

Stealth and Secrecy:

The Culper Spy Ring's Triumph over the Tragedy of Betrayal

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A group of brave Patriots faced the hangman's noose daily while fighting for freedom during the American Revolution. Their weapons were not muskets or bayonets but stealth and secrecy. The Culper Spy Ring made many important discoveries, including the identification of Benedict Arnold's tragic betrayal, which led to the Patriot triumph over the British in the Revolutionary War.

When the British Army invaded New York City in September of 1776, they procured one of the largest cities on the continent.<sup>1</sup> General George Washington, commander of the Continental Army, needed inside information about what transpired behind British lines in the city. Having been an officer in the French and Indian War, he knew the value of advance knowledge about the enemy's plans. He wrote, "There is nothing *more* necessary than good intelligence to frustrate a designing Enemy: and nothing that requires greater pains to obtain."<sup>2</sup>

Securing those spies proved to be difficult. One of Washington's first agents to go behind British lines never made it out. Nathan Hale was hanged on September 22, 1776.<sup>3</sup>

Washington realized that in the future he would need an organized group of people to gather information. He chose a trustworthy officer to be the director of military intelligence. Benjamin Tallmadge wrote in his memoir, "...I opened a private correspondence with some persons in New York (for Gen. Washington) which lasted through the war."<sup>4</sup> These "persons" operating on Setauket, Long Island, and in New York City together became known as the Culper Spy Ring.

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<sup>1</sup> Allen, Thomas B., and Cheryl Harness. *George Washington: Spymaster*. National Geographic Society, 2004. 43.

<sup>2</sup> Washington, George. "From George Washington to Robert Hunter Morris, 1 January 1756." Received by Robert Hunter Morris, *Founders Online*, National Archives and Records Administration, 1 Jan. 2019, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-02-02-0255>.

<sup>3</sup> Root, Jean Christie. *Nathan Hale*. The MacMillian Company, 1915. *Internet Archive*. <https://archive.org/details/nathanhale00rootgoog/page/n11>. 94.

<sup>4</sup> Tallmadge, Benjamin. *Memoir of Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge*. Edited by Henry Phelps Johnston, vol. 1, The Society of Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York, 1904. *Internet Archive*, <http://archive.org/details/memoirofcolonelb027409mbp/page/n17>. 42.

Washington knew exactly what he wanted from his New York spies. He told them that “the fountain of all intelligence must originate at, & proceed from the head Quarters of the enemy’s Army”<sup>5</sup> and believed that it was important for his agents to “reside at New York—mix with—and put on the airs of a Tory to cover his real character, & avoid suspicion.”<sup>6</sup> He insisted that all of the agents were known only by their code names and even Washington himself did not know their real identities.

For five years, the Culper Ring gathered information about the size, movements, and location of British troops, all while taking great measures not to reveal their true identities. Their crowning achievement was a series of discoveries that led to the unmasking of Benedict Arnold’s betrayal.

Continental General Benedict Arnold was a highly respected and skilled commander. His bravery and success on the battlefield earned him the reputation of a Patriot hero. However, this was not enough for Arnold, and he decided to pursue the wealth and fame he dreamed of with the enemy.

In the summer of 1779, he contacted Major John André, British head of intelligence in the colonies and General Henry Clinton’s aide.<sup>7</sup> Surprised that the popular Patriot general was interested in helping the enemy, Andre replied warily. Soon, the two conspirators were communicating with coded letters, and for a year, Arnold provided a steady supply of Patriot secrets.

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<sup>5</sup> Washington, George. “From George Washington to Major Benjamin Tallmadge, 21 March 1779.” Received by Benjamin Tallmadge, *Founders Online*, National Archives and Records Administration, 18 Jan. 2019, <http://www.founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-19-02-0550>.

<sup>6</sup> Washington. “From George Washington to Major Benjamin Tallmadge, 21 March 1779.”

<sup>7</sup> Light, Michelle, et al. *Spy Letters of the American Revolution*, Clements Library, 13 May 1999, <http://clements.umich.edu/exhibits/online/spies/index-main2.html>. Accessed 11 Feb. 2019.

One secret in particular could have turned the tide of the war in favor of the British. On July 12, 1780, Arnold told Andre about the French fleet due to arrive at Newport, Rhode Island.<sup>8</sup> Arnold had learned that Washington was secretly planning an attack on New York City with his French allies. General Clinton began to devise an ambush on the French fleet to take place when they arrived in the colonies.

In New York City, a member of the Culper Spy Ring named Robert Townsend discovered Clinton's confidential plans and recognized the danger immediately. Following the Ring's procedure for getting intelligence to Washington, Townsend sent the information with Austin Roe, a spy and Setauket tavern owner, disguised in an order for Roe's business. Roe buried the information in a designated spot on Abraham Woodhull's farm. Woodhull's neighbor, Anna Smith Strong, hung a black petticoat and handkerchiefs on her clothesline in a prearranged order, signaling the arrival and location of Caleb Brewster and his boat on the Long Island Sound. After spotting the sign, Woodhull gave the intelligence to Brewster along with a note describing the information as "news of the greatest consequence perhaps that ever happened to your country."<sup>9</sup> Brewster sailed across the Sound and delivered the message to Tallmadge in Connecticut, who in turn sent it to Washington, completing the fastest delivery of the Culper Spy Ring. This irregular method of transmitting information from one person to another allowed the agents to avoid a pattern of personal meetings and prevent detection (See Figure 1). The speed with which the Ring was able to work in this instance allowed Washington to triumph over Clinton's plans.

Because of the Culper Ring's intelligence, Washington knew what the British were planning and took appropriate measures. He planted false information implying that 12,000

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<sup>8</sup> Light, et al. *Spy Letters of the American Revolution*.

<sup>9</sup> Allen. *George Washington: Spymaster*. 136-137.

Continental soldiers were approaching New York City, which prompted Clinton to cancel the attack, thus saving the French fleet.<sup>10</sup> Without the Franco-American alliance, triumph in the Revolutionary War would have been decidedly more difficult. Without realizing it, the Culper Ring was working against Arnold's plan and prevented a major tragedy. However, this was not the only triumph of Washington's spies against America's most dangerous traitor.

Arnold was not satisfied with merely handing over Patriot secrets; it did not reap the rewards he craved. On July 15, 1780,<sup>11</sup> he wrote to Andre and offered to surrender the West Point fortress for £20,000.<sup>12</sup> West Point sat on a hilltop overlooking the Hudson River. Because of its advantageous position, those who held the citadel controlled who could travel the river (See Figure 2). Regulating river traffic, a chain stretched across the Hudson and weighed a total of sixty-five tons, with each link weighing 150 pounds.<sup>13</sup> If the British gained authority of West Point, they not only gained the fort itself, but also the surrounding area, including smaller forts. This would enable the British to divide the colonies in half, making them weaker. Without control of West Point, Washington would be forced to leave his headquarters. This would destroy his plans to join forces with the newly arrived French troops and strike British-held New York City, leaving the French in danger of attack. The West Point stronghold presented an extreme advantage, one that the Patriots held and the British desperately desired.

Arnold obtained command of West Point with the intent to turn it over to the British and began to prepare for the surrender. He let the great chain fall into disrepair and dispersed the troops stationed at West Point, weakening the fortification. Arnold also set up a meeting with

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<sup>10</sup> Allen. *George Washington: Spymaster*. 137.

<sup>11</sup> Light, et al. *Spy Letters of the American Revolution*.

<sup>12</sup> Axelrod, Alan. *The Real History of the American Revolution: a New Look at the Past*. Sterling Publishing Co., 2007. 290.

<sup>13</sup> "Benedict Arnold: American Traitor." *Bill O'Reilly's Legends & Lies: The Patriots*, by David Fisher and Bill O'Reilly, Henry Holt and Company, 2016, pp. 149–172. *Legends and Lies*. 165.

Andre to work out the details of the transfer. With a visit from General Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and the Marquis de Lafayette approaching, he hoped to turn over these Patriot leaders along with the fortress.

After traveling up the Hudson River on the British warship H.M.S. *Vulture*, Andre, using the alias John Anderson, was taken to rendezvous with Arnold. While they met, a Continental officer noticed the *Vulture* waiting suspiciously on the river and ordered it shelled. The British man-of-war was forced to flee, leaving Andre with no way to return to New York City but overland through Patriot territory. With much reluctance, Andre replaced his red coat with civilian clothes, and set off, armed with a pass written by Arnold.

The next morning, Andre was stopped by three militiamen.<sup>14</sup> Believing them to be on his side, he admitted his true identity as a British officer. After informing him that they were Patriots, the militiamen searched him and discovered the papers detailing the West Point garrison. They delivered their prisoner to the closest outpost, North Castle, where Andre was placed under the authority of Colonel John Jameson.

Jameson followed military procedure and sent Andre to the nearest commander: in this case, Arnold. Andre was inwardly relieved; if he was handed over to Arnold, they could both escape and Clinton's attack on West Point would still transpire. However, Jameson wisely decided to send the questionable papers to Washington.

It is believed that the Culper Ring previously intercepted other correspondence between Arnold and Andre, which led them to suspect that a double agent was operating within the Continental Army. If so, these suspicions would have kept them watchful for potential

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<sup>14</sup> Tallmadge. *Memoir of Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge*. 51.

turncoats. However, because the spies left so few records in order to remain hidden, it may never be proven.

Benjamin Tallmadge heard about the mysterious prisoner being held at North Castle and became suspicious. The leader of the Culper Ring had received a letter from Benedict Arnold earlier that month asking him to accompany John Anderson to West Point to meet Arnold if Anderson visited Tallmadge. Arnold had hoped that this would present an opportunity to surrender the Continental Army's chief of intelligence along with the fortress. Tallmadge now wondered why Anderson was instead coming from West Point and claiming to be a British officer.

Tallmadge was alarmed when Jameson described what he had done with the prisoner and immediately urged Jameson to send for the party that was escorting Andre to West Point. Jameson reluctantly agreed to bring Andre back to North Castle to be interrogated but insisted that a letter explaining the situation be allowed to go on, in case Tallmadge's suspicions were unwarranted.

When Tallmadge began to question Andre, he noted the way the captive paced the floor, in the manner of a military officer. He later wrote: "after I saw him walk...I became impressed with the belief that he had been *bred to arms*."<sup>15</sup> Knowing that his circumstances would soon deteriorate, Andre asked Tallmadge for paper and ink to compose a letter to Washington and his request was granted. He allowed Tallmadge to read the finished message, in which he admitted to being a British officer. Tallmadge suddenly understood the tragedy: that Benedict Arnold, Patriot hero, had betrayed his country. With horror, he realized that there was no chance of laying hands on Jameson's letter before it reached West Point, alerting Arnold of his unmasking.

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<sup>15</sup> Tallmadge. *Memoir of Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge*. 53.

Washington, however, was unaware of the British officer being held captive at North Castle or that one of his greatest generals had betrayed him. The messenger entrusted with the papers found on Andre failed to reach the Commander-in-Chief en route. The courier decided to ride straight to West Point, where Washington was expected to join Arnold for a meal.

At his home outside of West Point, Arnold was preparing for General Washington's arrival when the letter from Colonel Jameson arrived. Arnold panicked as he read the words:

...a certain John Anderson, taken going into New York....He had a parcel of papers taken from under his stockings which I think are of a very dangerous tendency. The papers I have sent to General Washington.<sup>16</sup>

He excused himself, claiming he had urgent business at the fortress. As Washington's party approached, he fled to the Hudson River and ordered the bargemen to deliver him to the *Vulture*, using a handkerchief as a flag of truce, to take care of "particular business from Washington."<sup>17</sup>

Meanwhile, Washington arrived at West Point and, having been told that Arnold would return in an hour, was given a tour of the garrison. He was alarmed at the poor condition of the fortress. It was nearly defenseless and completely open to attack. It was then that the messenger who had been chasing him arrived with the papers found on Andre and a note from Jameson. Washington immediately recognized Arnold's handwriting and the tragedy it represented. The great general gave "way to an uncontrollable burst of feeling"<sup>18</sup> and began to weep: one of his best battlefield commanders now belonged to the enemy. Washington soon

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<sup>16</sup> United States Military Academy. *The Centennial of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York: 1802-1902*. Vol. 1, Washington Government Printing Office, 1904. *Internet Archive*. <https://archive.org/details/centennialofunit01unit/page/n8>. 185.

<sup>17</sup> Allen. *George Washington: Spymaster*. 126.

<sup>18</sup> Allen. *George Washington: Spymaster*. 127.



regained control of his emotions and gave orders to strengthen the vulnerable fortress in time to stave off an attack.

When Benedict Arnold committed the unthinkable act of treason, the Continental Army lost a talented commander and battlefield hero. The tragedy shocked and angered the colonists like nothing else had.

In the end, Arnold did not receive the glory and wealth of which he dreamed. Because West Point stayed in Patriot hands, Arnold did not acquire the £20,000 he was promised, and instead was paid only £6,000.<sup>19</sup> Arnold was never again successful. Although he avoided capture by the Patriots and became a British brigadier general, Arnold was disliked by both the Continental and British armies.

Had Arnold's plot to betray West Point triumphed, a Patriot tragedy would have unfolded. The Continental Army would have lost 3,000 soldiers and the connection between the northern and southern colonies, as well as the mighty fortress.<sup>20</sup> Smaller forts surrounding West Point, including Verplanck's Point and Stony Point, would have fallen under British control. Important men like General Washington, the Marquis de Lafayette, and Alexander Hamilton would have been captured as prisoners of war. These men went on to play crucial roles in the Siege of Yorktown, which was the last decisive battle of the Revolution. Without these key points of power, the Patriots would have been at an extreme disadvantage, which likely would have led to a British victory over the colonists in the Revolutionary War.

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<sup>19</sup> Andrews, Evan. "9 Things You May Not Know About Benedict Arnold." *History.com*, A&E Television Networks, 13 Jan. 2016, <http://www.history.com/news/9-things-you-may-not-know-about-benedict-arnold>. Accessed 21 Feb. 2019.

<sup>20</sup> Rose, Alexander. *Washington's Spies: The Story of America's First Spy Ring*. Bantam Books Trade Paperbacks, 2014. 203.

Instead, the Culper Spy Ring was a triumph of Patriot ingenuity and devotion to the cause. Through their efforts to uncover Arnold's plot to betray West Point, they stopped the tragedy before it could occur.

The Culper Ring depended on complete stealth and secrecy, which made it very effective. While several of the agents came close to capture, not one was ever definitely apprehended. Even though these men and women were not trained as secret agents, they used advanced espionage methods of the day, such as invisible ink and coded messages.

The Culper spies were so skilled at their trade that even most of their families knew nothing of their service as intelligence agents. The secret remained hidden for generations until 1930, when after ten years of research, New York historian and author Morton Pennypacker found a chest containing Culper, Jr.'s private correspondence.<sup>21</sup> A handwriting analysis led by expert Albert S. Osborn for the Federal Bureau of Investigation confirmed that they belonged to Robert Townsend. That this group of amateur spies could defy discovery for more than 150 years is a testament to their resourcefulness and determination.

The Culper Ring was the most reliable intelligence network in the American Revolution and because of the spies' courage and perseverance, George Washington knew the enemy's plans in advance. The Commander-in-Chief depended on the invaluable information his agents provided.

The Culper Ring was an untrained, ordinary group of people who triumphed against the finest intelligence agency in the world, and they accomplished more than any other spies in the war. While the agents of the Culper Spy Ring were not fighting on the battlefield, what they accomplished is no less significant. Their many discoveries, including their triumph over

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<sup>21</sup> Rather, John. "Remembering a Master Spy at Home." *New York Times*, 15 Dec. 1985, p. 11, <http://www.nytimes.com/1985/12/15/nyregion/rememberng-a-master-spy-at-home.html>.

Benedict Arnold's tragic betrayal, secured liberty for the colonists and victory over the British in the American Revolution. George Beckwith, British chief of intelligence, admitted at the end of the Revolutionary War that "Washington did not really outfight the British, he simply outspied us!"<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Allen. *George Washington: Spymaster*. 149.

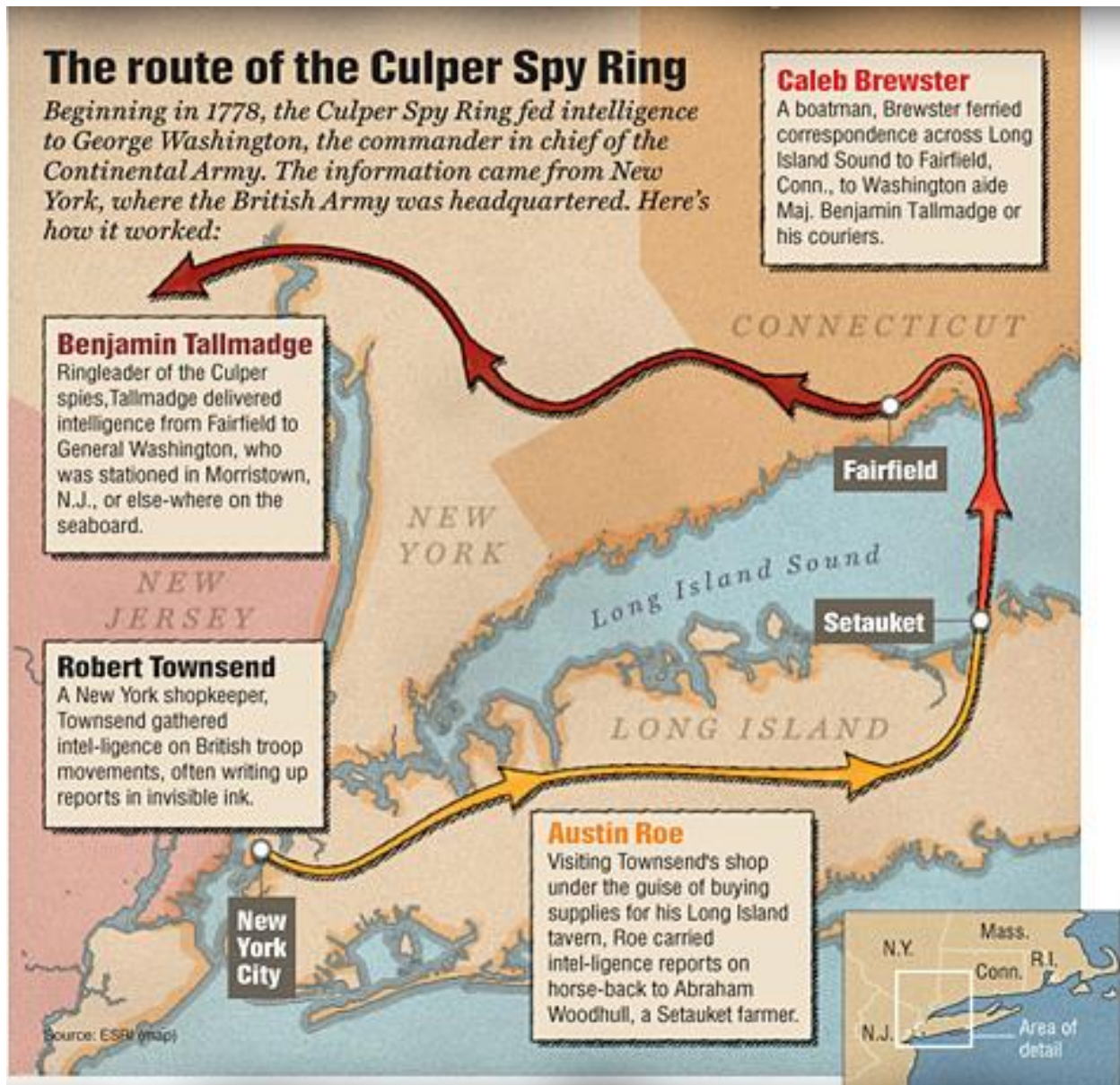


Fig. 1. "The Route of the Culper Spy Ring." *The Culper Ring Spies*,

<https://theculperingspies.weebly.com/mapsrouting.html>.

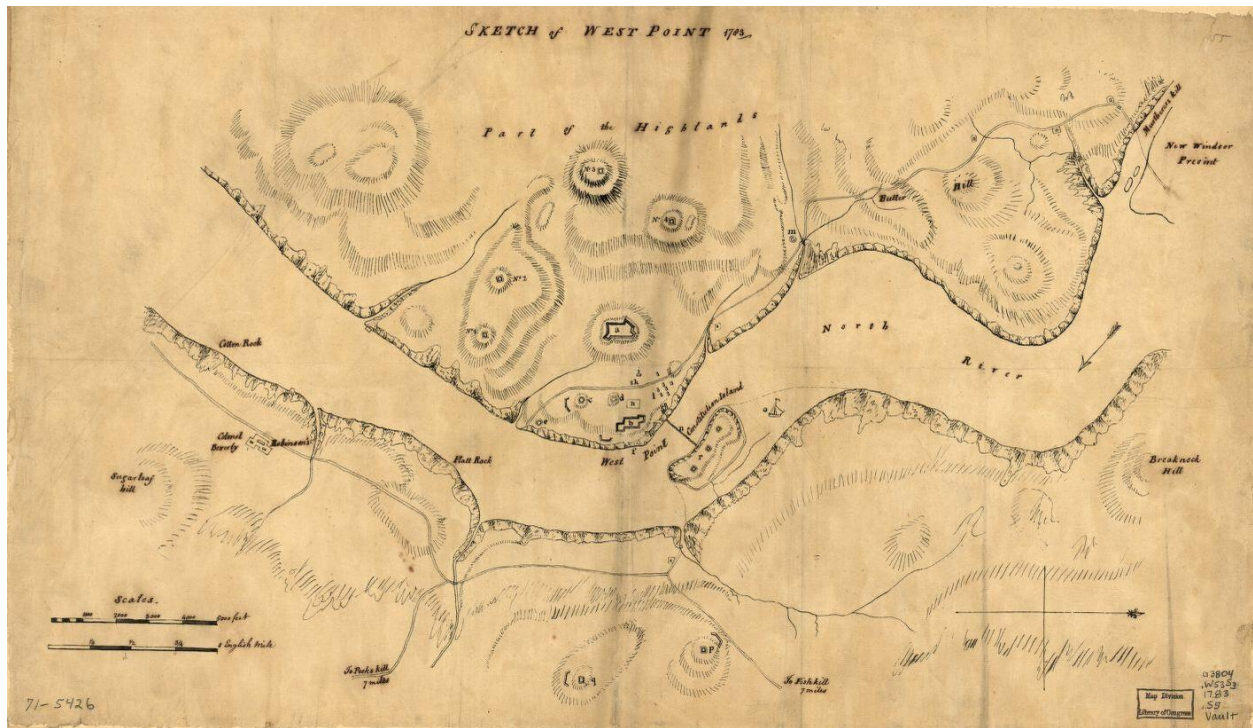


Fig. 2. Hincks, John. "Sketch of West Point." *Library of Congress*, 1783,

<http://www.loc.gov/item/gm71005426/>.

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Arnold, Benedict. "To George Washington from Benedict Arnold, 25 September 1780."

Received by George Washington, *Founders Online*, National Archives and Records Administration, 25 Sept. 2019, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-03372>.

Benedict Arnold wrote this letter to George Washington while on board the *Vulture* after fleeing West Point. He explains his reasons for betraying his country.

Arnold, Benedict. "To George Washington from Major General Benedict Arnold, 6 March 1780." Received by George Washington, *Founders Online*, National Archives and Records Administration, 6 Mar. 2019, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-24-02-0527>.

In this letter, Arnold tells Washington that a three-year-old wound on his leg prevents him from accepting a position on the battlefield and hints at wanting the position at West Point.

Catton, Bruce. "Recently Discovered Papers of Washington's Best Spy." *Evening Star*, 22 Feb. 1931, pp. 12, 13, 18. *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83045462/1931-02-22/ed-1/seq-80/>

This newspaper article found on *Chronicling America* is about the discoveries made in 1930 by Morton Pennypacker.

Culper, Samuel. "II. Samuel Culper to John Bolton, 15 August." Received by John Bolton, *Founders Online*, National Archives and Records Administration, 15 Aug. 2019, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-22-02-0039-0002>.

This letter is from Abraham Woodhull to Benjamin Tallmadge. Woodhull mentions Agent 355 and talks about the invisible ink that the Culper Ring uses.

Goldar, John. *The Unfortunate Death of Major John Andre*. 1783, Records from the Office of War Information. DocsTeach. <https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/death-major-andre>.

This 1783 engraving depicts the hanging of Major John Andre, who was determined to be a spy.

Greene, Nathanael. "To George Washington from Nathanael Greene, 29 September 1780."

Received by George Washington, *Founders Online*, National Archives and Records Administration, 29 Sept. 2019, [founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-03434](https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-03434).

In his letter to the Commander-in-Chief, Nathanael Greene includes the records of Major John Andre's trial before a court of fourteen officers, during which he was sentenced to death as a spy.

Hamilton, Alexander. "From Alexander Hamilton to George Washington, [25 September 1780]."

Received by George Washington, *Founders Online*, National Archives and Records Administration, 25 Sept. 2019, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Hamilton/01-02-02-0867-0001>.

When George Washington realized that Benedict Arnold had betrayed his country, he sent Alexander Hamilton to arrest Arnold. In this letter, Hamilton explains that is too late; Arnold was already on his way to New York City on the *Vulture*.

Hinncks, John. "Sketch of West Point." *Library of Congress*, 1783,

<http://www.loc.gov/item/gm71005426/>.

This map created in 1783 helped me to understand the importance of the West Point fortress.



Tallmadge, Benjamin. *Memoir of Colonel Benjamin Tallmadge*. Edited by Henry Phelps Johnston, vol. 1, The Society of Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York, 1904. *Internet Archive*, <http://archive.org/details/memoirofcolonelb027409mbp/page/n17>.

This is the second published version of the memoir Benjamin Tallmadge wrote for his children before he died. He only mentions his service as a spy a few times.

Tallmadge, Benjamin. "The Culper Code Book." *George Washington's Mount Vernon*, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, [www.mountvernon.org/george-washington/the-revolutionary-war/spying-and-espionage/the-culper-code-book/#-](http://www.mountvernon.org/george-washington/the-revolutionary-war/spying-and-espionage/the-culper-code-book/#-).

This is George Washington's copy of the coded dictionary that Benjamin Tallmadge created for Culper Ring's agents to use. Only four of the Ring's spies had possession of one of these books.

Tallmadge, Benjamin. "To George Washington from Benjamin Tallmadge, 17 October 1780."

Received by George Washington, *Founders Online*, National Archives and Records Administration, 17 Oct. 2019, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-03613>.

This page on *Founders Online* includes three letters from Benjamin Tallmadge, Samuel Culper, Sr. (Abraham Woodhull), and Culper, Jr. (Robert Townsend). The Culpers reported on the events of New York City and Long Island following Benedict Arnold's treason.

Washington, George. "From George Washington to Benedict Arnold, 3 August 1780." Received by Benedict Arnold, *Founders Online*, National Archives and Records Administration, 3 Aug. 2019, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-02784>.

This letter contains Washington's orders for Benedict Arnold to take the command of West Point and instructions for how to manage the fortress.

Washington, George. "From George Washington to Major Benjamin Tallmadge, 21 March 1779." Received by Benjamin Tallmadge, *Founders Online*, National Archives and Records Administration, 18 Jan. 2019, <http://www.founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-19-02-0550>.

Washington gives Tallmadge brilliant advice on how the spies should operate. He tells Tallmadge that all intelligence should come directly from British headquarters and that reports should only contain fact rather than the agent's opinion.

Washington, George. "From George Washington to Robert Hunter Morris, 1 January 1756." Received by Robert Hunter Morris, *Founders Online*, National Archives and Records Administration, 1 Jan. 2019, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/02-02-02-0255>.

In this letter, George Washington stresses the value of intelligence. In the French and Indian War, he learned that information about the enemy's plans was extremely important.

Washington, George. "General Orders, 6 April 1780." *Founders Online*, National Archives and Records Administration, 2019, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/99-01-02-01375>.

George Washington's orders on April 6, 1780, helped me to understand why Benedict Arnold chose to become a traitor.

Webb, J. Watson. *Reminiscences of Gen'l Samuel B. Webb of the Revolutionary Army*. New York: Globe Stationery and Printing Co., 1882. *Internet Archive*, <http://archive.org/details/reminiscencesofg00webb/page/n9>.

This book included letters from Benjamin Tallmadge to General Samuel B. Webb, in which he discusses Arnold's treason and Andre's capture.

#### Secondary Sources

Abbatt, William. *The Crisis of the Revolution: Being the Story of Arnold and André, Now for the First Time Collected from All Sources, and Illustrated with Views of All Places Identified with It*. W. Abbatt, 1899.

This book presented a detailed account of Arnold's plot and Andre's capture, along with pictures of all of the places related.

Allen, Thomas B., and Cheryl Harness. *George Washington: Spymaster*. National Geographic Society, 2004.

This book was a wealth of information about the Culper Ring's beginnings, members, and accomplishments. It also provided many useful quotations.

Andrews, Evan. "9 Things You May Not Know About Benedict Arnold." *History.com*, A&E Television Networks, 13 Jan. 2016, <http://www.history.com/news/9-things-you-may-not-know-about-benedict-arnold>. Accessed 21 Feb. 2019.

I used this source to learn about Benedict Arnold's life following his betrayal.

Andrlik, Todd. "James Rivington: King's Printer and Patriot Spy?" *Journal of the American Revolution*, 3 Mar. 2014, <https://allthingsliberty.com/2014/03/james-rivington-kings-printer-patriot-spy/>. Accessed 30 Jan. 2019.

James Rivington was a Patriot spy and may have also been a member of the Culper Spy Ring. Robert Townsend wrote articles for Rivington's newspaper, *Royal Gazette*.

Auburn, Emma. "West Point." *George Washington's Mount Vernon*, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, <http://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/west-point/>. Accessed 26 Feb. 2019.

This article informed me of the importance of West Point and its purpose during the American Revolution.

Axelrod, Alan. *The Real History of the American Revolution: a New Look at the Past*. Sterling Publishing Co., 2007.

This book explains the events leading up to Arnold's treason and the motives behind his actions.

"Battle of Saratoga - A Major Turning Point of the Revolutionary War, The." *Saratoga.com*, <https://www.saratoga.com/aboutsaratoga/battle-of-saratoga/>. Accessed 6 Feb. 2019.

This webpage talks about the Battle of Saratoga, in which Benedict Arnold fought bravely and received a serious wound on his leg.

"Benedict Arnold: American Traitor." *Bill O'Reilly's Legends & Lies: The Patriots*, by David Fisher and Bill O'Reilly, Henry Holt and Company, 2016, pp. 149–172. Legends and Lies.

This chapter explains why Benedict Arnold decided to become a traitor and talks about Arnold's and Andre's West Point meeting.

Biddle, Charles J, and Historical Society of Pennsylvania. “The Case of Major

Andre.” *Contributions to American History 1858: Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*, VI, J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1858, pp. 317–416.

“The Case of Major Andre” is a chapter about Andre’s meeting with Arnold, his capture, and hanging. It gave me many details about the tragedy as it unfolded.

Bradburn, Douglas, and Nathaniel Philbrick. “Valiant Ambition: An Interview with Nathaniel

Philbrick.” *George Washington's Mount Vernon*, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, <https://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/benedict-arnold/> Accessed 6 Feb. 2019.

Nathaniel Philbrick is the author of “Valiant Ambition: George Washington, Benedict Arnold, and the Fate of the American Revolution.” In this video interview, he talks about the relationship between Arnold and Washington, Arnold’s career, and his motives for turning traitor.

Bradsher, Andi. “Interview with Ben Thompson.” 22 Feb. 2019.

I interviewed Ben Thompson, author of *Guts and Glory: The American Revolution*, about the possibility of the Culper Spy Ring intercepting some of the treasonous correspondence between Benedict Arnold and John Andre.

Burke, John A, and Andrea Meyer. "Spies of the Revolution." *New York Archives*, 2009, <http://www.nysarchivestrust.org/new-york-archives-magazine/magazine-highlights/fall-2009-volume-9-number-2>. Accessed 12 Feb. 2019.

This article from the *New York Archives* magazine gives information about the Culper Spy Ring, primarily the unmasking of Benedict Arnold and the unknown identity of Agent 355.

Byron, Ph.D., T K. "John André." *George Washington's Mount Vernon*, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, <http://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/john-andre/>. Accessed 14 Feb. 2019.

This source taught me general information about John Andre and his capture.

"Caleb Brewster Crosses the Devil's Belt for the Culper Spy Ring." *New England Historical Society*, 25 Jan. 2019, <http://www.newenglandhistoricalsociety.com/caleb-brewster-crosses-devils-belt/>. Accessed 31 Jan. 2019.

This online article talks about Caleb Brewster's role in the Culper Spy Ring.



“Culper Spy Ring.” *Raynham Hall Museum*, <http://raynhamhallmuseum.org/history/culper-spy-ring>.

The Raynham Hall Museum is located in Robert Townsend’s family home. This web page is about his involvement with the Culper Spy Ring.

“Dangerous Companion: Chancellor Robert R. Livingston and the Traitor's Wife.” *Clermont State Historic Site*, 12 July 2016, <http://clermontstatehistoricsite.blogspot.com/2016/07/dangerous-companion-chancellor-robert-r.html>.

This webpage talks about Robert R. Livingston in relation to Arnold’s betrayal.

DeWan, George. “Passionate About the Past: Morton Pennypacker Unraveled Important Stories of Long Island's History.” *Newsday*, 22 Jan. 1998, [www.newsday.com/long-island/history/passionate-about-the-past-morton-pennypacker-unraveled-important-stories-of-long-island-s-history-1.7512504](http://www.newsday.com/long-island/history/passionate-about-the-past-morton-pennypacker-unraveled-important-stories-of-long-island-s-history-1.7512504).

This article discusses the discoveries of New York Historian Morton Pennypacker.

“Editorial Note.” *Founders Online*, National Archives and Records Administration, 2019, <http://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/03-22-02-0039-0000>.

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Encyclopædia Britannica, The Editors of. “Nathan Hale.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 18 Sept. 2018, <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Nathan-Hale>. Accessed 16 Feb. 2019.

This webpage provided me with basic information about one of George Washington’s first spies.

Encyclopædia Britannica, The Editors of. “Siege of Yorktown.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 21 Sept. 2018, <http://www.britannica.com/event/Siege-of-Yorktown>. Accessed 25 Feb. 2019.

This article on *Encyclopædia Britannica* taught me the significance of the Battle of Yorktown.

Gould, Kevin. "Culper Spy Ring." *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Encyclopædia Britannica, Inc., 6 May 2016, <http://www.britannica.com/topic/Culper-Spy-Ring>.

This source provided useful overall information about the Culper Ring and their operations.

"John Brown Warns the Congress about Traitorous Benedict Arnold – and No One Listens."

*New England Historical Society*, <http://www.newenglandhistoricalsociety.com/john-brown-warns-the-congress-about-traitorous-benedict-arnold-and-no-one-listens/>.

Accessed 24 Jan. 2019.

From this webpage, I learned about one of the reasons that prompted Arnold to commit treason.

Kennedy, Lesley. "How Alexander Hamilton's Men Surprised the Enemy at the Battle of Yorktown." *History.com*, A&E Television Networks, 14 Nov. 2018, <http://www.history.com/news/alexander-hamilton-battle-yorktown-revolutionary-war>.

I learned about Alexander Hamilton's role in the Battle of Yorktown from this source. Had Benedict Arnold's West Point plot succeeded, Hamilton would have been captured by the British.

Kuehhas, Thomas A. "Did Sally Townsend Save West Point?" *Oyster Bay Historical Society*, 2008,

[http://www.oysterbayhistorical.org/uploads/4/9/5/1/4951065/sally\\_townsendwest\\_point\\_story.pdf](http://www.oysterbayhistorical.org/uploads/4/9/5/1/4951065/sally_townsendwest_point_story.pdf). Accessed 29 Jan. 2019

In this article, Thomas A. Kuehhas, director of the Oyster Bay Historical Society, explores a legend about the discovery of Arnold's West Point plot.

Light, Michelle, et al. *Spy Letters of the American Revolution*, Clements Library, 13 May 1999,

<http://clements.umich.edu/exhibits/online/spies/index-main2.html>. Accessed 11 Feb. 2019.

*Spy Letters of the American Revolution* is a website with letters, stories, and operations of spies in the Revolutionary War. Some of the letters include correspondence between Benedict Arnold and John Andre.

Maclean, Maggie. "Agent 355." *History of American Women*, 4 Dec. 2011,

<http://www.womenhistoryblog.com/2011/12/agent-355.html>. Accessed 1 March 2019.

This online story examines the mysterious Agent 355 and what her real identity might be.

Nagy, John A. *George Washington's Secret Spy War: The Making of America's First Spymaster*. 1st ed., St. Martin's Press, 2016.

I learned about the possibility of John Andre's discovery of the Culper Spy Ring in this book.

Pennypacker, Morton. *General Washington's Spies on Long Island and in New York*. The Long Island Historical Society, 1939. *Hathi Trust Digital Library*, <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/000365375>

Morton Pennypacker spent ten years researching the Culper Spy Ring in the 1920s and in 1930 he discovered a chest containing Robert Townsend's secret letters. Later, he wrote this book about his discoveries.

Philbrick, Nathaniel. *Valiant Ambition: George Washington, Benedict Arnold, and the Fate of the American Revolution*. Large Print ed., Wheeler Publishing, 2016.

Nathaniel Philbrick's book was helpful because of the information about Arnold's betrayal and following events.

Piascik, Andy. "Caleb Brewster and the Culper Spy Ring." *ConnecticutHistory.org*, Connecticut Humanities, 26 Aug. 2015, <http://connecticuthistory.org/caleb-brewster-and-the-culper-spy-ring/> Accessed 31 Jan. 2019.

Andy Piascik writes about Caleb Brewster's important role in the Culper Spy Ring.

Rather, John. "Remembering a Master Spy at Home." *New York Times*, 15 Dec. 1985, p. 11, <http://www.nytimes.com/1985/12/15/nyregion/rememberng-a-master-spy-at-home.html>.

This New York Times article was originally published in 1985 and talks about Raynham Hall and Robert Townsend's role in the Culper Spy Ring.

Root, Jean Christie. *Nathan Hale*. The Macmillian Company, 1915. *Internet Archive*.  
<https://archive.org/details/nathanhale00rootgoog/page/n11>.

I used this biography of Nathan Hale for information about Hale's relationship with Benjamin Tallmadge and the comparison of Andre and Hale.

Rose, Alexander. *Washington's Spies: The Story of America's First Spy Ring*. Bantam Books Trade Paperbacks, 2014.

In this book, Alexander Rose dives deep into the Culper Spy Ring and their accomplishments.

“Route of the Culper Spy Ring, The” *The Culper Ring Spies*,

<https://theculperringspies.weebly.com/mapsrouting.html>.

I used this map to understand to route the Culper Ring’s intelligence took to get to General Washington.

Selesky, Harold E. “Arnold's Treason.” *Encyclopedia.com*,

<http://www.encyclopedia.com/history/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/arnolds-treason>.

This article goes into great detail about how Arnold’s treason transpired.

Sheinkin, Steve. *The Notorious Benedict Arnold: A True Story of Adventure, Heroism, and Treachery*. 1st ed., Roaring Brook Press, 2010.

This book provided information about the meeting of Arnold and Andre, Andre’s capture, and Arnold’s escape to the British.

Silverstein, Craig, creator. *TURN: Washington's Spies*. AMC Network Entertainment. 2017.

*TURN* is a historical drama based on Alexander Rose's book *Washington's Spies*. It focuses on the story of the Culper Spy Ring. This show helped me to picture how the spies operated and the danger they faced on a daily basis.

Thompson, Ben. *Guts & Glory: The American Revolution*. Little, Brown and Company, 2017.

This book gave me basic information about the Culper Spy Ring and their impact in the Revolutionary War and American history.

“Traitor.” *Thesaurus.com*, Dictionary.com, [www.thesaurus.com/browse/traitor](http://www.thesaurus.com/browse/traitor). Accessed 22 Feb. 2019.

This webpage is proof that Benedict Arnold's name will forever be a synonym for “traitor.”



“Tri-Spy Tours – The True Story of the Culper Spy Ring.” *Tri-Spy Tours*, Three Village Historical Society, [www.culper.com/history](http://www.culper.com/history). Accessed 6 May 2019.

Tri-Spy Tours are led by Margo Arceri, a native of Long Island and a Culper Ring expert. The tour's website includes a page that presents basic information about the agents of the Culper Spy Ring.

United States Military Academy. *The Centennial of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York: 1802-1902*. Vol. 1, Washington Government Printing Office, 1904. *Internet Archive*. <https://archive.org/details/centennialofunit01unit/page/n8>.

I used this book for statistics of the West Point stronghold and information about Arnold's plot to betray the fortress.

Uva, Katie. “Benedict Arnold.” *George Washington's Mount Vernon*, Mount Vernon Ladies' Association, <http://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/benedict-arnold/>.

This article on Mount Vernon's website gave me an overview of Arnold's life before he became a traitor, as well as his legacy today.

White, Kathryn. "Benjamin Tallmadge." *George Washington's Mount Vernon*,

<http://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/benjamin-tallmadge/>.

In this article, Kathryn White explains the military accomplishments of Benjamin Tallmadge and those he made as a spy.

Williams, Victoria. "Culper Spy Ring." *George Washington's Mount Vernon*,

<http://www.mountvernon.org/library/digitalhistory/digital-encyclopedia/article/culper-spy-ring/>.

This webpage taught me about the members of the Culper Spy Ring and about the complex method they used for sending information to General Washington.