Cultural Resources Survey of the Bennington Battlefield Walloomsac, New York

ABPP Grant GA-2287-14-013

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Prepared for:

New York State Office of Parks, Recreation, and Historic Preservation
Albany, New York

Prepared by:

Commonwealth Heritage Group, Inc.
West Chester, Pennsylvania

APPENDIX
OCTOBER 2017

COMMONWEALTH HERITAGE GROUP

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625 Broadway, 2nd Floor
Albany, New York 12207

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APPENDIX A. ARCHEOLOGICAL FINDINGS

The metal detection survey undertaken as part of this project investigated both State-owned and private property. Overall, metal detecting was completed on 12 parcels of land and approximately 53 acres were investigated (Figure 48). [redacted]

The Commonwealth metal detectorists included professional archeologists Chris Espenshade, Kevin Bradley, and Mark Ludlow. All three had prior experience metal detecting on battlefield sites. Espenshade is the co-founder and instructor for Advanced Metal Detecting for the Archaeologist (AMDA), a continuing education class that is certified by the Register of Professional Archaeologists. Bradley and Ludlow are graduates of AMDA.

Espenshade detected with a Fisher Labs Gold Bug Pro with double-D coil. Bradley detected with a Minelab E-trac, and Ludlow detected with an XP Deus 3.2. All three detectors allow ground-balancing to cancel out signals from the soil, and all surpass the minimum recommended standards of the AMDA. All three detectorists used Garrett pin-pointers. The field crew used a Trimble GPS unit with sub-meter accuracy to record the boundaries of surveyed areas and all metal detector finds (MDFs).

Commonwealth and NY Parks publicized four weekend days when avocational metal detectorists could contribute to the field investigations. On these days, the volunteers were first given a briefing on the methods to follow for the detecting. All volunteers signed liability waivers and permission for NY Parks and Commonwealth to use photographs taken on volunteer days. The volunteers were then placed in lanes approximately 1.5-meters apart defined by masons' twine, in corn rows, or in positions in wooded areas. The volunteers were supervised at all times by the three or four Commonwealth archeologists and David Pitlyk of NY Parks. Volunteers were provided with certificates of appreciation.

For all metal detection, discovered artifacts that were possibly battle-related were assigned a MDF number, flagged, and bagged. The field director maintained a running tally of MDF numbers and recorded the artifact description and data on GPS plotting. The crew was encouraged to use hand-held pin-pointers to help limit the necessary size of the excavations. Sod, tree litter, and topsoil will be excavated onto tarps, to allow the easy backfilling of the excavations. No targets were left unexcavated at the end of the day and all MDF flags were GPS plotted and removed at the end of the day.

Of the total artifacts recovered, 221 appear to be associated with the Battle of Bennington (Appendix B). Perhaps not surprisingly, ammunition of various types comprised the largest component of recovered battle-related artifacts. One hundred and forty-seven artifacts were found that represent lead rifle, musket, and buckshot balls and iron caseshot (sometimes called grapeshot). The range in caliber size is indicative of the opposing forces engaged at Bennington; there is a considerable range of shot size reflecting the presence of rifles, muskets, carbines, fowling pieces, and other shoulder arms carried by the American militia force. Indeed, it is difficult to separate out the "formal" infantry units, such as the Brunswick grenadiers, dragoons and jaegers, or the British riflemen, since there is such a range of shot sizes. Only a small number of lead balls (n=9) fall within the range of 0.67 to 0.71-inch diameter balls that may be representative of "German"

muskets, which had a 0.72-inch bore, but a considerably larger number of lead balls measure approximately 0.615-inches, the size of ammunition for carbines such as the Brunswick dragoons carried. It is possible that the large size caliber (at least one 0.70-inch ball and one 0.71-inch ball were recovered) may be associated with a different type of musket, such as a Committee of Safety musket, some of which had very large bore diameters.

Table 12. Summary of Locations where artifacts associated with the Battle of Bennington were recovered

Location	Rifle Balls	Musket Balls	Buckshot	Caseshot (Grapeshot)	Total
[redacted]	20	30	8	10	58
[redacted]	7	5	9	4	21
[redacted]	21	17	4	-	42
[redacted]	1		1	-	2
[redacted]	2	9	-	-	11
[redacted]	5	2	-	-	7
[redacted]	-	1	-	-	1
[redacted]	-	1	1	-	2
Total	56	65	23	14	158

Fourteen iron grapeshot balls were found during the survey; [redacted] The iron balls range in size from 0.80 inches to 0.92 inches. These shot represent discharges from the 3-pound guns that Baum had with his expeditionary force. The ball diameters are close to the size prescribed for 3-pound guns.[354]

[353] These are more accurately termed case shot for a 3-pound gun; see Douglas R. Cubbison, *"The Artillery Never Gained More Honour": The British Artillery in the 1776 Valcour Island Campaign and 1777 Saratoga Campaign* (Fleischmans: Purple Mountain Press, 2007), 32.

[354] David McConnell, McConnell, *British Smooth-Bore Artillery: A Technological Study (*Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1998), 501.

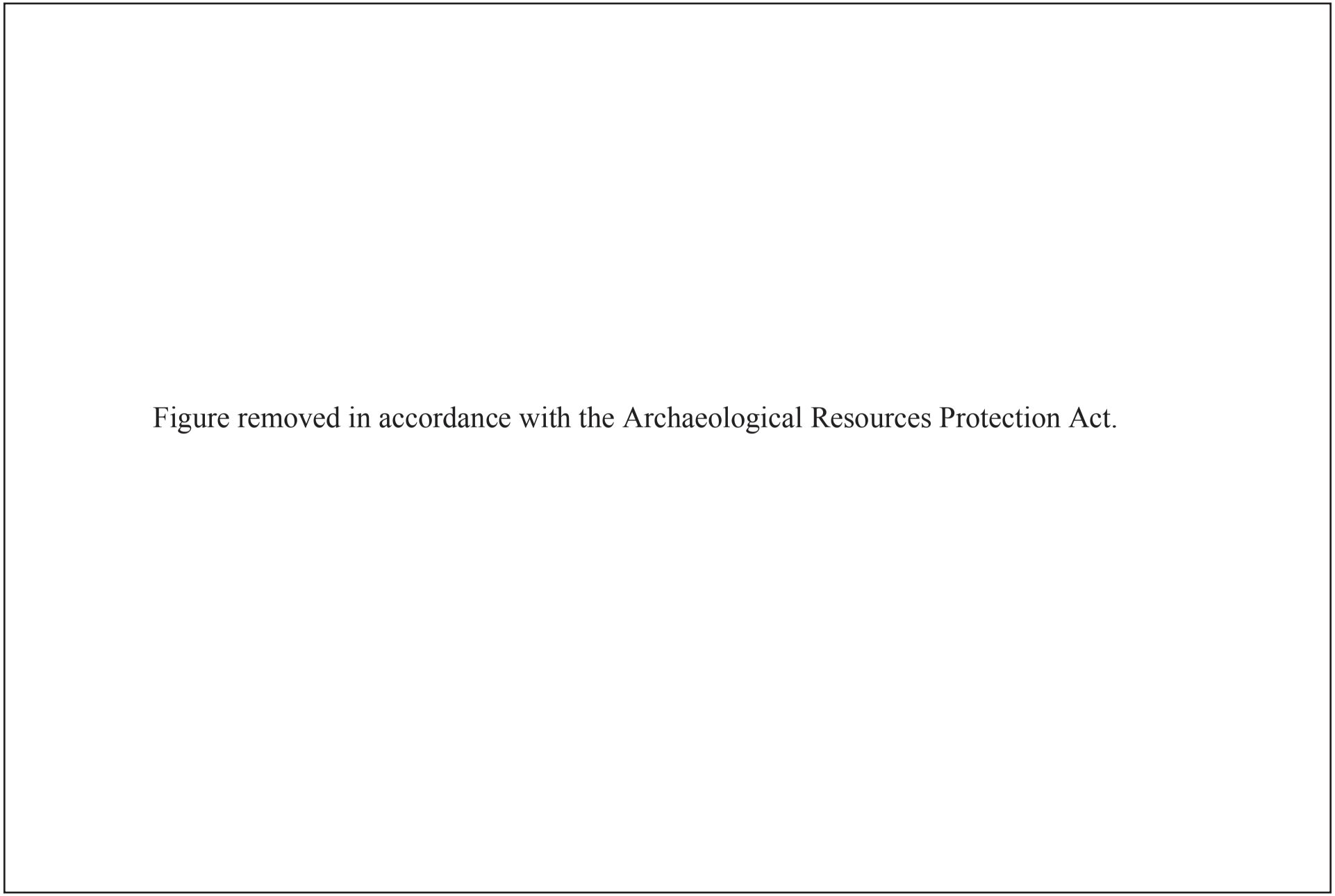


Figure 48. [redacted].

A.1 "GERMAN" REDOUBT

The archeological work near the "German" Redoubt (historically the location is erroneously identified as a Hessian redoubt, when the defenders were more accurately Brunswick soldiers and British rangers) examined [redacted] Obvious modern disturbance limited our ability to retrieve data from the entire extent of the suspected redoubt (Figure 49).

Plate removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Plate 1. [redacted]

A.1.1 Fired Rounds, Dropped Rounds, and Dropped Equipage

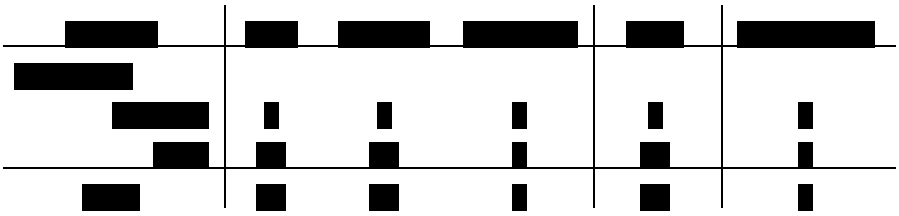
The historical record indicates that the German Redoubt was manned by the three companies of Brunswick dragoons and the British rangers. The dragoons occupied the east, northeast and northwest walls of the log breastwork, while the rangers occupied the west side. [redacted] The use of "buck and ball" cartridges by American soldiers was common beginning in the early years of the war, and in June of 1776 General Washington recommended that for initial volleys muskets be loaded with one musket ball and from four-to-eight buckshot, depending on the type of musket.[355] While the use of a buck and ball load was recognized as common practice in the Continental Army, it was not until

[355] General Orders June 29, 1776. *The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741-1799*. Letterbook 1, image 263. The Series 3g, The Varick Transcripts.

several months after the Battle of Bennington, on 6 October 1777, that Washington made the practice standard for his troops, by ordering that "buckshot shall be put into all cartridges which shall hereafter be made."[356] Whether the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental forces were followed by the various state militias is unknown, but certainly the number of buckshot recovered at the Bennington battlefield suggests that at least some soldiers were using a "buck and ball" cartridge. Archeological examples of buck and ball cartridges have been recovered on the Camden Battlefield, South Carolina. Two complete loads of one musket ball (.69 caliber) and three buckshot were found in an unplowed context. Additional metal detection reports record the recovery of a cache of nine musket balls (.69 caliber) with twenty-seven buckshot.[357] A wide range of buckshot sizes have been recovered from other Revolutionary War battlefields, including Monmouth and Waxhaws.[358]

[redacted]

Table 13. [redacted]



[356] General Orders October 6. *The George Washington Papers at the Library of Congress, 1741- 1799*. Letterbook 1, image 263. The Series 3g, The Varick Transcripts.
[357] James B. Legg, Steven D. Smith, and Tamara S. Wilson, *Understanding Camden: The Revolutionary War Battle of Camden as Revealed through Historical, Archaeological and Private Collections Analysis* (Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2005), 104.
[358] Legg, Smith and Wilson, *Understanding Camden*, 102-104; Scott Butler, *Metal Detector Survey and Battlefield Delineation of the Buford's Massacre (Waxhaws) Revolutionary War Battlefield, SC Route 9 and SC Route 522 Intersection Improvements* (South Carolina Department of Transportation, 2011); Steven D. Smith, James B. Legg, and Tamara S. Wilson *The Archaeology of the Camden Battlefield: History, Private Collections, and Field Investigations*. (Columbia: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2009), 70.

[redacted] This pattern is consistent with the Germans having fired volleys as the Americans came out of the woods, but not having much time to reload and fire again before the Americans stormed the log-work.

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Figure 49. [redacted]

[redacted]

A.1.2 Possible Blooded Rounds

[redacted] suggests that these three positives may relate the point where the Rebels broke from the trees and were first exposed to German small arms fire and a round of grape shot (grape shot were not examined for the presumptive presence of blood, because the iron material is prone to false positives). [redacted]

A.1.3 Caseshot or Grapeshot

The recovery of nine pieces of grapeshot allowed us to model the likely location of the 3-pounder. [redacted]

Table 14. [redacted]

[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

In his study of British smooth-bore artillery, B.P. Hughes provides data to indicate that grapeshot fired from a 3-pounder spreads to a circle measuring 32 feet (approximately 10 meters) in diameter at 300 feet (approximately 100 meters) from the artillery piece.[359] That spread was determined through testing in an open field free of trees. When firing into woods, there will be some ricochets that distort the pattern. For the area in front of the German Redoubt, these data suggest that the observed cluster is probably the product of a single load of grapeshot.

[redacted] Because the archival record is clear that this piece of artillery was inside the northwest corner of the German Redoubt, our solution line validates the suspected location of the northwest corner. [redacted]

A.1.4 GPR at the German Redoubt

[redacted] These GPR findings are consistent

[359] Major General B.P. Hughes, *British Smooth-bore Artillery: The Muzzle Loading Artillery of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Harrisburg, Pa: Stackpole Books, 1969).

with the accounts that suggest the breastwork was a ground-supported, log structure that lacked any sub-surface element.

A.1.5 Archeological Contribution to Battle Reconstruction

The archeological results suggest that the Americans were able to move unchallenged into position across the entire saddle and [redacted] from the German Redoubt. Although topography was in the favor of the Germans, the wooded nature of the saddle provided crucial concealment to the Americans (Figure 50). The engagement at the German Redoubt was intense and short. The first-person account by Brunswick Surgeon Julius Wasmus described the action as "...Our dragoons fired up volleys on the enemy in cold blood and with much courage, and it did not take them long to load their carbines behind the breastworks. But as soon as they rose up to take aim, bullets went through their heads. They fell backwards and no longer moved a finger. Thus, in a short time, our tallest and best dragoons were sent into eternity. The [German] cannon shot...sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left and then again forward into the brush" (Wasmus account, Appendix G). Wasmus' reports multiple cannon discharges and volley of small arms fire. [redacted] Following volleys by the Germans, the American militia quickly covered the remaining [redacted] and stormed the log redoubt.

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Figure 50. [redacted]

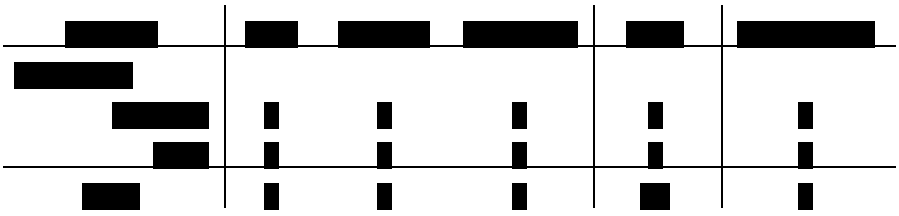
Our findings suggest that the vegetation patterns in this area are reversed from the time of the battle. That is, the existing grass fields (B) would have been wooded at the time of the battle, while the present woods between the redoubt and the inferred field or fire (A) would have been cleared. This portion of the battlefield could be more clearly interpreted if the vegetation pattern was changed to what existed at the time of the battle.

The 3-pounder was not brought into action until late in the American approach, likely when the Americans first appeared on the tree line. The possibility that only a single round of grapeshot was fired from this location suggests that the artillery crew was wounded, killed, or overrun rapidly after the firing began. Brunswick Surgeon Wasmus commented on the silencing of the German 3-pounder, recalling that "The cannon in our entrenchment was quiet because the sergeant artificer who commanded it, had been shot; the 8 men at the cannon were either shot or wounded" (Wasmus account, Appendix G). The 3-pounder muzzle was located approximately on the line defined by [redacted]

A.2 TORY REDOUBT

The archeological work included intensive metal detector survey of the entire state-owned field by volunteers, [redacted] The possibility that these three rounds (one fired, two dropped) may represent the muskets carried by the Germans is interesting, since this was exclusively a Loyalist, or Tory, defensive position. It is conceivable that the Loyalist militiamen were issued weapons when they entered Baum's camp, and did not bring weapons from home. Baum mentions the lack of weapons in his 14 August 1777 letter to General Burgoyne, stating that "...People [loyalists] are flocking in hourly, but want to be armed" (Appendix C). Alternatively, these rounds may be indicative of British weapons (such as the "Brown Bess") or large caliber Committee of Safety muskets.

Table 15. [redacted]



A.2.1 Fired Rounds, Dropped Rounds, and Dropped Equipage

[redacted] As discussed further below, this pattern is consistent with the expectations for the majority of the dropped items to have been deposited behind [redacted] the redoubt, and the majority of fired shots having come from Rebels flanking from the wooded gulley and firing on Tories behind the redoubt.

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Figure 51. [redacted]

A.2.2 Possible Blooded Rounds

[redacted] that the most intensive action occurred at the southern end of the redoubt, which received heavy fire as the Rebels exited the ravine and fired at relatively short range on the exposed Tories. We feel that these casualties occurred behind the breastwork, and can help place the breastwork on the landform.

A.2.3 Grapeshot

[redacted] If a single shot (as suspected), it is most likely that the load was fired from the German 3-pound gun situated above the bridge after the Tories had been routed from the redoubt and the militia under Colonel Herrick had overwhelmed the defenders.

[redacted]

Grapeshot was highly ineffective at approximately 400 meters from the muzzle. The British generally did not deploy grape shot at targets more than 350 yards from a 3-pounder. [redacted] The single round may have served to create a moment of caution among the Rebels, but they would have quickly recognized that they were outside effective range.

The grapeshot provides validation on the relative order of the battle. The 3-pounder was still in German possession when the Tory Redoubt fell.

A.2.4 GPR

Prospection on the hill where the Tory Redoubt was located did not yield a well-defined linear feature. Instead, a concentration of anomalies was noted. It was determined that a gridded survey would potentially yield more data if there were any subtle traces left of the Revolutionary War defenses. Five grids of data were collected, yielding a "cross" of data across the top of the hill. Post-processing the data yielded a relatively quiet data set. Linear features in the form of plow scar patterns were visible across the top of the data set. [redacted] (Figure 52).

[redacted]

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Figure 52. [redacted]

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Figure 53. [redacted]

The Tory Redoubt breastwork may have been constructed by excavating trenches in front of and behind an artificially created berm and mounding the dirt in a interior firing step. Nathaniel Wallace from Pownal, Vermont, recalled that the Tory Redoubt was built of "…stakes and pieces of timber set close together at the bottom, so as to be impenetrable to bullets, while the tops diverged, thus leaving a space for the soldiers to direct their fire. Upon the inside at the foot of the upright timbers, was thrown up a platform of logs and earth which was high enough to enable the combatants to bring their faces up to the aperture. Here they discharged their guns, stepped down from this elevation, and no longer exposed to danger, re-loaded their pieces."[360] The only features that may have survived below the plow zone would have been the basal portions of the two ditches, and these would have been spaced 3-4 meters from one another. When Benson Lossing visited Bennington Battlefield in 1848 he noted that "…from the hill a few rods south of the place where Peters's Tories were intrenched (slight traces of the mounds were still visible) we had a fine view of the whole battle-ground."[361]

There is oral history that the remnants of the earthworks were visible into the 1970s [redacted] It is possible that this anomaly represents the very shallow, back-filled and plowed ditches of the breastwork. The position and orientation of the anomaly correspond to the best guess location of the breastwork [redacted] Since the anomaly is extremely subtle and was only visible after post-processing, it was not subjected to ground-truth excavation.

[redacted]

[360] Maria Abby Hemenway, *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer: A Magazine, embracing a History of each Town* vol. 1 (Burlington, Vermont, 1867), 215.

[361] Benson J. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the American Revolution* 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1851), 398.

[redacted]

A.2.5 Archeological Contribution to Battle Reconstruction

[redacted]

- [redacted]
- [redacted]
- [redacted]
- [redacted]
- [redacted]

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Figure 54. [redacted]

[redacted] the crucial factor in the fall of the redoubt was the lack of protection from the ravine (Figure 55). The shape of the landform, the failure to clear vegetation from the ravine, and the lack of a return on the southern end of the redoubt meant that the Tories were open to enfilading fire from the Americans emerging from the ravine. Although American troops were also approaching through the corn field to the southeast, the fired rounds suggest that these Americans were just getting into effective musket range when the ravine troops emerged.

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Figure 55. [redacted]

The archeological results confirm the KOCOA analysis and battle narrative with regard to the poor siting of the breastwork. Also, as seen at the German Redoubt to the north there was insufficient clearance of fields of fire, especially the ravine that opened near the southern end of the redoubt. The redoubt was well below (behind) the military crest of the landform, and topography created a blind spot only [redacted] meters east of the Tory Redoubt. The dead space in Figure 55 is modeled on topography alone. The standing corn to the east probably would have allowed the Rebels to approach within 150 meters before being in the field of fire. Further, the ravine and slope above it was likely wooded [redacted] allowing the Rebels to emerge from the woods a mere [redacted] meters from the southern end of the redoubt. The redoubt also was designed to have no return on the southern end, as if the builders were absolutely certain they could not be flanked on their right. These two faults allowed the Rebels to approach quite close to the redoubt, both in front and on the Tories' right, before coming into sight of the Tories.

The Tory Redoubt was also too far from their artillery support, the lone 3-pounder [redacted] The field piece was little help when the right end of the Tory Redoubt was flanked and the Tories were routed. Likewise, the small arms of the units defending the bridgehead were useless so far from the Tory Redoubt.

Finally, the Tory Redoubt and surrounding topography were easily scouted by the Rebels. From an open field on a knoll [redacted], the Rebels would have been able to discern the major weaknesses of the Loyalist position. The Loyalists really were at a major disadvantage – despite having a breastwork in place – before the battle even began.

A.3 BRIDGE 3-POUND CANNON

The area of the suspected Hanau 3-pound cannon position immediately overlooking the bridge was subjected to metal detector survey. [redacted]

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[redacted]

[redacted]

A.4 [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

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Figure 56. [redacted]

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Figure 57. [redacted]

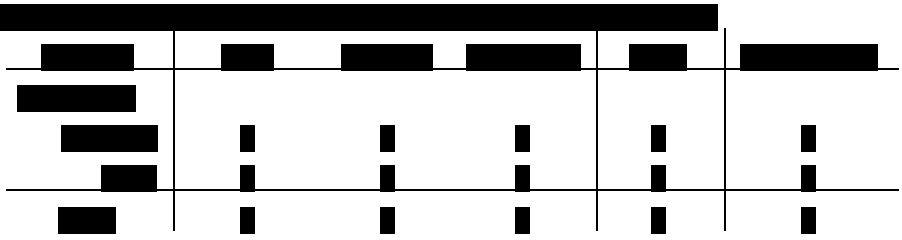
Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Figure 58. [redacted]

[redacted]

A.5 LOWER FIELDS

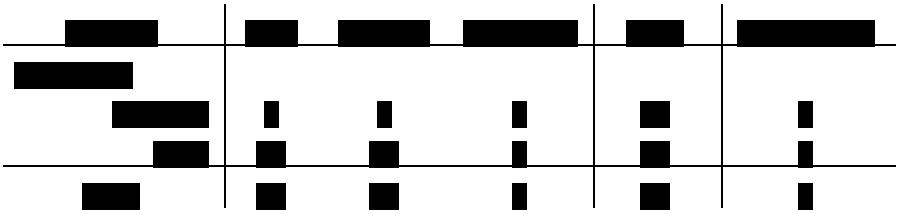
Table 16.



[362] Lord, *War overWalloomscoick*

[redacted]

Table 17. [redacted]



The distribution of fired balls suggests that there may have been two or three informal lines receiving fire in this field. The first may have been near the top of the river bank and the building that was formerly present there. The second line may have been approximately [redacted] and parallel to the river, near the three buildings that were present in 1777. This second line may have been a fallback position after the Tory Redoubt and bridgehead fell. The third possible line was approximately [redacted] from the river. [redacted] the third line may have been a brief, final Tory position. The second or third line may represent the location where Baum was wounded, as per the Vetter and Bach maps. This scenario of falling back would be consistent with Vetter's and Bach's depictions of where the Tory or Loyalist corps was taken prisoner, east-northeast of the inferred third line.

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Figure 59. [redacted]

[redacted]These together may indicate the location of a former sunken road trace and river ford. Such a crossing point would have been an optimal crossing location for Tories fleeing the Tory Redoubt. If the road was sunken and tree-lined, it would have provided concealment and cover for the retreating Tories. By this scenario, the Tories may not have come under fire until they reached the top of the western bank of the river. [redacted]

[redacted]

A.6 [redacted]

[redacted]

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Figure 60 [redacted]

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Figure 61. [redacted]

A.7 SUSPECTED JAEGER POSITION

[redacted] The Jaeger position has likely been lost [redacted]

A.8 SECOND PHASE OF THE BATTLE

The Commonwealth archeological survey of parts of three private tracts provided information substantiating accounts of the second battle. [redacted]

[redacted]

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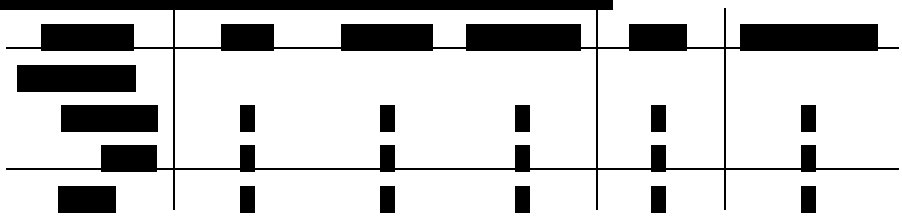
Plate 3. [redacted]

[redacted]

Table 18. [redacted]



[redacted]

Table 19. [redacted]

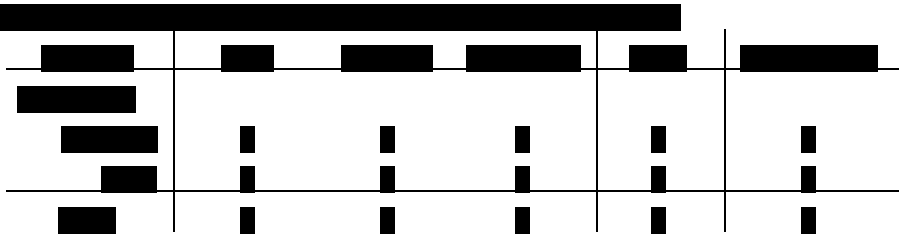


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Plate 4. [redacted].

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Plate 5. [redacted]

[redacted]

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Figure 62. [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Plate 6. [redacted]

[redacted]

A.9 "SURRENDER" FIELD

[redacted]

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Figure 63. [redacted]

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Plate 7. [redacted]

Figure removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.

Figure 64. [redacted]

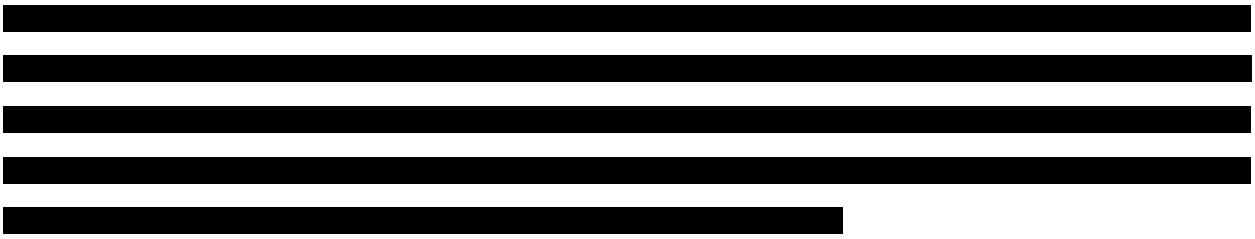
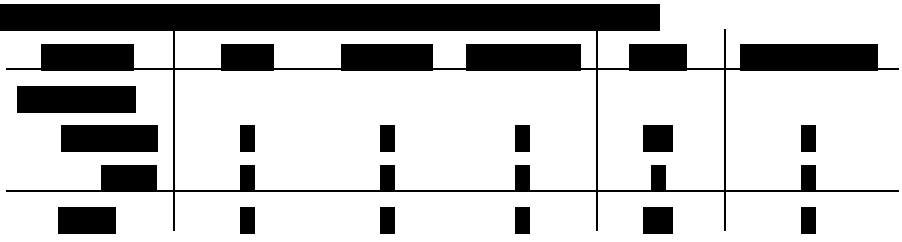


Table 20. [redacted]



[redacted] that at a minimum, Brunswick dragoons, Brunswick grenadiers, and Tories were present in the field. [redacted]

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Plate 8. [redacted]

APPENDIX B. ARTIFACT INVENTORY

ARTIFACT INVENTORY
Cultural Resources Survey of Bennington Battlefield
Saratoga, New York
CCRG October 2015

A.BB. 2015.	LOCATION	MDF #	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	FIRED/ DROPPED	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
[redacted]							

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ARTIFACT INVENTORY
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Saratoga, New York
CCRG October 2015

A.BB. 2015.	LOCATION	MDF #	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	FIRED/ DROPPED	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE

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	Caretaker's						

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A.BB. 2015.	LOCATION	MDF #	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	FIRED/ DROPPED	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
[redacted]							

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Cultural Resources Survey of Bennington Battlefield
Saratoga, New York
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A.BB. 2015.	LOCATION	MDF #	CT	ARTIFACT DESCRIPTION	FIRED/ DROPPED	COMMENTS	DATE RANGE
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]		[redacted]	
		Total	305				

APPENDIX C. [redacted]

APPENDIX C. [redacted]

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APPENDIX C. [redacted]

Full page map removed in accordance with the Archaeological Resources Protection Act.