



# The Cruel Indifference of Time: The Evolving Public Memory of the Eighteenth-Century Fortifications of Rutland County, Vermont

*During the Revolutionary War, Vermont's Rutland County was host to several stockade fortifications to protect settlers against Native and Tory threats from beyond the northern frontier. Today, the grounds of Fort Warren, Fort Rutland, Fort Ranger, and Fort Vengeance have all but vanished—both physically and to those who are not historically inclined.*

By JOSEPH E. KINNEY

**I**n 1779, four years into the American Revolutionary War and after numerous instances of harassment and conflict between Vermont settlers and the combined forces of native tribes, Tories, and British regulars, the Vermont Board of War decided organized state action was warranted to protect the inhabitants from these threats. The settlers of present-day Rutland County, specifically within the towns of Rutland, Pittsford, and Castleton, all experienced firsthand the reality of war, and thus, picket forts were erected in each of the aforesaid towns.<sup>1</sup> This was both through their own devices and under the direction of the Vermont government. As these forts had been constructed for defense, their services were no longer required after Britain's defeat in 1783 and

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they would be deconstructed or abandoned by the end of the decade.<sup>2</sup> In the same sense that the forts were abandoned by the Vermont troops following the war, their legacies have likewise been overlooked by historians.

The historical significance of the forts to the western Vermont region goes beyond their importance to soldiers. Since 1783, the relationship between Rutland County and their forts transformed from a tangible relationship into an intangible, cultural one. The public memory evolved in four key stages after the war. Initially, the citizens incorporated the fort buildings into their daily lives, including using former fort structures for purposes including public congregation, worship, and residency. Later, the forts' history was celebrated following the 1876 centennial in the form of the dedication of historical markers and performance of historical reenactment. Once the patriotic sentiment faded by the mid-twentieth century, the public sought to commercialize the renewed interest in the forts by invoking them as namesakes for their businesses; and finally, the centuries-old legacy of the forts notwithstanding, the public interest in the forts diminished, leaving the historical markers produced for the 1876 centennial as the only remaining testament of the forts' existence on the Vermont landscape. Tracing the history and public memory of the forts through these four stages illustrates how the changes in public attitudes concerning Revolutionary War history have culminated in the forts being largely overlooked by the public in the twenty-first century.

#### MILITARY FORTS

On March 12, 1779, the Board of War met in Arlington at the house of Governor Thomas Chittenden to formally draw and declare a military front between the inhabitants of Vermont and their enemies:

Whereas this State is a frontier to the Northern Enemy it is therefore necessary that some lines be ascertained where this State will attempt to defend the Inhabitants: Therefore Resolved that the North line of Castleton, the west and north lines of Pittsford to the foot of the Green Mountains, be and hereby is Established a line between the Inhabitants of this State and the Enemy, and all the Inhabitants of this State living to the north of the said line are directed, and ordered to immediately move with their families and Effects within Said Lines.<sup>3</sup>

Towns in the Rutland County region were quick to erect local defenses, both prior to and especially after Governor Chittenden's declaration. By 1779, Rutland had already constructed its own fort, Fort Rutland. A rectangular, wooden stockade with redoubts at each corner, it was built around the time of the Revolution's outbreak in 1775 near the

geographical center of the town.<sup>4</sup> As early as June 1778, Rutland had been used as the muster point for Vermont troops to respond to foreign threats; it had overall been regarded as the headquarters of the state troops and was a frequent stop of militia companies.<sup>5</sup> Following the declaration of the northern frontier, Rutland continued to take the necessary precautionary actions to defend itself and the independent state of Vermont, constructing Fort Ranger by May 14, 1779.<sup>6</sup>

Like Rutland, Pittsford had constructed its own fort prior to the 1779 declaration. Dubbed Fort Mott after one of the founding settlers, the stockade was built in late 1777 and served as an impromptu defense for the inhabitants.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, as Fort Ticonderoga had been abandoned by Continental forces in July 1777, the front line was pushed east to the border of Lake Champlain, raising the possibility of encounters in the village.<sup>8</sup> Recognizing that the people of Pittsford needed additional protection, the War Office instructed “the Inhabitants of Castleton and Pittsford to immediately erect a Picket fort near the Center of the Inhabitants of each Town.”<sup>9</sup> This eventually led to the construction of Fort Vengeance in mid 1780.

Approximately ten miles west of Rutland, the village of Castleton also had wartime roles. Besides its famous relationship with the Green Mountain Boys’ march to Fort Ticonderoga in May 1775, Castleton was the site of a skirmish between the townspeople and British forces one day prior to the Battle of Hubbardton.<sup>10</sup> Alpheus Hall, one of the men present at the skirmish, afterwards recalled “that fatal day of 6th of July 1777.”<sup>11</sup> He continued:

[We] were alarmed by the enemy coming into town. Not knowing their number we immediately took arms and marched to meet them with about fifteen or twenty Militia and gave them battle but their number so far exceeded ours, being about one hundred and fifty we were obliged to surrender with the loss of Capt. Williams killed and my father Capt. John Hall Mortally wounded the family plundered of every article we had both in doors and out except the cloaths on our backs.<sup>12</sup>

Aside from the dead and wounded, several settlers were taken prisoner by British forces to a prisoner-of-war camp in Ticonderoga, New York.<sup>13</sup> As a result, Castleton did not hesitate to act on the March 1779 declaration, constructing the wooden stockade “Fort Warren” on the skirmish grounds by April 15 of the same year.<sup>14</sup> Fort Warren operated there until mid-1781 when it was “moved,” likely rebuilt, west to present-day Hydeville, then called Blanchard’s Mills, per recommendation of the Board of War.<sup>15</sup> The relocated fort served as the militia headquarters and operated through the end of the war.<sup>16</sup>

The Rutland County forts typically housed and maintained a force of 100 to 250 men, staffed by minutemen and Vermont militia companies, and at least one was complemented with artillery.<sup>17</sup> Geographically, the garrisons lined the northern frontier front with Castleton forming the western bastion, Pittsford defending the north, and the central town of Rutland defending the interior and serving as the location of the first militia headquarters.<sup>18</sup> The objectives of the forts were duly outlined in a “copy of orders for Captain Thomas Sawyer Commanding at Fort Ranger” dated May 14, 1779, in Arlington:

The design and object of a Garrison’s being kept at your post is to prevent the Invasion of the Enemy on the northern frontiers and to annoy them should they come within your reach. As there are two other forts, one at Castleton and one at Pittsford, dependant on yours, you are to take care that they are properly manned and provided for proportionable to your Strength at fort Ranger. You will keep out constant scouts towards the Lake so as to get the earliest intelligence of the motions and designs of the Enemy. You will keep the command of Fort Ranger and the other forts depending until otherwise ordered by me or until some Continental officer shall take the command. You will post the earliest intelligence of the motion of the Enemy to me and guard against surprise. Given under my hand,

THO<sup>S</sup> CHITTENDEN, *Cap<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup>*<sup>19</sup>

Besides defending the frontier from Tory and Indian encounters, the forts radically transformed the lives of citizens in the towns where they were built. Such was the case, for example, of George Foot of Castleton and Caleb Hendee of Pittsford, both of whom were directly affected by the Rutland County forts’ construction. After Fort Warren was built literally around his house in Castleton, Foot found himself in service to the Vermont militia and served from 1779 until the disbandment of the militia in 1782.<sup>20</sup> Foot had been involved in Vermont’s military activities prior to 1779 serving administrative duties—he was appointed a commissioner of sequestration in 1777 and quartermaster of the 3rd Regiment in 1778. It was only after the construction of Fort Warren that Foot was recorded serving in militia companies under various captains and colonels.<sup>21</sup>

In Pittsford, on the other hand, Caleb Hendee was not connected to the militia, but nonetheless had his life changed by the construction of the forts. In 1780, his farm was selected as the place where Fort Vengeance was to be built.<sup>22</sup> Between when Hendee leased his land to the Vermont troops in 1780 and when he returned in 1782, the Fort Vengeance garrison “[had] Made Use of about two thousand feet of Good Boards for the Use of the Barracks which was the property of Jonathan

Rowlee your Honours Memeorialest the Biger half of Said Boards were taken from his house the upper and under flores Being Loos and the petitions [partitions?] Sealing Board &c taken and Improved for the Barraks and a Considerable No [Number] of Nails taken for the Same use Many of the Shingles taken off the Roof for the Sake of the Nails.”<sup>23</sup> Hendee never received reimbursement for the losses he suffered as a direct consequence of Fort Vengeance’s construction.<sup>24</sup> By the end of 1786, Hendee had petitioned the Vermont General Assembly on four separate occasions, each time to no avail, each one appealing to the assembly for recompense for the destruction of his land, which he estimated to be £70:2:6 in damages.<sup>25</sup>

In an ironic closure to the history of Hendee and the militia’s use of his land, transcribed writings of Caleb Hendee Jr. from 1790 provide evidence that the barracks buildings, built with wood from Hendee’s house, were used by his son after the war: “By my own and my wife’s industry, in a few years we were able to purchase from my father about eight acres more of land. . . . It adjoined the other and was bought to accommodate the same, but still we had no buildings, but lived in one of the old barracks at Fort Vengeance.”<sup>26</sup>

This was neither the first time, nor the last, that buildings from the Rutland County forts (and their equipment) were repurposed by their respective inhabitants for activities totally unrelated to their original purpose. This public recycling of fort property for non-war-related uses by the citizens occurred at all three of the major Rutland County forts and illustrates the first stage of their public remembrance; that is, the public had a physical relationship with the former defenses, adopting several of the forts’ physical structures into their daily lives. Besides the aforesaid reuse of the Fort Vengeance barracks, the Rutland County public used fort property as an early meeting place in Rutland, in Castleton’s early religious services, as a part of the 1803 Fourth of July celebrations, and in the recycling of fort relics to mend the “Burgoyne Kettle.”<sup>27</sup>

#### PUBLIC BUILDINGS

Near the end of the war public use of the forts began to take hold as the primary way in which the forts’ history was remembered. According to Henry Hall, a locally renowned Vermont historian from the early nineteenth century, Fort Ranger “naturally became the rendezvous of the town,” as the inhabitants gathered for news of the war, orders from the government, and general community affairs.<sup>28</sup> Hall quoted a Rutland town meeting from March 27, 1781, in which the fort was explic-

itly mentioned: "And thence as the town record reads 'for necessary reasons' it adjourned to the 'Store House in Fort Ranger.'"29 Once the war was over, fort property continued to be used by local citizens in public affairs.

Several historians from the late 1800s through the present noted that when the Congregational Church Society of Castleton organized on June 7, 1784, they used the "old storehouse" as a place of worship before Castleton's first permanent church was built in 1790.<sup>30</sup> However, early records, such as the *Manual for the Communicants of the First Congregational Church in Castleton, Vt.* from 1839, fail to support this narrative, making no mention of a refitted storehouse.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, some support for this story may be found within the Town Records of Castleton. A town meeting record from April 16, 1784, less than two months before the official formation of the society, reads: "For the Purpose of raising a sum of money to hire preaching and and [sic] to Repair a House to meet in as the last directs. . . . Voted to charge a committee to take charge of repairing a house to meet in for public worship."<sup>32</sup> This meeting was adjourned on April 23 at "Mr. George Foots in Castleton," which was located on the eastern half of the Fort Warren grounds.<sup>33</sup>

The language of "repairing" a place of worship is important to note, as subsequent meetings in the mid-1780s up until the construction of the church in 1790 employ the term "build" rather than "repair" to describe the meeting house.<sup>34</sup> Furthermore, in 1784 it was voted that "Eli Cogsel be the place Ministers Board at when in town."<sup>35</sup> The house of Eli "Cogsel" (more commonly referred to as Cogswell) was located across from Foot's on the western portion of Fort Warren, according to an 1885 survey.<sup>36</sup> While the evidence confirms that at least one town meeting was adjourned and ministers were boarded in houses on the fort grounds, it does not provide the precise location of their regular meeting place, nor does it mention the supposed "storehouse" so often referenced in the decades following; however, it is clear that activities related to organized religious worship were present on the fort grounds in postwar years.

The equipment from the forts as well as the physical structures was reused after the war. In one case, armament from one of the forts found its way to a Fourth of July celebration in 1803. To commemorate the anniversary of American independence, the inhabitants of Castleton hosted an "Independance Ball" in town, a widely anticipated celebration.<sup>37</sup> The Castleton Ball was the central point of congregation for that year's celebrations, so much so that "the citizens [of Rutland], meaning

to attend with their neighbors in the adjacent towns, did not appoint any committee of arrangement, or make any previous preparations.”<sup>38</sup> This did not deter the remaining citizens of Rutland from having their own impromptu celebrations. Instead, those who did not attend the Castleton Ball convened at the courthouse and enjoyed customary exercises of the occasion until sundown. To close the celebrations, a cannon, previously from one of the Revolutionary War forts and of six or nine pounds caliber, was rolled out before them, loaded, and discharged.<sup>39</sup>

The reuse of fort equipment produced its own historical significance to the town, as the cannon suffered a catastrophic failure and claimed the life of William T. Hall, who had volunteered to carry out the touch-off. The *Vermont Mercury* recounted: “He assisted to discharge a piece of ordnance, which burst and seemed to fill the atmosphere with its fragments. His head was blown from his body and spread ‘on all the winds.’ The sun which rose in splendor descended in a cloud & the yearly festival was succeeded by the sighs of the Village.”<sup>40</sup> The *Weekly Wanderer* provided further details of the explosion: “The cannon burst with a violent explosion, and large pieces of 80 and a 100 pounds weight were thrown to a distance of 40 or 50 rods.”<sup>41</sup> The apparent cause of this dramatic explosion was overloading, the intent being that the blast would be “heard at Castleton.”<sup>42</sup> The tragic event lasted in the memory of the citizens through the following decades. Henry Hall claimed that the cannon used at the ill-fated celebration was of Fort Vengeance origin; however, it is more likely that it was one from Fort Warren.<sup>43</sup>

The act of citizens reusing fort supplies was not confined to the 1803 Fourth of July celebrations, despite the tragic experience, as ammunition excavated at Fort Warren after the war was used to mend the Burgoyne Kettle decades following the war. Akin to Caleb Hendee Jr.’s occupation of the Fort Vengeance barracks, the former Fort Warren grounds have been inhabited since after the war, and were used as an orchard and farmland for numerous families over the past two centuries.<sup>44</sup> In the 1860s, the property was owned by Selah Hart Langdon.<sup>45</sup> At some point before 1869, Langdon obtained an iron kettle used by British General John Burgoyne during his 1777 Saratoga campaign and captured at the Battle of Stillwater.<sup>46</sup> When Langdon acquired the kettle, it was damaged and cracked, and being a former metallurgist, he took to repairing it.<sup>47</sup> As the Fort Warren grounds became a working farm, tilling over revealed several artifacts from the Revolutionary days, such as iron grapeshot.<sup>48</sup> Using the expertise of his former metal industry, Langdon melted down and reused some of the grapeshot that

he had collected at Fort Warren to repair the damaged kettle, which forever infused the history of the fort within the historic artifact.<sup>49</sup>

#### HISTORIC SITES

As the end of the war grew further detached from living memory, the forts' physical presence declined, but their public memory was continually renewed. As such, the public began to commemorate their Revolutionary history, which was growing more removed with each passing generation. In the mid-to-late nineteenth century, this was accomplished in the form of written history by researchers and historians like Hemenway, Caverly, and other contemporaries.<sup>50</sup> Simultaneously, as events from the Revolutionary War were reaching landmark anniversaries (centennials, sesquicentennials, and bicentennials) throughout the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth, the forts received renewed interest from the public. In turn, the public memory of the forts began to transform: the physical relationship between the forts and the citizens shared during and after wartime evolved into an intangible relationship, as the forts were slowly adopted into various facets of regional culture. Beginning with the erection of historical markers at the turn of the twentieth century, public remembrance of the forts was expressed in war propaganda, local clubs, reenactment, and multiple inspired business ventures in the latter half of the century.

The earliest revival of interest in the Rutland County forts began after the publication of A. M. Caverly's *History of Pittsford*, which sparked public interest in Fort Vengeance in 1872 and inspired the erection of the historical marker the following year.<sup>51</sup> Featuring a marble obelisk marking the fort's location and memorializing the killing of Caleb Houghton at the hands of a Native American in 1780, the dedication of the Fort Vengeance monument was attended by 1,500 citizens, complete with an oration by Caverly, prayer, and a thirteen-gun salute.<sup>52</sup> This was only the precursor to the lasting legacies of the forts, however, as the many manifestations of cultural remembrance that would go on to trademark Rutland County's public memory of the forts in the twentieth century were about to begin.

There was a sudden surge in patriotic sentiment and interest in historical remembrance at the turn of the twentieth century following the 1876 centennial of American independence. The patriotic revival caused the public to reflect on their Revolutionary ancestry, and as a result several heritage groups across the nation were formed. The Sons of the Revolution was the first major one of these organizations, formed in New York City in 1876.<sup>53</sup> Among its many stated objectives was "to



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inculcate in the community in general sentiments of nationality and respect for the principles of other great historical events of national importance.”<sup>54</sup> Another patriotic-hereditary organization, the Sons of the American Revolution formed in 1889, and its male-only membership framework prompted the subsequent formation of the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) in 1890.<sup>55</sup> Simon Wendt, a historian of the public memory of the Revolution, writes: “Only the growing importance of patriotic memory and the flourishing of women’s activism in the late nineteenth century created the preconditions for the unparalleled type of organization that the founders of the Daughters of the American Revolution established.”<sup>56</sup>

In Rutland, this “growing importance of patriotic memory” manifested into the Ann Story Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution in 1892.<sup>57</sup> The group wasted no time in beginning to mark the locations of important historical sites from the Revolution, including those of Rutland County’s forts. The first of these was erected for Fort Rutland in 1901, when the DAR dedicated a stone marker at the site simply inscribed: “Memorial. 1775. Erection on site of Fort Rutland.”<sup>58</sup> To commemorate Fort Ranger in downtown Rutland, the DAR placed a marble drinking fountain on the site in 1903.<sup>59</sup> In 1904, a stone marker identical to the one at Fort Rutland was erected on the western side of the intersection of East Hubbardton Road and Route 4A in Castleton to commemorate Fort Warren. Like the one at Fort Rutland, this marker bore a simple inscription: “Conflict—Site of Fort Warren. 1777–1779.”<sup>60</sup> Between 1901 and 1904, the DAR recognized each of the forts, save for Fort Vengeance, likely due to the site having already been recognized by the 1872 marker. In truth, the erection of the aforesaid historical markers by the DAR was inspired by the revitalized patriotism sparked by the 1876 centennial. In the decades following, the wave of patriotic sentiment settled from its peak in the early 1900s. Though settling as it was, local patriotism received a boost when the United States entered the Second World War in 1941, and as such, the Rutland County public enlisted their military heritage on the home front.

The *Fort Vengeance Flyer* was an informal newsletter written and printed by the Pittsford Housekeepers’ Club during World War II for soldiers from Pittsford and Florence serving abroad.<sup>61</sup> The *Flyer’s* purpose was to boost morale among the soldiers by reminding them of home and providing news through brief sketches of what was happening in town. First published in 1942 and annually thereafter, the *Flyer* introduced soldiers to the pamphlet by reminding them that Pittsford

was no stranger to war:

Did you know that old Ft. Vengeance was a place of refuge from Indian attacks years ago? Did you know in 1777 there was a committee of safety in Town? Did you know that the present Observation Post for town is right near the first fort in town and that watchers are there 24 hours of every day? Did you know that the Housekeepers' Club of Pittsford wants every Pittsford and Florence boy in the services to know that we of the Sunshine Village are backing you up and we are sending you news through this The Fort Vengeance Flyer?<sup>62</sup>

Topics such as local sports, deer hunting, and the families of enlisted men were all discussed in the homebrew publication. However, grim but necessary news of local passings and deaths of soldiers was also reported.<sup>63</sup> Additionally, the local consequences of war in Pittsford are evident in the newsletter, as it highlighted town blackouts during raid warnings and the effects fuel rationing had on the local high school travelling sports teams, for example.<sup>64</sup> The Housekeepers' Club produced the newsletter until the end of the war in 1945.<sup>65</sup> Thus, the *Fort Vengeance Flyer* may have been the culmination of the explosion of patriotism sparked by the 1876 centennial and the same's recognition during the Second World War. The public recalled the fort's local significance as a symbolic metaphor for defending the hometown and represents the tail end of the forts' remembrance represented by patriotic commemoration.

#### COMMUNITY LANDMARKS

Patriotic commemoration and celebration by the public continued after the war. In the 1950s and 1960s, public memory of forts took on new forms. Shifting from boosting soldiers' morale in home-front propaganda to acting as an analogy for women's defense against uncertainty, the ties between the forts' legacy and regional culture deepened as they became the namesakes of several clubs and organizations. At the same time the public acted to turn a profit out of the revived historic interest in the post-World War II era, the forts' history was incorporated into local events, activities, and organizations. This is represented by the numerous 4-H clubs named after the Rutland County forts and the use of Fort Vengeance as the focal point in Pittsford's 1959 town pageant.

The Fort Vengeance 4-H Club in Pittsford and the Fort Ranger 4-H Club in Rutland both made use of the fort names for their chapters in the 1950s and the 1960s.<sup>66</sup> They were regular 4-H clubs, conducting regular meetings, educational activities, and camping trips.<sup>67</sup> These clubs merely adopted the fort name as a piece of local heritage and as a distinct symbol of their town; they did not attempt to appropriate the

historic culture of the fort into the club beyond embracing the name for their group.

Public remembrance of the forts, and of Fort Vengeance in particular, reached its climax in the 1950s; the ultimate demonstration of the community celebration of their history occurred in July 1959 during Pittsford Festival week. From July 5–8, 1959, Pittsford hosted a local pageant, which was part of the larger week of events dubbed the “Champlain Festival” that was held across Vermont.<sup>68</sup> “Pittsford History 1758–1959: A Pageant,” as it was called, boasted several local exhibits, complemented by luncheons, suppers, and tours during the four-day festival.<sup>69</sup> However, the main draws were the various scenes depicting the history of Pittsford, the highlight among them being the historical reenactments of Fort Vengeance. Reenacted scenes included iconic moments in Fort Vengeance’s history and illustrate what the public of the twentieth century found most important to remember. “Pageant scenes depict . . . naming of Ft. Vengeance [following the death of Caleb Houghton], Betsey Cox captured by Indians, [and] an Indian raid on Ft. Vengeance.”<sup>70</sup> The stories of Betsey Cox’s capture and Caleb Houghton’s murder in 1780 served as landmark events that became symbols of Fort Vengeance’s lasting legacy.<sup>71</sup> One Pittsford native who was unable to attend the event commented on the talk following the performances: “From what I have heard, I have missed an entertaining and worthwhile production. You ought to see it!”<sup>72</sup>

The Pittsford pageant (along with other histories, Ft. Warren, etc.) illustrates how the Rutland County public engaged with and remembered their Revolutionary War history, with themes of patriotism, honor, and pride in their heritage prevailing. However, the 1959 pageant also reveals the ways in which the forts’ memory was used to support narratives of race. Prior to the event, volunteers were needed as actors to fill various roles throughout the scenes, and advertisements calling for said roles reveal that there was a need for “Numerous actors . . . for Indian and pioneer roles. A small choir will sing in the war sequence and two horsewomen are needed for the Betsey Cox scene.”<sup>73</sup> Actors portraying the “Indians” were dressed in culturally appropriated clothing that reflected the stereotypical understandings of traditional Native American attire. This included the wearing of war bonnets, loin cloths around the waist, rags, and the faces of some actors, who were white, painted dark to mimic the skin tone of Native Americans.<sup>74</sup> In one photograph, boy actors wearing the appropriated outfits and face paint are shown charging with their hands in the air, some with prop weapons, likely during the raid scene.<sup>75</sup>

It is important to note that the scenes performed during the pageant

were exclusively patriotic ones. The public avoided histories that might challenge the fort's benign memory, as a reenactment of the destruction of Caleb Hendee's farm in 1780 by the Fort Vengeance officers was not among the pageant's playbill. Furthermore, where the public honored the stories of the early Pittsford settlers like Betsey Cox and the Fort Vengeance garrison during the pageant, they did so at the sacrifice of the public perception of colonial-era Native Americans. Midcentury arguably saw the peak of community engagement with the intangible relationship that the public shared with forts. The cultural understanding and public memory of their history was concentrated in themes of patriotism, honor, and pride in their history and common heritage, at the cost of culturally appropriating and tarnishing perceptions of Native Americans.

The 1959 pageant encapsulates how the people of Pittsford interpreted the history and remembered the legacy of Fort Vengeance. The construction of the fort was recognized as a principal event in Pittsford history that was synonymous with the values of self-reliance, defense, and strength. Between 1873 and 1959, the public memory of Fort Vengeance evolved from the somber dedication of the monument to Caleb Houghton's murder by Native Americans to young Pittsford boys dressed as the very Native Americans the fort sought to defend against reenacting the murder as part of a spectacle.

#### COMMERCIALIZED MEMES

Although the general public of Vermont took to celebrating the forts' history, profit-orientated and capitalist interest sought to commercialize it. The commercialization of the forts began in 1939 when Carl B. Hinsman of the Rutland Rotary Club advanced a proposal that Fort Rutland and Fort Ranger, located in and around downtown Rutland, ought to be reconstructed.<sup>76</sup> As opposed to reconstructing them for remembering their historical significance, however, Hinsman "pointed out that . . . Rutland has set aside no historic spot which might be visited and inspected by tourists who travel through this section each year," likely referring to Vermont's skiing and seasonal attractions.<sup>77</sup> The picket forts, Fort Rutland and Fort Ranger, were located in Center Rutland and near Meads Falls, respectively.<sup>78</sup> It is unclear how the Rotary Club planned to organize or facilitate this project, as Hinsman's proposal gained no traction and nothing was made of the proposed reconstructions. Despite this failure, it nonetheless reflects the early transition from historical commemoration to commercialization and was the harbinger of the mass commercialization that was to follow.

While the Rutland County forts' commercialization began before

World War II, entrepreneurial interest in them exploded following the war's conclusion in 1945. With the newfound interest in military history caused by the end of the war, the public remembrance of the forts only deepened further into local culture—not for patriotic commemoration, but rather by enterprising individuals seeking to commercialize their revived history. Thus began the third stage of the forts' public memory: commercialization.

Inspiration behind public remembrance shifted in the following years, as those looking to capitalize on the history of the forts began to embark on business ventures and advertising campaigns employing the namesakes of the forts, rather than trying to take on the mounting task of reconstructing an eighteenth-century stockade. Under the same guise of commercializing the forts' histories like Hinsman attempted in Rutland, Castleton's Fort Warren and Pittsford's Fort Vengeance were the subject of numerous such ventures. In Castleton, businesses in theater, dining, and housing were established near the historic fort grounds and adopted the "Fort Warren" moniker. By 1990, the area around Fort Warren had been transformed into an economic hub in Castleton, rivaling the downtown village. In Pittsford, the symbolic image of Fort Vengeance's female defenders was capitalized upon, as a life-insurance advertising campaign centered around the fort's image of resilience and self-defense. Together, they ushered in the consumer era of the forts' history that trademarked the public memory of the forts in the latter half of the twentieth century.

In 1949, less than one year after the erection of a Board of Historic Sites roadside plaque to designate the site of Fort Warren as a state-recognized historic site, Charles Hathaway opened the Fort Warren Drive-In Theater.<sup>79</sup> The first of numerous businesses that opened near the fort grounds, this theater boasted an impressive 500-automobile capacity, and was located on the southern side of Route 4A directly across from the fort site—the plateau the fort previously commanded visible from the gate.<sup>80</sup> Instead of commercializing the image of the fort, the theater used only the name "Fort Warren" as a reference to the historic landmark that stands just yards north.

This trend of commercializing the forts was not confined to Castleton, as at the same time of the Fort Warren Drive-In Theatre, Pittsford's Fort Vengeance was likewise used by enterprising interests. Unlike the economic hub around Castleton's Fort Warren, however, the use of the fort name was not in reference to geographic location. Rather, the historical imagery of Fort Vengeance was directly invoked. Based in Montpelier, Vermont, the National Life Insurance Company had a history of running patriotic advertisements by midcentury, such as their "Joining up for Greater Security" campaign during the anniversary of Vermont state-

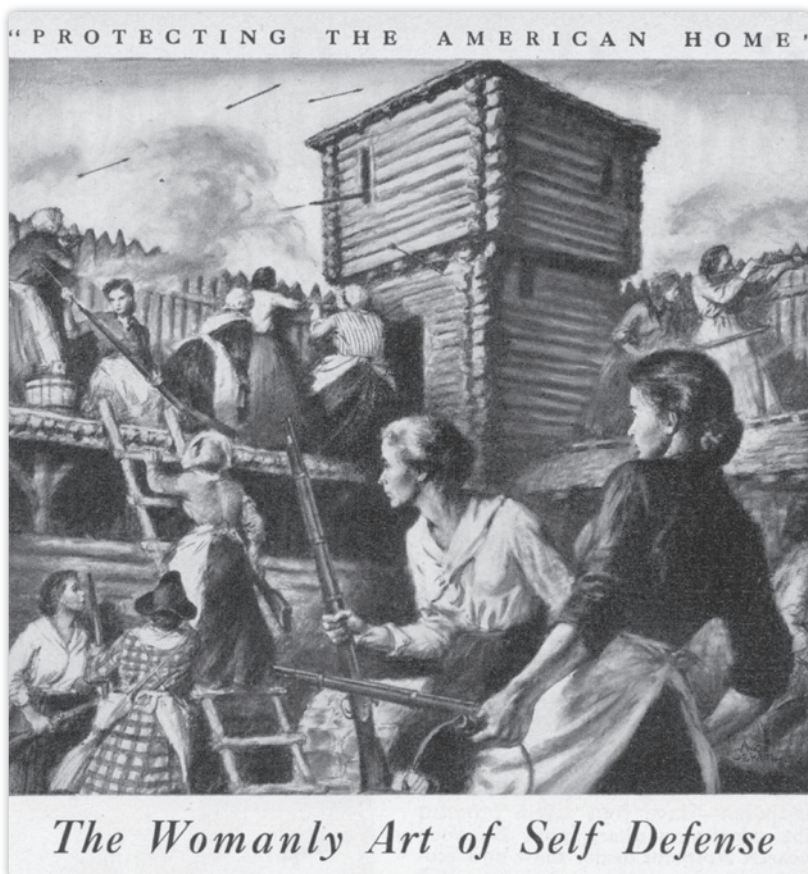


*Fort Warren Drive-In Theatre. Photograph, no date [circa 1949].  
Courtesy of the author.*

hood.<sup>81</sup> In 1948, they ran an ad campaign targeted at female consumers titled “Protecting the American Home” in which they used the imagery of Fort Vengeance to sell life-insurance policies. In one, the company aimed to connect the resilience of Pittsford women defending Fort Vengeance to fighting modern insecurity with life insurance.

Atop the sales pitch, the ad featured an illustration of a supposed battle scene at the fort. Drawn from the perspective of someone inside the fort and looking up toward one of the corner blockhouses, seven women with muskets can be seen on the firing step shooting, reloading, and shooting again over the picket walls in all directions. Five other women are in the foreground, each with a musket or assisting the women on the firing step. One armed woman is pictured climbing the ladder to the step, potentially to relieve another woman. In the blockhouse, a musket barrel can be seen protruding from a slit in the wall, firing over the fort walls. The reason for the apparent chaos is revealed above the fort, as three arrows, shot from beyond the fort walls, pass over the top of the pickets and pass by the defending women’s heads.<sup>82</sup> This print was just one in a series of advertisements under the company’s “Protecting the American Home” campaign. Titled “The Womanly Art of Self Defense,” the advertisement reads:

During the Revolution, a raiding party of Tories and Indians fell suddenly on Fort Vengeance, Pittsford, Vermont, while the townsmen were off scouting. Undaunted, the womenfolk seized muskets, swarmed onto the firing step, and held the attackers at bay for hours until the men returned. Today’s woman arms herself against insecurity with today’s weapon—life insurance.<sup>83</sup>



*“Protecting the American Home”: The Womanly Art of Self Defense.” National Life Insurance Company, print advertisement (1948). Courtesy of the author.*

More businesses sprang up around the Fort Warren grounds, and likewise tried to capitalize on the moniker. The Fort Warren Motel and Restaurant opened in October 1959, and like the drive-in, was established in the immediate vicinity east of the fort grounds on Route 4A.<sup>84</sup> By this time, the Fort Warren Drive-In was becoming an established business, so much so that, it too, became a landmark, as the restaurant boasted its close proximity to the theater in their ads.<sup>85</sup> The restaurant was a favorite of locals, and contributed to the larger business district that was taking hold around Fort Warren in the 1950s and 1960s; however, neither the “Fort Warren” branding, nor the businesses themselves, would last forever.<sup>86</sup>

By 1975, the “Fort Warren” moniker as a geographical indicator was no longer as important as it had been in 1949 when the theater had opened. As the drive-in entered its twenty-sixth year of operation, it was purchased by “movie mogul” Robert Shannon, who previously operated the Rutland Drive-In theater.<sup>87</sup> Shannon promptly rebranded the business as the Rutland-Fort Warren (sometimes abbreviated Ft. Warren) Drive-In Theatre, incorporating his previous establishment into the new name.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, when a second film screen was added in 1980, the drive-in was rebranded again to the Rutland Twin Drive-In for its “twin” screens.<sup>89</sup> As the drive-in had become a leader in the Castleton business sector, it became a regional landmark. The theater had, in fact, superseded the recognizability of the fort itself. With the ascendancy and rebranding of the drive-in, the sun was beginning to set on the era of commercialization for Fort Warren.

Further attesting to the declining relevance of the forts to the public, the Castleton Garden Center opened in 1975 across from the drive-in and made no mention of the historic fort. Similar to the change from Fort Warren Drive-In to Rutland Twin in 1980, the lack of the garden center’s adoption of the fort name reflects the fact that by the late 1970s, Fort Warren was no longer the recognizable local landmark it once had been in 1949. In fact, advertisements from the Garden Center cite the drive-in itself as the nearby landmark: “[located] across from the Fort Warren Drive-In.”<sup>90</sup>

Despite the declining relevance of Fort Warren and dominance of the drive-in, the final business to utilize the namesake of Fort Warren opened in 1967 and continues to operate under this moniker to the present. Preceded by the Fort Warren Sports Center, which was open from 1967 to 1970, Fort Warren Mobile Homes opened in February 1970 in Castleton, and, akin to the drive-in and restaurant, it was also opened within the immediate vicinity of Fort Warren on Route 4A. Located just east of the former Fort Warren Restaurant, this mobile home and trailer park remains open today. Thus, with its opening in 1970, the economic hub that sprouted from Fort Warren simultaneously hosted four different businesses, albeit short-lived ones.

The relevance of the Fort Warren businesses to the local area in the late twentieth century is reflected in the teenage gang that found their namesake in one of them. In 1994, a group of teenagers from Rutland City organized themselves into a self-declared “mob,” unknowingly offering the peculiar instance in which the history of the Revolutionary War forts was adopted into criminality. They called themselves the “Fort Warren Mob,” or “FWM” for short.<sup>91</sup> Although it was reported that they picked up the name from the Fort Warren Drive-In, it is more



likely that it was actually derived from the trailer park, as the drive-in had not officially had “Fort Warren” in its name for fourteen years by the time of the FWM.<sup>92</sup> Regardless of how the group adopted the name, the gang shows the transition of the public memory from historical commercialization of the forts to the use of their memory by reprobate teenagers, who would likely never have known about the fort had it not been for the trailer park. The Fort Warren Mob was short lived; if it was not dissolved soon after their news debut in 1994, perhaps the group did not commit organized crime shocking enough to warrant news coverage after 1994. Just as the criminal tenure of the Fort Warren Mob faded into obscurity, so did the cultural relevance of the Rutland County forts at large.

The Fort Warren Trailer Park is the last of the businesses originally established around the Fort Warren grounds during the commercialization period of the late 1900s that has survived time’s cruel indifference to historical memory. All the others closed or were sold by the end of the twentieth century. The first of them was the Fort Warren Motel and Restaurant, which closed in 1972, and perhaps this should have forewarned the eventual collapse of the Fort Warren business district.<sup>93</sup> Following the motel, the once renowned Fort Warren Drive-In Theatre, too, closed. Its longstanding presence in the Castleton community notwithstanding, the drive-in ultimately fell victim to the declining popularity experienced by drive-ins in the late 1900s, and the land was sold as commercial property in 1992.<sup>94</sup> Finally, the Castleton Garden Center closed in 1997, leaving the trailer park the last business remaining to carry on Fort Warren’s fiscal legacy through the present.<sup>95</sup>

Thus, while the history and legacy of the Rutland County forts were memorialized for their historical significance in the early twentieth century, as the wave of patriotism evoked by the 1876 centennial calmed, the public remembered the forts through the capitalization and commercialization of their history in the latter half of the century. Through the several local businesses erected around the Fort Warren, the consumer-orientated public turned the historic intersection that was once home to the western defense of the northern frontier into an economic hub in Castleton. Rather than commemorating the history of the long-gone military post, the several businesses used the fort as a branding namesake to indicate their location to consumers as part of local common knowledge. Over time, however, the relevance of the fort faded and the various businesses around it followed suit, and by 1980 they either closed or rebranded.

The Revolutionary War forts of Rutland County were not merely footnotes of Vermont’s Revolutionary War history, but rather cultural

landmarks of their communities in the decades and centuries that followed. Their public memory was first demonstrated in the physical relationship shared by the civilians and the forts and later evolved into more than a century of cultural remembrance: they were the subject of historical dedications during the turn of the twentieth century before becoming cultural focal points in local theater, celebration, and commercialism that trademarked midcentury consumer culture. Given the long history of these commemorations, questions arise as to why these historic forts, which were so locally significant to the western Vermont region, have been all but lost to time. The answer may lie in a study of their geography and its change over time, which gradually erased the forts' physical footprint.

#### GHOSTS

The grounds of Fort Warren, Fort Rutland, Fort Ranger, and Fort Vengeance have all but vanished to those who are not historically inclined. Fort Warren, once a powerful defensive position guarding Vermont's interior on the western part of the frontier, has been reduced to a mere shadow of its former glory. The fort's plateau, since reduced in size, now supports a local residence and apartment building as opposed to Castleton's former stockade. The destruction of the fort grounds traces back to the construction of the Delaware and Hudson railroad in the mid-1800s when, in laying the track, the railroad cut through and excavated the entire western and northern portion of the plateau.<sup>96</sup> Because it is comprised of natural gravel, the excavated portion of the plateau may have been used for the track bed; however, evidence exists that more than the physical earth was disturbed, as numerous burials, likely those of soldiers, were affected by the excavations as well. "When excavation was being made for the railroad through the old fort ground, human bones were exhumed, but nothing further was done with them than to dump them with the dirt."<sup>97</sup> The lasting legacy of Fort Warren—its surrounding businesses—have likewise begun to disappear. Since its closure in the 1990s, the Fort Warren Drive-In has become commercial property with no physical evidence of the screens remaining, and in addition to the trailer park, the other business has similarly closed.<sup>98</sup> The only remaining evidence of the fort's existence visible from the roadside is the 1904 DAR marker at the intersection, which has since had a parking lot built near it and is partially obscured by bushes, making it visible only to those who seek it.

Even less trace remains of Rutland's forts. Fort Ranger, the former headquarters that aimed to defend the interior near Mead's Falls, has

been totally lost to downtown Rutland's development; the construction of the Vermont state road system and its connecting roads that lead into Center Rutland erased any trace of the fort from the landscape. Likewise, Center Rutland's Fort Ranger met the same fate. If the DAR and Carl Hinsman's approximations of Fort Ranger's location are correct, at the intersection of North Main and Terrill streets, then the former fort site has been entirely covered by US Route 7 and the sprawling businesses that line the highway.<sup>99</sup>

The fort that has perhaps the most original land remaining is Fort Vengeance in Pittsford, whose 1873 marker still stands proud today with the green fields of Pittsford behind it. However, in line with the histories of the forts in Castleton and Rutland, the relevance of Fort Vengeance to the public diminished after the twentieth century. While visible from the roadside and truly an important piece of local history, the marker is bypassed by Route 7, the relevance of which trumped that of the monument site by the end of the century. The monument marking the site of Caleb Houghton's burial and approximate location of Fort Vengeance was moved roughly twenty-seven feet west-northwest from its original location in 1949 "so that it would stand further from the passing traffic of the southbound lane of Route 7."<sup>100</sup> This is further represented by the fact that rather than public interest in the fort, maintenance of the highway has been the root cause of historic preservation work on the site. As required by the National Historic Preservation Act, archaeological excavations were conducted there between 1999 and 2001 in preparation for construction of a significant upgrade to US Route 7.<sup>101</sup> As the marker is bypassed by the highway, drivers are required to go out of their way to stop and read the inscriptions on the marker. Moreover, the highway has a speed limit of 50 miles per hour, making it even less tempting for drivers to go out of their way to view the obelisk.

In general, the Rutland County forts have been seemingly forgotten by the State of Vermont after their historical dedications in the early 1900s. Perhaps the most evident reason for this may be that there is simply nothing tangible remaining of the forts for visitors to experience. Moreover, it is arguable that their history may have been overshadowed by other more visible historic sites in the region, such as the Hubbardton Battlefield, a protected Vermont State Historic Site that lies directly north of Castleton, west of Pittsford, and northwest of Rutland. The battlefield's superior importance as a historical tourist attraction over that of the forts is bluntly represented in the 1948 Board of Historic Sites placard at the Fort Warren intersection in Castleton,

in which it is readily apparent the battle is the intended focus of attention, not Fort Warren:

## **FORT WARREN**

BATTLE OF HUBBARDTON

Seven Miles North

----

Directly east is the elevation of Fort Warren, built in 1779 for defense of the northern frontier. The road from the north was route of American retreat before Burgoyne, protected by Col. Seth Warner's rearguard action at the Battle of Hubbardton, July 7, 1777.<sup>102</sup>

Although the sign is indeed marking the site of Fort Warren, the information presented to the reader upon the placard has much more to do with the Battle of Hubbardton than it does with the fort it is supposed to recognize.

Instead of promoting the Hubbardton Battlefield site, the space reserved on the placard could have provided readers a brief sketch of history more closely related to Fort Warren than to the battle that preceded it by two years. The Board of Historic Sites missed the opportunity to provide onlookers with the history of the forming of the northern frontier front in March 1779, the relationship between Fort Warren and the other Rutland County forts in defense of the Vermont interior, or a brief description of how the fort was constructed. However, perhaps the most important event the board overlooked is the July 6, 1777, Skirmish of Castleton, which was a historic moment in the history of early Castleton and represents the village's brush with the revolution.<sup>103</sup>

In the early settlement of Vermont, the wooden stockades built in Castleton, Pittsford, and Rutland between 1775 and 1780 served to defend the inhabitants of the Vermont interior from threats of British, Tory, and Native American forces. These forts were not inconsequential, as they had direct repercussions for the inhabitants of their respective towns, as represented in the cases of George Foot of Castleton and Caleb Hendee of Pittsford, both examples of settlers whose lives were changed in part by the forts' construction and operation.<sup>104</sup> The public memory of the forts begins almost immediately after the war's close in 1783, as the buildings and equipment of the several stockades was used by the inhabitants for various purposes, including habitation, celebration, public congregation, and commercialization.<sup>105</sup>

## LESSONS FROM THE PAST

The question then remains why these historic forts, with all of their centuries of local relevance and significance, slipped through the cracks of time? While it can be argued that urban development and lack of state protection led to the Rutland County forts' grounds being erased, these same challenges were overcome in other instances, for example the reconstruction of Fort Stanwix in Rome, NY<sup>106</sup> Another argument that could be made is that the Rutland County forts are merely too insignificant to national history to be worth rebuilding. Again, this challenge was overcome in Boonesborough, KY, with the restoration of Fort Boonesborough, which, similar to the Rutland County forts, represents the efforts of early Americans settling the frontier lands—be it the Kentucky region or the untamed Vermont landscape.<sup>107</sup>

In the most basic understanding, the forts were all victim of the cruel indifference of time, which encompasses all and spares few. The precise reasoning why the Rutland County forts in Castleton, Pittsford, and Rutland were not rebuilt and in turn have been largely forgotten is a question that warrants further historical research. From an academic standpoint, it is arguable that perhaps their geography, and erasure thereof, might have played a role in it. Regardless, study of Rutland County's Revolutionary War forts raises questions of contemporary interest regarding how historic sites have been remembered by generations past and how they are remembered in the twenty-first century. Specifically, who decides and what forces motivate a historic site being dedicated, let alone preserved.

It seems that public interest in local heritage was a driving factor in the remembrance of local historic sites during the twentieth century, with the Rutland County forts being the focal point of attention. In this case, the public's physical relationship and later cultural marriage with the several fort sites and their legacy resulted in an era of interaction between the public and the history that lasted for well over a century. One should ask whether or not a decline in public interest leads to the decay of a historical site or, inversely, the decay of a historical site leads to a declining public interest. It seems evident that, given that "other old buildings, some beloved to many Romans, were destroyed," an ironic consequence of Fort Stanwix's reconstruction, the latter theory has shown itself to be false.<sup>108</sup> In Rutland County, public interest in the forts faded, resulting in their present state as ghosts of the Vermont landscape—left behind from the contemporary public fascination with other local Revolutionary sites, such as the Hubbardton Battlefield.

As no physical traces of the Rutland County forts remain, their history and public memory has been swiftly overshadowed by the sites

that can be visited, experienced, and remembered. It is up to us, then, historians and the public alike, to aptly remember these historic places. Truly, the historic evolution of the forts' public memory from their physical ties to the region and people, to their century of rich cultural commemoration and commercialization, and finally to their diminished local significance, warrant our attention. If not to remember the forts themselves, then to learn how to remember others.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> Henry P. Smith and William S. Rann, *History of Rutland County, Vermont, with Illustrations and Biographical Sketches of Some of its Prominent Men and Pioneers* (Syracuse, NY: D. Mason & Co. Publishers, 1886), 307, 516, 727.

<sup>2</sup> "Historical Incidents—No. II—Pittsford Forts," *Rutland Weekly Herald*, 29 March 1848, 1; "Historical Incidents—No. 9—Rutland Forts," *Rutland Weekly Herald*, 19 July 1848, 1.

<sup>3</sup> E. P. Walton, ed., *Records of the Council of Safety and Governor and Council of the State of Vermont, July 1775 to December 1777*, vol. 1 (Montpelier, VT: Steam Press of J. & J. M. Poland, 1873), 295–296; note that all direct quotes hereafter of militia orders, correspondence, and the like are transcribed as written from source material. The "Board of War" was the State of Vermont's military council, consisting of the governor and councilmen. The board was responsible for state-directed military activities and operations, such as the construction of forts and movement of soldiers.

<sup>4</sup> "Historical Incidents of this Vicinity—No. 9—Rutland Forts"; James Davidson, "Eighteenth-Century Rutland: Part II: Revolutionary Rutland," *Rutland Historical Society Quarterly* 21, 1 (1991): 1–2.

<sup>5</sup> Walton, ed., *Governor and Council* 1: 266.

<sup>6</sup> Smith and Rann, *History of Rutland County*, 306; John A. Williams, *State Papers of Vermont 17, The Public Papers of Governor Thomas Chittenden* (Barre, VT: Modern Printing Company, 1969): 266.

<sup>7</sup> Caverly, *History of the Town of Pittsford*, 121–22, 135.

<sup>8</sup> Smith and Rann, *History of Rutland County*, 58–59; Lyman Williams Redington, comp., *Centennial Celebration of the Organization of Rutland County, Vt.* (Montpelier, VT: Argus and Patriot Book Print, 1882), 22.

<sup>9</sup> Walton, ed., *Governor and Council* 1: 253, 296; Caverly, *History of the Town of Pittsford*, 152.

<sup>10</sup> Robert O. Bascom, et al., "The Ticonderoga Expedition of 1775," *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association* 9 (1910): 329; Smith and Rann, *History of Rutland County*, 521.

<sup>11</sup> Ancestry.com, US Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty—Land Warrant Application Files, 1800–1900, Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Number W.19717.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*; "Revolutionary Sketches," *Brandon Vermont Union Whig*, 29 April 1847, 2.

<sup>14</sup> This was likely named after Col. Gideon Warren, who served as colonel for the Fifth (or Third, this is disputed between the *Rolls of the Soldiers* and the *Governor and Council* 1) Regiment of Vermont Troops, which was comprised of companies from modern-day Rutland County, including the towns of Rutland, Castleton, and Pittsford. "Apprisement of ox killed at Fort Warren," *Manuscript Vermont State Papers*, Vermont State Archives and Records Administration (VSARA), SE-118, Vol. 8, 261; John E. Goodrich, ed., *The State of Vermont: Rolls of the Soldiers in the Revolutionary War, 1775 to 1783* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle Company, 1904), 144; Walton, ed., *Governor and Council* 1: 260.

<sup>15</sup> Williams, *State Papers* 17: 314; E. P. Walton, ed., *Records of the Council of Safety and Governor and Council of the State of Vermont*, vol. 2 (Montpelier, VT: Steam Press of J. & J. M. Poland, 1874): 109.

<sup>16</sup> Walton, *Governor and Council* 2: 111; Ancestry.com, US Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty–Land Warrant Application Files, 1800–1900, Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Number 17320.

<sup>17</sup> Walton, ed., *Governor and Council* 1: 295; Goodrich, ed., *Rolls*, 593. The pension applications of William Post and George Alford, who both served at Fort Warren, confirm the use of cannon at the fort; Ancestry.com, US Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty–Land Warrant Application Files, 1800–1900, Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Number S.22442.; *Manuscript Vermont State Papers*, VSARA, SE-118, Vol. 8, 72; Ancestry.com, US Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty–Land Warrant Application Files, 1800–1900, Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Number S.28969.

<sup>18</sup> Walton, ed., *Governor and Council* 1: 266.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 301.

<sup>20</sup> The construction of Fort Warren can be dated to as early as April 15, 1779, as a document from the time directly referenced the fort in the matter of the appraisement of an ox killed there. “Appraisement of ox killed at Fort Warren,” *Manuscript Vermont State Papers*, SE-118, Vol. 8, 261; Goodrich, ed., *Rolls*, 486.

<sup>21</sup> Smith and Rann, *History of Rutland County*, 524–25; Goodrich, ed., *Rolls*, 119, 121, 144, 158.

<sup>22</sup> Caverly, *History of the Town of Pittsford*, 41, 152; *Manuscript Vermont State Papers*, VSARA, SE-118, Vol. 8, 169.

<sup>23</sup> Edward A. Hoyt, ed., *State Papers of Vermont* 8, *General Petitions, 1788–1792* (Montpelier, VT: Secretary of State): 59; *Manuscript Vermont State Papers*, VSARA, SE-118, Vol. 17, 57.

<sup>24</sup> Rawson C. Myrick, *State Papers of Vermont*, 3, *Journals and Proceedings of the State of Vermont* (Bellows Falls, VT: Wyndham Press, 1928): 236.

<sup>25</sup> Myrick, *State Papers* 3: 73, 87, 150; Hoyt, ed. *State Papers* 8: 150, 257, 258; *Manuscript Vermont State Papers*, VSARA, SE-118, Vol. 17, 114.

<sup>26</sup> Caverly, *History of the Town of Pittsford*, 232.

<sup>27</sup> Randolph, (VT) *Weekly Wanderer*, 23 July 1803, 3; “The Burgoyne Kettle,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 13 April 1925, 7.

<sup>28</sup> “Historical Incidents—No. 9,” *Rutland Weekly Herald*, 19 July 1848, 1.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Smith and Rann, *History of Rutland County*, 544; Margaret Adams, “The Castleton Church and Its Ministry,” [paper] (Rutland: Tuttle Co., 1900), 20.

<sup>31</sup> Castleton Congregational Church, *Manual for the Communicants of the First Congregational Church in Castleton, Vt.*, (Rutland, VT: Herald Office Print, 1839), A2.

<sup>32</sup> Town Meeting of April 16, 1784, *Town Records of Castleton*, 1: 36, Castleton town clerk’s office.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> Town meeting of July 10, 1786, *Town Records of Castleton*, 1: 41.

<sup>35</sup> Town meeting of August 3, 1784, *Town Records of Castleton*, 1: 37.

<sup>36</sup> Smith and Rann, *History of Rutland County*, 527.

<sup>37</sup> “[Ball ticket], Castleton Independence–Ball, 1803: The company of [Mr. W. Sanford] is desired at Majr. McIntosh’s Assembly–room,” *Digital Vermont: A Project of the Vermont Historical Society*, accessed March 6, 2023, <https://www.digitalvermont.org/items/show/31>.

<sup>38</sup> *Weekly Wanderer*, 23 July 1803, 3.

<sup>39</sup> “Historical Incidents—No. II.” When discussing ordnance of the eighteenth and nineteenth century, caliber for cannons and artillery was measured not in diameter, but in the weight of the ball the cannon shot. In this case, a “six-pound cannon” would have used a six-pound ball.

<sup>40</sup> “Melancholy,” *Rutland Vermont Mercury*, 11 July 1803, 3.

<sup>41</sup> *Weekly Wanderer*, 23 July 1803, 3. Given that the length of a rod is 16.5 feet or 5.5 yards, the cannon fragments were thrown an estimated 220 and 275 yards in distance from the explosion.

<sup>42</sup> “Historical Incidents—No. II.”

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*; *Rutland Daily Globe*, 27 August 1873, 2; “Early Rutland Settlers Had Own Defense Problem,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 14 May 1941, 13. Although it cannot be known for sure if the cannon that was used in the fateful 1803 celebration was from Fort Vengeance, the evidence confirms that Fort Warren possessed cannon of a matching description to the one touched off by William T. Hall. “In the fall of 1781 and after the expiration of the time of service above mentioned, while he [George Alford] lived at Rutland, there issued an alarm given by the firing of cannons at Castleton Fort.” Ancestry.com, US Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty–Land Warrant Application Files, 1800–1900, Records of the Department of Veterans Affairs, Record Number S.28969.

- <sup>44</sup> “A Valuable Farm for Sale,” *Rutland County Herald*, 21 January 1804, 3.
- <sup>45</sup> Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Rutland County, VT., for 1881–82*, (Syracuse, NY: Printed at the Journal Office, 1881), 106; 1870, 1880 United States Federal Census; *Poultney (VT) Journal*, 4 April 1884, 2.
- <sup>46</sup> “The Burgoyne Kettle,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 13 April 1925, 7; “Castleton in 1777,” *Rutland Independent*, 23 January 1869, 4.
- <sup>47</sup> According to Smith and Rann, S. H. Langdon operated a furnace from 1835 to 1854; Smith and Rann, *History of Rutland County*, 532.
- <sup>48</sup> Redington, comp., *Centennial Celebration*, 129.
- <sup>49</sup> *Rutland Independent*, 23 January 1869, 4; Redington, comp., *Centennial Celebration*, 173.
- <sup>50</sup> Abby Maria Hemenway, *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer: A Magazine Embracing a History of Each Town, Civil, Ecclesiastical, Biographical and Military*, vol. 3, *Orleans and Rutland Counties* (Claremont, NH: Claremont Manufacturing Company, 1877): 513, 943, 1082–1083; Caverly, *History of the Town of Pittsford*; Smith and Rann, *History of Rutland County*.
- <sup>51</sup> Caverly, *History of the Town of Pittsford*; “Pittsford: Dedication of the Monument,” *Rutland Daily Globe*, 29 August 1873, 2.
- <sup>52</sup> Town of Pittsford, *Fort Vengeance Marker and Caleb Houghton Memorial*, 1873 (marble inscription carving), viewed 8 February 2023; “Pittsford: Dedication of the Monument.”
- <sup>53</sup> Sons of the Revolution, *Year Book of the Society of Sons of the Revolution in the State of New York* (New York: Exchange Printing Company, 1893), 10.
- <sup>54</sup> The Press Publishing Co., *The World Almanac and Encyclopedia: 1915* (New York: Press Publishing Co., 1915), 583.
- <sup>55</sup> National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 47 (July 1915): 234; “Historical Incidents—No. 9.”
- <sup>56</sup> Simon Wendt, *The Daughters of the American Revolution and Patriotic Memory in the Twentieth Century* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2020), 23.
- <sup>57</sup> “A Chapter of Daughters of the American Revolution in Rutland,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 31 August 1892, 4.
- <sup>58</sup> Ann Story Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, *Fort Ranger Erection Site*, 1901. (stone inscription carving, Rutland, Vermont).
- <sup>59</sup> *Burlington Free Press*, 25 June 1903, 7.
- <sup>60</sup> Ann Story Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, *Conflict—Site of Fort Warren*, 1904 (stone inscription carving, Castleton, Vermont).
- <sup>61</sup> “Holding the Fort in Pittsford and Florence in 1942,” *Fort Vengeance Flyer*, 1 January 1942, 1.
- <sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>63</sup> *Fort Vengeance Flyer*, 1 May 1945, 1–2.
- <sup>64</sup> “Holding the Fort,” 3.
- <sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*; *Fort Vengeance Flyer*, 1 January 1943, 1 January 1944, 1 January 1945, 1 May 1945.
- <sup>66</sup> “4-H Leaders Plan Exhibits For Rutland Fair Program,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 29 August 1949, 7; “Fort Ranger 4-H Boys Initiate Three Members,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 1 December 1953, 7.
- <sup>67</sup> “16 4-H Clubs Get Excellent Ratings at Fair,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 8 September 1950, 12; “Pittsford 4-H Club Plans Christmas Party,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 5 December 1962, 6; “Center Rutland Club Plans Camping Trip,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 4 May 1954, 7.
- <sup>68</sup> “Historical Pageant Will Be Repeated Today in Pittsford,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 8 July 1959, 27.
- <sup>69</sup> “Pittsford History 1758–1759: A Pageant,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 3 July 1959, 12.
- <sup>70</sup> “Historical Pageant,” “Pittsford Pageant Tryouts Tomorrow in Maclure Library,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 11 June 1959, 12.
- <sup>71</sup> Caverly, *History of the Town of Pittsford*, 156, 161.
- <sup>72</sup> “Pittsford,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 7 July 1959, 7.
- <sup>73</sup> “Pittsford Pageant Tryouts.”
- <sup>74</sup> [Photograph] “Betsy Hudson as Betsey Cox after her capture by Indians,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 9 July 1959, 12.
- <sup>75</sup> [Photograph], “Pittsford boys dressed as Indians,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 9 July 1959, 12.
- <sup>76</sup> “Reconstruction of Two Old Log Forts in Rutland is Suggested,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 6 January 1939, 7.
- <sup>77</sup> “Reconstruction,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 6 January 1939, 7.
- <sup>78</sup> “Historical Incidents—No. 9.”



- <sup>79</sup> “4 Markers Are Erected,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 19 November 1948, 11; *Rutland Daily Herald*, 17 January 1949, 13.
- <sup>80</sup> Gerald A. DeLuca, “Rutland Twin Drive-In,” *Cinema Treasures* (blog), accessed October 1, 2022, <http://cinematreasures.org/theaters/36902/photos/244766>.
- <sup>81</sup> “Joining up for Greater Security,” *Barre Daily Times*, 26 January 1948, 3.
- <sup>82</sup> National Life Insurance Company, “Protecting the American Home,” print advertisement (1948). Referenced from a physical copy of the advertisement.
- <sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>84</sup> “Welcome to Fort Warren Restaurant,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 30 October 1959, 14.
- <sup>85</sup> “Fort Warren Restaurant,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 14 November 1959, 10.
- <sup>86</sup> *Rutland Daily Herald*, 24 November 1967, 20; “West Rutland,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 20 August 1970, 13.
- <sup>87</sup> “The Oldest Drive-In Will Close in Style,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 21 October 1975, 11.
- <sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>89</sup> “Two Screens Drive-In,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 20 June 1980, 28; “Coming Soon: Grand Opening of ‘Rutland Twin Drive-In,’” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 23 July 1980, 19.
- <sup>90</sup> “Grand Opening,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 1 October 1975, 30.
- <sup>91</sup> “Group Has Rutland Worried Gangs Have Arrived,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 2 October 1994, 27.
- <sup>92</sup> “Clint Eastwood,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 11 July 1980, 11.
- <sup>93</sup> *Rutland Daily Herald*, 24 November 1967, 20; “West Rutland”; “Motel Owners, Fuel Company Named in Suit,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 28 April 1972, 20.
- <sup>94</sup> “36-Commercial Property For Sale,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 15 April 1992, 22; Mary Morley Cohen, “Forgotten Audiences in the Passion Pits: Drive-in Theatres and Changing Spectator Practices in Post-war America,” *Film History* 6 (1994): 484.
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- <sup>97</sup> Currier, John M., comp., *Memorial Exercises Held in Castleton, Vermont, in the Year 1885*, (Albany, NY: Joel Munsell’s Sons, 1885), 63.
- <sup>98</sup> “36-Commerical”; “2 Bedroom,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 23 March 2012.
- <sup>99</sup> “Reconstruction.”
- <sup>100</sup> United States Department of the Interior, *Fort Vengeance Monument Site [VT-RU-216] Registration Form*, Christopher L. Borstel. No. 10024-0018, (National Register of Historic Places, 2006), Section 7, 22.
- <sup>101</sup> Department of the Interior, *Fort Vengeance Registration Form*, Section 7, 21.
- <sup>102</sup> Board of Historic Sites (VT), *Fort Warren: Battle of Hubbardton*, 1948 (painted metal placard, Castleton, Vermont).
- <sup>103</sup> Ancestry.com, US Revolutionary War, W.19717.
- <sup>104</sup> Goodrich, ed., *Rolls*, 119, 121, 144, 158; Hoyt, ed., *State Papers* 8: 59.
- <sup>105</sup> Caverly, *History of the Town of Pittsford*, 232; “Melancholy”; “Historical Incidents—No. II,” *Rutland Independent*, 23 January 1869, 4; Redington, comp., *Centennial Celebration*, 173.
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- <sup>107</sup> O’Malley, *Boonesborough Unearthed*, 136–38.
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