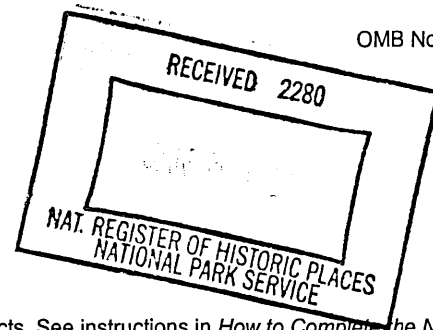


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United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places
Registration Form



This form is for use in nominating or requesting determinations for individual properties and districts. See instructions in *How to Complete the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form* (National Register Bulletin 16A). Complete each item by marking "x" in the appropriate box or by entering the information requested. If an item does not apply to the property being documented, enter "N/A" for "not applicable." For functions, architectural classification, materials, and areas of significance, enter only categories and subcategories from the instructions. Place additional entries and narrative items on continuation sheets (NPS Form 10-900a). Use a typewriter, word processor, or computer, to complete all items.

1. Name of Property

historic name Fort Vengeance Monument Site

other name/site number Site VT-RU-216; Fort Vengeance; Caleb Hendee, Sr., Farmstead

2. Location

street & number Beneath and west of U.S. Route 7, 0.57 miles south of town line not for publication

city or town Pittsford vicinity N/A

state Vermont code VT county Rutland code 021 zip code 05733 -see cont. sheet

3. State/Federal Agency Certification

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act, as amended, I hereby certify that this nomination request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. I recommend that this property be considered significant nationally statewide locally. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Suzanne C Gamble, National Register Specialist 1-26-06
Signature of certifying official/Title Date

Vermont State Historic Preservation Office
State or Federal agency and bureau

In my opinion, the property meets does not meet the National Register criteria. (See continuation sheet for additional comments.)

Signature of certifying official/Title Date

State or Federal agency and bureau

4. National Park Service Certification

I hereby certify that the property is:

- entered in the National Register. See continuation sheet.
- determined eligible for the National Register See continuation sheet.
- determined not eligible for the National Register.
- removed from the National Register.
- other, (explain:) _____

for Signature of the Keeper Date of Action
Erica K. Martin Seibert 3/15/06

5. Classification

Ownership of Property
(check as many boxes as apply)

Category of Property
(check only one box)

Number of Resources within Property
(Do not include previously listed resources in the count.)

- private
- public-local
- public-State
- public-Federal

- building(s)
- district
- site
- structure
- object

Contributing	Noncontributing	
0	0	buildings
1	0	sites
0	0	structures
1	0	objects
2	0	Total

Name of related multiple property listing
(Enter "N/A" if property is not part of a multiple property listing.)

Number of contributing resources previously listed in the National Register

N/A

0

6. Function or Use

Historic Function
(Enter categories from instructions)

Current Function
(Enter categories from instructions)

- DEFENSE / fortification
- DOMESTIC / single dwelling
- COMMERCE/TRADE / restaurant

- AGRICULTURE/SUBSISTENCE / agricultural field
- RECREATION AND CULTURE / monument/marker

7. Description

Architectural Classification
(Enter categories from instructions)

Materials
(Enter categories from instructions)

N/A

foundation N/A

walls N/A

roof N/A

other N/A

Narrative Description

(Describe the historic and current condition of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

See continuation sheet(s) for Section No. 7

Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216)
Name of Property

Town of Pittsford, Rutland County, Vermont
City, County and State

8. Description

Applicable National Register Criteria

(Mark "x" in one or more boxes for the criteria qualifying the property for National Register listing.)

- A** Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B** Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C** Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D** Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Criteria Considerations

(Mark "x" in all the boxes that apply.)

Property is:

- A** owned by a religious institution or used for religious purposes.
- B** removed from its original location.
- C** a birthplace or grave.
- D** a cemetery.
- E** a reconstructed building, object, or structure.
- F** a commemorative property.
- G** less than 50 years of age or achieved significance within the past 50 years.

Narrative Statement of Significance

(Explain the significance of the property on one or more continuation sheets.)

Areas of Significance

(enter categories from instructions)

ARCHAEOLOGY / HISTORIC – NON-ABORIGINAL

MILITARY

AGRICULTURE

COMMERCE

Period of Significance

1774-1900

Significant Dates

1774-1779, 1780-1782; 1783-1808, ca. 1830, ca. 1860, ca. 1873, 1900

Significant Persons

(Complete if Criterion B is marked above)
N/A

Cultural Affiliation

Euro-American

Architect/Builder

N/A

See continuation sheet(s) for Section No. 8

9. Major Bibliographical References

Bibliography

(Cite the books, articles, and other sources used in preparing this form on one or more continuation sheets.)

Previous documentation on file (NPS): *None*

- preliminary determination of individual listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested
- previously listed in the National Register
- previously determined eligible by the National Register
- designated a National Historic Landmark
- recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey # _____
- recorded by Historic American Engineering Record # _____

Primary location of additional data:

- State Historic Preservation Office
 - Other State agency
 - Federal agency
 - Local government
 - University
 - Other
- Name of repository:
VT Agency of Transportation, Environ. Section

See continuation sheet(s) for Section No. 9

Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216)
Name of Property

Town of Pittsford, Rutland County, Vermont
City, County and State

10. Geographical Data

Acreeage of Property 2.0 acres

UTM References

(Place additional boundaries of the property on a continuation sheet.)

1 1/8 6/5/7/1/7/1 4/8/4/5/4/6/4
Zone Easting Northing

2 / / / / / / / / / / /
Zone Easting Northing

3 / / / / / / / / / / /
Zone Easting Northing

4 / / / / / / / / / / /
Zone Easting Northing

Verbal Boundary Description

(Describe the boundaries of the property.)

See continuation sheet.

Property Tax No.

Boundary Justification

(Explain why the boundaries were selected.)

See continuation sheet.

See continuation sheet(s) for Section No. 10

11. Form Prepared By

name/title Christopher L. Borstel, Ph.D., RPA, Senior Archaeologist
organization The Louis Berger Group, Inc. date May 26, 2005
street & number 120 Halsted Street telephone 973-678-1960
city or town East Orange state NJ zip code 07018

Additional Documentation

Submit the following items with the completed form:

Continuation Sheets

Maps A **USGS map** (7.5 or 15 minute series) indicating the property's location.

A **Sketch map** for historic districts and properties having large acreage or numerous resources.

Photographs: Representative **black and white photographs** of the property.

Additional items: (Check with the SHPO or FPO for any additional items)

Property Owner

name/title Peter L., Dana C., and Greg Polli
street & number 61 Cortello Drive telephone 802-459-2796
city or town Brandon state VT zip code 05733

United States Department of the Interior
National Park Service

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

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Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216), Pittsford, Rutland Co., Vermont

Section 2: Location

Note regarding ZIP Code:

Although the property is located within the municipal boundaries of the town of Pittsford, VT (ZIP code 05763), it is situated within the delivery area of the post office of the neighboring town of Brandon, VT (ZIP code 05733).

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

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Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216), Pittsford, Rutland Co., Vermont

Narrative Description

1. Introduction

The Fort Vengeance Monument Site (recorded as VT-RU-216 in the Vermont Archaeological Inventory) is a historic period Euro-American archaeological site in the Otter Valley town of Pittsford, Vermont. It was occupied by Euro-Americans of British ancestry, many of whom were, like the first eighteenth-century occupants, born in southern or eastern New England. The site is a multi-component locality that on present evidence is dominated by traces of the Caleb Hendee, Sr., farmstead (1774-circa 1830/60). The site also contains remains related to a tavern that Hendee operated on his farmstead between 1783 and 1808 and evidence of the Chester Thomas house and farmstead (circa 1860-1900), which stood roughly 250 north of the Hendee farmstead. The site also likely includes deposits and features associated with Fort Vengeance (1780-1782), a stockade fortification that stood on the farmstead during Revolutionary War. The fort and a member of its company, Caleb Houghton, who was killed nearby, are commemorated by a modest marble obelisk. The monument was erected on the site in 1873.

Archaeological investigations at the site to date have shown that it includes the buried foundations of the Caleb Hendee, Sr., house and tavern (1782-circa 1830) and the Chester Thomas house (circa 1860-1900). At least one other possible building foundation, perhaps representing an outbuilding, has also been identified at the site. Owing to the predominance of remains from the Hendee farmstead and the limited extent of field investigations, archaeological evidence of Fort Vengeance itself is at present scanty, being limited to a possible section of a palisade trench and certain eighteenth-century artifacts, such as a brass button of a type that has been found on eighteenth-century military sites in New York and Michigan. In addition to the several archaeological structures, features, and deposits that have thus far been identified at the site, systematic shovel testing shows that late eighteenth- to nineteenth-century artifacts related to these occupations occur in the plowzone, and that several clusters of artifacts occur across the site.

2. Setting

The Fort Vengeance Monument Site is situated on a broad glacial terrace, locally known as Dickerman Hill for a family that farmed there nineteenth and twentieth

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Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216), Pittsford, Rutland Co., Vermont

centuries. The terrace occupied by the site is the lowest of at least three benches that were cut into the western flank of the Cox Mountain by glacial Lake Vermont and the Champlain Sea at the end of the last glacial epoch, some 10,000 to 12,000 years ago. Cox Mountain rises on the east of Dickerman Hill. The mountain's summit, which reaches 1,412 feet above sea level (ASL), is 1.25 miles to the southeast of the site.

With an elevation of approximately 455-470 feet ASL, the site stands around 100 feet higher than the bottomlands of Otter Creek. The creek flows past the site just over a half mile to the west. It flows north, meandering back and forth across the floor of the Otter Valley. Near the site, the Otter Creek bottomlands are around a half mile wide; they are located between 800 and 3,000 feet to the west.

The position of the site near the outer edge of the glacial terrace affords it a commanding view up and down the Otter Valley. Its location and the extent of Euro-American settlement at the time of the Revolutionary War were important factors that led the independent republic of Vermont to maintain a stockade fort on the Hendee farm from 1780 to 1782. Geographically, the Otter Valley is a principal communication and transportation corridor in western Vermont and has been so since long before Euro-American settlement. In the second half of the eighteenth century, the valley was a major pathway by which settlers from southern New England entered western Vermont, and it was also an important route into Vermont for military parties raiding south from Canada. The valley divides the Green Mountains, to the east, from the Taconic Mountains, to the west. Otter Creek originates in the southwestern Vermont town of Dorset, roughly 35 miles south of the site, and it enters Lake Champlain at Fields Bay, a similar distance to the north. As far as Brandon, Pittsford's neighbor to the north, the Otter Valley is narrow and sharply constrained by the surrounding mountains. However, beginning a couple of miles north of the site, the valley opens out and becomes part of the broad Champlain Lowland that surrounds the western shore of the lake.

The terrain of the site and its vicinity slopes gently from east-northeast to west-southwest. The edge of the site is marked in part by the abruptly steeper slope to the west that comprises the upper edge of the terrace riser. Beyond this edge, the terrace drops toward Otter Creek. At the base of the terrace, the slope crosses a series of narrow, post-glacial alluvial terraces before reaching the level bottomlands.

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Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216), Pittsford, Rutland Co., Vermont

There are no permanent streams close to the site, but historically there were two or more springs to the east nearby. A low-order seasonal drainage system of shallow gullies, which are usually dry, passes a short distance southeast of the site. On the western edge of the site, a broad, curving, steeply-sloped concavity cuts into the terrace edge. The genesis of this feature is unclear. It may be a post-glacial drainage feature, or it may result from land clearing and erosion during the historic period; it is also possible that the concavity results from the excavation of a gravel or borrow pit in the edge of the terrace.

At present, the site is used as a hay meadow. According to local residents, most of Dickerman Hill was historically used for meadow, pastureland, and orchards. The rich soils of the neighboring bottomlands produced corn and other annual crops. In the vicinity of the site, these bottomland fields are now either fallow or have been converted to hay meadows. Extensive second-growth northern hardwood woodlands surround the site. These woodlands cover the steep hill and mountain slopes and occupy abandoned agricultural fields. The composition of these woodlands is generally similar to the forests encountered by the first Euro-American settlers in the area in the late eighteenth century. Sugar maple predominates, and beech, yellow birch, red maple, ash, red oak, and hemlock are common. Where local conditions favor them, woodlands dominated by spruce and fir, by white pine and oak, or by paper birch, pin cherry, and aspen occur.

As agriculture declines in importance in Rutland County, land use in the vicinity of the site is increasingly changing to a pattern of dispersed residences. Near the site, these are clustered along U.S. Route 7, which marks the site's eastern border. Two nearby houses were built between circa 1830 and 1850, but most were built after about 1970. Most of this low-density residential development has occurred on the eastern side of Route 7.

3. Site Contents and Structure

The Fort Vengeance Monument Site is a multi-component site that preserves evidence of a late eighteenth- to mid-nineteenth century farmstead and associated tavern, a Revolutionary War stockade fort, and a late nineteenth-century farmstead. Archaeological investigations involving a total area of excavation of 195 square meters (2,100 square feet), or 2.4 percent of the total site area, have identified at least two building foundations and several features, and they have recovered 10,180 artifacts from the site. The great majority of these artifacts relate to the eighteenth- to nineteenth-century components, but the artifact assemblage also includes a small percentage of modern artifacts from random

National Register of Historic Places Continuation Sheet

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Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216), Pittsford, Rutland Co., Vermont

trash disposal and spreading animal manure as agricultural fertilizer. In addition to the large assemblage of historic period artifacts, excavations also recovered eight fragments of quartzite that may represent Native American chipped stone artifacts.

a. Site Stratigraphy

The *Soil Survey of Rutland County* classifies the soils of the site as Paxton fine sandy loam. Paxton soils are formed in loamy, compact glacial till and often occur on knolls and hills at elevations beyond the reach of drainages active during the past 10,000 years (the Holocene epoch). They are deep and well drained. The soils are very strongly acid to moderately acid throughout. The pedological characteristics of Paxton soils have played an important role in the development of archaeological deposits of the Fort Vengeance Monument Site. In general, archaeological deposits associated with Paxton soils tend to be shallow with compressed stratigraphy, owing to the absence of significant sediment accumulation during the past ten millennia. Preservation of organic materials (artifacts and ecofacts) tends to be poor or limited, particularly at sites of some antiquity, due to the acidity of the soils and the humid temperate climate in which they form.

Broadly speaking, archaeological investigations have identified four principal depositional contexts at the Fort Vengeance Monument Site. These are:

- Twentieth-century construction fills;
- Plowzone (Ap horizon);
- Subsoil (Bw horizon); and
- Historic period features and feature fills.

Twentieth-century construction fills occur beneath Route 7 and also comprise the western shoulder of the highway and the current subgrade of the Fort Vengeance Monument. The majority of the construction fills presumably date to 1931, when Route 7 was upgraded from an unpaved, locally-maintained road to a two-lane state highway paved with concrete. The road was widened from 18 to 24 feet in 1955, with a consequent expansion of the highway shoulders. There have probably been some limited additional improvements to the shoulders since 1955. The current automobile turn-out and subgrade for the Fort Vengeance Monument was constructed by the town of Pittsford about 1950. The turn-out and monument occupy a prism of fill extending west from the highway for a distance of 40 feet. A third facies of fill is associated with field drives and other infrastructure connected with the use of the field in which the site is located for agriculture.

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Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216), Pittsford, Rutland Co., Vermont

Such fill dates primarily to the 1980s, when the hay meadow was reclaimed from the early stages of old-field reforestation. The agriculture-related construction fills are of minor extent.

Plowzone (Ap-horizon) covers the surface of nearly all accessible portions of the site. This stratum is the product of plowing and cultivation over the past two centuries. Based upon data from shovel tests, the stratum averages 26 centimeters (10 inches) thick. It ranges from 15 to 46 centimeters (6-18 inches) in thickness, but in most area, it is at least 20 centimeters (8 inches) and not more than 33 centimeters (13 inches) thick. The plowzone is generally dark grayish brown to olive brown in color and has a somewhat gravelly silt loam texture. Outside modern fill deposits and archaeological features that extend into the subsoil, roughly 95 percent of all artifacts on the site are found in the plowzone. In areas where the plowzone occurs above archaeological features in the subsoil, the percentage of artifacts in this stratum is smaller, though the artifact density may be high in it. For example, in the area of the Hendee house and tavern ("Structure D"), roughly 51 percent of the recovered artifacts came from the plowzone and 49 percent came from below it. The average number of artifacts per unit volume in the plowzone in the vicinity of this structure was among the highest on the site.

Subsoil underlies all archaeological deposits at the site. The subsoil consists of a weakly developed B-horizon (Bw-horizon) whose upper portion is dark yellowish brown to light olive brown with a somewhat stony silt loam texture. A compact olive till that comprises the upper portion of the C-horizon underlies one or more Bw-horizon layers. A few test pits encountered till near the bases of their stratigraphic profiles. Outside of archaeological features, artifacts in the subsoil are rare and account for roughly 5 percent of the entire assemblage from the site. These items have infiltrated downwards from the overlying strata by natural processes such as frost heaving, plant growth and decay, and animal burrowing.

Archaeological features are preserved with good integrity below the plowzone. They include artificial excavations made during the historic period that served various purposes. Features identified to date at the Fort Vengeance Monument Site include building foundations (also called "structures"), a pit, a subterranean drain, and a possible section of a stockade trench. These features are quite varied in plan, profile, soil characteristics and stratigraphy, and contents. Features are described in greater detail in the next section. Overall, sub-plowzone features yielded around 55 percent of the entire artifact assemblage from the site.

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Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216), Pittsford, Rutland Co., Vermont

b. Archaeological Features

Caleb Hendee, Sr., House and Tavern Foundation (also called "Structure D"):
The buried cellar of the circa-1782 to 1830 Hendee farmhouse is situated in the east-central part of the site, approximately 60-75 feet north of the present location of the Fort Vengeance Monument and 15 to 47 feet west of the current western edge of the Route 7 pavement. The identification of the archaeological feature as the Hendee house is based upon dates of associated artifacts, particularly a small suite of eighteenth-century coins, and descriptions of the location and functions of the Hendee farmstead in Caverley's (1872) history of Pittsford.

The most prominent element of this complex feature is a stone building foundation, which lines the edges of a filled cellar hole. The foundation measures 16.7x31.8 feet, with its long axis oriented almost precisely due east-west (i.e., approximately N90°E – N270°E). The foundation walls are constructed primarily of roughly quadrilateral blocks of dolostone (dolomite), along with a few water-rounded cobbles of quartzite and other local stones. Dolostone bedrock lies beneath the floor of the Otter Valley and also occurs on Hawk Hill, 1-2 miles northwest of the site. The geological formation that provided the masonry for this cellar has not been identified. The blocks vary in size, with the typical range being 12-30 inches long, 10-12 inches wide, and 2-6 inches thick. They are laid up without mortar in an excavated cellar pit that measures approximately 30 inches to possibly as much as 55 inches wider than the foundation at the base of the plowzone. Outside the foundation wall, the backfilled cellar pit (the so-called builder's trench) slopes inward toward the foundation, with the lowest 16 inches or so of the foundation being laid up directly against the outside of the lowest, vertical portion of the pit wall. The lowest 2.5-3 feet of the foundation wall is preserved in place; higher portions of the wall have been removed or disturbed by building demolition and other post-abandonment events. In addition to the foundation wall, excavations have identified an unusual stone- and wood-lined cellar drain that extends downslope from the western side of the foundation. The drain and its backfilled trench were traced for approximately 6 feet west of the foundation, but its downslope terminus remains unidentified. Excavations also found a substantial deposit of handmade bricks, brick fragments, and mortar inside and outside the northern foundation wall near its northeastern corner. This demolition debris may represent traces of a chimney.

The floor of the cellar inside the foundation has several thin layers of fine sand, organic-rich loam with charcoal, and compact loam occur above the stratigraphic

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Continuation Sheet

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Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216), Pittsford, Rutland Co., Vermont

interface that marks the base of the cellar pit. These layers appear to represent water-lain floor sediments, decomposed or burned wood (possibly flooring), and a tamped-earth sub-floor, respectively. Above these deposits, the interior of the cellar is filled with soil that was probably scraped from around the cellar when it was filled in, along with displaced foundation stones and field stones gathered by farmers from the surrounding field. At least two distinct layers of cellar fill appear to be present. The plowzone occurs at the top of the foundation's stratigraphic sequence. The eastern third of the foundation is capped by a thin wedge of modern construction fill. The plowzone truncates the foundation wall, cellar backfill, and probably landscaping and midden deposits from the period of occupation of the Hendee house.

Refuse Pit: Feature 1 is an irregular basin-shaped pit feature discovered in a machine-dug trench 23 feet west of the Hendee house foundation. The feature measures 60 inches across and extends into the plowzone to a depth of 43 inches. Fill consisted of several distinct layers of silt loam and yielded domestic and wild animal bone fragments, pottery sherds, and two square (handwrought or machine-cut) nails. The characteristics of this assemblage indicate that it is associated with the Hendee farmstead. Feature 1 is the only refuse pit thus far identified on the site.

Possible Stockade Trench: Feature 2 is a broad, somewhat amorphous soil disturbance that is located 37 feet north of the Hendee house foundation. Where identified in Trench 4, a machine-dug unit, it measures up to 16 feet across and could be traced east-west for at least 10 feet. It extends at least 30 inches below the plowzone. Its boundaries were difficult to define with certainty, but the soil within the feature was slightly darker and more gravelly than the adjoining plowzone and the surrounding subsoil. No associated artifacts were recovered. Two hand-dug trenches to the west of the anomaly in Trench 4 failed to locate any traces of it. The feature plainly represents a substantial soil disturbance of some kind. The size and depth of the anomaly have led to the conclusion that it is very possibly a segment of the trench in which the wooden stockade of the Revolutionary War Fort Vengeance was erected. Its characteristics are consistent with the sort of subsurface feature that would have resulted from the erection of a wooden stockade and earth banquettes, followed within a few years by the removal of the stockade, backfilling of the trench, and leveling of the banquettes, elements and events known to have existed in the history of the fort.

Outbuilding Foundation or Fieldstone Discard Pile ("Structure G"): Structure G is a large amorphous concentration of stream-rounded cobbles located near the

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Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216), Pittsford, Rutland Co., Vermont

center of the site, some 110 to 135 feet north of the Hendee house foundation. The concentration measures approximately 23 feet east-west by 26 feet north-south and consists of a continuous pavement-like cluster of cobbles below a thin plowzone. Hand-dug trenches and test units failed to identify any alignment patterns among the stones indicative of a wall. Nonetheless, excavations recovered substantial quantities of window glass (crown glass), machine-cut nails, and some sherds of household pottery. The associated artifacts suggest a mid- to late nineteenth-century date for the feature. The function of this feature is uncertain. It may be a remnant of an outbuilding such as a barn, or it could be a demolished entrance ramp to a barn. It could also be a fieldstone collection pile that has subsequently been graded flat to permit more efficient use of the field.

Chester Thomas House Foundation ("Structure F"): The buried foundation of the farmhouse built about 1860 by a subsequent owner of the Hendee property, Chester Thomas, is situated roughly 240 feet north of the Hendee house foundation. The identity of this feature has been established from Caverly's (1872) history of Pittsford, and through historic maps and deeds.

The Thomas house foundation is located roughly 60 feet from the northern end of the site and close to the toe of the western slope of the Route 7 fill berm. The foundation is constructed of dry-laid stream-rounded cobbles. The bottom 2 feet of the foundation are preserved below the plowzone, and the wall is over 3 feet wide. The north-south dimension of the foundation has been established as 18 feet. Testing has not been sufficient to establish the east-west dimension with certainty. Available evidence suggests the house was rather small, perhaps on the order of 18x20 feet to 18x24 feet. Foundation fill included a layer of charcoal and ash 4-6 inches thick, suggesting the building was burned, probably after it was vacated around 1900. Artifacts associated with this foundation include sherds of household pottery (whitewares and ironstones), bottle glass, nails, bricks, window glass, and a few small finds.

c. Artifact Assemblage

Analysis of the distribution of artifacts, as indicated by the results of shovel testing in 2000 across the center third of the Fort Vengeance Monument Site, reveals that it contains several clusters, or "concentrations" (McManamon 1984), of artifacts. From south to north, these concentrations are located:

- Southwest of the monument (Concentration [Conc.] 1);
- Around and to the west of the Hendee house and tavern foundation (Conc. 2),

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Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216), Pittsford, Rutland Co., Vermont

- Around and to the west of Structure G, the enigmatic stone pile (Conc. 3); and
- Northwest of the Thomas house foundation (Conc. 4).

Concentration 2, in the vicinity of the Hendee house foundation, is the largest of these clusters, and for analytical purposes it can be divided into two sub-areas, one in the immediate vicinity of the foundation (Conc. 2.1) and the other 20 to 70 feet west of the foundation (Conc. 2.2). Areas within the limits of shovel testing but outside the concentrations are characterized by very low to moderate numbers of historic artifacts. Owing to the limited extent of shovel testing on the western third of the site and to the cover of road fill on the eastern third of the site, the full extent of each artifact concentration remains to be delineated.

Taken as a whole, the artifact assemblage is dominated by domestic artifacts and refuse and architectural materials typical of a historic Vermont farmstead or rural dwelling. The three most common categories of artifacts in the assemblage are:

- Architectural artifacts, 44 percent (nails, window glass, bricks, etc.);
- Food-related vessels and utensils, 43 percent (ceramic kitchen-, tea-, and tablewares, glass containers, spoons, knives, etc.); and
- Faunal material, 9 percent (bones of domestic and wild animals that are primarily byproducts of food consumption).

The remainder of the assemblage includes small numbers of buttons, lamp glass, smoking pipes, horseshoe nails, coins, and other items.¹

The overall characteristics of the artifact assemblage strongly reflect that recovered from the Hendee house foundation and vicinity (Conc.'s 2.1 and 2.2). This portion of the site contributes three-quarters of all the material thus far recovered from the site, including 65 percent of the architectural artifacts, 86 percent of the food vessels and utensils, and 96 percent of the faunal material, along with a majority of the small finds and other artifacts from the site. Even though the artifacts from the Hendee house foundation and vicinity predominate in the site assemblage as a whole, this area still stands out in certain respects from other portions of the site in certain ways. Compared to other portions of the site, the Hendee house and vicinity has higher percentages of food-related materials and lower percentages of architectural materials. Of 7,028 artifacts from Conc.'s 2.1 and 2.2, 50 percent were food vessels and utensils, 11 percent were animal bones, and 37 percent were architectural objects; in comparison, the other concentrations at the site typically consist of 60 to 70 percent architectural artifacts, 20 to 30 percent food-related vessels and utensils, and very small

¹ The percentages quoted in this section are based upon the 2000-2001 excavations, which recovered a total of 9,121 artifacts from the site.

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quantities of other artifact categories, including faunal material. It appears that the artifact concentration from around the Hendee house reflects the presence of sheet refuse and sheet midden deposits, while the assemblages thus far recovered from other concentrations and structures at the site show the strong influence of landscaping and building demolition deposits.

Excavations in the vicinity of the Hendee house and tavern foundation (Conc.'s 2.1 and 2.2) have yielded a rich and varied assemblage whose character is consistent with the late eighteenth to early nineteenth century period of occupation recorded in documentary sources. Key artifacts include a suite of five Spanish, British, and American coins dating between 1746 and 1797, a group of pewter and brass buttons, and a part from a pair of glasses dating to the eighteenth century. Among the buttons was one with a "basket weave" design identical to buttons recovered from Revolutionary War military sites in New York and Michigan and another, actually a sleeve button, or cufflink, engraved with Masonic symbols. There is also a large assemblage of pearlware, creamware, and redware ceramic sherds, representing kitchen, table, and tea vessels. Architectural artifacts from this area include hand-made bricks, crown window glass (made until ca. 1840), and handwrought nails (whose manufacture declined rapidly after ca. 1820). Identified animal species among the recovered faunal material are predominantly domesticated swine, sheep, and cattle. Analysis of the faunal assemblage established that the bones represented a variety of meat cuts, including "processed cuts" (for sausage and pudding), hams, stews, chops, and roasts, a fairly typical range for the period. No evidence of primary animal butchering was identified, a result that was a bit surprising for a historic farmstead; possibly this anomaly merely reflects the relatively small sample size from the concentration.

The artifact assemblage recovered from Structure G, the enigmatic stone pile, and vicinity (Conc. 3) is dominated by architectural materials, but also contains some domestic artifacts. Of the 951 artifacts from this concentration, 68 percent are architectural, and, strikingly, nails alone comprise 48 percent of the entire assemblage. In addition, excavations at Structure G yielded the highest density per cubic meter of window glass of any area on the site. Food-related artifacts (ceramics, vessel glass, faunal material) make up 24 percent of the assemblage. In general, the ceramic types represented in the sample from this concentration are common utilitarian wares that probably functioned as food preparation and serving vessels. In contrast to the vicinity of the Hendee house foundation (Conc.'s 2.1 and 2.2), examples of personal items were very scarce from Structure G and vicinity. The only personal items recovered were three small pieces of white clay tobacco pipes. The small sample of faunal material from the

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concentration is characteristic of nineteenth-century rural diets that were largely dependent on domesticated livestock and took advantage of fish and game when available. Based upon the abundance of machine-cut nails and the high proportion of whiteware ceramic sherds, the assemblage from this concentration appears generally to date from the mid- to late nineteenth-century. There is, however, an unexplained anomaly in which the nail assemblage generally post-dates circa 1830/40, while the assemblage of window glass generally pre-dates that period.

Architectural items, principally nails and window glass, compose two-thirds of the 1,039 artifacts recovered to date from the Thomas house foundation ("Structure F"). As with Conc. 3, the date range of the artifact sample is broadly from the mid- to late nineteenth century, based largely upon the predominance of machine-cut nails and glass bottle forms. The ceramic sample from Structure F was extremely limited, consisting of only seven sherds of plain whiteware and redware. Although nineteenth-century food preparation and serving vessels were made of materials other than ceramic, such as tin and wood, the low frequency of recovered ceramics and the absence of other likely materials may be the result of sampling bias in the excavation strategy for Structure F. Several glass containers with diagnostic markers dating to the second half of the nineteenth century came from this area of the site. Two types of personal artifacts, clothing buttons (five undecorated china buttons and one pressed glass button) and white clay tobacco pipes (2 fragments), were found in Structure F. Virtually no faunal material has thus far been recovered from this area of the site.

Only 27 artifacts have thus far been recovered from Conc. 4, to the northwest of the Thomas house foundation. Nails and window glass comprise 89 percent of the Conc. 4 assemblage, with two whiteware sherds and one piece of vessel glass making up the remaining 11 percent. The assemblage is as yet too small to permit any reliable assessment of its genesis, functional implications, or age.

In addition to the large assemblage of historic artifacts, excavations between 1999 and 2001 also recovered eight angular fragments of quartzite from three widely separated tests. Investigators have identified these quartzite fragments as products of prehistoric Native American stone tool manufacturing. Seven are classified as flakes or flake fragments, while the eighth is said to be a scraper. The identification of these objects as artifacts has not been established beyond question. All are categorized as chipping debris or expedient tools; none is the result of systematic knapping involving multiple intentional blows to shape it. While the possibility of prehistoric occupation cannot be completely dismissed,

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the scanty character of the available evidence and the site's natural abundance of quartzite cobbles and boulders strongly suggest that these quartzite chips are no more than adventitious byproducts from impacts of plows and cultivators against stones during the past two centuries of farming.

4. The Evolving Appearance of the Site

Since it was first occupied by the Caleb Hendee, Sr., family in 1774, the site has been the location of several generations of buildings and structures constructed primarily of wood. Other materials employed in conjunction with wood included stone for foundations, brick for chimneys, and earth for platforms and for landscaping fill around buildings. No above-ground traces of any buildings or structures remain today, and the site is currently used as a hay meadow. It has been used exclusively as field, pasture, or meadow since around 1900.

Section 8 describes the history of the site, including the characteristics of the buildings and structures that once stood there. By way of a brief overview, its history can be divided into six periods, each of which was characterized by a distinct pattern of land use and built environment.

Initial Occupation (1774-1779)

During the period of initial occupation, the Hendee family began clearing and building on the uplands and intervalle that were to comprise the core 200 acres of Caleb Hendee's home farm. During the first year of their occupancy, the Hendees probably built a cabin and perhaps a stable or shed(s). These buildings are more likely to have been log structures than frame ones, but no documentary or archaeological evidence has thus far come to light to establish the type of construction employed. Since the Hendee family had two sets of relatives living within two miles of their land, it can be conjectured that they would have been able to command the labor and had the leisure to build a somewhat more substantial and weather-tight house than the crude log shelters built by some newcomers to the Vermont wilderness. By 1779, documentary evidence shows that the farm had, at a minimum, a house (either log or frame) and a barn. There were perhaps 15 to 30 acres of cleared land, which were used as cropland and pasture.

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Fort Vengeance (1780-1782)

A wooden stockade fort, Fort Vengeance, occupied the farmstead for two years of the Revolutionary War while the town of Pittsford was under threat of British-instigated raids. The fort was constructed on the order of the Board of War of the independent state of Vermont. It was perhaps 200 feet on a side and is said to have had capacity for 150 men. According to a mid-19th century description, its walls were built of vertical logs standing 16 to 18 feet high and set in a trench 5 to 6 feet deep. On the inside of the stockade was a platform (“breast work” in the historical description), or banquette, of earth and logs, from which muskets could be fired through loopholes in the stockade walls. The fort also contained log barracks for the officers and men, a frame powder magazine, two shallow wells, and other components. It is not clear whether the fort stood next to the Hendee farmhouse or enclosed it. Documentary evidence indicates that the Hendee barn was outside the stockade walls of the fort.

Farm and Tavern (1782-ca. 1830)

With the cessation of the threat of raids on the Vermont frontier, the Hendee family returned to its farm in the spring of 1782. They are said to have “repaired” the farmhouse in the year of their return, but the precise meaning of this phrase is unknown. In 1783, Caleb Hendee, Sr., “opened his house as a tavern,” which he operated until 1808. It seems likely that by the 1790s, if not earlier, the Hendee house and tavern was a frame building, likely of 1½ stories and built in a vernacular New England style (e.g., Cape Cod or Saltbox). This conjecture is based upon the increasing prosperity and size of the Hendee family and upon the availability of lumber from several sawmills located 2 to 5 miles from the farm. The Hendee farmhouse and tavern stood over a partial cellar lined by roughly quarried stone and in all probability faced south. The Hendees used the fort’s buildings as housing, stables, and sheds, and over many decades, they gradually apparently dismantled the fort, probably beginning with the stockade. A portion of the fort’s log barracks is known to have stood until at least 1848 and possibly until as late as circa 1870. The overall arrangement of the farmstead was probably haphazard, both because of the presence of the old fort buildings, and because New England farmers did not widely embrace semi-formal arrangement of farmstead building as an element of progressive agricultural practice until the middle decades of the 19th century.

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Reconfiguration of the Hendee Home Farm (ca. 1830-1860)

Around 1830, Caleb Hendee, Sr.'s, successor on the farm, his son Samuel, built a new 2-story frame house (still extant) with Greek Revival styling a few hundred feet down the road from the old Hendee farmhouse and tavern. The construction of this house marks a period during which the Hendee farmstead was reconfigured and perhaps made more regular, in keeping with then-current agricultural practice. Among other changes, Samuel Hendee changed the farmstead from one in which the dwelling house and the major outbuildings all occupied one side of the road to one in which the farmstead was split by a road. In the case of the Hendee farm, the house now stood to the east of the Rutland-Burlington post road (present-day U.S. Route 7) and the outbuildings to the west, where the whole farmstead had originally stood. As part of the reconfiguration of the farmstead, Samuel Hendee removed or demolished the old farmhouse-tavern and pulled down the last of the log buildings from the fort. He may also have relocated old but serviceable frame outbuildings that comprised parts of the original farmstead.

The Chester Thomas Farm (1860-ca. 1900)

In 1858, Samuel Hendee sold the core of Hendee home farm to his future stepson-in-law, Chester G. Thomas. Thomas's farm included all or virtually all of what is now identified as the Fort Vengeance Monument Site. Two years after purchasing the land, Thomas married Martha Pray, Samuel's stepdaughter through his second wife, Betsey. Around this time the couple moved into a new farmhouse that Thomas had built about 700 feet north of Samuel's Greek Revival farmhouse and 240 feet north of the location of the old Hendee farmhouse-tavern. Much remains to be learned about the Thomas occupation of the site. One important question is whether the Thomases erected a complete farmstead, or whether they worked their land in a joint arrangement with the aging Hendee, using the latter's barns and outbuildings. Archaeological evidence obtained to date is silent on this point. Available evidence does appear to indicate that the Thomas family lived in a rather small house, presumably of frame construction like most farmhouses in Pittsford.

In 1873 the town of Pittsford erected a marble monument memorializing Fort Vengeance and a soldier who was killed while serving there. The monument was placed beside the Rutland-Burlington post road in a hay meadow or pasture between Hendee's house and Thomas's. The monument's inscription informs the

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viewer in part that Fort Vengeance “stood on this ground,” a claim that is well supported by the available evidence.

Chester Thomas and his wife both died in the 1880s, leaving the farm to their son, Clarence, before he reached his majority. The Thomas farmhouse stood until around 1900, when it was removed, presumably shortly after a sale of the farm that resulted in consolidation with neighboring lands.

Land of the E.W. Dickerman Farm and Its Successors (ca. 1900-present)

After 1900, the entire area of the Fort Vengeance Monument Site was used as field, meadow, or pasture. The land fell out of production in the 1960s or 1970s and was restored as a hayfield in the 1990s, the use to which it was being put at the time of the archaeological investigations.

The Rutland-Burlington post road was incorporated into the state highway system as U.S. Route 7 in 1930 and was graded and paved as a two-lane highway in 1931. The upgrade brought the edge of the highway close to the monument, which was relocated about 1950 by the town of Pittsford. At present, the monument stands on a small mound of fill contiguous with the highway and a turn-out for passing automobiles. It is about 25 feet to the west and few feet north of its original 19th-century location.

5. Integrity

The Fort Vengeance Monument Site possesses average integrity for a Vermont historical archaeological site situated in an upland agricultural setting. Since the site began to enter the archaeological record, it has been subject to periodic cultivation. Cultivation has created a plowzone, within which a substantial portion of the artifact assemblage occurs. Although the vertical patterning of artifacts in plowzones tends to reflect directly the effects of soil disturbance by plow and cultivator, such studies also show that plowzone sites retain meaningful structure in the horizontal plane. Such structure is evident through the analysis of shovel test data from the Fort Vengeance Monument Site, where several clusters, or concentrations, of artifacts have been identified in its central third (see above). Available data document horizontal patterning on the site with a resolution of approximately 8 meters (26 feet). Archaeological investigations to date show that the clusters are associated with activity areas and subplowzone features.

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Aside from post-occupation agricultural use of the site, other key site formation processes that potentially affect site integrity include building demolition with subsequent infilling of foundations and re-grading, and possibly sheet erosion.

Removal of the stockade of Fort Vengeance in the 1780s (and later?) entailed pulling down walls of 20-foot logs, backfilling the trench in which they were set, and removing the earth and log firing platform (banquette) that had been constructed against the interior wall of the stockade. While traces of the banquette may be difficult to identify, the backfilled palisade trench should still be evident, though perhaps altered through the process of demolition of the stockade.

Excavations in the vicinity of the Hendee farmhouse-tavern foundation ("Structure D") shows that following removal of the building, the foundation was filled in using stones collected from the surrounding field and soil scraped from the immediate vicinity of the foundation. Scraping soil from around the foundation to fill it resulted in the redeposition of sheet midden and landscaping deposits that once occupied the ground around the building. Even these redeposited soils, however, have the potential for yielding information about activities that went on at the site during and after its occupation. Similar site formation patterns seem to characterize the Chester Thomas house foundation ("Structure F"), but artifacts from this feature also evidence burning, suggesting that the building was either destroyed by fire or that demolition debris from it was burned in the foundation.

During excavations at the site, there was some suggestion from soil profiles and stratigraphy that sheet erosion may have active at certain times in the site's history. Sheet erosion would not be surprising, given the gentle westerly slope of the site and probability that there were extended periods of months or years when ground was bare or sparsely vegetated. If sheet erosion affected the site, it would have tended to compress stratigraphy, shift some artifacts downslope, and possibly cause some truncation of the upper portions of features.

Because excavation beneath Route 7 is not possible, the full effects of road construction are unknown. The available evidence suggests that the site extends some distance beneath the prism of road fill on which the highway is constructed. For purposes of defining the eastern boundary of the site, it has been assumed that the site extends to the eastern edge of the highway, where ditching and grading associated with late 20th-century house construction have resulted in severe ground disturbance. It should be noted, nonetheless, that the present alignment of Route 7 is believed to follow the historical alignment of the Rutland-Burlington

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post road. This alignment was established in the 1790s and in the vicinity of the site probably closely followed that of an earlier road. Historical documents indicated that the original Hendee farmstead, the Thomas farmstead, and Fort Vengeance were all located to the west of the historical post road. Thus, at worst, road construction to date has likely only damaged the eastern periphery of the site.

Features, whose tops have typically been truncated by plowing, occur beneath the plowzone. These include building foundations, disposal pits, and possibly traces of the stockade trench of Fort Vengeance. The identification of these features provides strong evidence that other as-yet unidentified features exist at the site. These features preserve many different artifact types, including metal artifacts such as nails and coins in average to good condition and faunal material. Not surprisingly, non-carbonized wood is not well preserved in this setting, but carbonized wood and other botanical remains would be. The features evidence good preservation of their structure and stratigraphic relationships, and these, along with their artifactual contents, provide good evidence for the identification of their chronology, function, and formation.

6. Comparisons

Farmsteads and Rural Dwellings

Archaeologists have conducted detailed investigations of roughly a dozen 18th- and 19th-century farmstead and rural house sites in Vermont. The sites occur in various settings, including upland agricultural fields (38%), like those of the Fort Vengeance Monument Site, as well as upland woodlands and floodplains (31% each). Just under one-third (31%) of the sites have filled-in cellars surrounded by regraded ground, like the present site. A slightly larger proportion (38%) had unfilled cellarholes, with the surrounding ground remaining relatively undisturbed during the post-abandonment period of the site's history. One site (8%) was significantly buried by flood-borne alluvium. Three sites (23%) did not appear to have cellars. Also like the present site, none of the 13 has a historic building now standing on it, nor do any of them have above-grade ruins. All 13 sites are located in the northwestern quadrant of the state, as is the Fort Vengeance Monument Site.²

² The sites are Miller-Metcalf homestead (VT-CH-423); an unnamed early farmstead site (VT-CH-491); P. Gallup farmstead (VT-FR-168); Rice farmstead (VT-FR-256); Clapper farmstead (VT-FR-260); Barrett farmstead (VT-FR-261); Lucius Lathrop farmstead (VT-LA-15); Wright Roberts house (VT-RU-82); Andrus house (VT-RU-220); D. Townsend Farm laborer's house (VT-RU-264); Corliss farmstead (VT-WA-32); Atkins farmstead (VT-WA-33); and Ozias Atherton farmstead (VT-WA-38). Of these, intensive ("Phase III" or "data recovery") investigations have taken place at Site VT-CH-491, and at the Rice, Clapper, Barrett, Lathrop, and Atherton sites

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Like the great majority of domestic sites that have been studied archaeologically to date in Vermont, the foundations of both the Hendee and Thomas houses are constructed of dry-laid stone masonry. That of the Hendee dwelling is notable because of its use of roughly-quarried stone, not known for any other farmhouse built in the 1770s or 1780s. The Hendee dwelling foundation is also notable for its use of a covered cellar drain. Such drains have been identified at other rural dwelling sites in Vermont, but only for the second half of the nineteenth century (Burrow et al. 2000).

The Hendee farmstead component is among the oldest domestic occupations thus far investigated in Vermont. While New Englanders of Euro-American ancestry began establishing farms in Vermont in the 1740s, no farms or dwelling sites pre-dating 1770 have been investigated in the state. Along with the Wright Roberts house site (VT-RU-82) in West Rutland, also in Rutland County (Doherty 1985; Thomas et al. 1983), the Hendee component is the only Vermont farmstead established in the 18th century to be subject to detailed study. The Hendee farmstead was also among the earliest to be established in the town of Pittsford. Arriving in Pittsford in 1774, the Hendees were roughly the twentieth family to settle in Pittsford and among the first half dozen to settle in the northern part of the town. No other local sites of this period have been studied through archaeology. The Hendee component is also the only combined farmhouse-tavern to be investigated in Vermont.

The date range of the Thomas farmstead component, circa 1860-1900, is more typical of the range for well-investigated farmsteads and rural dwellings in Vermont. Of the 13 well-investigated Vermont sites, eight (61%) span all or a substantial portion of the time range of the Thomas component. The date range of this component is identical to that of the D. Townsend Farm laborer's house (VT-RU-254), in Wallingford, Rutland County (Doherty et al. 1995). That site, however, is situated in a somewhat different setting and likely represents a hired man's house on a large and prosperous farm, rather than the owner's dwelling on an average Rutland County farm.

When the combined duration of occupation of the Hendee and Thomas farmsteads—at least 100 years—is considered, the Fort Vengeance Monument

(Borstel 2005:table 7). During consultations on the potential impacts of proposed highway projects, Vermont State Historic Preservation Officer concluded that each of these six sites was eligible for the National Register and concurred with similar findings for at least three of the others (Wright Roberts, Andrus, and D. Townsend).

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Site is among the longest-occupied of the Vermont farmstead-rural dwelling sites that have been investigated in detail. The median duration of occupation for these sites is around 60 years. However, the Hendee and Thomas occupations are well separated spatially and can be treated as two separate components that overlap only peripherally. From this perspective, the duration of occupation of the original Hendee farmstead is about average for well-investigated sites, while that of the Thomas farmstead component is somewhat shorter than average. (Of the 13 other well-investigated sites, four were occupied for 40 years or less and four were occupied for 70 years or more.)

Broadly speaking, the artifact assemblage associated with the domestic components of the Fort Vengeance Monument Site (Berger 2003:225-239) is similar to those from sites of comparable occupation dates, setting, and functional type elsewhere in Vermont and the Northeast. However, the portion of the assemblage from in and around the Hendee dwelling ("Structure D") shows a somewhat higher than average proportion of kitchen and tablewares, perhaps reflecting its combined function as both farmhouse and tavern. In addition, the recovery of a group of five late eighteenth-century coins of Spanish, English, and American origin is unusual for farmsteads, as is the recovery of a cufflink (sleeve button) emblazoned with Masonic symbols. Both these elements may also reflect the use of the building as a tavern.

Fortifications

Fort Vengeance is one of the few Revolutionary War fortifications in Vermont that have been investigated in detail through archaeology. Available information indicates that it is as well or better preserved than most of its counterparts in the state.

The fort was the second to be erected in Pittsford. The first was a small log breastwork known as Fort Mott. It was thrown up by local settlers around the log house of William Cox in the aftermath of the Battle of Hubbardton (July 1777). Its exact location has not been established with certainty, and many people with an interest in Pittsford's history have sought it without success. The best candidate location for Fort Mott is the easterly bank of Otter Creek approximately 1.33 miles (2.14 kilometers) south of the Fort Vengeance Monument (Berger 2003:figure 37). This location lies on the outside of a meander in the creek, and it is quite possible that archaeological traces of the fort have either been removed by stream erosion and channel migration or that they have been buried under a substantial blanket of alluvium.

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Fort Vengeance was also one of three stockade forts built by the Board of War of the independent republic of Vermont during the Revolutionary War. The others were Fort Ranger in Rutland and Fort Warren in Castleton, both in Rutland County. Fort Ranger served as the regional command center and stores depot for the defense of the western Vermont frontier. Fort Warren had a defensive role somewhat like Fort Vengeance, but also served as a military hospital and processing center for British and Loyalist prisoners of war. Like Fort Vengeance, both Forts Ranger and Warren were decommissioned and removed after the Revolution. The location of Fort Ranger has been the site of industrial, commercial, transportation, and residential development since the 19th century, and it is presumed that no substantial traces of the fort exist today. Fort Warren has also been largely or entirely destroyed.

Of the other locally-built blockhouses and strongholds erected in Revolutionary War—such as Hazen's Blockhouse in Greensboro, the Cookeville Blockhouse in Corinth, and Fort Fortitude in Bethel—there is no archaeological information. Whether subsurface traces of such fortifications still exist is unknown, but none is marked by above-ground ruins. Archaeological evidence associated with the Battle of Hubbardton is apparently minimal. No detailed archaeological investigations of the Bennington battleground (now in New York state) have been conducted, so it is unknown what traces from that engagement may persist. The area occupied by the storehouses that were the objective of the British advance that led to the Battle of Bennington (August 1777), adjacent to the Bennington Battle Monument in what is now the village of Old Bennington, town of Bennington, was redeveloped in the 19th-century, suggesting that few archaeological traces of these structures survive.

In contrast to the foregoing, considerable archaeological evidence of Mount Independence remains. Situated in Orwell on the shore of Lake Champlain, this fortification was erected opposite Fort Ticonderoga after it was captured by American forces in May 1775. Today the fort is marked by trenches, embankments, and earth platforms for batteries, along with various subsurface features and deposits. Although much more clearly represented in the archaeological record than Fort Vengeance, Mount Independence differed in function, design, and construction from the Pittsford fort. It was constructed by Continental troops to support Fort Ticonderoga's role in controlling the southern reaches of Lake Champlain through artillery fire and large bodies of troops. Unlike Fort Vengeance, whose principal defensive work was a stout log palisade,

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Mount Independence had extensive earthworks, traces of which are still visible today.

Review of information on frontier Revolutionary War stockade forts from outside Vermont—such as Fort Roberdeau (the “Lead Mine Fort”), Centre County, Pennsylvania; Arbuckle’s Fort, Greenbrier County, West Virginia; and Fort Ninety Six, Greenwood County, South Carolina— indicates that the level of preservation of the military component at the Fort Vengeance Monument Site is average to somewhat below average as compared to others of its type. However, excavations at Arbuckle’s Fort (McBride et al 2003) and elsewhere emphasize the difficulty of accurately assessing the research potential of Revolutionary War stockade fort sites based upon very limited testing.

7. Investigations to Date

In 1990 the Fort Vengeance Monument Site was recorded as Site VT-RU-216 by the Vermont Division of Historic Preservation. The Division relied upon the Fort Vengeance Monument and A.M. Caverly's 1872 account of the fort to record its location. A reconnaissance by two Division staff members confirmed the agricultural nature of the site's setting, which was taken to indicate that the area had the potential to preserve traces of the fort. The staff members did not conduct any surface collecting or excavations.

Investigations at the site from 1999 to 2001 were conducted on behalf of the Vermont Agency of Transportation (VTrans) by two consulting firms. VTrans contracted for this work to assist the agency in addressing its obligations under the National Historic Preservation Act and other federal and state regulations, since it had proposed the first significant upgrade of a 10.6-mile section of U.S. Route 7 in the towns of Pittsford and Brandon.

In 1999, Werner Archaeological Consulting, Albany, New York, conducted a preliminary cultural resource investigation of the site. Werner's investigation consisted of basic background research, field reconnaissance, and, in October 1999, the excavation of four hand-excavated 0.5x1-meter (1.6x3.3-foot) test units, designated as Trenches 1 to 4. Three of the units were situated inside the site boundaries as described herein, but Werner's Trench 4 was outside, to the east of Route 7. The total excavation area within the site was 1.5 square meters (16 square feet). Werner's excavations recovered 1,051 artifacts, of which all but two came from inside the site boundaries as defined herein. Werner's Trench 2 encountered a deposit of bricks, boulders, and cobbles that subsequent

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excavations by another research team demonstrated were a portion of the fill in the cellar of the Hendee house and tavern foundation ("Structure D") (Werner Archaeological Consulting 1999).

The following year, VTrans contracted with another consultant, The Louis Berger Group, Inc. (then operating under the name Louis Berger & Associates, Inc.), to conduct a detailed archaeological survey of the Pittsford-Brandon highway project. Berger undertook Phase I survey and Phase II site evaluation studies at the site between August and November 2000. The firm conducted a limited supplemental field investigation there in September 2001. Berger's investigation involved the excavation of 57 40x40-centimeter (16x16-inch) shovel tests, 16 hand-dug test pits and trenches, and five trackhoe and backhoe trenches. In all, Berger's testing covered approximately 194 square meters (2,090 square feet), of which over 77 percent represented mechanized excavation (Berger 2003).

The combined professional archaeological investigations have to date examined approximately 2.4 percent of the site's entire area of 8,300 square meters (89,000 square feet), a figure that includes the portion presumed to be located beneath U.S. Route 7.

8. Commemorative Monument Honoring Fort Vengeance

A 19th-century commemorative monument honoring Fort Vengeance and a fallen soldier stands within the boundaries of the Fort Vengeance Monument site. The monument is a squat obelisk standing atop two base blocks, all of which are cut from local marble. From base to tip, the monument has a total height of 9 feet 3½ inches (2.83 meters). It was erected by the town of Pittsford very close to its present location in 1873. In 1949; it was renovated and shifted roughly 27 feet to the west-northwest so that it would stand further from the passing traffic of the southbound lane of Route 7.

The monument stands on a low embankment of fill that is contiguous with and extends west from the shoulder of Route 7. The fill embankment provides a short, narrow turn-out for automobiles, allowing passing motorists to stop to view the monument and Otter Valley beyond. The top of the embankment is about level with the surface of the adjoining roadway.

The monument's base rests on a square foundation of poured concrete. The foundation measures approximately 60 inches (152 centimeters) on a side. Its total thickness is unknown, but it is said by one source to be "substantial." The

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subgrade beneath the foundation is gravel (Vermont Marble Company 1950). The exposed portion of the base rises approximately 2.36 inches (6 centimeters) above the ground surface.

The base is constructed of two blocks, which are square in plan. The lower block measures 48 inches (121.9 centimeters) on a side and stands 25.39 inches (64.5 centimeters) high. The upper 2.36 inches (6 centimeters) of the lower block is chamfered with a slope of approximately 1:3. The upper base block is narrower and shorter than the upper base block. It measures 34 inches (86.4 centimeters) on a side by 17.5 inches (44.5 centimeters) high. The upper 1.57 inches (4 centimeters) of the upper block is chamfered with a slope of approximately 1:3.7.

A small, squat obelisk rises from this two-block base. The obelisk has a total height of 68.50 inches (174 centimeters), of which the upper 4 inches (10 centimeters) are occupied by the low, pyramidal apex. The obelisk tapers from 21.85 inches (55.5 centimeters) at its base to 15.16 inches (38.5 centimeters) at the base of the apex. Beginning about 4.61 inches (11.7 centimeters) above the base and extending to about 5.12 inches (13 centimeters) below the base of the apex, its edges are trimmed by 2-inch (5-centimeter)-deep chamfers.

The monument is made of marble quarried in the vicinity of Florence, a district of Pittsford on the western side of Otter Creek. The marble is light gray and shot through with widely spaced veins of dark gray. The marble blocks were also cut and polished in the town.

The monument's eastern and southern faces are cut with commemorative inscriptions. The eastern face of the obelisk is inscribed: "CALEB HOUGHTON / Born / Bolton Ms. [sic—i.e., Massachusetts] 1760 / member of / Capt. Saffords Co. / Maj. Allens Detach't / Stationed at this fort / Killed by an Indian / half a mile to the south / July 15, 1780. / His remains removed here / Aug. 1873. / [horizontal line] / FORT VENGEANCE / Erected in 1780, / stood on this ground." On the eastern face of the upper block of the base, the inscription reads: "Erected by the town of / PITTSFORD / dedicated Aug. 28, 1873." The southern face of the obelisk is inscribed: "PITTSFORD / Company 1778, / Capt. Benj. Cooley, / Lieut. Moses Olmstead, / Ensign James Hopkins." The inscription on the southern face of the upper block of the base lists the non-commissioned officers of the company: "Sergt. Silas Mosher, / Sergt. David Crippen, / Sergt. Samuel Ellsworth, / Clerk John Barnes, / Corp. James Stevens, / Corp. Ashbel Hopkins, / Corp. Aaron Parsons." The enlisted men are named on the southern face of the lower block of the base: "A. Stevens, D. Stevens, B. Stevens, E.

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Stevens, / J. Ewings, W. Cox, L. Drury, E. Drury, / N. Hopkins, S. Sheldon, G.
Cooley, J. Olmstead, / S. Crippen, H. Rowley, S. Jennes, E. Lyman, / E. Owen,
W. Cox, G. Beech, S. Blodgett.”

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Narrative Statement of Significance

The Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216) preserves important traces of Vermont's early military, agricultural, and commercial history. It contains archaeological evidence of two farmsteads that successively operated a farm on the uplands and intervalle (bottomlands) of the Otter Valley in northern Rutland County. The earlier of these farmsteads was established in 1774 by Caleb Hendee, Sr., a settler from central Connecticut. Between 1783 and 1808, Hendee also operated a tavern in his house at the farmstead. The farmstead occupied the site until around 1830, when Hendee's son, Samuel, relocated the farm's center to a new house a few hundred feet to the south. Besides the original Hendee farmstead, the site contains traces of a second farmstead, which was established north of the original farmstead around 1860 by Samuel's son-in-law, Chester Thomas. The Thomas farm was short-lived and was abandoned by 1900. In addition to the two farmsteads, the site was the location of, and likely contains archaeological evidence from, Fort Vengeance. This field fortification was a wooden stockade structure constructed for the defense of Vermont's northern military frontier during the Revolutionary War. It occupied the Hendee farmstead from 1780 to 1782. As a result of this complex history, the site relates to three historic contexts: the American Revolution in Vermont (1775-1783); Diversified and Specialty Agriculture in Vermont (1760-1940); and Commercial Development in the Rural Areas of Vermont (1790-1940). As the location of the Revolutionary-era Fort Vengeance, the site meets National Register Criterion A in the area of Military History, representing the site of a fortification that was important in the defense of the independent republic of Vermont against British incursions from Canada. The site is also eligible for the National Register under Criterion D in the area of Non-Aboriginal Historical Archaeology. Its archaeological remains present have the potential to yield significant information about Revolutionary War military activities, about the development of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century farmsteads, and about early rural commercial enterprises in Rutland County.

1. The Agricultural Context

a. Diversified and Specialty Agriculture in Rutland County, 1760-1900

Permanent settlement of Rutland County by Euro-Americans began in the early 1760s. Euro-American settlement progressed rapidly between 1768 and 1775 and then slowed considerably during the Revolutionary War. Its pace quickened again

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after 1782, when the threat of raids and British invasion had receded. Settlement proceeded within a broad zone marked initially by a patchwork of modest clearings in the native forests, where individual families were establishing their incipient farms. In broad terms, the frontier zone moved from south to north over time, as it followed the Otter and Poultney valleys downstream, and from these lowland areas, it expanded east and west into the higher and more rugged terrain of the Taconic and Green mountains.

From the start of Euro-American settlement through the first decades of the nineteenth century, agriculture was the primary source of income for nearly every family in Rutland County (Johnson and Gilbertson 1988:9-14). Newly-settled families operated essentially self-sufficient, diversified, small-scale farms, producing vegetables for table food, hay and root crops for livestock that would normally include poultry, cattle, pigs, and sheep, and flax for clothing. The early settlers also developed apple orchards and saved sugar maples from the forests as land clearing began. Many settlers generated their first small cash income through the production of pearl ash and potash, byproducts of the process of clearing land for agriculture that were used to make glass, gunpowder, and soap.

As early as the 1790s some of the region's farmers had opened and improved their land enough so that they could produce surpluses beyond what their families needed, and these surpluses could be sold for cash. Wheat was the first important cash crop produced in the Pittsford-Brandon region, dominating the cash economy from the 1790s until around the War of 1812. Production of beef cattle was also important, and during this period drovers took cattle from the region to markets at Boston and Troy and in Quebec. A combination of economic and natural factors led to a severe decline in wheat production beginning around 1815. By the late 1820s wheat had ceased to be an economically important crop for farmers in the region.

Around this time, however, the "sheep craze" hit Vermont agriculture, and many Rutland County farmers began keeping substantial herds of sheep. The rearing of sheep for wool became important as a result of the introduction of Spanish Merino breed in 1812, as well as Congress's enactment of tariffs in the 1820s that favored domestic wool. This emphasis upon sheep in the region lasted until the late 1840s, when changes in tariff laws and increasing competition from animals raised in the western states led to a rapid decline in wool and meat production throughout Vermont. Thereafter, Rutland County farmers shifted their sheep husbandry from wool and meat production to animal breeding for western herders.

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Decline in the sheep market opened the way for dairy production to become important in the region, beginning around the middle of the nineteenth century. At first, butter and cheese were the primary products of Rutland County dairy farming. However, from the 1870s onwards, fluid milk became increasingly important, particularly in Rutland County towns like Pittsford, which had good rail connections to urban markets on the Eastern Seaboard. As dairying grew in importance, land formerly used for crop production was converted to use as hay meadows and pastures. Still, even though dairy farming expanded throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, most Rutland County farms remained broadly diversified operations into the early twentieth century. Indeed, the story of agriculture in Rutland County between 1760 and 1900 is really one of a succession of diversified strategies, as one mix of crops, livestock, and products was followed by another.

Prosperous rural households often pursued not just diversified agriculture, but also conducted other businesses as well. A successful farmer might also be a part-time craftsman such as a blacksmith or housewright, or might also take some work as a land surveyor or lawyer. In the early period of settlement, when villages were small and widely spaced and travel was slow and tedious, a household whose farm stood advantageously near a busy road might also open their house as a tavern or inn. Such farmhouse-taverns were in the vanguard of commercial development in rural areas. Inns and taverns played many important roles in the community at that time. They offered food and overnight accommodations, of course, to travelers in need of rest and refreshment. They also provided a place where local residents could conduct business, such as bartering homemade goods, and where mail might be dropped off or dispatched or where news and gossip could be exchanged. Carefully managed, a farmhouse-tavern could be profitable and might bring a farm family a much-needed stream of income in the form of hard currency. As rural districts became more settled and prosperous, small-scale part-time farmhouse taverns and inns, like so many other rural enterprises, often gave way to physically and economically differentiated, full-time operations (VDHP 1989a, 1989b).

For farmers, the continuing evolution of farming strategies often meant periodic rearrangement of the farmstead. Such rearrangements were sometimes restricted to alterations of the interiors of existing buildings, as when a general-purpose "English-style" barn was renovated to serve as a specialized dairy barn. In other instances, new buildings were constructed to serve specific production needs, as when new equipment sheds were added to accommodate the increasing range of farm machinery that became available as the 19th century advanced. Yet another

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strategy involved moving existing buildings into new configurations, often in conjunction with renovation or construction of new structures (Hubka 1984). From the settlement period in Rutland County through the middle of the 19th century, most farms were typified by a house with a work ell, a barn, and perhaps a number of storage or work sheds. Early farmhouses were usually close to a road, and typically faced south, but the overall arrangement of buildings in the farmstead was often irregular and apparently ad hoc. The main barn might lie in front of, beside, or behind the house, or it might be situated across the road. It might be close to the house or at some distance from it. "By the second half of the 19th century, when many new structures were built, farm buildings became more closely spaced in semi-formal groupings or connected in series. These groupings in turn were often oriented to an extended drive or to the main road, frequently clustering on both sides of the road..." (Johnson and Gilbertson 1988:12).

The changing economic circumstances of the 19th century also meant that over time, some smaller or marginally successful farms were abandoned or consolidated with larger farms. This pattern occurred throughout Vermont, and characterized Rutland County as well and accelerated considerably in the 20th century (Johnson and Gilbertson 1988).

Yet another area of change from the settlement period through the end of the 19th century was in the everyday lives of farm families. During the settlement period, farm families made do with a minimum of personal and household goods, commonly relying primarily on what they could make themselves or obtain through barter from their neighbors. The frontier areas were distant from entrepôts where consumer goods were plentiful, transportation was difficult, and money was scarce. In the 19th century, great improvements in the nation's land transportation system brought enormous numbers of new and affordable goods to the villages and countryside of Vermont. Moreover, Rutland County farmers became increasingly enmeshed in the nation's growing capitalist, money economy (Johnson and Gilbertson 1988:12). Farmers gradually shifted from traditional subsistence agriculture to commercial agriculture. Farm families increasingly came to see a variety of store-bought items as necessities rather than as luxuries they could do without. Finally, there were many changes in American's outlook with regard to the ideals of personal behavior and farm and household management. New Englanders embraced what Hubka (1984) has termed an "improving spirit," which combined a new aesthetic of beauty with continuing improvements in the physical and spiritual environments. This improving spirit was connected to and in part a reflection of the diffusion of notions of genteel behavior through American society and the vast expansion of middle class,

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consumer-oriented culture (Bushman 1992). Such developments resulted in great changes in the material culture of farm families over the 19th century, profoundly affecting the goods they purchased, used, and discarded.

b. Growth and Change on the Hendee Family Home Farm

The town of Pittsford was one of 17 towns, comprising two-thirds of the present county of Rutland, that were chartered by New Hampshire's royal governor, Benning Wentworth, between 1761 and 1764. The individual groups of proprietors who received these grants were variously dominated by speculators from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York (Sherman et al. 2004:73-94; Swift 1977:377-428). Governor Wentworth issued a charter for Pittsford in October 1761 to a group of 64 proprietors led by Captain (later Colonel) Ephraim Doolittle of Worcester, Massachusetts. Like most of the Rutland County towns the New Hampshire governor chartered, actual settlement did not commence for several years, and the town's first group of settlers (one extended family) did not move permanently to the town until 1769. Settlers continued to arrive over the next few years. Between 1769 and 1775, a total of about 35 Euro-American families settled in the town, and over these years the town's population grew from 8, in 1769, to approximately 165, in 1775. Although most of Pittsford's original proprietors were based in Massachusetts, the origins of the earliest settlers was more diverse. Of the 35 heads of household who arrived between 1769 and 1775, 37 percent (13) were born in Massachusetts and an equal proportion was born in Connecticut. Another 17 percent (6) had birthplaces in New York. The birthplaces of these men somewhat mask their immediate origins: nearly one-quarter (8 of the 35) had lived elsewhere in Vermont for at least a year, and in some cases for more than a decade, before settling in Pittsford (Caverly 1872:25-52).³

The first Euro-American occupants of the Fort Vengeance Monument Site, however, were among the majority of Pittsford's early settlers who arrived directly from another colony. Caleb Hendee, Sr. (1745-1823), then a 28-year-old farmer from East Windsor, Connecticut, moved to the town with his wife, Caroline (1748-1791), and their two young sons in February or March 1774. They arrived in the year that Pittsford's population doubled, from roughly 16 families and 75 people to 34 families and 160 people. The Hendees seem to have chosen Pittsford in part because of the proximity of relatives. Caroline's paternal aunt, Elizabeth (?-ca. 1780) had, with her husband, Isaac Rood (?-1775), and their two children,

³ Of the remainder, one was from Rhode Island, and two were born in unidentified places.

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moved to Pittsford in 1770. Caroline's father, Samuel Ellsworth (ca. 1716-1801), and his family had arrived three years later, in 1773. Indeed, the Hendees established their own farmstead just a quarter mile north of the Roods and roughly 2 miles from the Ellsworths. Moreover, Caleb's sister, Martha (ca. 1748-?), with her husband, Isaac Matson (?-?), and their children also moved to Pittsford in 1774, later acquiring land from Caleb's father-in-law, Samuel Ellsworth. Such patterns of serial migration seem to have been fairly common among the early settlers of Pittsford, for of the 35 heads of households who had settled in the town by 1775, 15 (43 percent) are known to have had ties of blood or marriage with at least one other among them (Caverly 1872:25-52, 690-731).

The Hendees occupied a lot in the northern part of the town to the east of Otter Creek. They began to develop a farmstead on the western part of their lot, on the glacial terrace overlooking the "intervale" (bottomlands) along the creek. Judging by various accounts of life on the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century New England and New York, the Hendees probably quickly established a small, simple log shelter or cabin during their first weeks of occupancy and began clearing the forest to create cropland and pasture. By 1779, the Hendee farm included a house and barn, a young apple orchard, the beginnings of a sugarbush (made by leaving sugar maples standing, while cutting the surrounding trees), fences, and acres of cleared land on both the upland and intervale. The total extent of the Hendees' cleared land is unknown, but it was probably on the order of 15 to 30 acres, since they had been on their farm for five years by 1779. It is also not clear whether the house and barn referred to in period documents were frame buildings or log structures. Either type is possible, as some early Pittsford settlers seem to have built frame houses soon after their arrival (Caverly 1872:31, 150-152, 179-181; Cronon 1983:108-156; Lord 1989:105-167; Stilgoe 1982:7-12, 149-182; Turner 1850:562-566)

The period November 1779 to April 1782 marks a hiatus in the Hendees' development of their farm. Following a raid by British or Loyalists and Mohawks on the Otter Valley frontier in November 1779, Caleb Hendee moved his family 18 miles south to Clarendon, where they resided until the spring of 1782. At the beginning of May 1780, Hendee formally agreed to lease his farmstead to Vermont's military authorities for £24 so that they could erect a fort there. This stockade fortification became known as Fort Vengeance, and it was garrisoned by units of Vermont militia until the spring of 1782. (Fort Vengeance's history is discussed separately below). Caleb Hendee was probably not absent from his farm for this entire period, as in his lease he reserved to himself the use of about 12 acres of plow land and an acre of pasture, and many of his nearest neighbors

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remained on their farms. Still, times were unsettled, the farm was separated from Clarendon where his family was living by a day's travel, and the fort occupied his farmstead. In these circumstances, he would have faced many challenges to improve his land (Caverly 1872:119-120, 134-135, 149-151, 705).

The entire Hendee family probably returned to their farm about April 1782, about the time the second year's lease with Vermont expired and troops were withdrawn from the fort. It seems likely that the fort's wooden palisade was left standing after the land reverted to the Hendees' control, and it is certain that the log barracks and other buildings within were left in place. The Hendee house, however, had perhaps been damaged or unacceptably altered during the fort's occupation, fences had been burned as firewood, and the surrounding forest had been cut, apparently indiscriminately. Nonetheless, the Hendees recognized the potential of their farm and chose to stay. They repaired or rebuilt their house and made use of the barracks buildings left from the fort. Within a year or two of their return, they probably began to remove the fort's stockade and level the banquette (earth and log platform) on its inner perimeter. In 1783, Caleb Hendee opened his house as a tavern, which he and his family operated until 1808 (Caverly 1872:176-181, 608; Hendee 1836, 1838; June 1838; X.E.X. 1848).

The following decades were apparently prosperous ones on the whole for Caleb Hendee and his family. When they moved back from Clarendon in 1782, the Hendee family numbered seven, including Caleb and Caroline and their five living children, who ranged from 1½ to 13 years of age. Before she died in 1791, presumably of complications from childbirth, Caroline Hendee bore five more children, of whom four survived infancy and reached adulthood. Caleb shortly remarried and with his second wife, Mary Squire or Squires (ca. 1760-ca. 1825), a widow from Manchester, Vermont, had one more child, a son. Between 1782 and 1818, Caleb and his family worked steadily to improve their farm, and for most of these years, they operated Hendee's tavern (discussed further below). Their efforts seem to have been profitable, for during this period Caleb was among the most active buyers and sellers of land in Pittsford, and he was able provide each of his sons with land on which to start their own farms, or other assistance in getting a start in life. Caleb was also active in the civic and religious life of the town, being in 1790 one of the town's surveyors of highways and becoming deacon of the Pittsford Baptist Church shortly after its inception in 1784 (Caverly 1872:231-232, 287, 296, 299, 320, 341-342, 629-643, 705-706).

Much remains to be learned about the appearance of the Caleb Hendee farmstead and about the details of its economic organization, production, and expansion

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from the 1780s to the 1810s. The available documentary evidence indicates that Hendee was a successful farmer who probably practiced the diversified agriculture typical of his place and time. References to sheep and cattle, and to the production of wheat, turnips, apples, and maple syrup or sugar at the Hendee farm appear in Caverly's (1872) town history, and this is doubtless just a partial list of its productions during the period. Archaeological excavations at the Fort Vengeance Monument Site have identified a cellar with a stone foundation that is the location of the farmhouse and tavern occupied by Caleb Hendee and his family from 1782 until around the time of his death in 1823. As would have been typical of houses built in New England at this time, the farmhouse likely faced south, and the cellar probably did not occupy the full extent of the building's footprint. There would have been at least one barn, and the old barracks would have been available for use as sheds, stables, and housing for what seems to have been a changing suite of dependent families and hired hands. The house stood by the road from Pittsford village into Brandon, and being midway between the two villages, it was well suited to support a tavern. In the 1770s, the road apparently followed a somewhat wandering course from the vicinity of what is now the intersection of Kendall Hill Road and U.S. Route 7, about 2 miles to the south, past the Hendee farm, and onto Hawk Hill in Brandon, about 1 mile to the north-northwest. A more regular post road (the direct predecessor of U.S. Route 7) was laid out in the 1790s, and this road incorporated segments of the old road, including the section that passed the Hendee farmhouse (Berger 2003:159-244; Caverly 1872:152, 206, 232, 342, 351, 499-505; Pittsford Record of Roads 1:67-68; X.E.X. 1848).

Caleb Hendee, Sr., died in 1823, having transferred ownership of the home farm to his second-youngest son, Samuel (1791-1876), in 1818. Although the census enumeration of 1820 indicates that Caleb, Sr., maintained a separate household from Samuel, it also shows that the elder man had retired from active farming by that time. In all likelihood, the transfer from Caleb to Samuel involved a life estate, which assured Samuel's parents of his continuing support in their old age. Within a decade or two of Caleb, Sr.'s death, Samuel Hendee had constructed a new two-story vernacular Greek Revival-style house, approximately 470 feet south of the old Hendee house and tavern and on the opposite side of the road (present-day U.S. Route 7). The date of this building, which still stands, has not been established precisely, but it was probably built sometime between 1830 and 1845. Construction of the new farmhouse marks the beginning of a transitional period that lasted from around 1830 to 1860. During this period Samuel Hendee reorganized the home farm and evidently relegated its original core to the periphery of his own farmstead. Among other effects, Hendee's spatial

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reorganization resulted in the demolition or removal of the old farmhouse and tavern. Once the house was gone, its cellar would have been filled in and the ground around it graded, and the ground that it had once occupied became available for fields, barnyards, or pastures (Caverly 1872: 341, 705-706; Johnson and Gilbertson 1988:212; Pittsford Land Records 10:265).

c. The Chester Thomas Farm

Although Samuel Hendee and his wife Abigail (1790-ca. 1845) produced ten children, at least seven of whom survived childhood, none of his sons remained in Pittsford as adults. Census records indicate that all four had left the town by 1860, moving to New York, Michigan, and possibly California and Oregon. Both daughters who remained in the town married men who established farms of their own in the 1830s. By the late 1850s, then, when Samuel was approaching old age, he evidently had no male descendent willing to take on his farm and the responsibility for his and his wife's care if they should retire. Instead in 1858, he sold 110 acres of the farm, probably including the area occupied by the original Hendee farmstead and possibly including area of his own farmstead to Chester G. Thomas (1834-1880), then 24 years old and unmarried. Chester was the son of Augustus Thomas (1803-1874), Samuel Hendee's neighbor to the south. Like the agreement by which Samuel obtained his father's farm, this sale involved a life estate, in which the buyer promised certain support or payments to the seller until the latter's death. In 1860, Chester married Martha Pray (1830-1886), Samuel Hendee's stepdaughter through his second wife, Betsey (ca. 1798-188?). They were probably married at about the time Chester completed a new house on his farm at the northern end of what is now the Fort Vengeance Monument Site. The Thomas house stood roughly 240 feet north of the location of the old Caleb Hendee house and tavern and about 730 feet north of Samuel Hendee's house. Limited archaeological investigation suggests that the Thomas house was a relatively small dwelling, but its overall footprint and appearance remain to be elucidated. Documentary research to date suggests that like other farmers in the area, Chester Thomas practiced a diversified style of agriculture, likely involving a flock or sheep and/or a small dairy herd, hay, cash crops, apples, and maple sugaring (Beers 1869:31; Caverly 1872:44, 151, 405, 408-409, 466, 706, 727; Chace 1854; Child 1881:400; Davies et al. 1998:689; Pittsford Land Records 21:369; U.S. Census 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880)

Two photographs taken at the time of the dedication of the Fort Vengeance Monument in 1873, which was then situated approximately 75 feet south of the location of the old Hendee house and tavern, show that the area once occupied by

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that building and its appurtenant outbuildings was then being used as a field or pasture. It would therefore seem that during the second half of the nineteenth century, the area that was once the core of the Hendee farmstead became instead a field separating the Samuel Hendee farmyard from the Chester Thomas house and any yard areas or outbuildings that may have adjoined the latter structure (Berger 2003:appendix D; Nichols 1873).

d. Land Use After 1900

Chester Thomas and his daughter Ida (1867-1880) both died in 1880; his wife, Martha, died 6 years later. The only surviving member of the family was their son, Clarence A. Thomas (1869-1903), who was about 17 when his mother died in 1886. The circumstances of the Thomas farm after Martha's death are presently unknown. Clarence apparently married Bessie M. Poreau (or Poro) (1870-1928) in about 1888, as they had a son, Chester C. Thomas (1889-after 1930), in February 1889. The Thomas farmhouse was still extant in 1895 when it was mapped for the U.S. Geological Survey's *Castleton, Vermont-New York* 15-minute quadrangle map. In February 1900, Clarence and Bessie Thomas sold the farm to a neighbor, Edward W. Dickerman (1868-1939). The Dickerman family farmed in the vicinity of the Fort Vengeance Monument Site from the middle of the nineteenth century until the middle of the twentieth. It is likely that Dickerman removed the Thomas farmhouse shortly after acquiring the farm, as Dickerman and his family apparently occupied the house built by Samuel Hendee. The Thomas house was definitely gone by 1930. With the house removed, the entire site could be used for agriculture; it was probably primarily used as pasture or hay meadow. The land remained in the possession of the Dickerman family until the mid-1950s, when they sold it. Over the next forty years, it passed through two other owners and went out of cultivation. The property was acquired in 1995 by William and Beverly Taranovich. William Taranovich reports that when he bought the field containing the site, it was partly overgrown with young trees. He removed these and restored the field to use as a hay meadow (Davies et al. 1998:566-567, 662; Pittsford Land Records 31:247, 58:50-51, 58:243-244, 62:271, 96:544; US Census 1900; USGS 1897; Vermont State Highway Department 1931; Werner Archaeological Consulting 1999:appendix E).

e. Research Potential of the Farmstead Components and Eligibility Under Criterion D

The farmstead components of the Fort Vengeance Monument Site have the potential to contribute information important in the history of the town of

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Pittsford and the state of Vermont and thus make the site eligible for listing in the National Register under Criterion D. Together, they span the period from the initial settlement of the region in the 1770s into the long "winter period" in Vermont history (ca. 1876-1940), when population growth and economic development were, statewide, very modest at best.

During the 1990s, consultants working for the Vermont Agency of Transportation developed a broad research design for the archaeological study of historic farmsteads and rural dwellings in Vermont (summarized in Borstel [2005:36-38]). Based in part on a multi-year, multi-phase study of a large group of farmsteads at Fort Drum, near Watertown in northern New York (Berger 1994), the research design identifies five major themes in Vermont history that might be addressed through the archaeological study of domestic sites in rural areas:

- X the social and economic structure of rural communities;
- X the nature of the Vermont frontier and the process of settlement;
- X the economic and social dimensions of farms and rural residences, including the emergence of a consumer-based economy;
- X the spatial arrangements and landscape modifications of farmstead and rural house lots; and
- X the social, economic, ecological, and physical processes of farmstead and house lot abandonment, and their implications for site formation.

The research design also provides specific criteria for assessing whether the archaeological record of a farmstead or rural dwelling has yielded or has the potential to yield important information about local or state history in Vermont:

- X a complete or nearly complete documentary record of successive occupants;
- X the presence of structural remains, particularly evidence of a house and the principal barn(s) or outbuilding(s);
- X evidence of the entire period of occupation;
- X features and deposits that are spatially and temporally discrete;
- X ceramic and glass fragments that provide information relative to form, function, and source (characteristics that are specifically pertinent to studies of consumer behavior and market networks);
- X limited post-occupation disturbance; and
- X features, deposits, and/or assemblage elements that contribute to or expand our understanding of local or state history (particularly with regard to

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priority research topics in Vermont historical archaeology, as defined by the Vermont Division for Historic Preservation [2002:23]).

The farmstead components at the Fort Vengeance Monument Site meet these criteria. The history of ownership of the site through the lineage of Caleb Hendee, Sr., to its 20th-century successors has been traced as described here, and additional documentary evidence is available. The house foundations associated with each component have been identified, and excavations to date indicate that traces of other structures are likely to be preserved at the site. With the possible exception of the brief period of initial occupation (1774-1779), specific evidence of which would in any case likely be highly ephemeral, all major phases of occupation of the site by the two successive farmsteads are represented. Several features and deposits attributable to specific episodes in the site's history have been identified, and substantial assemblages of ceramics (in the vicinity of the Hendee farmhouse-tavern foundation ["Structure D"]) and vessel glass (in the vicinity of Thomas farmhouse foundation ["Structure F"]) have been recovered from various contexts on the site. Post-occupation disturbance and the integrity of the site is about average for sites of its type and setting in Vermont. Notable features and assemblage elements include the construction materials of the Hendee farmhouse-tavern foundation, the stone drain associated with it, the coin assemblage and other small finds from it, and the spatial separation of two successive occupations by members of a single local lineage of farmers. The site has the potential to address questions concerning the settlement of the Vermont frontier and early rural commercial development, both of which have been identified by VDHP as priority research topics in Vermont historical archaeology.

The site has the potential to address important questions in Vermont history and historical archaeology such as the following:

- X What was the appearance of a first generation settler farm in Rutland County? What was the spatial arrangement of structures? What materials and construction techniques were used to build them?
- X How did the proximity of the Hendee farmstead to the abandoned building of Fort Vengeance affect its spatial development and residential patterns?
- X In what ways did succeeding generations alter the built environment and landscape of early farms like that of the Hendee and Thomas families?
- X What was daily life like for early Euro-American settlers in Rutland County? What tools and implements did they use? What items were locally produced and what items had to be imported from distant manufacturers?

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- X During the early decades of settlement, to what extent were farm families involved in the market economy through the acquisition of consumer products of either local origin or produced at a greater remove? What was the diet of a farm family such as the Hendees during this period?
- X How do consumption patterns of the early decades of settlement resemble or differ from those of the "winter period" of Vermont history beginning in the late 19th century?
- X How did the Hendee family integrate their rural tavern business with the operation of their farm? Can areas within the Caleb Hendee, Sr., farmstead be identified as specifically devoted to the operation of the tavern?
- X Did the presence of the tavern result in the arrival of implements or goods at the Hendee farmstead that would otherwise be atypical of late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century farms in the region?

The features, deposits, and assemblages recovered to date from the Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216), including the evidence of building foundations, trash features, and a rich and varied assemblage that includes substantial quantities of ceramics, vessel glass, and diverse small finds, indicates that the site has the potential to yield important historical information relative to questions such as these. It is therefore eligible for listing on the National Register under Criterion D.

2. Revolutionary War Context

a. Vermont in the Revolutionary War (1775-1783)

Vermont saw many types of military action during the Revolutionary War (1775-1783), including invasion and major land engagements, seizure and counter-seizure of fortifications, naval warfare on Lake Champlain, and numerous raids by bands of Native American auxiliaries. The political consequence of combat in the region was the formation of a new state, independent of both New Hampshire and New York, each of which had claimed jurisdiction over the territory. Moreover, the continuing threat of raids and invasion stifled the northward expansion of settlement, limited the growth of Vermont's population, and created serious hardships for those living near the settlement frontier.

The year 1777 was pivotal in the military and political history of the state, for in that year the British, under the command of General John Burgoyne, invaded the Champlain lowlands and marched south toward the Hudson Valley. As the army

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advanced, it captured American fortifications at Ticonderoga, New York, and Mount Independence, Vermont. British and American forces clashed in engagements at Hubbardton (July 7) and Bennington (August 16). Continuing south, the British army reached the Hudson Valley in late August, where they were destined to defeat and surrender at Saratoga, New York, on October 17. While Burgoyne's army advanced through the Champlain lowlands, delegates from settled towns throughout Vermont met on July 2 at Windsor to unify themselves into an independent state. Hastened in their work by alarming reports of the British advance, the delegates adopted a constitution on July 8 that was modeled on Pennsylvania's constitution of the previous year. The delegates next appointed Thomas Chittenden to head a twelve-man Council of Safety to act until elections could be held, then hastened for home. Chittenden became Vermont's first elected governor in 1778 (Sherman et al. 2004:94-116).

After Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga, the British did not repeat their thrust through the Champlain Valley. Though a second invasion never materialized, the possibility remained an ever-present worry for Vermonters, because the valley lay on the direct route south from Montreal, an important British stronghold. Even without another large-scale invasion, war still came to Vermont in the form of raids on frontier settlements. At this time, the frontier in western Vermont lay roughly along the northern border of Rutland County. It extended further north into Addison County near Lake Champlain and dipped south through the still-unsettled Green Mountains. East of the mountains, it reached up the Connecticut Valley as far north as the southern tip of Caledonia County. Although there were a few hundred Euro-Americans living in isolated pockets north of this line, the frontier marked the divide between the wilderness and towns that had grown large enough to have an organized, if rudimentary, government.⁴

The raiding parties that harassed the Vermont frontier from 1776 to 1782 generally consisted of up to a few dozen men each. They were comprised primarily of Mohawk and other Iroquois warriors with attached Loyalist or British officers. They attacked and burned farmsteads and settlements along and north of the frontier and killed, captured, or drove off the inhabitants. Historical records of their activities are fragmentary. Often their raids appear in town histories as isolated incidents, affecting a few people or a small number of farmsteads at a

⁴Pittsford, which had around 160 residents in 1775, was apparently organized sometime during that decade (the exact date is unknown). Its neighbor to the immediate north, Brandon, had half that number of residents in 1775 and remained unorganized until 1784 (Caverly 1872:298; Gay 1962:10).

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time. However, there were also some larger attacks, including raids on Brandon in November 1779 and on Royalton in October 1780. The activities of these parties kept the settlers along the frontier in a state of continuous anxiety, suppressed new settlement, and forced many families to remove to towns away from the frontier.

b. Fort Vengeance (1780-1782)

In response to Burgoyne's 1777 campaign and the on-going threat of frontier raids, Vermonters erected fortifications in various places on both sides of the Green Mountains. Some of these strongholds were blockhouses built by groups of local townspeople for their mutual security when danger threatened. Others were erected on the order of state officials and were garrisoned by troops recruited and paid by the state. Pittsford had one fort of each type. Fort Mott (1777-1780) was thrown up by settlers in the northern part of Pittsford around an existing settler's cabin on the Otter Creek intervalle. Fort Vengeance (1780-1782) was built by order of the state on higher ground overlooking the intervalle.

The earlier fortification, Fort Mott, was a palisade or breastwork possibly erected around a log dwelling that "took the place of a blockhouse" (Caverly 1872:121). It was erected as a local self-defense measure in the aftermath of Burgoyne's advance. That advance had swept close to Pittsford during the successful American rear-guard action known as the Battle of Hubbardton on July 7, 1777, about 8 kilometers (5 miles) to the west. Few reliable details survive concerning Fort Mott. It was apparently situated on the floodplain of Otter Creek north of the present village of Pittsford. No archaeological traces of the fortification have been discovered, and local opinion varies concerning its exact location. Built on the land of William Cox and surrounding his log house, the fort was west of U.S. 7 and probably stood some distance north of present-day Kendall Hill Road and well south (a mile or more) of the present Fort Vengeance Monument (Caverly 1872:121; cf. X.E.X. 1848) (Figure 37). Although reasonably effective as a place of refuge for the agrarian neighborhood when raiding parties threatened, Fort Mott is said to have been too small to support a substantial garrison of troops, and poorly positioned to survive a sustained attack by a large, well-equipped force. Nonetheless, it served as the most northerly fortification in the Otter Valley for nearly three years.

In March 1779, the Board of War of independent Vermont declared that for purposes of defense the frontier line of the state lay at the "north line of Castleton, the west and north lines of Pittsford to the foot of the Green Mountains, . . . a line

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. . . between the inhabitants of this state and the enemy.” Fort Mott was therefore garrisoned by a detachment of state militia, at least at times, and the town received compensation from the state for its construction and maintenance (Caverly 1872:121, 134-135).

In the fall of the same year, the Board of War began to consider a proposal to construct a new fortification in Pittsford. It sent a committee to survey the town for a suitable location, and on April 6-7, 1780, the board decided to “accept . . . the report of their committee respecting building a fort at Pittsford.” The Board of War then directed Major Ebenezer Allen (a cousin of Ethan Allen) to choose a proper location for the fort “near the north line of Pittsford” and ordered that construction “be accomplished as soon as may be” (Caverly 1872:150; Williams 1969:278). Major Allen obeyed this order promptly, using the labor of a company of militia stationed in the town and that of local residents. According to Levi Stockwell, then a private in Captain Hutchins’ Company of Green Mountain Rangers: “we arrived in Pittsford, Vt., in the month of February 1780. . . . When the Spring opened we commenced building a fort. . . . I think we began to collect timber for the fort the latter part of April” (Stockwell 1833-34). Among local residents, Nehemiah Hopkins, Sr., “labor[ed] on [the] fort in Pittsford by request of Ebenezer Allen in the month of May 1780” (Caverly 1872:153). Construction was apparently far enough advanced that the fort could first be occupied in June, but it evidently still needed considerable work to be finished, for in July the Board of War authorized the manufacture of 20,000 bricks for the chimneys in the barracks (Caverly 1872:152-153; Williams 1969:286). Levi Stockwell later recalled that the fort was “completed the same season in which we commenced it. I think in August. . .” (Stockwell 1833-34).

The place chosen for the fort was the farmstead of Caleb Hendee, Sr., located roughly a half mile south of Pittsford’s northern border. On May 3, 1780, Hendee agreed to allow Vermont to construct a fort on his property and to occupy it for one year. The lease permitted the state use of “all his improvements on the east side of the Creek, except 6 acres of plough land on the intervale, and one acre of pasture land adjoining and north of his barn, and five acres of wheat and three-quarters of an acre of land whereon he had turnips the year past.” In compensation, he was to receive on December 1 £24 “as specie went in market in the year 1774,” or half that amount if the post had to be “evacuate[d] . . . on account of the enemy” (Manuscript Vermont State Papers [MsVtSP] 8:169).

By the time of the lease, the Hendee family had moved 30 kilometers (17.5 miles) south to Clarendon, well south of the vulnerable frontier. They moved in

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November 1779, following a raid on Neshobe (Brandon) just to the north that destroyed several farms (Caverly 1872:149; Gay 1962:9-10). The Hendees resided in Clarendon until April 1782, and one daughter, Eunice, was born there in September 1780 (Caverly 1872:705; Hendees 1836, 1838). Caleb Hendees, Sr., however, probably continued to farm his lands in Pittsford to some extent, since he reserved rights to certain fields under his lease to the state. Some other Pittsford men also relocated their families to more secure places during the more unsettled periods of the war, while continuing to work their farms on the frontier in Pittsford (Caverly 1872:119-120). Such a strategy would have accorded with a notice from the Vermont Board of War dated March 12, 1779, which recommended that "women and children . . . move to some convenient place south and that the men . . . remain on their farms and work in collective bodies with their arms" (Caverly 1872:134-135).

The authorization by the Board of War for the new fort at Pittsford directed that it be large enough to accommodate 150 men. However, the normal company assigned to the fort was probably on the order of 30 to 60. When danger threatened, additional militia units were called out to support soldiers already on duty. The additional units typically served for a few days to a couple of weeks at time and then were sent home (Caverly 151-179). It is likely that while on alert the additional units would have been quartered at strongholds such as Fort Vengeance, if these were convenient to the trouble spot. Provision for reserve militia units might well explain the apparent difference between the documented companies on duty at the fort and its intended size.

In addition, besides the soldiers stationed at the fort continuously, it appears that some local farmers and their families lived there, at least part of the time. An account attributable to the son of Caleb Hendees, Sr., Caleb, Jr., states that "William Cox and Joshua June [Cox's son-in-law] with their families lived in the fort during the war" (X.E.X. 1848; see also June 1838). According to Caverly (1872:169), "few families spent the night in their houses when it was known that the Indians were hovering in the vicinity;" at such times "most went to the fort" for security. In one incident, upon receiving a warning that an enemy party was approaching the fort in July 1780, its commander, Major Allen, "ordered that the women and children in the fort and vicinity be immediately removed to a place of safety," and a party of them was sent away to Clarendon (Brooks 1836). On another occasion, in May 1781, there was an attack on the fort at a moment when most of the men assigned to it were away chasing a small raiding party. The attack was repulsed by those who remained in the fort, and "as there were but three men remaining in it, the women seized the muskets, fought with the men,

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and made a successful defense” (Caverly 1872:170). Many if not all of these women must have been from farms in the region surrounding the fort, and their presence would have been consistent with the offer of sanctuary implicit in the directive of the Board of War of March 12, 1779, which recommended that women and children living near the frontier, “excepting a few near the fort,” be relocated further south (Caverly 1872:134-135). Perhaps the capacity specified by the Board of War of 150 men also took into account the likely size of temporary influxes of refugees from the surrounding countryside. Dorothy Lassel (née Brooks?), for example, recalled that as a child, “during the Revolutionary war I lived in Pittsford ... and in the year 1780 & 81 my father lived within about sixty or one hundred rods [1,000-1,650 feet, or 300-500 meters] of the Fort...” (Lassel 1836).

Primary documentary material concerning Fort Vengeance is sparse. There is one detailed description of the fort, probably written in the late 1840s by Caleb Hendee, Jr. (1768-1854), the eldest son of Caleb, Sr., from whom the state leased the land for the fort.⁵

According to Hendee’s account:

The site selected for its location was on the upland... around the very spot then occupied by the dwelling house of Caleb Hendee, Sen., and directly west of the present stage road from Pittsford village to Brandon. Like all the Forts in Vermont, it was a piquet [picket] Fort—a trench was dug 5 or 6 feet deep—the trunks of trees mostly hard maple and beech, a foot or a foot and a half in diameter were sunk into the trench as closely together as possible, extending 16 or 18 feet above the ground, and sharpened to a point at the top—between each log a stake was driven to fill the space left by the round unhewed logs—within the pickets a breast work was thrown up about 6 feet high and about 6 feet broad at the base, and composed entirely of dirt and logs—at a height convenient for the garrison were loop holes between the logs large enough at the centre for the barrel of a musket to pass thro’ and radiating outside and inside, so that the soldiers within could move the muzzles of their guns in the loop-holes and command a wide range without, while the loop-holes were so far from the ground on the outside that the enemy’s shots coming thro’ them would pass over the heads of the garrison. The form of the Fort was square, enclosing an acre or more of ground. On each corner jutting outside was a flanker with two stories, that is a floor was

⁵ Two nearly identical versions of Caleb Hendee, Jr.’s description of the fort exist (X.E.X. 1848; Caverly 1872:151-152). See Berger (2003:172-174, appendix D-1) for details on the attribution of the account and comparisons between its two version.

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laid across each about 8 feet from the ground answering for a ceiling to the space below—above this floor or ceiling was the sentinel's box with loop-holes above and below, from which the musketeers could rake the approach to the fort in every direction with a deadly fire.— The traveled path north and south being then where the stage road is now; on the east of the Fort was a large double gate of oak plank thickly studded with large headed nails or spikes so as to be completely bullet proof, while on the west side of the fort was a wicket gate—within the Fort extending along the north side were the officers barracks and on the south side the soldier's barracks. In the northwest corner was the magazine for the munitions of war, a framed building—in the northeast and southwest corners were wells but these were soon neglected and the garrison supplied themselves with water from a spring 30 or 40 rods east of the Fort. The space between the officers' and soldiers' barracks was the parade ground. . . . After the war the barracks were long used as dwelling houses, and one room of them is even now occupied by a family (X.E.X. 1848).

In addition to Hendee's account of Fort Vengeance, there are also numerous references to the fort in various documents that are preserved in the Vermont State Archives, such as invoices, receipts, pension claims, and the minutes of the Vermont Board of War. These references provide hints concerning which soldiers and military units were assigned to the fort, the daily activities there, and a few of the improvements made to it. Apparently no orderly book or other continuous record of activities at the fort survives, nor, so far as can be established, do any maps, plans, or drawings made while the fort was extant. Consequently, most of what is known about the fort's location and appearance derives directly from the Hendee account of it, which was written nearly 70 years after the fort was active.

In July 1780, one of the soldiers on duty at the fort was Caleb Houghton (1760-1780), whose death would lead "the fort on the north line of Pittsford" (as the Board of War originally referred to it) to be christened Fort Vengeance. Originally from Massachusetts, Houghton's family had moved to Putney, on the Vermont side of the Connecticut River, before the Revolutionary War. It was from Putney that Houghton saw service in the Vermont militia as early as 1777. In July 1780, Houghton was part of a detachment assigned to the new fort in Pittsford. Shortly after beginning his duties at the fort, he went unarmed to a neighboring farm to collect some clothes he had sent for washing. While returning to the fort, he encountered a Native American warrior, who evidently attempted to stop him, perhaps with the intention of taking him prisoner to interrogate him about the new fort (Hendee 1848:1). A struggle ensued, and Houghton died of gunshot and knife wounds. Eventually, a group of men went in

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search of Houghton and found his body about half a mile (0.8 kilometer) south of the fort. The party retrieved the body, and it was buried on a small knoll nearby, "about fifteen rods [247.5 feet, or 75 meters] east of the . . . residence of Samuel Hendee." The fort's commandant, Major Ebenezer Allen, sought in vain to capture Houghton's killer. After several days, tradition says that Allen gathered his men before the fort, "vowed vengeance against all and every Indian that should come within his power," and as a token of his vow, smashed a bottle of rum against the main gate of the fort, christening it "Fort Vengeance," by which it was thereafter known (Caverly 1872:155-157).

In the ensuing two years or so, detachments of troops were called out on several occasions in response to raiding parties in the area. The fort itself came under attack at least twice. One of these incidents was the previously mentioned May 1781 attack. The following month, a large raiding party of Caughnawagas (Mohawk Iroquois) under the leadership of Tomo (Thomas Orakrenton, 1752-1825) planned to attack the fort at night. However, a patrol from the fort discovered the approaching enemy, and the fort's company was able to ambush the raiders and disrupt the attack before it had begun (Caverly 1872:169-173).

It appears that the property occupied by the fort was returned to the control of the Hendee family in the spring of 1782 (probably April), but the exact date of the transfer back to the Hendees is not documented. Sometime in 1781, probably early in the year, Caleb Hendee, Sr., verbally agreed to lease his farm to the state for another year, under conditions similar to the original lease (MsVtSP 17:114). During the subsequent winter of 1781-82, Vermonters expected that their frontier would be attacked by a large British force with the coming of warm weather, and the state began making preparations for such an advance. However, the threat never materialized because of the adoption of more pacific policies by British authorities in Canada, following upon Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown in October 1781, and the installation of a more conciliatory government in England (Caverly 1872:177-178). The American victories and evidence of a de facto cease-fire in the northern department of the war probably led Vermont's military authorities to conclude by the spring of 1782 that Fort Vengeance was no longer needed. Statements in several Revolutionary War pension applications that were submitted in the 1830s suggest that the fort was no longer in use by about April 1782. Levi Stockwell and Frederick Perrigo both recalled being honorably discharged from Fort Vengeance in January 1782 and departing for home (Perrigo 1833; Stockwell 1833-34). Sarah June remembered living at the fort with her husband, Joshua, "until April or May 1782," when her husband was discharged from service there, and they returned to their farm nearby (June 1838). Caleb

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Hendee, Jr, recalled that he lived in Clarendon until April 1782, when he returned to Pittsford (Hendee 1836, 1838). The return of the Hendee family to Pittsford in 1782 is corroborated by the place of birth of Caleb, Sr.'s fourth son, Solomon I (1782-1783), in Pittsford on November 20, 1782 (Caverly 1872:705).

c. National Register Eligibility

Eligibility Under Criterion A

The Fort Vengeance Monument Site is associated with events of the Revolutionary War that were important to the history of Vermont and the town of Pittsford, so it is eligible for the National Register under Criterion A. The site contains traces of the Revolutionary War stockade fortification, Fort Vengeance, which was erected as a defensive measure to help protect northern Rutland County from raids instigated or led by the British military. These raids were one of the principal forms of military activity in Vermont during the Revolutionary War and served both to alarm the existing population of settlers and to limit the expansion of new settlement during the period. In addition, the fort reflects the emergence of Vermont as independent state-level polity during the formative period of Vermont's political history. The fort was constructed on order of state authorities and was garrisoned by companies of militia recruited and paid by the independent republic of Vermont. During this period, the direct support of defensive measures and border protection were among the hallmarks of autonomous states in the nascent American republic. Even the abandonment of Fort Vengeance in 1782 reflects the historical patterns that were shaping Vermont, for by that time, peace with Great Britain and her colonies in Canada seemed assured and the frontier zone, which during the war years lay in the vicinity of Pittsford, was moving north into the Champlain lowlands in Addison, Chittenden, and Washington counties.

Eligibility Under Criterion D

Archaeological investigations to date have recovered only minimal evidence of Fort Vengeance, possibly because of extensive landscape modifications resulting from the gradual demolition of the fort by the Hendee family and their development of their farmstead. Nonetheless, the investigations provide a few hints that the site may preserve important archaeological traces of the fort. These include the identification of a possible section of the stockade trench (Feature 2) and recovery of a few artifacts, such as a brass button with a basket weave design, that may be associated with the fort's occupation of the Hendee farmstead.

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Moreover, the overall condition of the archaeological record at the site indicates that there is a strong likelihood that more intensive investigations would recover additional evidence of the fort.

The archaeological study of Vermont's military history and the frontier era in Vermont history have been identified as priority topics by the Vermont Division for Historic Preservation (2002:23). The site appears to have the potential to address such topics. Research topics that might be open to investigation include:

- X What, in detail, was the appearance of Fort Vengeance? Specifically, what were its trace (external outline), internal plan, and true size?
- X What was daily life like for people who lived or were stationed at the fort? Can barracks areas occupied by military personnel stationed at the fort be differentiated from areas occupied by local settlers? If so, are differences in daily activities, diet, etc., evident from the associated archaeological deposits?

The potential of archaeological investigations at the Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216) to be able to address questions such as these indicates that it is eligible for the National Register under Criterion D in the area of military history.

3. Post-Revolutionary War Context

The marble monument known today as the Fort Vengeance Monument is of historical interest, and is regarded as a resource that contributes to the National Register eligibility of the archaeological site. The monument was erected by the town of Pittsford in 1873 as memorial to the soldiers from Pittsford who served there and as a marker for the grave of Caleb Houghton, the only soldier known to have died while on duty in the town. In August 1873 Houghton's remains were supposedly moved to the place where the location of the monument was erected from the original grave, which was just outside the stockade of Fort Vengeance. It is not known what these remains actually consisted of.

The monument is regarded as contributing because it marks the approximate location of the fort, which has been accurately located by recent archaeological studies. The archaeological remains of the Hendee Tavern and Revolutionary War fortification are only 10-16 meters north of the present day monument. An 1873 picture of the monument dedication showing the surrounding landscape and immediate hills was used by archaeologists as a secondary source in identifying the archaeological remains of the tavern and fort.

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Section 10: Geographical Data

UTM coordinates for the site were determined using a GPS receiver configured to achieve a positional accuracy of approximately ± 1 meter (± 3.3 feet). The datum for the coordinates is NAD 1927.

Boundary Description:

In the Town of Pittsford, Rutland County, Vermont, beginning at the southeastern corner of the site, which is situated at the eastern edge of the paved shoulder of U.S. Route 7, at a point with UTM coordinates of Z18 E657,205 N4,845,660 meters (NAD 1927) (Vermont State Plane coordinates: E455,935, E138,734 meters, NAD 1983). This point is 121.4 feet southwest of the southwestern corner of the house owned (in 2000) by Dan and Helen Mortensen at 7010 U.S. 7 and 70.2 feet west of the northwestern corner of the house on U.S. 7 to the south of the Mortensen house; extending north from this point along the eastern edge of the paved shoulder of U.S. 7 for a distance of $505\pm$ feet; thence turning westerly and extending across and west of U.S. 7 for a total distance of $140\pm$ feet; thence for a distance of $490\pm$ feet along an irregular course that varies from south to southwest to south and roughly corresponds to the upper edge of a break in slope marking a sharp increase in gradient to the west; thence curving to the southeast for a distance of approximately $100\pm$ feet; thence turning easterly and crossing U.S. 7 perpendicular to the road's centerline, and after a distance of $109\pm$ feet, returning to the point of beginning.

Boundary Justification:

The site boundary is based upon subsurface testing and terrain characteristics. The southern and northern boundaries of the site were established through an analysis of artifact distributions patterns documented by transects of 40x40-centimeter (16x16-inch) shovel tests on 8-meter (26-foot) centers. The southern boundary marks the point at which total artifact frequencies consistently drop below 5 per square meter (i.e., less than 1 item per shovel test). South of the boundary, artifact densities are very low. The low-density, patchy distribution of artifacts comprises a non-significant scatter produced by historic and modern manure spreading and random discard of miscellaneous trash. The northern site boundary represents the limit beyond which artifact frequencies per shovel test are effectively zero. The western boundary of the site approximates the break from gently sloping terrain, on which a farmstead or an eighteenth-century stockade fortification might be easily constructed, to more steeply sloping land, on which construction of structures would be difficult without substantial cutting and filling—for which there is no evidence. A single test unit (Berger's Trench 3, measuring 0.5x3 meters, or 1.6x10 feet) was excavated at the base of the steeply

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sloping ground approximately 180 feet west of the presumed site boundary. No artifacts were recovered from the trench, supporting the decision to set the site's western boundary at a considerable distance upslope. The eastern boundary of the site is the existing eastern edge of the paved shoulder of U.S. Route 7. The highway crosses the site on road fill, and archaeological evidence from the western side of the highway shows that the site continues for some distance beneath the fill and roadway. Beginning immediately to the east of the highway, however, the stratigraphy of shovel tests and various characteristics of the surface terrain indicate that the ground has substantially disturbed during the twentieth century by ditching, grading, and house construction. In addition, artifact frequencies to the east of Route 7 are comparatively low, and testing recovered no examples of late eighteenth- to early nineteenth-century artifacts.

Site Coordinates – Other Datums

The State of Vermont uses the Vermont State Plane Coordinate System (NAD 1983) as its official standard geographic referencing system. The system is used for Geographic Information Systems (GIS) created by state agencies and for other purposes. The site coordinates given in Section 10 have been converted from UTM NAD 1927 to VSP coordinates using a computerized conversion program created by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The site coordinates are:

Vermont State Plane (meters, NAD 1983): E455,902 N138,739.

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Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216), Pittsford, Rutland Co., Vermont

Common Label Information:

1. Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216)
2. Town of Pittsford, Rutland County, Vermont
3. Photographer: varies
4. Date: varies
5. Negative on file at the Vermont Division for Historic Preservation, Montpelier.
6. Caption varies

Photo No. 1:

View of site. U.S. Route 7 to left. Otter Creek intervale in distance at right. Camera facing south. (C. Borstel, May 31, 2000)

Photo No. 2:

View of site (on terrace between trees) from floor of Otter Creek valley. Camera facing east. (C. Borstel, October 2000)

Photo No. 3:

East elevation of Fort Vengeance Monument. Camera facing west. (C. Borstel, September 17, 2001)

Photo No. 4:

Units 30 and 31, showing west foundation wall of Hendee farmhouse/tavern ("Structure D"). Camera facing east. (R. Jacoby, October 26, 2000)

Photo No. 5:

Unit 11, showing south foundation wall of Hendee farmhouse/tavern ("Structure D"). Camera facing north. (R. Jacoby, October 24, 2000)

Photo No. 6:

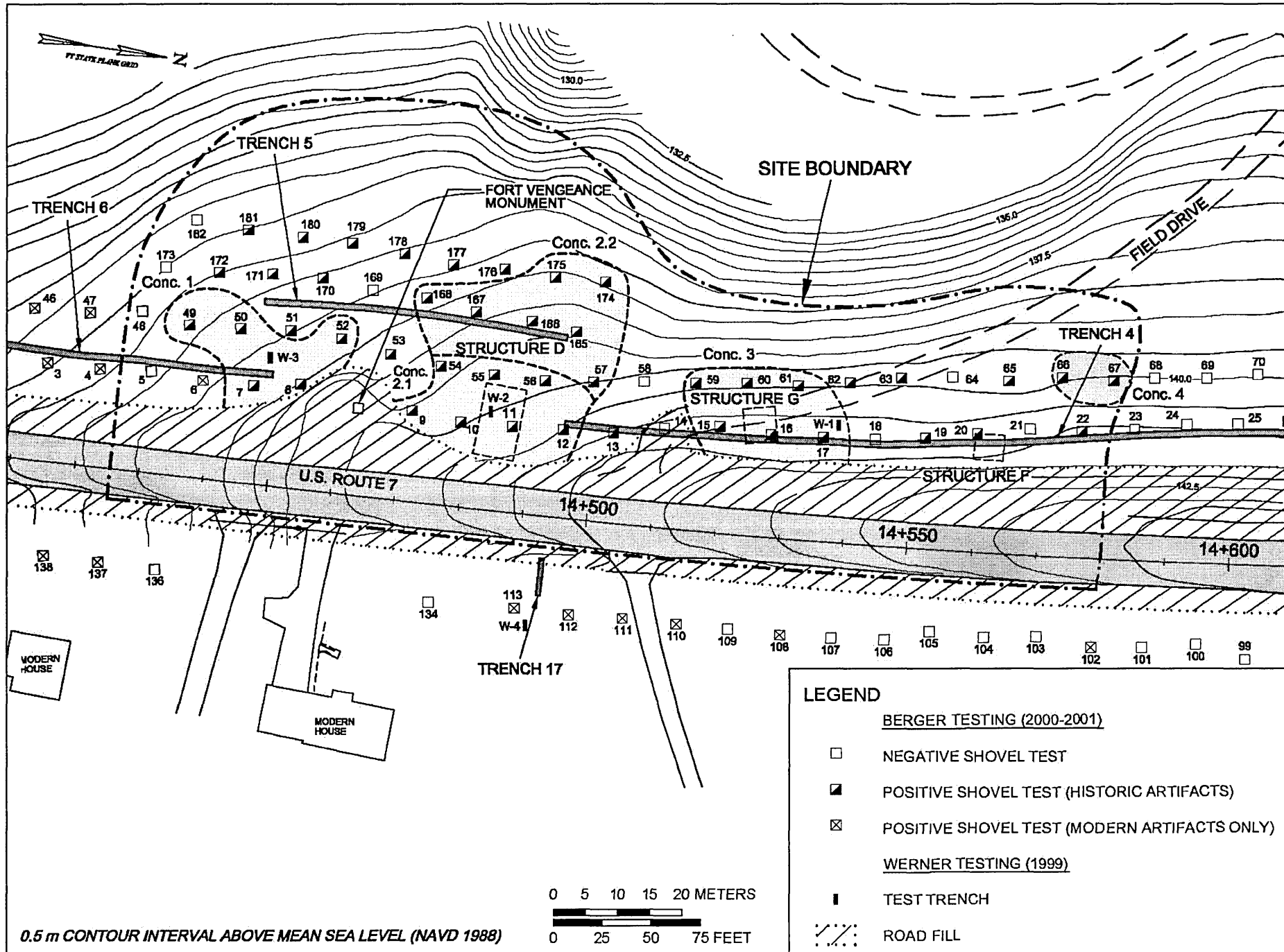
Selected 18th-century artifacts from the vicinity of the Hendee farmhouse/tavern ("Structure D"). Top row: 1746 silver Spanish real (left: obverse, right: reverse); 1797 copper U.S. large cent (left: obverse, right: reverse). Middle row: brass cufflinks with Masonic symbols (top: fronts; bottom: rears); brass button with "basket weave" design; brass button with machine turned design. Bottom row: examples of handwrought nails. (R. Tucher, March 2001)

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Section No. ADD'L DOCUMENT'N Page 1 Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-216), Pittsford, Rutland Co., Vermont

Additional Documentation

MAP: Site plan showing Phase I shovel tests, site boundaries, and locations of key features and artifact concentrations.



Fort Vengeance Monument Site (VT-RU-260) Pittsford, Rutland Co., Vermont