

## From Hero to Traitor: The Motivations of Benedict Arnold

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Benedict Arnold

Benedict Arnold. The name has become synonymous with the word traitor, an epithet used against anyone who appears to or actually betrays their loyalties. But what would cause an American hero to reverse his course and offer his services to a sworn enemy? There are some seemingly obvious reasons, such as money, anger, or ambition, all of which played a part in Arnold's case. However, his motivations run much deeper and attest to the character of the man. A character molded by the roller coaster of success and failure that Arnold rode throughout his life, beginning with an initial, disastrous plunge in his early teens.<sup>1</sup> That plunge caused psychological wounds that festered internally over the years erupting under the pressure of war and ultimately bringing him down.

Arnold was born January 14, 1741 in Norwich, Connecticut the second son (his older brother and namesake had died at eight months of age) of Benedict and Hannah Arnold. The Arnolds were a prosperous and respectable family who held a prominent role in society; however, his father turned to alcohol for solace following the deaths of three of his children so that by the time young Benedict was fourteen the family's money and business were gone. Arnold was removed from his boarding school and brought back home to become an apprentice in the apothecary shop of his mother's cousins, Joshua and Daniel Lathrop.<sup>2</sup> The humiliation engendered in this forced return to face neighbors and friends as the son

of a bankrupt drunk can be imagined. His inner confidence and self-esteem vanished to be replaced by a life long desire for assurance and respect that no matter what he attained would never be satisfied.<sup>3</sup>

The apprenticeship with Lathrop was highly successful and at age 21 Arnold struck out on his own in the town of New Haven, where he could escape the disgraceful history of his father, opening a shop that was very much like a general store.<sup>4</sup> By the age of 26, he had established himself owning three trading ships and a larger store, but the money he was making meant more than financial security. “Arnold needed money as a tangible expression of the world’s regard, and he craved it not so much for its own sake as for its ability to confirm his substantiality to the world and to himself.”<sup>5</sup> When the British began enacting a series of taxes and to enforce old trade laws his livelihood was threatened and he was soon in debt. To assuage his anger and frustration with the British for jeopardizing his new life and the lives of his wife, Margaret (Peggy), and their three sons, which he had worked so hard to create, Arnold enlisted in the local militia. He was soon elected company captain, an honor he greatly desired, and after hearing of the confrontation at Lexington and Concord gathered his men to march to Boston as reinforcements. When the town council denied them gunpowder Arnold marched his company to Hunt’s Tavern, where the council met, demanding the keys to the powder house.<sup>6</sup> Following a confrontation and ultimately successful argument, the keys were procured and Arnold and his company were off to war.

On the way they encountered Samuel Parsons who told Arnold that the assembling army had no ammunition, supplies or cannon. All of these, Arnold knew from his frequent business trips to Canada, could be found at the weakly defended Fort Ticonderoga. Upon arrival in Massachusetts he shared this with the Committee of Safety

obtaining an appointment as colonel and a commission to seize the fort, but Parsons had taken Arnold's information to the authorities in Connecticut who organized a group, led by Ethan Allen, to do the same. Arnold, feeling betrayed, immediately set out to overtake Allen and when he reached him presented his orders which Allen's men refused to accept. After much discussion, more akin to an argument, the two agreed on a joint command. They easily took Ticonderoga, but Allen's men found rum in the cellar and "set about destroying and plundering private property."<sup>7</sup> Justifiably furious and realizing that the British would launch a counter-attack, Arnold toured the fort writing detailed reports until his own men arrived in a schooner which he used to attack the British base at St. John's and take control of their vessels. British counter-attack was now impossible without building new ships.<sup>8</sup> Arnold, seeing the British weakness, pleaded for a Canadian invasion, sending the Continental Congress a clear and detailed plan based on good intelligence. The Congress, however, was divided and distracted and instead of acting on his plan brushed him aside, cutting off money, supplies, and men, even launching an investigation into his expenses. When confronted with this knowledge, Arnold was insulted that he was being investigated without a hearing or being court-martialed. Adding insult to injury, his men were not going to be paid unless considered fit for duty which given the hardships they had endured in recent weeks meant few would receive compensation.<sup>9</sup> Disgusted with this treatment, Arnold resigned his commission and headed home. On the road, he received word that his wife had died. With his "dear" Peggy gone Arnold reconsidered his resignation, befriended General Philip Schuyler, and, after a brief visit with his sons, set off to offer his services to George Washington.<sup>10</sup>

In August 1775 Arnold was commissioned a colonel in the Continental Army and in September he set out with approximately 1,100

men to capture Quebec, marching up the Kennebec River. November found 40% of the American army lost due to death or desertion but the remainder had made it to the settlement of St. George's, Quebec. Now, all that remained was to cross the St. Lawrence River before the enemy could prepare. However, circumstances prevented this being done quickly and British reinforcements arrived first. This, combined with Arnold's delusion that Quebec was weak and divided and would support the invaders would lead to bitter defeat. For Arnold, self-interest was above all else, he could not conceive of men having an overriding allegiance to country or sovereign so he led his men across the river.<sup>11</sup> Encamped on the Plains of Abraham he found himself outnumbered two to one, without artillery, waiting on reinforcements from General Richard Montgomery and his men. On New Year's Eve Montgomery and Arnold attacked in a blinding snowstorm but were quickly repulsed; Montgomery was killed and Arnold badly wounded in his right leg.<sup>12</sup> Arnold's march up the Kennebec and his ability to emanate confidence and energy to rally the army from his hospital bed made him a hero in the army. In January 1776, Congress made him a Brigadier General turning him into a hero in the eyes of the world, but inside, the old fears – of being pitied, poor, ashamed – were still there. The idea of being a Patriot – Hero was extremely satisfying and according to historian Clare Brandt would become his armor. Armor he would do anything to preserve. Thus, when Congress did not respond to his reports but demanded an accounting of his Canadian expenditures during the failed Canadian invasion he was convinced they distrusted him.<sup>13</sup>

Then, in May, thousands of British reinforcements arrived in Canada and Congress promoted a series of generals over Arnold's head.<sup>14</sup> Arnold began his retreat, along the way burning towns, forts, bridges, and ships to slow the British and also evacuating thousands of sick and wounded. In July, he was at Crown Point with other

American generals to form a strategy for dealing with the British plan to divide and conquer America using ships prefabricated and waiting in the holds of British warships anchored in the St. Lawrence. Arnold came up with a plan: to quickly build a small naval squadron and delay the British until winter forced them to cease their operations. In October, in two small battles, he succeeded. The British sailed back to Canada and within a few weeks the waters were frozen and America was safe for another year. Despite his success, Arnold was decried by many Americans as an “evil genius [who] with a good deal of industry, got us clear of all our fine fleet,” as General William Maxwell wrote, and as “fiery, hot, and impetuous and without discretion” as Richard Henry Lee put it in a letter to Thomas Jefferson.<sup>15</sup>

Arnold’s success boosted the revolutionary cause in another way as well. Thanks to reinforcements from the northern army Washington was able to launch his surprise attack on the Hessians at Trenton and to defeat British regulars at Princeton taking pressure off Philadelphia and allowing the Americans to withdraw to winter quarters. Alfred Thayer Mahan may have said it best when, more than a century later, he wrote, “The little American navy was wiped out, but never had any force, big or small, lived to better purpose.”<sup>16</sup>

During these same months Arnold’s enemies were busy too. A court-martial, run by friends of Ethan Allen, investigated charges of looting from Canada during the siege of Quebec. There was no evidence Arnold had committed any wrongdoing but the proceedings dragged on until Arnold challenged each court officer to a duel as his anger boiled over. There was also a court of inquiry held by Congress into his affairs, instigated by more of Allen’s friends, against whose charges Arnold found it difficult to defend himself as many of his papers were burned or lost during the retreat from Quebec. Now found, those papers prove he did nothing wrong.

Congress also, in February 1777, promoted five brigadiers to major general, all junior to Arnold in distinction and length of service.<sup>17</sup> Washington championed Arnold and urged him to remain in the army, but to no avail; he wrote his resignation, saying, “I can no longer serve my country with honor.”<sup>18</sup> His honor, of course, was purely concerned with appearance, his pride and public dignity. Since the war also gave him an opportunity to once again be a hero, when Washington requested that he postpone a final decision until Congress could reconsider, he was willing to oblige.<sup>19</sup> In May, Congress did reconsider and Arnold was granted a commission as major general, but without restoring his seniority over the men promoted in February.<sup>20</sup> Once again, he submitted his resignation to Congress who tabled it as they needed him to counter another threat from the British.<sup>21</sup>

The northern army was facing a tremendous challenge from British General John Burgoyne and Washington needed all men available to counter his operations. As Arnold was eliminating Indian allies of the enemy at Fort Schuyler, Congress accepted his resignation but failed to notify him. As the weakened Burgoyne made his way to Albany hundreds of militia poured into the Continental camp, and General Horatio Gates assumed command of the northern army. Gates and Arnold clashed immediately over Gates’ cautious military style that held that the army was better off behind fortifications. Arnold, on the other hand, was daring and imaginative and pushed Gates in September 1777, at the first battle of Saratoga, to allow his men to advance.<sup>22</sup> Finally they were allowed to advance on a reconnaissance mission that broke the British line. Arnold pleaded with Gates for reinforcements, but Gates refused to budge and the conflict ended in a draw. According to British military historian J.W. Fortescue, “Arnold possessed all the gifts of a great commander . . . [he] was the most formidable opponent that could be

matched against the British in America;” had Arnold been given the troops he asked for, when he asked for them, Burgoyne would have been defeated then and there.<sup>23</sup>

For the next several days Arnold fumed and fussed until he received word that Gates’ official report of the action made no mention of him or his division. Storming into Gates’ headquarters where the two exchanged “high words and gross language,” Arnold learned that his resignation had been accepted weeks earlier so he was nothing more than a temporary force to be ordered about as Gates wished.<sup>24</sup> Furious and feeling trapped, Arnold announced he would leave camp, but Major Generals Enoch Poor and Benjamin Lincoln spearheaded a campaign to persuade him to stay – which he consented to. However, he had no command, so when the British attacked, on October 7, 1777, Arnold paced about helplessly itching to take part. He asked Gates for permission to go to the front, but Gates, not trusting him to go alone, sent Lincoln with him. Not long afterward they returned, Arnold arguing for a vigorous assault which Gates did not want, telling him, “I have nothing for you to do. You have no business here.”<sup>25</sup> Lincoln, knowing Arnold was right, continued to lobby for more men. Gates acquiesced and soon the British were scattering in all directions, except the center, which refused to budge. Arnold, humiliated, but not about to let another victory elude him, mounted a horse and rode for the front exhorting Ebenezer Learned’s regiments to follow until the center broke. Most of the enemy retreated to the protection of two redoubts which Arnold wasted no time in attacking leading a charge headlong into the left flank where he was shot in the right leg, the same leg that had been struck in Quebec. He was carried off the field as darkness fell after ending Burgoyne’s dream of conquering the northern colonies.<sup>26</sup> A few days later Burgoyne would surrender his army to Gates who, as before, downplayed Arnold’s role in achieving victo-

ry. Others did not, though, and Washington honored him with a gold epaulet and sword knot. Congress even consented to allowing an adjustment to his date of rank, restoring him in seniority and to the army.<sup>27</sup>

During his months of convalescence Arnold saw Washington's army, decimated by desertion and battle and ravaged by sickness from lack of food and clothing, withdraw to Valley Forge. He saw Congress refuse to grant peacetime pensions to Continental officers and seemingly ignore the needs of its army. Lacking a sense of honor, wanting only a hero's reward of a top place in society and the world, Arnold pondered the ineptitude of Congress beginning the mental preparation for treason. Preparation that convinced him, along with the threat of financial ruin that surrounded him, that war ruined people. He had to look out for himself above anything else, whatever it took.<sup>28</sup>

May 1778 found Arnold appointed as military governor of Philadelphia following the British evacuation.<sup>29</sup> The job was filled with frustrations as he was expected to cooperate with Congress and the Supreme Executive Council of the State of Pennsylvania, who were constantly fighting and issuing contradictory orders. He soon found himself at odds with many influential revolutionaries who were constantly looking for misconduct in his actions.<sup>30</sup> The Executive Council was pushed to their limits when Arnold bankrolled Connecticut sailor Gideon Olmstead and three companions in a lawsuit against the state. If they won, Arnold would pocket half the value of the ship, *Active*, and its cargo. Anonymous radicals vilified him in the press almost weekly and he counterattacked in like manner until February 1779 when the Council of Pennsylvania brought eight formal charges against him. He was accused of using troops as slave labor, closing shops to benefit his own self, and ordering army wagons to transport private goods to Philadelphia, amongst others. Six



of the charges were substantive while two were about political attitude. Of those six actions he was guilty, at least by design, but to acknowledge such never occurred to him.<sup>31</sup> Instead, he proclaimed that the charges were made up “in a cruel and unprecedented manner” in order to sully his reputation and he appealed to Washington for support.<sup>32</sup> According to Arnold’s account Washington advised that he request a court-martial to clear his name, which Congress granted, appointing a committee to look into the charges. This committee decided that Arnold should be tried on two of the charges: using slave labor and using army wagons to transport private goods. Congress, however, ordered him to be tried on four charges: the two decided on by the committee, plus issuing a pass to the ship *Charming Nancy*, and benefiting from the closure of the shops.<sup>33</sup>

In the midst of all this intrigue, Arnold had met and courted Margaret “Peggy” Shippen, the daughter of a suspected loyalist, Edward Shippen, and a part of Philadelphia’s high society. On April 8, 1779 they were married. While on his honeymoon, Arnold decided that if America, i.e. Congress, were going to abandon him, if it could not appreciate what he had suffered and give him the security he craved, he would offer his services to someone who would appreciate what he offered. His new bride had no qualms with his plan and even encouraged it.<sup>34</sup>

In May, Arnold sent an emissary, Joseph Stansbury, to the British offering his services. Through Peggy, Stansbury knew to seek out Captain John André, personal aide, and later Adjutant-General, to British commander Sir Henry Clinton.<sup>35</sup> Clinton accepted his offer and soon Arnold was dispatching his first report, partly in cipher, that revealed where Washington was



From the Collections of the Clements Library  
Coded letter from Arnold to André

moving and that Congress had given up Charleston, South Carolina due to lack of men, arms, and ammunition to defend it. Old comrades could have been captured or killed due to Arnold having supplied this information, but none of this mattered to Arnold.<sup>36</sup> He was looking out for his own interests and believed the British would reward him handsomely for forging a reconciliation with the Americans.<sup>37</sup>

Meanwhile, everyone involved prepared for the court-martial which finally began June 1, 1779 in Middlebrook, New Jersey but then, due to events in the war had to be reconvened in Morristown on December 20.<sup>38</sup> A month later it was over and on January 26, 1780, Arnold was found guilty on one charge: granting the illegal pass to the *Charming Nancy*. While not convicted on the other three charges he was deemed to have been “imprudent and improper” on the use of the wagons and a public reprimand from Washington was ordered as his sentence.<sup>39</sup> Arnold could not fathom that he had not been exonerated and reaffirmed his commitment to treason. With this in mind, he wrote to Washington seeking a naval command, but it would not be granted.<sup>40</sup> Disappointed, but not beaten, Arnold set his sights on a larger prize: command of West Point. After fourteen months of bargaining with Washington and other officials the command was his.<sup>41</sup>

Arnold arrived at West Point on August 5, 1780 and while appearing to strengthen actually began to systematically weaken the fort's defenses, which were in poor condition before his arrival but would now reach dire conditions.<sup>42</sup> On September 16 he learned that Washington along with Henry Knox and the Marquis de Lafayette would be arriving in the next few days to spend the night en route to Hartford for talks with the French command. Immediately, Arnold, knowing how vulnerable Washington would be, sent a courier to Clinton apprising him of the situation and suggesting that if

they moved quickly they could capture Washington as he crossed the Hudson River or at the inn in Peekskill where he planned to stay. Arnold met Washington personally and escorted him to Peekskill but the expected raid never came – the message had not reached Clinton in time. What did arrive, in Haverstraw Bay, twelve miles from West Point, was a British vessel, the *Vulture*. On board was André, Arnold's spymaster, who had arrived for a face-to-face meeting to confirm and detail plans for the surrender of West Point. André had been given three orders: not to go behind enemy lines, not to disguise himself, and not to carry any compromising papers. He would violate all three.<sup>43</sup>

On September 22, shortly after midnight, André, his uniform concealed beneath a dark cape, talked with Arnold until daybreak at which point they retired to Belmont where breakfast was ordered. From here they witnessed firing on the *Vulture* that forced her to sail for deeper water, out of range. André was trapped behind enemy lines so Arnold wrote out passes for André to pass through American lines as he made his way by water or over land to the British post in New York. Before setting out he changed his uniform for civilian clothes and concealed Arnold's treasonous documents, in undisguised writing, between his stocking and boot.<sup>44</sup> En route, André was stopped by three men he believed to be Loyalists to whom he identified himself as a British officer than presented the pass that claimed he was civilian. Suspicious, the men searched him and found Arnold's papers which were turned over to an American colonel who dispatched them to Washington, but who also sent word to Arnold of events, giving him time to flee to the *Vulture* before he could be arrested.<sup>45</sup> From there he wrote to Washington saying, "I have ever acted from a principle of love to my country . . . the same principle of love to my country actuates my present conduct, however it may appear inconsistent to the world, who very

seldom judge right of any man's actions."<sup>46</sup> In truth he had only ever acted in his own self-interest. In his eyes the American hero had now become, or soon would, the British hero.

Arnold was paid twenty thousand pounds for his treason and given command of his own unit, the American Legion, which was comprised of Continental Army deserters while André was court-martialed, convicted, and hanged on October 2, 1780.<sup>47</sup> Arnold, suffering no qualms from his treason and with a little editorial assistance from William Smith wrote a series of public statements to persuade Americans to return to the British Empire.<sup>48</sup> Washington, however, launched his own propaganda campaign in which Arnold's private papers, that showed his dishonesty, were made public and divine providence was credited with his discovery and other fortuitous events.<sup>49</sup> Peggy returned to her family in Philadelphia but with Arnold's actions public knowledge she was banished by the town council, fleeing to New York where she was reunited with her husband.<sup>50</sup>

Three months after his defection Arnold set sail on his first British command. In January 1781, he reached Richmond, Virginia where he put warehouses, shops, and magazines to the torch and seized "thirty to forty ships loaded with tobacco, West Indies goods, wines, sailcloth."<sup>51</sup> In September he reached his native Thames Valley and the harbor of New London in Connecticut. In short order he had taken Fort Trumbull and occupied the town. Fort Griswold took longer but eventually, after heavy loss of life on both sides, was also subdued. Once Griswold was cleared Arnold's men set fire to ships in the river and searched the waterfront. Storehouses and public buildings were also burned as were a number of private homes.<sup>52</sup> The attacks on Richmond and New London did nothing to bolster Arnold in the eyes of the British as he suffered a 25% casualty rate. After a plan to attack Philadelphia and capture

Congress was rejected by Clinton, Arnold sailed for England in December 1781 on the same ship as the recently vanquished Cornwallis. He finished out the war on a half-pay pension as a retired British colonel and lived in exile the remainder of his life.<sup>53</sup>

In England Arnold tried to have the war continued but the pro-war ministry in Parliament was replaced with a pro-independence government that soon established terms for peace.<sup>54</sup> He then began a quest for money, to ensure his standing and that of his children, but all his applications to the government went unheeded and he was forced to take a job on a ship headed for the British colony of New Brunswick.<sup>55</sup> There he was soon faced with the old accusations of treachery and greed to which he turned his back and sailed for the West Indies, and after fetching Peggy and the children, settled once again until returning to England in December 1791.<sup>56</sup> Once again he appealed to the government on behalf of his children and in 1793 was finally rewarded; a king's warrant established one hundred pound per year pensions on each of Peggy's four children.<sup>57</sup> After this he sailed back and forth to the West Indies trying to support his family and himself. Toward the end of 1800 he finally faced his own failure succumbing to the realization that he had failed as a husband, having fathered an illegitimate child in New Brunswick, father, and traitor.<sup>58</sup> Even in England, he never achieved the acclaim he so craved. Soon he was suffering from terrible pain in his twice-wounded leg as well as gout and asthma. Shortly before dawn on June 14, 1801 he died.<sup>59</sup> Three years later, Peggy also died. The couple is buried in a dark crypt of St. Mary's church in the London suburb of Battersea.<sup>60</sup>

Arnold died leaving a debt of six thousand pounds which Peggy managed to pay off within eighteen months through the sale of their home, possessions, and other means.<sup>61</sup> The death notices were terse, but in 1976, 172 years after his death, he was finally given some of

the recognition he had craved all his life when an American admirer



Stained Glass tribute to Arnold 1  
Courtesy Christopher Hodapp  
Freemasons for Dummies

placed a stained-glass window in St. Mary's church in honor of he and Peggy. Twelve years later a historical plaque was placed on his former home, in Gloucester Place, dedicated to "Major Benedict Arnold, American Patriot."<sup>62</sup> At long last, he would have been pleased.

After Arnold's treason he became the most hated turncoat in American history, but was Benedict Arnold really a traitor, or a hero? The people of Philadelphia who burned him in effigy in 1780 were not certain as they gave his head two faces and had him holding a mask. The mask was a symbol of treachery but the two faces were contradictory indicating his true nature was split. As a writer in the *Pennsylvania Packet* noted, it depended on one's perspective; he could be "the ornament or the disgrace, the pride, or the pestilence of mankind."<sup>63</sup> Many of his flaws were equally present in his one-time countrymen. One of the causes of his bitter feelings was being passed over for promotion, something Washington was greatly concerned about with other officers when he wrote, "They murmur, brood over their discontent, and have lately shown a disposition to enter into seditious combinations."<sup>64</sup> Arnold's desire for money and fine things was also not uncommon as many colonists carried on a lucrative, though illegal trade, with Britain. Many people took advantage of wartime conditions. The army received shoddy supplies, officers cheated men of their pay, and soldiers took bribes and sold army property for their own profit. Historian Charles Royster believes Arnold became an outlet for the tension saying, "When widespread self-seeking began to look irreversible . . . the Revolutionaries turned to the corruption of one man whose ruin would signify

the defeat of corruption within the Revolution.”<sup>65</sup> Major Henry Lee, Jr. among others feared that Arnold’s defection would be the first of many as the reaction to him revealed America’s distrust in itself and jealousy ran high, even in government.<sup>66</sup> Thus, Americans had to create a story or a framework to tell themselves that illustrated the importance of loyalty, making Arnold a focal point to absolve guilt feelings they harbored about the darker side to their own characters.<sup>67</sup>

Another thing to consider is that in 1775 Arnold quickly joined the Revolutionary cause becoming a traitor to Britain, so in 1780 he could have been purging his original treachery. He even claimed this was what he was thinking. Loyalists during the Revolution were citizens of two countries, uncertain which to call home, much like Robert E. Lee felt when nearly a century later he chose loyalty to his home state of Virginia over loyalty to the Union. Few call Lee a traitor, and had Britain won the Revolution Arnold may not have been labeled as one.<sup>68</sup> In the end, the verdict on such matters falls to history and is confirmed only in retrospect. Only victory wins plaudits and rewards.

On the battlefield at Saratoga is a monument shaped like a boot hailing Arnold as “the most brilliant soldier of the Continental Army,” but with no name inscribed.<sup>69</sup> It is the only monument in America to one of the military’s greatest commanders and, perhaps, the commander who would have appreciated it the most.



Courtesy Christopher Hodapp  
Freemasons for Dummies

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Geoffrey C. Ward, Review of *The Man in the Mirror: A Life of Benedict Arnold*, by Clare Brandt, *American Heritage* 45, no. 3 (1994), Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost (accessed January 26, 2007).

<sup>2</sup>James Kirby Martin, *Benedict Arnold Revolutionary Hero: An American Warrior Reconsidered*, (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 18-27.

<sup>3</sup>Clare Brandt, *The Man in the Mirror: A Life of Benedict Arnold*, (New York: Random House, 1994), 6.

<sup>4</sup>Willard Sterne Randall, "Why Benedict Arnold Did It," *American Heritage* 41, no. 6 (1990), Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost (accessed January 26, 2007).

<sup>5</sup>Brandt, 10.

<sup>6</sup>Randall, "Why Benedict Arnold Did It."

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Martin, 75.

<sup>9</sup>Willard Sterne Randall, *Benedict Arnold: Patriot and Traitor*, (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1990), 122-134.

<sup>10</sup>Martin, 101-105.

<sup>11</sup>Brandt, 61.

<sup>12</sup>Esmond Wright, "A Patriot for Whom? Benedict Arnold and the Loyalists," *History Today* 36, no. 10 (1986), 33.

<sup>13</sup>Brandt, 79-80.

<sup>14</sup>Randall, "Why Benedict Arnold Did It."

<sup>15</sup>General William Maxwell to Governour Livingston, October 20, 1776, in Martin, 288 & Richard Henry Lee to Thomas Jefferson, Philadelphia, November 3, 1776, in *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee Vol. 1 1762-1778*, ed. James Curtis Balogh (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1911), 222.

<sup>16</sup>Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Major Operations of the Navies in the War of American Independence*, (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1913), 25.

<sup>17</sup>Randall, "Why Benedict Arnold Did It".

<sup>18</sup>Benedict Arnold to George Washington, March 12, 1777, in *Angel in the Whirlwind: The Triumph of the American Revolution*, Benson Bobrick (New York: Penguin Books, 1998), 239.

<sup>19</sup>Brandt, 116.

<sup>20</sup>Randall, "Why Benedict Arnold Did It."

<sup>21</sup>Randall, *Benedict Arnold*, 342.

<sup>22</sup>Eric Ethier, "The Making of a Traitor," *America Heritage* 36, no. 3 (2001), Academic Search Premier, EBSCOhost (accessed January 25, 2007).

<sup>23</sup>Barney Sneiderman, "Benedict Arnold: Saratoga 1777" in *Warriors Seven: Seven American Commanders, Seven Wars, and the Irony of Battle*, (New York: Savas Beatie, 2006), 31.

<sup>24</sup>Brandt, 136.

<sup>25</sup>Ethier

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Randall, "Why Benedict Arnold Did It."

<sup>28</sup>Martin, 403-415.

<sup>29</sup>Randall, "Why Benedict Arnold Did It."

<sup>30</sup>Brandt, 153.

<sup>31</sup>Randall, "Why Benedict Arnold Did It."

<sup>32</sup>Randall, *Benedict Arnold*, 443-444.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., 444-448.

<sup>34</sup>Wright, 34.



- <sup>35</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>36</sup> Brandt, 178-179.
- <sup>37</sup> Randall, *Benedict Arnold*, 468.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid., 470-471;485.
- <sup>39</sup> Brandt, 188 & Randall, 492.
- <sup>40</sup> Randall, 495.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid., 517.
- <sup>42</sup> Brandt, 201.
- <sup>43</sup> Randall, “Why Benedict Arnold Did It.”
- <sup>44</sup> Randall, *Benedict Arnold*, 545-547.
- <sup>45</sup> Becky Akers, “Major John André captivated his captors but they condemned him to death just the same,” *Military History* 21, no. 2 (2004), 18 & 22.
- <sup>46</sup> Benedict Arnold to George Washington, September 25, 1780, in Randall, 560.
- <sup>47</sup> Akers, 22.
- <sup>48</sup> Randall, *Benedict Arnold*, 572-574.
- <sup>49</sup> Brandt, 232-233.
- <sup>50</sup> Randall, *Benedict Arnold*, 576-577.
- <sup>51</sup> Randall, “Why Benedict Arnold Did It”.
- <sup>52</sup> Bruce A. Trinqué, “An American Traitor’s Homecoming,” *Military History* 23, no. 2 (2006), 60.
- <sup>53</sup> Randall, “Why Benedict Arnold Did It.”
- <sup>54</sup> Brandt, 255.
- <sup>55</sup> Randall, *Benedict Arnold*, 595.
- <sup>56</sup> Ibid., 600-604.
- <sup>57</sup> Brandt, 269.
- <sup>58</sup> Ibid., 272-273.
- <sup>59</sup> Martin, 431.
- <sup>60</sup> Ward.
- <sup>61</sup> Randall, *Benedict Arnold*, 614.
- <sup>62</sup> Brandt, 278-279.
- <sup>63</sup> Andy Trees, “Benedict Arnold, John André, and His Three Yeoman Captors: A Sentimental Journey to American Virtue Defined,” *Early American Literature* 35, no. 3 (2000), 246.
- <sup>64</sup> Sneiderman, 39.
- <sup>65</sup> Charles Royster, ““The Nature of Treason”: Revolutionary Virtue and American Reactions to Benedict Arnold,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (1979), 184.
- <sup>66</sup> Trees, 248.
- <sup>67</sup> Ibid., 249.
- <sup>68</sup> Wright, 35.
- <sup>69</sup> Sneiderman, 1.

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