

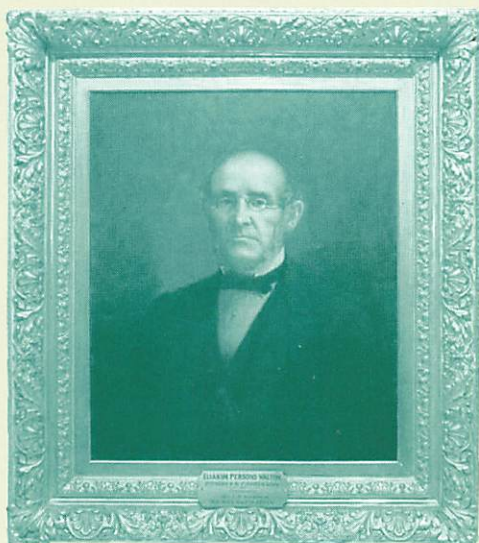
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VERMONT



HISTORY

VOLUME 80, No. 1 WINTER/SPRING 2012



- The French Lake Champlain Fleet and the Contest for the Control of the Lake, 1742-1760

Michael G. Laramie

- Jay's Treaty: The Transformation of Lake Champlain Commerce

H. Nicholas Muller III

- The Man with Four Names

Grant Reynolds

- "A Sinister Poison": The Red Scare Comes to Bethel

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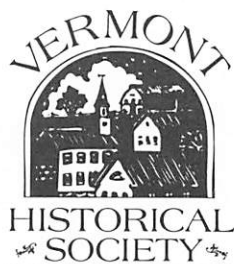
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*The Journal of the
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HISTORY

Vol. 80, No. 1
Winter/Spring 2012



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VERMONT HISTORY

Vol. 80, No. 1 Winter/Spring 2012

The French Lake Champlain Fleet
and the Contest for the Control
of the Lake, 1742–1760

MICHAEL G. LARAMIE

1

Jay's Treaty: The Transformation
of Lake Champlain Commerce

H. NICHOLAS MULLER III

33

The Man with Four Names

GRANT REYNOLDS

57

“A Sinister Poison”: The Red Scare
Comes to Bethel

RICK WINSTON

65

Book Reviews

.....

WILLARD STERNE RANDALL, *Ethan Allen: His Life and Times*.

H. Nicholas Muller III 83

JESSIE HAAS, *Revolutionary Westminster: From Massacre to Statehood*.

Scott McDowell 89

BRYANT F. TOLLES, JR., *Architecture and Academe: College Buildings
in New England before 1860*. Nancy E. Boone 91

DONALD H. WICKMAN, "A Very Fine Appearance": *The Vermont
Civil War Photographs of George Houghton*.

William Earle Williams 94

CAMERON CLIFFORD, *Farms, Flatlanders, and Fords: A Story of People
and Place in Rural Vermont 1890–2010*. Roger N. Allbee 96

DONA BROWN, *Back to the Land: The Enduring Dream of
Self-Sufficiency in Modern America*. Blake Harrison 98

MARK GREENBERG, PRODUCER, *Buddy Truax, Music Man*.

Will Lindner 100

SARAH A. DUMAS AND THE OLD STONE HOUSE MUSEUM, *Images of
America: Orleans County*. Daniel Métraux 102

More About Vermont History

Compiled by PAUL A. CARNAHAN

About the Cover Illustrations

A Puzzle Solved?

Putting together the pieces of a history puzzle takes perseverance and time—usually lots of time—for all of the information to come together before the full story is revealed. A new museum acquisition for the Vermont Historical Society is a perfect example of how all—or at least most—of the pieces gradually came together to reveal a fuller picture.

The research trail goes back to 1979, when VHS curator Phil Elwert wrote to a possible donor, Walton McKie Wing of Tombstone, Arizona, about portraits of husband and wife, Ezekiel Walton and Prussia Persons Walton. Elwert had heard that Wing might be giving them to VHS. He also asked Wing about portraits of the Wing family illustrated in *Two Journeymen Painters* (1950) by Arthur Healey and Alfred Franckenstein. The book documented and illustrated the work of Vermont artists Benjamin Franklin Mason (1804–1871) and his teacher, Abraham Tuthill (1776–1843). Photos in the book showed portraits done circa 1811 by Tuthill of Ezekiel and Prussia Walton and 1832 portraits by Mason of Harriet and Halsey Wing. All were owned in 1950 by Mrs. Angela Wing Roth of Sacramento, California. Mrs. Roth was Harriet and Halsey Wing's granddaughter and inherited the portraits from her father, Halsey McKie Wing.

In 1980, Walton McKie Wing replied that he did have portraits of Ezekiel and Prussia Walton and planned to bequeath them to VHS in his will. He had inherited them from a Wing uncle. Wing's portraits were not the ones illustrated in *Two Journeymen Painters* but later portraits, done when the Waltons were older. He did recall seeing Benjamin Franklin Mason's 1830s portraits of Harriet Walton Wing (Ezekiel and Prussia Walton's daughter) and Halsey Roger Wing, her husband. In his letter, Walton McKie Wing recalled seeing a portrait of Eliakim Walton (VHSA-145; front cover) on a visit to the VHS as a young boy. Eliakim Walton was the son of Ezekiel and Prussia Walton and sister of Harriet Walton Wing. He also remembered another portrait he saw of Eliakim Walton, "as a younger man, showing him seated at a desk with

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Vermont History Vol. 80, No. 1 (Winter/Spring 2012): v–vii.

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Ezekiel Walton, left (VHSA-647), and Prussia Persons Walton, right (VHSA-648), both oil on canvas, painted by Benjamin Franklin Mason in the mid 1830s. Bequest of Walton McKie Wing in 1995.

an open newspaper on the desk.” Unfortunately, he didn’t reveal where he had seen that portrait, but did mention that his childhood visit to Montpelier was to see Walton relatives. When Walton McKie Wing died in 1995 the portraits of Ezekiel (VHSA-647) and Prussia Walton (VHSA-648) did, as promised, come to VHS. They are not signed by the artist or dated.

In September 2011, the VHS purchased at a New Hampshire auction an early nineteenth-century portrait of Montpelier publisher and U.S. Congressman, Eliakim Walton (VHSA-952, back cover). This is the second portrait of Walton owned by the society. The first, which is the one Walton McKie Wing saw as a young boy, was painted by Thomas Waterman Wood and given to VHS in 1896 by Walton’s wife, sister, and niece to commemorate Walton’s many years service as president of the Society and his work as a Vermont historian. It has hung in various places the VHS has occupied over the years.

Attached to the newly acquired portrait was a handwritten note identifying the sitter as the same Eliakim Walton, the son of Ezekiel and Prussia Walton. The writer noted that Eliakim Walton was his or her great, great uncle and Eliakim’s parents were the writer’s great, great grandparents. This portrait is of a much younger Eliakim Walton than the Wood portrait, though it is easily identifiable as the same man. It

seems to be the second portrait Walton McKie Wing described in his 1980 letter. Unfortunately, the painting is not in good condition and has lost its frame. It is not signed or dated.

With all of these pieces of information in place the identity of the artist who painted the portraits of Ezekiel and Prussia Walton, donated by Walton McKie Wing in 1995, and the newly acquired portrait of the young Eliakim Walton seem clear. I believe all three of these portraits are the work of Benjamin Franklin Mason. Healy and Frankenstein placed Mason in Montpelier sometime during the years 1832 to 1834, when he painted the portraits of Harriet Walton Wing and Halsey Roger Wing. Since the Wings were married in 1835, I conclude that these portraits were done shortly before their marriage. At the same time Mason painted them he did VHS's portraits of Ezekiel and Prussia Walton, and Eliakim Walton. In all likelihood Mason painted other portraits of younger Walton siblings. The two sets of portraits of Ezekiel and Prussia Wing, one by Tuthill and one by Mason, were inherited by Harriet Walton Wing's descendants. Eliakim Walton's portrait by Mason probably stayed in Vermont with one of his descendants, eventually going out of the family but luckily retaining its identifying note.

VHS's Walton puzzle pieces are in place. But where are Tuthill's portraits of the Waltons and Mason's portraits of the Wings? The search for answers continues, perhaps to be solved by a future VHS curator.

JACQUELINE CALDER, *Curator*

Front cover: Eliakim Walton (VHSA-145), oil on canvas, painted by Thomas Waterman Wood. Presented to VHS in 1896 by Walton's family.

Back cover: Eliakim Walton (VHSA-952), oil on canvas, painted by Benjamin Franklin Mason in the mid 1830s. This was described by Walton McKie Wing as a portrait of Eliakim Walton, "as a younger man, showing him seated at a desk with an open newspaper on the desk." Museum purchase, 2011.



The French Lake Champlain Fleet and the Contest for the Control of the Lake, 1742–1760

The intent of the designers of the French fleet was never to seriously challenge England for naval supremacy over the waterway, but instead to construct an opportunistic squadron, a scout fleet that, if managed correctly, could dictate the terms of any engagement and withdraw once it found itself at a disadvantage.

By MICHAEL G. LARAMIE

Plattsburgh, Valcour Island, Arnold's Bay: these are common place names along Lake Champlain that conjure up images of British and American warships long since past. And understandably so. The campaigns of these fleets have been well documented over the last two centuries, and such names as Arnold, Pringle, and Macdonough fill the pages of numerous texts on the subject. The first warships to operate on the lake, however, have not been so fortunate. For whatever reasons, the members of this original band of French vessels, and their commanders, the first to ply the waters of Lake Champlain, have faded into obscurity, and it seems fitting that a few words should be said on their behalf.

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A native of Vermont, Michael G. Laramie is an independent historian with a focus on the colonial conflicts of North America. His article, "Colonel William Romer: A Royal Engineer's Odyssey in New York and New England" appeared in *The Journal of America's Military Past* 36:2 (Spring/Summer 2011); and he is the author of *The European Invasion of North America: Colonial Conflict along the Hudson-Champlain Corridor, 1609–1760* (2012). He lives in Tucson, Arizona. *Vermont History* Vol. 80, No. 1 (Winter/Spring 2012): 1–32.

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FORMATION

The history of the French Lake Champlain fleet rightly starts with the construction of Fort St. Frédéric in the early 1730s. This is not to say that French military expeditions requiring naval elements did not take place on Lake Champlain before the construction of the fortress at Crown Point. Several significant ones did. In 1666 for instance, the Marquis de Tracy led 1,200 men up the lake to strike at the Mohawk villages in the upper Hudson Valley, and in 1709 Claude Ramezay led 1,650 men in an abortive expedition against Fort Schuyler near the headwaters of Wood Creek. But in each case, the needs of the troops involved were admirably served by the traditional mainstays of lake transportation, canoes and flat-bottomed bateaux. With the advent of a permanent establishment at Crown Point, however, French military leaders began to express concerns as to whether or not these types of vessels were sufficient to maintain such a post.¹

The idea of a vessel large enough to be classified as a ship was first broached by Governor Charles Beauharnois in a letter to the French minister of the marine on October 13, 1735. Beauharnois posed the possibility of constructing a vessel at Fort St. Frédéric, which would not only help transport the materials needed to finish the fort, but would also "greatly facilitate the transport of provisions and munitions necessary for the garrison." Although a prudent economic and military move, such a possibility, he quickly pointed out, was contingent upon whether the upper Richelieu River was navigable, and at the moment this was not known. The French ministry was receptive to the idea, which continued to gain momentum as work on the fortress progressed; but the true stumbling block was not overcome until the fall of 1741, when the Intendant of Canada, Gilles Hocquart, was able to report that soundings made of the Richelieu River above the St. Jean rapids had shown the waterway capable of supporting a vessel of the type being proposed.²

With this favorable news, Hocquart immediately contracted master carpenter and private shipbuilder David Corbin to construct a barque at Crown Point. Corbin's crew of ten carpenters and two blacksmiths spent the next seven months at Fort St. Frédéric framing and fitting out the vessel, and by the early summer of 1742, she was ready for her maiden voyage. Beyond detailing the payment owed to his men and a list of naval supplies forwarded from Québec to fit out the vessel, there is little information from Corbin about the first sailing ship on Lake Champlain. He described her as a *barque*, and although multiple financial records from the next several years would refer to her as such, it would not be until much later that such a term actually described a class

of ship. Nor does he make any mention of the size of his vessel or how she was rigged.³

These details, however, can be pieced together from earlier documents and later French and British eyewitness accounts. In September 1740, a year before Corbin started his work, Hocquart submitted a cost proposal for "the construction and armament of [a] gabare or bateau . . . for the navigation of Lake Champlain." The vessel was to be forty-eight feet long, fifteen feet in breadth, and to displace thirty-five tons. Although Corbin clearly did not build a *gabare*, that is, a sailing barge, it seems that Hocquart, unfamiliar with ship design, was projecting the costs based on the size of the vessel more than the type. This is borne out by a letter a month later to the minister of the marine in which Hocquart refers to the plan to construct a barque on Lake Champlain. As for the type of vessel Corbin constructed, a number of records from the period just after its completion refer to her as a *goélette* (schooner), and it seems from later French and English eyewitness accounts that she was indeed a two-masted schooner, displacing somewhere between thirty to forty tons, which is in accordance with Hocquart's original dimensions. She carried a crew of six, was likely equipped with oars to help handle the tricky confines of the Richelieu River, and was armed with four *pierriers*, small swivel guns initially designed to fire stone projectiles or musket balls. Just as with the details of her construction, the vessel's name has become clouded with the passage of time. Records shortly after her commissioning refer to her as the *Goélette du Roy*, the *Barque du Roy*, or the *Barque de Saintonge*. This last title was in clear reference to her master, Joseph Payant *dit* Saint Onge, whom Swedish naturalist Peter Kalm had the opportunity to speak with in 1749 and claimed was one of the carpenters who built the vessel.⁴

For the next several years the *Saintonge*, for lack of a better name, made runs between Fort St. Frédéric and the waters above the St. Jean rapids, where a few storage sheds had been erected and a crude road hacked out of the woods leading back to Fort Chambly. The arrangement proved more economical than convoys of bateaux, but not as efficient as hoped. The primary fault in the system, which was soon to be tested with the outbreak of King George's War in 1745, was that the schooner had no northern port to anchor at while awaiting supplies. This, coupled with the fact that supplies still had to be shuttled by wagon from Fort Chambly to the rendezvous point, led to a frustrating system fraught with frequent delays that left either the *Saintonge* waiting for the arrival of the supply trains, or the supply trains waiting on the schooner.⁵

A solution to this problem was proposed by the architect of Fort St. Frédéric, Chaussegros de Léry, in the fall of 1744. Léry's recommendation

was to build a small fort above the St. Jean rapids to act as a magazine and anchorage for the *Saintonge*. A road would then be cut from this location across the wooded marshlands to La Prairie some fifteen miles away, which would link the new post with Montreal. The plan dispensed with the long water route to Fort Chambly and the subsequent wagon trail around the Chambly and St. Jean rapids, and it established a permanent support facility for Fort St. Frédéric. Although such an arrangement would undermine the usefulness of Fort Chambly, there was little else to argue with in the proposal. Even so, it was not until the spring of 1748 that the plan was approved and work began in earnest on Fort St. Jean. The fort's faults, costs, and construction miscues aside, when finished, the palisade structure boasted a number of warehouses, both inside and outside its compound, and a pier that would become one of the focal points of naval construction on the lake for the next fifty years. More importantly, when it was put into service in late 1748, the stronghold closed the last gap between Montreal and Fort St. Frédéric, leading to the claim that if need be, the latter could be reinforced in less than forty-eight hours.⁶

For the next seven years the *Saintonge* quietly performed her duty, at least until the last French and Indian War broke out in 1755, and the routine supply runs took on more significance. The vessel is frequently mentioned in French and English journals during this conflict, but almost always in passing and never by name. On the morning of July 2, 1756, the schooner added the newly constructed Fort Carillon to her route, pulling astride the main dock to the delight of the French troops encamped about the Ticonderoga peninsula.

Captain Payant and his crew were fortunate during this time in only having to fire the vessel's guns once in anger. On the morning of August 13, 1756, the *Saintonge*, a dozen or so miles from Fort St. Jean, stopped for some reason to put three of her crew ashore at the northern end of Île aux Têtes. The vessel's progress had been monitored by an Iroquois war party, who by chance lay in wait near the landing site. The three crewmen were immediately ambushed and killed, at which point, "The barque made such a great fire with her pierriers" that the Iroquois retreated without taking any scalps. The loss of three crewmen on such a small vessel certainly weighed heavily on Captain Payant, but in reality he was more fortunate than he might have imagined. The indefatigable Captain Robert Rogers had come across the schooner a month before and formulated a plan to seize her while she lay at anchor in Basin Harbor. Only the untimely appearance of a pair of French bateaux upset Rogers's plan and undoubtedly saved the *Saintonge* from destruction.⁷

As it was, the vessel's days as the lone sentinel on the lake were numbered. After fourteen years of service along the northern waterway, she was showing her age, and with the increased needs of the garrisons at Fort St. Frédéric and Fort Carillon to be considered, the decision was made to construct a larger, more capable vessel. In early October 1756, Pierre Levasseur was dispatched to Fort St. Jean with twenty carpenters to begin work on this new ship. He was joined shortly thereafter by his father, New France's most prominent shipbuilder, René-Nicolas Levasseur, who oversaw the construction of the vessel over the course of the winter. Finished early the following summer and christened the *Vigilante*, she was a sixty-ton topsail schooner armed with ten four-pound cannon. After a quick shakedown cruise, the ship was handed over to the lake's most experienced sailor, Joseph Payant, and was soon on its way to Fort Carillon, arriving there on May 27, 1757.⁸

The *Saintonge* was not retired with the launching of the *Vigilante*. The smaller vessel seems to have operated on the lake for some time, augmenting its larger cousin's activities. Major Joseph Hippolyte Malartic of the Bearn Regiment noted its arrival at Fort Carillon in mid June 1757 with a "load of straw for the hospital and equipment for the troops."⁹ Together the two vessels helped supply the French army on Lake Champlain throughout the summer of 1757, carrying forward equipment that the Marquis de Montcalm would ultimately use in his successful campaign against Fort William Henry during the opening weeks of August, and later in transporting British prisoners from this expedition back to Montreal.

With the close of the campaign and the onset of winter, it was once again decided to add to the fleet. On April 27, 1758, another vessel was launched at Fort St. Jean. The details of this vessel are wholly lacking, but indications are that it was a gabare, probably similar in size to the *Saintonge*, whose activities become difficult to track at this point. On July 27, 1758, Malartic recorded in his journal that the "small barque is anchored near the shed," while the large one had set out for St. Jean. The larger one in Malartic's entry seems to have been the *Vigilante*, but when it comes to the "small barque," it is not clear whether the major meant the *Saintonge* or the newly constructed gabare. The day also signaled a smaller, albeit important addition to the growing fleet, when Lieutenant Louis-Thomas Jacau de Fiedmont of the Royal Artillery successfully fired a twelve-pound cannon from a gunboat of his own design. The year before Fiedmont had built and demonstrated a similar vessel, which mounted a twelve-pound cannon in its prow and two smaller swivel guns along the sides. Montcalm had been so pleased with the design, which despite its small size handled well when its armament

was test fired, that he placed it at the head of his flotilla bound for the siege of Fort William Henry. The "Jacobs," as the gunboats were called, seem to have been little more than large bateaux with their prow and perhaps their stern cut so as to mount and handle the recoil of a nine- or twelve-pound cannon. In any case, they proved useful deterrents, and perhaps as many as a half a dozen were constructed over the next few years to handle escort and patrol duties. The obvious merits of the design would have suggested larger numbers, but one suspects that Fiedmont soon realized that small heavily burdened vessels such as these were of questionable use once the weather on Lake Champlain took a turn for the worse.¹⁰

The year also brought crisis to the French defenders of Lake Champlain, when British General James Abercromby at the head of 16,000 provincial and regular troops landed at the outlet of Lake George and marched on Fort Carillon. Only a series of blunders and the loss of will on the part of Abercromby, coupled with a calculated and spirited defense by Montcalm and his men, preserved the French position on the lake. The victory against all odds, however, was rightly seen by the French commander for what it was, a stroke of good fortune and a turning of the tide. New France was being worn down by her larger adversary, who continued to put more men in the field with each successive campaign. The English would undoubtedly return to Fort Carillon next year, and given that another miraculous victory was unlikely, plans began to take shape that called for contracting New France's defensive perimeter in the Champlain Valley. Forts Carillon and St. Frédéric were to be abandoned as French troops developed a more defensible position along the Richelieu River at Île-aux-Noix. A key component to this strategy would be naval supremacy on Lake Champlain, first, to guarantee a safe withdrawal of the army back to Île-aux-Noix, and second, to contest control of the lake with the British and prevent them from advancing down the waterway once they secured the former French outposts. It seemed clear that a naval race was about to take place on Lake Champlain and that New France would be wise to get a head start.¹¹

In keeping with this new strategy, Pierre Levasseur was once again dispatched to Fort St. Jean, this time tasked with building a fleet of warships. Accompanying Levasseur was the new naval commander on Lake Champlain, Lieutenant Jean d'Olabaratz *dît* Laubaras. Although St. Onge was the most experienced sailor on the lake, he was not a regular officer, and with a naval encounter likely, Governor General Pierre de Rigaud de Vaudreuil felt that the French fleet needed a commander with a military background. Experienced naval officers, however, were

in short supply in the colony, and the choice of Laubaras seems to have been based more on his availability than any other factor. It was an unfortunate decision. Although Laubaras was certainly an experienced sailor, his recent career had been mired in bad luck.

Raised in a seafaring family, Laubaras joined the navy in 1745, serving first in administrative positions at the port of Bayonne, and subsequently on a number of warships during the War of the Austrian Succession. In 1750 his father was appointed port captain at Louisbourg, which in turn led to Laubaras being appointed to the position of port ensign later that year. In 1755 he returned to France and a year later took command of the frigate *Aigle*, which he sailed to Louisbourg that fall. Laubaras returned to France soon thereafter, then left for Québec in early 1757 in the *Aigle*, this time accompanied by the frigate *Outarde*. After capturing a number of British merchant ships, the two vessels became separated near Newfoundland. Proceeding on alone, Laubaras elected to make his way to Québec through the dangerous Straits of Belle Isle, and as a result, ran aground. Intendant François Bigot dispatched two vessels to assist him, but both of these ships collided and sank in a storm not long after reaching the stranded crew. Determined to reach Québec, Laubaras requisitioned the old fishing schooner *Roi du Nord*, loaded it with what could be salvaged from the three wrecks, and set course for the colonial capital, only to have the dilapidated vessel sink a hundred miles short of his destination. Once again Laubaras and his crew waded ashore, this time finally reaching their goal by foot. Thus, when Governor Vaudreuil began looking for an officer in early 1758 to command the fleet being constructed on Lake Champlain, he found the downcast lieutenant without a ship and appointed him to the position.¹²

Working together, Levasseur and Laubaras agreed to build four *xebecs* to form the core of New France's naval deterrent on the lake, and by late May 1759 three of these had been completed. The first vessel launched was the fleet's flag ship, the *Musquelongy*. She was armed with two twelve-pound cannon and eight iron four-pounders, easily making her one of the deadliest fish on the lake. The remaining two vessels were the *Brochette* and the *Esturgeon*, the first of which mounted six four-pound cannon and a pair of swivel guns along her deck rails, while the second carried six four-pound cannon in addition to four swivel guns. The final armament of these warships was something of a compromise. René Levasseur in a letter to Governor Vaudreuil stated that the armament for the xebecs his son was building was to be six four-pound cannon and a pair of twelve-pound cannon. Certainly the larger guns were not easy to come by after four years of war, but just as much

of an issue seems to have been the vessels' ability to carry them. Colonel Charles Bourlamaque, admittedly unfamiliar with the crafts' design, was nonetheless taken aback by how small they were when he viewed them at St. Jean. In an attempt to bolster their armament, he suggested that the captain's cabin, which he considered nearly useless, be removed to make room for a pair of guns, but nothing came of the idea, as the work would have delayed the fleet's scheduled deployment.¹³

The sixty-five-foot xebecs were unlike anything previously seen at St. Jean. Xebecs in general were slim, low freeboard vessels favored by the Mediterranean pirates of the age. Descendants of the galley, they were fragile, shallow-draft craft that emphasized speed and agility over sturdiness. The vessels' trademark, however, the three short masts and taller near-vertical yard arms fitted with triangular sails, seem to have been modified by Levasseur to the point of creating a number of confused looks. Montcalm's second in command, General François-Gaston de Lévis, could only say that "some species of chebecs" were being built at St. Jean, while veteran Captain Medard Poularies of the Royal Rousillon regiment was even more puzzled, commenting upon seeing them for the first time that "they didn't resemble anything."¹⁴

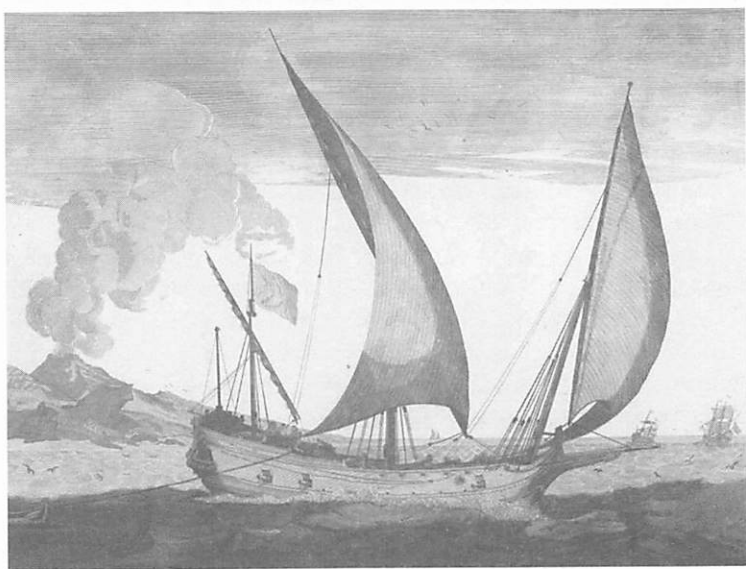
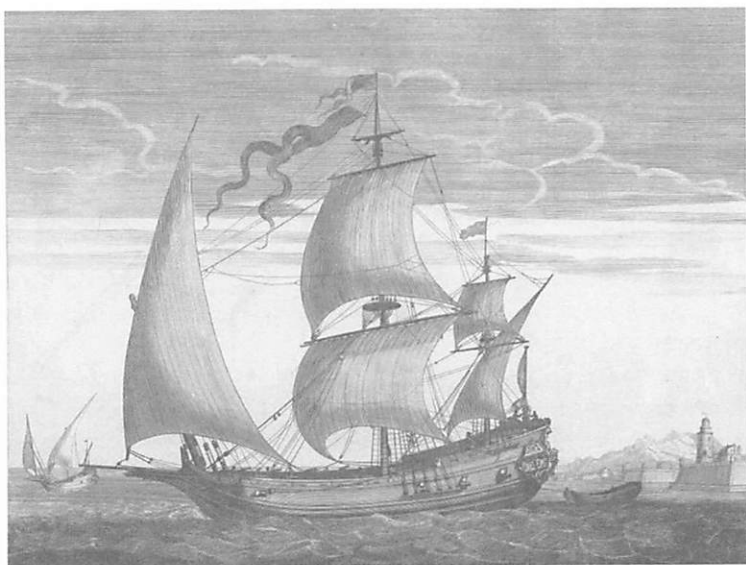
The nature of Levasseur's change is unclear. There is almost no information from French sources beyond Lévis's claim that the vessels had "masts," and British accounts of these ships shed only a small amount of light on the subject. Commodore Joshua Loring, who commanded the British squadron on Lake Champlain, would later classify these vessels as sloops and claimed that they employed topsails. This description would imply that the xebecs were actually single-masted vessels that employed a fore and aft sail plan along with a small square topsail, similar to the British sloop *Boscawen*, which Loring would build at Ticonderoga. Such an assessment, however, needs to be qualified. The definition of a sloop in the British navy of the time was typically applied to a wide range of small craft based on their function and gun count, rather than their sail plan. Hence, Loring's definition does not necessarily imply a traditional sloop rig on these ships, nor does it account for Lévis's statement regarding the masts, or the uncertainty expressed by him, Poularies, and Bourlamaque as to the vessels' type. Another interesting British account comes from an officer by the name of Wilson who claimed that he saw a French brigantine, schooner, and a topsail sloop at anchor near Split Rock on August 11, 1759. The schooner, at least, would be easily explained, except that the *Vigilante* did not operate with Laubaras's squadron. Thus, we have three common ships, all of which appeared different to the observer.¹⁵

Levasseur probably built a hybrid ship known as a polacre-xebec.

The *polacre* was a variant that employed three masts, like the traditional xebec, with the foremost mast rigged with a large lateen sail, the mizzen mast rigged with a smaller lateen sail, and the central mast rigged with square sails. The mixed sail plan was a compromise. Lateen sails allowed for maneuverability and movement close to the wind, but such vessels suffered a performance loss when running before the wind (that is, when the wind is directly from behind). The square sail mainmast helped alleviate this problem. The mixed sails gave such a vessel an odd look, almost as if a major mistake had been made in construction. Such an arrangement would explain Loring's observations, would account for the comments from the senior French officers, and could give the appearance of different rigs, especially at a distance, depending on what sails were raised or lowered.¹⁶

The fleet constructed at St. Jean over the winter of 1758 had two major failings. The first was purely technical. The change of the vessels' rigging led to a difficult and unstable platform, and one is left to wonder if Pierre Levasseur's lack of experience in building such craft wasn't to blame. Governor Vaudreuil reluctantly noted that the xebecs required a good wind to get underway, an odd characteristic for such a vessel, while Colonel Bourlamaque, in charge of the Lake Champlain frontier, questioned the vessels' usefulness, particularly in the narrow confines of the Richelieu River, as they were, strangely enough, not equipped with oars. Even Laubaras, who as naval commander on the lake must have had some say in the vessels' construction, complained to Montcalm that they were poorly built.¹⁷

Beyond these technical matters, a more pressing question was the philosophy behind the construction of the squadron, and what might be expected from it. With the abandonment of Forts Carillon and St. Frédéric likely and a withdrawal of the French army to Île-aux-Noix, the first line of defense was control of the lake. The English would certainly be forced to construct a number of warships to challenge for this control and to ensure the safety of their troop columns moving north against Île-aux-Noix. Thus, a naval encounter was all but assured, one in which New France would have the upper hand in numbers by virtue of having started the construction of her fleet at least a year earlier. With this obvious scenario in mind, why depart from the well-understood sloops and schooners, solid vessels with a relatively straightforward building process and a proven track record on the inland lakes of North America? Why then, if the intent was to contest the waters of Lake Champlain, would the plan not be to build vessels capable of the yardarm-to-yardarm fight that was certain to come? A fleet of ships so constructed would not only be capable of taking on the British warships, but would



A polacre (top), and a xebec (bottom), from Pierre Mortier's Le Neptune françois, ou Atlas nouveau des cartes marines (Paris, 1703). The differences in the sail plans between the two vessels, particularly when it comes to their main masts, can be seen from these early paintings. Note that the xebec has not deployed a sail on its aft mast. (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.)

wreak havoc on an advancing British troop column, if they could isolate them from their escorts. Yet by choosing to build xebecs, whose attributes emphasized speed and agility over firepower and defense, it is clear that a conscious decision was made to avoid battle. The intent was never to seriously challenge for naval supremacy over the waterway, but instead to construct an opportunistic squadron, a scout fleet that, if managed correctly, could dictate the terms of any engagement and withdraw once it found itself at a disadvantage. Such a fleet, Bourlamaque pointed out, could harass the English and bring news of their advance, but ultimately would not be capable of preventing their movement down the lake.

Although such a policy might appear questionable on the surface, it meshed nicely with Marquis de Montcalm's plan of the defense of the colony, and in all likelihood the squadron had its roots within this approach. The marquis, seeing the war all but lost in North America, proposed trading territory for time so that some portion of the colony might remain in French hands when the eventual negotiated settlement in Europe ended the conflict and hopefully restored the boundaries of New France. The abandonment of Fort Carillon and Fort St. Frédéric was the first part of this policy along the Lake Champlain frontier, while maintaining a fleet along the lake, one that would force the English to consume a campaign season in order to overcome it, was the second part. The fleet, then, like the abandonment of the forts, needed only to buy the defenders a year to fulfill its purpose. This is not to say that Laubaras's squadron was sacrificial. It was not. The ships would be needed to help defend Île-aux-Noix. In the meantime, however, their primary purpose lay in delaying the attack that was certain to come.

A LAKE LOST

In late July 1759, Bourlamaque withdrew the French army down Lake Champlain, as planned, when General Jeffery Amherst appeared before Fort Carillon with 14,000 English troops. The retreating French were assisted in their withdrawal by the elements of the French Lake Champlain fleet, and once at Île-aux-Noix Bourlamaque began preparing the island's defenses while his fleet moved back out onto the waterway. Throughout the late summer and fall Laubaras's squadron, supported by a number of makeshift gunboats and the *Vigilante*, operated on the lake, looking to interdict English scouting parties and gather information on Amherst's impending advance. They achieved little in the way of accomplishing either goal. There was nothing to report on Amherst, and English scouting parties, both large and small, routinely slipped past them unnoticed.¹⁸

Although he had secured the fractured remains of both Fort Carillon and Fort St. Frédéric, Amherst had no intentions of stopping. There was, however, an important matter to contend with. As the French were known to have several sloops and a schooner operating on the lake, some measure of defense against these vessels had to accompany his troop columns if they were to move forward. As it was impossible to move the fourteen-gun sloop *Halifax* or the eight-gun radeau *Invincible* over from Lake George, and because it would take too much time for Commander Joshua Loring to construct a brigantine at Ticonderoga, Amherst settled on constructing a number of smaller gunboats, each of which would carry a single twenty-four-pound gun in its prow. The general was convinced that such an approach would allow him to advance on Île-aux-Noix. "They [the French] depend on my not getting my boats over and being forced to build some for cannon," he wrote in his journal on July 30, "but I shall be ready sooner than they imagine."¹⁹

A storm on the night of August 8, however, altered these plans. The bateaux, neatly arranged along the beach at Crown Point, were scattered by the stiff winds, suffering various degrees of damage, while the makeshift gunboats that Amherst had counted on to cover his advance had suffered even more. "The boats with guns can't live in this lake in bad weather," he reluctantly wrote in his journal that evening. Reluctantly, because he knew what the conclusion implied: He would have to wait for Loring's brigantine.²⁰

Loring had barely started his new vessel when a French deserter entered camp with disturbing news. The soldier had been stationed as a marine aboard one of the French warships, and what he had to say worried both Amherst and his senior officers. Four French vessels were operating on the lake, he reported: the *Vigilante*, an old schooner armed with ten guns, six-pounders and four-pounders; two sloops, the *Brochette* and *Esturgeon*, both armed with eight guns, six-pounders and four-pounders; and a third sloop, the *Musquelongy*, the fleet's flagship, armed with a respectable complement of two brass twelve-pounders and six iron six-pounders. All of these vessels carried detachments of regulars aboard and were armed with varying numbers of swivel guns. In addition, the Frenchman informed a now alarmed Amherst, a fifth vessel was undergoing repairs at St. Jean.²¹

After digesting the news, Amherst met with his officers the next day. All agreed that the French fleet was larger and better armed than first thought, and the consensus was that the brigantine Loring was working on would not be sufficient to contend with such a force. To supplement Loring's ship, Major Thomas Ord of the Royal Artillery offered to build a six-gun *radeau*, a large flat-bottomed craft rigged with sails and oars,

similar to the gabares in French use. A few weeks later, a scout returned from Île-aux-Noix and informed the British commander that he had seen a new French sixteen-gun sloop anchored in the east channel. It was unwelcome news. Clearly a naval race was taking place, one that was consuming the season, and with it, Amherst's opportunities to strike at the enemy. The general met with Loring the next day and ordered him, once the brigantine was completed, to build a sixteen-gun sloop to counter this new threat.²²

Unbeknownst to Bourlamaque, who was struggling to fortify the sprawling Île-aux-Noix with far too few troops, two British mistakes had bought him the time he desperately needed. First, the French deserter, whom Amherst took at face value, had greatly overestimated the strength of the French fleet. Second, the sixteen-gun sloop reported in the east channel of the island was in fact the unfinished hull of the last xebec Levasseur had planned to build. It had been transformed into a stationary gun platform by mounting six cannon on one side and securing it between the two shores via a set of posts driven into the channel. It was not until mid September, when Ranger Joseph Hopkins led an unsuccessful attempt to burn this ship, and informed Amherst of the true state of the vessel, that the general realized she posed no threat to his movement across the lake. Nevertheless, these two pieces of information forced a major delay upon the British advance as Loring and Ord struggled to finish the vessels needed to counter the imagined threats.²³

Bourlamaque's luck, however, could not hold out forever. By the second week of October, the brigantine *Duke of Cumberland*, the sloop *Boscawen*, and the radeau *Ligonier* were all anchored at Crown Point taking on supplies. With his navy ready, Amherst gave the order for the army to embark the next day. While the troops busied themselves with loading their boats and last-minute preparations, Loring met with Ord and Amherst. Amherst informed his officers that he now felt strong enough to advance against the French fleet, but Loring was not so confident, expressing concerns that the *Duke of Cumberland* and *Boscawen* were not equal to the combined strength of the French squadron. Having waited the better part of the summer and fall, Amherst was not interested in the assessment and dismissed it with little discussion. He ordered Loring to take his two warships down the lake, and if possible, slip past the French fleet to cut off their communications with Île-aux-Noix. The hope was to isolate the enemy warships, thereby delaying any warning the defenders of the island might receive of the English advance. If this was not possible and he was discovered by the French squadron, Amherst ordered Loring to "do Your utmost to come up with and Attack them, and that without any regard to the army you

leave behind." The army, he assured Loring, would be well enough protected by the *Ligonier* and the small gunboats he had used earlier.²⁴

Armed with his sailing orders, Loring set out late on the afternoon of October 11, quickly leaving Amherst's four long columns of bateaux and whaleboats in his wake. Loring stationed himself on the brig *Duke of Cumberland*, while command of the *Boscawen* was given to Lt. Alexander Grant of Montgomery's Highlanders, an officer with prior sailing experience. Although he did not know it at the time, Loring's doubts as to his ships' ability to meet the French on equal terms were unfounded. At 115 tons, carrying four six-pound cannon, twelve four-pound cannon, and twenty-two swivels, with a complement of 112 sailors, officers, and marines, his smaller ship, the *Boscawen*, was more than a match for any two ships in the French fleet. The *Duke of Cumberland* was even more powerful. Carrying twenty more men than the *Boscawen* and mounting two extra six-pounders, the 155-ton brigantine evened the odds against the combined French fleet.²⁵

In keeping with his orders, Loring moved down the lake under the cover of darkness and slipped past Laubaras's squadron. At first light, the two English vessels found themselves nearing the passage between Grand Isle and Cumberland Head, and as dawn took hold, a cry rang out from a lookout on the *Duke of Cumberland*. The French schooner *Vigilante* was dead ahead! Loring signaled to the *Boscawen* to give chase, crowded on the sail, and cleared his ship for action.

Following Robert Rogers's raid on St. Francis a few weeks earlier, Broulamaque had stationed the *Vigilante* and a few bateaux to guard the entrance to East Bay. It had proven quiet work until the morning of October 12, when a lookout on the *Vigilante* spied a pair of English warships headed directly for them. St. Onge was quick to react. He gave orders for the bateaux accompanying him to scatter and then raised every square inch of sail his vessel had. As the pursuit pressed north, it became clear to the French captain that he had neither the speed to escape the English nor the firepower to turn and face them. He did, however, have one advantage. He knew the lake better than the British did. As the English vessels edged closer, he saw his opportunity. Ahead about three-quarters of a mile off the northwest coast of Grand Isle lay two small islands known at the time as the Two Brothers, but now more commonly referred to as Bixby and Young Islands. The waters around the Two Brothers were laced with shoals and sand bars. If the consequences were not so dire, the situation might have brought a smile to the mariner's face as the timing could not have been better. When the larger of the enemy vessels was almost upon him, St. Onge ran the rudder hard over to starboard, passing between the two islands. Seeing

that the *Vigilante* was aiming for the passage into East Bay, Loring followed with the aim of cutting off the Frenchman's escape. A few moments later, a scraping noise reverberated down the length of the *Duke of Cumberland's* hull, followed quickly by another, and then a jarring jolt as the vessel bottomed out. Lt. Grant, not far behind in the *Boscawen*, screamed at his crew to spill the air out of their sails and spun the wheel hard to port, but it was too late. The *Boscawen* touched bottom and then shuddered to a stop on another shoal. As the *Vigilante* disappeared behind Grand Isle, a furious Loring, shouting a dozen orders to his crew, couldn't help but pause and give the departing vessel an approving nod. He had been outdone and knew it.²⁶

To the south, not far from the Four Brothers Islands, the rest of the French fleet was surprised at first light to spot a number of bateaux approaching them. Seeing that they had no escort, Laubaras steered for them. The boats were from the 42nd Regiment, the occupants of which had mistaken the *Boscawen's* signal lamp for the *Ligonier's* during the night and thus found themselves separated from the army. Thinking that the vessels that lay ahead were British, they calmly rowed toward them. The xebecs made short work of the Highlanders' bateaux, damaging one, capturing another, and scattering the rest. It took only a few minutes with his new prisoners for Laubaras to realize that Amherst was advancing down the lake. For a moment the French commander considered attacking, but his orders from Bourlamaque were specific: He was to return to Île-aux-Noix immediately upon obtaining information that Amherst was on the move.

At dawn Amherst, at the head of his flotilla in the *Ligonier*, could hear cannon in the distance, but thinking that it was Loring engaging the French fleet, he continued on. Not long after, several boats, one of which carried Major John Reid of the Royal Highlanders, arrived. Reid informed Amherst of the Highlanders' mistake and what had transpired. The conversation had barely ended when the sails of the French xebecs could be seen on the horizon. It was now Amherst's turn to make a decision. Loring had clearly slipped past the French fleet, trapping them between the two English forces as Amherst had hoped, but unfortunately, that now placed his troop columns in a precarious position. The *Ligonier*, although heavily armed and an excellent gun platform, was a poor sailor, being nothing more than a barge with sails; and his little gunboats that could barely handle the rough waters of the lake were no match for several well-armed sloops. If the French acted aggressively, he might well have a disaster on his hands. As a precaution, he ordered the bateaux to form one column along the west shore of the lake, while his gun boats and the *Ligonier* moved into position to cover

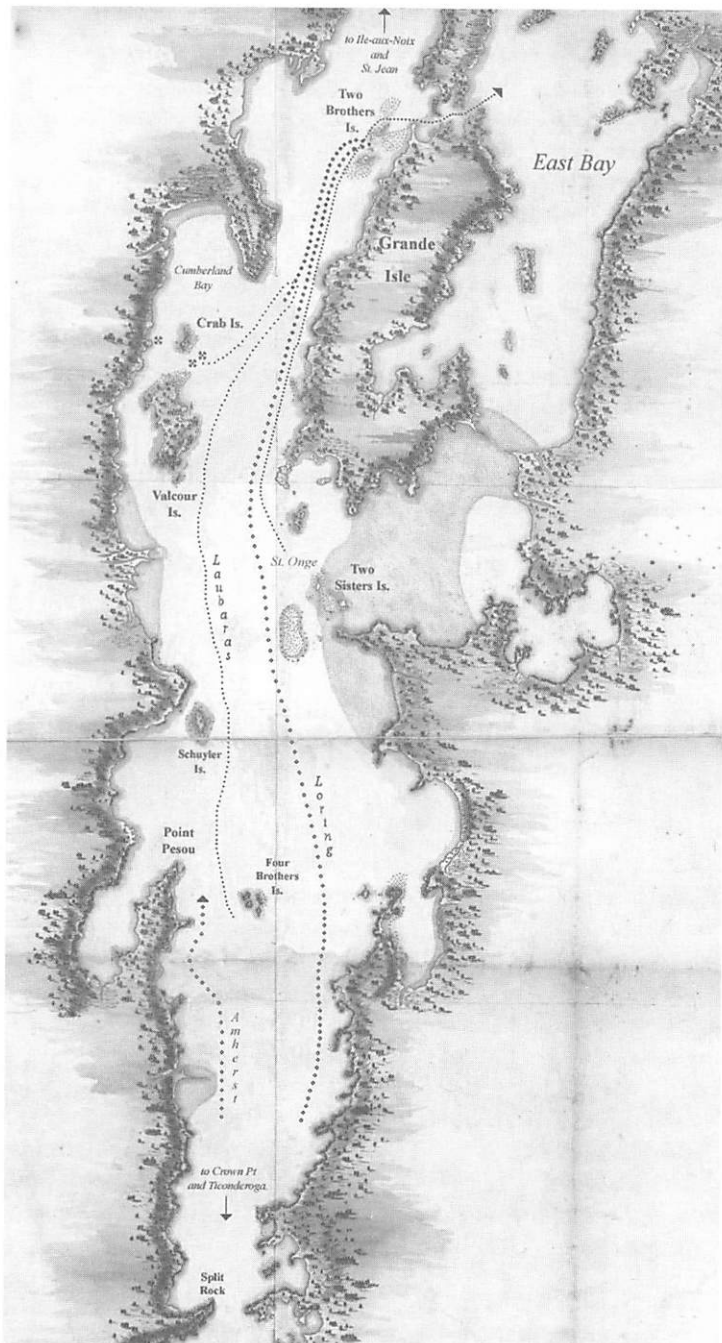
the column's right flank. Several anxious moments passed before it became apparent that the maneuver was unnecessary. The French vessels were headed north at full speed.²⁷

Loring and Grant spent most of the day cursing St. Onge and the shoals they were stuck on. The *Boscawen* was freed fairly easily, but the *Duke of Cumberland* proved to be stuck fast. After removing eight guns and sixty men, the vessel was finally refloated to the cheers of all and the relief of Loring. Neither vessel was damaged, and after transferring the guns and men back aboard, the two warships headed back out into the main channel. Although the *Vigilante* was trapped in East Bay, Loring did not dare go after her for fear of allowing the rest of the French fleet to slip past him. It proved a wise choice, for the two vessels had no sooner begun moving when a cry from a lookout drew everyone's attention. To the south three vessels could be seen tacking north. It seemed that the French fleet had found him and not the other way around, but with the wind in his favor, Loring was not going to argue the point and gave the signal to close on the enemy.²⁸

With the wind gauge against him and his route north blocked, Laubaras had little choice but to reverse course. It now became a matter of who was faster. If Laubaras could outdistance Loring before nightfall, he might be able to turn back under the cover of darkness and make his way past the English to Île-aux-Noix. Such was not the case, however. Loring pressed the French squadron, and with night falling and the wind failing, Laubaras saw no option but to take shelter in the lower portion of Cumberland Bay near the southern end of the Isle of St. Michael or Crab Island as it is known today.

With the two English warships anchored not far away, Laubaras called together Captain Rigal of the *Brochette* and the captain of the *Esturgeon* to discuss their options. It was agreed that a pair of small boats would be sent to warn Bourlamaque, and then, strangely, the decision was made to put the crews ashore and scuttle the fleet. It was an odd course of action, because nothing had been attempted. Although Laubaras's fleet was south of the English warships, it was hardly an iron trap. It was nightfall and the channel north between Cumberland Head

Facing page: *Naval actions on Lake Champlain, October 12–13, 1759. The author has added the movements of the French and English warships during this timeframe, and for clarity, has simplified several notational aspects of the 18th-century map, A Plan of Lake Champlain from Fort St. John to Ticonderoga . . . 1779. The original map can be found in the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.*



and Grand Isle was close to a mile and a half across, covered by only two warships whose crews were unfamiliar with the waters. At the very least, Laubaras could have tried to slip past the English. Given that there were three French ships and only two of the enemy, the odds were good that even if things went badly, at least one of the French vessels would have escaped. Nor was choosing to fight out of the question. The three xebecs, although outgunned and outmanned, were hardly facing overwhelming odds.

The weather, however, had much to do with the decision. At the moment both sides were becalmed, but indications were that at first light the weather would deteriorate, bringing the wind once again from the northeast. The xebecs had proved poor sailors under the best of circumstances, and without oars to counter the contrary winds, Laubaras seems to have judged both flight and fight impossible.

There was yet another option that must have been discussed. Although the weather and the English barred the route north, nothing was stopping the French fleet from moving south. At first light, or better yet before, as the wide part of the lake lay before them, the xebecs could proceed south. With a little luck they would shake their pursuers, hide, seek a defensible position in one of the many coves along the east shore, or launch a surprise attack on Amherst's troop columns, which they now knew were without their main escorts. Laubaras had already passed up one opportunity to attack Amherst. Given his orders and his belief that the English column would be screened by their principal warships, such a decision was not without merits. But now neither were guiding factors. The French fleet was lost in almost any scenario. It simply became a matter of what price to make the enemy pay for its loss. A more aggressive commander would not have hesitated. The chances of success were not good, but if just one French ship could get among the British troop columns, or better yet, among the boats carrying Amherst's artillery, they could deal the enemy a blow that would neutralize their new control of the lake. A Benedict Arnold would have certainly taken these odds, but Laubaras was not such a man.

The act of scuttling the fleet was accomplished almost as quickly as the decision was arrived at and with nearly the same thought process. The twelve-pounders from the *Musquelongy*, a few swivel guns, and a handful of muskets were thrown overboard, but the *Brochette* and *Esturgeon* were sunk intact in five fathoms of water, and the *Musquelongy*, after her masts were cut, simply run aground on the west shore of the lake. The work seemed to satisfy Laubaras, who along with the rest of the sailors and marines began the overland trek to Montreal. When dawn broke the next morning, Loring was stunned to find the abandoned

French fleet before him. When he and Lt. Grant investigated the wrecks, the shock turned to satisfaction. In both his and the Highlanders' estimation, all three of the ships and most of the items thrown overboard could be salvaged. Leaving Grant and the *Boscawen* to handle this task, Loring set sail north in hopes of catching the *Vigilante* before she returned to Île-aux-Noix, but poor weather and contrary winds forced him to seek shelter before he got more than a few miles from Cumberland Head.²⁹

The same storm that stopped Loring had also forced Amherst's flotilla ashore. A letter from the commodore reached the general on October 14 with news of the French fleet's destruction, but there was little he could do at the moment to take advantage of the situation. The winds were so bad that he could not even get a message back to Loring, and the lake was as choppy "as some seas in a gale." The 15th proved "impractical," the 16th no better, and the 17th just as bad, and on each of these evenings a hard freeze gripped the area, making the troops' life ashore nothing short of miserable. The weather lifted some on the 18th, but it no longer mattered. A courier reached the general from Crown Point that morning with news of Québec's capture and Wolfe's death. The fall of Québec, while good news for the British cause, spelled a death blow for Amherst's campaign. With the loss of Québec, the French army would fall back on Montreal, which meant that if Amherst proceeded, he would now have to contend with the combined armies of Bourlamaque and Lévis. To add to the decision, the air had taken on "an appearance of winter." The weather was not likely to improve, and by the general's estimation Île-aux-Noix was still a good ten days away at their current pace, plenty of time for the French to prepare a warm reception for his men. It all signaled the end of the campaign. "I shall decline my intended operations and get back to Crown Point where I hear the works go on but slowly," he wrote in his journal. The next morning he made his decision official. After detaching troops to assist Loring in his hunt for the *Vigilante* and to aid Grant in his salvage operations, Amherst ordered the army back to Crown Point.³⁰

For Bourlamaque the entire chain of events proved nothing less than frustrating. Given the vessels built and their glaring defects, he never had much faith in his navy's ability to halt the English advance; and although its loss was tempered by Amherst's decision to abandon the campaign, the French commander was mystified as to what had motivated Laubaras's decision. "[Laubaras] has sunk his boats without trying to march, without firing his cannon, and without attempting to escape under the cover of darkness," he wrote to Lévis. Nor was an explanation forthcoming, as Laubaras and his men elected to march straight for

Montreal. Bourlamaque wrote Governor Vaudreuil, demanding an explanation and the return of these men to bolster the defenses of Île-aux-Noix, but with the campaign season coming to a close, the whole matter soon faded into the background. At least the French commander could take some solace in the return of the *Vigilante*, which emerged from East Bay a few days later no worse for wear.³¹

The failure of Amherst and his men to reach Montreal was more than offset by the year's gains. Québec, Fort Niagara, Fort Carillon, and Fort St. Frédéric were now in British hands, and in an impressive feat Lt. Grant had managed to salvage all three French xebecs and much of their armament. By November 16 these vessels, which more than doubled the English naval presence on Lake Champlain, were safely anchored alongside the *Duke of Cumberland* and the *Boscawen* under the guns of Fort Ticonderoga. The conquest of the Lake Champlain corridor was not complete, but for the moment at least, there were no questions as to who commanded the lake.³²

THE LAST BATTLE

With the turn of the year, command of Île-aux-Noix was turned over to Montcalm's old chief of staff, Louis-Antoine Bougainville. Bougainville was under no illusions about what his new assignment would bring. With an English attempt on the island all but certain, he was forced to operate under a greater handicap than Bourlamaque the year before. A lack of manpower crippled the young colonel's efforts to secure the post, and what he did possess after the reinforcements finally arrived was less than half of what Bourlamaque had found necessary to defend the post the year before. Even with these setbacks, he made a great deal of progress. By August the island bristled with field fortifications. Most of the work was logically confined to the southern portion of the island, where the initial attack was certain to fall, and focused on improving the works previously erected there. The northern part of the island, however, lacked adequate defenses. Although the ground here was marshy, the English still might attempt to bring cannon over to this part of the island and attack the French fortifications via trench work, in the fashion of a formal siege.³³

Among the most important elements of Bougainville's defenses were the vessels assembled around the island. The loss of the three xebecs the previous fall had left the French scrambling for naval support. The gabare, armed with four small cannon, and the schooner *Vigilante* still remained, but little else. To fill the void left by the loss of Laubaras's squadron, two vessels, known as *tartanes*, were constructed at St. Jean during the fall of 1759 and the summer of 1760. The *tartanes* were in

keeping with the Mediterranean theme set earlier by the construction of the xebecs. Essentially row galleys, these vessels employed a short lateen-rigged main mast, and a small sail on their bowsprit to go along with a lateen sail on a short mizzen mast. The larger of the two, christened *Grand Diable*, carried forty to sixty oars and was originally to be armed with four twenty-four-pound cannon, but such guns were no longer to be found within the colony, and three eighteen-pound cannon were substituted instead, two mounted in the prow and another firing astern. The smaller of the two tartanes, simply referred to as the "little one," carried twenty-four oars and was armed with a number of swivel guns and four-pound cannon in lieu of the twenty-four-pound guns originally planned for her. Four small "Jacob" gunboats, armed with eight-pound guns in their prow, rounded out the naval forces at Bougainville's disposal.³⁴

At Crown Point, General William Haviland had spent a busy summer preparing for the upcoming campaign. Although he had previously commanded Fort Edward, the assignment was Haviland's first independent command of a corps, and he was eager to show that his recent promotion to brigadier general was well founded. Throughout May, June, July, and the first part of August, his days were spent immersed in the details of forwarding troops and supplies to Crown Point, repairs on Fort Ticonderoga, work on Fort Amherst at Crown Point, and dispatching scouting parties north. To seize Île-aux-Noix, the Richelieu Valley forts, and from there march on to Montreal, Amherst had given Haviland two regular British regiments, several provincial regiments from New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, Rogers's Rangers, and a detachment of the Royal Artillery. To protect his advance down the lake, Haviland could look to the naval squadron under the command of the Highlander-turned-commodore, Lt. Alexander Grant. Although it was known that the French still had a few vessels at their command, the British knew they controlled the lake. Grant had successfully raised and refitted the scuttled French fleet at Cumberland Bay, which meant that in addition to the *Duke of Cumberland* and the *Boscawen*, he now had three more sloops at his disposal, and in addition to the *Ligonier*, Lt. Colonel Ord had seen to the construction of three more flat-bottomed vessels, known as *radeaux*, to carry his artillery. Added to this were a number of gunboats, whaleboats, and smaller flat-bottomed vessels, all of which more than ensured English naval superiority.³⁵

By August 11, 1760, all the details having been addressed, Haviland pushed out onto the lake. Rogers's men took the lead in whaleboats, followed closely by the grenadiers and light infantry. In the boats behind them stretched out in three columns were the provincial troops

and the two regiments of British regulars. The *Ligonier* and three smaller radeaux carrying Ord's artillery and supplies along with the army's provision boats followed, escorted by the Rhode Island forces. Compared to previous years the flotilla was small, but in all it consisted of some 3,400 troops in eighty whaleboats, 330 bateaux, and 4 radeaux—more than enough for the task at hand. Grant's squadron had been ordered to lie off of Windmill Point in expectation of the fleet.³⁶

By daybreak of August 16, Haviland's troop columns had joined with Grant's fleet, forming two four-mile-long columns on the lake, which when cast against the perfect weather "made a very beautiful appearance," according to one provincial journalist.³⁷ Led by the *Ligonier*, the other artillery radeaux, and a few small gunboats, the columns entered the confines of the Richelieu River, where they encountered two small French boats that quickly beat a retreat at the sight of the armada. Around noon Haviland ordered the columns to halt just above Point à Margot, out of sight of Île-aux-Noix. The radeaux and gunboats were sent ahead to distract the enemy, while the order was given for Lt. Colonel John Darby's advanced guard of Rangers, Grenadiers, and Light Infantry to land on the east bank of the river. After scouring the shore for an hour, Darby gave the "all clear" signal and the rest of the army disembarked shortly thereafter with little incident. By nightfall over 3,000 men were ashore in the woods south of the island, secure behind a mile-long wooden breastwork that Haviland ordered built.³⁸

Haviland spent the next few days shuffling his army forward along the east shore, throwing up new breastworks, and positioning his artillery. Bougainville occasionally fired on his opponent, but it did little to distract their focus, and as the days progressed he was quickly finding himself in an impossible situation.³⁹ A few reinforcements had reached him on the opening days of the siege, but nowhere near what was needed or promised. Although Haviland had no intention of doing so, Bougainville's first concern was to prevent an English landing on the island, especially on the northern part where the enemy might appear suddenly via the Rivière du Sud, which entered the Richelieu a few hundred yards north of the island. If they secured a foothold here, they could entrench themselves and haul cannon forward against the weaker northern fortifications. To prevent this, at the start of the siege he dispatched Captain Jean Valette with 230 men and four cannon to this part of the island with orders to man the blockhouse there in hopes of hindering any English landing. St. Onge in the *Vigilante*, Captain Lesage with the *Grand Diable*, the gabare, and four gunboats were posted at the mouth of the Rivière du Sud, not only to block any English descent down the river, but to keep open the supply and communications

lines to St. Jean. It was hardly a formidable position, nor the ideal approach, Bougainville informed Lévis, but "The isle is immense and I must avoid all arrangements which would put me in the position of being taken by a coup de main."⁴⁰ Still, he assured Lévis, regardless of the defects in the position, he and the garrison were up to the task of defending it.⁴¹

A little over a week after landing, Haviland gave the order for the siege guns to open fire. For two days the English artillery pounded the island through a low-hanging mist that scattered showers across defender and foe alike. Both nights Haviland used the cover provided by the barrage to send several parties out to cut the boom blocking the east channel in hopes of opening the waterway to his vessels, but with little success. The detachments found the structure much stronger than anticipated, and in each case they were eventually chased off by a hail of grapeshot and small arms fire.

In the early morning hours of August 25, the English artillery renewed their systematic pounding of Île-aux-Noix. With the sound of their march masked by the thumping siege guns, Colonel Darby's detachment of Grenadiers, Light Infantry, and Rangers plowed through the mire along the east shore, dragging two twelve-pound cannon and a pair of five-and-a-half-inch howitzers behind them. It was grueling work, manhandling several tons of iron through the muck and between the trees, but by mid morning Darby's men had reached their destination and erected their little battery on a point of land just south of the confluence of the Rivière du Sud and the Richelieu. Across from them, anchored below the northern tip of the island, were three French vessels, the objective of their trek. Haviland had ordered Darby to destroy the French fleet in order to cut the island's communications with Fort St. Jean and open a passage for English vessels once the boom was cut. Around ten o'clock that morning, Darby opened fire on his unsuspecting targets. Onboard the *Grand Diable*, Captain Lesage responded instinctively to the attack and ordered the anchor cable cut so the vessel could be rowed to safety. Darby's men, however, were quick to find the range, and the next few shots crashed into the *Grand Diable*, killing Lesage instantly. With the tartane under fire and drifting slowly under a northwest wind toward the English battery, the crew thought the better of the matter and either swam to safety or surrendered. With the *Grand Diable* aground on the east shore, Darby turned his attention to the *Vigilante* moored a few hundred yards to the north. St. Onge had slipped his anchor at the start of the engagement in an attempt to run down the river, but quickly found himself sliding toward the east shore under the prevailing winds. Soon he too was aground on a peninsula



The capture of the French Fleet, October 25, 1760. The author has simplified portions of the 18th-century map, A Plan of Lake Champlain from Fort St. John to Ticonderoga . . . 1779, and has added the final movements of the French fleet leading up to their capture. The original map can be found in the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division.

north of the Rivière du Sud. The gabare that accompanied his flight met a similar fate, running aground not far away. The gabare, stuck fast, was doomed, but with luck the *Vigilante* might still be able to free herself, if she had the time. Darby, however, had no intention of allowing his quarry to escape. He ordered Rogers across the Rivière du Sud, while he and his men attempted to free the *Grand Diabie*. Rogers and his men made their way across the river, and once opposite the two vessels, laid down a barrage of musketry. A few of the Rangers, armed with tomahawks, swam out to the gabare and boarded her with little in

the way of opposition. The *Vigilante's* crew put up a little more resistance, banging away with her small cannon, but when the *Grand Diable*, now manned by English sailors, came into view, St. Onge resigned himself to the futility of the situation and struck his colors.⁴²

The engagement was an unqualified success for Haviland, and the end of the French Lake Champlain fleet. Twenty French sailors, including St. Onge, had been captured, the garrison's communications with Fort St. Jean had been cut, and the English now had three vessels under their control below the island. The entire venture had been accomplished without the loss of a single English soldier. The general was quick to exploit the victory. He ordered Lt. Grant and seventy sailors down to Darby's position to man the prizes and followed this with supplies and new cannon for the vessels. Ten whaleboats were also sent forward with orders for Darby to use them to ferry his men across the river to seize control of Prairie de Boileau on the west bank, further tightening the noose around the island.⁴³

For an exasperated Bougainville, the action was nothing short of a disaster. Although he had ordered the remaining elements of his fleet to support the vessels when they came under attack, they had refused to advance. The loss of the three warships now placed him in an impossible situation. His lifeline to St. Jean was cut, and what remained of his fleet, even if he had any faith in their abilities, could not contest the waters with the English. In addition, the enemy had made repeated efforts against the east boom, and it seemed only a matter of time before they managed to cut it and open the channel to their vessels. The turn of events called into question his entire position. To a large extent, the defense of Île-aux-Noix hinged on naval control of the river north of the island. Once this was lost, the island's fortifications could, at best, only serve to pin down a portion of the English army, while the rest circumvented the island and carried their advance farther down river. The conclusions were clear, and the next evening, under the cover of darkness, Bougainville abandoned the island.⁴⁴

It then only became a matter of days before the end of New France. Haviland cut the boom blocking the east channel, and with the captured *Grand Diable* in the lead, arrived at Fort St. Jean on the afternoon of August 30 to find it a smoldering ruin. Here lay the last two elements of the French Lake Champlain fleet, "one on ye stocks and one burned." The vessel on the stocks was the unfinished xebec that Bourlamaque had used as a floating battery. In November of the previous year, he had ordered this vessel towed to St. Jean and pulled out of the water in preparation for winter. Given the problems encountered with the earlier xebecs, their lack of oars needed to navigate the Richelieu River, and the

real possibility that such a vessel might be surprised and boarded in the narrow waterway, the decision was made not to finish her. The ship reported as burned was in all likelihood the *Saintonge*, the only major vessel not accounted for in the French Lake Champlain fleet.⁴⁵

Fort Chambly fell quickly on September 4, 1760, after a few shots, the only artillery rounds ever fired at the structure in its ninety-five-year history. With the forts and towns of the Richelieu Valley secured, Haviland turned his army to the west to take part in the final moments of New France. At one o'clock on the afternoon of September 8, his troops arrived on the south bank of the St. Lawrence opposite Montreal. General Amherst was encamped on the island to the west of the city with his army, while General James Murray was on the eastern end of the island, marching toward the last French stronghold. At almost the same moment as Haviland appeared, Governor Vaudreuil, realizing that further resistance was useless, gave the official order surrendering the colony.⁴⁶

EPILOGUE

With the surrender of Canada, calm descended over the Champlain Valley. For the next few years, sizable garrisons were dispatched each spring to man and work on the forts, and each fall a small core of these men were selected to garrison these locations throughout the winter. During this time, talk abounded about the return of Canada to France and even consideration of trading Canada for one of the valuable sugar islands, but when the Seven Years' War concluded in 1763, England retained Canada at the peace table. The English ministry's decision to keep Canada was called into question by many at the time and would have far-reaching consequences, but for the moment the colonies who had borne the brunt of the century-long conflict with the French rejoiced at the news.

St. Onge and most of the Canadian sailors who had served with him returned to quiet lives. A general amnesty was put into place in an effort to return the countryside to some form of normalcy, and for the Canadians who had seen the conflict to the end, the terms of the surrender were simple: go home. Some of the sailors who were French regulars returned to France. Many however, through family bonds or links to the land, elected to stay. The terms of the English occupation were not harsh, and the prospects Canada afforded those who chose to stay opportunities not to be found in Europe. The architects of the fleet, René and Pierre Levasseur, returned to France with the surrender of the colony. Although the elder Levasseur had lost nearly everything during the war, he was quickly put to work upon his return harvesting

masts in the Pyrenees forests for the French navy. As in New France his talents were quickly recognized and in early 1764 he was appointed commissary of the marine, a position he would hold until his retirement a few years later. Pierre did not fare as well as his father. He seems to have been employed as a writer in the marine for some time, but despite his father's influence he was later refused the position as deputy commissary of the marine.

Although he was never seriously challenged on his decision to scuttle his squadron, Laubaras was nonetheless dismissed from the service of New France. In keeping with his impressive string of bad luck he was shipwrecked on his return voyage to France in 1760, and after finding passage on another vessel, was then captured by a British frigate and taken to England where he was held until exchanged. His adventures on Lake Champlain do not seem to have stigmatized his later career. After serving on various vessels he was made a captain in 1779, and after commanding a pair of vessels over the intervening years, he retired as a rear admiral in 1786.⁴⁷

For the ships they sailed on, almost all of which were captured by the British, the future was varied. The *Grand Diable*, after carrying General Amherst from Île-aux-Noix to Ticonderoga in late September 1760, was used for a time to ferry supplies between Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point. On the night of October 22, 1761, loaded down with 150 barrels of flour, she tripped her anchor in a gale and caved in her hull against the rocks. The *Brochette* and *Esturgeon* were taken into Grant's fleet under the names *Brochet* and *La Chigan*, both classified as sloops. In constant need of repairs, they were operated sporadically until 1767, at which point both were either purposely sunk in the cold lake waters, or like the *Duke of Cumberland* and the *Boscawen*, simply left to rot along the shore until the lake eventually claimed them. The *Vigilante*, used for a brief period of time to shuttle troops between the Champlain Valley forts, seems to have gone this way as well. The *Saint-onge's* fate is unclear, as is the incomplete sloop-hulk found at the capture of St. Jean. The first seems to have been burned when Fort St. Jean was put to the torch in the final days of the war, while the second, although it escaped the flames, was never finished and likely ended up on the scrap heap cannibalized for its fittings. The "little one" tartane found itself gainfully employed for a few years, first in carrying off anything useful from Île-aux-Noix, and then in transporting supplies between Ticonderoga and Crown Point. With the war's official conclusion in 1763, however, and the reduced garrisons that followed, she quickly outlived her usefulness and was allowed to decay until she eventually sank. The gabare, christened the *Waggon* and classified as a sloop by the British,

was quickly put to use carrying supplies and troops down the lake. By early November 1760 she was already at Crown Point, and on the 17th of that month Haviland reported her loaded and ready to sail north, waiting only on the weather. She was utilized along with all the other vessels the following year, and shows up on a list of vessels prepared by Loring at Ticonderoga in late 1762. From here however, there are no more records of her actually being employed, implying that she too found a home beneath the cold lake waters.⁴⁸

Ironically, the last of the ships afloat from the French and Indian War was Laubaras's old flagship, the *Musquelongy*. The vessel underwent a major overhaul in 1765 to replace her rotting deck and upper works, and in 1767 John Blackburn, an English merchant, entered into a contract with the army to use this vessel to maintain the supply routes between the posts on Lake Champlain and the upper Richelieu River. The last ship of the French Lake Champlain fleet continued to operate until 1771, when it was deemed so unfit that it was replaced by the fifty-ton sloop *Betsy* built at the reconstructed Fort St. Jean. Sometime later that year, the crew of the *Musquelongy* stripped her of anything valuable and scuttled her, making her perhaps the only warship in history intentionally sunk by two different nations.⁴⁹

In retrospect, although the French Lake Champlain fleet was but a passing phase in the history of the Champlain Valley—it existed barely eighteen years—during this time it made significant contributions to the defense of New France. In shuttling troops and supplies back and forth from St. Jean to posts further up the lake, there is little doubt that the *Saintonge*, the *Vigilante*, and the gabare (*Waggon*) had a major impact on the defense of the Lake Champlain frontier, and in performing this tireless duty the little fleet showed its true mettle. In the higher profile role of a naval deterrent, the fleet performed admirably. It may seem odd to view the loss of the best armed ships in the fleet as a success, but one must remember that the three warships built at St. Jean during the winter of 1758 were never intended to do battle with the English. By simply existing they forced Amherst to build a fleet of his own, which consumed the better part of the campaign season. In the end, these three vessels stymied the efforts of a 12,000-man English army for a year. It was a remarkable feat by any military standards, and although all three were lost to this cause, it was an exchange that New France was more than happy to make.

Of more lasting importance was the precedent the French Lake Champlain fleet set in demonstrating the virtues of naval control over the Champlain Valley. Through its actions it became the forerunner of future fleets—larger, more capable, and better led ones that would vie

for control of the strategic north-south waterway and would ultimately help shape the fate of a new republic.

NOTES

¹For an overview of these two early campaigns see Jack Verney, *The Good Regiment: The Carignan-Salières Régiment in Canada, 1665-1668* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), 71-84, and Francis Parkman, *A Half-Century of Conflict* (2 vols. Boston, Ma.: Little, Brown and Co., 1894), 1: 134-138.

²Beauharnois to Minister, 13 October 1735, National Archives of Canada (NAC), MG1-C11A, vol. 63, fol. 73-103; Hocquart to Minister, 3 October 1741, *ibid.*, vol. 75, fol. 28-33. Note that directions on Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River are based on how both drain. Thus "down the lake/river" would be moving north and "up the lake/river" would be moving south.

³Hocquart to Minister, 3 October 1741, NAC, MG1-C11A, vol. 75, fol. 28-33; Bordereau de la dépense . . . de la construction d'une barque dans le lac Champlain la présente année 1742, *ibid.*, vol. 78, fol. 129-130; État des munitions . . . pour le service d'une goélette que Sa Majesté a ordonné être construite pour naviguer sur le lac Champlain, *ibid.*, vol. 78, fol. 131-132; État de la dépense . . . du fort Saint-Frédéric pendant l'année 1745, *ibid.*, vol. 85, fol. 392-394; État de la dépense . . . du fort Saint-Frédéric . . . 1744, *ibid.*, vol. 84, fol. 113-114.

⁴Projet de dépense pour la construction et armement d'une gabare ou bateau plat... à faire naviguer dans le lac Champlain, NAC, MG1-C11A, vol. 73, fol. 21-22; Beauharnois and Hocquart to Minister, 5 November, 1740, *ibid.*, vol. 73, fol. 46-48v; Robert Rogers, *The Journals of Major Robert Rogers* (London, 1765; reprinted University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Mi., 1966), 21; Edward P. Hamilton, ed., *Adventure in the Wilderness: The American Journals of Louis Antoine de Bougainville, 1756-1760* (Norman, Ok.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), 65; Extrait des registres des magasins . . . la présente année 1746, (31 December 1746), NAC, MG1-C11A, vol. 88, fol. 214-245; État de la dépense . . . du fort Saint-Frédéric . . . 1744, *ibid.*, vol. 84, fol. 113-114; État de la dépense . . . du fort Saint-Frédéric pendant l'année 1746, (15 October 1747), *ibid.*, vol. 88, fol. 246-246v; Peter Kalm, *Travels into North America*, trans. John Reinold Forster, 3 vols. (London: T. Lowndes, 1771), 3: 42.

⁵Beauharnois and Hocquart to Minister, 5 October and 5 November 1740, NAC, MG1-C11A, vol. 73, fol. 19-20v, 46-48v. The author has seen the unconfirmed name *Saint Frédéric* applied to the vessel without reference to the original source. This apparently originates from a personal loan St. Onge made to a friend ten years after the vessel's construction. Given that the ship appears in dozens of official documents both before and after this incident without mention of this name, it seems likely that the title was contrived in order to facilitate the paperwork.

⁶Léry to Minister, 7 November 1744, NAC, MG1-C11A, vol. 82, fol. 306-307v; Galissonnière et Bigot to Ministre, 26 September 1748, *ibid.*, vol. 91, fol. 40-45v; Kalm, *Travels*, 3: 45-46.

⁷"Journal of Chaussegros de Léry," *Fort Ticonderoga Museum Bulletin*, hereafter *FTMB* (July 1942), 143-144; "Journal de Nicolas Renaud d'Avène des Meloizes," *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Québec pour 1928-1929* (Québec: Rédempti Paradis, 1929), 11; Rogers, *Journals*, 21-22; H.R. Casgrain, ed., *Lettres du Marquis de Vaudreuil* (Québec: J. Demer and Frère, 1895), 25. Île aux Têtes is known today as Ash Island.

⁸Gabriel de Maurès, de Malartic, *Journal des campagnes au Canada de 1755 à 1760 par le comte de Maurès de Malartic* (Paris: E. Plon, Nourrit, et Cie, 1890), 108; Levasseur to Minister, 1 November 1756 and 1 November 1757, NAC, MG1-C11A, vol. 101, fol. 318-319 and vol. 102, fol. 223-224.

⁹Malartic, *Journal*, 114.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 117, 195; Abbé Charles-Nicolas Gabriel, *Le Maréchal de camp Desandrouins, 1729-1792*, 2 vols. (Verdun: Renvé-Lallement, 1887), 1: 286. A similar confusion as to the first and second "barques" can be seen in a letter from the Marquis de Montcalm to Colonel Charles Bourlamaque in December 1758, see H.R. Casgrain, ed., *Lettres de M. de Bourlamaque* (Québec: J. Demer and Frère, 1891), 283.

¹¹E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, 12 vols. (Albany, N.Y.: Weed, Parson, and Co.; 1858), 10, 873-874. "The only way to assure ourselves the possession of Lake Champlain and the St. Frédéric River," Bougainville wrote in mid 1758, "is by a strong naval force. I hear of chebecs, half-galleys, bateaux like that of M. Jacquau, of officers and of experienced crews" (Bougainville, *Journal*, 246-247).

¹²Levasseur to Minister, 30 October 1758, NAC, MG1-C11A, vol. 103, fol. 414-417; Jean de Olataratz (Laubaras), *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5.

¹³Levasseur to Minister, 30 Oct 1758, NAC, MG1-C11A, vol. 103, fol. 414-417; Casgrain, *Lettres de Bourlamaque*, 35. The armament stated is that recovered by the British after raising the vessels,

but this may not be complete. Amherst informed Loring after the vessels were raised that "The Enemy had thrown overboard two Brass Guns from Each Sloop where they Sunk them as Lieut. Mackay Informs me; and appears likewise, by the Carriages left in the Sloops." (Return of Guns . . . found on board the Three French Sloops, Great Britain, Public Records Office, Colonial Office Papers Class 5, American and West Indies, Original Correspondence, vol. 57, hereafter C.O.5/57, copies in NAC; Amherst to Loring, 16 November 1759, Great Britain, Public Records Office, War Office Papers Class 34, vol. 64 hereafter, W.O.34/64, copies in NAC). If all three xebecs, or even two, were actually armed with a pair of twelve-pound cannon, then the striking power of Laubaras's flotilla was much greater than has been estimated over the years.

¹⁴O'Callaghan, *Colonial History of New York*, 10:835, 865; J. Clarence Webster, ed., *The Journal of Jeffery Amherst* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1931), 156–157; H.R. Casgrain, ed., *Journal des Campagnes du Chevalier de Lévis* (Montreal: C.O. Beauchemin and Fils, 1890), 175; "Relation de Poulariès Envoyé à Marquis de Montcalm," *Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Québec pour 1931–1932* (Québec: Rédempti Paradis, 1933), 89. Bourlamaque stated that the xebecs carried a crew of fifty sailors and marines, and that a total of eighty-two sailors manned the three xebecs and the *Vigilante*, supported by ninety-six regulars and militiamen who acted as marines. (O'Callaghan, *Colonial History of New York*, 10: 1055; Casgrain, *Lettres de Bourlamaque* 16–17.) For the sake of argument we will assume that the three senior French commanders had seen xebecs before. This is not much of a stretch given that between the three they had close to seventy-five years of military experience.

¹⁵Loring to Admiralty, 22 November 1759, NAC, Admiralty Papers, vol. 2048; Webster, *Amherst*, 154.

¹⁶See entries for polacre and xebec in William Falconer, *An Universal Dictionary of the Marine* (London: T. Cadell, 1780).

¹⁷Casgrain, *Lettres de Bourlamaque*, 22, 327; Andre Charbonneau, *The Fortifications of Île aux Noix* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks Department, 1994), 332; René-Nicolas Levasseur, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4.

¹⁸As an indication of Laubaras's inability to impede English scouting parties it should be noted that in September Rogers, with 190 men in seventeen whaleboats, slipped past the French fleet on his way to attack the Abenaki settlement on the St. Francis River. (Rogers, *Journal*, 146, 150–151).

¹⁹Webster, *Amherst*, 147–150; Amherst to Pitt, August 5, 1759, C.O.5/56.

²⁰Webster, *Amherst*, 153.

²¹*Ibid.*, 156–157.

²²*Ibid.*, 157, 163–164.

²³Casgrain, *Lettres de Bourlamaque au Lévis*, 31; Mémoire sur la Frontière du Lac Champlain par M le Chevalier de Bourlamaque, NAC, MG18-K9, 6: 105–115; Webster, *Amherst*, 168; Amherst to Loring, 15 September 1759, W.O.34/64.

²⁴Sailing Orders for Captain Joshua Loring, 10 October, 1759, W.O.34/64; Webster, *Amherst*, 178–179; Casgrain, *Lettres de Bourlamaque*, 39.

²⁵Amherst to Pitt, 22 October 1759, C.O.5/57. There is something of a discrepancy when it comes to the armament of the English vessels. Loring reported to the Admiralty that he had built a "Brigantine Capable of Carrying Eighteen Six and Nine pounders and a Sloop of Sixteen Six pounders but we have no Larger Guns here than Four pounders." (Loring to Admiralty, 22 November 1759, NAC, Admiralty Papers, vol. 2048). In an oversight, the original six-and nine-pound guns did not arrive as expected, leaving Loring to request replacements from Ord. It seems that at least some of the six-pounders were replaced, but if Loring's statement is true, it would explain why he was hesitant to engage the French fleet with his two vessels. (Amherst to Loring, 28 August and 18 September, 1759, and Loring to Amherst, 29 August and 16 Sept, 1759, W.O.34/64). Opposing fleets of this time were often compared by their weight of metal, that is, by the total poundage of their guns. Counting swivel guns as one-pounders and using the guns recovered by the English for the French numbers we have: Loring (2 vessels)—200 lb. Laubaras (4 vessels)—150 lb. If the *Brochette* and *Esturgeon* were each armed with a pair of twelve-pounders, as Amherst later suspected, this would have put the two sides on par.

²⁶Loring to Admiralty, 22 November 1759, NAC, Admiralty Papers, vol. 2048; Webster, *Amherst*, 180–181; Casgrain, *Lettres de Bourlamaque*, 61, "Journal de Meloizes," 80; John Knox, *An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760*, 2 vols. (London: Johnston and Dodsley, 1769). Edited by Arthur G. Doughty and reprinted in 3 vols. (Freeport, N.Y.: Libraries Press, 1970), 2: 196.

²⁷Webster, *Amherst*, 179–180; Casgrain, *Lettres de Bourlamaque*, 30, 61; Amherst to Pitt, 22 October 1759, C.O.5/57; O'Callaghan, *Colonial History of New York*, 10: 1056.

²⁸Loring to Admiralty, 22 November 1759, NAC, Admiralty Papers, vol. 2048; Webster, *Amherst*, 180–181.

²⁹Amherst to Pitt, 22 October, 1759, C.O.5/57; Loring to Admiralty, 22 November 1759, NAC, Admiralty Papers vol. 2048; Casgrain, *Lettres de Bourlamaque*, 62, 65–66, 68; "Journal de Meloizes,"

80–81; O'Callaghan, *Colonial History of New York*, 10:1056; Knox, *Journal*, 2: 196–197; Casgrain, *Journal de Lévis*, 228. As it turned out, a British scouting party under Ranger Nathaniel Burbank had spotted Laubaras's squadron on the night of October 12, noting "that they kept up a great hammering and noise" throughout the evening. When Laubaras's men came ashore they discovered the Rangers, forcing the badly outnumbered Burbank to beat a hasty retreat (Webster, *Amherst*, 183–184).

³⁰ Webster, *Amherst*, 181–183.

³¹ Casgrain, *Lettres de Bourlamaque*, 68. Vaudreuil to Bourlamaque, 25 October 1759, NAC, MG18-K9, 12: 463–466. Vaudreuil promised Bourlamaque that Laubaras would be held accountable for his actions and apparently whatever explanation he received did not sit well with the governor. Lévis refused to give Laubaras command of a vessel being built on Lake Ontario, and the author of an anonymous French journal later referred to Laubaras as "a man no longer to be employed in any command." (Vaudreuil to Bourlamaque, 25 October, 1759, NAC, MG18-K9, 12: 463–466; Casgrain, *Lettres de Bourlamaque*, 65–69; O'Callaghan, *Colonial History of New York*, 10: 1042.)

³² Webster, *Amherst*, 191; Gertrude Kimball, ed., *The Correspondence of William Pitt*, 2 vols. (London: MacMillan, 1906), 2, 223–224. Note that there are contrary statements by Amherst, based on Lt. McKay's account, on whether the French threw two or four brass guns overboard during the scuttling. Loring attempted to rechristen the *Musquelongy* the *Amherst*, in honor of the general, but the name did not stick. (Webster, *Amherst*, 185).

³³ H.R. Casgrain, ed., *Lettres de Divers Particuliers* (Québec: J. Demer and Frère, 1895), 137–147; O'Callaghan, *Colonial History of New York*, 10: 1101–1102; Charles Winchester, ed., *Memoirs of the Chevalier de Johnstone*, 3 vols. (Aberdeen: D. Wyllie and son, 1871), 3: 68–69.

³⁴ Casgrain, *Lettres de Divers Particuliers*, 148–149; Mémoire sur la Frontière du Lac Champlain par M le Chevalier de Bourlamaque, NAC, MG18-K9, 6:105–115; Examination of Prisoners aboard the *Duke of Cumberland*, 20 June 1760, W.O.34/51; Charbonneau, *Fortifications of Île aux Noix*, 331–336; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 September 1760.

³⁵ Hugh Hastings, ed., *Orderly Book and Journal of Major John Hawks, 1759–1760* (New York: H. K. Brewer and Co., 1911), 73–87; "Captain Samuel Jenks's Journal of the Campaign of 1760," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings (MHSP)*, 2 (1890): 355–366; Amherst to Grant, 13 April 1760, W.O.34/65.

³⁶ Rogers, *Journal*, 188–190; Haviland's Journal, 11–15 August 1760, W.O.34/77; "Journal of Sergeant David Holden," *MHSP*, 4 (1889): 396–397; "Diary of John Bradbury," in William Lapham, *Bradbury Memorial* (Portland, Me.: Brown Thurston and Co., 1890), 275–276.

³⁷ "Jenks's Journal," 368.

³⁸ *Ibid.*; Haviland's Journal, 16 August 1760, W.O.34/77; Rogers, *Journal*, 190; Col. John Whitcomb's *Orderly Book for 1760*, MS at Lancaster Public Library, Lancaster, Massachusetts.

³⁹ Haviland's Journal, 17 August, 1760, W.O.34/77; "Diary of John Bradbury," 276–277; P. M. Woodwell, ed., *The Diary of Thomas Moody* (Berwick, Me.: The Chronicle Print Shop, 1976), 26.

⁴⁰ Casgrain, *Lettres de Divers Particuliers*, 144–146. Haviland in his report on the island's defenses noted that "The works are extensive and with a great garrison it could not be taken, but it would require at least 6,000 men to fill it properly." (Haviland to Amherst, 31 August 1760, W.O.34/101.)

⁴¹ Casgrain, *Lettres de Divers Particuliers*, 144–146.

⁴² Haviland's Journal, 24–27 August 1760, W.O.34/77; Haviland to Amherst, 31 August 1760, W.O.34/101; Rogers, *Journal*, 190–191; "Jenks's Journal," 371–372; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 and 18 September 1760; Casgrain, *Lettres de Divers Particuliers*, 148–149; O'Callaghan, *Colonial History of New York*, 10: 1103–1104. A number of English accounts claimed that a sloop was taken as well as the *Vigilante* and the *Grand Diable*. This was actually the gabare. It should be noted that small vessels such as this were commonly misclassified. Loring, for instance, in a survey of the vessels at Fort William Henry in the fall of 1756, refers to "two open lighters of about 25 tons each" as small sloops in a list he presented to the Admiralty. ("Diaries Kept by Lemuel Woods," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, 20 (1883): 293; "Jenks's Journal," 371; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 September 1760; Loring to Admiralty, 29 September 1756, NAC, Admiralty Papers, vol. 2046.) It should be noted that the prisoners interrogated by Rogers in June also referred to the gabare as a sloop. (Examination of Prisoners aboard the *Duke of Cumberland*, 20 June 1760, W.O.34/51).

⁴³ Haviland's Journal, 24–27 August 1760, W.O.34/77; List of Prisoners Taken at the Reduction of Île aux Noix, C.O.5/59; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 and 18, September 1760.

⁴⁴ Haviland's Journal, 24–27 August 1760, W.O.34/77; Haviland to Amherst, 31 August 1760, W.O.34/101; Rogers, *Journal*, 190–191; "Jenks's Journal," 371–372; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 September 1760; Casgrain, *Lettres de Divers Particuliers*, 148–149; O'Callaghan, *Colonial History of New York*, 10: 1104. With the abandonment of the island the English seized the remaining elements of the French Lake Champlain fleet, namely, the "little one" tartane, and the four Jacobs. The importance placed on the French fleet's defense of the Richelieu River below Île-aux-Noix may be

seen in a comment attributed to St. Onge. The "Commodore," as the English stylized him, was reputed to have wished Darby "the joy of the country" upon his capture. Meaning simply, that with this last obstacle overcome New France was open for the taking. (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, 11 September 1760).

⁴⁵ Bourlamaque Instructions to La Valette, 24 November 1759, NAC, MG18-K9, 6: 129–132; Casgrain, *Lettres de Bourlamaque*, 21–22; "Diary of John Bradbury," 281.

⁴⁶ "Journal of Sergeant David Holden," 401; Webster, *Amherst*, 245–247. The Articles of Surrender are printed in O'Callaghan, *Colonial History of New York*, 10: 1107–1120.

⁴⁷ René-Nicholas Levasseur, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 4; Jean de Olabaratz (Laubaras), *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5.

⁴⁸ Webster, *Amherst*, 261–262; Col. John Young to Amherst, 23 October 1761, W.O.34/51; Haviland to Amherst, 17 November 1760 and 4 June, 1761, *ibid.*; Elliot to Amherst, 21 November 1761, *ibid.*; Loring List of Vessels, November 1762, W.O.34/65; Grant to Amherst, 22 November 1760, *ibid.*; Grant to Amherst, 1 December 1763, Gage Papers, vol. 10, William Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mi.; Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, 2 vols. (London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1933), 1: 301.

⁴⁹ Contract between John Blackburn and Lords of Treasury, 5 May 1767, NAC, Haldimand Papers, B27; Carter, *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage*, 1: 258, 301, 2:427, 466; Burton to Gage, 2 May 1765, Gage Papers, vol. 35, William Clements Library. In 1767 Francis Grant on a voyage up Lake Champlain reported that the British fleet at Ticonderoga consisted of the *Duke of Cumberland*, the *Boscawen*, two schooners, some bateaux, and three French sloops, one of which was constantly employed in transporting supplies between Ticonderoga and Fort St. John ("Journal from New York to Canada, 1767," *New York History: Quarterly Journal of the New York Historical Association*, 13 (1932): 319–320). The statement is somewhat deceptive. The *Boscawen*, for one, had been underwater for five years at this point, and a report from Brigadier General Ralph Burton in 1765 stated that only the three French sloops, all in need of major repairs, were currently active on the lake, which implies that the other vessels had been either intentionally or unintentionally sunk as well. It seems what was meant by Grant's statement was that if need be, all of the before-mentioned vessels could be raised and refitted. It also seems that Grant mis-categorized the *Waggon* as a schooner, which might easily be done as she was likely underwater by this point. It should also be noted that the "little one" tartane, and none of the British radeaux, including the *Ligonier*, appear on his list.



Jay's Treaty: The Transformation of Lake Champlain Commerce

The Jay Treaty, ratified by the U.S. Senate in 1795, took real effect in 1796, drastically altering the rules governing Canadian-American inland and lake-borne trade. The pattern of commerce suddenly and dramatically changed.

By H. NICHOLAS MULLER III

When its terms became public in 1795, most Americans, including Vermonters, viewed the Jay Treaty through a political prism. They saw its efforts to resolve maritime conflicts with Great Britain, the British occupation of a string of outposts in United States territory, and the agreement to firm up the Canadian-American boundary in terms of domestic politics. They correctly thought that it represented the Washington administration's attempt, led by Alexander Hamilton, to stabilize relations with Great Britain and to maintain the tariff revenue that supported the young republic. The Republican opposition led by Thomas Jefferson and James Madison opposed these policies, which they saw as favoring Great Britain. They preferred friendly relations with revolutionary France, which they viewed as a continuation of the French-American alliance formed in the late 1770s during the American Revolution. The French declaration of

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war against the British in 1793 exacerbated the political tensions in the United States between these factions. These political opponents argued their differences through the acrimonious debate over the Jay Treaty. In this highly charged, volatile political atmosphere, few bothered to examine the importance of the commercial aspects of the treaty.

In the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century, commercial activity between the St. Lawrence and Hudson Rivers over Lake Champlain defied both British and French imperial policy. Fur gathered at Montreal went south while generally superior and less expensive British trade goods of rum, iron implements, and strouds (a coarse woolen cloth) went north in exchange. In the 1760s, with both ends of this corridor under British authority after their victory in the French and Indian War, settlement began to take hold in the Champlain Valley, and trade followed settlement. Timber and pot and pearl ash, by-products of clearing land, and some agricultural produce began to move north to Canada. The American Revolution once again placed a political boundary, through British mercantile laws, across the north end of Lake Champlain and disrupted the new trade. The Jay Treaty abruptly changed the post-revolutionary geopolitical situation. Canadian merchants, especially in Montreal, the developing commercial entrepôt on the St. Lawrence River, and their counterparts from New York City, Albany, and growing Champlain Valley towns astride the Hudson River-Lake Champlain corridor quickly discovered the new regulations. They rapidly took advantage of the treaty's terms. The rearrangement of the trade regulations between the United States and Canada through the Champlain Valley induced a new commercial stream between New York and Montreal. It also accelerated the pace of development in northwestern Vermont and on both sides of the lake. The impact of the Jay Treaty would dominate this commerce for at least two decades until the War of 1812 and its aftermath would spark a new set of trade regulations.

REACTIONS TO THE JAY TREATY IN VERMONT

News of the proposed treaty with Great Britain burst on Vermont in the spring of 1795 to widespread explosions of public outrage including, according to one report, hanging its author, John Jay, in effigy in Rutland. Jay signed the treaty in November 1794, but the Washington administration, understanding its politically volatile nature, withheld the draft from the Senate until March 1795. After a long and heated debate, the Senate ratified the treaty in June 1795, with Vermont votes split. Senator Moses Robinson voted against it while Stephen R. Bradley supported it. The perception of a "stealth" process around ratification,

because the administration, citing executive privilege for the first time, withheld the documentation relating to the treaty, intensified public objection. In Vermont the clamor became particularly shrill on the west side of the Green Mountains from Bennington County northward, including the entire Champlain Valley. Jay's Treaty exposed deepening fault lines cleaving Vermont politics that separated adherents of President Washington and Alexander Hamilton largely residing on the east side of the Green Mountains from the fervent adherents of Jefferson and Madison on the west side.

Jay's Treaty satisfied some Vermont interests by agreeing to settle the Canadian-Vermont boundary, thus removing an irritant to land claims. It also achieved the abandonment of the British posts on American territory along Lake Champlain at Dutchman's (or Blockhouse) Point on the west shore of North Hero and at Point au Fer in New York. The treaty explicitly opened trade with Canada on the lake and overland. The British had previously stepped outside of their mercantile policy and had tolerated the trade from Vermont of a limited list of commodities sanctioned by orders of the governor of Canada. This move recognized the pressing British need for timber and masts, pressure from Vermont, as Canada provided the only outlet for its produce, and the desire of Québec merchants to harvest the proceeds as middlemen in the timber and pot and pearl ash trade and the sale of British products in the United States. The treaty carefully hedged the concession of allowing lake and inland trade on a most favored nation basis by specifically prohibiting American ships from carrying cargoes on the St. Lawrence River.

But the din created by the treaty in Vermont overrode public attention to the favorable commercial terms. Publicly, no one seemed to recognize the dramatic impact the Jay Treaty would have on the Champlain Valley. The outcry asserted that the United States had servilely buckled to the British at the expense of both American and French interests. The noisy uproar did not consider the obscure Article XIII; it went unnoticed. This provision "legalized American trade with the British East Indies . . . incidental to the American China trade." It proved "of much more advantage to the United States than doubtless either party realized at the time of making the treaty."¹ American merchants and their counterparts in Vermont along the Champlain-Richelieu route quickly seized the opportunity.² While the Jay Treaty secured the northern market for the vast majority of Vermont produce from the west side of the Green Mountains and across Lake Champlain in the forming settlements in New York, it also greatly accelerated and in important ways shaped the commercial infrastructure of the Champlain Valley.

After becoming the fourteenth state in 1791, political life in Vermont gradually aligned with the developing national Federalist and Republican parties. Nathaniel Chipman, Isaac Tichenor, and some others who had worked with Alexander Hamilton to achieve Vermont statehood in 1791 led the Vermont Federalists. They supported a strong national government, friendly relations with Great Britain, sound fiscal policy, and mercantile, commercial, and shipping interests. They found their greatest support in the towns on the east side of the Green Mountains, which generally approved of the Jay Treaty. The opposition, styling themselves as Democratic-Republicans or simply Republicans, tended to dominate political life on the west side of the mountains. With a more rural, agrarian and egalitarian bent, they loathed Britain and enthusiastically supported the French Revolution, which they regarded as a flattering reflection of the American struggle for independence and their own against New York. The "old corps"³ of what remained of the Allen-Chittenden faction who had led the Vermont independence movement generally supported rising Republican leaders like Israel Smith, Gideon Olin, Stephen R. Bradley, and Jonas Galusha. They regarded Thomas Jefferson as their national leader.

Jefferson and Madison, along with a third unidentified companion from Virginia, visited Vermont early in June 1791. The trip hardened their west side support. The Virginians proceeded north from Lake George to the ruins at Fort Ticonderoga and another twenty-five miles further north down Lake Champlain until head winds forced them to stop.⁴ They stayed overnight at the inn at Chimney Point and then headed south to Bennington, where they arrived on Saturday, June 4; toured the Bennington battlefield; attended church services on Sunday; and left the next day for the Connecticut River and south to Hartford, Connecticut. Jefferson referred to the tour as a "holiday trip" for scientific observations, and Madison ostensibly joined him for health, recreation, and to satisfy his natural curiosity. Jefferson's botanical curiosity included the sugar maple, and he arranged to have sixty seedlings sent to Poplar Forest, his summer residence about ninety miles from Monticello.⁵

The tour observed Vermont politics as well as its flora. Their Virginian traveling companion decried with "some uneasiness" electioneering in Vermont. With a slightly veiled reference to Matthew Lyon, he noted derisively that a Republican and a declared candidate for Congress would run against the incumbent Israel Smith, who enjoyed "Republican interest," the support of the regular Jeffersonians. The traveler blamed the situation on the existence of "bribery and corruption" and "low intriguing arts." That same year the *Vermont Gazette* charged Lyon, Governor Chittenden's son-in-law who operated a foundry in

Fairhaven, with practicing two arts: "making politics *malleable*, and the other the art of selling civil offices for proxies."⁶ While sending Vermont flora south during the holiday excursion and botanical tour, the Virginians scattered some political seeds in the Green Mountain state.

Not long after Jefferson's tour, Democratic (or Democratic-Republican) Societies began to sprout in the fertile political soil of Vermont's western counties of Bennington, Rutland, Addison, and Chittenden, which then included the territory that would later become Franklin and Grand Isle counties. Rabidly Anglophobic, the societies trumpeted their contempt and "enmity" for Britain. The first resolution adopted by "The Associated DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, in the County of Chittenden" enumerated the grievances that had brought the United States to the brink of open hostilities with the British and caused President Washington to dispatch John Jay to negotiate with them. These issues included the maintenance of military posts on the U.S. soil, encouraging Indians "to scalp, torture, and murder" frontier settlers, and a list of maritime problems that included shutting off West Indian trade, capturing American merchant vessels, and impressing seamen.⁷ The excoriation of Jay and the treaty never mentioned the removal of the cramping limitations on moving Vermont produce to market in Canada.

While the Jay Treaty made changes along the length of the Canadian-American boundary, its provisions had the most immediate impact on Vermont. Article III permitted subjects of either country "to freely pass and repass by Land and Inland Navigation, into the respective Territories and Countries of the two Parties on the Continent of America," except within the "limits" of the Hudson Bay Company, "and to freely carry on trade and commerce with each other." They could trade in "all Goods and Merchandise whose Importation shall not be entirely prohibited," a provision that eliminated very few products. The treaty declared that imported goods "shall be subject to no higher or other Duties than would be payable" on goods imported by Americans into the U.S. or by the British into British North America. The treaty did maintain British mercantile policy at sea by prohibiting American vessels from navigating on the St. Lawrence River.⁸

In Article XIII of the Jay Treaty, presumably unrelated to Canadian-American commerce, the British agreed to allow American vessels to "freely carry on a Trade" with the British East Indies provided "that the Vessels of the United States shall not carry any of the articles exported . . . to any port or Place, except . . . in America, where they shall be unladen." Article III specifically permitted passage over the Canadian-American border of any goods not expressly prohibited from coming into Canada from Britain. It also settled the matter of allowing the

re-export of Vermont produce to Britain, a practice that violated mercantile law. The re-export trade continued nonetheless through forbearance and winking at the regulations, especially because of the British demand for forest products. A close reading of Article XIII, which allowed American merchants to import goods directly from the British East Indies to New York, when put together with Article III, allowed the merchants to re-export these goods to Canada over the Champlain–Richelieu route.⁹

The popular dislike of the Jay Treaty boomed like a thunderstorm over much of Vermont, where an observer thought it had “made the author as famous in London, as Benedict Arnold is infamous in New London.” Arnold and Jay, he wrote, “had the same object in view, the sale of their country.” Jay, he concluded, “proved successful in his perfidy.”¹⁰ But he and the public had missed the confluence of Articles III and XIII. The view of the treaty would soon change, and the outburst subsided. In a short time the clamor in Vermont about the treaty died out and the Democratic Societies in Vermont faded away. As Philip S. Foner notes, “when the [Democratic] Societies lost their campaign against Jay’s Treaty, they also lost some of their influence” and as the apparatus of the Jeffersonian party developed, the Democratic Societies in Vermont gradually withered.¹¹

The British and Canadian merchants initially did not understand the threat posed by the treaty. Instead, they greeted it with enthusiasm. In Article III, the British recognized the community of economic interest with Vermont. They wanted the steady flow of squared timber, masts and spars for the navy and maritime interests, and pearl and pot ash for burgeoning English industries. They also wanted shingles, barrel staves and heads, pig iron, wheat, salt pork and beef, and other Champlain Valley agricultural products for the Canadian market. In return they expected to sell British manufactures, salt, textiles, spirits, and other products to Vermont that had advantageous costs. The British intended Article III “to render in great Degree the local advantages of each Party common to both and thereby promote a disposition favourable to Friendship and good Neighbourhood.”¹²

The Canadian merchants thought that they owned the “local advantages,” and they urged their government to waste no time in putting the treaty into effect. In Québec, Lord Dorchester, governor of Canada—who as General Guy Carleton had led the British incursion in 1776 that ended shortly after the fight with Benedict Arnold’s fleet at the Battle of Valcour Island—concurred. He remarked with some irony that the treaty would promote the peace and understanding “which now happily subsist between the two countries.”¹³ South of the border, merchants

ignored the partisan political din and prepared to take advantage of the unexpected opportunity created by Jay's diplomacy.

Jay's Treaty would become binding on July 1, 1796. Article III, consistent with American trade regulations already in place, required no action by the United States. The Canadians who had legal restraints against goods entering from the United States, unless excepted by Dorchester's proclamation allowing the importation of specific commodities, would need to act to implement the treaty. In anticipation of the provisions of the Jay Treaty becoming effective, Dorchester in April 1796 directed the customs officer at St. John on the Richelieu River not to seize goods that the treaty would soon make legal. St. John, at the south end of the Chambly Rapids, which interrupted navigation on the Richelieu River between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence River, had become the natural site to regulate commerce.¹⁴ Early in May the Legislative Assembly of Lower Canada passed "an Act for making temporary provision for the Regulation of Trade between this Province and the United States." The act gave the governor full powers to regulate trade until January 1, 1797, and from then until its next sitting. As the Legislative Assembly annually extended this act, the governor with his Legislative Council exercised full authority over trade from Vermont.¹⁵

Governor Dorchester turned to his attorney general, Jonathan Sewell, who in lawyerly fashion, and perhaps with foresight, drafted a complex order that included a series of new and differential duties on the trade across the American border. The council strongly objected to any duties on goods entering Canada for transshipment to Britain, a fundamental prop of the Canadian merchants. It also concluded that differential duties might not fit "within the construction of the treaty," and asked Sewell to revise the draft.¹⁶ Dorchester issued Sewell's revised draft in an order on July 7, 1796, suspending all previous regulations and declaring Lower Canada open to American commerce by land and inland navigation. His order allowed the free export of all goods from Canada, and the only duties levied on American imports would match those paid by British subjects on imports through the port of Québec. His order also required channeling all American imports, whether dutiable or not, through the lone inland customs house at St. John.¹⁷

The politically motivated resistance to the treaty quickly quieted as the residents of the Champlain Valley realized the truth that the merchants of Montreal and Québec had too slowly begun to fear and Jonathan Sewell attempted to forestall. When they awakened to the situation, the attitude of the Canadian merchants abruptly changed, although their complaints never approached the level of protest the treaty had stirred up in western Vermont. "The British government,"

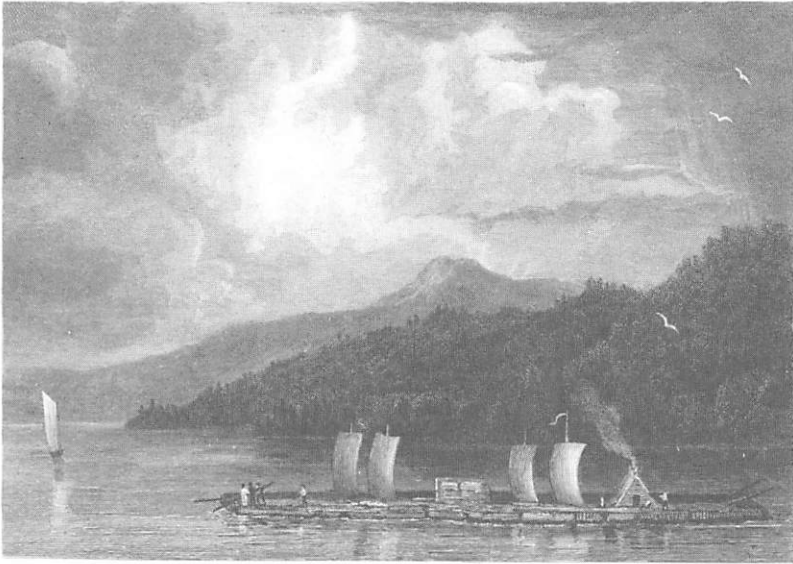
they concluded, "has been in many respects actually legislating for the advantage of America." They grumbled that "the treaty of 1794 has been very injurious, and annually becomes more so." This "disgraceful commercial treaty" ushered in a new era of trade over the Champlain-Richelieu route and the developing economy of the Champlain Valley.¹⁸

MOVING GOODS ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN

The Jay Treaty came into effect in the middle of a decade in which Vermont experienced extraordinary growth. Between the censuses of 1791 and 1800, the state's population expanded from 80,539 to 154,465, a growth rate of 91.8 percent. In the Champlain Valley counties of Addison, Chittenden, and Franklin, population exploded from 13,034 to 32,000, increasing 145.5 percent. The towns in New York on the west side of Lake Champlain, though lagging Vermont, had also begun a period of rapid growth. During the decade from 1801 to 1810, Vermont's Champlain Valley population continued to swell, with three counties along the lake shore, Addison, Chittenden, and Franklin climbing at a combined rate of 56.2 percent.¹⁹ With less than one-fourth of the population of their Vermont counterparts, the three New York counties along the lake continued to develop. The burgeoning population and manufacturing and agricultural output built local markets and stimulated the development of transportation and related infrastructure, which in turn facilitated the pace of settlement and more production.

Before the Jay Treaty, Vermonters had little alternative to Québec to market the by-product of clearing land and the increasing agricultural surplus. To transport the products to market, they assembled huge rafts constructed of sawn timber on the river flats exposed by the low water levels in the fall. In the winter they constructed rafts on the flats and on the ice. In the spring melt the rising water would float the rafts and propel them with the swift current into Lake Champlain, where they would then begin the slow and difficult voyage to Québec. They floated north with the current, sometimes aided by makeshift sails, toward the Richelieu and St. Lawrence Rivers. This vital trade carried by rafts came with serious navigation hazards, including the rapids on the Richelieu River between St. John and Chambly. It also encountered very difficult market conditions.

Levi Allen wrote to his brother Ira of the "misfortunes met with on the rapids" and other "risques."²⁰ Another Vermonter reported his "boards was all got down [to Québec] but 4 cribs got stuck by a bad Pilot [and] Some Part was obliged to be unloaded by which means some of the boards have been lost."²¹ Guy Catlin, a Burlington merchant, kept a journal of his experience on a raft floated out of the Lamoille



"Timber Raft on Lake Champlain," hand-colored engraving, dated 1831, by Fenner Sears & Co. (engraver not identified) for publication in John Howard Hinton's The History and Topography of the United States of North America (1831). The image is based on a painting by Thomas Cole after a sketch he made in 1827. Courtesy of Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.

River in late April 1805. With the aid of a pilot, he managed to negotiate "the rapids at St Johns," before his real difficulties commenced. "The wind blowing fresh from the west," he wrote, the raft "was blown on the Island an[d] stove [in] one crib of Oak timber. . . . [We] found our Raft Drifting Down River with only seven hand[s] on board." His raft then "ran a foul of Mr. Waterman[s] raft lying on the west side of the river and an other on the East which Made a Bridge across" the Richelieu. To compound Catlin's woes, a pious official boarded the raft and "forbid doing anything more" to free themselves because of "a Complaint for breaking the Sabath." This "occasioned a Dispute" which ended with "one of the hand[s] giving him a severe glazing." When Catlin's raft finally got to the St. Lawrence River, wind and current drove it past Québec and onto the Ile D'Orleans, about three miles downstream from the prime marketplace.²²

The problems did not disappear when the rafts finally negotiated the voyage to Québec. The need for spring floods to float the rafts and carry

them over the rapids on the Richelieu River landed all of the Vermont produce at the market at the same time, saturating the market and depressing prices. Traders had to contend with the monopsony of many sellers chasing a very small number of buyers, referred to by Ira Allen as “the sharpeners at Q __” and “d—d scotch rascals.”²³ The Canadian merchants who acted as middlemen for British buyers would often arbitrarily downgrade the quality of the timber, and when it arrived in Britain, merchants subjected it to further grading and condemnation. They also charged the Vermonters inflated prices for the goods they took home in exchange. Catlin punctuated his *Journal* with a weary and repetitious recital: “Thursday continued with the Raft. No person as yet appears to purchase.” The next week he recorded, “Tuesday and Wednesday attended as usual to the Raft with out finding anyone to ask the price of timber.” He continued “from Day to Day without finding anyone to purchase it.”²⁴ “Without punctuality,” beating most of the rafts to Québec, the lumber trade was “not worth a continental dam[n].”²⁵ Vermonters would sell at depressed prices, because unsold timber and boards caused “a great loss” as they “lay in the river over the winter” deteriorating because “of the frost splitting them.”²⁶ Sometimes dry weather added to the difficulties. Levi Allen wrote to Ira, “It appears obvious very little if any lumber will git to Quebec this season, Except heavy rains set in soon.”²⁷ In 1789 the Reverend Nathan Perkins, touring Vermont, concluded that “the rafting business is unprofitable for the State and for individuals that undertake it.”²⁸ But the producers from the Champlain Valley had little choice.

Despite the difficulties, the rafting trade in squared oak and pine timber, shingles, staves, masts, and spars, and oak, pine, birch, and cherry boards and planks that had begun haltingly in the late 1760s greatly increased in volume in the 1780s and 1790s. Until the mid-1790s, when the Jay Treaty took effect, most of the pearl and pot ash produced in the Champlain Valley also went to market by the barrel on the timber rafts for re-export to Britain. Pot ash served as a key ingredient in glass, lye, and soap making, and fertilizer. Bakers used the more refined and valuable pearl ash as a leavening agent. Both found an eager market. The rafts also carried the increasing agricultural surplus to market for Canadian consumption.

Champlain Valley farmers and merchants sent produce to markets as far away as Troy and Albany, Portland, Boston, Hartford, New Haven, and New York. But the majority of their surplus production of wheat, oats, hops, corn, rye, pease, varieties of seeds, cheese, butter, honey, cattle, oxen, horse, salt beef, and salt pork went to Canada, much of it piled on rafts. The customs house at St. John entered twenty-two different

agricultural products that "found a ready and profitable market" in Canada. A "great portion" of the agricultural produce "could not be carried to any other place of sale."²⁹ Canadian merchants re-exported only pork and wheat in any quantity; they sold the rest in Canada. The *Montreal Gazette* regularly carried advertisements for cheese, honey, beeswax, sole leather, and corn from the Champlain basin. D. A. Grout proudly announced that he used "Lake Champlain flour" in his Québec bakehouse.³⁰

After the Jay Treaty the patterns of commerce changed dramatically. Timber continued to travel to Québec on rafts, but a variety of other products and much of the valuable ash trade went to Montreal, which quickly eclipsed Québec as the commercial center for the American trade. While timber rafts continued to carry Champlain Valley produce into Canada well into the War of 1812 and perhaps a few years after that, the pressure to carry other goods to the Montreal market spawned a fleet of lake vessels.

The beginning of the era of commercial shipping on Lake Champlain coincided almost exactly with Jay's Treaty. Before ratification of the treaty in 1795, only four commercial vessels sailed on the lake. Benjamin Boardman of Burlington owned a 30-ton sloop (name unknown) built in 1791. Gideon King of Burlington, who would become known as the "Admiral of Lake Champlain" because of his extensive shipping interests, owned the 30-ton sloops *Dolphin* (1793) and *Lady Washington* (1795), and Jed Boynton owned the 30-ton sloop *Burlington Packet* (1793). By 1800 the fleet had grown by eleven more. When the War of 1812 broke out, builders had launched an additional thirty-one commercial vessels in Lake Champlain, including the second steamboat in the United States, the 120-foot *Vermont*, built in Burlington, that went into service in 1809. Shipwrights in Burlington and Essex, New York built almost all of the vessels, each sending about half of the lake's fleet down the ways.³¹ "Admiral" King, who owned about 40 percent of the fleet before 1800, not only "controlled and furnished the business for nearly all the vessels," but also advanced much of the money to build them.³² The fleet carried products, some passengers, and news north from a transshipment point at Whitehall at the head of the lake to lake ports and St. John on the Richelieu River. The goods then moved overland from St. John about eighteen miles to Montreal. The vessels returned south over the same route carrying British and some Canadian goods and fur.

Other forms of transportation augmented the fleet, seasonally limited by the winter freeze-up. Many of these developments immediately followed the implementation of the Jay Treaty. By 1797, a regular

weekly postal service had begun to operate between Burlington and Montreal, connecting with service south from Burlington to Albany and New York and beyond.³³ The same year the *Montreal Gazette* announced a subscription to construct “a Public road proposed to be laid out from the Province line at Missiskouie Bay to St. Johns” to link with the road from the south “where a line of stages are established.”³⁴ In 1797, Vermont adopted an act “to Lay out & Survey a Postroad from Onion [Winooski] River to the Province Line” to improve the old road.³⁵ These roads would tie into a growing network of roads and turn-pikes linking Burlington and Middlebury with the Connecticut River Valley and Boston to the southeast and Troy, Albany, and New York to the south. Both routes had regular stage service by 1807.³⁶

Also in 1797, Abija Cheeseman opened an inn (“house of entertainment”) at St. John, from which he rented “Horses and Calashes” and operated “two good stages which run everyday from St Johns to Laprairie” across the St. Lawrence River from Montreal.³⁷ A year later Francis Duclos inaugurated a ferry service “from St. John’s to Vermont.” He “opened a House of Entertainment furnished with the best Liquors and Provisions at South River ferry Missiskoui Bay,” probably in Alburgh.³⁸ In 1806, two Vermonters “adjacent to the landing at LAPRAIRIE . . . opened a HOUSE OF ENTERTAINMENT” to serve “Gentlemen Merchants and others, having property to transport across the River to Montreal, or to St. John’s.” They supplemented the usual “custom” of the inn with a daily round-trip stage between St. John and Montreal and cartage for “POTASH and any other property.”³⁹

With the Jay Treaty opening the Canadian market, American merchants needed to conduct business in Montreal. In January 1798, the *Montreal Gazette* advertised that “persons wanting to go the United States, will find good opportunity, by applying to Mr. Seth Brown at Mr. Clarke’s near the Recollet Gate, who has a good covered Sleigh and a baggage one, with able horses.”⁴⁰ Hugh Gray, an English visitor, observed that “travel from Canada to the United States . . . is not without its dangers, particularly in the winter; yet with all the inconveniences attending it, the journey is performed very frequently.” The “Americans,” he reported, “are constantly coming to Canada, particularly to Montreal.”⁴¹ The introduction of packets on Lake Champlain regularized and improved travel conditions. By 1807, passengers “from Burlington to St. Johns” could expect “a safe trip and pleasant passage in Packets, 75 M[iles in] from 10 to 24 H[ours]. From St Johns to Laprairie a stage runs daily, 18 Miles, 3 Hours. From Laprarie to Montreal, a ferry, 9 Miles, 2 1/2 Hours.”⁴² In 1809, the *Vermont* ushered in the age of steam, removed the vagaries of wind, and lopped hours off of travel

time over the lake. It could make the lake passage from Whitehall to St. John in twenty-four hours. Each week the *Vermont* met "the Southern stage at Whitehall, and complete[d] the line at St. John's L.C." It then returned to Whitehall with a call at Burlington both coming and going.⁴³

STIMULATING ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

Economic activity grew on each side of the lake, spurred by advancing settlement and augmented by the opportunity presented by the Jay Treaty. As with the population, the New York side lagged behind Vermont. In 1809, Peter Saily, collector of customs of the Champlain District, informed the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, Albert Gallatin, that "there are five works on the New York side of the lake where iron is manufactured." "There is," he continued, "an anchor shop of pretty large scale." But "we have none but household manufactures of cloth. There is a number of cording mills, and nail cutting by water machinery is done to a considerable extent." He concluded that, except for iron, "manufacturing here are of little importance."⁴⁴

A report written the same year on manufacturing in Vermont by a committee of the General Assembly found very different conditions. The committee did not even bother to consider forest products and related by-products or other "branches of mechanical business." It reported that the Champlain Valley had fifty-nine "clothiers works" and fifty-two cording machines, which annually produced 487,000 yards of cotton and linen cloth and 428,000 yards of woolen cloth. The region also made "hosiery and almost every article usually made from wool, cotton, or flax." While much of this output provided "for the common use of families" locally, it also provided enough for export. The Champlain Valley produced an exportable surplus of iron in eight blast furnaces and twenty-three forges, with the furnace and forge at Vergennes alone yielding "from 60 to 70 cwt. of pig iron and ware each 24 hours."⁴⁵ The valley's five paper mills annually produced a surplus for "exportation."⁴⁶ These industries often found their export market in Canada under the terms of the Jay Treaty.

While the Canadian merchants hoped the Jay Treaty would increase their re-export of British goods to the United States, in practice it worked the other way, allowing American merchants to compete with the British on the Canadian market, and, in some cases, capture it. Slowly after July 1, 1796, when the terms of the Jay Treaty went into effect, an increasing number and volume of American manufactured goods poured into Canada. Products previously prohibited from entering Canada traveled there over the Champlain-Richelieu route. From the foundries at Whitehall came saw and grist mill irons; from New York came

“Gowland’s Lotion for eruptions in the face and the Essence of Mustard a specific for Rheumatism, as well as tobacco, ribbons, leather goods, candles, and assorted dry goods”; from Boston came shawls, “silk and velvet ladies ware,” leather, plumes, combs, ribbons, umbrellas, and shoes; and from Philadelphia came clothes, jewelry, furniture, and “handicrafts of the Pennsylvania Germans.” Before 1797, very few advertisements for American goods “lately received” appeared in the *Montreal Gazette*. After that they appeared in all seasons.⁴⁷ In the winter, when the ice closed water-borne shipping, sleighs laden with American manufactured goods came to Montreal from as far away as Boston.⁴⁸

In 1799, the commercial syndicate of Caldwell, Van Ingen, & Caldwell in Albany and Caldwell & Fraser in Montreal established a “Manufactory” in Albany. The enterprise produced or processed “Tobacco of all kinds, Snuff, Chocolate, Mustard, Starch, Hair Powder, Hull’d Barley, and Split peas.”⁴⁹ The Montreal branch of the firm carried on an especially large business in tobacco. The “Manufactory” in Albany sent quantities of carrot tobacco in three sizes, pigtail tobacco, chewing twist, Scotch snuff, fine-cut smoking tobacco in three different sizes, and common-cut smoking tobacco in two sizes.⁵⁰ Before 1796, British ships carried all of the manufactured tobacco brought into Canada at Québec, except any smuggled from the United States. The Jay Treaty dramatically changed this. Soon after 1796, the customs house at St. John entered increasing quantities of manufactured tobacco, and within a decade almost 100 percent of the importation of the product entered Canada over the Champlain–Richelieu route, demonstrated by the total absence of tobacco products entered at Québec soon after 1796.⁵¹

Even with timber, pearl and pot ash, and agricultural commodities continuing to float on rafts into Canada in large amounts, the trade in American manufactures, non-existent before 1796, constituted nearly one half (44 percent) of the trade with Canada in 1807.⁵² When the Americans, adding to the export of their own products, began to re-export goods from British colonies over the Champlain–Richelieu route, the Canadians observed with dismay that the competition from the United States had increased “to a considerable Magnitude, and sundry articles are daily brought in from thence, which are the Produce & Manufacture of the East & West Indies.”⁵³ Canadian merchants complained of the “Rivalship of trade” the Jay Treaty introduced in “Teas and all kinds of East India Goods.” They correctly feared it would virtually “exclude all importations of that kind of trade from the Mother Country.” It especially vexed them that “by inland navigation, the American[s] may bring Brandies and Wines into Canada, which British

subjects are prohibited to import from places of their growth," as the trade and navigation laws required that British merchants endure the cost of first taking them to Britain before re-exporting them to Canada.⁵⁴ American merchants could now legally circumvent the monopoly that had protected high prices on goods imported by the British East India Company. The Montreal merchants despaired at the situation, and they bitterly complained that "the treaty has been very injurious, and annually becomes more so . . . as it affords a monopoly to the States in supplying the two Provinces [Upper and Lower Canada] with Teas, Cotton, and other East Indian Commodities, as well as Articles of foreign European Production."⁵⁵

The Jay Treaty, as the Canadians noted with resignation, also affected goods imported from other parts of the world than the British East Indies. On the popular commodity of rum, a staple in the taverns and the fur trade, the British attached a 9d. per gallon tariff on rum that shipped from the British West Indies. But they levied a duty of only 3d. per gallon on rum shipped from England. Because of the trans-Atlantic transportation costs, rum coming through Britain could not compete. Rum coming from the West Indies or American distilleries directly into Canada over the Champlain-Richelieu route and paying 3d. per gallon, as specified by the "most favored nation" provision in the Jay Treaty, captured the market.⁵⁶

American merchants did not ignore opportunities and made the most of these new regulations. A wide variety of goods brought to American ports from the far corners of the world made their way north over the Champlain-Richelieu route and appeared in Canadian warehouses and on the shelves of Canadian shopkeepers. In 1794-95, before the Jay Treaty, the customs house at St. John listed only thirty-two items other than wood products. By 1800 that number had climbed to seventy, and in 1807 it exceeded 110.⁵⁷ Montreal merchants such as Joseph Provan, James Caldwell, Horatio Gates, George Kittson, Thomas Schieffler, and James Dunlop advertised a host of goods "lately received from New York," including capers, olives, almonds, raisins, lemons, limes, wines, rum, cordials, Holland gin, anchovies, chocolate, "Spanish segars," India cotton, Russian and Scotch sheeting, and Irish linens. The customs house at St. John even recorded the passage of a lion from the United States into Canada.⁵⁸ James Dunlop received "from Canton, via New York Four Quarter Chests" of a variety of teas.⁵⁹ H. Caritat, a New York bookseller, traveled to Montreal to sell his inventory of books from France, and John Jacob Astor and his agents, who had operated in Montreal since 1787, much of it illegally in smuggling fur, maintained a warehouse in Montreal and traded in tea, probably imported from

China where he sold fur.⁶⁰ In many cases merchants in Burlington and some other Champlain Valley towns assumed the position of middlemen in this re-export trade.⁶¹

While these goods poured into Canada over the Champlain-Richelieu route, their importation at Québec came to a halt. The absence of complete import records makes estimation of the competitive effect of the Jay Treaty difficult to measure. The full returns at Québec for 1805 show that no tea, chocolate, nankeens, nor spices entered through the St. Lawrence. Instead, the customs house at St. John listed all of these products with tea alone accounting for about 90 percent of their monetary value.⁶²

The flow of goods north, the growing commercial partnerships, and the improved transportation provided stimulus for the reverse trade. Before the Jay Treaty, settlers in the Champlain Valley obtained many supplies from Canada, most of it re-exported from Britain. Salt, millstones, iron stoves, and other hardware, all too inexpensive in relation to their weight and bulk to be transported profitably from the Hudson or across the Green Mountains from Boston, constituted the most important part of the trade. But Canadian merchants also sold spirits, dry goods, glass, paint, earthenware, wine, red lead, plaster of Paris, gunpowder, feathers, horses, and fish oil and fish to Champlain Valley settlers.⁶³

Salt, mostly from Liverpool, always a staple in the Champlain Valley's imports from Canada, remained the most important non-fur import from Canada after the Jay Treaty. One British traveler noted that "the Vermontese depend wholly on that country [Canada] for their supply of salt." The *Vermont Centinel* frequently carried notices by Burlington merchants such as Newell & Russell, Jewett & Moore, and Peaslee & Haswell for the "Best Liverpool Salt." Of the fifty-three vessels with cargoes from Lower Canada that docked in Burlington between June 1805 and November 1807, thirty carried salt.⁶⁴ The Canadians also sent quantities of fish, which after 1796 lagged only the value of salt in exports to Burlington. In the eighteen-month period after June 1805, one-third of the vessels arriving from St. John carried fish, and ads for "shad, just received from Canada" or "A Quantity of Excellent LIVER OIL," often appeared in the *Vermont Centinel*.⁶⁵ Many other products joined the salt and fish, in much less value. One sloop from St. John entered the customs house at Champlain on the New York side of the lake carrying the most weighty item of the trade, an elephant valued at \$100.⁶⁶

The development of transportation on Lake Champlain after 1795 that permitted the flood of American products and other products

imported though American Atlantic ports to reach Canada, also stimulated northbound commerce. As Canadian merchants had feared, this reversed the commerce that had previously gone from Québec to Vermont paid for by the sale of products rafted to Canada. After the Jay Treaty took effect, the customs house at St. John, with the exception of the special case of fur, recorded very little increase in the value of exports to the United States. It reported £4,000 of non-fur exports in 1794, two years before the Jay Treaty went into effect, and only £4,600 in 1800, four years after the treaty. Even with the robust economy of the early 1800s, St. John listed the value of non-fur exports as only slightly over £9,000 in 1807.⁶⁷

When the Jay Treaty began to operate it reversed the balance of trade going through St. John. In 1795, Canada maintained a favorable balance, but by 1797, the advantage in payments had turned completely around. The United States achieved a very favorable balance at St. John that grew to £40,000 by 1800, when the value of commerce moving north into Canada exceeded the southbound flow by ten times. The imbalance created difficulties for shippers to find cargoes heading south from Canada.⁶⁸ The Americans carried much of their favorable balance of trade "out of Canada in cash." In Québec the merchants complained of "a serious and growing evil to the province," especially because of "the gold and silver . . . carried out of the province, the amount of which rises annually." They laid the blame squarely on the Jay Treaty, for the "regulations of commerce with the States; an evil which calls for redress, as those regulations, without being for the general interest of the empire, serve only to cramp commercial exertion of his majesty's subjects."⁶⁹ Of the variety of coins in circulation in Canada, the Americans preferred the Spanish dollar, which they used in the China and British East Indies trade. Hugh Gray, a British traveler who lived in Canada for several years in the first decade of the nineteenth century, concluded that "there does not appear any way of preventing this drain of circulating medium while the trade remains on its present footing."⁷⁰ The commercial regulations that put them at a disadvantage with their American counterparts, who only a short time before they had called rebels and had fought, made the price of loyalty appear very high.

Even the sudden emergence of fur exports going directly from Canada to the United States did not redress the trade imbalance. After 1796, when the imperial regulations requiring merchants to ship fur to Britain before re-exporting it to the United States were lifted, fur quickly became a dominant part of the commerce moving south over the Champlain-Richelieu route. In fact, it became the single most valuable sector of the commerce moving in either direction. Since the seventeenth

century, French and Indians had smuggled fur south through this corridor to the Dutch and later the English at Albany. The clandestine trade set up to avoid the imperial monopoly centered in Paris thrived. Not long after the Treaty of Paris formally ended the American Revolution in 1783, John Jacob Astor sent a man to Montreal to purchase fur, even though the British still prohibited its shipment to anywhere but London.⁷¹ The evidence suggests that Astor maintained this trade illicitly. In the late 1780s he began trips to Montreal in the late summer and early fall of every year to arrange to purchase and ship fur. At Plattsburgh, Astor lodged with Peter Saily, an early settler, prominent local merchant, and later collector of customs for the Champlain District.⁷² The lake sloop *Lady Washington*, owned by "Admiral" Gideon King of Burlington, another of Astor's agents, was launched in 1795, the year before the Jay Treaty legalized the direct exportation of fur to the United States. The sloop had a notorious false bulkhead and a record of smuggling.⁷³

In late September 1788, Astor bought \$2,000 worth of fur and "officially" had them shipped to New York via London, in strict conformity with trade law.⁷⁴ Less than a month later, well short of the time required for two trans-Atlantic voyages, Astor advertised in New York that he had "a quantity of Canada Furs, such as beaver, beaver coating, raccoon skins, raccoon blankets, and spring muskrat skins."⁷⁵ The next year Astor returned to Montreal and contracted for \$15,000 worth of muskrat skins.⁷⁶

Because the rampant practice of smuggling fur from Canada directly to the U.S. had existed for well over a century, the Jay Treaty may not have drastically changed the situation when the trade became legal. The extent of the commerce may simply have become more visible. In 1798, almost £10,000 worth of fur went to the United States through St. John, amounting to 70 percent of the value of the entire southbound commerce. By 1800, the value of the fur exported from Canada directly to the U.S. had jumped to over £22,300, which made up about 85 percent of the value of the exports recorded at the St. John customs house. In seven more years the value of the trade had more than tripled to £75,000. The immediate success and rapid growth of the fur sector indicated its highly profitable nature and suggested that it built on an illicit trade developed well before the Jay Treaty.⁷⁷

The customs returns at St. John single out Astor, Gideon King, and other Lake Champlain shippers who frequently carried cargoes that included fur. Astor and others re-exported some of the fur from New York "direct to China," where, along with Spanish dollars, it constituted a staple in the growing American commerce with the Far East.⁷⁸

These traders would return to the United States with British East Indian goods, some of which would eventually make their way through the Champlain-Richelieu route to Canada.

A growing community of interest developed along the route as commercial relations increased and the transportation improved. After 1796, a number of American merchants migrated to Montreal, where they engaged in the sale of British East Indies products, American manufactures and new staples.⁷⁹ James Caldwell, part of a larger mercantile concern, came from Albany.⁸⁰ Vermonter Horatio Gates became one of the leading merchants in Montreal, a founder of the Bank of Montreal and a member of the Legislative Council of Lower Canada.⁸¹ Older, well-established American firms made alliances with other firms and opened new offices. Caldwell was a partner in both an American and a Canadian consortium.⁸² Bellows & Gates of Montreal announced a "connection with the Boston firm of Bellows, Cardis and Jones."⁸³ Montreal merchants engaged in the trade over the Champlain-Richelieu route included Joseph Provan, James Dunlop, Thomas Schieffleu, George Kittson, Henry Richard Symes, Jonathan Hazen, Lewis Lyman & Co., McLean & Buckley, Fraser and Sanford, James Laing & Co., and G.G. Lester & Co. In Burlington alone, these merchants did business with Gideon King, Moses and Guy Catlin, Samuel Fitch & Co., the firm of E.H. Deming, L. Tousey, G. Buel, and Horace Loomis, Peaslee & Haswell, Jewett & Moore, and Newell & Russell.⁸⁴

Enterprising Americans operated inns and stage lines in Canada, and in Québec a group of American boarding house managers made their greatest profits in the spring when the timber rafts arrived.⁸⁵ Numerous American tradesmen and artisans—tailors, saddlers, masons, and lumbermen—found employment north of the border.⁸⁶ In Montreal, Bellows & Gates sold tickets for the "Harvard College Lottery with the possibility of winning \$20,000 and a number of other capital prizes."⁸⁷ James Caldwell proudly and publicly announced the marriage of his daughter in both Montreal and Albany.⁸⁸ The community of interest that developed around business relationships and extended into public services and social matters would soon transcend trade regulations, international tensions, and even war.

THE JAY TREATY AND THE AMERICAN ADVANTAGE

Prior to Jay's Treaty, as settlement took hold in the Champlain Valley and particularly in the Vermont counties in Lake Champlain's watershed, residents marketed timber and forest products, and, gradually, agricultural surplus on large rafts floated down the lake and through the Richelieu River to Québec. In return, the Americans used the proceeds

to purchase from Canadian merchants goods they took back to Vermont. The Canadian merchants had the commercial whip hand, and they enjoyed a favorable balance of trade. After the American Revolution, an international boundary placed British mercantile regulations between the United States and Canada. With Canadian permission and implicit British approval, Americans could market only forest products and a small number of other goods enumerated in a proclamation issued by the governor of Canada. The British mercantile regulations placed no prohibitions on British goods the Canadian merchants could export to the United States, however, and the Canadian trade advantage grew. The Allens and others in the Champlain Valley with timber and produce to market chafed under the regulations. This motivated the Allens to initiate renewed negotiations with Canadian authorities in the 1780s. At the same time, a significant illicit movement of fur from Canada, primarily from Montreal, flowed to the United States, flouting the British regulations that required that all fur go directly to the mother country. In the 1790s, rapid population growth in the Champlain Valley and expanding agricultural production and markets generated the demand for improved transportation and related infrastructure. These developments placed increasing pressure to overcome, or illicitly by-pass, imperial restrictions on trade with Canada.

The Jay Treaty, ratified by the U.S. Senate in 1795, took real effect in 1796, drastically altering the rules governing Canadian-American inland and lake-borne trade. The pattern of commerce suddenly and dramatically changed. Americans could legally export a full range of products and manufactured goods to Canada, paying no higher duties than the British. They could also carry products from the British East Indies directly to New York and other American Atlantic ports, and transport them over the Champlain-Richelieu route for sale in Canada. The treaty permitted the legal import of fur directly from Canada to the United States. Jay's Treaty suddenly tore down the dam of British mercantilism, and the commerce began to flow north in a widening stream. Beginning in 1796 and accelerating in the decade that followed, the balance of trade with Canada reversed. East Indies goods and products like rum and tobacco entered Canada through St. John and no longer in British ships at Québec. John Jacob Astor and others increased the imports of fur directly into the United States, merchants formed international alliances, Montreal replaced Québec as the center for trade with the United States (except for the rafted forest products), and the ship-building industry on Lake Champlain began in earnest. These changes all pivoted in 1796-97, an inflection point created by the treaty.

The pattern introduced by the Jay Treaty would grow and strengthen. When, in violation of the Jay Treaty (the sovereign law of the land, a point that no one made), President Jefferson introduced the embargo in late 1807 and extended it early the next year to the inland and lake trade with Canada, the merchants and producers found ways to evade the restrictions. Even the prosecution of the War of 1812 in the Champlain Valley could not stem the trade with a declared enemy in Canada.⁸⁹

The "disgraceful commercial treaty" signed by John Jay introduced an era of prosperity into the commerce of the Champlain-Richelieu route and systems of trade that would not dissolve until the depletion of American forest products ended the rafting tradition, more restrictive post-War of 1812 Canadian regulations made the trade more difficult and less profitable, and the opening of the Champlain Canal connecting the lake to the Hudson River in 1823 allowed the creation of new markets. During the two decades with its provisions in full force, the once-hated Jay Treaty reconfigured and accelerated commercial life in the Champlain Valley.

NOTES

¹Samuel Flagg Bemis, *Jay's Treaty: A Study in Commerce and Diplomacy* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, rpt. of 1923 edition), 355. Bemis prints the text of the Jay Treaty in Appendix B.

²The Hudson River, Lake Champlain, and the Richelieu River, with overland carries between the Hudson River to Whitehall, New York, at the head of the lake and from St. John on the Richelieu River to Laprairie on the St. Lawrence River opposite Montreal, formed the water route connecting New York and Montreal. This article uses the term "Champlain-Richelieu route" to refer to the entire route.

³Daniel Chipman, *The Life of Hon. Nathaniel Chipman, LL.D.* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), 37.

⁴Eliakim P. Walton, ed., *Records of the Governor and Council of Vermont*, 8 vols. (Montpelier: J. & J. Poland, 1873-1880), 4: Appendix A, "Vermont in 1791, As Viewed By a Virginian,—No Slavery," 423-424. See also Vermont Historical Society, "Jefferson in Vermont," *In Context: Vermont Historical Society News and Notes*, 3, (Spring 1999): 2.

⁵Kyle Scanlon, "The Dark Side of Maple Sugaring," *Living The Vermont Way*, 1 (March/April 2005): 11.

⁶*Governor and Council*, 4: 423-424; and Aleine Austin, *Matthew Lyon: "New Man" of the Democratic Revolution, 1749-1822* (University Park and London: Pennsylvania State University, 1981), chapter 6.

⁷Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790-1800: A Documentary Sourcebook of Constitutions, Addresses, Resolutions, and Toasts* (Westport, Ct. and London: Greenwood Press, 1967), 273, 279, 283.

⁸Bemis, *Jay's Treaty*, Appendix B.

⁹*Ibid.*, 355, and 469-471. Bemis mentions the importance of Article XIII, but he does not link it to Article III. He wrote that Article XIII "proved to be of much more advantage to the United States than doubtless either party recognized at the time of making the treaty." This implicitly asserts that Jay, the son of a mercantile family, with vast legal experience, and a reputation for shrewdness, did not recognize the loophole. Alexander DeConde, *Entangling Alliance: Politics and Diplomacy under George Washington* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1958); Joseph Charles, *The Origins of the American Party System* (New York: Harper and Row, 1961); and other treatments of the diplomacy and politics of the 1790s do not link Articles III and XIII. Walter Stahr, *John Jay* (New York and London: Hambleton and London, 2005), who published the best

modern work on Jay, in a letter to the author of May 2, 2005, indicated he could "not think of anything that proves Jay was well aware of the possibilities of trade across the St. Lawrence" generated by Article XIII, though he thought it possible Jay "was friendly with one of those [merchants] . . . involved at least the US-Canada trade." The reasons why the British accepted Article XIII that proved so prejudicial to Canadian and British merchants remain obscure. Gerald S. Graham, *Sea Power and British North America, 1783-1820* (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1941), 163, cites no evidence, but assumes it was a "technical oversight," as "it was undoubtedly assumed by the British government that there would be no re-export." Holden Furber, "The Beginnings of American Trade with India, 1784-1812," *New England Quarterly*, 11 (June 1938): 245, remarks that Article XIII reflected "the willingness of the British government to be accommodating about what they considered a minor point in the negotiations." This suggests a British ignorance of North American geography. Their previous oversights accounted for several points that the Jay Treaty rectified. No doubt, more than a "technical oversight" accounts for the provisions that allowed American merchants to access the Canadian market with products from the British East Indies.

¹⁰Stephen Thorn to Robert Woodworth, 15 March 1797, quoted in James Benjamin Wilbur, *Ira Allen, Founder of Vermont, 1751-1814*, 2 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928), 2: 116.

¹¹Foner, *The Democratic-Republican Societies*, 38.

¹²Lord Portland, Secretary of State, to John Graves Simcoe, Lt. Governor of Upper Canada, in E. A. Cruikshank, ed., *The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe*, 5 vols. (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1923-1931), 3: 185.

¹³National Archives of Canada (hereafter NA), Q, LXXV, part 2, 271, Dorchester to Portland, Quebec, 30 April 1796.

¹⁴Ibid., R.G. 1, El, B, 282, Thos. Aston Coffin to Patrick Conroy, 25 April 1796. Contemporary sources refer to "St. John's," "St. John," and, occasionally "St. Jean" (the term now in use in francophone Québec). Unless directly quoted otherwise, this article uses the term "St. John."

¹⁵Province of Lower Canada, *The Provincial Statutes* (Quebec, 1796), 1:214, 36th Geo. III cap. VII, 7 May 1796; and *ibid.*, 2: 2, 32-34, 50, 174; 3: 12, 88, 190-192, 248; 4: 16, 152-154, 388-390; and 5: 46-48, 140.

¹⁶NA, R.G. 1, El, B, 303-305.

¹⁷NA, CO 42/12, 392 m (microfilm); *Report of the Canadian Archives, 1921*, Appendix B, 34-41; and Province of Lower Canada, *Order of the Governor and Council of 7th July 1796* (Quebec, 1796).

¹⁸David Anderson, *Canada: or, a View of the importance of the British American Colonies* (London: J.M. Richardson, 1814), 7.

¹⁹For easy reference to the decennial population of Vermont by counties and the five largest towns see Michael Sherman, Gene Sessions, and P. Jeffrey Potash, *Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont* (Barre, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 2004) Appendices A and B.

²⁰Levi Allen to Ira Allen, 16 June 1785, in Wilbur, *Ira Allen*, 1: 490; and Levi Allen to Ira Allen, 11 October 1788 in *ibid.*, 1: 508-509.

²¹John Stevens to Ira Allen, 15 June 1789, Allen MSS, Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library, University of Vermont (hereafter UVM).

²²Guy Catlin, *Journal for Lower Canada, 1805*, Catlin MSS, UVM.

²³Constantine Alonzo (Levi Allen) to Ira Allen, 3 May 1789, Allen MSS, UVM; and Levi Allen to Ira Allen, 11 October 1788, in Wilbur, *Ira Allen*, 1: 508-509.

²⁴Catlin, *Journal*, 180, Catlin MSS, UVM; H. Nicholas Muller III, "Floating a Lumber Raft to Quebec City, 1805: The Journal of Guy Catlin of Burlington," *Vermont History*, 39 (Spring 1971): 116-124; and David Kendall Martin, ed. (with transcription and annotation by Fuller Allen), *The Journal of William Gilliland* (Plattsburgh, N.Y.: Clinton County Historical Association, 1997), 81.

²⁵Levi Allen to Fraser & Young, 4 May 1787, Allen MSS, UVM.

²⁶John Stevens to Ira Allen, 11 October 1789, *Ibid.*

²⁷Levi Allen to Ira Allen, 18 August, 1786, *Ibid.*

²⁸Nathan Perkins, *A Narrative of a Tour Through The State of Vermont* (Rutland: Charles Tuttle Company, 1964), 33.

²⁹*Vermont Centinel*, 22 April 1808.

³⁰*Montreal Gazette*, 25 December 1797, 1 May 1801, 4 February 1807, and 13 April 1807.

³¹Abby Maria Hemenway, ed., *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 5 vols. (various places: 1862-1882), 1: 670, prints a list compiled by Thomas H. Canfield, with the help of retired Lake Champlain captains, "of vessels built on Lake Champlain from 1790 to the time of the last war, say 1815." Ralph Nading Hill, *Two Centuries of Ferry Boating* (Burlington: Lake Champlain Transportation Co., 1972), 72, filled in the Canfield list with steam powered vessels. George F. McNulty, a prodigious researcher, who compiled the most complete list of vessels built and plying Lake Champlain between 1791 and 1814, added a number to the Canfield enumeration. Letter of 8 September 2005 to the author.

- ³² Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 670n.
- ³³ *Montreal Gazette*, 16 January 1797.
- ³⁴ *Ibid.*, 6 November 1797.
- ³⁵ Vermont, *Governor and Council*, 3: 135.
- ³⁶ *Vermont Centinel*, 23 September 1807, 7 July 1807, and 18 August 1807; Walter Hill Crockett, *Vermont: The Green Mountain State*, 5 vols. (New York: The Century History Company, 1921–1923), 2: 521; and G. P. deT. Glazebrook, *A History of Transportation in Canada*, 2 vols. (Toronto and Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1964), 1: 134.
- ³⁷ *Montreal Gazette*, 7 August 1797; and Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 2: 496.
- ³⁸ *Montreal Gazette*, 20 March 1798.
- ³⁹ *Vermont Centinel*, 2 July 1806.
- ⁴⁰ *Montreal Gazette*, 22 January 1798.
- ⁴¹ Hugh Gray, *Letters from Canada, Written during a Residence There in the Years 1806, 1807, and 1808* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1809), 272–276.
- ⁴² *Montreal Advertiser*, no date, advertisement dated Windsor, Vt., June 1807.
- ⁴³ David J. Blow, "VERMONT I, Lake Champlain's First Steamboat," *Vermont History*, 33 (Spring 1966): 115–122.
- ⁴⁴ Saily to Secretary of the Treasury, 7 September 1809, in Peter S. Palmer, *History of Lake Champlain, from Its First Exploration by the French in 1609 to the Close of the Year 1814* (Albany, N.Y.: J. Munsell, 1866), 173n–174n.
- ⁴⁵ *Governor and Council*, 5, Appendix 1, 500–501, "Domestic Manufactures in Vermont—1809." The report breaks out the data by counties. The term "Champlain Valley" includes the five counties in the Lake Champlain watershed: Rutland, Addison, Chittenden, Franklin, and Grand Isle.
- ⁴⁶ Marcus A. McCorison, "Vermont Papermaking, 1784–1820," *Vermont History*, 31 (Fall 1963): 209–245.
- ⁴⁷ *Montreal Gazette*, January 1798, 3 December 1798, 20 May 1799, 11 August 1799, 4 November 1799, 5 January 1807, 6 April 1807, and 30 November 1807.
- ⁴⁸ George Heriot, *Travels Through the Canadas* (London: Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1807), 51.
- ⁴⁹ *Montreal Gazette*, 18 November 1799.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 4 November 1799, and 9 June 1800.
- ⁵¹ Lower Canada, *Journals of the House of Assembly of Lower Canada* (hereafter *Journals*) recorded the annual import of manufactured tobacco and snuff at the customs house at St. John. See Lower Canada, *Journals 1802*, 166, *Journals 1803*, 68, *Journals 1804*, 130, *Journals 1806*, 184–186, *Journals 1807*, 230–232, *Journals 1808*, 262–264, *Journals 1809*, Appendix A, and *Journals 1811*, Appendices A6 and B6.
- ⁵² NA, S, XXVII, 7; LVia, 5; *ibid.*, LXIV, 114–116; LIX, 105; Gray, *Letters*, 180–181; and *Journals 1808*, 646–651.
- ⁵³ Lt.-Governor Russell to Duke of Portland, 17 July 1798, in Harold A. Innis and A. R. M. Lower, eds., *Select Documents in Canadian Economic History, 1783–1885* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1933), 322.
- ⁵⁴ NA, M.G. 23, A 2, IX, 149.
- ⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Q-109, 236–248, "Memorial of the Montreal Merchants to Lord Castlereagh," 29 May 1809.
- ⁵⁶ Graham, *Sea Power*, 124.
- ⁵⁷ NA, CO 47/80 (microfilm); S, LVia, 5; S, XXVII, 7; and *Journals 1807*, 646–651.
- ⁵⁸ *Montreal Gazette*, 3 December 1798, 4 November 1799, 20 May 1800, 8 August 1800, 27 October 1800, 3 November 1800, and 4 February 1804.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 9 June 1800.
- ⁶⁰ Kenneth Wiggins Porter, *John Jacob Astor: Business Man*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1931), 1: 65.
- ⁶¹ Burlington, Inspector of Customs, *Records*, 1805–1809, Haswell MSS, UVM.
- ⁶² NA, S, LXII, 104. See Gray, *Letters*, 189–190; and John Lambert, *Travels through Canada and the United States in the Years 1806, 1807, & 1808*, 2 vols. (London, Edinburgh, and Dublin: Doig and Sterling, 1814), 1: 101.
- ⁶³ NA, CO, 47/80 (microfilm); S, LXVI, 114–116; S, LIX, 104; S, LVI-a, 5; S, II, 81; Burlington, Inspector of Customs, *Records*, 1805–1809, Haswell MSS, UVM; *Journals 1807*, 546–551; Gray, *Letters*, 182; and National Archives of the United States, R.G. 17, G.A.O., Revenue Letters Sent, 8: 331, "J.S. to David Russell, Tres. Dep't, Comptroller's Office, 17 November 1798."
- ⁶⁴ Lambert, *Travels*, 1: 103–104; *Vermont Centinel*, 20 August 1806, 27 August 1806, and 13 July 1807; Receipts, 27 August 1803, Catlin, MSS, UVM; and Burlington, Inspector of Customs, *Records*, 1805–1809, Haswell, MSS, UVM.
- ⁶⁵ See 13 August 1806.

⁶⁶The manifest quoted in D. H. Hurd, *History of Clinton and Franklin Counties, New York* (Philadelphia: J.W. Lewis, 1880), 47.

⁶⁷H. N. Muller III, "The Commercial History of the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River Route, 1760-1815" (Unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1968), 197.

⁶⁸Inspector of Customs, *Records*, 1805-1809, Haswell MSS, UVM, Burlington.

⁶⁹A.T. to the editor of the *Quebec Mercury*, 1 December 1806; and *ibid.*, 5 January 1807, quoted in Innis and Lower, *Select Documents*, 371.

⁷⁰Gray, *Letters*, 183.

⁷¹Porter, *Astor*, 1: 23-25.

⁷²*Ibid.*, 1: 30; and George S. Bixby, *Peter Saily (1754-1826), A Pioneer of the Champlain Valley with Extracts from His Diary and Letters* (Albany: New York State Library History Bulletin #12, 1919). Plattsburgh did not round off its name with an "h" until the twentieth century.

⁷³Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 669; and Walter Hill Crockett, *A History of Lake Champlain* (Burlington: Hobart J. Shanley & Co., 1909), 291.

⁷⁴U.S. Congress, *American State Papers, Documents, Legislative and Executive, of the Congress of the United States*, 38 vols. (Washington: United States Congress, 1832-1834), 1: 269.

⁷⁵*New York Packet*, 29 October 1788.

⁷⁶Porter, *Astor*, 1: 360-3.

⁷⁷NA, CO 47/80 (microfilm); S, XXVII, 7; S, LVI -a, 5; and *Journals 1808*, 646-651.

⁷⁸NA, S, LVI-a, 5.

⁷⁹Donald Grant Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1937), 147.

⁸⁰*Montreal Gazette*, 4 November 1799, 9 June 1800, and 22 June 1801.

⁸¹*Burlington Free Press*, 8 April 1834; and Adam Shortt, "Founders of Canadian Banking," *Journal of the Canadian Banker's Association*, 30 (January 1923): 154-166.

⁸²*Montreal Gazette*, 18 November 1799.

⁸³*Vermont Centinel*, 29 June 1810.

⁸⁴Statement of G.G. Lester & Co., Catlin, MSS, UVM; and *Montreal Gazette*, 4 November 1799, 9 June 1800, 11 August 1800, 3 November 1800, 25 May 1801, 5 January 1807, 4 February 1807, 6 April 1807, and 13 April 1807.

⁸⁵*Vermont Centinel*, 2 July 1806; Chilton Williamson, *Vermont in Quandary, 1763-1825* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1949), 251; Marcus Lee Hansen, completed and prepared for publication by John Bartlett Brebner, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American People* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 77; and Jeremy Cockloft, *Cursory Observations Made in Quebec Province of Lower Canada in the Year 1811* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960), 26.

⁸⁶NA, S, Declarations of Aliens, 1792-1811; and Williamson, *Vermont in Quandary*, 251-252.

⁸⁷*Montreal Gazette*, 6 April 1807. The sum of \$20,000 seems so high as to suggest a misprint.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, 22 June 1801.

⁸⁹See H. N. Muller III, "Smuggling into Canada: How the Champlain Valley Defied Jefferson's Embargo," *Vermont History*, 38 (Winter 1970): 5-21; and H. N. Muller III, "'A Traitorous and Diabolical Traffic': The Commerce of the Champlain-Richelieu Corridor during the War of 1812," *Vermont History*, 44 (Spring 1976): 78-96.



The Man with Four Names

Although it is common knowledge that men enlisted several times in the Union forces under different names, there aren't many documented cases. Here is the case of one who did so four times. He insisted for the rest of his life that he had served the "three years or the duration" he had promised to—just in different units. In 1921 Congress agreed with him.

By GRANT REYNOLDS

Priate William Grace, 10th Vermont Infantry; William Grey, Union Navy Landsman and Coal Heaver; and Private John Riley, 48th New York Infantry. Yes, these are all the same man, probably named Benjamin Hall. His history is strange, though perhaps not too unusual during the Civil War. He probably took liberties with the truth for his whole life. What we think we know about him is largely based on his own words, or on what others say he told them. It's hard to know exactly what his story really is. Here is the best I can figure out, based on his very extensive pension file.

In my database of Tinmouth's Civil War soldiers, William Grace was originally listed as a probable fraud. He couldn't be found anywhere around Tinmouth or in Vermont in the 1860 census, though there was a William H. Grace in Brooklyn, N.Y. He deserted while the 10th Vermont Infantry was passing through Brooklyn on September 7, 1862, only a week after being mustered into U.S. service. Until I found his pension file in the National Archives, his trail stopped there.

Hall, as I will refer to him, says in his pension application that he was

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“living with a farmer in Tinmouth” when he enlisted in Company C of the newly forming 10th Vermont Infantry on July 29, 1862. The company was partly raised by John Andrus Salsbury of Tinmouth and came mostly from the adjacent towns of Middletown,¹ Tinmouth, and Danby. Hall’s birth date was given as December 22, 1841, in Galway, Ireland. The regiment gathered in Brattleboro and was mustered into federal service on September 1, 1862, each man receiving a federal enlistment bounty of \$25. That was the first payment on the \$100 he would receive in installments for satisfactory service. On that day the Confederate Army was already in Maryland, heading for the little town of Sharpsburg, on Antietam Creek. Every regiment available was needed.

The 10th immediately left by train for New London, Connecticut, to take a steamboat to New York City. Hall says that he was “abused with a sword” by a major in the 10th Connecticut, which was travelling on the same steamer. Fearing punishment, he “dropped over the side” when the boat arrived at the Jones Woods section of Brooklyn on September 7, 1862. To the 10th Vermont, he was simply missing, a probable deserter.

On September 8, “William H. Grey”² enlisted in the Navy at the Brooklyn Navy Yard as a “Landsman” for one year.³ He claimed to be twenty-two years old, born in Waterford, New York. Grey’s record says he was 5’11½,” hazel eyes, brown hair, light complexion, occupation “moulder.” He signed his name with his mark (i.e., he couldn’t write). According to Navy records he served on the *North Carolina*, the *Memphis*, and the *Princeton*. The *Memphis* was assigned to blockade Charleston, South Carolina. Hall says he and other sailors from the *Memphis* were in a group—we’d call them commandos or Special Forces today—that made small-boat attacks at night in the harbor. Of course, that’s what he says. His veracity can be tested by the following: He also says that he was a replacement crewman on the “steamship *Monitor*.” The celebrated iron-clad *Monitor* never made it to Charleston, going down at sea off Cape Hatteras on December 30, 1862, while under tow. Sixteen of the sixty-two crewmen died. After the war, in 1866, Grey received \$40 “prize money.”⁴ It would be interesting to learn where the Navy sent it.

Grey served his full year and was discharged in New York on September 17 or October 2, 1863 (different records give different dates). On November 23, 1863, William H. Grey re-enlisted in the Navy at Philadelphia for another year. He claimed he was born in Saratoga County, N.Y., age twenty-three, 5’11¾”, hazel eyes, brown hair, “sal-low” complexion. He served as a “coal heaver”⁵ (Navy records) on the *Memphis*, the *State of Georgia*, and the *Vermont*. According to Hall, he

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was granted a thirty-day leave to see his mother in Troy in September 1864. It seems unlikely that the Navy would turn a lowly coal heaver loose with less than two months to serve, but that is Hall's story. He returned a few days after his leave ran out, he says, to find that his ship had left without him. The Navy regarded him as a deserter as of October 2, 1864. He claimed that he only had a few days left in his enlistment anyway, so it was meaningless to report back to the Navy. If he was supposed to have returned by the time the ship left on October 2, he still had fifty-two days to serve.

A few days before that, on September 24, 1864, "John Riley" enlisted in the 48th New York Infantry Regiment in Jamaica, N.Y., for one year, as a substitute. In the National Park Service system he is listed as a "musician." This was Hall's latest name. Jamaica was paying a bounty of \$400 or \$500 at the time, plus a federal bonus of \$100. The person he was substituting for may have paid him an additional fee. He claimed to have been born in Ireland, age twenty-three, hazel eyes, brown hair, dark complexion, and occupation "sailor." He signed his name "Riley." He served until the regiment was discharged on July 27 or August 16, 1865, without causing any recorded trouble. The regiment was involved in the assault on Fort Fisher, North Carolina, in December, 1864, and then remained in North Carolina until it was discharged in Raleigh in the summer of 1865. From Hall's non-legal perspective, he had given the government the three years or duration of the war that he had promised to back in 1862 in Tinmouth, though in an irregular way.⁶

After the war, Hall claimed he worked as a "moulder" or as a farm laborer in a number of places, including Granville, Greenwich, Galway and East Galway, Ballston Spa, Schaghticoke, Lyons, Troy, and Cambridge, New York; Reading, Pennsylvania; Tinmouth, and perhaps Middletown Springs, Vermont. In the long history of his bureaucratic warfare with the Pension Bureau, he claimed all of the above at least once. He received a pension for chronic rheumatism and bronchitis on January 9, 1893, as John Riley of the 48th New York. He presumably realized that seeking credit for his service under three names might cause problems, as it eventually did. The pension was revoked as of August 4, 1895, for "earning his living by manual labor."

Until 1906, invalid pensions were limited to men unable to support themselves by manual labor. So would a one-armed lawyer be able to work at his desk and in court and still receive a pension? Probing this issue is beyond the scope of this essay, because Hall was a manual laborer. His pension was reinstated on June 17, 1896, when the examining surgeons decided he really was unable to work. In seeking an increase on July 18, 1901, he swore that he had not served in the armed

forces prior to September 24, 1864—a fib sufficient by itself to cost him his pension. But it continued until a local bureaucrat saw something peculiar.

Hall finally married in September 1895—or was it May 4, 1898? Either way, Julia Dawley was marrying an elderly man, and probably a sick one. While he could fool the world about his name, the physicians were looking for more objective matters. After 1896, they consistently found him to be disabled. The pension file has no further mention of Julia, or of any children. She did not apply for a widow's pension when Hall died in 1925.

Tracing his residences after the Civil War through the census proved essentially impossible. It's not too surprising. He had no property and lived from job to job, moving frequently to stay employed. Of course, it's hard to know what name to look for, and what his real age was. Some of the possible sightings:

- 1870 census: A Benjamin Hall was living on Don Baxter's farm on North East Road, Tinmouth, as a "domestic servant." His age is given as nineteen, but census ages aren't necessarily very accurate. If it were a mistake by the census taker for twenty-nine (born 1841) it would be consistent with most of Hall's claimed birth dates. If correct, it's a different Hall, because Hall/Grace couldn't have enlisted at eleven. Recent research into George Hall, who enlisted from Tinmouth in the 2nd Vermont in 1864 at the age of seventeen (claimed eighteen), shows that he had a younger brother, Benjamin J. Hall. Both boys were born in Kingsbury, N.Y. While Mr. Baxter's "servant" might be the elusive Hall/Grace, it's more likely he was the younger brother of George Hall, at fifteen in 1865 too young to serve in the Army.
- 1880 census: Benjamin Hall, age thirty-four (born 1846, sixteen in 1862), farm laborer on Ephraim Edwards' farm in Schaghticoke, N.Y. "Riley's" pension was increased to \$12 in 1901 while he was in Schaghticoke, though he is not listed in the 1900 census there. For what it's worth, his age this time supports his claim that he was underage when he enlisted in the 10th Vermont (sixteen in 1862)—if this Hall is "William Grace."
- 1880 census (a really interesting one, though probably not our man): Also in Schaghticoke, John Riley, age thirty-eight (born about 1842, age nineteen or twenty in 1862), wife Julia (as in Julia Dawley?), both born in Ireland, four children born in Ireland and two in New York. The four children born in Ireland make this Riley very unlikely to be Benjamin Hall.

- The 1890 census was destroyed in a fire.
- 1900 census: No plausible entries for either Hall or Riley.
- 1910 census: John Riley, National Soldiers' home, Knoxville, Tennessee, age sixty-six (born 1846), born in Canada (English), parents born in Ireland (English), emigrated 1861. This address is accurate; the pension file confirms it. The other information may not be, or it may be a rare ration of truth from Hall. If he was born in 1846, his claim of being underage in 1862 would be correct—he would have been sixteen. He lived at the Soldiers' Home from January 14, 1902, to November 25, 1910—after the 1910 census was taken. He was discharged "to return to New York." But there is also a Benjamin Hall, age seventy-one, born in Kentucky, in the same home! It's not likely that the Kentucky-born Hall is our man. Only "Riley" would have been eligible for the soldier's home. "Hall" never served in the Union Army or Navy, and "Grace" and "Grey" both deserted.

Diligent searching for both Benjamin Hall and John Riley found no one of that name that matched in age, place of residence, or spouse's name in any other census. As an itinerant farm worker and, eventually, indigent, it was easy for the census to miss him.

The documents in his pension file do provide a fairly accurate idea of where he was when each was created.

1895—Ballston Spa, N.Y.
 1896—South Granville, N.Y.
 1901—Schaghticoke, N.Y.
 1902–1910—Soldiers Home, Knoxville, Tennessee
 1910—Galway, N.Y.
 1912—Cambridge, N.Y.
 1917—Middletown Springs, Vermont
 1918—East Galway, N.Y.
 1920—Granville, N.Y.
 1924—Ballston Spa, N.Y.
 Died December 30, 1925, Greenwich, N.Y.

All of these places except Middletown Springs are in a half circle of less than thirty miles radius, with Granville on the north, Schaghticoke on the south, and Ballston Spa on the west. The Vermont border cuts the circle in half. Middletown Springs is about fifteen miles northeast of Granville, N.Y.

Mr. John Lynch, postmaster at Middletown Springs, Vermont ended Hall's fabrications—but not until 1917, when Hall was at least

seventy-six years old and had been collecting a pension as "Riley" for over twenty-three years. Although Hall may still have been living in New York, he was receiving his mail at Middletown Springs. Postmaster Lynch became suspicious when the "John Riley" who called for pension checks asked for mail addressed to William H. Grace. Lynch did some investigating, and then wrote the assistant postmaster general in Washington on December 4, 1917, asking for direction. He noted that the man in question had been identified by a local resident as Riley.⁷ He had formerly picked up his pension checks in East Galway, N.Y. He had enlisted in a Vermont regiment, deserted, then enlisted in a New York regiment as Riley and served the whole war. He was generally known as "William Grace" in Middletown Springs, but Lynch had learned that he was known as Benjamin Hall in Greenwich, N.Y.⁸ The assistant postmaster general authorized Lynch to notify the Pension Bureau, and directed him to obtain proper identification should "William Grace" seek John Riley's mail in the future.

The Pension Bureau was energized by this report. Using the two names, Grace and Riley, they determined that he was a deserter from the 10th Vermont, owing the government all but a month of his three years service. In enlisting in the 48th New York as a substitute he had received a \$400 or \$500 bonus from the town of Jamaica. This he was not allowed to receive until he had worked off his initial \$100 U.S. government bonus by serving three years in the 10th Vermont. In responding to the Bureau, Hall reported his naval service, hoping, no doubt, to be excused for the irregularities in the manner of his service. Of course, that turned up the fact that the Navy also regarded him as a deserter. His pension was revoked on December 28, 1917. Hall was at least seventy-one years old, and might have been seventy-seven. He was unable to use his hands, destitute, and reliant on others.

Why did Hall enlist under the first assumed name, William H. Grace? That, he says, was because he was underage and needed his mother's permission to enlist, which she would not give. Army records show him as twenty-one when he enlisted. While he offered several dates of birth over the years, all were in 1839, 1840, or 1841—relatively consistent with age twenty-one in July of 1862. Only his age given to the census taker at the Soldier's Home supports the claim that he was underage. So there could have been some other reason for lying at his first enlistment, and it is hard to believe that it was innocent. Since he admitted to no other names than Grace, Grey, and Riley, and claimed no service as Benjamin Hall, we will probably never know the real reason for the pseudonym. The other three enlistments under different assumed names are easier to understand: He was a deserter. Had he continued to use

“William Grace,” even the primitive record keeping of the Union Army would eventually have caught up with him.

An experienced fraud like Hall is hard to embarrass. And he was destitute and unable to do much to support himself. So he pled with the Pension Bureau on a number of occasions over the next eight years to restore his pension. He had served nearly three years, and been discharged with his regiment. So wasn't that what he was supposed to do—serve until the war was over? The Pension Bureau was unmoved by his pleas or those of Melford D. Whedon, a lawyer in Granville, N.Y. Mr. Whedon wrote to the Bureau on August 6, 1919.

The soldier [Hall] served well, although his record shows that at one time he left the service because of a wrong done him, but a day or two later he joined the Navy. He is an object of charity. His house burned down and he was severely burned. He is out of the hospital but still suffers from it.

The Pension Bureau was not moved.

But another lawyer in Granville proved to be more effective. On May 10, 1921, attorney Clarence Parker wrote a “Dear James” letter to the local congressman, James Parker—a relative, apparently his brother, and plainly a Republican. “During the first Wilson Administration a zealous [Democratic] postmaster reported the circumstances and Mr. Hall’s pension was stopped.” He pointed out that Hall was being supported by the county, so reducing county taxes may well have been his motive in writing. Hall had served his country for three years; only “youthful impetuosity” on three occasions kept his record from being clear. Couldn’t the congressman do something for him (and, implicitly, the county)?

Congressman Parker was clearly a Republican moved by the perfidy of the Democratic postmaster. The result was private bill #110, passed September 18, 1922. It decreed a pension of \$50 a month for Hall. Of course, Hall couldn’t leave well enough alone. He bombarded the Pension Bureau with applications to increase his pension. None worked. The Pension Bureau kept writing back to him that since his pension was granted by Congress, the bureau had no authority to change it. He finally died at Greenwich, N.Y., on December 30, 1925, aged at least seventy-nine years old—worn out with rheumatism and other debilitations of a long life, unable to use his hands, and dependent for support on the congressional pension granted over the objection of the able but unfeeling servants of the Pension Bureau.

Hall is known in Vermont’s official Civil War record, the 1892 Revised Roster, only as Grace the deserter. However, the database in vermontcivilwar.org, which is taken from the Revised Roster, has been

corrected to show that “William Grace” also served in the Navy as William Grey and in the 48th New York Regiment as John Riley. Was he really Benjamin Hall? And why did he lie when he enlisted in Tinmouth? Didn’t people there know him as Hall? Or had he come to Tinmouth in 1860 as Grace, not Hall? Of course, we’ll never know.

NOTES

¹Middletown Springs since 1884.

²It was observed by a listener to this tale that William Grey (so spelled) was a Middletown industrialist who made, among other machines, horse treadmills. This might suggest that Hall lived in Middletown before the war.

³The Navy classified recruits by their previous experience at sea. A “landsman” had none. The Navy had already learned not to trust Grace, for he claimed to be a “mariner.”

⁴Until the late nineteenth century, captured enemy vessels were “prizes.” An admiralty court determined whether the prize had been lawfully captured. If the government kept the ship, as it did with blockade runners during the Civil War, the court determined its value. If the government had no use for it, the ship would be sold at auction. Either way, the proceeds were divided among the officers and crew by a formula determined by Navy regulations.

⁵In the early days of steam-powered ships, coal was added to the fireboxes with shovels wielded by “coal-heavers.” It may have made the infantry look appealing.

⁶Hall served 999 or 1,019 days, about two years and nine months. His opinion has to be based on the interpretation of “duration of the war.”

⁷It may have been Araunah Leffingwell of Middletown Springs. In an affidavit of May 5, 1920, he stated under oath that he became acquainted with Hall under the name of William H. Grace on August 1, 1862 (when the company gathered at Rutland to go to Brattleboro). “Other members of the company said he deserted because of trouble with an officer. Soon after the close of the war he saw Hall or Grace at Middletown Springs, Vermont. Some years later Hall asked him not to reveal his name.” Does this mean that Hall maintained some ties to Middletown? (Leffingwell enlisted the same day as Hall/Grace, but was discharged December 8, 1862, when the regiment was at Offut’s Crossroads, Maryland—now called Potomac—and suffering a severe rate of death and disability from disease.)

⁸Why the deception at that point? Some local veterans of the 10th Vermont, though not Leffingwell, probably knew him only by that name.



“A Sinister Poison”: The Red Scare Comes to Bethel

The Bethel–Randolph Center incident is a story that features several colorful figures, including a Tibetan Buddhist dignitary, a local self-described “red hunter,” and two well-traveled and prolific writers: Far East expert Owen Lattimore and Arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson.

By RICK WINSTON

Here's a question that might stump many Vermont history buffs: who was Ordway Mabson Southard? A May 2001 obituary for this prolific poet and haiku specialist mentioned some of the places he and his wife Mary had lived: Alaska, Mexico, Alabama, Hawaii, and finally British Columbia—but not Vermont.¹

Yet it was here in the summer of 1950 that the Southards were the catalysts for an episode that landed Vermont in the national news. Only a passing obituary reference to their political activities (“Both were highly influenced by Marxist Socialist thought and participated in the Civil Rights Movement”) gives a clue to the events that led to headlines such as the one in the August 3 issue of the *Bradford Opinion*: “Reds Infest Bethel, Randolph Center, McCarthy Charges.”²

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The events of that summer illustrate that Vermont was not immune to the fear and suspicion that marked the period now known as “the McCarthy Era.” Just two years earlier, Luther MacNair, the dean of Lyndon State Teachers’ College, was forced to resign his post due to his support of Progressive Party presidential candidate Henry Wallace in the 1948 campaign. In September of 1950, Congressman Charles Plumley called for the investigation and removal of “Communists, fellow travelers, and sympathizers and their influence from the state’s schools and colleges.” Plumley also claimed that Vermont had been chosen as a testing ground for Communist infiltration and called for close scrutiny of the state’s textbooks.³

An increase in national anti-Communist fervor saw a similar rise in Vermont with the election of Governor Lee Emerson in 1950. Emerson called for a bill that would “prohibit the qualification of groups or organizations engaged in subversive activities as a political party”; the measure passed the house in April 1951 but the senate voted it down 28–0. In 1953, the University of Vermont Board of Trustees fired Professor Alex Novikoff after he refused to answer questions about his past Communist Party membership before a U.S. Senate committee.

However, there were also strong voices raised against McCarthyism. The well-respected author and historian Dorothy Canfield Fisher, writing in 1953, praised Vermonters’ measured defense of civil liberties and free speech, quoting an old-timer as saying that “anyone who tries to bore from within in Vermont is bound to strike granite.”⁴ In 1954, what became known as the “Army-McCarthy hearings” inspired Vermont Senator Ralph Flanders to introduce a resolution in the Senate, ultimately passed by a vote of 65–22, censuring U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy for “unbecoming conduct” and “obstructing the constitutional process of the Senate.”

The most public and persistent Vermont critics of the “Red Scare” were two newspapermen: Robert Mitchell, who had edited the *Rutland Herald* since 1941, and became its owner-publisher in 1948; and John Drysdale, who had published the *White River Valley Herald* and *Bradford Opinion* since 1945.

Looking back on that period in 1988, Mitchell recounted, “During the 1950–55 period, the *Herald* published more editorials attempting to debunk McCarthyism and the internal communist threat than were printed on any other subject. At that time it was automatic that anyone who openly opposed McCarthy or others who exploited fears of subversion was likely to be charged with succumbing to the communist taint himself.”⁵ In 1991, Drysdale was inducted into the Community Newspaper Hall of Fame; his citation noted his role in discrediting claims that the Randolph–Bethel area was a “hotbed of communism.”⁶

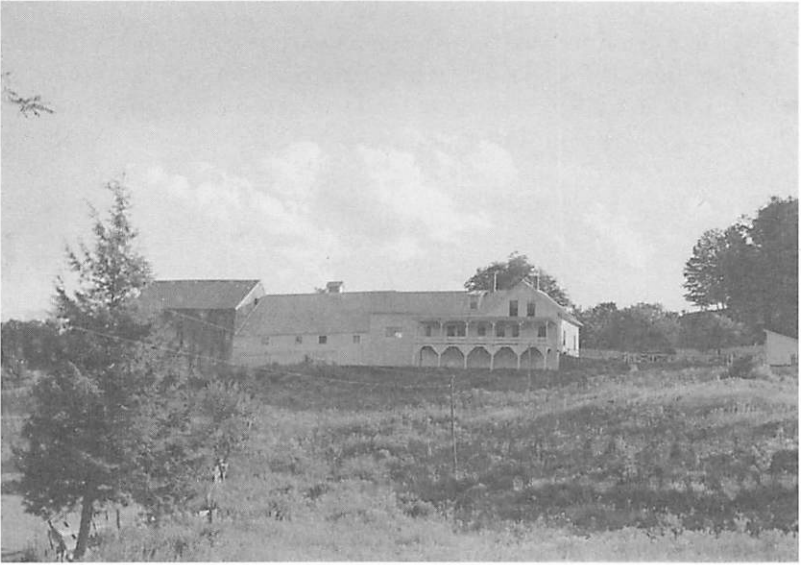
These two journalists were among the major figures involved in the Bethel-Randolph Center controversy, which also featured a Tibetan Buddhist dignitary, a local self-described "Red hunter," and two well-traveled, prolific authors who, unlike Ordway Southard, were nationally prominent: the Far East expert Owen Lattimore, and the Arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson.

The story begins with Stefansson, renowned veteran of several Arctic expeditions (the first in 1906) and author of several books about the Far North, who first came to Bethel in 1941. He was born in Winnipeg to Icelandic immigrant parents, and grew up in rural North Dakota. Stefansson took a course in anthropology while a student at Harvard Divinity School, and soon transferred to that department. A Harvard mentor, Professor Frederic Putnam, convinced him to master the field without the trappings of academia, and Stefansson soon started his travels without having completed his degree.

The Icelandic author Haldor Laxness described Stefansson as "a poetry-loving academic, who gets up from his writing desk, wipes the ink off his fingers and becomes an Eskimo, in order to expand the boundaries of science to include the nations of the Arctic."⁷ During the 1920s and '30s he was based in New York City and amassed an extensive research library, open to students of the Arctic. Stefansson had difficulty adjusting to the sweltering summers of New York, and on the advice of his secretary, who summered in Gaysville, started looking for property in Vermont. Shortly after his marriage to Evelyn Baird in 1941, he bought land known as the Dearing Place in what is known as the 'Lym-pus area of Bethel.

During their time in Bethel, which often was as long as five months of the year, the couple was active in the life of town; Stefansson addressed various club meetings, and Evelyn sang in the church choir. After Stefansson learned that an adjoining property, known as the Stoddard Place, was to be logged, he convinced Charlie Andersen, the first mate on his expeditions, to buy it. But Andersen left after a few seasons and Stefansson bought the property. In 1947, he and Evelyn invited their good friends, Owen and Eleanor Lattimore, to stay for the summer, and during that time they made plans for the Stoddard place to become a summer center of Asiatic studies.

Owen Lattimore was born in Washington, D.C., in 1900 but shortly afterward his father moved the family to Shanghai, China, to take up a teaching position. By the time the younger Lattimore was in his twenties, he had traveled widely in China and was a fluent Chinese speaker. On his honeymoon in 1925, he and his wife Eleanor (who became his major collaborator) traveled across northern China and Mongolia, where



Dearing Farm in the 'Lympus area of Bethel, home of Vilhjalmur and Evelyn Stefansson from 1941. Courtesy of Dartmouth College Library.



Vilhjalmur and Evelyn Stefansson on their porch at Dearing Farm. Courtesy of Dartmouth College Library.

he formed a deep connection with the Mongol people and empathy for their struggles for autonomy. Among the close friends he and Eleanor made was a "Living Buddha" (somewhat akin to a cardinal of the Catholic Church) known as Dilowa Hutukhtu, who would play a role in Lattimore's Vermont stay years later.

In 1937, Lattimore became a professor at Johns Hopkins University and by the start of the Second World War he was widely regarded as one of the world's leading authorities on Central Asia. In 1940, President Franklin D. Roosevelt chose him to be a personal emissary to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, a post he held until his appointment in 1942 to head the Pacific Operations of the Office of War Information. During this period he lectured, wrote, and edited *Pacific Affairs*, the influential magazine of the Institute for Pacific Relations.

Lattimore and Stefansson met at an annual meeting of the American Philosophical Society during Lattimore's first year at Johns Hopkins, and quickly they and their wives became intimate friends. Stefansson's wife Evelyn later recalled

the special kind of dialogue that Owen and "Stef" had when conditions were right . . . These two exceptional men, each expert in his chosen field and interested in everything that related to it directly or peripherally, would begin [a conversation]. In comparing Eskimo and Mongol ways, no detail was too small to be recited and followed by evaluation, comparison, and speculation. Both brought marvelous but different linguistic accomplishments to the discussion. Each could stir the other intellectually and bring out his best.⁸

In his memoir *Discovery*, Stefansson describes "admiring [Lattimore] for the scholar that he was and liking him for his companionable geniality and friendly openness."⁹

By the time these four friends developed the idea of the summer center in Bethel, the postwar political landscape was undergoing a severe change, with an increasing fear of Communism and a suspicion of heretical ideas about foreign policy. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) started files on both Stefansson and Lattimore long before Senator McCarthy came on the scene; in Lattimore's case, his support for the Maryland Civil Liberties Committee in 1941 was enough to get an FBI file started.¹⁰ As Ellen Schrecker, a leading historian of that era, has noted, "Had observers known in the 1950s what they have learned since the 1970s, when the Freedom of Information Act opened the Bureau's files, 'McCarthyism' would probably be called 'Hooverism,'" in reference to the long-time director of the FBI, J. Edgar Hoover.¹¹

In the 1940s, Stefansson, like many anthropologists, was already under suspicion by the FBI for the causes he supported; the fact that he

was about to undertake his long-planned *Encyclopedia Arctica* with the active assistance of Soviet experts on the Arctic only heightened his profile.¹² Stefansson's offer to the Boy Scouts of the use of his farm to learn about Arctic camping led to a sensational January 1948 article in the Hearst-controlled *New York Journal American*, in which he was identified as belonging to seventy-six different "Communist front" organizations (such as the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and Committee for Fair Play for Puerto Rico). The Boy Scouts consequently rejected his offer, "for the protection of the Boy Scouts of America from possible public criticism."¹³

Lattimore's FBI file had been deactivated during the war, but by 1949, previously discredited witnesses were getting a second hearing from the agency, and the file was reopened. As turmoil in China increased, Lattimore began speaking publicly about his disenchantment with Chiang Kai-Shek, urging American policymakers to adjust to the possibility of an eventual victory by Mao Zedong's Communist insurgency, and arguing that Mao was not necessarily a pawn of Russian Communists. His strong opinions, forcibly expressed, made him powerful enemies, especially those on the right looking for scapegoats for the "loss" of China to the Communists.

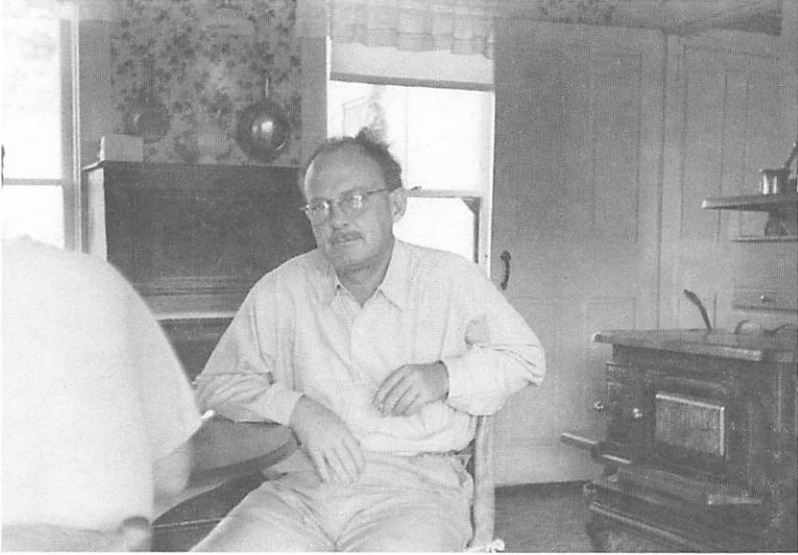
In May 1949, both Lattimore and Stefansson appeared on a list of 102 speakers and entertainers judged by the American Legion's National Americanism Commission to be "unsuitable for Legion sponsorship."¹⁴ They were among only a handful of academics on a list that included Lena Horne, Paul Robeson, Lillian Hellman, Burl Ives, and Gene Kelly. Lattimore sent a letter to Stefansson asking, "What do you do about such newspaper stories, ignore them or write and demand to know on what grounds they make slurring remarks?"¹⁵ Unfortunately, there is no record of Stefansson's response.

That letter was one of many that spring between the two families as they considered the land purchase and the necessary renovations. Lattimore proposed bringing some Mongolian exiles and the Lattimores' son David enlisted some of his Harvard classmates to help with the renovations. The Lattimores wrote to Stefansson:

We don't at present see ourselves spending many summers in Vermont and would like to know what you think of the prospects of renting, or selling within a few years. If you think of the present sale value as being about \$1000 and we put \$1600 into fixing it up it would have to sell for about \$3000, wouldn't it, to cover taxes, agents fee, etc.?¹⁶

Stefansson replied, .

The way local Vermonters now look at it . . . they put a lot of store by houses and barns, even if decrepit, and do not value hill land very



Owen Lattimore, noted Asia scholar and close friend of the Stefanssons, pictured here in the Dearing Farm kitchen. Courtesy of Dartmouth College Library.

much, if recently cut over, as ours is. They value meadows a bit more and there are I think about 30 acres of meadow in the 60 or 80 acre patch of land west of the road. But it seems to me for purposes of sale to city slickers, a good sized piece of land to go along with the house is important. So I suggest we consider, for investment purposes, joint ownership of the buildings and of the land that is west of the road. . . .

The kudos of having been a Mongol citadel and having been built up by the Lattimores and a squad of Harvard sophomores should make the Stoddard place a conversation piece and easy to rent at a good figure whenever you do not want to use it for yourselves, family or friends . . . This letter is just thinking out loud. The main thing Ev and I want is that the deal shall go through. We want you at Dearing and the Mongols at Stoddard, and will do whatever to bring this about.¹⁷

The arrival of Lattimore's Mongolian friends was a source of excitement for the town of Bethel that summer. The group included his old friend, the "Living Buddha," Dilowa Hutukhtu. A front-page article in the *White River Valley Herald* announced, "Buddhist High Dignitary Here for Summer on Bethel Farm" and said, "The Dilowa was dressed in a long Chinese gown His bearing is very dignified and serene. He speaks no English except for a few simple phrases." An editorial on



Stefansson and Dilowa Hutukhtu. Courtesy of Dartmouth College Library.

the following page noted, "The White River Valley is proud to welcome a Living Buddha. . . . We are sure that the dignified bearing of The Dilowa will be strengthened and fortified by his summer's communion with the Green Mountains."¹⁸ Long-time Bethel residents still remember the Dilowa's sweet tooth and his fondness for treating local youngsters to ice cream.

The daughter of another Mongolian visitor, Urgunge Onon, recently recalled, "Both my parents remember their time in Vermont fondly. Because of Owen Lattimore's great generosity, he took them (and me aged just 18 months) to Vermont to spend the summer in the old farmhouse. We were the first Mongolian family to go to Vermont."¹⁹

Neither Stefansson nor Lattimore was aware of the FBI's intense interest during the busy summer of 1949. The FBI took note of the Dilowa's presence and went as far as arranging with the Bethel postmaster to intercept Lattimore's mail. That was the best they could do, since the isolation of the Stoddard and Dearing farms presented no easy cover for first-hand reconnaissance. The enthusiastic agent assigned to the case, A. Cornelius from the Albany, New York, office, read mail, listened to phone recordings, and sent photographs of letters (some in Chinese and Mongol) to Washington for translation. Hundreds of letters to and from Lattimore ultimately wound up in bureau files.

Agent Cornelius also decided to read up on Buddhism, so that he could better understand what was taking place at the Stoddard farm. The theory he advanced was that Lattimore might be preparing the Dilowa to be the Communist figurehead in Tibet. In fact, Lattimore was working diligently with his network of contacts in Asia to save rare Tibetan cultural manuscripts from the Chinese Communists. As Lattimore had written that February to his friend Luther Evans of the Library of Congress, "Tibet is clearly doomed to come under the control of the Chinese Communists. There is, however, time for a planned salvage operation."²⁰

By late September, the Lattimores and their Mongolian friends were back in Baltimore. On September 18, Lattimore wrote to Stefansson, "We are already looking back nostalgically to the wonderful summer we had, and now Eleanor, as well as David and I, is looking forward to joining the deer hunting trip in November."²¹

During the winter of 1949–50, further developments chilled the political landscape, most significantly the conviction in January of Alger Hiss on perjury charges. Hiss had denied being part of a secret Communist group in the State Department, and his conviction emboldened embittered ex-Communist informants like Louis Budenz, political enemies of Lattimore such as the wealthy importer Alfred Kohlberg, and unscrupulous politicians such as Senator McCarthy. In February 1950, McCarthy made his first major headlines when, in a speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, he claimed to have the names of 205 Communists in the State Department.

Throughout February and March, McCarthy stayed in the headlines, promising to name the mastermind of this conspiracy. In March 1950, while Lattimore was on a United Nations-sponsored economic mission to Afghanistan, Senator McCarthy charged with great fanfare that Lattimore was in reality the highest-placed Soviet spy in the State Department. Despite McCarthy's haphazard methods (his charges took even the FBI by surprise), he had "a brilliant sense of timing and sure instinct for what an uncritical press and a disillusioned public would buy," according to Lattimore's biographer, Robert P. Newman.²²

Lattimore and his many supporters quickly dismissed McCarthy's charges as outlandish. Lattimore's telegram to the press, sent as he hastened home to face the charges, read in part, "McCarthy's off-record rantings moonshine . . . Delighted his whole case rests on me as this means he will fall flat on his face."²³ As Evelyn Stefansson Nef wrote in her memoir, "Could this be happening? In the United States? This felt like a Kafka novel in which unimaginable, terrifying nightmares occurred . . . Our scholarly friend Owen, the man who loved the Mongols

and their culture as much as ‘Stef’ loved the Inuit—if it had not been so scary, it might almost have been funny.”²⁴ McCarthy quickly back-pedaled when it came time to address the full Senate, downgrading Lattimore to someone who had “tremendous power in the State Department as the architect of Far Eastern policy.”²⁵ But the damage had been done to Lattimore’s reputation.

It was easy to prove that Lattimore had never even been a State Department employee, and by July 1950, he was cleared of McCarthy’s charges by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, but not before amassing significant legal fees (he was represented by future Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas).²⁶ It was sadly clear to the Lattimores that they would have to sell their half-share in Stefansson’s farm, and Stefansson agreed to help by placing an ad in his own name in the *Saturday Review of Literature*.

The only person who answered the ad was Ordway Southard, a former anthropology student at the University of Alaska and a long-time admirer of Stefansson. Southard had done some research in Stefansson’s New York library a few years earlier, and had helped move some books and furniture when Stefansson first came to Vermont. He saw the ad and quickly saw an opportunity to have further contact with one of his idols. On June 14, the sale was completed.

Stefansson wrote to Lattimore just after the sale that he had heard through the winter that Southard was a Communist, but “my clippings bureau was then sending me cuttings from the Hearst and Scripps-Howard press saying that *I* was a Communist . . . To me this sort of thing was Salem Witchcraft over again, and I perhaps leaned over backward not to be appear to be afflicted with what was increasingly worrying me as mob hysteria.” Stefansson astutely went on to warn Lattimore that selling the Stoddard farm to a “Communist” might be used against Lattimore. Lattimore did look into canceling the sale, but his attorney, Abe Fortas, advised him against it, because there was a valid contract.

Evelyn Stefansson did not trust Southard, and wrote in her memoir, “I was angry and hurt that I hadn’t prevailed in not wanting to sell to Southard, probably the only time in our long and happy marriage that I blamed ‘Stef’ and felt he should have listened to me.”²⁷ Evelyn’s fears were not just paranoia. What Southard did not tell Stefansson before the sale was that he and his wife Mary had been Communist Party organizers and were still Party members; while in Alabama organizing steel mill workers, Ordway M. Southard had run for governor on the Communist Party ticket in 1942, and Mary Southard ran for the state senate as a Communist that same year.

Stefansson described the ensuing confrontation with Southard in his memoir:

He had not intended to make a secret of his past, he told us. The point simply had not come up. We asked him if he had given a thought, ahead of time, to the possible consequences of his purchase. Well, yes, he had considered the matter, but the fact was, he said, none of us had done anything illegal. On this point, naturally, we had to agree. At the same time, Evelyn and I considered the situation, innocent though it was, most unfortunate for the Lattimores.²⁸

The FBI was not alone in watching the Lattimores and Stefanssons. The Southards' past might merely have been the "innocent situation" the Stefanssons imagined, if not for the attention of a local Bethel woman, Lucille Miller, who was known in the area for her extreme anti-Communist views. She claimed to have been a former "fellow traveler," but by the mid-1940s dedicated herself to exposing what she saw as left-wing cells that had formed in the Bethel-Randolph area. She wrote frequent letters to prominent conservative syndicated columnists Fulton Lewis, Jr. and Westbrook Pegler, and often sent ideas for investigative articles to the Hearst newspaper chain, especially the *Boston Evening Record*.

The influential Pegler quoted Miller in a July 1950 column titled, in one paper, "Vermont Yankees are Suckers for Commies": "The secret of Communist success here has been charm and money. They have bought their way into organizations. They have given farm jobs and contract jobs and washing and ironing work out to the people. They go out of their way to be sympathetic and understanding. I never thought the people would fall for it, but they have."²⁹ The article went on to attack Vermont author Dorothy Canfield Fisher and *Vermont Life* editor Arthur Wallace Peach. ("Baloney!" was the title of a *White River Valley Herald* editorial that week. "The Pegler story would be amusing if it were not a skillfully concocted poison.")³⁰

Special targets of Miller's were four summer residents of Randolph Center who had been on the front pages in 1948. Whittaker Chambers, a disillusioned ex-Communist, had named Lee Pressman, former lead counsel for the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), and Nathan Witt, former secretary general of the National Labor Relations Board, as part of a spy network that included Alger Hiss (who summered with his family in Peacham). Pressman and Witt's attorney (as well as the attorney for the Communist Party), John Abt, and Abt's sister Marion Bachrach, also owned summer residences in Randolph Center.

By July 1950, only Pressman still owned property in Vermont; but with Lattimore on the front pages, *Boston Evening Record* reporter

Thomas Riley finally took up Lucille Miller's invitation to see for himself what was happening in Bethel and Randolph Center. He promptly uncovered the Southards' past associations and rushed to press on July 27. Senator McCarthy charged that day on the Senate floor that Lattimore's property was "in the Hiss area of Vermont" and that the profit Lattimore made on the transaction (\$3,000 was the figure quoted) was going to the coffers of the Communist Party. Said McCarthy, "There is no secret that the way the Communist Party handles its payoffs and contributions is often by the transfer of property."³¹

When reached in Welfleet, Massachusetts, Lattimore told the Associated Press, "Since I had to sell my property to meet expenses forced on me by McCarthy's scurrilous attacks, the property was sold to a stranger about whom I knew nothing and of whom I had never heard." The reporter then asked Lattimore about a comment by Senator Bourke Hickenlooper of Iowa concerning the possible discovery of uranium oxide on the Vermont farm, increasing its potential value. "Lattimore laughed loudly and said, 'Just wait till I tell that one to my wife.'"³²

Soon Stefansson's connection was news as well ("Link Explorer With Lattimore Land Deal" read the *Rutland Herald* headline of July 29).³³ Pegler's nationally syndicated column that week focused on the land transaction: "Not only did Lattimore buy an interest in Stefansson's dwelling in a backwoods Vermont spot where Abt, Hiss, Pressman, Witt, and Bachrach had settled, but less than three months later sold it to a buyer described as a prominent Communist."³⁴

Once reporters investigated the actual Bethel town records, McCarthy's story of a \$3,000 profit was easily demolished. Publishers Robert Mitchell of the *Rutland Herald* and John Drysdale of the *White River Valley Herald* and *Bradford Opinion* led the way, with Drysdale summarizing, "No 'excessive profit' indeed no profit at all, was made on the sale of the Stoddard farm. The Lattimores received only half the selling price (Mr. McCarthy take note!)."³⁵ Mitchell added in a *Rutland Herald* editorial, "One can only conclude that [McCarthy] deliberately withheld the information that Stefansson was the other half-owner of the Bethel farm and that he was to receive half of the sale price, because this would have weakened the accusations and insinuations against Lattimore."³⁶

Drysdale led off his editorial in early August with, "The quiet White River towns of Randolph and Bethel have had an introduction in the past week to the slander technique of a certain section of the American press and of Senator McCarthy. Those who will examine the McCarthy accusations . . . can see a perfect case history of the manner in which individuals can be smeared and slandered in attacks against which they

have no defense except the cool common sense of their neighbors."³⁷ The more conservative *Burlington Free Press* weighed in, "Most hard-headed Vermonters will want to examine with care his present charges before getting into a lather over the situation."³⁸

Even the *Burlington Daily News* and *St. Albans Messenger*, owned by William Loeb and perhaps the most conservative papers in Vermont, showed some skepticism. On July 29, both papers ran an exclusive interview with the journalist Dorothy Thompson, a syndicated columnist for the Hearst chain and a friend of the Stefanssons who lived in nearby Barnard. The headline read, "Noted Author Doubts Bethel Is Red Colony." Thompson was quoted as saying she was "extremely skeptical" about McCarthy's charges. "I see nothing strange in the transactions . . . I see nothing odd about two old friends buying a farm together and selling it when one of them needs the money."³⁹

M. Dickey Drysdale, son of John Drysdale and publisher of the *White River Valley Herald* (now *The Herald of Randolph*) since 1975, recalls that his father persuaded Robert Mitchell of the *Rutland Herald*, to follow the story further, using the advantage of that paper's statewide circulation.⁴⁰ Mitchell then took that step, enlisting the collaboration of John S. Hooper of the *Brattleboro Reformer* in commissioning an investigative report by a nationally known journalist, William Gilman. Gilman had worked for the *New York Times* and United Press International in China and had been a war correspondent for the North American Newspaper Alliance. He was also the author of *Our Hidden Front* (1944), about Alaska's role in World War II, and *The Spy Trap* (1944), a study of prewar espionage cases.

The series of six articles ran from August 14–19, 1950. Mitchell explained in an editorial of August 12, "There has been so much loose talk and rumor locally, fanned by distorted reports from outside sources, that this newspaper hopes that a constructive service can be performed by presenting a factual report on the communist problem."⁴¹

The first article was an overview of the situation headlined, "Red Stronghold in State Mostly Hotbed of Gossip and Rumor." Gilman noted that, "Although Vermonters know Randolph Center is some 40 miles from Peacham and Bethel is around 50, the Hearst press has ringed all three towns into what it calls Vermont's 'Hiss area.'" He quoted a local farmer, Clifton Chadwick, as saying, "I wouldn't brand anybody a Communist till I knew. It's gotten so that my daughter's ashamed to say she's from Randolph Center." Gilman complimented Drysdale for his editorials "appealing to common sense that have followed the best traditions of a fearless and unbiased press."⁴²

The next day's installment was headlined, "US-Born Communists

Are Difficult to Spot When They Settle in Vermont,” and was a profile of the Southards. “Ordway Southard,” said Gilman, “has a family background that’s as American as corn-on-the-cob . . . His equally Red wife, Mary, was Alabama-born, speaks with a cultivated Southern accent, and was graduated from Radcliffe College.” The Southards spoke openly to Gilman about their backgrounds, Ordway Southard’s anthropological interest in Siberia and in Stefansson’s work, and their purchase of the land. But Gilman added, “He spoke willingly at our first meeting . . . But when he learned that he was being investigated, he changed tactics [and] tried to provoke a brawl with this reporter.”⁴³

Stefansson himself was the subject of the next article, “Famous Arctic Explorer Sets the Record Straight on Sale of Bethel House,” with a full history of the various transactions over the years, followed by a profile of Lucille Miller on day four, “Reformed ‘Fellow Traveler’ Finds More Reds in Bethel Than the FBI Does in State.” In this article, Miller traced the Randolph Center “red cell” activity back to a free-thinking farmer, Closson Gilbert, who had gone away to Chicago to study for the ministry, come under the influence of social reformer Jane Addams, and returned to Vermont to promote leftist ideas. She was quoted as saying, “You have to go to Randolph Center and take your butterfly net . . . The place is crawling with Reds.”⁴⁴

“Randolph Center Residents Reply to Communist Charge” was the headline of the fifth article, in which Gilman interviewed targets of Lucille Miller. Most, like farmers Harry Cooley and Morris LaFrance, had landed on her list due to their public support of the left-leaning Henry Wallace in the presidential race of 1948. Gilman also noted that the town’s State School of Agriculture (now Vermont Technical College) was undergoing its own controversy, as college president George Webster was described as attempting to force the resignation of faculty member Philip Hodgdon, after Hodgdon had publicly asked Lucille Miller for proof of her charges.⁴⁵

The final article, “Vermonters Frown on Use of Violence to Rid State of Communists They Hate,” took a sampling of local opinion. “A vote would show close to 100 percent of local folks opposed to having real Communists around. But that also brings up the stubborn problem of protecting the man called ‘Communist’ when he isn’t one.”⁴⁶ The seven final paragraphs are given over to J. Edgar Hoover’s instructions — verbatim — on how to report suspicions to the FBI, ironic given what was revealed much later about the Bureau’s methods of hounding non-Communists such as Stefansson and Lattimore (Lattimore’s file would grow to 38,000 pages).⁴⁷

In the following two weeks, the *Reformer* and the *Herald* published

several letters to the editor about the controversy, most supportive of the investigative series. One person who signed anonymously as "Freedom Loving," said, "In the last few weeks, we in Vermont have been unfortunate enough to see first hand how our freedom can be lost without a single Russian soldier standing over us." Another letter, from W.W. Ballard of Norwich, began, "Thank you for having sponsored the Gilman articles about the Red menace in the heart of Vermont. . . . Your account of a state of mind in the affected communities deserves a good deal of thought because the same thing could happen anywhere in these nervous times."⁴⁸

By the end of August, the controversy over the land sale had disappeared from local front pages and editorial columns. Evelyn Stefansson wrote to Eleanor Lattimore in early September that "everywhere we hear words of praise for Owen's wonderful fight [against McCarthy's charges]."⁴⁹

The Southards stayed on at the Stoddard farm, though the Stefanssons refused to speak to them after that summer's events. They maintained a low profile until an incident in April 1952 put them back in the news; their pickup truck was vandalized with a hatchet in broad daylight. A local man, Thomas Petrocelli, was charged with public intoxication, breach of peace, and malicious destruction of property, and another Bethel resident, Wilfred Loura, was alleged to have struck Ray Brink, a Southard neighbor who was attempting to escort Mary Southard away from the scene.

In a letter to the *Rutland Herald* several days later, Lucille Miller asked to be charged as well by State's Attorney Lewis Springer: "I take complete responsibility for this incident and all others like it because if it were not for my 1950 attack on this Communist colony, nobody would have known that the Southards were Communists."⁵⁰

This letter was on Stefansson's mind when the Lattimores proposed a visit that July, shortly after Dwight Eisenhower's selection of Richard Nixon for his running mate. "Much as I want to see you," Stefansson wrote, "I feel you must do your own judging on whether Mrs. Miller is likely to send in 'information' and how likely the Nixon wing of the Republicans is to pick up and use her imaginings in a further attack on you. . . . If you decide that coming here is no more dangerous than not coming, we can get up some presentable wakes here for the demise of American liberty."⁵¹ There is no evidence of what the Lattimores decided.

Stefansson's fears were well founded, for by 1952, Lattimore's troubles had increased. Although he had been cleared by the Senate Judiciary Committee in July 1950, Lattimore's defiant stance towards Senator McCarthy created new enemies; Senator Pat McCarran of Nevada,

chairman of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, took up McCarthy's charges against him and added new ones, aided by the FBI. Lattimore was forced to spend the next five years on leave from Johns Hopkins, fighting charges that he had lied to Congress. The charges were eventually dismissed in 1955. He went on to reclaim his reputation as a world-class scholar, as head of the Asian Studies Department at Leeds University, England, and was an early opponent of the Vietnam War. He lived to see Richard Nixon go to China, and revisited China and Mongolia before his death in 1988.

Although the Southards kept their property until 1964, they left Bethel shortly after the vandalism incident and continued their travels. During their stay in Hawaii, they became deeply involved in Asian culture and philosophy; "Ordway" and "Mary" became "O" and "Malia." It was as "O Mabson Southard" that he became well-known in the poetry world as both a haiku poet and an expert on the form.

Lucille Miller and her husband, Manuel, emboldened by letters of support she received from all over the country, started publishing a mimeographed broadside in 1952 called *Green Mountain Rifleman*. Their targets were Communists, Jews, and Vermonters such as Education Commissioner A. John Holden (although not Jewish himself, Holden was accused of "following the B'nai Brith line").⁵² The Millers made headlines again in 1955 when federal marshals stormed their house and arrested them both for urging young men to defy the authority of the government by refusing to register for the draft.

Shortly after his proposed *Encyclopedia Arctica* was scuttled by the Department of the Navy in 1949, Vilhjalmur Stefansson donated his entire collection of Arctic literature (running to over 20,000 volumes) to Dartmouth College. In 1951, he was offered a position there as director of a Polar Institute. Although he and Evelyn kept their Bethel property until his death in 1962, the "Southard Affair" left lingering bitterness, and the Stefanssons spent most of their time in Hanover. But they weren't yet through with being subjects of suspicion. In 1954, New Hampshire's headline-hunting Attorney General Louis Wyman accused them both, with little success, of being Communist sympathizers. Stefansson's memoir, published posthumously in 1974, had a chapter on the Lattimore episode that concluded with these words: "Even today, the nightmare [of those years] reappears, reminding us that the McCarthy type of persecution is a sinister poison that affects the innocent perhaps more than the guilty."⁵³

NOTES

¹Millikin University Haiku Writer Profile, 16 August 2001: old.millikin.edu/haiku/writer/profiles/OMabsonSouthard.html.

- ²Bradford Opinion, 3 August 1950, 1:1.
- ³Michael Sherman, Gene Sessions, and P. Jeffrey Potash, *Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont* (Barre, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 2004), 528.
- ⁴Dorothy Canfield Fisher, *Vermont Tradition: The Biography of an Outlook on Life* (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown and Company, 1953), 392.
- ⁵Tyler Resch, *The Bob Mitchell Years* (Rutland, Vt.: The Rutland Herald, 1994), 184.
- ⁶*The Herald of Randolph*, 15 February 2001, 1:1.
- ⁷Haldor Laxness, *On the Cultural Situation* (1927), quoted in Gisli Pálsson, *Traveling Passions: The Hidden Life of Vilhjalmur Stefansson* (Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth University Press, 2005), 267.
- ⁸Evelyn Stefansson Nef, introduction to Owen and Eleanor Lattimore, eds., *Silks, Spices, and Empire* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1968), x. Evelyn Nef was a fascinating woman in her own right. Born Evelyn Schwartz in Brooklyn, she was a cabaret singer and puppeteer in Greenwich Village in the 1930s. She and Stefansson were both regulars at Romany Marie's, a popular Village gathering spot. After an early marriage to puppeteer Bil Baird ended in divorce, she was asked by Stefansson to be an assistant at his personal library. They soon fell in love and despite their age difference of over 30 years, married in 1941. After Stefansson's death in 1962, she moved to Washington, D.C., remarried, and, at age 60, became a psychotherapist. She died at age 96 in 2009.
- ⁹Vilhjalmur Stefansson, *Discovery: The Autobiography of Vilhjalmur Stefansson* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), 369.
- ¹⁰Robert P. Newman, *Owen Lattimore and the "Loss" of China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 52.
- ¹¹Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), 209.
- ¹²David Price, *Threatening Anthropology* (Raleigh, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004), 287–291. Price's thesis, backed by extensive research, is that anthropologists, committed by the nature of their work to equality of the races, were more likely to be involved in anti-racist political groups than were other academics. Because the Communist Party was the most active organization fighting racism in the 1930s and 1940s, many other anti-racist groups were suspected by the FBI as being potentially subversive.
- ¹³Copy of Boy Scouts memo from "Mr. Goodman" to "Dr. Fretwell," in Lattimore papers, Rauner Special Collections, Dartmouth College.
- ¹⁴*The Baltimore Sun*, 10 May 1949.
- ¹⁵Lattimore to Stefansson, 18 April 1949, Lattimore papers.
- ¹⁶*Ibid.*
- ¹⁷Stefansson to Lattimore, 29 April 1949, Lattimore papers.
- ¹⁸*White River Valley Herald*, 14 July 1949, 1:1, 2.
- ¹⁹Sally (Onon) Bishop, E-mail to author, 25 August 2010.
- ²⁰Newman, *Owen Lattimore and the "Loss" of China*, 190–192.
- ²¹Lattimore to Stefansson, 18 September 1949, Lattimore papers.
- ²²Newman, *Owen Lattimore and the "Loss" of China*, 215.
- ²³*Ibid.*, 218.
- ²⁴Evelyn Stefansson Nef, *Finding My Way* (Washington, D.C.: Francis Press, 2002), 169.
- ²⁵Newman, *Owen Lattimore and the "Loss" of China*, 222.
- ²⁶*Ibid.*, 302.
- ²⁷Nef, *Finding My Way*, 173.
- ²⁸Stefansson, *Discovery*, 371.
- ²⁹*Orlando Sentinel*, 28 July 1950.
- ³⁰*White River Valley Herald*, 10 August 1950.
- ³¹Associated Press, quoted in *Rutland Herald*, 28 July 1950, 1:1.
- ³²Associated Press, quoted in *Rutland Herald*, 28 July 1950, 1:3.
- ³³*Rutland Herald*, 29 July 1950, 1:1.
- ³⁴*Berkshire [Massachusetts] Eagle*, 30 July 1950, 1:4.
- ³⁵*White River Valley Herald*, 3 August 1950, 1:2.
- ³⁶*Rutland Herald*, 30 July 1950, 1:8.
- ³⁷*White River Valley Herald*, 10 August 1950.
- ³⁸*Burlington Free Press*, 29 July 1950, 1:6.
- ³⁹*Burlington Daily News*, 29 July 1950, 1:1.
- ⁴⁰Conversation with author, 15 December 2010.
- ⁴¹*Rutland Herald*, 12 August 1950, 1:8.
- ⁴²*Ibid.*, 14 August 1950, 1:1, 3.
- ⁴³*Ibid.*, 15 August 1950, 1:1, 3.
- ⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 17 August 1950, 1:1, 3.
- ⁴⁵*Ibid.*, 18 August 1950, 1:1, 2.

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⁴⁶Ibid., 19 August 1950, 1:1, 3.

⁴⁷Newman, *Owen Lattimore and the "Loss" of China*, 53.

⁴⁸"Freedom Loving" in *Brattleboro Reformer*, 21 August 1950, 1:4; W.W. Ballard in the *Rutland Herald*, 28 August 1950, 1:8.

⁴⁹Newman, *Owen Lattimore and the "Loss" of China*, 308.

⁵⁰*Rutland Herald*, 14 April 1952, 1:8.

⁵¹Stefansson to Lattimore, 14 July 1952, Lattimore papers.

⁵²Lucille Miller, *Green Mountain Rifleman*, 14 November 1953.

⁵³Stefansson, *Discovery*, 374.

BOOK REVIEWS



Ethan Allen: His Life and Times

By Willard Sterne Randall (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2011, pp. xvi, 617, \$35.00).

Willard Sterne Randall has produced the first serious full-length biography of Ethan Allen in nearly a half century, and only the third scholarly assessment, among a long list of biographical and other accounts of the leader of the Green Mountain Boys. Allen, portrayed by some scholars and in popular imagination as the founder of Vermont, has become an icon whose name graces a conservative think tank, a bowling alley, a motel, a fire company, an Amtrak train, and more than a dozen other modern enterprises. A detailed new treatment of Ethan Allen becomes, simply by its publication, an important event in interpreting Vermont's formative years and Allen's continuing grip on the ethos of the state. Randall's *Ethan Allen* presents the latest and a very readable story of Vermont's often flamboyant hero.

Despite his almost universal recognition in Vermont, Ethan Allen presents special challenges to a biographer. The contemporary evidence describing the first half of his life, twenty-five years, remains thin. Very little new evidence about Allen has turned up since the appearance of the previous biographies, histories like Michael Bellesiles's 1993 *Revolutionary Outlaws: Ethan Allen and the Struggle for Independence on the Early American Frontier*, in which Allen plays a very significant role, and the publication of the Allen family correspondence and the collected works of Ethan and Ira Allen. Randall compensates for that difficulty, in part, by utilizing his previous work. He draws from his one-volume biographies of Alexander Hamilton, George Washington, and Benedict

Arnold, all of whom had meaningful interactions with Allen and Vermont, his book on *Thomas Chittenden's Town* (Williston) with Nancy Nahra, and his research into eighteenth-century America, to provide a loom on which he weaves the threads of Allen's life into a textured fabric.

The accurate subtitle, *His Life and Times*, a biographical genre developed in the nineteenth century in the face of difficulty in accessing primary sources, offers Randall a larger backdrop and context for presenting Allen. He treats the reader to a wide variety of small and useful essays on New England religious controversies and trends, inoculation against small pox, and major events preceding the Revolutionary War, including the post-French and Indian War economy, the politics of British colonial policy, and the Stamp Act crisis and the American resistance to it that presaged the Revolution. These background pieces also include, among many others, the potash and iron industries in Connecticut, New Hampshire's Wentworth family and the land grants that would become Vermont, the North Carolina activities of Governor William Tryon, who when he came to New York became Allen's nemesis, the 1775–76 campaign to make Canada the fourteenth state, New York City and the British treatment of American prisoners during the Revolution, and Shays's rebellion, about which Randall adds new material.

Randall also turns to another device common, and often necessary, to biography. He uses a form of triangulation to fill in the gaps between clearly documented points in the subject's life. Biographical triangulation attempts to find the intersection of the direct lines from two or more documented points. This device of informed speculation allows Randall to develop a coherent chronological narrative for the many instances when direct evidence for Allen's thoughts and actions does not exist. In the years following his retreat from the failed lead mining venture in Northampton, Massachusetts, back to Salisbury, Connecticut, in 1767, for example, Allen began to venture into the New Hampshire Grants. By 1770, he had sufficiently established himself in the Grants to get appointed to manage the 1770 Ejectment suits New York proprietors brought against settlers in the Bennington area holding New Hampshire titles. Documentation, largely involving legal matters, and suggestions from Ira Allen's *Autobiography*, an account composed in England years after the fact that begins its narrative in 1769, establish Ethan's whereabouts and activities at certain specific points between 1767 and 1770. With this information, Randall connects the dots. Allen would head north into the Grants to scout for land and hunt and trap for deer skins and other pelts to earn money. "In the spring of 1768," Randall engagingly asserts, "Allen's first winter in the wilderness ended after the

torrents of snowmelt subsided. His canoe sagging under bundles of pelts and furs, he paddled east along the Winooski River, followed streams and ponds through the four ridges of the Green Mountains, then glided down the Connecticut River" (p. 180). Allen did, according to documents, arrive in Northampton where he negotiated an agreement with a creditor for the power of attorney to settle a debt which in turn resulted in his debt being relieved. But the description of the winter in the woods amounts to informed conjecture.

Ethan's first visit to Philadelphia provides another example, among many, of triangulation. In June 1775, not long after he led the stunning capture of Fort Ticonderoga, Allen traveled with Seth Warner through New York, where Tryon had declared both of them outlaws, to meet with the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. Their appearance, well documented in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* and in a letter from President John Hancock to the New York Provincial Congress, places Allen and Warner squarely in the largest city in the thirteen colonies. Randall asserts that Allen spoke to Congress "in his slow, confident, distinctive voice" (p. 339). At the same time Dr. Thomas Young, Allen's mentor and friend from his days in Salisbury in the 1760s, had trod a stormy path from the Oblong near Salisbury, through Albany, Boston, and Newport, Rhode Island, to Philadelphia. There Young, who in May 1777 would suggest the name "Vermont" and offer the Pennsylvania Constitution as a model for the new state, had become active in Philadelphia's highest revolutionary circles. Randall connects the dots and has Allen enjoying "one of the most satisfying interludes in his tempestuous life," in which "the loquacious Dr. Young regaled Allen with his account of the dozen-odd years since they last toasted each other over tankards of hot buttered rum" (pp. 343-44). This triangulated speculation enriches the biography. It also provides an opportunity for a brief account of Young, who John Adams described as an "Eternal Fisher in Troubled Waters." Allen had worked with Young on a manuscript that he would later enlarge and publish, without attribution to Young, as *Reason the Only Oracle of Man*, popularly dubbed Ethan Allen's Bible. But Allen's "satisfying" interlude remains only a possible, even if likely, confection that contributes some texture to the story of Allen's life.

The Ethan Allen who emerges on Randall's pages, often richer and nuanced, reinforces the standard, long accepted version of a complex, ambitious, charismatic, physically imposing, intelligent leader at the center of the creation and maintenance of Vermont's independence from New York. This interpretation of Allen and Vermont, begun by the Rev. Samuel Williams in his pioneering *The Natural and Civil History of*

Vermont (1794), took firm root in the second quarter of the nineteenth century in accounts that combined fact and myth to sculpt a hero. Even with some more modern revisionist weathering, it has remained the rock-hard platform of the standard story of Vermont. Ethan Allen logically stands at the center of biography about him. That focus causes Randall to downplay the contributions of Warner, Chittenden, Ethan's brother Ira, and other Vermont leaders with whom Allen worked and who declared and achieved Vermont's independence while he languished as a captive of the British.

The view of the Haldimand Negotiations provides a litmus test for the ongoing interpretive debate about regarding Allen as consistently dedicated to liberty and Vermont independence, or as a strong leader sometimes more driven by self-interest. In 1780, the British approached Allen in an effort to lure Vermont back into their fold. Allen and the inner circle of the state's leadership engaged in negotiations with the British under the ostensible cover of talks to secure an exchange of prisoners. Randall joins the majority of historians and biographers who attribute the negotiations to canny Yankees using them to protect Vermont's northern frontier from the British, and at the same time apply pressure on Congress for recognition of its independence. Randall quotes from an Allen letter to Frederick Haldimand, governor of Canada, in which he declares "I shall do Every thing in my Power to render this state a British province." Randall then asks the questions, "Did Allen mean it? Or was he only wedging the door open for future ties between Vermont and Canada? Had he ever meant it?" (p. 491). Some historians have answered "yes," Allen seriously contemplated rejoining the British. Randall concludes firmly the opposite. Wily Vermonters, who had remained steadfastly loyal to Vermont and the ideals of the American Revolution, cleverly "duped" Haldimand into restraining British military force on Vermont's northern frontier (p. 493).

Randall generally agrees with the mainstream story of Vermont, with well-formed renditions of the decision to resist New York at a meeting in Bennington immediately after the Ejectment suits, and the activities of the Green Mountain Boys under Allen's leadership. His previous work on Benedict Arnold informs and enriches the account of the capture of Fort Ticonderoga. The story of Allen's capture in an ill-conceived attack on Montreal in September 1775 through his release in May 1778, derives from Allen's *The Narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen*, first published in 1779, and an American Revolution best seller. Randall sees "no reason to doubt the general thrust" of the *Narrative*, though it lacks introspection about Ethan's actions that led to his capture (p. 366).

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Randall compresses the last decade of Allen's life into about one-seventh of his text. Though Ethan never held elective office in Vermont and in high dudgeon resigned his commission as commander of the Vermont militia in the swirl of accusations over the Haldimand Negotiations, Randall has Allen in the middle of Vermont's formative years as "the governor's unelected counselor the day he returned" from captivity (p. 450). Randall does not provide a similar level of context for Vermont in the 1780s as a backdrop for assessing Allen as he did for the earlier years. The account of his counsel also competes with other major events including the publication of *Reason the Only Oracle of Man*, his work on behalf of Connecticut settlers and speculators in Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley, and his second, whirlwind marriage. Randall's thin depiction of Vermont in the 1780s, with the exception of the response to Shays's Rebellion, does not deal with the Allens's discomfort with the movement that eventually led to statehood two years after his death in 1789. Placing Ethan Allen at the center of Vermont affairs does not adequately recognize the partial postwar eclipse of the Allens and their allies, that the reins had begun to pass during Ethan's captivity to other leaders, and that he never fully regained them.

Unfortunately, geographic errors litter the landscape of *Ethan Allen: His Life and Times*. Randall twice locates the Hudson River outpost of Fort Edward on the "southern end" of Lake George (pp. 103, 151), moves Fort William Henry from the southern end more than thirty miles to the northern end of Lake George (p. 102), and places Fort Ticonderoga once at the "foot" of Lake Champlain (p. 25) and another time, in its French days as Carillon "at the lake's southern tip" (p. 102). Three times he relocates Worcester, Massachusetts, many miles west to the Connecticut River (pp. 6, 29, and 30), and he places Windsor in the southeast "corner of the Grants" (p. 442). Randall has timber rafts floating out of Lake Champlain loaded with forest products drifting against the current to unload upstream on the St. Lawrence at Montreal, rather than downstream at Québec (pp. 534–35). He struggles with actual mileage between key points, even accounting for eighteenth-century roadways, and confuses "up" and "down" Lakes Champlain and George with "north" and "south."

These annoying examples of cartographic lapses do not seriously affect the narrative, but when combined with other misstatements they do raise questions about problems in other areas. Randall introduces the new character of Daniel Fay, who Williams and other sources do not record, as a participant in the Haldimand Negotiations, conducted in part by Joseph Fay (p. 488). He has Bennington religious leader Reverend Jedediah Dewey, rather than Stephen Fay, as the "Landlord" and

proprietor of the famous Catamount Tavern (p. 237). He misnames Thomas Walker, a leading Montreal merchant and proponent of the American thrust to capture Canada in 1775, calling him “John” (pp. 322, 368). Soon after Allen’s capture in Montreal, Randall depicts the “one-eyed,” mean-spirited, and gloating English fur merchant Brook Watson taunting Allen (p. 396). Watson had lost his leg, not his eye, in Havana harbor in 1749, a gruesome event immortalized in Copley’s famous and powerful painting “Watson and the Shark,” now at the National Gallery of Art.

Randall also claims that Ethan Allen—with a total formal military experience of two weeks in a militia company that saw no action—could muster in 1775 a regiment of 2,000 frontiersmen “he had trained and disciplined through five years of armed resistance to royal officials in New York” (p. 25). This claim does not comport with the population on the Grants that Randall correctly estimates at 8,800 in 1775 (p. 301). The Grants had an average household size of between five and six, five-eighths of whom lived in towns on the east side of the Green Mountains, whose residents did not join the Green Mountain Boys. Allen would have had to draw his 2,000 troops from a population of a little over 3,000 men, women, and children from roughly 625 families. Randall misstates the name of the cemetery (Greenmount, not “Green Mountain”) to which, he asserts, a crowd of 10,000—over 10 percent of Vermont’s population—trekked over many miles in a few days in February 1789 to attend Allen’s funeral (pp. 531–32). Allen’s now iconic statement to Yorker James Duane, to whom Randall assigns the role of arch villain in the Ethan Allen story, was first reported by Ira Allen in 1798 as, “The Gods of the valleys are not the Gods of the hills.” The sequence of the valleys and the hills became reversed in many nineteenth-century accounts, and Randall follows them (p. 237). He carelessly lists the distinguished historian William F. Cronon as the author of an article published while Cronon attended grade school (p. 563).

Many readers will not recognize or care about these and other factual hiccoughs, as they do not seriously interrupt the flow of the narrative about an engaging man whose story has become synonymous with the founding of the Green Mountain State. Ethan Allen led a full, interesting, varied, and often exciting life in momentous times. Randall has imaginatively captured much of it. Historians and other scholars may disagree with giving the Allens the central, dominant role in Vermont, particularly after 1775, and they will continue to study and write about Ethan Allen from a variety of vantages. But without the unlikely discovery of a substantial cache of new documentary evidence, Randall has probably and unfortunately forestalled another attempt at a

full-length biography for as many years as have lapsed since the last effort appeared in 1969.

H. NICHOLAS MULLER III

H. Nicholas Muller III, currently Treasurer of the Vermont Historical Society, has taught and written about Vermont's history, including Ethan and Ira Allen. He formerly edited Vermont History, and continues to write about Vermont's past. He serves as a Trustee and Vice President of the Fort Ticonderoga historic site, where Ethan Allen's stunning action vaulted him from a local leader to a national figure.

Revolutionary Westminster: From Massacre to Statehood

By Jessie Haas (Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2011, pp. 174, \$19.99).

Lexington. Concord. Westminster. Scholars of American history will undoubtedly link the first two places with the beginnings of the American Revolution. If Vermont author Jessie Haas has it her way, Westminster will no longer seem the odd-fellow. Haas' work centers on the tragic events of March 13, 1775 that resulted in the death of two men, the overturning of New York colonial rule in Cumberland County, and as Haas contends, the earliest bloodshed of the Revolution. Haas' book is the result of a new history of Westminster, commissioned by the local historical society, and it reflects that vision. In addition to a sustained treatment of the massacre the work includes information about the town's early settlement and the often influential role played by the town and its citizens in both the Revolutionary War effort and the post-massacre creation of the state of Vermont.

The first third of the book recounts the town's founding, using the political rivalry between New Hampshire Governor Benning Wentworth and New York Lieutenant Governor Cadwallader Colden to frame a discussion about the confusing land grants dispute which, over the course of time, saw Westminster fall under four separate charters. Haas also takes time to introduce to the narrative several important citizens who appear in early Westminster and who figure prominently in the later drama. Of particular note is the diabolically fascinating Crean Brush, an Irish loyalist who arrived in Westminster in 1771 and used his extensive social ties in New York to swiftly consolidate his own political power. Haas notes that in just three years, Brush—a lawyer and land speculator

by trade—was able to acquire thousands of acres of land, make Westminster the county seat, install a close friend as sheriff, relocate the courthouse, and maneuver himself into one of the two seats Cumberland County acquired in the New York assembly. (Admirers of the Allen family will find it interesting to note that Brush's stepdaughter was Frances Montresor Buchanan—Fanny—who, as a young widow, married Ethan Allen.)

After firmly situating Westminster in its historical context and demonstrating how it became the seat of New York colonial rule in Cumberland County, Haas examines how several events occurring outside Cumberland County exacerbated the tensions within Westminster. In reaction to farmers' revolutions occurring in Massachusetts throughout August and September of 1774 (the product of resentment toward the Coercive Acts), sympathizers in Westminster organized a series of conventions to address the increased pressure from Great Britain. The first convention produced language that strongly opposed the acts of Parliament and aligned Cumberland County with the Continental Congress. At the second convention, held on November 30, the citizens of Cumberland County cemented that allegiance when they voted to adhere to the Articles of Association—a bold move that put the county at odds with New York, the only colony to reject the association. The final convention primarily dealt with the flow of information, setting up monitors for the Committees of Correspondence. It was an issue of some concern, as word had spread throughout Westminster that the county council had concealed an earlier letter from New York Committee of Correspondence member Isaac Low inquiring about the peoples' sentiments following the previous year's events in Massachusetts. Haas pays particular attention to the language emerging from the conventions to bolster support for her claims, finding in the proclamations the rumblings of a sentiment that would turn revolutionary after the massacre.

Haas' retelling of the massacre itself deserves credit. Her lyrical talent (she has written numerous children's books) is especially evident in the introduction, which succinctly and beautifully weaves the various primary accounts of the massacre into a seamless episode. The reader will appreciate the quality of the narrative all the more when, later in the text, it becomes apparent how contradictory were the reports that emerged from either side. Again, as Haas notes, the language of the accounts offers us clues about the assumptions of the participants. The Whigs termed it a massacre: innocent, peacefully assembled men unjustly attacked by an illegitimate authority. The Yorkers imagined it a riot: an unruly, violent mob rightly taken care of by the law. Lieutenant Governor Colden deemed it an insurrection. That such varied interpretation

of the massacre existed at the time makes Haas' appendix, which deals with the historical legacy of the event and particularly how its memory has been used over time, especially interesting.

Those interested in local history and the American Revolution will find value in Haas' book. She has gathered an impressive array of primary sources that support her argument and present the reader with the sort of intimate knowledge that one would expect to find in a local history. Photographs of important sites, documents, and memorials provide an interesting visual context for Haas' narrative. Ultimately, she offers an interesting story of the Westminster massacre that challenges us to reconsider our assumptions about the earliest violence of the American Revolution, and calls our attention to the unique role that Westminster and its citizens played in the creation of the state of Vermont.

SCOTT McDOWELL

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Architecture and Academe: College Buildings in New England before 1860

By Bryant F. Tolles, Jr. (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2011, pp. 232, \$50.00).

Bryant Tolles has long guided us to and through the architectural treasures of New England, and with this latest book, the journey continues. Tolles traces the history and physical development of sixteen major colleges and universities, beginning with their founding years in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: Amherst, Bates, Bowdoin, Brown, Colby, Dartmouth, Harvard, Holy Cross, Middlebury, Norwich, Trinity, Tufts, Yale, Wesleyan, Williams, and the University of Vermont (UVM). The Vermont institutions comprise their own chapter.

College campuses were among the first institutions in the young nation to experiment with layout to create views and vistas, and to enhance major structures by placement as well as architectural detail. Tolles points out patterns and departures from patterns. Although he nods to English antecedents at Oxford and Cambridge, he focuses on American models—Yale's row plan and Harvard's quad model. Through in-depth research of college records, Tolles uncovers the stories of early campus development. He points out that Yale originally proposed a quad plan, but New Haven residents wanted buildings that faced outward, to the

Green. (Later changes turned Yale's brick row inward on the quad model.) At Dartmouth, the town common became the quad for the college. Tufts broke with the row tradition, or rather, doubled it, by creating two rows of inward-facing buildings, along opposite edges of a rectangular "mall," possibly inspired by Thomas Jefferson's design for the University of Virginia.

Williams eschewed a village environment and located in a natural country setting, to reflect the college's transcendental focus. This break with tradition foreshadowed another tradition, the pastoral college campus, separate from (but often adjacent to) everyday urban life. Before too long, the "college on the hill" would become a revered model, exemplified in this grouping by Brown and Middlebury.

The author treats unique building types developed on antebellum college campuses—dormitories, commons, scientific buildings, chapels, etc., and specialized uses like "cabinets"—rooms for housing scientific instruments and natural specimens. (Amherst had a freestanding cabinet building, Appleton Cabinet [1855]). He helps us understand how buildings were originally used and how the physicality of the buildings reflected contemporaneous views of education, gender, and faculty/student relations.

Many of the colleges' first buildings were multi-purpose, reminiscent of mill architecture, and surprisingly consistent in size—about 100 feet long, 40–50 feet wide, and 2½–3½ stories high: classically pleasing proportions. Residential, educational, administrative, and assembly spaces were located together in one building.

Tracking ideas, in this case, architectural ideas, is an enjoyable pursuit. Tolles provides many historical and modern illustrations that offer stimulus and reference for this architectural detective work. And the older images sometimes also give a glimpse of life on campus: people on horseback, horse-drawn carriages, and young men playing ball in top hats and morning coats. It's also the kind of book that will tempt a reader to thumb through the extensive footnotes to extract an extra level of detail. Tolles also calls attention to what is unknown (designers) or missing (plans) to identify research questions for future efforts.

The Vermont chapter of the book begins with a chronicle of UVM's little-known original building (1801–07, burned 1824), known as the "College Edifice," a handsome four-story, hip-roofed brick structure with central pedimented pavilions visually supporting a tall open bell tower. UVM's oldest surviving building, Old Mill (1825–29, 1846, 1882–83), was originally three buildings with a seven-foot fire separation between them. In 1846, master builder John Johnson joined them, and in 1882–83, Rutland architect J. J. R. Randall enlarged the central chapel and added

a fourth floor for more dormitory space. When Old Mill was recently renovated again, one of those student rooms was preserved in the attic.

Middlebury College began in 1800 in the Addison County Grammar School (1797–98, demolished 1864), a space it shared until 1805. It was over a decade before they built the first campus structure, Painter Hall (1816). Tolles reports that Middlebury's Old Chapel (1836) had a small astronomical observatory in the belfry. Starr Hall (1861, rebuilt after a fire in 1865) completed the iconic Old Stone Row, which has been recognized with National Register of Historic Places designation and a commemorative U.S. Postal Service stamped card in 2000, the College's bicentennial year.

Norwich University was originally established in Norwich and had a two-building row, South Barracks (1820) and North Barracks (1832). The latter had an exterior stair tower similar to mill design, and diminishing window sizes on the upper stories, like Reed Hall (1839–40), designed by Ammi Burnham Young, at Dartmouth across the river in Hanover, New Hampshire. (That project was a Young family affair, with Ammi the architect, brother Dyer the contractor, and brother Ira, a professor and astronomer, the project manager.)

Tolles' book becomes a guide to reading the college and university landscape in New England and beyond. Where inspiration from one campus to another was direct, Tolles points out "architectural twins." And the early college buildings that Tolles describes often served as models for twins across time in the Colonial Revival period in the early twentieth century. But the influence of New England colleges extended far beyond the northeastern states. Many colleges elsewhere modeled themselves educationally and physically on these New England institutions. A great many of the buildings in the book remain today and can be visited. Bryant Tolles' book will open your eyes to the architectural history of a very special part of the New England landscape, our early colleges and universities.

NANCY E. BOONE

Nancy E. Boone served many years as the State Architectural Historian and Deputy State Historic Preservation Officer with the Vermont Division for Historic Preservation. She is now the Federal Preservation Officer for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development in Washington, D.C. Her personal higher educational path included two years at Middlebury College.

"A Very Fine Appearance": The Vermont Civil War Photographs of George Houghton

By Donald H. Wickman (Barre, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 2011, pp. xxxi, 232, \$44.95, paper \$34.95).

A *Very Fine Appearance* celebrates the life and work of Vermonter George Houghton (1824–1870), the sesquicentennial of the Civil War, the history of war photography, and regional history. These themes, carefully and thoughtfully presented in the foreword by Harold Holzer and the introductory essay by Donald Wickman, seek to restore both the photographer and his work from anonymity.

Houghton presented a leather-bound, gilt-edged volume of his photographs in 1864 to the Vermont Historical Society. The members were so impressed that he was awarded a lifetime membership. Houghton's photographs of Vermont's regiments, field notes, and newly commissioned maps of the places where they fought are the second part and heart of the book. The photographer's range of subject matter, from troop encampments to battlefields and fortifications, and the accompanying texts, are the motivation for this publication and its value to the general reader and specialist.

Francis Miller's ten volumes, *The Photographic History of the Civil War*, published in 1911, sought to elevate photographs to historical record and cultural memory. The thousands of photographs published in it, for the most part without attribution to individual makers, serve that purpose today. Furthermore, they are an important aspect of photographic history. The Civil War was the first war to be photographed in its totality from its beginning to its end. Mathew Brady, the most famous photographer of the war, made few photographs due to poor eyesight. He took credit for pictures done under his direction; posterity has continued to credit him for pictures that were made by his operators. The best-known ones were Alexander Gardner and Timothy O'Sullivan.

"A Very Fine Appearance" lifts Houghton from the anonymity of 3,154 pre-Civil War photographers or those working in related fields and places his life and work in an honored position in Vermont and in the annals of Civil War photography. This genre evolved at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century into photojournalism and war photography with the advent of Eastman Kodak roll films and smaller cameras. The wet plate process used during the Civil War required a stand camera, and the emulsions used were too

slow to capture movement or actual fighting on the battlefield. Holzer and Wickman provide detailed accounts of this process. They also document and explain how it limited the range of Houghton's photographic subjects but did not hinder his making evocative photographs of the war experience.

The interpretive pieces by Holzer and Wickman do not attempt to give an account of the entire war as Miller does, but instead illuminate aspects of Houghton's private and professional life. The financing of the war through the passage of an Internal Revenue Bill and levying taxes on photographs did not prove to be a burden for Houghton, as he had plenty of paying customers who sought his portraits and battlefield views. The income allowed him to purchase a house for his family and take care of their daily needs.

His status as a photographer gave Houghton access to the troops and nearness to war. His photographs of a newly freed slave family after the battle of Gaines Mill, and of the burial site of the 3rd Vermont killed at Lee's Mills, are poignant reminders of the meaning of the war. Contemporaries would have understood the costs and pain witnessed in the photographs. This is a shared American history, and it is of particular interest to residents of Vermont. This shared duality (national and local) is further amplified by the contemporary accounts gathered by Wickman and placed on the page opposite each photograph. This pairing is one of the strengths and values of this book.

However well researched and written this book is, it has a serious fault. The reproductions made from digital scans of the prints are flat, lifeless representations of the originals. This volume does not visually represent Houghton's photographs as they were when presented to the Vermont Historical Society in 1864. They do not come close to the legibility of the black and white halftone reproductions in Miller's volumes published in 1911. At that time, halftone technology was state of the art and appropriate for a photographic history. The reproductions in this photographic history are not first rate and diminish the book's value but not its usefulness as a research tool.

WILLIAM EARLE WILLIAMS

William Earle Williams is the Audrey A. and John L. Dusseau Professor in the Humanities and Curator of Photography at Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

Farms, Flatlanders, and Fords: A Story of People and Place in Rural Vermont 1890–2010

By Cameron Clifford (West Hartford, Vt.: Cameron Clifford Books, 2011, pp. vii, 245, \$20.00).

This book by Cameron Clifford could be about almost any rural town in Vermont during this period of time. It captures the changes that took place as the town went from being a close-knit agricultural community in the late 1800s, primarily dependent upon dairy farming, to a rural bedroom community today. What is unique and interesting about this book is that it focuses on twenty native North Pomfret families that lived, witnessed, and endured these changes over time. Many participated in and saw the loss of the once predominant family-operated dairy farms, the advent of the automobile and television, the growth of tourism and second homes, and the conflict around preserving the past while moving into the future. These changes brought to the forefront issues relative to land use and related values, and resulted in the eventual decline of involvement in local social institutions like the Grange, church, store, and other places that once were a key or essential part of the close-knit farming community of North Pomfret.

Clifford captures these changes with unique detail, showing how they came about due to technology, market forces, and new infrastructure, and how they not only impacted the families but also the fabric of the community. He discusses with clarity the significance of dairy farming to the town during the late 1800s and early 1900s, and its decline after the 1940s. This decline was not rapid, as men returned from World War II intent on continuing this occupation. But market forces led to decreases in milk prices, and combined with changes in technology and new health and regulatory standards such as the bulk tank, dairy farming became unprofitable for many. These proud, independent men and women of North Pomfret sought other work and opportunities. With the advent of the automobile and improved roads, many were able to find employment elsewhere, at times more distant from town. The everyday community's social structure that had evolved around the town's working dairy farms could no longer continue easily.

It was inevitable, as Clifford demonstrates, that a conflict in values would eventually take place between the "natives" and those who moved into the community from other areas. While Interstate routes 89 and 91 brought renewed opportunities to the region in tourism and second home

and retirement living and related employment, they also raised questions within the town relative to its future and open space. Conflicts that arose included the posting of land for hunting, something that many of the old timers did not do; use of land for snowmobiles and other types of recreation; junkyards and trash removal; and local land use controls. Zoning became a contentious issue, as in many Vermont communities during this period. It took a major land development proposal to bring the community together, both the so-called newcomers and the old native families, around the discussion of controls to help preserve open space.

This book is a must read for those interested in the changes that have taken place in many Vermont communities during this period of time. Many of us who were raised in small towns in Vermont that had been part of our family histories for many generations have witnessed these impacts, both positive and negative. Like those families in North Pomfret, we too revel in the past, but understand that change is inevitable. Clifford captures these sentiments very well and makes them human through the stories of the lives of the twenty families of North Pomfret that he presents in the book. It is clear that North Pomfret is trying to preserve the best of the past while moving into the future. The town today is much different than it was in 1890, and it will become much different in the future. As Clifford writes, "If one from the past was transported into the present and went for a walk through North Pomfret, he would see persistence amidst change" (p. 212).

Those who love Vermont, who live in, visit, or travel through the communities of our state, will enjoy this book. Clifford captures the lives of twenty long-time Vermont farm families that are confronted with change that has transformed many towns in Vermont during the last century. While in some cases the book brings to the forefront conflicts between the old and new, there remains a community spirit and a real sense of place that will inspire the reader.

ROGER N. ALLBEE

Roger N. Allbee is a former Secretary of Agriculture, Food and Markets for the State of Vermont.

Back to the Land: The Enduring Dream of Self-Sufficiency in Modern America

By Dona Brown (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011, pp. 290, paper \$34.95; ebook, \$12.95).

Readers who follow contemporary trends in home gardening and production will be aware that growing numbers of Americans, particularly in cities and suburbs, are trying to provide for at least some of their domestic food needs. New ranks of gardeners, chicken owners, and beekeepers are expressing concern through action about the stresses that environmental degradation, oil depletion, and overpopulation are placing on economic systems, resource availability, and food supplies. Readers who have an interest in such things may also be aware that their efforts are not entirely unique to the present day. University of Vermont historian Dona Brown's new book, *Back to the Land: The Enduring Dream of Self-Sufficiency in Modern America*, helps us understand how and why this is so. Brown's broadly conceived book traces the history of back-to-the-land movements and cultural attitudes toward self-sufficiency, ultimately reminding readers that many of our contemporary attitudes have deep historical roots. As is characteristic of Brown's work, *Back to the Land* is well researched, smoothly written, and often sharp and witty. The book does not engage Vermont history specifically throughout its length, but Vermont and neighboring New England states play prominent roles in many of the stories that Brown tells. There is a great deal here to appeal to audiences from a range of backgrounds and with a range of historical interests.

Back to the Land is divided into an introduction, seven chapters, and an epilogue. Brown's introduction outlines a range of periods, sentiments, motivations, and social groups associated with the back-to-the-land "movement" writ large. The history of back-to-the-land efforts in the United States is characterized by a great deal of diversity, both in social groups and attitudes, making it impossible to identify a consistent set of motivating factors. Over time, Brown argues, concerns ranging from urbanization and immigration to economic collapse to environmental decay have informed back-to-the-land action, politics, and literature. Back-to-the-landers have ranged from those content to read about and consume trappings of back-to-the-land sentiment to those who actually picked up and moved out of the city to the countryside. Their stories are not always easy to trace in the historical record, but the chapters of this book do as thorough and satisfying a job as anyone might imagine.

Chapter one begins in the early twentieth century, examining the early strands of thought and action associated with the movement's urban enthusiasts. Here Brown identifies roots within the arts-and-crafts movement, landownership reforms, intentional agricultural communities, and immigrant reforms. Early back-to-the-land supporters all shared an emphasis on crafting independence from market uncertainty through self-sufficiency—an emphasis that would inform the movement for decades. Chapter two adopts a focused look at back-to-the-land literature. Brown uses this body of work to identify the attitudes of leading thinkers as well as readers' reactions to their work. Included in chapter two is a fascinating discussion about "fakery" and the degree to which readers (as well as contemporary historians) can trust the veracity of the back-to-the-land endeavors recounted in such works.

Brown's third chapter examines private and public documents produced between the 1890s and 1920s. Here she highlights core motivations ranging from independence from the market system to health, and from a search for general stimulation to the preservation of manhood. Most notably, chapter three includes a detailed discussion of gender dynamics within the early movement, as enthusiasts struggled to define men's and women's roles as well as the benefits of self-sufficiency accrued to each group. Chapter four highlights key shifts within the movement during the 1920s, focusing particular attention on intentional agricultural colonies in the American West. These settlements, Brown notes, were financed by both private and public funds, and often became the locus for suburban developments that blurred the boundaries between speculative capitalism and back-to-the-land radicalism. Chapter five highlights Depression-era trends within the movement, including New Deal attempts to foster self-sufficiency among many who felt that America's capitalist system was fundamentally flawed. Some of this chapter's material may be familiar to some readers, but what may be less familiar are the stories it also tells about Jewish and African American subsistence communities.

Vermont readers will likely find much of interest in the book's last two chapters. Chapter six explores intellectual and political attitudes toward New Deal subsistence farming programs, particularly in Vermont—a state that some intellectuals and policymakers turned to as a new source of opportunity and hope. Brown offers lengthy discussions about the work of Vermont Governor George D. Aiken, as well as Vermont writers (some of whom she refers to as "neo-Yankees") such as Vrest Orton, Elliot Merrick, and Helen and Scott Nearing. What this chapter does so well is to take some familiar Vermont stories about the New Deal and reinterpret them through a framework of intellectual history.

Chapter seven, which focuses on 1970s countercultural initiatives, also revisits some people and places familiar to some Vermonters, including the Nearings, as well as Ray Mungo and the Total Loss Farm. Chapter seven's particular strength is its ability to interpret 1970s back-to-the-land efforts according to long-standing historical trends as well as the particular ideologies and concerns of those years, perhaps most notably, environmentalism.

Back to the Land concludes with an epilogue that ties the book's themes and historical lessons concretely to present-day concerns about food politics and domestic production. This self-conscious linking of past and present reminds readers that all contemporary issues have historical foundations, and that we should always work to understand those foundations as a means for understanding ourselves. All those with an interest in the past can benefit from work that makes this point as effectively as Brown's book. More specifically, this point also applies to those of us interested in back-to-the-land thought. Indeed, Brown shows us that back-to-the-land enthusiasts in the United States have typically been a thoughtful and self-reflective lot. If that characteristic still holds true, then today's back-to-the-landers will want to spend time reading and thinking about Brown's findings while they get down to the practical business of living and writing the next chapter in this longer American story.

BLAKE HARRISON

Blake Harrison lives in Middlebury, Vermont and is the co-editor of A Landscape History of New England (The MIT Press, 2011).

Buddy Truax, Music Man

Produced by Mark Greenberg/Upstreet Productions (CD, \$15.00).

The colors of a lush and often complex musical imagination emerge, along with sweet aural fragments of a bygone Vermont, in *Buddy Truax, Music Man*, historical recordings compiled and released in 2011 by Montpelier musical historian Mark Greenberg.

Buddy Truax—guitarist, fiddler, saxophonist, and singer—was unquestionably one of the finest local talents Vermont has seen. His heyday stretched through the 1940s and '50s, when he played with Don Fields's Pony Boys, Vermont's premier musical act during the "cowboy band" era, and then formed his own equally talented and hard-working Playboys. Theirs was a Vermont version, spread into adjacent states and Québec, of the classic country-band experience: playing far-flung barn

dances into the night, then driving the pitch-dark, two-lane roads through the wee hours to show up for radio programs—for the Pony Boys and the Playboys it was WDEV in Waterbury—in the morning.

Even after he quit the road in 1962 to help his wife, Evelyn, run a family-owned restaurant, Buddy kept his hand in music, playing occasional jazz gigs and concerts into the 1980s. Truax died in 2007. Drawing his material from incidental, informal recordings and radio transcriptions, Greenberg has compiled nineteen songs and instrumentals into a program of two parts: “Country Buddy” and “Jazz Buddy.”

The former are, largely, the older recordings, and feature equal portions of Truax’s work on fiddle and guitar. Truax was an excellent hoe-down fiddler, fast and accurate. There’s great “sock” rhythm guitar behind him on many of these selections, and terrific accordion work, though the accompanists are not fully attributed, due certainly to incomplete records. But Truax’s sister, Barb (Truax) Izzo, is credited for rhythm guitar on some tracks and also sings leads and harmonies. The Truaxes, brother and sister, are smooth, seemingly effortless vocalists. The songs presented here are primarily slow country love ballads. It’s easy to slot Buddy Truax into the Jim Reeves category, but his pitch, tone, and delivery are more reminiscent of Gene Autry.

Beginning with track #11 (“The Doll Dance”), “Jazz Buddy” is a crisp departure from “Country Buddy.” Greenberg’s liner notes recount that Truax spent his Army years during World War II in the Special Service Unit, playing guitar with pop and jazz ensembles. The great melting pot of the U.S. Army put Vermont’s Buddy Truax into contact with musicians from Glen Miller and Stan Kenton’s bands. He evidently had offers to embark on a career with musicians of this ilk and profile after the war, but chose to return to Vermont, and, in 1953, formed the Playboys.

The “Jazz Buddy” selections reveal, however, that the sophistication of that genre was his love. These nine recordings are, mostly, newer than the country selections, and contain only one crooning Truax vocal, “Pennies from Heaven.” The other eight are jazz standards, including “Body & Soul,” “Sweet Georgia Brown,” and “Moonlight in Vermont.” Truax’s guitar stylings begin with chordal melodies and double-stops, drawing a full, mellifluous sound from his electric guitar, then branch into jazzier runs punctuated by more complex chords and harmonies.

Several of the “Jazz Buddy” tunes feature a larger ensemble: J. Don Jones on cornet and trumpet, Max Pelkey on bass, and Tom Truax on drums. They particularly cook on “Perdido,” where Buddy turns in his most forward-looking guitar work on the album, and where he and Jones play a sweet trumpet-and-guitar duet.

This is excellent music headed by an intelligent and well-informed musician. Yet a perhaps inadvertent delight of the album is the brief moments of insight it offers into a Vermont as attuned to its social and musical pleasures as people are today. On a radio broadcast, Truax promotes the band's upcoming gigs at Nichols' Barn in Stowe ("The barn is well-lighted and well-policed") and the Hen House in Underhill ("Bill Atkins runs the place over there and does a very good job of it"). Caller Bobby Joyal calls the steps on "Raggedy Ann" and "Rubber Dolly," and he is quick and rhythmic and fun ("Yours is pretty, so is mine, I'll swing yours, you swing mine"). It's nice to sense the joys—the carousings, in fact—of our predecessors who lived and loved their lives in Vermont.

In the same spirit, some of the jazz numbers were recorded at the Blush Hill Country Club in Waterbury, and along with the music you hear the chatter and laughing of the patrons. Hey—it wasn't a show; it was just a gig.

The recordings in this compilation are not high tech. They are more like the two-lane roads of that era than like the interstate highways of today: serviceable, simple, with some audio potholes. But think what would be lost if they were never given to us. *Buddy Truax, Music Man* is a sometimes rough ride through very beautiful country.

WILL LINDNER

Will Lindner is a freelance writer and editor, and a musician, living in Barre.

Images of America: Orleans County

By Sarah A. Dumas and the Old Stone House Museum (Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2011, pp. 128, \$21.99).

Orleans County is famous for its rugged beauty. Natural wonders such as Jay Peak and Lake Willoughby, and picturesque villages such as Craftsbury Common draw visitors from around the world. But there is another side to the county that rarely draws public attention: its poverty. Orleans's 27,000 residents suffer the highest poverty rate in Vermont and the fifth lowest average household spending in the United States. Life has always been a struggle for those living there, but their rugged perseverance has permitted their communities to grow and survive.

There have been few if any attempts to write a comprehensive history of Orleans County. Indeed, due to the significant differences in the

personalities of many of the region's towns, such a history would be a monumental task. Fortunately, Sarah A. Dumas, research librarian at the Old Stone House Museum and Orleans County Historical Society, working in tandem with other museum staffers, has produced a splendid book of photographs depicting every town in the county, dating from the latter half of the nineteenth century to the 1950s. A lively text places the photos into context and provides a concrete history of the county.

Orleans County is published by Arcadia Publishing, a major producer of local histories across the United States. The typical Arcadia book contains some background and roughly 200 pictures with explanatory captions in about 130 pages. The series includes some worthy studies of Vermont locales, including the 2009 volume, *The Vermont-Québec Border: Life on the Line*. Pictures in most of Arcadia's books date from the mid-1800s to the immediate post-World War II era. The quality of each volume varies greatly, depending on the skill and dedication of the local historians and the quality of available photographs.

Luckily, Sarah Dumas and her staff had access to the rich files of the Orleans County Historical Society as well as many of the region's active local historical societies. They have divided their book into seven chapters, each representing a neighboring cluster of towns such as Craftsbury and Greensboro, Brownington, Coventry and Westmore, and Newport, Newport Town, and Derby. The authors showcase the major historical events and features of each town in considerable detail. While there are a few pictures of such beauty spots as Jay Peak and a few area lakes, the focus is on the people of Orleans County—their farms, factories, and religious and social lives.

What is most striking about this collection of photographs is the general poverty and visible hardship in the lives of its residents. Houses and barns show considerable wear and tear, the roads are badly rutted, and the factories are dark and gloomy. There is little cheer in the faces of the people, whether young or old. A constant theme throughout is the ever-present danger of fire. Virtually every town represented here experienced one or more calamitous fires that destroyed whole downtowns of villages.

Dumas's compendium of photographs carefully depicts the region's early dependence on farming and local mills and shops. By the end of the nineteenth century, most of the towns had spawned one or more large factories, such as the Blair Veneer Company of North Troy, which manufactured plywood panels, chair seats, and piano sounding boards. This company, like virtually every other manufacturing concern in the county, faded from the scene in the mid-1900s.

I did notice one minor error in a caption of an old photograph of

Caspian Lake in Greensboro. The caption notes that two famous summer residents of Greensboro were Wallace Stegner and anthropologist Margaret Mead. Dr. Mead was my mother's close professional colleague and personal partner during the latter part of both their lives. Mead made several short visits to my mother's house in Greensboro, but was never a summer resident there like Stegner.

Dumas's *Orleans County* does an excellent job of depicting both the history and character of the region and should be on the shelf of every local library and historical society.

DANIEL MÉTRAUX

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Recent Additions to the Vermont Historical Society Library

BOOKS

Bilow, Jack, *A War of 1812 Death Register, "Whispers in the Dark."* Plattsburgh, N.Y.: The author, 2011. 520p. Source: The author, 8 Grace Ave., Plattsburgh, NY 12901. List: \$50.00.

Black River Academy Museum, *Ludlow Village: A Walk into History.* Ludlow, Vt.: The museum, 2010. 23p. Source: The museum, P.O. Box 73, Ludlow, VT 05149. Price: Unknown (paper).

*Bruchac, Joseph, *Hidden Roots.* Greenfield Center, N.Y.: Bowman Books, 2010. 137p. List: \$9.95 (paper). Novel, Abenakis in the early twentieth century.

Bryant, Timothy Charles, *A Father's Gift.* Londonderry, Vt.: Red Thread Press, 2010. 164p. Source: The publisher, 2069 North Main St., Londonderry, VT 05148. List: \$21.95 (paper). Stories about family and farm life.

Burlington Free Press, *The Year of the Storms: Vermont's Remarkable Experiences in 2011.* Battle Ground, Wash.: Pediment Publishing, 2011. 144p. Source: The publisher, www.pediment.com. List: \$37.95. Many photographs, includes Tropical Storm Irene.

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*Indicates books available through the Vermont Historical Society Museum Store.
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- * Castrucci, Paul, *Making Memories: IBM's Golden Age 1965–1990, Bold Leaders, Visionary Business Moves, and a 16 bit Chip that Turned Technology on Its Ear*. Burlington, Vt.: Paul Castrucci & Assoc., 2009. 108p. List: \$25.00 (paper).
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- * DuBay, Debby, *Greetings from Rutland, Vermont: Heart of the Green Mountains*. Atglen, Pa.: Schiffer Pub. Ltd., 2011. 128p. List: \$35.00 (paper). Many photographs.
- * Dumas, Sarah A., and the Old Stone House Museum, *Orleans County*. Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2011. 127p. List: \$21.99 (paper). Many photographs.
- Favreau, Francis, comp., *Some Things You Maybe Didn't Know about Morrisville*. No publisher, 2011. 371p. Source: Privately printed (spiral bound).
- Hollenbeck, Claudette, *Lake Raponda, Wilmington, Vermont: A Brief History, 1751–1961*. Brattleboro, Vt.: Howard Press, 2011. 61p. Source: The author, 413 Lake Raponda Rd., Wilmington, VT 05363. List: Unknown (spiral bound).
- Horner, Cassie, *Lucy E.: Road to Victory: A Novel*. Woodstock, Vt.: Mad Dog Ink, 2011. 295p. Fiction set in Mount Holly in the nineteenth century.
- Huber, Carol, et al., *With Needle and Brush: Schoolgirl Embroidery from the Connecticut River Valley, 1740–1840*. Old Lyme, Conn.: Florence Griswold Museum, 2011. 98p. List: \$30.00. Includes examples from Windsor, Woodstock, Weathersfield, and Cavenish, Vt.
- * Manchester Historical Society, *Manchester*. Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2011. 127p. List: \$21.99 (paper). Many photographs.

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- Miller, Randall H., *Norwich Matters*. The author, 2011. 135p. List: \$12.99 (paper). Stories behind Norwich University legends and lore.
- O'Connor, Kate, *Do the Impossible: My Crash Course on the Presidential Politics inside the Howard Dean Campaign*. Manchester Center, Vt.: Shires Press, 2011. 482p. Source: The publisher, www.northshire.com. List: \$25.00 (paper).
- * Putnam, Rosanne E., *Springfield*. Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2011. 127p. List: \$21.99 (paper). Many photographs.
- * Rix, Alfred, edited with commentary by Lynn A. Bonfield, *New England to Gold Rush California: The Journal of Alfred and Christina W. Rix, 1849-1854*. Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 2011. 400p. List: \$45.00. Journey begins in Peacham, Vt.
- * Shurtleff, Jennie, et al., *Recollections of World War II: Veterans from the Woodstock Area*. Woodstock, Vt.: Elm Tree Press, 2010. 129p. List: \$20.00 (paper).
- * Thetford Historical Society, *Fifty for 250: An Anthology of Thetford's History, 1761-2011*. Thetford, Vt.: The author, 2011. 211p. List: \$20.00 (paper). In celebration of the town's 250 years, fifty articles from a variety of sources, many of them written by Charles Latham for Thetford town reports.
- Turning 250: Celebrating the Upper Valley—Past, Present and Future*. White River Junction, Vt.: Valley News, 2011. 23p. Newspaper supplement covering the history of several towns in the Upper Valley.
- Whitcomb High School Seventh Graders, *Grab Your Toothbrush and a Flashlight! We're Headed to the Neighbors!* Bethel, Vt.: Spaulding Press, 2011. Stories of Tropical Storm Irene. Source: Privately published (spiral bound).

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- Benedetto, Christopher, "How Could I Live & Know that You Had Been Killed: A Vermont Family Endures the Civil War." *American Ancestors*, 12:4 (Fall 2011): 27-31. Nichols family of Burlington.
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- Gregg, Sara M., "A Vision Rooted in Place: Conservation Planning in Vermont." In *Landscape History of New England*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2011, p. 111–126.
- Randall, Willard Sterne, "Ethan Allen's Big Misadventure." *American Heritage*, 61:2 (Summer/Fall 2011): 70–77. Invasion of Canada, 1775–1776.

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- Goss, David Philip, *Abel Goss of Lower Waterford*. Baltimore, Md.: Otter Bay Books, 2011. 263p. Source: The author, 459 Parrot Dr., San Mateo, CA 94402. List: Unknown.
- Joyce, Janey Eaves, *The Rev. Moore Bingham (1797–1853) and His Wives, Ann Barber and Lucy Barber: Their Ancestors and Descendants*. San Antonio, Tex.: The author, 2011. Source: The author, 16214 Rocky Creek, San Antonio, TX 78247. List: Unknown. Family from Franklin County, Vermont.
- Murphy, Robert M., *Genealogical Gleanings from the Aurora of the Valley, Newbury, Vermont, for the Years 1848–1851*. Barre, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 2011. 147p. Source: The publisher, 60 Washington Street, Barre, VT 05641. List: \$15.00 (Word document on CD).
- , *Index to Burlington Free Press Vital Records, 1848–1870*. Barre, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 2010. 233p. Source: The publisher, 60 Washington Street, Barre, VT 05641. List: \$15.00 (Word document on CD).
- Vermont French-Canadian Genealogical Society, comp., *Baptism Repertoire, Saint Augustine Church, Montpelier, Vermont, 1856–1930*. Burlington, Vt.: Vermont French-Canadian Genealogical Society, 2011. 377p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 65128, Burlington, VT 05406-5128. List: \$45.00.



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