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HIST208L

The Physical Transformation of Fort Ticonderoga and the Evolution of Historical Memory

The fort on the peninsula where the La Chute River runs into Lake Champlain in present-day New York state has had several names, including Vaudreuil and Carillon. Today the fort is known as Ticonderoga, from a Mohawk word meaning “the land between the two great waters.”¹ The site encompasses a rich military history, but this paper focuses on the historical memory of the capture of Fort Ticonderoga in 1775, particularly through the collective memory of Ethan Allen and the restoration of the fort. Early American attempts to create a national republican mythology incorporated memories of Revolutionary War battles and their heroes, including Ethan Allen. Later, the common soldier received more cultural prominence, and the American drive for historical restoration, of which Fort Ticonderoga represents one of the earliest examples, brought attention to the physical environment of history. The movement to restore Fort Ticonderoga in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries represented a transition from the commemoration of the heroes of the American Revolution to a focus on the ordinary soldiers of the Revolution.

In its history as a military encampment, Fort Ticonderoga acted as a garrison for soldiers from France, Great Britain, and the Thirteen Colonies. In 1755 the French Canadian Michel Eustace Gaspard, Marquis de Lotbinière, began construction of the fort, which the French first

¹ William R. Nester, *The Epic Battles for Ticonderoga, 1758* (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 2008), 1.

named Vandreuil and then called Carillon.² During the struggles between France and Britain for control of Lake Champlain as part of the Seven Years War, the French commander Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm, successfully defended Fort Carillon against an attack by the British under Major-General James Abercromby in 1758.³ In 1759 the British captured the fort under General Jeffery Amherst, who renamed it Ticonderoga.⁴

Over the course of the Revolutionary War, both British forces and American patriots held Ticonderoga. After the Battles of Lexington and Concord in 1775, colonial militia under Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold captured Fort Ticonderoga from a small British regiment.⁵ Many newspaper articles eagerly reported on this important early victory for the patriots.⁶ Colonel Henry Knox took the fort's cannon and gunpowder supplies to Boston in 1776 to help defend the city against the British.⁷ After the British under General John Burgoyne recaptured the fort in 1777, they destroyed Fort Ticonderoga and nearby fortifications and then abandoned the fort, ending the site's role as a military stronghold.⁸ Fewer newspapers reported on the British recapture of Ticonderoga, perhaps due to the disheartening loss of this symbolically important but no longer militarily valuable fort.⁹ After the end of the Revolutionary War, the fort returned to American possession, but Ticonderoga, a prize in two wars, had lost its strategic significance.

² Carl R. Crego, *Fort Ticonderoga* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 18.

³ *Ibid.*, 25-33.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 49-52.

⁶ Nathaniel Goham, Notary Public, untitled article, *Newport Mercury*, May 22, 1775, accessed November 16, 2013, America's Historical Newspapers. Untitled article, *New-Hampshire Gazette*, May 26, 1775, accessed November 16, 2013, America's Historical Newspapers. "Hartford, May 29. Extract of a Letter from Ticonderoga, Dated May 23, 1775," *Essex Journal*, May 29, 1775, accessed November 16, 2013, America's Historical Newspapers.

⁷ Carl R. Crego, *Fort Ticonderoga* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 55-56.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 68-70.

⁹ "Boston, July 14. Extract of a Letter from a Colonel in the Northern Army, dated, July 4, 1777," *Boston Gazette*, July 14, 1777, accessed December 16, 2013, America's Historical Newspapers. "To the People of the Massachusetts-Bay," letter to the editor, *Independent Chronicle*, July 17, 1777, accessed November 16, 2013, America's Historical Newspapers.

The abandonment of Ticonderoga mirrored what happened to other Revolutionary War sites. According to Dr. Thomas Chambers, as few people visited Ticonderoga and other battlefields of the Seven Years War and Revolutionary War, memory of these sites waned, and immediately after the Revolution, “Ticonderoga faded into obscurity.”¹⁰ In the late eighteenth century, Ticonderoga was too remote for visitors to reach, and the few people who did attempt to visit the fort found impassable roads and a lack of nearby inns.¹¹ Because soldiers no longer used the fort and the few visitors came to the site, people saw little reason to preserve the site. The State of New York became the owners of the fort and its grounds and granted the land to Columbia and Union Colleges for their own use in 1790.¹² The walls collapsed, and settlers in the Lake Champlain valley took the stones for building material.¹³ Both the deteriorated physical condition of the fort and the salvaging of stones from its walls demonstrate the lack of interest Americans in the late eighteenth century had in preserving the site of Fort Ticonderoga.

The memories of Fort Ticonderoga in the early American republic focused on Ethan Allen’s heroic capture of the fort. After breaking their allegiance to Great Britain, the people of the United States needed to create their own unified culture and national history. Dr. Sarah Purcell explained that heroes like Allen were necessary for a new, republican “national mythology,” which formed to make “the bloodshed, violence and division of the war into beautiful symbols of unity and national cohesion.”¹⁴ Like other Revolutionary War leaders, Allen became associated with heroic actions and patriotism. A 1789 newspaper article reported the death of Allen, whom it called noteworthy for making the “first capture (the fortress of

¹⁰ Thomas A. Chambers, *Memories of War: Visiting Battlefields and Bonefields in Early American Republic* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2012), 32.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹² Edward P. Hamilton, *Fort Ticonderoga: Key to a Continent* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1964), 226.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 226.

¹⁴ Sarah J. Purcell, *Sealed with Blood: War, Sacrifice, and Memory in Revolutionary America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 2-3.

Ticonderoga)) of the Revolutionary War.¹⁵ An epitaph for Allen, supposedly written by a Green Mountain Boy, one of Allen's Vermont militiamen, called him "a hero born" and said that other famous commanders would welcome him into heaven.¹⁶ Newspapers also used Allen as a patriotic example for the politicians and soldiers of the present day. An 1807 newspaper article contrasted "the real patriots of 1775," naming Ethan Allen in particular, with "the sham patriots of the present day," such as Aaron Burr, a former vice president who had tried to provoke a war with Spain without the government's approval.¹⁷ These newspaper articles generally omitted other leaders and militiamen's roles in capturing the fort in favor of honoring Allen. This focus on the hero of Ticonderoga over the contributions of ordinary soldiers echoed other early American memories of the Revolution.

Ethan Allen's own account of the capture of the fort heavily influenced the popular memory of Fort Ticonderoga. Ethan Allen described capturing the fort "in the name of the great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress" in his *Narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen's Captivity*.¹⁸ Allen intended to show himself as a hero and a great patriot, and he succeeded in influencing the popular memory of Ticonderoga. Popular memory reflects what the common people remember.¹⁹ Some early newspaper articles gave other participants in the attack more prominence and reported his words differently, such as a 1775 newspaper article that emphasized the contributions of Colonel Easton, one of Allen's lieutenants, and recorded Allen's words as "in

¹⁵ Untitled article, *Massachusetts Spy*, March 5, 1789, accessed December 16, 2013, America's Historical Newspapers.

¹⁶ A Green-Mountain Boy, "An Epitaph Written on the Death of Gen. Ethan Allen," *The Rural Magazine; Or, Vermont Repository. Devoted to Literary, Moral, Historical, and Political Improvement*, September 1, 1795, accessed September 30, 2013, American Periodicals.

¹⁷ "Jeffersonians; Burr; Spanish; Treasonable; Patriots; Col. Ethan Allen; Ticonderoga; Crown Point," article, *Portsmouth Oracle*, June 13, 1807, accessed December 16, 2013, America's Historical Newspapers.

¹⁸ Ethan Allen, *A Narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen's Captivity, Written by Himself*, 3rd ed. (Burlington, Vt.: H. Johnson and Co., 1838), 17.

¹⁹ Michael Kammen, *The Mystical Cords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A Knoff, 1991), 10. Michael Kammen defined "popular memory" as the memories of "ordinary folks," in contrast to "collective memory," the memories of the "dominant civic culture."

the name of America.”²⁰ However, Allen’s account became the basis for most subsequent reports about Ticonderoga’s capture, and most writers of histories about Allen and the fort accepted it as fact.²¹ Ethan Allen’s self-centered narrative suppressed other accounts of the capture of the fort and focused attention on Allen rather than his men.

By the 1820s, interest in Fort Ticonderoga itself, not just its heroic capturer, began to increase, and travelers started to pay more attention to the site of the fort. After the arrival of steamboats on Lake Champlain in 1808, travel to the fort became easier.²² Intrigued by his view of the ruins from a steamboat on the lake, William Ferris Pell, a New York merchant, purchased Fort Ticonderoga and its grounds in 1820 and built a summer home, the Pavilion, near the fort.²³ Pell stopped the destruction of the fort by forcing squatters to leave and fencing in some of redoubts.²⁴ In the 1820s and 1830s, the Northern Tour route, which formed around the new, steamboat-based travel networks, included Fort Ticonderoga.²⁵ The standard tour route started on the Hudson River, went past the Catskill Mountains, stopped at Saratoga Springs and Lake George, and then followed the Erie Canal to Niagara Falls. After sailing on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River to Canada, tourists either returned back to New York City by a water route from the St. Lawrence River to Lake Champlain or went back to Boston by a land route over

²⁰ Untitled article, *New-Hampshire Gazette*, May 26, 1775, accessed December 16, 2013, America’s Historical Newspapers.

²¹ There were some dissenting writers after the middle of the nineteenth century, like Henry Walter De Puy, who suggested that Allen had added an “emphatic oath” to his statement [*Ethan Allen and the Green-Mountain Heroes of ’76: With a Sketch of the Early History of Vermont* (Buffalo, N.Y.: Phinney and Co, 1853), 208], but most popular history authors either quoted extensively from Allen’s narrative [Charles Walter Brown, *Ethan Allen of Green Mountain Fame: A Hero of the Revolution*, (Chicago: M.A. Donahue and Co., 1902), 84-86] or accepted his words as true [Hamilton, Edward P., *Fort Ticonderoga: Key to a Continent* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1964), 109-112].

²² Edward P. Hamilton, *Fort Ticonderoga: Key to a Continent* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1964), 226.

²³ *Ibid.*, 227.

²⁴ S.H.P. Pell, *Fort Ticonderoga: A Short History, Compiled from Contemporary Sources* (Glen Falls, New York: Glenn Falls Post Co., 1935), 95.

²⁵ Thomas A. Chambers, *Memories of War: Visiting Battlefields and Bonefields in Early American Republic* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2012), 7.

New Hampshire and Connecticut.²⁶ Ticonderoga, near the southern end of Lake Champlain, was in a good position to attract tourists, who could now reach the fort.

The early nineteenth century movement of Romantic picturesque art heavily influenced the initial experiences of the people who visited Fort Ticonderoga. The picturesque movement, a reaction to neoclassicism, focused on the “pictorial values of architecture and landscape in combination with each other.”²⁷ When the picturesque movement came to the United States by the 1820s, the appreciation of scenery and ancient ruins had to be modified for the American landscape. Americans came to value their country’s “wild and undiscovered” lands, which “offered the opportunity to contrast new scenes and create new narratives.”²⁸ At Fort Ticonderoga, the blend of stone ruins, relatively old in comparison to the youth of the United States, and the beautiful scenery of Lake Champlain provided the perfect opportunity for picturesque appreciation.

The ruined state of the fort and its natural surroundings became the focus of travelers. Travelers who visited Ticonderoga focused on the appearance of the fort and its environs as much as, and often more than, remembering the events that happened there. The author of an 1825 account of visiting Ticonderoga summarized the history of the fort and called Ethan Allen’s capture a “daring achievement.”²⁹ However, he showed greater appreciation for the fort’s appearance, as moral example about the transience of mankind, than for its history. The author ended his narrative by calling the fort “a grave stone to the arts and sciences of a past age” and

²⁶ Thomas A. Chambers, *Memories of War: Visiting Battlefields and Bonefields in Early American Republic* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2012), 7-8.

²⁷ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v., “picturesque,” accessed November 17, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/459638/picturesque>.

²⁸ Thomas A. Chambers, *Memories of War: Visiting Battlefields and Bonefields in Early American Republic* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2012), 10.

²⁹ “Miscellany from the Boston Gazette. Memoranda of a Short Tour. Lake Champlain, July 15, 1825,” *North Star*, September 20, 1825, accessed December 16, 2013, America’s Historical Newspapers.

saying that surrounding lands looked like they were “yet to be subdued by man.”³⁰ The famous author Nathaniel Hawthorne viewed his visit to the fort primarily as an aesthetic experience. He saw Ticonderoga as “a place of ancient strength, in ruins for half a century... where Peace had found a heritage in the forsaken haunts of War.”³¹ Hawthorne rejected a young West Point officer’s description of the precise plan of the fortress and its military functions as “barren of the poetry that has clustered around the decay.”³² To Hawthorne and other Romantics, the ruins themselves had become poetic, not because of their functions or their history alone, but because of the combination of the aura of great battles and their physical environment.

Artists responded to travelers’ picturesque notions and the high demand for depictions of the American landscape and wilderness. The ruins of the fort became a popular subject for painters of the Hudson River School, a group of American landscape painters based in New York City.³³ Thomas Cole, the father of the Hudson River school, painted several depictions of the Fort Ticonderoga’s ruins, including his famous 1826 work, *Gelyna: A View Near Ticonderoga*, now in the Fort Ticonderoga Museum.³⁴ Cole’s work became so popular that people who could not afford real paintings of the fort purchased reproductions as engravings and postcards (figure 1).³⁵ Other artists followed Cole’s example in choosing Fort Ticonderoga as a subject. Like Cole’s paintings, an 1837 engraving of the fort emphasized the haunting beauty of the ruins and

³⁰ “Miscellany from the Boston Gazette. Memoranda of a Short Tour. Lake Champlain, July 15, 1825,” *North Star*, September 20, 1825, accessed December 16, 2013, America’s Historical Newspapers.

³¹ Nathaniel Hawthorne, “Old Ticonderoga: A Picture of the Past,” in *The Complete Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, Vol. 3, 591-597, 1851 (Reprint, Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1897), 591-592.

³² *Ibid.*, 592.

³³ Kevin J. Avery, “The Hudson River School,” Metropolitan Museum of Art, October 2004, accessed November 17, 2013, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/hurs/hd_hurs.htm.

³⁴ Carl R. Crego, *Fort Ticonderoga* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 74.

³⁵ Thomas Cole, *Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga*, New York, engraving, 19th century, Detroit Institute of Arts, accessed November 16, 2013, <http://www.dia.org/object-info/e32d6dc9-f9f6-42a0-9425-12e16a8f06ed.aspx?position=24>. *Postcard from a Thomas Cole Painting: Fort Ticonderoga*, n.d., Historic Essex County Postcard Photos, accessed November 16, 2013, <http://www.co.essex.ny.us/ThomasColePaintingFortTi.html>. The black and white engraving shows the ruins from a distance during a storm, and the postcard reproduces in color a painting of the crumbling walls of Ticonderoga, seen from across the lake (figure 1).

the nearby scene of Lake Champlain (figure 2).³⁶ Many artists did not visit the fort and copied the popular subject of Ticonderoga's ruins from the engravings of other artists.³⁷ They focused on a romanticized view of the heights of the fort and its wild environment, not accurately replicating the appearance of the fort. An 1845 periodical article, published in *Ladies Repository, and Gatherings of the West*, described an engraving of Fort Ticonderoga with a primary focus on the "picturesque" view of Lake Champlain from the fort's ruined walls.³⁸ The artists who painted these images and the people who purchased them wanted to evoke a sensation of the wildness and ruin of the fort, not a true picture of the location of Ticonderoga and its history.

After 1840 Fort Ticonderoga entered a new phase, marked by a decline in the Pell family's interest and an increase in the commercialization of tourism at the fort. From 1840 to 1899, the Pell family rented the Pavilion, their house on the grounds of the fort, to businessmen who made the building into a hotel.³⁹ To encourage tourists to come to Ticonderoga, a steamboat dock was built near the Pavilion, and steamboats stopped there for a few hours at a time to let their passengers look at the fort and eat at the hotel.⁴⁰ The Pavilion, and the fort along with it, changed from a private family home with occasional visitors to the focus of a business enterprise dependent on steamboats to bring tourists to Ticonderoga.

Souvenirs of the fort during the latter half of the nineteenth century included stereoscopic views of the ruins. Stereographs, a popular form of entertainment in the United States at the time, brought together two side-by-side photographic views, which were positioned as far apart as

³⁶ William Henry Bartlett and T.A. Prior, *View of the Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga*, engraving, 1837, Adirondack Museum, accessed November 16, 2013, http://www.adkmuseum.org/discover_and_learn/collections_highlights/detail/?q=&cat=1&id=61.

³⁷ Carl R. Crego, *Fort Ticonderoga* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 75.

³⁸ "Ruins of Ticonderoga," *Ladies Repository, and Gatherings of the West*, October 1845, accessed September 30, 2013, American Periodicals.

³⁹ Carl R. Crego, *Fort Ticonderoga* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 80.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 84.

human eyes to simulate three-dimensional vision.⁴¹ Stereoscopic views of Fort Ticonderoga usually included images of the ruined walls and provided short descriptions, such as “Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga” or “Ethan Allen Gate” (figures 3 and 4).⁴² As earlier paintings and engravings had, these images focused on the interesting appearance of the present state of the ruins, not on how the fort would have once looked. The popularity of stereoscopic images of Ticonderoga showed the public interest in recreating or simulating the experience of visiting the fort.

Visiting Fort Ticonderoga and enjoying its picturesque views remained common elements of American tourism until public tastes in travel changed and railroads displaced steamboats. Once the northern tour ceased to be “fashionable,” fewer people visited the Fort Ticonderoga Hotel.⁴³ The construction of railroad lines shifted steamboats’ destinations, and after 1874 steamboats no longer stopped regularly at the Fort Ticonderoga Landing, depriving the fort of visitors and forcing the hotel to close in 1899.⁴⁴ As the public’s travel preferences shifted to other locales, tourism at Fort Ticonderoga declined.

Interest in Fort Ticonderoga and articles about the fort increased again during the 1875 centennial, which celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the fort’s capture. The activities at Ticonderoga included the first celebrations of the centennial of the American Revolution in New York.⁴⁵ The Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.), a fraternal organization of Union veterans of

⁴¹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v., “history of photography,” accessed November 17, 2013, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/457919/photography>.

⁴² Deloss Barnum, *Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga, or Lake Champlain*, albumen print, 1860?-1885?, Robert N. Dennis collection of stereoscopic views, New York Public Library, accessed September 20, 2013, http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?g91f158_004f. Seneca Ray Stoddard, *Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga, Ethan Allen Gate*, albumen print, 1860?-1885?, Robert N. Dennis collection of stereoscopic views, New York Public Library, accessed September 20, 2013. http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?g91f158_019f.

⁴³ Edward P. Hamilton, *Fort Ticonderoga: Key to a Continent* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1964), 227.

⁴⁴ Carl R. Crego, *Fort Ticonderoga* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 84.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 81.

the Civil War, influenced the celebrations.⁴⁶ Members of the G.A.R. Post Alfred Weed printed a placard with the events planned for the centennial, including a procession along the route Ethan Allen took and a “Grand Union Picnic.”⁴⁷ The G.A.R. celebrated Ethan Allen’s heroism by calling the event the “Ethan Allen Centennial at Ticonderoga,” and a newspaper article about American Revolution centennial celebrations in New York referred to “the surrender of Fort Ticonderoga to Ethan Allen.”⁴⁸ The *New York Times* estimated that more than 7000 people were in attendance.⁴⁹ The sizable crowds at the 1875 centennial showed that despite the falling numbers of regular visitors, people still had an interest in remembering and visiting Fort Ticonderoga.

The 1875 centennial demonstrated increasing respect not just for the heroism of Ethan Allen but also for the involvement of the Green Mountain Boys. In contrast to earlier accounts of the fort’s capture, which focused mostly on Allen, some narratives of the 1875 centennial also included the Green Mountain Boys.⁵⁰ In speeches that focused on the memory of the capture of Fort Ticonderoga, military figures mentioned the contributions of the Green Mountain Boys. Colonel William E. Wilkins said that the event stood out “in bold relief upon the pages of American history” and that even when the gravestones of Allen and his men were destroyed,

⁴⁶ “Introduction,” *The Grand Army of the Republic and Kindred Societies: A Guide to Resources in the General Collection of the Library of Congress*, compiled by Alfred E. Smith, Jr., Library of Congress, accessed November 18, 2013, <http://www.loc.gov/rr/main/gar/garintro.html>.

⁴⁷ “Ethan Allen centennial at Ticonderoga, Monday, May 10, 1875, commemorating the capture of the fort. Order of exercises” (Ticonderoga, N.Y.: s.n., 1875), accessed November 16, 2013, American Broadsides and Ephemera.

⁴⁸ Ibid. “The Centennial Opening,” *Massachusetts Ploughman and New England Journal of Agriculture*, May 06, 1876, accessed September, 30, 2013, ProQuest American Periodicals.

⁴⁹ “Fort Ticonderoga: The Centennial Anniversary of Its Capture by Ethan Allen,” *The New York Times*, May 11, 1875, accessed October 20, 2013, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵⁰ One of the interesting exceptions to this general pattern is an 1842 poem from the point of view of the Green Mountain Boys the night before the capture of Ticonderoga. [William Cullen Bryant, “The Green Mountain Boys,” *Spirit of the Times; A Chronicle of the Turf, Agriculture, Field Sports, Literature, and the Stage*, April 23, 1842, accessed Sept. 30, 2013, ProQuest American Periodicals.]

their memories would live on.⁵¹ Colonel W.C. Joyce labeled Allen as a “brave old hero,” but he also praised the example of Revolutionary War soldiers and expressed his trust in the goodness of the soldier.⁵² The experience of veterans in the Civil War brought more interest to the lives of ordinary soldiers, both in that war and the preceding wars, including the Revolutionary War.

The 1875 centennial marked an increase in activities and visitors at Ticonderoga, but it also marked the beginning of a wider interest in the fort. A *New York Times* writer feared that the renewed excitement about Fort Ticonderoga would fade away after the centennial, that the summer visitors would eventually stop coming, and that the fort would be left “in its usual solitude for another hundred years.”⁵³ However, according to an analysis in the periodical *The Independent* by George J. Manson, the centennial of the American Revolution inspired more remembrances of that war and led to the formation of patriotic societies.⁵⁴ Manson argued that the growing lack of “national patriotism” was attributable to the “neglect on the part of the descendants of Revolutionary heroes to perform their duty of keeping before the public mind the memory of the services of their ancestors.”⁵⁵ The rebirth of patriotism included honoring not only the great heroes of the Revolution, like Ethan Allen, but also ordinary soldiers. The growing number of patriotic societies sponsored more commemorations of Revolutionary War battles, and two of these organizations, the Society of Colonial Wars and the Sons of the Revolution, erected tablets at Fort Ticonderoga to remember to the capture of the fort by both Ethan Allen

⁵¹ “Fort Ticonderoga: The Centennial Anniversary of Its Capture by Ethan Allen,” *The New York Times*, May 11, 1875, accessed October 20, 2013, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵² “Fort Ticonderoga: The Centennial Anniversary of Its Capture by Ethan Allen,” *The New York Times*, May 11, 1875, accessed October 20, 2013, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Manson, George J, “A Renaissance of Patriotism,” *The Independent ...Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts*, July 5, 1900, accessed September 30, 2013, ProQuest American Periodicals.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

and his soldiers in 1900.⁵⁶ The rebirth of patriotism in the United States after the 1875 centennial inspired more commemoration at Revolutionary War battlefields, including Fort Ticonderoga.

Other organizations wanted to undertake a larger effort of commemoration at Ticonderoga by preserving the site. Several patriotic societies lobbied Congress to buy Fort Ticonderoga and its grounds and make it into a national park in order to preserve the ruins of the fortress and attract visitors to the site again.⁵⁷ Congressmen introduced bills in 1889, 1898, and 1902 to purchase the Garrison Grounds and make Fort Ticonderoga a national park, but they all failed.⁵⁸ The Ticonderoga Historical Society, formed in 1897 to preserve American traditions and the history of the Adirondack Mountains region, tried to raise money for the restoration of the fort and the creation of a park on the grounds.⁵⁹ Despite patriotic societies' increased interest in the fort and their attempts to raise money to preserve it, Fort Ticonderoga continued in a state of ruin through the beginning of the twentieth century.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, another Pell saved Fort Ticonderoga and restored it for the benefit of the nation. In 1908, Stephen Hyatt Pelham Pell, a descendant of William Ferris Pell, visited the fort for the first time in twenty-five years for a Ticonderoga Historical Society clambake, and the degraded condition of the fort inspired him to restore it.⁶⁰ By the end of 1908, he had bought out ownership shares from other members of the Pell family, and he began the restoration of the fort in spring 1909.⁶¹ His wife, Sarah Gibbs Thompson Pell,

⁵⁶ Manson, George J, "A Renaissance of Patriotism," *The Independent ...Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts*, July 5, 1900, accessed September 30, 2013, ProQuest American Periodicals.

⁵⁷ "National Park at Fort Ticonderoga," *The New York Times*, Jun. 19, 1898, accessed October 19, 2013, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁵⁸ Carl R. Crego, *Fort Ticonderoga* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 91.

⁵⁹ "About the Ticonderoga Historical Society," Ticonderoga Historical Society, 2013, accessed December 16, 2013, <http://ticonderogahistoricalsociety.org/about-the-ticonderoga-historical-society>. "National Park at Fort Ticonderoga," *The New York Times*, Jun. 19, 1898, accessed October 19, 2013, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁶⁰ Carl R. Crego, *Fort Ticonderoga* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 91.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 92-93.

also contributed to rebuilding the fort, and her father, Colonel Robert Means Thompson, paid the restoration costs (estimated at \$500,000 dollars at the time).⁶² The restoration of Ticonderoga took years, but Stephen Pell's decision to restore the fort brought the attention of the press and public.

The efforts of the Pells and Colonel Thompson to restore Ticonderoga led to more public attention for the fort. In 1909, Fort Ticonderoga became a central part of the three-hundredth anniversary celebrations of Samuel de Champlain's discovery of the lake that bears his name.⁶³ President Taft, the British and French ambassadors, and the governors of New York and Vermont came to the official public opening of Fort Ticonderoga after the restoration of the West Barracks.⁶⁴ The presence of these important people at the opening of the fort showed the great significance placed on the preservation of a historical site related to Great Britain, France, and the United States and the public appreciation for the Pells' restoration work.

The restoration of Fort Ticonderoga was not so much a recreation of the way the fort had once looked as the way Stephen Pell and the architect, Alfred C. Bossom, thought it should look. According to Richard Longstreth, the restoration of Ticonderoga was "probably the first major, historically motivated undertaking of its kind in the United States," but the accuracy of the result was questionable.⁶⁵ Bossom, who was the architect of the restoration project from 1908 to about

⁶² Carl R. Crego, *Fort Ticonderoga* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 6. Mary Lee, "History Is Alive at Fort Ticonderoga: Its Growing Museum Brings Together Indian, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and American in a Romantic Picture," *The New York Times*, August 8, 1926, accessed October 20, 2013, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. "Historic Pageant on Champlain's Shores: Unique Features in Tercentenary Celebration to be Held July Fourth," *The New York Times*, June 20, 1909, accessed October 19, 2013, ProQuest Historical Newspapers. Most newspaper articles near the beginning of the restoration gave Mrs. Pell a large role, or the main role, in restoring the fort, but many later ones mention only Mr. Pell or Mr. Pell and his father-in-law.

⁶³ "Historic Pageant on Champlain's Shores: Unique Features in Tercentenary Celebration to be Held July Fourth," *The New York Times*, June 20, 1909, accessed October 19, 2013, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁶⁴ Edward P. Hamilton, *Fort Ticonderoga: Key to a Continent* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1964), 229.

⁶⁵ Richard Longstreth, "Introduction: The Challenges of Cultural Landscape for Preservation," in *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practices*, ed. Richard Longstreth (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 5-9.

1914, first visited Ticonderoga in 1904 and became interested in its restoration from that point.⁶⁶ Despite his search for information about the French fort's construction in libraries throughout Europe and North America, Bossom still added design elements, such as a tower, with no historical basis.⁶⁷ Although Stephen Pell claimed that he "repaired" rather than "restored" the fort by putting fallen stones back in place, Mary Lee of *The New York Times* pointed out that Mr. and Mrs. Pell had rebuilt the walls with stones brought in from England and France.⁶⁸ The Pells also replaced objects that had been at the fort with artifacts from the era of the fort's military function. The British government gave Mr. Pell French and British cannons from the eighteenth century to substitute for those that the patriots took to Boston.⁶⁹ Due to the use of materials and objects not originally from the site, Lee judged that the transformation of Fort Ticonderoga was a "rebirth rather than a restoration."⁷⁰ The architect Bossom and the Pells intended to return the fort to its eighteenth-century condition. However, the result of the restoration recalled the time period through stones and objects of a similar age to the fort but did not achieve a true representation of the fort's appearance at a particular time period.

The restoration of the fort brought greater attention to the physical structure of the fort. For visitors, the restoration, or recreation, was successful. Observers emphasized the way that the recreated fort allowed people to remember the events of 1775. Visitors could walk where Allen, Knox, and Burgoyne had walked and see where the common soldier had eaten his dinner or guarded the walls. In a newspaper article about the restoration of the fort, Harriet Sisson Gillespie wrote that Ticonderoga, "the most conspicuous relic" of the Revolutionary War period,

⁶⁶ Carl R. Crego, *Fort Ticonderoga* (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2004), 97.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 98.

⁶⁸ Mary Lee, "History Is Alive at Fort Ticonderoga: Its Growing Museum Brings Together Indian, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and American in a Romantic Picture," *The New York Times*, August 8, 1926, accessed October 20, 2013, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

would allow young people “to learn their country’s history by visualizing the events of the past.”⁷¹ For the people who visited Fort Ticonderoga, the physical space of the fort was an important part of remembering the events that took place there.

The Fort Ticonderoga Museum, established by Stephen Pell, aided in the visualization of the past by displaying objects associated with the fort. Pell created the museum in West Barracks shortly after they were rebuilt and filled the museum with artifacts found at the fort or associated with the fort’s history and the time period of its use.⁷² While digging in the trenches, workers found the detritus of military life at the fort, including guns, hardware, pottery, and buttons from soldiers’ uniforms.⁷³ Putting these ordinary objects on display in a museum setting elevated their importance and the importance of those who owned them. The artifacts from the fort helped form a picture of the people who became a part of the fort’s history, and because of this connection between artifact and person, the museum drew visitors to the fort. By 1935, 400 or 500 people a day came to Ticonderoga in the summer to view the fort and the artifacts in the museum.⁷⁴ Both the physical structure of the restored fort and the objects displayed in its museum contributed to the historical memory of the ordinary Revolutionary War soldier.

Many different cultural movements influenced the popular memory of Fort Ticonderoga from capture of the fort in 1775 until the fort’s restoration in the early twentieth century. The enthusiasm for the Romantic picturesque and northern tours to Ticonderoga rose and then waned

⁷¹ Harriet Sisson Gillespie, “Bringing Fort Ticonderoga to Life: Patriotic Interest of the Pell Family Restores Grey, Grim Stronghold on Lake Champlain...,” *The New York Times*, January 22, 1922, accessed October 21, 2013, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷² Mary Lee, “History Is Alive at Fort Ticonderoga: Its Growing Museum Brings Together Indian, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and American in a Romantic Picture,” *The New York Times*, August 8, 1926, accessed October 20, 2013, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷³ Harriet Sisson Gillespie, “Bringing Fort Ticonderoga to Life: Patriotic Interest of the Pell Family Restores Grey, Grim Stronghold on Lake Champlain...,” *The New York Times*, January 22, 1922, accessed October 21, 2013, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

⁷⁴ Mary Lee, “Many Visit Ticonderoga: Four Hundred Tourists a Day Inspect Old Fort and Military Museum,” *The New York Times*, September 1, 1935, accessed October 19, 2013, ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

in the early- to mid-nineteenth century. Patriotic societies concerned with the American Revolution formed after the Civil War, and then historic preservationist efforts of the twentieth century led to the restoration of the fort. Throughout these cultural movements, Fort Ticonderoga remained connected both to its physical location and to its history. The narrative of that history initially tended to exclude ordinary soldiers in favor of heroic tales about Ethan Allen. The popular story of the capture of Ticonderoga began to change after the Civil War, but it did not come to its final state until after the restoration of the fort. When the site of Ticonderoga became more than ruins and a beautiful view, the physical environment of the fort served to emphasize the location where common men had lived, fought, and died. The restoration of Fort Ticonderoga and the creation of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum represented the culmination of a process of change in the way people remembered the participants in the capture of Ticonderoga. The ordinary soldier and his contributions, not his status as mere follower of his heroic leader, became the focus of historic contemplation.

Figure 1:

Postcard from a Thomas Cole Painting: Fort Ticonderoga, n.d., Historic Essex County Postcard Photos, accessed November 16, 2013,
<http://www.co.essex.ny.us/ThomasColePaintingFortTi.html>.

Figure 2:

William Henry Bartlett and T.A. Prior, *View of the Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga*, engraving, 1837, Adirondack Museum, accessed November 16, 2013,
http://www.adkmuseum.org/discover_and_learn/collections_highlights/detail/?q=&cat=1&id=61.

Figure 3:

Deloss Barnum, *Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga, or Lake Champlain*, albumen print, 1860?-1885?, Robert N. Dennis collection of stereoscopic views, New York Public Library, accessed September 20, 2013, http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?g91f158_004f.

Figure 4:

Seneca Ray Stoddard, *Ruins of Fort Ticonderoga, Ethan Allen Gate*, albumen print, 1860?-1885?, Robert N. Dennis collection of stereoscopic views, New York Public Library, accessed September 20, 2013, http://digitalgallery.nypl.org/nypldigital/id?g91f158_019f.