritage narratives at the site by not vilifying Native Americans and Loyalists. This absence of overt hostility may have been because none of the Native American nations affected by the Sullivan Campaign resided within the borders of New Hampshire.

The State of New York also erected a granite monument. Unlike New Hampshire that had no Haudenosaunee reservations, New York State had reservations for the Mohawk, Onondaga, Tuscarora, and Seneca Nations. The New York monument contrasts with the text of the New Hampshire monument. The plaque on the New York monument explicitly perpetuates the 1879 heritage narrative. This continuation of the 19th century heritage narrative reflects that New York State still confronted the Haudenosaunee in the

1920s (Hauptman 1988: 12-13).

A fly-over by the U.S. Navy dirigible the “Los Angeles” marked a major highlight of the 150th anniversary celebration. Nearly a decade would go by before the Hindenburg disaster in 1937 brought commercial use of dirigibles to a halt. Therefore, to the audience in 1929, the Los Angeles would have been an awe-inspiring sight. The origin of Los Angeles as a war trophy taken by the victorious Allies from the vanquished Germans may have served to reinforce anti-German sentiment also observed in commemorations at other sites.

Conflict between a broadening, more inclusive society slammed head first into the older exclusionary, narrow beliefs that had survived the horrors of the First World War’s trench warfare. This conflict of ideas defined American society of the 1920s. During the Roaring Twenties, movies such as the racist film maker D.W. Griffith’s 1924 silent film *America* were made that reflected resistance to the ongoing cultural changes. These movies impacted the perception of the American Revolution and reinforced the long-standing disdain for the Loyalists and Native Americans who had fought for the British. In *America*, the actor Lionel Barrymore played an evil, leering Captain Walter Butler, the Loyalist who fought at Cherry Valley in 1779 (Griffith 1999). The film also portrayed Mohawk leader Joseph Brant as strong, silent, but sinister (Griffith 1999).

The 150th anniversaries reflected changes from previous anniversaries. One of the most notable is the pronounced absence of any effort to draw explicit attention to the ethnic makeup of the Tryon County Militia. This was in the wake of the devastation and anti-German sentiment caused by the First World War. At Saratoga, the pageant reflected the continued recognition of the importance that Kościuszko played in that victory. The pageant also highlighted the impact of the Ancient Order of Hibernians on the heritage narrative of Saratoga and, as detailed below, the pageant marks the first time Timothy Murphy is recognized in more than just the Timothy Murphy monument.

Lastly, the adaptations to the heritage narrative at Newtown were more complex.

On the one hand, publications by the state historian reflect a gradual change away from the 19th century heritage narrative, a change possibly influenced by the First World War, and the United States alliance with Britain caused a cultural shift in how Britain was perceived. On the other hand, the New York State monument reflects the perpetuation of the 19th century heritage narrative's racism towards Native Americans in particular and continued hostility towards both Loyalists and Native Americans. Saratoga reflects a continued development towards recognizing non-dominant ethnic group's contributions to the Continental cause, while Oriskany reflects the impact of the First World War's devastation by omitting the role of German-American militiamen. Newtown reflects a bitter divide between a heritage narrative shifting away from the overt racism and hostility of the 19th century heritage narrative and an effort to prominently perpetuate the 19th century narrative.

Additional mid-20th Century Celebrations

About one decade after the 150th anniversary of Saratoga, "his compatriots" raised a second monument to Kościuszko in 1936. Primary speakers at the ceremony included Polish Ambassador Count George Potocki and New York Governor Herbert Lehman. A pageant was also part of the anniversary (Halpin 1936b:1).

Around July 1936, New York Governor Herbert H. Lehman sent an urn filled with soil from one of the Continental breastworks laid out by Kościuszko to Poland. Lehman did so at the request of F. Piskorski, chairman of the Greater Poland, Silesian, and Pomeranian Alliance of America organization, with the soil to be made part of the Marshal Pilsudski Memorial Mound (Halpin 1936a). This demonstrates that Polish people saw Kościuszko as a national hero and a natural choice for Polish-Americans to emphasize as a Revolutionary War hero to their community. Beginning in 1950 and continuing for the remainder of the 20th century, an organization known as the Polish American Congress held annual commemorations at the 1936 Kościuszko monument, celebrating the contributions that a fellow Pole made to American independence.

At Oriskany, silence towards the ethnic composition of the Tryon County militia continued until 1963 when New York State erected an interpretive metal plaque near the Oriskany Battle Monument. It is possible that this reflected increasing tensions of the Cold War. The erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 and the U.S. alliance with West Germany against the Soviet Union made recognition of German involvement in the Revolutionary War other than as infamous “Hessian mercenaries” once again acceptable as part of the heritage narrative of Oriskany.

The recognition of the predominant German and Dutch ethnicities of the Tryon County Militia continued with the 189th anniversary in 1966. The German-American organization called the Carl Schurz Society of Utica participated in a ceremonial wreath laying at the Oriskany Battle Monument during this anniversary, dubbed Oriskany Day in newspaper accounts (Kahler 1966). This marks the first time that an organization explicitly for German-Americans participated in commemorations at Oriskany. Perhaps this Utica society was a local chapter of the National Carl Schurz Association founded in 1930 for the purpose of “[promoting] and improve the teaching of German language and culture, and to foster friendship between the United States and German-speaking countries” (The Historical Society of Pennsylvania with the Balch Institute for Ethnic Studies 2003). Regrettably no records could be found indicating if this organization was founded as a means of pushing back against anti-German sentiment and later became a push-back against Nazism or whether the organization was in ideological support of the Nazi agenda.

Following the heritage narrative shift at Oriskany that began in the early 1960s, the 190th anniversary souvenir program included an historical essay on the importance of the Siege of Fort Stanwix and Battle of Oriskany. This historical essay once again drew attention to the Dutch and German ethnicity of the majority of the Tryon County militia. Also, unlike previous anniversaries which had downplayed the military contributions of the Oneidas, the historical essay calls them faithful allies. In addition to praising the

Oneidas as faithful allies, this anniversary also marks the first time that Oneidas also participated in the anniversary. The program indicates that the Oneidas participated in what the program describes as “the Oneida Indians Memorial.” This presumably referred to ceremonial wreath laying or something similar at the Oriskany Battle Monument or somewhere else on the battlefield.

In 1973, the New York State Historical Commission and Newtown Battle Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution placed a plaque on the reverse side of the 1929 New York monument. Why this plaque was installed prior to the Bicentennial is unknown. However, the new text clearly reflects a perpetuation of the 19th century heritage narrative. Despite the more neutral tone of the 150th anniversary and the inclusion of Oneida in anniversary celebrations at the New York State-owned Oriskany Battlefield, the text on the 1973 plaque demonstrates continuing hostility towards the Haudenosaunee who had allied themselves with the Crown.

Following the opening of Fort Stanwix, the National Park Service initiated an interpretive program with interpreters dressed in period clothes who took a “first person” approach to telling history (they stayed in the character of an 18th century person) (Zenzen 2008:122). In the late 1970s, members of the Oneida nation portrayed the Oneida view of the Revolutionary War, although they would occasionally break character to address 20th century concerns (Zenzen 2008: 122). This participation resulted from the Oneidas raising concerns to the park’s first superintendent Lee Hanson after seeing a woman from the “Explorer Scout troop” wearing a Native American outfit (Zenzen 2008:123). While it turned out that the woman in question was of Native American descent, this initial confrontation brought the integration of the Oneidas into the interpretive program (Zenzen 2008:123). The National Park Service did not pay all of the Oneida reenactors who participated in the Fort Stanwix interpretive program, and instead Hanson arranged pay to come from the Seneca Nation’s Comprehensive Employment and Training Act program (Zenzen 2008:123). By 1979, the National Park Service had created the “Indian

Trading Center” at the fort as a space specifically for the Oneidas where they shared their culture and informed visitors of the role the Oneidas had played in the Revolutionary War history of Fort Stanwix (Zenzen 2008:123).

Around the time the Oneidas of New York became involved with the National Park Service first person interpretive program, the Oneidas were in litigation with the state of New York. This litigation ultimately made its way to the Supreme Court of the United States in November of 1973 (Oyez 2018a). It is highly probable that participating in a National Park Service interpretive program had a pragmatic value for the Oneidas as much as a heritage value. Participation in the program presented the Oneidas with an opportunity to directly engage visitors in a dialogue beyond that which visitors might be aware of from the news media in which the Oneidas had little control regarding how they were presented. Outside of their own press conferences and press releases, the first person interpretive program likely gave the Oneidas an opportunity to engage with racist-motivated objections to their legal case. I believe it is highly unlikely that it was simply by chance that the Oneidas became involved with the interpretive program at Fort Stanwix while their court case proceeded. There also can be little doubt that the Oneidas presented their heritage narratives as a means of pushing back against the racism that had silenced the dissemination of their narrative beyond the Oneida community. However, such a motivation is not mutually exclusive from their court case.

The differences in treatment of Native Americans at Oriskany and Newtown during the mid-20th century stand out because New York State owned and operated both sites during this period. Newtown clearly demonstrates that the inclusion of the Oneidas at Oriskany was not a unified heritage policy of New York State. Instead, the dominant heritage narrative at Newtown remained in the grips of 19th century racism even as another New York State-owned heritage site, Oriskany, expanded the heritage narratives expressed at the site. It is probable that the perpetuation of the 19th century heritage narrative’s language at Newtown reflected the continued legal battles between the

Haudenosaunee and New York State. In contrast, the shift at Oriskany reflects the local Oneidas' assertion of their place in United States history by participating in the reenactor program at the National Park-owned site of Fort Stanwix to construct their own heritage narrative.

200th Anniversaries

On September 18, 1977 at the Kościuszko 1936 monument, the Central and Northern District of the New York State branch of the Polish American Congress held a celebration (Central and Northern New York Divisions, Polish American Congress 1977). This continued the Polish American Congress's tradition of annual memorializations at this monument. This reflects the continued engagement with heritage by the Polish American Congress and the construction of heritage through annual memorializations. By holding their memorialization during the anniversary of one of the battles of Saratoga, it also reflects the Polish American Congress's awareness of the importance of engaging in the construction of heritage on a day that would garner greater visibility than on a day that fell outside of one of the two battle's anniversaries. The choice to have Polish veterans from World War II as wreath bearers emphasized that Kościuszko was just the start, not the end, of Polish military contributions to the causes of the United States.

The National Park Service celebrated the 200th anniversary of Saratoga on October 7, 1977 (Saratoga County Bicentennial Commission 1977:77). Rabbi Mischael Turk conducted the invocation (Saratoga County Bicentennial Commission 1977). Numerous notables also made special remarks including Barry C. Steers, Consul General for the Canadian Embassy; Gerard Gaussen, Consul General for the Embassy of France; Laurence O'Keeffe, Director General of British Information Services; and Dr. Joachim Sartorius, Consul for Consul Affairs for the Federal Republic of Germany (Saratoga County Bicentennial Commission 1977). The anniversary schedule reflects two distinct changes in the heritage narrative of Saratoga. The first is the invocation given by a rabbi, disrupting heritage narratives that portray the Continentals as a Christian monolithic

entity and therefore challenging the Revolutionary War as Christian heritage. The second change is the expansion of the heritage narrative to include voices from countries that contributed soldiers to the Crown's forces which fought the Continentals.

The 1979 commemoration at Newtown was also a part of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution. Issues of memory and memorialization emerged in the midst of tensions between the kind of patriotic fervor that had existed in 1879 and the wider social and political perspectives of the 1970s. Analysis of the 1979 commemoration of Newtown reveals that these tensions impacted how the 200th anniversary was memorialized by New York State. The New York State Bicentennial Commission recognized these tensions as early as 1974 when it issued a remarkable statement in *A New York State Guide to Local Bicentennial Planning* that encouraged a wider perspective so that the politics of exclusion might give way to inclusion.

New interpretive signs describing the Battle of Newtown reflected this balance and moderation. Written in a fairly neutral tone, the sign refrains from using any pejorative names for the Loyalists and their Native American allies. This is a distinct change from the tone and words – such as “savage” – used 100 years earlier. However, the new interpretive signs were not free of historical inaccuracies such as, “most of the Indians were not accustomed to these regimented warfare tactics” when they had accompanied regiments of white soldiers for decades. This skews the narrative to make it appear that the Continentals' use of European infantry tactics carried the day almost as soon as the attack began. Left out is that the Continentals' frontal and flanking attacks were not simultaneous, despite contrary claims in the new interpretive signs. The Native Americans and Loyalists also held out for two hours, without artillery and outnumbered more than four to one. And lastly, the Continentals' overwhelming numbers would have made it difficult for the Continentals to have lost the battle.

Near the 1912 Sullivan Monument there is a small granite plaque erected by members of the Masonic Order. Dedicated to the Masons who fought on both sides of the

battle, this monument reflects the neutrality that was introduced to commemorations in 1929. The monument also expanded the efforts during the 1979 commemoration to move towards recognizing and incorporating the memories of both sides into the battlefield's heritage narrative. Reenactors portraying Continentals, Loyalists, and Indians held reenactments on the battlefield. This inclusiveness reflected the era. The American Indian Movement ("AIM") had demonstrated to the whole country how Native Americans were still here and were here to stay. Native Americans brought the issues of ethnic cleansing into the heritage discourse, just as African-Americans pulled ~~brought~~ the issues of slavery and racism into the heritage discourse. The new signs and reenactments marked a movement to a broader narrative but there was and is still a need for improvement.

One late-20th century Monument

In 1986, members of the Fraser Clan in Scotland placed a new monument near the Saratoga visitor center dedicated to British Brigadier General Simon Fraser. Similar to Oriskany, this monument signifies a shift away from Saratoga only as a landscape of monuments to the Continentals and towards a landscape inclusive of the Crown forces. This also reflects the continuation of the changes to be more inclusive in the heritage narrative started at the Bicentennial of Saratoga.

225th Anniversaries, New Interpretive Panels of the 21st Century, and a Canadian Monument

To commemorate the 225th anniversary in 2004, the Chemung Valley Living History Center planned a grand celebration. As part of the two-day anniversary, a series of events would honor those who had died and/or lost their homes as a result of the Battle of Newtown. Hence at least some of the events sought to tell the Loyalist/Crown-allied Native American side of the story.

At least one local farming family took advantage of the increase in tourism and recognized the importance of acknowledging the Native American and Loyalist side to the battle. The owners of Lowman Farm, where some of the battle took place, created

their own brand to market their jams, jellies, preserves, and other goods at the anniversary (Aaron 2004). The brand was marked with a custom logo that included a Continental soldier, a Native American warrior, the American flag, and a variation of the Union Jack (Aaron 2004). The owners of Lowman Farm explained that they had chosen those symbols because they felt it important to acknowledge the Native American side to the battle and that the Native Americans originally farmed the area (Aaron 2004).

In 2004, about eight hundred reenactors attended the 225th anniversary. The presence of the reenactor Glen Bentz, of Seneca descent, demonstrates that organizers no longer closed Anniversary events to the Native American descendant community and the descendants of the Loyalists. While it is unknown exactly when this broader opportunity to participate occurred, it is clear that at least some members of formerly excluded descendant community groups had made progress in navigating the politics of inclusion and exclusion to become an included group. An article in the Spring 2012 issue of *The Loyalist Gazette* demonstrates that uncritical patriotism is not restricted to the end of the 19th century or flag-waving U.S. citizens. In the article, the esteemed late Canadian author, journalist, and philosopher, Peter C. Newman (2012:14), wrote how “the United Empire Loyalists, as they called themselves, escaped from the yoke of being indentured to the pride, prejudice and brutality of the Rebels who had expropriated the Thirteen Colonies.”

By the 21st century, New York State created new panels and new exhibits and the Oneidas' role in commemorations at Oriskany greatly expanded, reflecting the political and economic influence of the Oneidas' “Turning Stone Casino.” Panels mentioned individuals such as Two Kettles Together and her husband Honyere Doxtator who both fought alongside the Revolutionary militia.

Much like the 1970s, the Oneidas had motivations beyond their heritage narratives as they continued to participate in the commemorative ceremonies at Revolutionary War sites into the 21st century. Since their initial participation in the Fort Stanwix

interpretive program in the 1970s, the Oneidas of New York had steadily expanded their involvement at Revolutionary War heritage sites in New York to include participation in commemorative ceremonies at Saratoga and, most prominently, at Oriskany in the 20th and early 21st centuries. This expanded involvement was likely motivated by continued litigation by the Oneidas, notably their Supreme Court Cases in 1984 and 2004 (Oyez 2018b; Oyez 2018c). As in the 1970s, there was a pragmatic motivation brought about by court cases as much as there was a desire to share their heritage narrative with the wider population of the United States and Canada.

The final significant change in the interpretation of Oriskany was the gradual inclusion of the Loyalist and Crown-Allied Native American side of the story. Signs from the 1990s noted that Loyalists risked harassment and physical assault if they expressed their political views. They also acknowledge the “subtlety and depth of human experience” reflected in the complex motivations of the combatants for both sides.

The modest one-room museum at Oriskany emphasizes the changed interpretation of Oriskany today: there is a portrait exhibit that draws attention to key heroes for both the Revolutionary cause and from the cause of the Crown. Finally, by the 21st century just as at Fort Stanwix and Oriskany, representatives of “the Oneida Nation of New York” became active participants at annual commemorative events. Their participation included general activities related to living history encampments that were part of these events. Their participation emphasized the role Oneidas played in supporting the Revolutionary cause throughout the war.

In 2006, the Canadian government unveiled “the Valiants Memorial” in Ottawa. Of the fourteen men and women portrayed in the monument Joseph Brant and John Butler were chosen to represent Canadian heroes of the Revolutionary War. That these two individuals were chosen out of many possibilities reflects the significant role they played in the American Revolution and the lasting impact their heroism had on the subsequent Canadian heritage narratives. The choice of two heroes to be represented

for the American Revolution also reflects the heritage narrative portrayed in Pauline Johnson's poem over a century ago: that it was the joint efforts of First Nations peoples and Loyalists that protected Canada during the turbulent times of the American Revolution.

Conclusion

At the same time that heritage narratives were beginning to be constructed at American Revolution and Civil War battlefields in the 19th century, Emma Lazarus penned the poem "The New Colossus." She wrote this in 1883 to help raise funds for a giant pedestal to support the Statue of Liberty. The text of the poem, including the line "give me your tired, your poor," evokes the compassion and safe haven immigrants hoped to find in the country. But as Daniel J. Falvey suggests in his essay for the 135th anniversary of Oriskany, immigrants did not always find the compassion and safe haven the Statue of Liberty symbolically promised them. Nevertheless, monuments at Saratoga, Oriskany, and the Joseph Brant Monument in Brantford reflect that non-dominant ethnic groups have participated in the construction of heritage to push back against racism and nativism since the 19th century.

The Irish faced discrimination by nativists in the 19th century but by 1913 when the Ancient Order of Hibernians erected the monument to Timothy Murphy they were pushing back. Placing a monument on Saratoga, one the important battlefields of the Revolutionary War, inserted the Irish into the patriotic heritage narrative. They asserted their bravery, heroism, and patriotism that had played a role in the creation of the United States. The Polish Americans, like the Irish, also pushed back against nativism. Their 1936 monument to Thaddeus Kościuszko is one of the largest monuments on Saratoga battlefield. Their yearly celebrations further reinforced the Polish role in the patriotic national narrative. Applicable to both men, but especially noticeable with Timothy Murphy, is the rapid impact these monuments had on the Authorized Heritage Discourse at Saratoga. Specifically, in a little over a decade Murphy went from an anonymous

soldier left out of the narrative of the death of Fraser to being mentioned by name in the 150th anniversary pageant at Saratoga. The impact of the memorialization has also been far reaching regarding Thaddeus Kościuszko. His fame notably expanded beyond the boundaries of the National Park to include two bridges named in his honor: one in New York City and another north of Albany. The monuments to Murphy and Kościuszko created new Authorized Heritage Discourses where members of the Irish American and Polish American ethnicities became insiders rather than outsiders in the construction of heritage at these sites.

Newtown Battlefield stands out as a bastion of 19th century white racism that lasted well into the 20th century. In the late-19th century the Six Nations of Canada created a monument to Joseph Brant to push back against such racist heritage narratives with a heritage discourse of their own that portrayed Joseph Brant as hero, not villain. This Haudenosaunee heritage narrative continued to push back against Newtown's heritage narrative into the 20th century. In 2006, the Haudenosaunee narrative was prominently asserted in the Valiants Memorial in Ottawa which reaffirmed Joseph Brant as a Native American and Canadian hero. While the Joseph Brant monument in Brantford, Ontario had been created to push back against both the racism of white Canadians and the 19th century Authorized Heritage Discourse in the United States that vilified Brant, by the 21st century it had created a new Authorized Heritage Discourse within Canada. Thus, the Valiants Memorial shows that the long-term impact of the Joseph Brant monument has been to canonize him as a hero of Canada and integrated him into the 21st century Authorized Heritage Discourse of Canada.

A recent development in the interpretation at Newtown has been new push back by the Munsee Delaware who have felt left out of the heritage narrative. This is in a large part because the Delaware feel that the focus on the suffering of the Haudenosaunee during the Sullivan Campaign has obscured the impact the campaign had on the Delaware (Nina Versaggi 2018, pers. comm.).

The Haudenosaunee at Brantford, the Irish Americans, and the Polish Americans, and the Oneidas of New York pushed back against the Authorized Heritage Discourse at these Revolutionary War sites studied in this dissertation. These groups accomplished this by erecting their own monuments. These ethnic organizations did not wait for the people in power to create a more inclusive heritage narrative. The ethnic organizations themselves became the active agents of change. They used their own economic power to bring about this change. They raised their own funds to commission monuments and to have them erected.

The sites studied in this dissertation emerged from the tragic conflict of war. Erasures of ethnic groups were one goal of those who implemented various Authorized Heritage Discourses. However, these ethnic groups were not powerless observers of the construction of heritage narratives by those in power. My dissertation evidence demonstrates that non-dominant ethnic groups understood the power of monuments and commemorations. They exercised their agency to challenge the Authorized Heritage Discourses that perpetuated discriminatory or racist views. With today's surge of nativism and racism, I believe it is important for archaeologists to engage in national discourses on the meaning and memory of monuments, drawing attention to how monuments and commemorations have been and can be used to challenge bigotry.

Chapter 8

Conclusion

The monuments and sites in this dissertation reveal not only how the American Revolution has been interpreted, but also illustrate how the American Civil War profoundly changed how the United States engaged with the heritage of military sites. Initiated at battlefields such as Gettysburg, the United States experienced a surge in memorializations at battlefields such as the sites discussed in my dissertation. At Civil War sites, memorializations were due to efforts by local groups and governments to preserve these as sacred sites, in some cases before the war was over. This conception of Civil War sites as sacred heritage landscapes was rapidly transplanted to American military sites of the American Revolution. The Oriskany Battlefield, Saratoga Battlefield, and Newtown Battlefield all underwent intense transformations of their landscapes in the late 19th century from simple farm fields to sacred landscapes as stone monuments and obelisks of varying sizes began to dot the landscapes. The transformation of Forts Stanwix and Niagara into heritage sites took place in the mid-twentieth century. In the nineteenth century, the city blocks of downtown Rome, New York, absorbed the landscape of Fort Stanwix. However, Fort Niagara remained an active, if obsolete, military base looking across to the Canadian riverbanks on the opposite side of the border throughout the tensions of the 19th century between the United States and the British Empire.

The memorials and commemorative events at these Revolutionary War heritage sites constructed Authorized Heritage Discourses, but the trends that followed were different and more complex from what I initially hypothesized at the beginning of my research. My Master's Thesis research at the New York State-owned Newtown Battlefield revealed how state and local politics heavily influenced the construction of Newtown's

Authorized Heritage Discourse and misrepresented Indians. This was and is particularly related to the interactions between New York State and Haudenosaunee nations that have reservations within the state's borders.

Based on the findings of my Master's Thesis research, my dissertation originally set out to address several questions. How do changes in the narratives and memorials reflect political and/or cultural changes during each era? When I began my research, my hypothesis was that the Authorized Heritage Discourse at each site would either closely mirror the mainstream white American cultural or political values at the time of commemoration, or reflect shifts in the mainstream discourses resulting from cultural or political movements. Another initial question I sought to answer was how ownership of a site (Federal, State, or private) impacted how a site's heritage narratives and memorials adapted over time. A closely related question was whether different owners of military sites created similar or different heritage narratives and memorials at the same point in time. My hypothesis for these two closely related questions was that government (either state or Federal) would result in a uniform Authorized Heritage Discourse between sites owned by the same governmental entity, while in contrast there would be greater variety with privately owned sites. I further expected that state-owned sites would reflect a more regional focus; that privately owned sites would generate a more diverse range; and that Federally owned sites would have a consistent national focus.

My research confirmed my hypothesis that there would be greater variation among privately owned sites. I found different Authorized Heritage Discourses at Newtown, Saratoga, and Oriskany when diverse private groups organized the centennial anniversaries in the 19th century. However, I was wrong in my hypothesis that whenever the same governmental entity owned more than one site those sites would consistently promote a single Authorized Heritage Discourse. Newtown prominently demonstrated this by an overtly anti-Haudenosaunee narrative that New York State perpetuated after the

site was given to the state in 1912 and well into the 20th century. In contrast, the heritage narratives at Oriskany and Saratoga distinctly lacked overt anti-Haudenosaunee sentiment during the 20th century even though the government of New York owned all three sites. The discovery that both state and Federal agencies continued the Authorized Heritage Discourses and monument initiatives begun by the private groups responsible for the 19th century centennial events at Oriskany, Saratoga, and Newtown was an unexpected result of my research.

Emerging from my analysis is that Federal versus State government ownership of the site did not impact how Authorized Heritage Discourse was constructed. Instead, I concluded that the primary combatants and their descendants had a larger impact. This is particularly true with Oriskany, Saratoga, and Newtown that originated as commemorative landscapes formed by private, rather than governmental, organizations.

At Oriskany, a privately-owned site in the 19th and early 20th century, the initial heritage discourse in the 1870s emphasized the German and Dutch ethnicity of the majority of the Revolutionary soldiers who fought there. The texts of the monuments and the commemorative speeches praised these soldiers but erased the role of the Oneidas as allies of the Continental Congress due to the racial prejudice against recognizing a minority group's role in the country's founding. At Oriskany, Crown-allied Native Americans such as the Mohawk Joseph Brant were described in various addresses in a complimentary fashion. The Authorized Heritage Discourse instead portrayed the Loyalists as unscrupulous villains opposed to the "heroic" Revolutionaries. At Saratoga, also privately owned during the 19th century, the heritage discourse focused on creating a patriotic narrative. This narrative drew attention to the vastly greater numbers of Revolutionary militia that came to fight at Saratoga than the numbers of Loyalists and Crown-allied Native Americans who joined Burgoyne.

However, the discourses presented at Oriskany and Saratoga contrasted significantly with the heritage discourse at Newtown. At Newtown, the discourse

treated the Continentals as a monolithic entity exacting revenge against the vicious Haudenosaunee warriors and Loyalist soldiers who had perpetrated raids against Revolutionary settlements. In addition to ignoring the Revolutionaries' own devastating raids against Haudenosaunee and Loyalist settlements, the 1870s heritage discourse at Newtown explicitly used the 1779 Sullivan Campaign as a justification for the late 19th century Indian Wars taking place out west.

In the same era of the construction of anti-Native American heritage narratives at Newtown, the hereditary chiefs of the Six Nations Reserve of the Haudenosaunee across the border at Brantford, Ontario, constructed a counter heritage narrative. The hereditary chiefs sought to memorialize Mohawk leader Joseph Brant, a hero of the Haudenosaunee who allied with the British during the Revolutionary War. The Six Nations Reserve completed the monument in 1886 and presented a narrative explicitly countering Revolutionary-centric heritage narratives that vilified Joseph Brant as a scapegoat for the brutality of the skirmishes between Revolutionary and Crown forces along the western boarder of New York and Pennsylvania.

Oriskany, Saratoga, and Newtown were all privately owned during the period of initial construction of heritage discourse. In 1912, Newtown Battlefield became a New York State Park when the state received the deed to the land and the second Sullivan Monument (extant). The Saratoga Victory Monument, located near the site of British General John Burgoyne's surrender, was deeded by the Saratoga Monument Association to New York State in 1895 (Holmes and Smith-Holmes 2012:66). However, most of the battlefield remained privately owned. The deeds to Oriskany battlefield and Saratoga battlefield remained in private ownership until the 150th anniversary when the properties were donated to the state.

New York's Authorized Heritage Discourse at Newtown continued the narrative of the Sullivan Campaign as a just revenge for atrocities committed by Loyalists and their Haudenosaunee allies. Publications by the office of the state historian and Education

Department's State Historic Marker Program presented a veneer of neutral objectivity to the Authorized Heritage Discourse of Newtown. The State's continued negative portrayal of Native Americans in Newtown's heritage narrative may have reflected the tension between the State and the on-going legal challenges by Haudenosaunee. At Oriskany the Authorized Heritage Discourse in the 1920s continued to downplay the role of the Oneidas. The 150th anniversary commemorative events in 1927 did not mention the ethnicity of the Tryon County Militia in the wake of the anti-German sentiment that resulted from the horrors of the First World War.

Saratoga experienced a significant shift in the Authorized Heritage Discourse but not by omitting minorities from the narrative. The more inclusive narrative was as a result of efforts by Polish-American, Dutch-American, and especially Irish-American communities to memorialize their heroes who had fought for the Continentals. This reflected an explicit broadening of Saratoga's heritage narrative to portray the more ethnically diverse army of Continentals at Saratoga. Ethnic-based organizations – not the state – funded the new monuments placed at Saratoga.

The next shifts in the Authorized Heritage Discourses at the sites came slowly in the 1960s. The first transformation occurred at Oriskany with the Oneidas being fully recognized at the 190th anniversary for their contributions to the Revolutionary cause in general and at Oriskany in particular. With the construction of Fort Stanwix in the early 1970s, the National Park Service incorporated this recognition of the Oneidas into the Authorized Heritage Discourse, reflecting a unified Authorized Heritage Discourse between Federal and New York State historic sites. This shift primarily resulted from the increase in political power of the Oneidas in New York and explicit efforts on the part of the Oneidas to participate in commemorative ceremonies. In the early 21st century they contributed financially to heritage preservation efforts at the sites.

In the late 20th and early 21st century Newtown experienced similar shifts in the Authorized Heritage Discourse. Efforts by the New York State Parks Bureau of Historic

Sites undermined earlier, racially motivated signage with the creation of new signs. These new signs questioned the morality of the Sullivan Campaign; recognized the legitimacy of the Crown-allied Native American and Loyalist motivations; and refuted the earlier portrayal of the Revolutionaries as blameless for the brutality of the fighting along the western borders of New York and Pennsylvania. This shift in the Authorized Heritage Discourse at Newtown appeared to be similarly influenced by increases in political power of the Haudenosaunee and the impact of protests at the national level by the American Indian Movement. Both generally constructed national dialogues that had previously been pushed to the margins of public discourse.

The Authorized Heritage Discourses presented at each site were clearly more influenced by the descendants of those who fought at the site rather than whether the site was managed at a state or Federal level. Oriskany, Saratoga, and Fort Stanwix all presented Authorized Heritage Discourses that initially underplayed the roles of Oneidas in helping the Revolutionaries while diminishing vilifications of Crown-allied Native Americans. In contrast, the Authorized Heritage Discourse at Newtown explicitly vilified Native Americans, using the heritage site as a platform from which to encourage racially motivated support for late 19th century wars of conquest in the western United States. In the 20th century, Newtown continued the negative portrayal of Native Americans.

At the same time, there is a clear trend by ethnic organizations to engage with and sometimes challenge these Authorized Heritage Discourses. The first major challenge to the racist Authorized Heritage Discourses was the monument to Joseph Brant constructed by the hereditary chiefs of the Six Nations in Ontario. By the early 20th century, Irish-American, Dutch-American, and Polish-American communities engaged with the Authorized Heritage Discourse at Saratoga. In the case of the Irish-Americans in particular, they explicitly transplanted Civil War memorialization efforts aimed at challenging nativist bigotry over to a Revolutionary War site. They used monuments and commemorative speeches to further reinforce the Irish community's longstanding

loyalty to the causes of the United States. By the end of the 20th century and the early 21st century, political and social movements as well as increases in political and economic power of Haudenosaunee nations brought about shifts in the Authorized Heritage Discourses at Oriskany and Fort Stanwix.

My analysis compliments current heritage studies and discussions beyond those just focused on Revolutionary War sites. My analysis does so in part through my demonstration that discourses begun by ethnic groups like the Irish-Americans at Civil War sites was transplanted to sites from the Revolution. During the Civil War and continuing into the period of initial construction of Authorized Heritage Discourses at Civil War sites, immigrant communities like the Irish-Americans engaged with the concept of what citizenship in the United States meant. During the war, the Irish immigrant community saw the heroism of the Irish Brigade as a push-back against nativist sentiments that had attempted to reserve the full rights of citizenship to those born in the United States and which questioned the loyalty of immigrants to the United States. After the war, this dialogue on the meaning of citizenship was continued with the erection of monuments at heritage sites such as Gettysburg. These monuments reinforced the loyalty and sacrifice many Irish-American soldiers made in the name of the ideals of their adopted country. As the memorialization of military sites expanded beyond those of the Civil War to other wars, ethnic communities carried over this utilization of memorials to assert their identity.

The research conducted in this dissertation demonstrates that the power of monuments to engage with discriminatory cultural norms was not limited to the Irish-Americans. From the Six Nations Reserve monument to Joseph Brant in Ontario, the 1936 Kościuszko monument at Saratoga, and Oneida participation in the interpretation of Fort Stanwix, my research shows that this engagement with the construction of heritage narratives was not restricted to only ethnic groups originating from the British Isles nor even United States citizens. This dissertation engages with broader discussions on

the agency of marginalized ethnic groups to construct counter-narratives to Authorized Heritage Discourses. It also contributes to recent discussions surrounding Civil War monuments through my demonstration that Civil War veterans, such as those from the Irish Brigade, clearly conceived of monuments as having discursive purposes and that this was rapidly transplanted to non-Civil War sites. The proliferation of monuments at the sites studied in this dissertation clearly shows that the utilization of monuments to promote specific discourses and heritage narratives was a well-understood rather than arcane concept.

Additionally, my research demonstrates the ways in which challenges to Authorized Heritage Discourses produce new Authorized Heritage Discourses that integrate these challenges. Ranging from the integration of Murphy and Kościuszko into the Authorized Heritage Discourse of Saratoga to the integration of Haudenosaunee views into the discourses of Newtown, the challenges to the Authorized Heritage Discourse change but do not eliminate the presence of Authorized Heritage Discourses at sites. In this sense my research is useful to studies of the forces necessary for the production and reproduction of Authorized Heritage Discourses.

Further Research beyond this Dissertation

The questions raised regarding the nature of heritage narratives and the results of the analysis should be investigated at other Revolutionary War heritage sites. Examinations of Revolutionary War sites in New England or Pennsylvania could examine whether the Authorized Heritage Discourse patterns observed in this dissertation are unique to New York State and/or to what degree they represent conformity to a national discourse. Examinations of other non-New York sites might yield interesting data because of different ethnic groups, particularly Native American, that live in these different areas. Additional research on the sites examined in this dissertation could focus on archival and ethnographic work focused on the ethnic communities identified in this dissertation as having had large roles in the commemorations at the sites.

Additional insights into the social mechanisms monuments have in producing new Authorized Heritage Discourses could be obtained through the examination of the internal memos of the heritage sites. This could be extended to communications between the boards and managers of the heritage sites and external parties. Relatedly, research on whether there are specific conditions that correlate with when particular groups (such as the Irish, Polish, or Oneida) became involved could prove fruitful avenues of study to better understand if there are certain economic, political, or societal conditions ethnicities or organizations excluded by the Authorized Heritage Discourse must meet in order to publically challenge the predominant heritage narrative. Understanding how economic, political, or social gates are created by Authorized Heritage Discourse may ultimately help conceive of new ways of challenging Authorized Heritage Discourses.

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