



Seth Warner: A True Hero from the New Hampshire Grants

Warner was remembered best and longest for the increasingly elaborated story of his dedication to soldiers in need during the otherwise “disastrous” retreat from Québec in 1776. Although long overshadowed by the self-made hero image of Ethan Allen, Warner’s leadership qualities earned him a special spot in the Vermont pantheon, one that had no need for a sentimental scrim.

By MARY LEE MACDONALD

Many years passed before Seth Warner’s strengths as a leader in the Revolution were fully recognized. Until official letters and other records of the Revolution were published in the 1830s, Vermonters knew him chiefly as the most important of the Green Mountain Boys under Ethan Allen. Even though he developed a reputation for restraint and even mercy during the Boys’ defense of the set-

.....

MARY LEE MACDONALD holds a B.A. in Oriental Civilizations, M.A. in Linguistics, and Ph.D. in Seventeenth-Century English Literature. She taught in the English Department at Eastern Michigan University, retired in 1988, and began looking for documentation of a Shaftsbury ancestor’s death in a British military prison in Canada in the spring of 1776. Her research brought her to question the traditional story of Seth Warner’s retreat from Canada. Ms. MacDonald lives in Charlottesville, Virginia.

Vermont History Vol. 86, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 2018): 67–94.

© 2018 by the Vermont Historical Society. ISSN: 0042-4161; on-line ISSN: 1544-3043

tlers' land rights, his steadiness and lack of affectation remained overshadowed by Allen's theatricality and self-promotion. The contrast between the two was evident in the first local military action against the British: Warner's calm taking of Crown Point against Allen's raised sword and evocation of Jehovah at Fort Ticonderoga. This contrast was central at Cephas Kent's tavern in Dorset on July 27, 1775, when a huge majority of the men of the Grants who gathered there (later dismissed by the "self-nominated" Allen as "the old farmers") put Warner in charge of their militiamen.¹ Warner's command of this first regiment raised in the Grants, which joined the first expedition to Canada in the fall of 1775, received almost no mention by Allen, his brother Ira, or Samuel Williams, the "triumvirate" whose writings were the only sources of information about the Grants in the early nineteenth century. Their overblown accounts of Allen's leadership against the Yorkers and in the Revolution captured the imagination of biographers, historians, and romance writers, all members of the Vermont Historical and Antiquarian Society (later the Vermont Historical Society). When these writers reinvented the self-proclaimed hero of Ticonderoga and heroic commander in the Revolution in the sentimental eighteenth-century morality play they constructed, they assigned a secondary role to Seth Warner. Then, in 1848, a story about his regiment's retreat from Québec in Daniel Chipman's *Memoir of Col. Seth Warner* caught the public's attention, bringing Warner to the fore.² For over 150 years after that, the story was repeated—and repeatedly modified—in history books and romances. No retreat, no matter how impressive, and no victory, not even the victory at Bennington, could make Warner a contender for Ethan Allen's first place among Vermont's folk heroes. But his leadership qualities earned him a special spot in the pantheon, one that had no need for a sentimental scrim.

EARLY ACCOUNTS OF WARNER'S RETREAT

The welcome accorded Chipman's *Memoir* demonstrated the continuing vitality of the Vermont Historical Society's "traditionalist" interpretation of eighteenth-century Vermont, in which the upright Green Mountain Boys, with freedom-loving Allen urging them on, defended their community against the unscrupulous Yorkers and then took on the British army. Ultimately more important for Warner's reputation, which Chipman was determined to strengthen, Chipman's account of the retreat from Québec provided readers with an important link in that story, a link that over the years took on a life of its own as it came to represent Warner at his finest. In 1868, the usual biographical sketch

of Warner in Gov. Hiland Hall's *History of Vermont*, in the text of which he figured prominently, included the sentence, "In the disastrous retreat from Canada in the spring of 1776, he brought up the rear."³ Nearly a century later, Arthur Wallace Peach, director of the Vermont Historical Society and editor of *Vermont Quarterly*, reminded his readers that Warner "remained [in Canada] until the retreat in May, during which he commanded the rear guard with considerable skill and success."⁴ Other writers made similar statements—in both scholarly and fictional formats—all purporting to describe Warner's role in the retreat of the Northern Army, which ended the Second Canadian Campaign in July.

But the retreat from Québec in May was not a retreat from Canada, and Warner did not conduct it. Like these two, many of the statements about Warner are inaccurate. After the ice in the St. Lawrence melted enough for ships carrying British troops to reach Québec, where they confronted the American forces conducting a siege of the fortress on May 6, the American Brig. Gen. John Thomas watched most of his men, weakened by hunger and smallpox, run away in terror. The retreat that he ordered for a relative few ended less than two weeks later at the American camp at Sorel, about 120 miles up the St. Lawrence, near Chambly. Thomas died of smallpox in Chambly the night of June 1. Two weeks later, his successor, Brig. Gen. John Sullivan, who had just arrived in Sorel with reinforcements, expecting to go on to Québec, found the army in disarray, many of the men sick with smallpox, and reluctantly ordered a full retreat from Canada. Sullivan's retreat effectively ended at the Ile aux Noix, still in Québec, where his men spent over a week while hundreds more fell sick and died under unspeakable conditions. Not until July 1 were the survivors taken to Crown Point, where the sick and wounded stayed and the few "effective" men were sent on to Fort Ticonderoga.

No historian has ever produced evidence that Seth Warner was part of Sullivan's retreat from Canada, and proof of his participation in Thomas's retreat from Québec is mostly circumstantial. While a good deal of official correspondence places him with his men in Québec by early spring,⁵ four letters written by General Thomas to Gen. George Washington and the Congressional Commissioners,⁶ the only contemporary account of the May retreat, detail (and justify) Thomas's own actions, rarely mentioning other men. Lt. Col. Seth Warner's name is not in the lists of field officers that accompanied the letters, probably for reasons familiar to the Congressional Commissioners, who had sharply criticized him:⁷ He had exaggerated the number of men he had recruited in the Grants (receiving extra bounty money as a result) and,

once at Québec, had urged his men, against orders, to inoculate themselves with smallpox. Not only did their sickness and need to recuperate exacerbate the shortage of effective men there, but they were adamant that they be allowed to go home when their three-month enlistment ended in late April. However, they were still at Québec when the retreat began on May 6. (Records place Warner with his regiment at Québec from March 26 till May 4 and at Chambly on May 17, then back at Ti on June 9.⁸) The day after the retreat they were forty miles up the St. Lawrence at Deschambault with Thomas. Because they met reinforcements there, they were discharged a day later, having agreed to stay in the ranks only until reinforcements arrived.⁹ By the time General Thomas reached Sorel on May 17,¹⁰ Warner's men were at St. Johns, on the verge of leaving Canada. They left St. Johns—and Canada—on May 18, making their individual ways home from there.¹¹ The reinforcements General Sullivan would bring to Sorel did not leave Fort Ticonderoga until May 27.¹²

Daniel Chipman's description of Warner's retreat in his *Memoir of Col. Seth Warner* clearly states that it began at Québec and ended in the Grants. Except for the first sentence, it bears no resemblance to Thomas's account of the retreat, which placed him, the commanding officer, in the rear. Chipman wrote:

[T]he American army, in their distressed situation, were compelled to make a hasty retreat. Warner took a position exposed to the greatest danger, and requiring the utmost care and vigilance. He was always in the rear, picking up the wounded and diseased, assisting and encouraging those who were least able to take care of themselves, and generally kept but a few miles in advance of the British, who closely pursued the Americans from post to post. By calmly and steadily pursuing this course, Warner brought off most of the invalids, and with this corps of the diseased and infirm, arrived at Ticonderoga a few days after the main army had taken possession of that post.¹³

Chipman explains diplomatically in his preface that he had searched for years for information that would correct the many omissions and “unintentional” errors that had done “great injustice” to Warner's character, making it impossible to “transmit [it] to posterity in its true light.” Most of his readers would have recognized this oblique reference to the Allens' self-serving publications and to the campaign that Ira had waged after Ethan's (and Warner's) death to fine-tune Ethan's heroic image.¹⁴ This included Ira's contention in 1798 in his *Natural and Political History of Vermont* that Warner and John Brown were responsible for Ethan's failed attack on Montreal and thus for his subsequent capture by the British, an accusation that, if justified, removed Warner from

any competition with Ethan as a hero. Ira's history otherwise gave Warner minimum space, referring instead to the troops "under Warner" and to "Warner's regiment" in connection with Québec. He disposed of both retreats in a single short paragraph that did not mention anyone from the Grants.¹⁵ The Green Mountain Boys, models of community spirit, bravery, and patriotism, were not to be connected with a retreat that was universally considered "disgraceful."

Daniel Chipman did not openly dispute Allen's elevated seat. His stated aim in writing was to show that Seth Warner was also admirable. But doing so implicitly contrasted him with Allen, whose darker side Chipman knew. He describes how, as a boy, he had witnessed the Green Mountain Boys' trial, conviction, and immediate whipping of a man who had "always been treated with respect at my father's house. . . . I felt every stroke upon my own back."¹⁶ He also had extensive first-hand knowledge of the Allens' political activities in the Grants in the postwar years. He was close to his older brother Nathaniel, a chief justice of the Vermont Supreme Court and U.S. senator from Vermont, who, allied with Isaac Tichenor, successfully challenged the Allen-Chittenden faction's self-interested control of the state, ending Vermont's quarrel with New York as they campaigned for statehood. Daniel Chipman attended several state constitutional conventions and, for most of his twelve years as a professor of law at Middlebury College, was a member of the Vermont House of Representatives, twice elected speaker. His writings in his retirement included a biography of Gov. Thomas Chittenden. In his early 80s (he died two years after publishing his memoir of Warner), he was clearly determined to prove without a doubt that Warner was above reproach. At the same time, ever the lawyer, although he had gained "full knowledge" of Warner from others, he was reluctant to "portray his character . . . unsupported by evidence." His search for evidence came to a partial end, he wrote in his preface, when, among the public documents in Henry Stevens's collection, which Stevens opened to him, he found "a short biographical sketch of Seth Warner, published in the Rural Magazine in 1795." The author (and publisher) of the sketch "Historical Memoirs of Colonel Seth Warner"¹⁷ (whom he does not name), was Samuel Williams, whose *Natural and Civil History of Vermont*, the first full-length history of Vermont, had been published in 1794.¹⁸

Williams had lived only a short time in Vermont when he began gathering materials for this first edition, and he relied heavily on Ira Allen for interpretations of Vermont's early history. But his admiring descriptions of Warner in that edition, which explain why he went on to re-

search and write his sketch of him, are clearly his own. In the dispute over land with the Yorkers, Warner seemed (excepting Ethan Allen) “the most distinguished” of the men of the Grants— “cool, firm, steady [and] resolute.” In taking Crown Point in the first local action with the British, he displayed “attention, courage and firmness,” suggesting the reason the old farmers were convinced he was the man to lead their militiamen; and in the First Canadian Campaign in the fall of 1775, “on every occasion . . . proved a brave, judicious and excellent officer.”¹⁹ These “patriotic and military virtues” are detailed as well in Williams’s later “Historical Memoirs” of Warner, joined there by “spirit” or “ardor,” which sums up and dominates them all. Together, they made Warner a consummate military leader: In every challenge he faced, Williams wrote, “the difficulty of the business suited the genius and ardor of [his] mind.”²⁰ In Chipman’s account of Warner, these strengths are balanced by his “moral and social qualities,” the reason his men loved and trusted him, his sympathy “with all classes” arising from his “interest . . . in the welfare of his fellow man.” Most important, along with “a noble patriotism,” were his “magnanimity and humanity.”²¹ Whereas Ethan Allen’s writings had kept his character “before the people in bold relief . . . suffering nothing by the lapse of time,” the modest and self-effacing Warner had written nothing for the public.²² Chipman wrote his memoir to correct this imbalance in the historical record, confident that Seth Warner would emerge as the superior man.

Samuel Williams’s description of Warner’s role in the retreat from Québec appears almost verbatim in Chipman’s memoir. The two passages differ significantly only in the opening. Williams’s Warner deliberately chooses an impossible place—not in Thomas’s orderly retreat (still not common knowledge), but at the rear of the chaos created by the terrified Americans who fled up the river and into the surrounding countryside:

The American troops were forced to abandon the blockade with circumstances of great distress and confusion. Warner chose the most difficult part of the business, remaining always at the rear picking up the lame and diseased, assisting and encouraging those who were the most unable to take care of themselves, and generally kept but a few miles ahead of the British, who were rapidly pursuing the retreating Americans from post to post. By steadily pursuing this conduct he brought off most of the invalids, and with this corps of the infirm and diseased he arrived at Ticonderoga, a few days after the body of the army had taken possession of the post.²³

This brief anecdote clearly illustrates what Chipman later called Warner’s concern for “the welfare of his fellow man,” but Williams never

mentions that quality. For Williams it was what he most admired about Warner, “the genius and ardor” of his mind, his patriotic spirit, that had, characteristically, moved him to choose “the most difficult part” of the flight from Québec—at the rear of “great distress and confusion,” where he looked after other men as they fled the British all the way out of Canada.

Chipman’s version of Williams’s opening—“The Americans had to make a hasty retreat. Warner took a position exposed to the greatest danger”—is simpler, more coherent, stylistically smoother, and also somewhat closer to the truth. It depicts Warner not among the men overcome by fear, but focused on those in need of help as they retreated from Québec. There, following Williams’s version, its accuracy ends. Like other writers of his time, Williams, a long-recognized scholar and writer²⁴ and already an authority on the history of the Grants, was limited by his source material when he wrote the “Historical Memoirs.” Several facts on which he later came to agree with other historians, as documents connected with the Revolution became available, undermined his description of the retreat: The newly arrived British warships whose guns fired at the Americans fleeing Québec followed them only briefly. The commander at the fortress at Québec, Maj. Gen. Sir Guy Carleton, did not pursue the Americans until a week later, directing his efforts instead toward ensuring that the sick Americans left behind and those hiding in the woods were cared for.²⁵ The second “much enlarged” edition of Williams’s history actually notes Carleton’s “humanity” and “magnanimity.”²⁶ The British General John Burgoyne, who did not arrive at Québec until June 1, the day John Sullivan brought reinforcements to Sorel, did not leave in pursuit of the Americans until June 13, the day before Sullivan began his retreat from Sorel. Burgoyne did then closely pursue Sullivan’s sick and weary men; but, in keeping with the determination of the British to reconcile with their American colonies rather than engage them in combat, he was intent only on chasing them out of Canada. In none of this did Warner have any part; and in 1809, in the second edition of his *History*, Williams implied as much by omitting all mention of him in his description of the Canadian campaign—except for Appendix VII, his sketch of Warner. This discrepancy between text and biographical sketch characterized the nineteenth-century histories that followed, allowing the heroic image of Warner to develop.

Williams’s second edition showed Ira Allen’s continuing influence.²⁷ Ira had already made sure that whatever Williams learned from him glorified Ethan’s memory. This edition suggests that Williams had decided to eliminate anything that reflected badly on any of the residents

of the New Hampshire Grants. Although he credits Warner with other military accomplishments there, primarily at Bennington, the twelve pages that cover the failed Canadian campaign, like Ira's own history, which later included those pages almost verbatim, never mention anyone from the Grants. Two separated—and contradictory—sentences sum up the American departure from Québec without distinguishing those who fled from those who marched to Deschambault, or even mentioning General Thomas: “[T]he Americans . . . fled as fast as they could in every direction”; and a few pages later, “They retreated forty five miles before they stopped, having marched the whole night.” Williams identifies the officers in charge of the rear guard of Sullivan's retreat from Sorel out of Canada as “Starks, Poor, Wayne, and other excellent officers,” none of them from the Grants.²⁸ A page reference at the title of Appendix VII, the sketch of Warner, points the reader to a totally unrelated action of Warner's a year later, obscuring this contradiction between text and appendix, whether intentionally or not, by discouraging a comparison between the two.²⁹ In effect, Williams's second edition dissociates Warner from both retreats. Four decades later, using Williams's apparently little-read sketch, Chipman would re-establish the connection to the wrong retreat—and literally change history.

Unsurprisingly, Williams's source for this account is still unknown. Ira Allen, who, like Chipman's brother Nathaniel, had left Québec before the retreat, and whose own history had blamed Warner for Ethan's failure to take Montreal and referred to Warner's actions in Canada only indirectly, could have supplied Williams with information about Warner; but there is no record of his having done so and it seems unlikely.³⁰ If Williams had interviewed the men in Warner's regiment (as he had the men who had been at Bennington), the most obvious primary sources, they would have told him that they had left Canada before Sullivan arrived, so, unless he distorted their accounts, they cannot have been his source. The awkward fit of the account of the retreat into his “Historical Memoirs” suggests, rather, that his admiration for Warner, which led him to write the sketch, could have made him eager to include any plausible example of Warner's virtues, even though that meant making Warner's concern for other soldiers evidence of his “patriotic passion.” That is, he may have used intimate testimony to Warner's leadership because it had come from someone whose authority he felt he could not ignore, even though he would not credit him as a source.

Williams's unacknowledged source for that passage may have been the author of an account of Seth Warner's retreat that remained relatively unknown even after it was belatedly published in 1943, nearly a

century after it was written. Its roots went deeper into the past than Williams's sketch could otherwise have extended. In January 1846, just two years before Chipman's memoir of Warner was published, Warner's eldest son Israel, now 78, answered Henry Stevens Jr.'s request for, according to Israel, "some information in regard to the Revolutionary War in our Northern Direction" that Stevens might include in his Vermont Papers. Historians have justifiably dismissed the long, semi-literate, occasionally puzzling and factually inaccurate letter Stevens received in response as a *mélange* of hearsay, tall tales, and fantasy, not to mention evidence of an old man's faulty memory. But despite its twisted chronology and occasional ambiguity, it is not easy to dismiss Israel's brief account of his father's concern, not for the entire army, but for his own men during their retreat from Canada. Clearly a soldier's story told to his young son, it presents Warner as a father figure, a commander who made his men's welfare his first priority. This meant first making sure that they inoculated themselves against rampant smallpox, virtually guaranteeing them a much milder case and survival:

Our Regiment came off without loosing one Man, whilst other Regiments had their Men Die on the Road, My Father Brought up the rear and would not leave one Sick Man Behind, and pressed every Frenchman that had a horse, and Cart, to go and Carry his sick Soldiers, (those that had the Small Pox) and they Retreated until they came to Ticonderoga, and there thought to Make a Stand, but Through the neglect of our Officers, the British got Possession of Mount Defiance and Cannonaded Ticonderoga Fort, then my Father and Colonel Frances had to retreat from Ticonderoga.³¹

If Chipman saw this account in Henry Stevens's collection, he discounted it, as he had discounted Israel's response to his query about Warner's presence in the first action at Bennington, perhaps for the same reason as modern scholars have: It was not credible. Furthermore, the more respectable source, Samuel Williams's account of the retreat, in extending Warner's concern beyond his own men, illustrated his "humanity and magnanimity" toward his fellow man, another major theme in Chipman's determined effort to "transmit [Warner's] character to posterity in its true light." However, the similarities between Israel Warner's account of his father's devotion to his retreating men and Williams's description of Warner in the general retreat—"assisting and encouraging those who were the most unable to take care of themselves"—make it reasonable to posit that, before (or while) writing his "Historical Memoirs," Williams had interviewed Israel, then in his late 20s.³² Like Israel's tribute to his father, the passage in the Williams and Chipman memoirs puts Warner, not General Thomas, in com-

mand of the rear: He “took” or “chose” a place at the rear, to ensure that no man was left behind. And both passages tacitly merge Thomas’s retreat from Québec with Sullivan’s retreat from Canada by placing the end of Warner’s and his men’s journey at Fort Ticonderoga, a place that Israel linked with St. Clair’s retreat a year later. (Other details in Israel’s account—the commandeering of carts and the sick and dead men lining the road to Sorel—are documented by contemporary accounts.³³ His use of *our*—“our army,” “our Regiment,” and “our Officers”—reflects his own service in the Revolution.³⁴) This image of a leader shepherding other men home, placed within Chipman’s account of Warner’s compassion for his fellow man, makes Warner almost Lincolnesque, a man of the people whom even (or perhaps especially) those who had never seen a battle could admire and yet feel close to. Williams saw only the expression of fervent patriotism in Warner’s action, loyalty to a larger cause.

THE “TRADITIONAL” WARNER

Ira Allen’s *History*, which incorporated Ethan’s writings as well, soon joined Williams’s two editions as an “unchallenged triumvirate of sources” for historians interested in eighteenth-century Vermont, their assumptions and interpretations accepted for over a century and passed on “reverently . . . unchanged and undisputed.”³⁵ This historiography, established and fostered by the writings of the members of the Vermont Historical Society, reflected their belief that in troubled times people needed a hero. Emulating Ethan Allen and his comrades in Vermont’s glorious (but relatively brief) past, the “embodiment of the robust democratic values” that they attributed to Vermont, would help Vermonters cope with the perplexing social and economic problems confronting the new democracy in the decades following the end of the war—riots and other social disturbances and religious movements that created dissension.³⁶ Like biographers and historians in other New England states, whose focus had turned from national history to an examination of the lives of their Puritan ancestors, who had come to America fleeing religious persecution two centuries earlier,³⁷ members of the Society took the men who had settled the New Hampshire Grants in the 1760s and 1770s as models not of piety and exemplary conduct, but of bravery and patriotism. Their romanticized version of the past was supposed to counteract what they saw as contemporary Vermonters’ weakness and their own fears of the possible failure of the new democracy.

Zadock Thompson, whose historical works dominated the historiography of Vermont for nearly three decades, provided the primary impe-

tus: After lifting nearly all of the eighteenth-century section of his 1833 *History of the State of Vermont* from Samuel Williams's second edition, he almost exactly duplicated that section in 1842 in his own *History of Vermont, Natural, Civil, and Statistical*. By far the most popular nineteenth-century Vermont history, going through several editions until it was termed simply "Thompson's History," it kept the Allens in their position as exemplary Revolutionary heroes at the head of the sturdy, upstanding residents of the Grants (none of whom Thompson mentioned in his brief account of the panicked retreat from Québec). In 1839, the public enthusiastically welcomed Daniel Pierce Thompson's popular romance, *The Green Mountain Boys*, a fictionalized version of events in the Grants before and during the Revolution. Subtitled *A Historical Tale of Early Vermont*, it presented "a fully developed image of Vermonters as freedom-loving men of action . . . the original citizen soldiers"—the Allens, Warner, and Remember Baker—"enthroned in the pantheon of Vermont folk myth."³⁸ These characters and events remained "staples of Vermont popular historical fiction" until the close of the century. Even though Vermont, along with the rest of the nation, experienced an economic and social upswing by 1850, the writers in the Historical Society continued to see decay everywhere, troubling evidence that Vermont was falling behind the other states. Still convinced that the solutions to those problems lay in the past, even though heroic biographies and "Life and Times" accounts of living people were flourishing everywhere, they continued to tout Ethan Allen as a hero of the Revolution and "the mythical embodiment of Vermont," believing that adherence to the values they ascribed to him should guide Vermonters and thus the future of the state.³⁹ Even after the Civil War, when the rest of the country moved into the Gilded Age and the Progressive Era and historians in other states focused on domestic politics rather than the battle against English rule, Vermont historians continued to lionize Allen.

Chipman's Warner at first modified the traditional interpretation only slightly: In the preface to a second edition of Thompson's *Green Mountain Boys* in 1850, two years after Chipman's memoir came out, the author belatedly informed his readers that he had meant the "prototype" of the hero, Charles Warrington, one of the Boys following Allen, to be "the chivalrous Seth Warner." Posing no threat to Allen's dominance, Warner fitted easily into the traditional picture. The title of Henry W. DePuy's 1853 history, *Ethan Allen and the Green-Mountain Heroes of '76*, indicates the picture's increasing strength.⁴⁰ Daniel Chipman's most memorable contribution, his description of Warner's con-

cern that every man in the retreat of the Northern Army get home safely, appears there, and in other nineteenth-century histories of Vermont as well. Echoing Chipman, either word for word or in close paraphrase and without attribution, historians moved Warner's feat from the usual biographical appendix to the text, from memoir to history, continually reinforcing Warner's reputation as a man who, even under extreme stress, remained both upright and humane—an implicit but still unthreatening alternative to Ethan Allen as principal hero.

The story of the Canadian campaign in Abby Hemenway's monumental *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, published in the 1860s, put Warner and his men firmly and explicitly at its center. The Bennington section of the *Gazetteer*, which Gov. Hiland Hall (yet another member of the Vermont Historical Society and its president from 1859 to 1867) oversaw, drew from both Ira Allen and Samuel Williams, bringing together all the stories about Warner at Crown Point and his regiment's round trip to Canada in the fall of 1775 and back again as winter set in, most of the stories now documented in official correspondence. A single sentence summarizing the regiment's second tour focuses on the men: "Warner's regiment . . . immediately marched to Québec, and endured the hardships and perils of a winter campaign, bringing up the rear of the retreating American army the ensuing spring."⁴¹ The publication of Wooster's letter to Warner asking him to send troops (see note 5) had made it clear that the men had gone to Québec in successive groups while Warner continued to recruit in the Grants, so this presentation of the regiment corrected Williams and Chipman, both of whom had widened Warner's accomplishment to include marching his men to Québec. Williams had characteristically written, "The difficulty of the business suited the genius and ardor of Warner's mind,"⁴² whereas Chipman had observed, "[T]he men of this day would shiver at the thought" of emulating him.⁴³

VICTORY AT BENNINGTON

Governor Hall's own history, published in 1868, around the same time as the *Gazetteer*, is focused on further expanding Warner's role. Without mentioning Ethan Allen, Hall terms Warner the Green Mountain Boys' "trusted and chosen leader" both in their defense of their land claims and in the "new struggle with the mother country," and he stresses Warner's achievements beyond Canada. His biographical sketch of Warner in the appendix goes even further: It lists the highlights of his early military career, notes that his life is "so interwoven with the early history of Vermont that little need be added," and then

details his closeness to his superior, John Stark, brigadier general of the New Hampshire militia, in planning and fighting in the Battle of Bennington, Hall's particular interest.⁴⁴ In his "Military History of Bennington," published posthumously in 1887, Hall emphasizes the importance of the Bennington battle in Warner's career and in his service to Vermont: While acknowledging Warner's "high reputation as a military leader, by his services in Canada and at Hubbardton," Hall identified his most valuable contribution as Stark's "chief advisor" and "active associate" in the victory at Bennington.⁴⁵

Here Hall was following Williams's well-researched account of the two men's relationship.⁴⁶ He describes Warner as "a brave and experienced officer" and quotes Stark's later high praise for his help;⁴⁷ and, like Williams, he credits Stark with the victory, noting his subsequent promotion by the Continental Congress to brigadier general in the Continental Army.⁴⁸ Chipman had gone further on Warner's behalf, describing Stark and Warner planning and acting together as equals, Stark's characteristics very like Warner's: Both were "influenced by higher motives, and actuated by a noble patriotism . . . prepared to serve their country in any station, not inconsistent with their personal honor, in which they could be most useful."⁴⁹ Although Stark was the "ostensible commander," Chipman wrote, he and Warner, "manifesting a high degree of respect for each other . . . commanded jointly." This boosting of Warner's role at Bennington was to outlive the more measured, fully deserved praise by Williams and Hall, helping the glorified picture of Warner to survive well into the twentieth century.

Although Warner's regiment, which had been stationed in Manchester under Maj. Samuel Safford while Warner advised (and went into battle with) Stark, missed the first engagement at Bennington on August 16, 1777, they "saved the day" after arriving during the second engagement just as the wearied troops were beginning to weaken under a new British onslaught. A first-person account in a letter Israel Warner wrote in 1845 to Henry Stevens provides corroboration of Warner's presence, without his regiment, in the first engagement, a point of some contention among later writers:

General Starks and my Father, Consulted to send a letter, to General Stafford on Stafford hill, and my Father said put Israel on the horse, and told me to not spare horse flesh, and not stop to speak with any one but tell them the Enemy are just into Bennington, when I arrived at General Stafford's door the horses tongue hung out of his Mouth I called for general Stafford he came out I gave him my Fathers letter, he took it and said to his man take that Boy off the horse and cool him as fast as possible . . . [he] said I must stay until Morning

and a large Company of Volunteers would accompany me, I said I must return to give information. and I wrote the best part of the Night but the Volunteers did not arrive until the next Day at Evening with Old Major Rann at their head, my Father was at Eldad Deweys [in Bennington], . . . and my Father went on with Rann in the first action and our regiment did not get there until after the first action."⁵⁰

In this same letter, Israel mentions that Chipman had written to him, asking whether his father had been in the first action, and that he had replied, presumably in the affirmative.⁵¹

Hiland Hall's emphasis on the Bennington battle reflected his long-held respect for both Williams and Warner. In a formal oration on the Bennington battlefield in 1823, when he was only 28, he had digressed to praise Warner's "firm, steady, and determined bravery,"⁵² words virtually lifted from Williams's history; and by his mid 50s, he was deeply involved in the long campaign to erect a monument to the battle. In January 1885 (he died at 90 in December of that year), he settled a long-raging debate by methodically demolishing each of his opponents' arguments to prove that, for so important a victory, the monument should be tall enough to be visible for many miles around.⁵³ At the dedication of the monument on August 16, 1891, the centennial of Vermont's admission into the Union, the Bennington battle was hailed as "one of the seventeen decisive conflicts of the world" because it had "secured the independence of the colonies."⁵⁴ Fittingly, then, the monument is over 300 feet high and is visible from three states.

In winning the fight for the enormous stone obelisk (erected on the site of the Continental storehouse in Bennington that the British had been bent on taking in 1777), Hall had provided a tangible symbol of Daniel Chipman's inflated view of Warner as Stark's equal. Warner's storied retreat was then similarly glorified. In 1892, the year after the monument was dedicated, Rowland E. Robinson, in his popular history, *Vermont: A Study of Independence*, while still giving Ethan Allen "the first place among her heroes," mourned Vermont's neglect of "that brave and modest soldier, Seth Warner, the knightliest figure in her romantic history."⁵⁵ He described Warner's retreat from Canada with imagined details that magnify Warner's accomplishment: "During the withdrawal of the army from Canada, the services of Warner and his Green Mountain Boys again became conspicuous. Following in the rear, but little in advance of the pursuing enemy, he was chiefly employed in gathering up the sick and wounded. Some straggling in the woods, some sheltered in the garlick-reeking cabins of the least unfriendly habitants, he succeeded in bringing a great number of them to Isle aux Noix."⁵⁶

Warner's prominence at Bennington was formally established twenty

.....

years later, on August 16, 1911, Bennington Battle Day, a legal holiday in Vermont since the end of the Civil War, with the dedication of a huge heroic statue of Warner in the uniform of a Continental regiment in front of the monument. Its features, like those on statues of Ethan Allen, which it otherwise resembles, of necessity (in the absence of a portrait) are only imagined.⁵⁷ It dwarfs a bronze statue of John Stark, who was chiefly known outside Vermont in the years following the battle as the Hero of Bennington, placed on the other side of the monument al-



Seth Warner monument, 1911. Photographer unknown.

most a century later, in 2000.⁵⁸ And, although the statue of Warner was dedicated modestly to “an able statesman and soldier,” a headline in the *Boston Evening Transcript* that day in 1911 made him a “Revolutionary hero.”⁵⁹ Sixteen years later, the headline on one of three articles in the *New York Times*’s coverage of yet another ceremony at the monument, this one celebrating both the sesquicentennial of the defeat of the British at Bennington in 1777 and Vermont’s entry into the Union in 1791, further elevated Warner: “Vermont Pays Tribute to Hero of Revolution; Seth Warner Is Called an Inspiration to Patriotism in Ceremony at Bennington.”⁶⁰ The place of Warner as savior of Vermont and its reputation had also been secured. The “brief remarks” that accompanied the laying of a wreath at the foot of the statue stressed his virtue and his accomplishments (without mentioning a retreat): “He left an empty purse, an honored name and the republic of Vermont. The first commander of a Vermont regiment, and leader of the Green Mountain Boys whose timely arrival at a critical stage of the second engagement, Aug. 16, 1777, saved the day for General John Stark and his Colonials.”⁶¹

By the 1920s, virtually any Vermonter qualified as a Green Mountain Boy. The erection of the Warner statue and the sesquicentennial of the Bennington battle, along with the continuing linkage of Warner to Sullivan’s army and the pursuing British, had helped to keep the Boys foremost in Vermonters’ image of their predecessors. The name had already been extended to many different groups—to all the inhabitants of the Grants, to the enlisted men in Warner’s regular regiments in 1776 and 1777 (none of whom had been among the Boys),⁶² and even to groups that had never known Ethan Allen and Seth Warner. It was used by persons in other colonies and by military commanders and members of the Continental Congress, by Vermont writers eager to justify their state’s land claims against those of New York, and by much later writers. In 1842, Henry Stevens Jr., who in his later years liked to add “GMB” after his signature, bestowed it on the Bennington men who signed a petition to the King in 1766, years before the Allens came to the area.⁶³ The “Spirit of the Green Mountain Boys” had been evoked in the 1830s, that time of shifting and uncertain values, as a call to patriotism; and “We, as Green Mountain Boys” routinely introduced declarations by groups seeing themselves as guardians of a threatened society.⁶⁴ As volunteers in later wars and in other countries became the focus of popular admiration across the nation, the image of the Boys continued to encourage Vermonters to see themselves and their neighbors, although residents of a small state, as custodians of an increasingly powerful nation’s past, simple, upright men ready to spring into action whenever

necessary to defend their homes and their country, now even other countries, in the cause of freedom.

The great majority of men who fought at Bennington, the men the Boys relieved when they arrived just in time, were not Vermonters.⁶⁵ Hiland Hall, following Samuel Williams, attributed the victory at Bennington, not to Warner or even to the Green Mountain Boys, but in general terms to “undisciplined husbandmen with their hunting guns without bayonets, [who] bravely stormed entrenchments manned by regular troops and defended by cannon.”⁶⁶ All the men—a “hastily-gathered band of the ‘embattled farmers’ of Vermont, New-Hampshire and Massachusetts”—had of course been included in the appeal for donations for the erection of the monument in 1879 as a tribute to their victory.⁶⁷ In the celebration of the sesquicentennial of the battle in 1927, well after World War I had nudged even small states like Vermont into the twentieth-century world, they all gained global significance. A representative of the state of New York (the long mutual antagonism with Vermont set aside) noted that, in this battle and others like it, “the right of self-determination and a spirit of federalism were established and a new era was ushered into the world.”⁶⁸ President Calvin Coolidge, a native of Plymouth Notch, Vermont, concurred. In a letter read at the ceremony, he referred to the soldiers’ “devotion to the common good which has made our country great” and called the Bennington battle “more far-reaching in its effect, more potent in the determination of final victory” than any battle in the late war.⁶⁹ The newspaper account of the ceremony recalled, and bettered, the traditionalist account, proclaiming Warner, Stark, Ethan Allen, and the “intrepid” Green Mountain Boys *all* “heroes of the Revolution.”⁷⁰

THE RETREAT GLORIFIED

By then, for most Vermonters, Warner’s retreat had always been a major part of the eighteenth-century story, and their attachment to that story was still demonstrated and fostered in the twentieth century by the popularity of several books, both fiction and non-fiction, published in the 1920s and just before World War II.⁷¹ But professionally trained historians from outside Vermont, partly in response to doubts raised during the Depression, were now questioning the image of freedom-loving Ethan Allen leading a struggle against oppression that Vermonters still relied on. Heroes, including the Allens, and villains, the Yorkers, were now seen as groups of warring entrepreneurs determined to profit personally from the land made available by the New Hampshire grants.⁷² Even Allen, while still seen as the major defender of Vermont,

was no longer a hero. By the end of the 1940s, following the publication of Matt Bushnell Jones's *Vermont in the Making* in 1939, the entire period had been stripped of its sentimentality and romance—for these historians.⁷³ Most Vermonters simply ignored the debunking—if they were even aware of it. Historians including W. H. Crockett and Leon Dean at the University of Vermont remained fascinated by the first fifty years of Vermont history: the land grants controversy, the Revolution, and the machinations of Ethan and Ira Allen. And so “the remarkable tyranny of the Allens over Vermont historiography” continued for decades longer.⁷⁴

Perhaps because it evokes a striking image, Warner's retreat, not the more complicated battle at Bennington, which produced multiple “heroes,” remained his most familiar role in the Revolution, and was even gradually enlarged. In 1952, still acknowledging Chipman as the authority, Arthur Peach's statement that Warner “commanded the rear guard with considerable skill and success” transformed his place at the rear of the otherwise “disgraceful” retreat from Canada into further proof of the superior qualities of the hero at Bennington. And when twentieth-century Vermont military historians, veterans of a war from which the United States had emerged as the world's most powerful nation, looked more closely at Vermont's part in the Revolutionary War, they magnified this heroic image accordingly.

In 1988, in *The Battle of Hubbardton*,⁷⁵ editor of State Papers Col. John Williams combined the two Canadian retreats and embellished Warner's action in other ways. With the vanguard of Burgoyne's far superior force close behind, Warner and two other young colonels, Ebenezer Francis and Nathan Hale, had served as the rear guard during Maj. Gen. Arthur St. Clair's retreat from Fort Ticonderoga. When St. Clair took the main body of the army ahead, he left Warner in charge at Hubbardton to gather and bring up the trailing rear—invalids, men weakened by measles and other ailments, and those who had simply fallen behind. In writing about the battle that followed at Hubbardton on July 7, 1777, Col. Williams drew from his major source, an unpublished manuscript of Col. R. Ernest Dupuy, an important reason for St. Clair's choice: Warner's experience as commander of the rear guard of the Northern Army as it retreated from Canada. Dupuy cites Warner's “incessant efforts and good leadership” and his “experience in rear guard fighting against both British and Indians” during Sullivan's retreat, observing that “to some extent, it had been thanks to Warner that any Americans at all had come back safely over that via dolorosa.”⁷⁶ Williams, citing Chipman's *Memoir*, puts the beginning of Sullivan's retreat at Québec, enlarges upon both Chipman's praise and DuPuy's

heightened evaluation of Warner's achievement, and credits Warner's skills for the return of the entire shrunken and weakened American army from Canada:

Warner . . . had demonstrated his ability in rear guard actions all the way from Québec to Ticonderoga . . . [He] had employed rear guard tactics against both the Indians and the British during General John Sullivan's retreat from Québec the previous spring. To some extent it had been through Warner's persistent efforts and demonstrated leadership that so many Americans had returned safely from that small-pox-ridden disastrous retreat. . . . During the retreat from Canada, he had demonstrated time after time his capability of picking up the wounded, the sick, and the invalids along the way while still keeping his distance from the British. With entire units decimated by small-pox, this had been a superhuman task that would cruelly shorten Warner's life.⁷⁷

Richard Ketchum's *Saratoga*, published in 1997, by which time "winning" a war had become much more problematic, cites Colonel Williams's account, but presents Chipman's contribution in a considerably more restrained, but still inaccurate, summation of St. Clair's choice of Warner: Not only was Warner familiar with the surrounding territory; he was "an old hand at protecting a retreating force . . . having covered the retreat from Canada, when he marched south with the pitiful remains of the army, bringing the wounded and disease-ridden victims to safety."⁷⁸ Today, two hundred forty years later, the fanciful story lives on, albeit at a much lower decibel level, in a cautious word-for-word return to the eighteenth century. The current Wikipedia article on Seth Warner notes that evidence about his actions in Canada is "scant," but then quotes Samuel Williams's description of his role in the retreat.⁷⁹

THE REAL COLONEL WARNER

Chipman's Warner (like Williams's Warner) became an integral part of the glorified picture of the Grants. The criticisms directed at the unprofessionalism of the real Warner and his men in the fall of 1775, the beginning of the Canadian campaign, by Maj. Gen. Philip Schuyler and Brig. Gen. Richard Montgomery, both experienced military officers, were valid—and unsurprising; but until Peter Force and others gathered and published the letters of the men who fought in the Revolution and the documents produced by the new government, they were not widely known. Without military training of his own, Warner had had to search for a way to make soldiers out of men, some of them former comrades, who had never acknowledged anyone's authority. His first regiment's activities, as described in John Fassett's journal of their service in Canada in the fall of 1775, make this very clear. The regiment did not follow

Montgomery to Québec because the men in the ranks had chosen not to and their officers deferred to them.⁸⁰ Under the “circumstances,” i.e., the onset of winter, it was “proper” to go home. To Schuyler, this was evidence of the “want of subordination and discipline.”⁸¹ At Bennington, Warner gave in again, this time to the leader of some volunteers’ open defiance of his order to “follow” Stark instead of him, and that same day he in turn defied Stark’s order to retreat to Bennington.⁸² Discipline was a problem for all commanders in the Revolution, whether trained to lead or not. Schuyler was echoing Montgomery’s complaint about “the want of subordination and discipline” among the New Englanders serving under him who “carry the spirit of freedom into the field, and think for themselves.”⁸³ Washington himself openly complained about being expected to win a war with untrained militiamen. But Schuyler, recognizing Warner’s dedication to his men, eventually moderated his criticism of Warner’s maneuvering to get more bounty money for them. Observing in a letter to Wooster that “the truly necessitous men from the Grants could hardly be blamed for accepting their due as they could get it,”⁸⁴ he complained to John Hancock that Warner had caused him “an infinity of trouble”⁸⁵ with his deception, but a month later mildly termed the deception “extremely outré.”⁸⁶ Col. Benedict Arnold, whose responsibility for conducting a successful blockade at Québec was undermined by Warner’s determination to protect his men by getting them inoculated, later gave all the men under his command the same order; and Washington later did the same. Finally, although both Montgomery and Schuyler had criticized, even ridiculed, Warner’s men for leaving before their first three-month enlistment in the fall ended, his men at Québec served several weeks past that point, retreating with Thomas until reinforcements belatedly arrived.⁸⁷ These turnabouts support Hiland Hall’s emphasis, following Chipman, on Warner’s bond with the men serving under him. Stipulations by his men that they would serve only under him and his complaint about troops under his command who were not from the Grants also demonstrate this bond. Hall knew too about the leadership skills Warner later demonstrated, earning the confidence of St. Clair, who relied heavily on him to bring in hundreds of troops and the cattle to feed them at Fort Ticonderoga, and about Stark’s praise for his support at Bennington, where his troops “turned the tide.” (Hall did not mention the criticism directed at Warner for ignoring St. Clair’s order to bring the weary men from Hubbardton to join him.) Some of this, duly documented, may have tarnished Warner’s reputation as an officer, but it eventually justified Chipman’s admiration of him for putting the needs of his men first. And Warner was remembered best and longest for the

increasingly elaborated story of his dedication to all those in need during the otherwise “disastrous” retreat.

As long as the glowing stories in the *Vermont Historical Gazetteer* and in the biographies and histories of Hall and others remained “fact,” as long as colorful eighteenth-century Vermont remained alive, so did the essence of the story of Seth Warner’s dedication to his retreating men that Israel Warner remembered from childhood. When Chipman’s version was quoted in 1940 at the dedication of a marker at the beginning of the Seth Warner Memorial Highway as “the most satisfactory account of Seth Warner,”⁸⁸ its origin, the story that Samuel Williams and then Henry Stevens were probably told, was still largely unknown. For a century and a half, awareness of that first story did not extend far beyond Stevens, Chipman (perhaps), and Williams. The “revisionists,” the out-of-state historians who rewrote the history of late eighteenth-century Vermont, had no interest in it; and so Chipman’s expanded story of the retreat could be gradually exaggerated until it became a twentieth-century near-caricature, long after Chipman and Hiland Hall advocated for Warner and the monument at Bennington finally made the “chivalrous” Seth Warner the only Vermonter ever credited with a victory.

Warner could never challenge, let alone unseat, Ethan Allen, the “metaphor” for Vermont and its “mythical embodiment.” Early Vermont had been shaped, and reshaped, in Allen’s image for too long and accepted as truth by too many; and, until Hall stepped in, Chipman and other writers had argued for Warner’s claim to only a relatively small part of that picture. Even when he was proclaimed a hero at Bennington, the myth forced him to share that title with the everlasting Green Mountain Boys and even with Allen, who had been in prison during much of the Revolution and took no part in it after he was released, and to whom the word “treason” was later attached. Allen’s image as a hero, which he himself created, was always more powerful and was constantly reinvented, sinking with the revisionists’ reassessment, then rising and sinking again, sometimes in humorous stories in the nineteenth century, often in questionable, commercialized connections throughout the twentieth century. To people in other states, he came to represent Vermont. Warner’s reputation, established in the Grants and then limited for the most part to inside Vermont, was increasingly strengthened by his actions in the military and was never truly sullied. It held steady and then even rose. In due time, the old farmers, his son Israel, and Williams, Chipman, and Hall were all proven right. Seth Warner made himself a better leader because he was a better man.

NOTES

¹ *Records of the Council of Safety and Governor and Council of the State of Vermont [and] the General Conventions from July 1775 to December 1777*, vol. 1, ed. E. P. Walton (Montpelier, Vt.: Steam Press of J. & J. M. Poland, 1873), 6, citing Hiland Hall, *History of Vermont, from its Discovery to its Admission into the Union in 1791* (Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell, 1868), widely referred to by its running title, *Early Vermont*, 212-213.

² Daniel Chipman, *Memoir of Colonel Seth Warner, by Daniel Chipman, LL.D., to Which is Added the Life of Ethan Allen, by Jared Sparks* (Middlebury, [Vt.]: L. W. Clark, 1848), 42-43. A later edition is *The Life of Col. Seth Warner; With an Account of the Controversy Between New York and Vermont from 1763 to 1775* (Burlington, [Vt.]: C. Goodrich, 1858), and <http://digitalcommons.providence.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1019&context=primary>, accessed November 17, 2017.

³ Hall, *Early Vermont*, Appendix No. 1, "Biographical Sketches," 473.

⁴ A "postscript" by "A. W. P." to an article on the battle of Hubbardton in *Vermont Quarterly*, n. s., 20 (October 1952): 324.

⁵ Letters of Brig. Gen. David Wooster, Col. Benedict Arnold, Maj. Gen. Philip Schuyler, and the Congressional Commissioners all place Warner at Québec at that time.

⁶ *American Archives; consisting of a collection of authentick records, state papers, debates, and letters and other notices of publick affairs, the whole forming a documentary history of the origin and progress of the North American colonies*, in six series, ed. Peter Force. Fourth Series, 6 vols. (Washington, D.C.: M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, 1837-1846), 6: 451-454.

⁷ Letter from the Commissioners [Samuel Chase and Charles Carroll] to John Hancock, 17 May 1776, Montreal; read 10 June 1776 and referred to Mr. Sherman, Mr. Wythe, Mr. Sergeant, Mr. F. Lee, and Mr. Gwinnet, in Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, 6: 587-588.

⁸ In a rotation among companies, Warner regularly "gave" men to stand guard at the main camp from March 26 to May 4, the eve of the Council of War that voted to retreat, Doyen Salsig, ed. *Parole, Québec—Countersign, Ticonderoga; Second New Jersey Regimental Orderly Book, 1776* (London: Association of University Presses, 1980), 53-98. On May 17, the day Thomas reached Sorel, the Rev. Ammi Robbins, an army chaplain who was among those Thomas sent to Sorel and who had continued up the Richelieu River to Chambly, made what is probably the only surviving contemporary reference to the retreating Warner himself: "Lt. Col. Warner consents that I go [i.e., leave Canada] with his people, though very much crowded." On June 9, Warner took the Rev. Robbins, returned from time at home in Connecticut, to Crown Point, where men from his unit were still recovering, Ammi Robbins, *The Journal of the Rev. Ammi R. Robbins, a Chaplain in the American Army, in the Northern Campaign of 1776* (New Haven, [Ct.]: R. L. Hamlen, 1850), 21, 29.

⁹ According to Joseph Rowe's testimony on his pension application, they "met the Pennsylvania troops & were discharged & . . . went home," M804, #S13142, Joseph Rowe of Wait Hopkins's Company, 10; see also M804, #W19003, Josiah Sabin, a member of Jeremiah Cady's Detachment, a unit attached to Warner's regiment, 11. The 2nd Pennsylvania Battalion, led by Lt. Col. William Allen, had joined Thomas in his retreat after an encounter with a British ship in which almost two tons of powder meant for him had been lost. Details of this encounter are scarce; but several letter writers, including General Thomas, referred to it (Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, 6:454). The agreement is implicit in an April 16 reference in an orderly book to the procedure to be followed by "those determined not to Inlist or remain and do duty till further reinforcements arrive," Doyen Salsig, ed., *Parole, Québec—Countersign, Ticonderoga*, 78, and <https://archive.org/details/journalof-revammii00robbiala>, accessed November 11, 2017. A letter from William Goforth to Alexander McDougall on 21 April 1776 mentions a report from Québec that Warner's men had agreed to extend their enlistments for one month. Alexander McDougall Papers, ca. 1756-1795, New York Historical Society, New York, N.Y.

¹⁰ Letter from Thomas to Commissioners, 20 May 1776, Sorel (Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, 6:592).

¹¹ Entries in Ammi Robbins's journal trace the regiment's progress to Sorel and then home to the Grants. On May 16, Robbins wrote from Chambly, "[M]ultitudes are moving down, Warner's, Cady's, Arnold's, &c, they will not stay, though all is lost." Given Warner's permission to travel with the regiment, he spent twelve days after he left St. Johns, sometimes with various officers of the regiment, en route to Bennington (Robbins journal, 21-26).

¹² Letters from Schuyler to Washington, 24 May 1776, Philip Schuyler Papers, 25 February-19 November 1776, in New York Public Library, New York, N.Y.; and from Sullivan to Schuyler, 25 and 27 May 1776, in Otis G. Hammond, ed., *Letters and Papers of Major-General John Sullivan, Continental Army*, 3 vols. (Concord, N. H.: New Hampshire Historical Society, 1930), 1. 1771-1777 [13, *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society*], 209-210. All cited in Charles R. Whittemore's *A General of the Revolution: John Sullivan of New Hampshire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 26.

.....

¹³ Chipman, *Memoir*, 42-43.

¹⁴ John J. Duffy and H. Nicholas Muller, *Inventing Ethan Allen* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2014), 20-21.

¹⁵ Ira Allen, Esquire, *The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont; One of the United States of America* (1798; Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle, 1969), 58-59, 51.

¹⁶ Chipman, *Memoir*, 27-28. Chipman excuses this treatment by saying that it was supported by the criminal code of all the colonies, but implies that Warner was above such behavior. He does not mention Samuel Williams's description of Warner's treatment of "spies" among the Yorkers: "When any of them were taken, Warner caused them to be tried by some of the most discreet of the people, and if declared guilty, to be tied to a tree and whipped," Samuel Williams, *The Rural Magazine; or, Vermont Repository* 1, no. 1 (January 1795); repr. *The Natural and Civil History of Vermont*, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Burlington, Vt.: Samuel Mills, 1809), App. VII. "Historical Memoirs of Colonel Seth Warner," 2: 446. Warner had a reputation for being more likely to be merciful than most Green Mountain Boys, once saving a Yorker from having his house burned by directing him to buy a New Hampshire deed and then simply replace the roof, Charles Miner Thompson, *Independent Vermont* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1942), 330-331.

¹⁷ Williams, *Natural and Civil History*, 2nd ed., 2: 445-450.

¹⁸ Walpole, N.H.: Isaiah Thomas and David Carlisle Jr.

¹⁹ Williams, *Natural and Civil History*, 2nd ed., 2: 220, 227.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 447. Williams attributes Warner's neglect of his family's welfare to his "patriotic passion," 449.

²¹ Chipman, *Memoir*, 42, 40.

²² *Ibid.*, 34-35.

²³ Williams, *Natural and Civil History*, 2nd ed., 2: 447.

²⁴ A former professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Harvard known for his scholarly writings, Williams became a minister, editor, and publisher after he resigned from Harvard and moved to Rutland, Vermont, where his brother lived, in 1788. He resigned after being indicted by a Superior Court in Massachusetts for misappropriating funds he was entrusted with. Robert Rothschild, *Two Brides for Apollo: The Life of Samuel Williams* (Bloomington, Ind., iUniverse: 2009), 284 and elsewhere. See also the Samuel Williams Family Papers, 1723-1995, MS Am 2624, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. <http://oasis.lib.harvard.edu/oasis/deliver/~hua05010>, accessed November 13, 2017.

²⁵ Carleton announced that "many of his Majesty's deluded subjects of the neighboring Provinces, labouring under wounds and divers disorders, are dispersed in the adjacent woods and Parishes, and in great danger of perishing for want of proper assistance." All militia officers were to search for them and take them to the General Hospital for "proper care." As soon as they had recovered (and had sworn not to take up arms against the British government), they would be free to return home. Proclamation by His Excellency Guy Carleton, Captain-General and Governour-in-Chief of the Province of Québec, &c., 10 May 1776. Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, 6:418.

²⁶ Williams, *Natural and Civil History*, 2nd ed., 2: 74-75.

²⁷ J. Kevin Graffagnino traces Allen's influence on Williams in the two men's letters in "The Vermont 'Story': Continuity and Change in Vermont Historiography," *Vermont History*, 46 (Spring 1978), 80-81.

²⁸ Williams, *History*, 2nd ed., 2: 69-70, 79. Just who commanded the rear in Sullivan's retreat is not completely clear. Like Samuel Williams, Robert McConnell Hatch, in *Thrust for Canada: The American Attempt on Québec in 1775-1776* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), gives Col. John Stark and Anthony Wayne this role, saying they "shared command," 222; but Williams names Col. Enoch Poor as well, along with "other excellent officers," 2nd ed., 2: 77. H. N. Moore's *Life and Services of Gen. Anthony Wayne* (Philadelphia: Leary & Getz, 1883), 20, states that the retreat "was ably conducted by Wayne," without mentioning anyone else; and, whereas Hatch says that Col. Elisha Porter joined Stark and Wayne (223), Porter wrote in his diary on June 17 that he and Stark "brought up the rear." "The Diary of Colonel Elisha Porter of Hadley, Massachusetts," ed. Appleton Morgan, *Magazine of American History*, 30 (1893): 197.

²⁹ The note at the title of Appendix VII refers the reader to a mention of Warner's Continental regiment's support of Gen. Horatio Gates later in 1776, "as he pushed forward his continental troops with the utmost expedition, to stop the British in their desolatory career on Hudson's river." Williams, *Natural and Civil History*, 2nd ed., 2: 159.

³⁰ Chipman's biography of his brother Nathaniel, *The Life of Hon. Nathaniel Chipman, with Selections from his Miscellaneous Papers* (Boston: C. C. Little and J. Brown, 1846), does not mention Warner.

³¹ Israel Warner, Letter from Whitehall, 15 January 1846, Seth Warner Papers, MSS 28 #17, 5-6, Leahy Library, Vermont Historical Society. Transcribed (and edited) in Notes and Documents—I:

.....

“Calendar of the Seth Warner Papers,” *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, 11 June 1943: 111-112. Israel’s account is devoid of periods (commas along with *and* and *then* must make do) and, replete with comma splices and run-on sentences, it is often ambiguous. Israel was clearly reaching far into his past to retrieve what his father had told him, confusing it with what others had told him over the years. Little wonder that his account is at times inaccurate. He puts his father’s advice that his men at Québec inoculate themselves after the retreat instead of before it and conflates Sullivan’s retreat from Canada (which ended at the Ile aux Noix, the “effective” men then sent to Fort Ticonderoga) with St. Clair’s retreat from Ticonderoga over a year later.

³² Israel’s presence in Bennington is documented as late as 1790, when land there given to him by his father, to whom it had been granted, was surveyed. Samuel Swift, *History of the Town of Middlebury, in the Country of Addison Vermont* (Middlebury, Vt.: Middlebury Historical Society, A. H. Copeland, 1859), 164. Israel later moved just across the state line to Whitehall in Washington County, New York. He was enumerated there with his family in the 1840 Federal Census, aged 72, and wrote his letters to Henry Stevens there in 1845 and 1846.

³³ Mark R. Anderson’s *Battle for the Fourteenth Colony: America’s War of Liberation in Canada, 1774-1776* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2013) traces the extensive efforts of the Continental Congress to gain support for the Revolution in Québec by encouraging prominent sympathizers to spread the word among others who had long been disaffected with their British rulers. The Canadians in the outposts around Québec were particularly sympathetic to the American cause. Various British accounts mention loaded carts dashing away among the fleeing Americans. A sentry at the British garrison heard early in the morning of May 6 that “the rebels . . . are loading carts with baggage arms &c.” *Journal of the Most Remarkable Occurrences in Québec Since Arnold Appeared Before the Town on the 14th November 1775*. Originally published in *Historical Documents*, Series 7 (Literary and Historical Society of Québec, 1905). Printed, with some variations, in *Collections of the New York Historical Society* [1880], 3: 175-236; vol. 13 of New York Historical Society: John Watts De Peyster Publication Fund Series, 1881; repr. William Smith, *History of Canada*, 2 vols. (Québec, 1826), 2: 81.

³⁴ Israel is listed in *A Census of Pensioners for Revolutionary or Military Services* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Office, 6th Census, 1840), 100.

³⁵ Graffagnino, “The Vermont ‘Story,’” 81.

³⁶ Duffy and Muller, *Inventing Ethan Allen*, 222-223.

³⁷ David J. Russo, ed., *Keepers of Our Past: Local Historical Writing in the United States, 1820s-1830s* (New York: Greenwood, 1988).

³⁸ John J. Duffy and H. Nicholas Muller III, *An Anxious Democracy: Aspects of the 1830s; Contributions in American Studies*, No. 58 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press), 121-122, 146.

³⁹ Duffy and Muller, *Inventing Ethan Allen*, 168-169, 171, and 211.

⁴⁰ Henry W. De Puy, *Ethan Allen and the Green-Mountain Heroes of ’76, with a Sketch of the Early History of Vermont* (originally published in 1853, again in 1860; reprint, Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 317-318.

⁴¹ Abby M. Hemenway, ed., *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer: A Magazine, Embracing a History of Each Town, Civil, Ecclesiastical, Biographical and Military*, 5 vols; vol.1 (Burlington, Vt.: A. M. Hemenway, 1868): 154, 175.

⁴² Williams, *Natural and Civil History*, 2nd ed., 2: 446.

⁴³ Chipman elaborated on Williams’s description: “Probably no revolutionary patriot, during the war, performed a service evincing more energy, resolution, and perseverance, or a more noble patriotism, than the raising of a regiment in so short a time, and marching it to Québec in the face of a Canadian winter. The men of this day would shiver at the thought of it.” *Memoir*, 40. Williams similarly explained the Continental Congress’s appointment of Warner on July 2, 1776, as colonel of a regular regiment made up of “troops which had served with reputation in Canada,” as the result of “his extraordinary exertions” during the retreat, an appointment “perfectly agreeable to his inclinations and genius.” *Natural and Civil History*, 2nd ed., 2: 447-448. Chipman echoed this praise almost verbatim. *Memoir*, 42.

⁴⁴ Hall, *Early Vermont*, 220, 473.

⁴⁵ Abby M. Hemenway, ed., *The Local History of Bennington, 1860-1863: The Military History of the County by Hon. Hiland Hall, Gov., with the Biography of Governor [sic] Hall by Hnery [sic] Hall, With Bennington Village* (Chicago, [1887]), 21. Warner, Hiland Hall wrote, “was Stark’s chief adviser in planning the attack on the enemy, he went into the action by his side and was his active associate in his first engagement, as well as in repelling the attack of Breyman’s reinforcement. Dr. Thacher in his contemporary *Military Journal* says, ‘Stark assisted by Warner matured his plans for the battle’ and Stark himself in his letter to Gates . . . says, ‘Col. Warner’s superior skill in the action was of extraordinary service to me.’” Chipman also cites these sources, along with Zadock Thompson.

.....

(Thompson had referred to the advice of Warner and “other chief officers” in his *History of Vermont: Natural, Civil, and Statistical* [Burlington, Vt.: C. Goodrich, 1842], Part 2, 45).

⁴⁶ Hall had undoubtedly read Chipman’s account of Williams’s careful preparation for writing his account of the Battle of Bennington in the second edition of his history (Williams, *History*, 2nd ed., 2: 69-70). On a visit to Bennington in the early 1790s, Williams had several opportunities to talk with many “leading men in the State” who lived in Bennington (among them probably Samuel Robinson and Elijah Dewey, both militia captains); and several men who had fought in the battle lived in Rupert, his home after he moved to Vermont. Chipman correctly cites page 120 of the second edition of Williams’s history. *Memoir*, 69.

⁴⁷ Williams, Chipman, and Hall all quote Stark’s praise of Warner’s assistance in his official letter to General Gates, and all cite both Gordon’s *History of the Revolution* (which Chipman quotes at length) and “Dr. Thacher in his journal” as well. James Thacher, *A Military Journal During the American Revolutionary War, From 1775 to 1783* (Boston: Richardson and Lord, 1823), 110-112, and <https://archive.org/stream/jamesthachermil00revorich#page/n3/mode>, accessed November 13, 2017.

⁴⁸ Williams, *Natural and Civil History*, 2nd ed., 2: 122. Chipman does not mention Stark’s promotion, but notes the promotion of both Warner and Samuel Safford “before the 10th of November following, probably soon after the battle.” *Memoir*, 74. F. B. Heitman’s *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During the War of the Revolution, April 1775 to December 1783* (Baltimore: Nichols, Killam & Maffitt, 1893) lists Warner as a lieutenant colonel. Whether he was ever commissioned as a full colonel is not completely clear. In one of his letters to Henry Stevens, Israel speaks of once having to send his father’s commission to Congress as proof that “we Belong’d to the Continental Line,” in order to get a pension for his mother, who died in 1816. Letter from Whitehall, 30 Dec 1845, Seth Warner Papers, MSS 28 #17, 1, Leahy Library, Vermont Historical Society. A document including testimony by supporting witnesses labeled “A Colonel’s Commission in favor of Seth Warner from Congress dated Phila., 14th November 1779,” makes up page 25 under his son Israel’s name in Fold3. Page 24 is an envelope postmarked (but not dated) in Naperville, Ill., Israel’s home after he moved from New York many years later, and addressed to “Commissioners of Pensions Washington, DC.”

⁴⁹ Chipman, *Memoir*, 59.

⁵⁰ Letter from Whitehall, 30 December 1845, Seth Warner Papers, MSS 28 #17, 2-3, Leahy Library, Vermont Historical Society.

⁵¹ A search of the most likely locations did not discover this exchange of letters. Despite the answer from Israel Warner (if he received it), Chipman devotes fourteen convoluted (and confusing) pages of his rather brief *Memoir* to arguing that Warner had no reason to feel “mortified,” as other historians had written, for having missed the first engagement (60-73). He finally accepted Zadock Thompson’s argument that, since Stark acknowledged Warner’s presence during the planning for several days before that, it was his regiment who missed that engagement: “Disappointed that they had not been in season to take part in the first engagement and share in its glories, [they] now advanced forward and attacked the enemy with great spirit and resolution.” “Thompson’s History,” Part II, 45-46.

⁵² The oration was printed in a pamphlet, *The Forty-Sixth Anniversary of Bennington Battle, An Oration Delivered in Pownal August 16, 1823 before a United Assembly of Citizens from Bennington and Berkshire Counties* (Bennington, Vt.: Doolittle, 1823), see the collections of the Bennington Museum, Cat. No. 1974.231. The reference to Warner, his bravery “tried, proved, and fastened within him,” follows “the bold and desperate Allen” on page 6 of the pamphlet.

⁵³ A long “open letter” Hall addressed to Luther Graves, treasurer of the Bennington Battle Monument Association, dated 12 January 1885, and printed in the weekly *Bennington Banner* of 15 January 1885, opened Hall’s public campaign to overturn the decision of his own design committee and to replace it with a committee that would support his much more ambitious design. “Ex-Gov. Hall Concerning the Battle Monument,” *Bennington Banner*, 15 January 1885, 3. Microfilm at Vermont State Archives & Records Administration.

⁵⁴ “Bennington’s Great Day,” *New York Times*, 17 August 1891. Not until 1903 did the Hoosick Historical Society in Hoosick Township in Rensselaer County, New York, where the battle was actually fought, “set history aright, after years during which the question had been threshed out . . . by historians of greater or less degree, and now assumed the proportions of a vast controversy.” August 15 had been designated for a “grand celebration” with the battlefield at Walloomsack Ridge “properly” decorated with flags. “To Set History Aright,” *New York Times*, 19 June 1903, 2.

⁵⁵ Rowland E. Robinson, *Vermont, A Study of Independence* (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin: Riverside Press, 1892; reprint 1897), 259.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 130.

⁵⁷ In *Inventing Ethan Allen*, pages 112-115, Duffy and Muller draw a comparison between this statue and the statue of Ethan Allen in Washington, D.C. Photographs of the two statues support

.....

the statement that “except for the face,” they are the same (i.e., Continental uniform, sword in right hand, left hand across chest). The authors refer to the “identical images” as support for their question, “Will the real Ethan Allen please stand up?” indicating that it is the heroic stance of the two that is the same, not the faces.

⁵⁸ http://historicsites.vermont.gov/directory/bennington/monument_markers, accessed November 13, 2017. The statue of Warner was financed by Olin Scott, a Bennington industrialist and one of the original organizers of the plan for the monument. (Another statue of Warner stands in the center of Manchester.) The statue of Stark was donated by John Threlfall, one of Stark’s fifth great nephews. On the same site is a bronze tablet commemorating Stark and 1,400 New Hampshire men, donated by the State of New Hampshire in 1977.

⁵⁹ “Honor Rev. Hero . . . Seth Warner,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, 16 August 1911.

⁶⁰ *New York Times*, 15 August 1927, 7.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* The wording here nicely finesses the question of whether Warner had been in the first engagement of the day and was joined by his regiment for the second engagement, as Zadock Thompson held and as seems to have been the case, or whether he was at their head when they arrived. (See above, n. 51.)

⁶² Robert E. Shalhope, *Bennington and the Green Mountain Boys: The Emergence of Liberal Democracy in Vermont, 1760-1850* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 165, citing rosters in John E. Goodrich, *Rolls of the Soldiers in the Revolutionary War, 1775 to 1783* (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle, 1904), 107-112. Shalhope saw the “ethos” of the Green Mountain Boys continuing in a “civil capacity” as the Allens and others served as their communities’ delegates to the frequent political conventions after the war.

⁶³ *Collections of the Vermont Historical Society*, 1 (1870): 273-274. Stevens wrote that he had found the petition in 1842, during one of his “antiquarian excursions from Yale College.” <http://libraryhistorybuff.blogspot.com/2009/09/henry-stevens-green-mountain-boy.html>, accessed November 11, 2017. A compilation of his letters by John Buechler is titled, *Henry Stevens, Green Mountain Boy, 1819-1886* (Lunenburg, Vt.: Meriden-Stinehour Press, 1986), as was an exhibit of Stevens’s books and letters at the Bailey/Howe Library at the University of Vermont, November 1986-January 1987.

⁶⁴ Duffy and Muller, *Anxious Democracy*, 145.

⁶⁵ The men fighting under Stark included New Hampshire and Massachusetts militia, Herrick’s rangers, and two militia companies under Captains Samuel Robinson and Elijah Dewey, i.e., almost every able-bodied man in Bennington. Shalhope, *Bennington and the Green Mountain Boys*, 172-173, citing rosters in Goodrich, *Rolls of the Soldiers*, 26-27.

⁶⁶ Hall, *Military History*, 21. Samuel Williams defended the reputation of all American militiamen, repeatedly criticized during the Revolution by Washington and other experienced officers, by imagining the shock of the British generals at hearing of the militia’s exemplary behavior at Bennington. That “an enemy, whom they had contemplated with . . . contempt, should all at once . . . discover much of the spirit of heroism. . . [that men] who had been accustomed to fly at their approach . . . should force the entrenchments, capture the cannon, kill and make prisoners of a large body of the royal army, was a matter of indignation, astonishment, and surprise. . . [These] were exploits which they supposed belonged exclusively to the armies of kings.” Williams, *Natural and Civil History*, 2nd ed., 2: 124-125.

⁶⁷ *New York Times*, 14 May 1879, 5.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* New York’s representative was Dr. Frank B. Graves, chairman of the New York State Education Commission and president of the University of the State of New York.

⁶⁹ “Coolidge Tribute to Vermont Heroes,” *New York Times*, 17 August 1927, 28. Coolidge also noted the “bitter differences with stronger colonies.”

⁷⁰ “Seven States Honor Bennington Heroes,” *ibid.*

⁷¹ Graffagnino, in “The Vermont ‘Story,’” 88-89, briefly evaluates each of them: a “well-researched” political history by Walter H. Crockett, *Vermont: The Green Mountain State* (1920), which presented the inhabitants of the Grants as “the heart and soul of the Revolution” and included “nothing that would sully the state’s reputation”; James B. Wilbur’s *Ira Allen: Founder of Vermont* (1928), a “total whitewashing” that “exonerated” the traditional view of the state; and *The Reluctant Republic* (1941), a popular “fast-moving” presentation of the traditional early Vermont by Frederic F. Van de Water, a freelance writer. An even more fanciful children’s book with Warner as hero came out during World War II: Leon W. Dean, *Green Mountain Boy: The Story of Seth Warner* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1944).

⁷² Duffy and Muller, *Inventing Ethan Allen*, 184.

⁷³ Graffagnino, “The Vermont ‘Story,’” 90-94, identifies this mid-twentieth-century shift in the historiography of Vermont in which three Vermont historians, “revisionists” all, their books published within a single decade, rejected the glorified treatment of eighteenth-century Vermont: Matt B. Jones, *Vermont in the Making, 1750-1777* (1939), Charles M. Thompson, *Independent Vermont*

.....

(1942), and Chilton Williamson, *Vermont in Quandary, 1763-1825* (1949). The trio's criticism was anticipated by an outsider, Henry S. Wardner, in *The Birthplace of Vermont: A History of Windsor to 1781* (New York, privately printed, C. Scribner's Sons, c. 1927), the first "major" published work to break with tradition, casting doubt on Ira Allen's version of the Haldimand negotiations and his *History*, "hidden beneath" Wardner's examination of Windsor's local history, *ibid.*, 90. Duffy and Muller expand on its details in *Inventing Ethan Allen*, 184-185.

⁷⁴ Graffagnino, "The Vermont 'Story,'" 95; and Duffy and Muller, *Inventing Ethan Allen*, 172.

⁷⁵ Col. John A. Williams, *The Battle of Hubbardton: The American Rebels Stem the Tide* (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Division for Historical Preservation, 1988); reprint 2002, and <http://historicsites.vermont.gov/sites/historicsites/files/Documents/Williams%20Battle%20of%20Hubbardton%20American%20Rebels%20Stem%20the%20Tide%20book.pdf>, accessed November 13, 2017.

⁷⁶ "Warner had had more experience in rear guard fighting against both British and Indians than anyone else in St. Clair's command, for he had taken part in Sullivan's retreat from Québec the previous winter. To some extent, it had been thanks to Warner's incessant efforts and good leadership that any Americans at all had come back safely over that via dolorosa." R[ichard] Ernest Dupuy, "Battle of Hubbardton" (Unpublished monograph, dated December 1, 1960, John Williams Papers, Vermont Historical Society, MS 149), 7. Dupuy, a summer resident of Vermont, who had been both a journalist and a contributor to weird fiction magazines of the pulp era, served as public relations officer at West Point and with American forces in Europe and became a prolific writer of military history after the war. The monograph was published by John Williams as *The Battle of Hubbardton: A Critical Analysis* (Clayton, N.Y.: State of Vermont Historic Sites Commission, 1960).

⁷⁷ Williams, *Battle of Hubbardton*, 8, 10. Williams cites Dupuy for the details of Sullivan's retreat and Chipman for Warner's attention to the disabled despite the pressure of the pursuing British.

⁷⁸ Richard M. Ketchum, *Saratoga: Turning Point of America's Revolutionary War* (New York: Henry Holt, 1997), 189. Ketchum credits Warner with also "having fought to the end at Breed's Hill." Both the name of a Seth Warner of Saybrook, Connecticut, on the military rolls and the fact that Warner and Ethan Allen were en route to Philadelphia to argue before the Continental Congress for a Continental regiment representing the New Hampshire Grants on September 17, 1775, while the Battle of Breed's Hill (more commonly, Bunker Hill) was being fought, indicate that the man with Allen did not fight in Boston that day, <http://www.warnersregiment.org/Warner%20Bios.html>, accessed November 13, 2017. Force's *American Archives* includes several contemporary references to the Saybrook Seth Warner.

⁷⁹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seth_Warner, accessed November 11, 2017.

⁸⁰ Lieut. John Fassett Jr.'s diary, in which he recorded the activities of his unit of the Green Mountain Boys during their action in the fall campaign in Canada, is reproduced in Harry P. Ward's *Follett-Dewey Fassett-Safford Ancestry of Captain Martin Dewey Follett and his Wife Persis Fassett* (Columbus, Ohio: Champlin Printing, 1896), 215-243. The diary includes a sequence of events over five days that explains the unit's return home two weeks before their enlistment ended. It had snowed in Montreal, and they were to go on to Québec with Montgomery. Warner's men talked a bit and "looked down," silent, seeming to Fassett to agree that they should not go. He "expected they would raise a mutiny." The next day, Warner "proposed all that were of a mind to go to Québec," to follow him," i.e., literally line up behind him. All the officers did so, one by one; but only a very few of the men then lined up behind their officers. The following day, Warner delivered a petition from his men, including his officers, to Montgomery, who gave him a "pass" to take them home. Two days later, they left, see Ward, *ibid.*, 235-237. Montgomery later told Schuyler he had had to promise warmer clothing to those from other units who went with him, Letter from Schuyler to John Hancock, 27 November 1775, Ticonderoga, Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, 4: 189.

⁸¹ Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, 3: 1681.

⁸² According to Israel Warner's account of the "first action" at Bennington, "Major Rann said his orders was to put his men under Warners directions My Father told him to join General Starks he said he would not, if he could not go according to order, he would not go at all, and at that Crisis the Enemy had a powerful Reinforcement, and General Starks ordered my Father to ride on line and order a retreat into the Middle of Bennington, My Father Said he was dam'd if he would, What Says the General will you not Obey my orders, my Father said he did not bid but he must if it brought the Heavens and Earth together, and if they began a retreat there would be no Stop to the Militia, My father swore he could get the action on the ground, then General Starks told him to go on, My Father gave his men half a pint of spirits each with some gunpowder in it, and then he said he did not see but what they felt as merry as if they were a going to a New Year's Ball." Warner, Letter from Whitehall, 30 December 1845, Seth Warner Papers.

⁸³ Letter from Montgomery to Schuyler, 13 October 1775, Camp near St. John's. Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, 3: 1097.

⁸⁴ Justin H. Smith, *Our Struggle for the Fourteenth Colony: Canada and the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons: The Knickerbocker Press, 1907), 2: 196. Smith quotes Schuy-

.....

ler as having made this statement; but his citation, “See Sch. to Wooster, Jan. 26, 1776: 4 Force, IV, 1003,” is wrong, and a search for “truly necessitous men” in the nine volumes of the digital *American Archives* and in the two digital volumes of Lossing’s *Life and Times of Philip Schuyler* did not produce it. Smith may have been paraphrasing instead of quoting, but his source is still unclear. The Philip Schuyler Papers at the New York Public Library, which include, under “Letters Sent, 1769-1804,” three letterbooks, 1775-1778, containing Schuyler’s letters on the conduct of the war, were not searched.

⁸⁵ “I have an infinity of trouble with those people to whom I promised a bounty to march into Canada. Enclose a copy of a letter which I yesterday delivered to Colonel Warner,” Letter from Schuyler to Hancock, 13 February 1776, Albany, read 21 February 1776. Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, 5: 1131.

⁸⁶ Letter from Schuyler to Hancock, 19 March 1776, Albany, read 29 March 1776, *ibid.*, 4th Series, 5: 415.

⁸⁷ In the opinion of one Schuyler biographer, “No artfulness or craft or even money would persuade men to extend their service,” Don R. Gerlach, *Proud Patriot: Philip Schuyler and the War of Independence, 1775-1783* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University, 1987), 130. If that was truly the case, Warner had done the impossible when he persuaded his men to stay at Québec for what turned out to be three extra weeks and then to retreat with Thomas until reinforcements arrived.

⁸⁸ Walter S. Fenton, “Seth Warner,” an address delivered in Cornwall, just outside the village of Middlebury, *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, n.s., 3, 4 (December 1940): 337. Route 30 between Middlebury and Manchester was named after Warner by the Vermont legislature in 1933, and a statue of Warner was dedicated in the center of Manchester. A small hiking shelter on the Appalachian Trail and a U.S. Army 128-ft. tugboat also bear his name, <http://www.warnersregiment.org/Warner%20Bios.html>, accessed November 13, 2017.