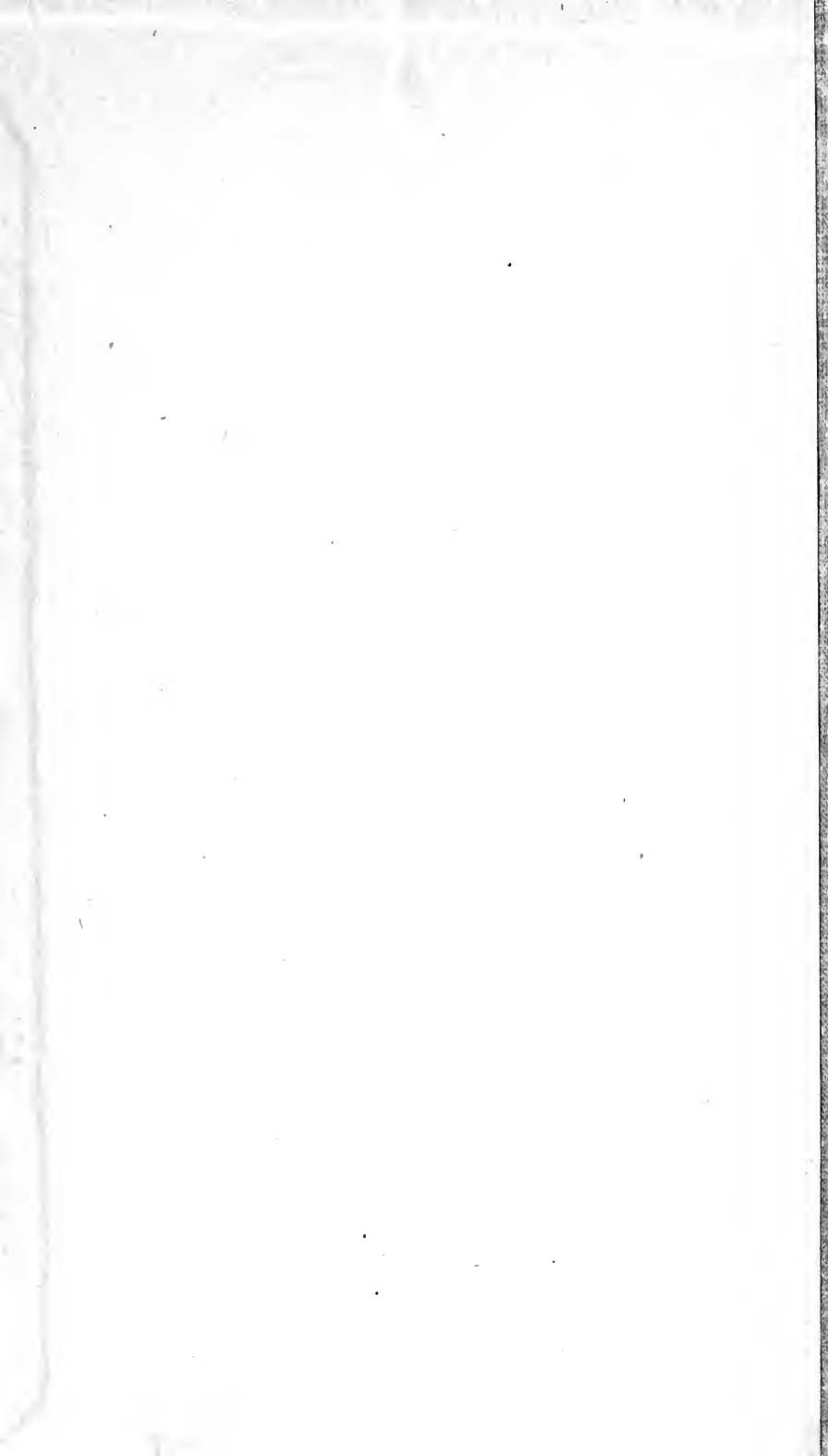


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GEORGE GRENVILLE BENEDICT.



HIST.  
Vermont History  
111 1905-06

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
VERMONT HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY

1905-1906



WITH LISTS OF OFFICERS AND MEMBERS

REMARKS

By the President.

ADDRESS

On Thaddeus Stevens, by Hon. Wendell Phillips Stafford, Judge of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia.

PAPER

On Prehistoric Vermont and evidences of occupation by Indian tribes, by George Henry Perkins, Professor of Natural History, Geology and Zoology in the University of Vermont.

APPENDIX

Containing additional lists of Revolutionary Soldiers buried in Vermont.

JOURNAL

Of Surveyor-General James Whitelaw

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1905-6

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205-206

# General Assembly of the State of Vermont.

## JOINT RESOLUTION.

---

*Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives:*

That the Clerk of the House of Representatives be directed to procure the printing of fifteen hundred (1500) copies of the Proceedings of the annual meetings of the Vermont Historical Society, October 17, 1905, October 16, 1906, and of the adjourned annual meeting November 9, 1906, including the address in the Hall of the House of Representatives by the Hon. Wendell P. Stafford, Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, on "The Life and Services of Thaddeus Stevens, Statesman and Reformer," the paper by Prof. George H. Perkins, on "Pre-historic Vermont and Relics and Evidences of Early Occupation by Indian Tribes," the Journal of General James Whitelaw and Sketch of his Life, and a reprint of the life of Ira Allen by D. P. Thompson, said copies to be distributed as follows:

To each member of the Senate and House of Representatives, one copy; to each town and city clerk, one copy; to each college, normal school, academy and public library, one copy; to the Governor, each of the heads of departments, each Judge of the Supreme Court, and each Superior Judge, one copy; to the Vermont Historical Society, five hundred copies; and the remainder to the State Library, subject to the control of the trustees thereof.

STATE OF VERMONT, OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

I hereby certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the Joint Resolution providing for "*The Printing of the Pro-*

*ceedings of the Vermont Historical Society,"* as passed by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont at its nineteenth biennial session.

*Approved December 19, 1906.*

as appears by the files and records of this office.

(SEAL) Witness my signature and the seal  
of this office at Montpelier, this twenty-second day of December, one thousand nine hundred and six.

FREDERICK G. FLEETWOOD,  
*Secretary of State.*

---

AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR CATALOGUING THE  
LIBRARY OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY.

*It is hereby enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont:*

SECTION 1. The sum of twelve hundred dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated as hereinafter provided for the work of fully and properly cataloguing the books, manuscripts, maps, medals and collections of the Vermont Historical Society, to be done under the direction of the state librarian, on bills and vouchers approved by him and by the librarian of the Vermont Historical Society, and audited by the auditor of accounts, who shall draw his orders therefor. Such appropriation is conditioned upon the assumption by said society of the entire work as above specified, and of any additional expense necessary to complete the same, without further cost to the state.

SEC. 2. This act shall take effect from its passage.

Approved December 18, 1906.



OFFICERS 1906-7

OF THE

**Vermont Historical Society**

---

**President.**

GEORGE GRENVILLE BENEDICT, Burlington.

**Vice-Presidents.**

WILLIAM W. STICKNEY, Ludlow.

FRED A. HOWLAND, Montpelier.

H. CHARLES ROYCE, St. Albans.

**Recording Secretary.**

JOSEPH A. DE BOER, Montpelier.

**Corresponding Secretaries.**

THEODORE S. PECK, Burlington.

CHARLES S. FORBES, St. Albans.

**Treasurer.**

HENRY F. FIELD, Rutland.

**Librarian.**

EDWARD M. GODDARD, Montpelier.

**Curators.**

EZRA BRAINERD, Addison County.

SAMUEL B. HALL, Bennington County.

REV. HENRY FAIRBANKS, Caledonia County.

REV. JOHN E. GOODRICH, Chittenden County.

PORTER H. DALE, Essex County.

WALTER H. CROCKETT, Franklin County.  
 NELSON WILBUR FISK, Grand Isle County.  
 CARROLL S. PAGE, Lamoille County.  
 DR. GEORGE DAVENPORT, Orange County.  
 F. W. BALDWIN, Orleans County.  
 PHILIP R. LEAVENWORTH, Rutland County.  
 HIRAM CARLETON, Washington County.  
 BERT EMERY MERRIAM, Windham County.  
 GILBERT A. DAVIS, Windsor County.  
 FREDERICK G. FLEETWOOD, Secretary of State,  
 HORACE F. GRAHAM, Auditor of Accounts. } *ex-officio*.  
 GEORGE W. WING, State Librarian.

#### STANDING COMMITTEES.

**On Library.**—Joseph A. De Boer, E. M. Goddard, John E. Goodrich.

**On Printing.**—Theodore S. Peck, Fred A. Howland, Walter H. Crockett.

**On Finance.**—Henry F. Field, Joseph A. De Boer, Fred A. Howland.

---

#### LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

|                              |                           |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Alger, John L. ....          | Johnson, Vt.              |
| Allen, Charles E. ....       | Burlington, Vt.           |
| Allen, Heman W. ....         | Burlington, Vt.           |
| Allen, Martin Fletcher ..... | Ferrisburg, Vt.           |
| Anderson, George P. ....     | Boston, Mass.             |
| Andrews, Wallace G. ....     | Montpelier, Vt.           |
| Bacon, John L. ....          | White River Junction, Vt. |
| Bailey, Horace Ward .....    | Newbury, Vt.              |
| Baldwin, Frederick W. ....   | Barton, Vt.               |
| Barnum, Elmer .....          | Shoreham, Vt.             |
| Barstow, John L. ....        | Shelburne, Vt.            |
| Bascom, Robert O. ....       | Fort Edward, N. Y.        |
| Beckett, George .....        | Williamstown, Vt.         |



ACTIVE MEMBERS.

11

|                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Beebe, William A. ....             | Morrisville, Vt.                       |
| Bell, Charles J. ....              | Walden, Vt.                            |
| Benedict, George Grenville .....   | Burlington, Vt.                        |
| Benedict, Robert Dewey.....        | 363 Adelphi Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.    |
| Benton, Josiah Henry, Jr.....      | Ames Bldg., Boston, Mass.              |
| Bisbee, Arthur Brown .....         | Montpelier, Vt.                        |
| Blanchard, Fred .....              | Montpelier, Vt.                        |
| Blanchard, George Lawrence .....   | Montpelier, Vt.                        |
| Blanchard, Herbert H. ....         | Springfield, Vt.                       |
| Bradley, Charles H.....            | P. O. Box 1486, Boston, Mass.          |
| Brainerd, Ezra .....               | Middlebury, Vt.                        |
| Brainerd, John B.....              | 18 Huntington Ave., Boston, Mass.      |
| Briggs, George .....               | Montpelier, Vt.                        |
| Briggs, William A. ....            | Montpelier, Vt.                        |
| Brock, James W. ....               | Montpelier, Vt.                        |
| Brooks, John Vail .....            | Montpelier, Vt.                        |
| Brown, George B. ....              | Burlington, Vt.                        |
| Buckham, Matthew Henry .....       | Burlington, Vt.                        |
| Burditt, Dan Deming .....          | Pittsford, Vt.                         |
| Butterfield, Franklin George ..... | Derby, Vt.                             |
| Carleton, Hiram.....               | Montpelier, Vt.                        |
| Carpenter, Henry Otis .....        | Rutland, Vt.                           |
| Chandler, Albert B. ....           | Randolph, Vt.                          |
| Cheney, Thomas Charles .....       | Morrisville, Vt.                       |
| Clark, Osman Dewey .....           | Montpelier, Vt.                        |
| Clark, Henry O. ....               | Orange, N. J.                          |
| Clark, Isalah R. ....              | 54 Devonshire St., Boston, Mass.       |
| Colburn, Robert M. ....            | Springfield, Vt.                       |
| Coleman, Edward Park .....         | Montpelier, Vt.                        |
| Collins, Edward D. ....            | Barton Landing, Vt.                    |
| Comstock, John M. ....             | Chelsea, Vt.                           |
| Converse, John Heman....           | 500 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa. |
| Craig, William.....                | 93 Faneuil Hall Market, Boston, Mass.  |
| Crockett, Walter H. ....           | St. Albans, Vt.                        |
| Crosby, Francis Marion .....       | Hastings, Minn.                        |
| Cross, Lewis Bartlett .....        | Montpelier, Vt.                        |
| Cudworth, Addison Edward .....     | South Londonderry, Vt.                 |
| Cushman, Henry T. ....             | North Bennington, Vt.                  |

|                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| Cutler, Harry M. ....            | Montpelier, Vt.                          |
| Dale, Porter H. ....             | Brighton, Vt.                            |
| Darling, Charles Kimball.....    | 294 Washington St., Boston, Mass.        |
| Darling, Hale Knight .....       | Chelsea, Vt.                             |
| Davenport, George .....          | East Randolph, Vt.                       |
| Davis, Gilbert A. ....           | Windsor, Vt.                             |
| Davis, Edward Aaron .....        | Bethel, Vt.                              |
| Day, Henry C., M. D.....         | Bennington, Vt.                          |
| Deavitt, Thomas Jefferson .....  | Montpelier, Vt.                          |
| Deavitt, Edward Harrington ..... | Montpelier, Vt.                          |
| De Boer, Joseph Arend.....       | Montpelier, Vt.                          |
| Dewey, Davis Rich.....           | Mass. Inst. of Technology, Boston, Mass. |
| Dewey, William Tarbox .....      | Montpelier, Vt.                          |
| Dillingham, William Paul .....   | Waterbury, Vt.                           |
| Downer, Charles .....            | Sharon, Vt.                              |
| Dutton, Walter A. ....           | Hardwick, Vt.                            |
| Ellis, William Arba .....        | Northfield, Vt.                          |
| Estee, James Borden .....        | Montpelier, Vt.                          |
| Estey, Jacob Gray .....          | Brattleboro, Vt.                         |
| Fairbanks, Rev. Edward T.....    | St. Johnsbury, Vt.                       |
| Fairbanks, Rev. Henry .....      | St. Johnsbury, Vt.                       |
| Farwell, Arthur Daggett .....    | Montpelier, Vt.                          |
| Field, Henry Francis .....       | Rutland, Vt.                             |
| Field, Edward Davenport .....    | Montpelier, Vt.                          |
| Fifield, Benjamin Franklin ..... | Montpelier, Vt.                          |
| Fiske, Rev. E. S. ....           | Montpelier, Vt.                          |
| Fisk, Nelson Wilbur.....         | Isle La Motte, Vt.                       |
| Fleetwood, Frederick G. ....     | Morrisville, Vt.                         |
| Fitts, Clarke C. ....            | Brattleboro, Vt.                         |
| Fletcher, Allen M. ....          | Cavendish, Vt.                           |
| Forbes, Charles Spooner .....    | St. Albans, Vt.                          |
| Foss, Eugene N. ....             | 34 Oliver St., Boston, Mass.             |
| Foster, David J. ....            | Burlington, Vt.                          |
| Gates, Walter Benton .....       | Burlington, Vt.                          |
| Gifford, James Meacham.....      | 319 West 102d St., New York City.        |
| Gilmore, William H. ....         | Fairlee, Vt.                             |
| Goddard, Edward M. ....          | Montpelier, Vt.                          |

## ACTIVE MEMBERS.

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|                                    |                                      |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Goodenough, Jonas Eli .....        | Montpelier, Vt.                      |
| Goodrich, John Ellsworth .....     | Burlington, Vt.                      |
| Goss, Frank Keeler .....           | Montpelier, Vt.                      |
| Gordon, John Warren .....          | Barre, Vt.                           |
| Graham, Horace French .....        | Craftsbury, Vt.                      |
| Greene, Frank Lester .....         | St. Albans, Vt.                      |
| Hall, Samuel B. ....               | North Bennington, Vt.                |
| Hapgood, Marshall Jay .....        | Peru, Vt.                            |
| Harvey, Erwin M. ....              | Montpelier, Vt.                      |
| Harvey, John Nelson .....          | Montpelier, Vt.                      |
| Haselton, Seneca .....             | Burlington, Vt.                      |
| Hatch, William Moore .....         | Strafford, Vt.                       |
| Hawkins, Gen. Rush C.....          | 21 West 20th St., New York City.     |
| Hawley, Donly C. ....              | Burlington, Vt.                      |
| Hayes, Lyman S. ....               | Bellows Falls, Vt.                   |
| Hazen, Rev. William Skinner.....   | 29 Abbott St., Beverly, Mass.        |
| Hines, G. A. ....                  | Brattleboro, Vt.                     |
| Hogan, George Maynard .....        | St. Albans, Vt.                      |
| Holton, Henry Dwight, M. D.....    | Brattleboro, Vt.                     |
| Howard, Charles Willard, M. D..... | Shoreham, Vt.                        |
| Howe, Willard Bean .....           | Burlington, Vt.                      |
| Howland, Fred A. ....              | Montpelier, Vt.                      |
| Husband, William Walter .....      | Montpelier, Vt.                      |
| Hulburd, Roger W. ....             | Hyde Park, Vt.                       |
| Hutchins, Robert H.....            | 52 William St., New York City.       |
| Jackson, John Henry .....          | Barre, Vt.                           |
| Jackson, S. Hollister .....        | Barre, Vt.                           |
| Jeffrey, William H. ....           | Burke, Vt.                           |
| Jennings, Frederick B. ....        | New York City.                       |
| Jones, Matt Bushnell.....          | 111 Parker St., Newton Center, Mass. |
| Jones, Walter Edwin .....          | Waitsfield, Vt.                      |
| Kemp, Harlan Wesley .....          | Montpelier, Vt.                      |
| Keyes, Wade .....                  | 1040½ Tremont Bldg., Boston, Mass.   |
| Laird, Fred Leslie .....           | Montpelier, Vt.                      |
| Leavenworth, Phillip R. ....       | Castleton, Vt.                       |
| Lewis, Rev. Alonzo N. ....         | New Haven, Conn.                     |
| Lord, Charles Sumner .....         | Winooski, Vt.                        |

|  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| Mansur, Zophar M. ....                 | Newport, Vt.      |
| Mather, Charles Duane .....            | Montpelier, Vt.   |
| Mathewson, O. D. ....                  | Barre, Vt.        |
| Martin, James L. ....                  | Brattleboro, Vt.  |
| McCullough, Hall Park .....            | Bennington, Vt.   |
| McCullough, John G. ....               | Bennington, Vt.   |
| McIntyre, Hamden W. ....               | Randolph, Vt.     |
| Mead, John Abner .....                 | Rutland, Vt.      |
| Merriam, Bert Emery .....              | Rockingham, Vt.   |
| *Merrifield, John H. ....              | Newfane, Vt.      |
| Merrill, Olin .....                    | Enosburgh, Vt.    |
| Michaud, Rt. Rev. John Stephen.....    | Burlington, Vt.   |
| Mimms, John H. ....                    | St. Albans, Vt.   |
| Morrill, Charles H. ....               | Randolph, Vt.     |
| Moulton, Clarence E. ....              | Montpelier, Vt.   |
| Munson, Loveland .....                 | Manchester, Vt.   |
| Noble, Robert .....                    | Burlington, Vt.   |
| North, Clayton Nelson .....            | Shoreham, Vt.     |
| Osgood, Arthur G. ....                 | Randolph, Vt.     |
| Page, Carroll S. ....                  | Hyde Park, Vt.    |
| Partridge, Frank C. ....               | Proctor, Vt.      |
| Parker, Myron Melvin.....              | Washington, D. C. |
| Pease, Frederick Salmon .....          | Burlington, Vt.   |
| Pease, Mary Everett .....              | Burlington, Vt.   |
| Peck, Theodore Safford .....           | Burlington, Vt.   |
| Peck, Cassius .....                    | Burlington, Vt.   |
| Peck, Hamilton Sullivan .....          | Burlington, Vt.   |
| Pennoyer, Rev. Charles Huntington..... | Springfield, Vt.  |
| Perkins, George Henry .....            | Burlington, Vt.   |
| Platt, Frederick S. ....               | Poultney, Vt.     |
| Plumley, Frank .....                   | Northfield, Vt.   |
| Powers, Horace Henry .....             | Morrisville, Vt.  |
| Proctor, Redfield .....                | Proctor, Vt.      |
| Proctor, Fletcher D. ....              | Proctor, Vt.      |
| Prouty, Charles A. ....                | Newport, Vt.      |

---

\*Deceased 1907.

## ACTIVE MEMBERS.

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|                                   |                                    |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Prouty, George H. ....            | Newport, Vt.                       |
| Putnam, George K. ....            | Montpelier, Vt.                    |
| Putnam, Ralph Wright .....        | Putnamsville, Vt.                  |
| Quimby, William Lorenzo .....     | Ames Bldg., Boston, Mass.          |
| Ranger, Walter E. ....            | Providence, R. I.                  |
| Richards, Frederick Barnard ..... | Fair Haven, Vt.                    |
| Roberts, Robert .....             | Burlington, Vt.                    |
| Robinson, Daniel W. ....          | Burlington, Vt.                    |
| Robinson, Arthur L. ....          | Malden, Mass.                      |
| Roscoe, Edward Mortimer .....     | Springfield, Vt.                   |
| Rowell, John W. ....              | Randolph, Vt.                      |
| Royce, Homer Charles .....        | St. Albans, Vt.                    |
| Sargent, John G. ....             | Ludlow, Vt.                        |
| Scott, Olin .....                 | Bennington, Vt.                    |
| Senter, John H. ....              | Montpelier, Vt.                    |
| Shaw, William A. ....             | Northfield, Vt.                    |
| Sheldon, Henry L. ....            | Middlebury, Vt.                    |
| Sheldon, Nelson Lewis.....        | 108-111 Niles Bldg., Boston, Mass. |
| Silver, Elmer E. ....             | Boston, Mass.                      |
| Slack, Leighton P. ....           | St. Johnsbury, Vt.                 |
| Smalley, Bradley B. ....          | Burlington, Vt.                    |
| Smilie, Melville Earle .....      | Montpelier, Vt.                    |
| Smith, Charles Albert .....       | Barre, Vt.                         |
| Smith, Clarence L. ....           | Burlington, Vt.                    |
| Smith, Edward Curtis .....        | St. Albans, Vt.                    |
| *Smith, Fred Elijah .....         | Montpelier, Vt.                    |
| Southwick, John L. ....           | Burlington, Vt.                    |
| Spalding, Rev. George Burley..... | Syracuse, N. Y.                    |
| Stafford, Wendell Phillips .....  | St. Johnsbury, Vt.                 |
| Stanton Zed S. ....               | Roxbury, Vt.                       |
| Stewart, W. D. ....               | Bakersfield, Vt.                   |
| Stickney, William B. C. ....      | Bethel, Vt.                        |
| Stickney, William Wallace .....   | Ludlow, Vt.                        |
| Stone, Arthur F. ....             | St. Johnsbury, Vt.                 |
| Stone, Mason Sereno .....         | Montpelier, Vt.                    |

---

\*Deceased 1907.

|  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| Stratton, George Oren .....                                    | Montpelier, Vt.                      |
| Swift, Benjamin .....  | Orwell, Vt.                          |
| Taylor, W. H. ....   | Hardwick, Vt.                        |
| Theriault, William Napoleon .....                              | Montpelier, Vt.                      |
| Thomas, Isaac .....  | Burlington, Vt.                      |
| Thompson, Charles Miner, care Youth's Companion, Boston, Mass. |                                      |
| Tinkham, Henry Crain .....                                     | Burlington, Vt.                      |
| Towne, Harriet Belle.....                                      | 100 No. Willard St., Burlington, Vt. |
| Tracy, Mary Louise .....                                       | Johnson, Vt.                         |
| Tuttle, Albert .....   | Fair Haven, Vt.                      |
| Van Patten, William J. ....                                    | Burlington, Vt.                      |
| Wait, Horatio Loomis.....                                      | 110 La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.      |
| Waite, Herschel N. ....  | Johnson, Vt.                         |
| Walbridge, J. L. ....  | Concord, Vt.                         |
| Walker, Roberts.....   | 71 Broadway, New York City.          |
| Watson, Alfred Edwin .....                                     | Hartford, Vt.                        |
| Watson, Charles Douglas .....                                  | St. Albans, Vt.                      |
| Webb, William Seward .....                                     | Shelburne, Vt.                       |
| *Wells, Edward .....   | Burlington, Vt.                      |
| Wells, Frank Richardson .....                                  | Burlington, Vt.                      |
| Wells, Henry .....   | Burlington, Vt.                      |
| Wheeler, James R.....  | 433 W. 117th St., New York City.     |
| Whitcomb, Charles Warren .....                                 | Cavendish, Vt.                       |
| Wilbur, Lafayette .....  | Jericho, Vt.                         |
| Wing, George Washington.....                                   | Montpelier, Vt.                      |
| Woodbury, Urban A. ....  | Burlington, Vt.                      |
| Wright, George M. ....   | 280 Broadway, New York City.         |
| Wright, James Edward, D. D.....                                | Montpelier, Vt.                      |

#### CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

|                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| Benton, Everett C. .... | Boston, Mass.                            |
| Bixby, George F. ....   | Plattsburg, N. Y.                        |
| Canfield, James H.....  | Librarian Columbia Univ., New York City. |
| Clarke, Albert .....    | 77 Bedford St., Boston, Mass.            |
| Denio, Herbert W. ....  | Westfield, Mass.                         |
| Houghton, Edward R..... | Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass.        |

---

\*Deceased 1907.

**ACTIVE MEMBERS.**

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Kellogg, David Sherwood, M. D.....Plattsburg, N. Y.  
Lord, George Dana .....Hanover, N. H.  
Phelps, James T. .... 159 Devonshire St., Boston, Mass.  
Walker, Rev. Edwin Sawyer.....Springfield, Ill.  
Winslow, Rev. Wm. Copley, D. D...525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.

**HONORARY MEMBERS.**

Burgess, John W. ....New York City.  
Clark, Charles Edgar, Rear Adm'l U. S. N.....Philadelphia, Pa.  
Darling, Charles Hiram .....Burlington, Vt.  
Dewey, George, Admiral, U. S. N.....Washington, D. C.  
Simpson, John W.....25 Broad St., New York City.

# CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS.

---

As revised by Special Committee, submitted to the members, and adopted October 18, 1904.

## CONSTITUTION.

### ARTICLE I.

This association shall be called "The Vermont Historical Society," and shall consist of Active, Corresponding, and Honorary Members.

### ARTICLE II.

The object of the Society shall be to discover, collect, and preserve whatever relates to the material, agricultural, industrial, civil, political, literary, ecclesiastical and military history of the State of Vermont.

### ARTICLE III.

The officers of the Society, who shall constitute its Board of Managers, to be elected annually and by ballot, shall be a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Recording Secretary, two Corresponding Secretaries of foreign and domestic correspondence, a Librarian and a Cabinet-Keeper, a Treasurer, and a Curator from each county in this State.

### ARTICLE IV.

There shall be one annual, and occasional meetings of the Society. The annual meeting for the election of officers shall be at Montpelier on Tuesday preceding the third Wed-



nesday of October; the special meetings shall be at such time and place as the Board of Managers shall determine.

## ARTICLE V.

All members, (Honorary and Corresponding members excepted,) shall pay, on admission, the sum of two dollars, and an additional sum of one dollar annually.

## ARTICLE VI.

Members shall be elected upon the recommendation of any member of the Society.

## ARTICLE VII.

This Constitution and the By-Laws may be altered or amended at the annual meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present, provided notice of the proposed change shall have been given at the next preceding annual meeting.

---

**BY-LAWS.**

## CHAPTER I.

## RELATING TO MEMBERS.

1. Members only shall be entitled to vote or to be eligible to any office.

2. No member who shall be in arrears for two years, shall be entitled to vote, or be eligible to any office, and any failure to pay annual dues for two consecutive years, after due notice from the Treasurer, shall be considered a forfeiture of membership; and no person thus expunged from the roll of the Society can be eligible to re-admission without the payment of his arrears.

3. No person shall be elected an Active Member until he shall have previously signified his desire to become such in writing.

4. The yearly assessment is payable at the time of the annual meeting in October.

## CHAPTER II.

### OF OFFICERS AND COMMITTEE.

1. The President, or in his absence the highest officer present, shall preside at all meetings of the Society, and regulate the order thereof, and be *ex-officio* chairman of the Board of Managers, and when required give the casting vote.

2. The Recording Secretary shall keep the minutes of all meetings of the Society in a suitable book, and at the opening of each one shall read those of the preceding one. He shall have the custody of the Constitution, By-Laws, Records and all papers of the Society, and shall give notice of the time and place of all meetings of the Society and shall notify all officers and members of their election and communicate all special votes of the Society to parties interested therein. In the absence of the Recording Secretary his duty shall be performed by one of the Corresponding Secretaries.

3. The Corresponding Secretaries shall conduct all the correspondence of the Society committed to their charge. They shall preserve on file the original of all communications addressed to the Society and keep a fair copy of all their letters in books furnished for that purpose. They shall read, at each meeting, the correspondence or such abstracts from it as the President may direct.

4. The Treasurer shall collect, receive and disburse all moneys due and payable, and all donations and bequests of money or other property to the Society. He shall pay, under proper vouchers, all the ordinary expenses of the Society, and shall deposit all its funds in one of the Vermont Banks, to the credit of the Society, subject to his checks as Treasurer; and at the annual meeting shall make a true report of all the moneys received and paid out by him, to be audited by the Committee on Finance provided for hereafter.

5. It shall be the duty of the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper, to preserve, arrange, and keep in good order, all books, manuscripts, documents, pamphlets, articles, and papers of every kind, belonging to the Society. He shall keep a catalogue of the same, and take especial care that no book, manuscript, document, paper, or any property of the Society, confided to his keeping, be removed from the room. He shall also be furnished with a book, in which to record all donations and bequests of whatsoever kind, relating to his department, with the name of the donor, and the time when bestowed.

6. The Curators, with the President, Vice-Presidents, Corresponding and Recording Secretaries, Librarian, and Treasurer, shall constitute a Board of Managers, whose duty it shall be to superintend the general concerns of the Society. The President shall, from this Board, appoint the following Standing Committees, viz.: On the Library and Cabinet, on Printing and Publishing, and on Finance.

7. The Committee on the Library and Cabinet shall have the supervisory care of all printed publications, manuscripts and curiosities. They shall, with the Librarian, pro-

vide suitable shelves, cases and fixtures, in which to arrange and display them. The printed volumes and manuscripts shall be regularly numbered and marked with the name of "The Vermont Historical Society." They shall propose at the regular meeting, such books or manuscripts, pertaining to the objects of the Society, as they shall deem expedient, which, when approved, shall be by them purchased and disposed of as above directed. They shall be required to visit the library at least once a year, officially, and shall provide a book or books, in which the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper shall keep a record of their proceedings—and be entrusted in general, with the custody, care and increase of whatever comes within the province of their appointed duty.

8. The Committee on Printing and Publishing shall prepare for publication whatever documents or collections shall be ordered by the Society; shall contract for and supervise the printing of the same, and shall furnish the Recording Secretary and Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper, with such blank notices, summonses, labels, etc., as may be deemed requisite.

9. The Committee on Finance shall consist of at least one member of each of the former committees, and shall have the general oversight and direction of the funds of the Society. They shall examine the books of the Treasurer, vouch all accounts of moneys expended, and audit his annual report.

## CHAPTER III.

## OF THE CABINET, LIBRARY, ETC.

1. All donations to the Cabinet or Library, when practicable, shall have the donor's name, legibly written or printed, affixed thereto.

2. All donations shall be promptly acknowledged by the Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper on behalf of the Society, and shall be specified by that officer in his report to the Society to be made at the annual meeting.

3. The Librarian and Cabinet-Keeper shall make a written report of the condition of the Library and Cabinet at the annual meeting.

4. All reports of Committees must be in writing, and addressed to the President, and shall be recorded by the Recording Secretary, unless otherwise ordered by a vote of the Society.

5. It shall be deemed the duty of all members, if convenient, to contribute to the Library and Cabinet such papers, pamphlets and books (rare or out of print), as possess historical interest.

6. There shall be a public meeting of the Society in the year in which the Legislature sits. Such meeting shall be under the charge and supervision of the President, who shall make, on such occasion, the President's address and shall also invite (with such counsel as he may require from the Board of Managers) to address the Society at such meeting, one or more speakers, on subjects relating to the history of this State.

7. Notices of the deaths of such members of this Historical Society, and eminent Vermonters, as may decease

during the year preceding the annual meeting of the Society, shall be prepared under the direction of the Board of Managers and be read at the annual meeting, and be deposited in the archives of the Society for future use and reference.

# VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS.

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PROCEEDINGS OF ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 17, 1905.

Pursuant to printed notice, the Vermont Historical Society held its sixty-seventh annual meeting at its rooms in the State Capitol, on Tuesday, October 17, 1905. The following members were in attendance: G. G. Benedict, J. L. Barstow, J. W. Brock, F. A. Howland, C. S. Forbes, E. M. Goddard, W. W. Husband, W. N. Theriault, R. W. Putnam, G. K. Putnam, E. D. Field and J. A. DeBoer.

The meeting was called to order at 2:00 P. M. by President Benedict.

The minutes of the meetings of October 18, October 27 and November 15, 1904, were read by the Secretary and on motion approved.

The report of Treasurer H. F. Field was presented and, on motion of Mr. Forbes, accepted and ordered placed on file. It showed a balance on hand October 24, 1904, of \$433.70; receipts during the year of \$167.00; disbursements, during the same period, \$165.46; cash on hand, balance, \$435.24.

The Librarian, E. M. Goddard, read his report and on motion of Mr. Howland it was accepted and ordered placed on file. Mr. Goddard reported an increase in the Society's library during the year of 42 bound volumes and 61 pamphlets. He discussed the needs of the library and renewed the suggestions of his preceding reports relative to

securing a larger annual appropriation from the State and the need of more room.

The report of the Board of Managers was presented verbally by President Benedict. He said that the Society had lost by death during the past year the following members: George F. Bixby, of Plattsburgh, N. Y.; Arthur Ropes, of Montpelier, Vt.; William N. Platt, of Shoreham, Vt.; Wilder L. Burnap, of Burlington, Vt.; Charles Dewey, of Montpelier, Vt., and Martin L. Hamblet, of Lowell, Mass. An invitation was received June 29, 1905, from the Committee on Arrangements for the 300th anniversary of "Weymouth's Voyage of Discovery" at Thomaston, Maine, July 6, 1905, and Prof. Davis R. Dewey of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology was appointed a delegate for the occasion. The President reported that Mr. W. H. Crockett had found many names of Revolutionary soldiers in addition to those printed in the last published proceedings.

President Benedict presented an invitation from the Geographical Society of Mexico to join, May 20, 1906, in a celebration of the fourth Centenary of the death of Christopher Columbus. The Society voted to accept the invitation and referred the same to a committee of three, to be appointed by the chair. F. A. Howland, W. W. Stickney and Hiram Carleton were named as such committee.

President Benedict presented a copy of the original "Declaration of Independence" by Vermont Citizens March 5, 1776, which was received from Hon. C. S. Palmer. The original of this document is now held at Bennington.

Applications for membership were received as follows:

George Pomeroy Anderson, Boston, Mass. Proposed by Charles S. Forbes.



Jacob Gray Estey, Brattleboro, Vt. Proposed by George A. Hines.

Walter E. Jones, Waitsfield, Vt. Proposed by Fred A. Howland.

Henry C. Day, M. D., Bennington, Vt. Proposed by Charles M. Bliss.

All were elected by a *viva voce* vote of the Society.

On motion of Mr. Goddard, the President was instructed to appoint a nominating committee of three to present a list of officers for the year next ensuing. The President appointed Messrs. Goddard, Field and Barstow.

On motion by Mr. Howland, it was voted to make the salary of the Librarian \$100 per year, payable quarterly, until further ordered by the Society.

On motion of Mr. DeBoer, it was voted to instruct the Board of Managers to secure, if possible, from the Legislature of 1906 an increase in the annual State appropriation from \$100 to \$500, as recommended by the Librarian, the same committee to make provision for any necessary change in the law for its distribution.

Mr. Field presented the report of the nominating committee, which, on motion by Mr. Forbes, was adopted and the following were elected, without dissent, to serve as officers for the year ensuing:

President—George G. Benedict, Burlington, Vt.

Vice-Presidents—William W. Stickney, Ludlow, Vt.; Walter H. Crockett, St. Albans, Vt.; Fred A. Howland, Montpelier, Vt.

Recording Secretary—Joseph A. DeBoer, Montpelier, Vt.

Corresponding Secretaries—Theodore S. Peck, Burlington, Vt.; Charles S. Forbes, St. Albans, Vt.

Treasurer—Henry F. Field, Rutland, Vt.

Librarian—Edward M. Goddard, Montpelier, Vt.

Curators—Ezra Brainerd (Addison); Henry D. Hall (Bennington); Henry Fairbanks (Caledonia); John E. Goodrich (Chittenden); Porter H. Dale (Essex); Frank L. Greene (Franklin); Nelson W. Fisk (Grand Isle); Carroll S. Page (Lamoille); Dr. George Davenport (Orange); F. W. Baldwin (Orleans); Frank C. Partridge (Rutland); Hiram Carleton (Washington); Bert E. Merriam (Windham); Gilbert A. Davis (Windsor); and *ex-officio*, Frederick G. Fleetwood, Secretary of State; Horace F. Graham, State Auditor; and George W. Wing, State Librarian.

The President appointed the following standing committees:

On Library—J. A. DeBoer, J. E. Goodrich, E. M. Goddard.

On Printing—T. S. Peck, F. A. Howland, D. W. Robinson.

On Finance—Hiram Carleton, H. F. Field, F. C. Partridge.

On motion of Mr. Goddard, the meeting adjourned.

Attest to record:

JOS. A. DEBOER,  
Secretary.

PROCEEDINGS OF ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 16, 1906.

The Vermont Historical Society met in accordance with printed call, at the rooms of the Society in the State House, on Tuesday afternoon, October 16, 1906, at 2:00 o'clock.

Members present: George W. Wing, Edward M. Goddard and J. A. DeBoer.

On motion of Mr. Goddard the meeting adjourned to the 9th of November, 1906, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

A true copy.

Attest:

JOSEPH A. DEBOER,  
Recording Secretary.

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ADJOURNED ANNUAL MEETING, NOVEMBER 9, 1906.

In pursuance to adjournment, the Vermont Historical Society held its sixty-eighth annual meeting at its rooms in the State Capitol on Friday, November 9, 1906, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

The following members were in attendance: G. G. Benedict, George Davenport, F. L. Greene, M. F. Allen, George Blanchard, W. A. Shaw, F. A. Howland, C. S. Forbes, T. S. Peck, F. E. Smith, G. W. Wing, H. D. Holton, W. W. Stickney, J. A. DeBoer, E. D. Field, Lafayette Wilbur, G. H. Perkins, E. H. Deavitt, J. L. Southwick, M. S. Stone, W. N. Theriault, W. W. Husband, W. J. Van Patten.

The records of the meetings of October 17, 1905, and October 16, 1906, were read by the Secretary and approved.

The report of the Board of Managers was read by Secretary DeBoer and, on motion of Dr. George Davenport, adopted and ordered recorded. (See "Appendix A").

The Treasurer's report was read by Mr. C. S. Forbes, in the absence of Treasurer Field, and on motion of Dr. Davenport it was adopted and ordered recorded. (See "Appendix B").

Librarian E. M. Goddard presented his report. It was accepted and ordered placed on file. He reported the number of bound volumes and pamphlets added to the library during the year as 312 and called attention to the following historical articles and relics which have been presented to the Society but of which no previous mention has been made:

- (1) Model of a steam engine built by Capt. Samuel Morey of Fairlee. This is a model of the engine built by Capt. Morey for which he was granted a patent March 25, 1795. This model was presented to the Society by Mrs. Amelia S. Kibbey of Fairlee.
- (2) Two swords and six military and society badges and about twenty-five commissions and diplomas of the late General Merritt Barber. Presented by Mrs. Delilah W. Barber.
- (3) Two swords, epaulettes and sash of Col. Oscar S. Tuttle, 6th regiment, Vt. Volunteers. Presented by Mrs. Ellen M. Tuttle.
- (4) Wooden case containing a gavel and block and other articles made from material secured from various historical places. Presented by the Bunker Hill Massachusetts Historical Society.
- (5) Case containing a collection of hair flowers made by Mrs. John Floyd of Randolph in 1856-7, and presented by her daughters.

Applications for membership were received from 22 gentlemen and 3 ladies. They were all elected by a *viva voce* vote of the Society. For names, residences and endorsements see "Appendix C."

On motion of General Peck the president was instructed to appoint a committee of three to nominate officers for the ensuing year. He appointed Messrs. Peck, Smith and Allen.

The Society voted to accept the deed of trust from the Dewey Monument Committee amounting to \$2,524.18, mentioned in the report of the Board of Managers, and, on motion of Mr. DeBoer, it was voted to transfer the fund to Treasurer Field and authorize him to invest the same in accordance with the terms of the deed of trust.

On motion of Mr. Goddard, the Managers were instructed to procure whatever cases were needed for the care of articles or books belonging to the Society.

On motion of Mr. Goddard, a committee was appointed, consisting of Messrs. Goddard, Wing and DeBoer, to secure, if possible, from the Legislature of 1906, an appropriation for the purpose of fittingly cataloguing the library and historical relics of the Society.

General Peck presented the report of the nominating committee, which was accepted and adopted, and the entire list so placed in nomination were duly elected. For list of officers elected see "Appendix D."

Mr. M. J. Hapgood brought to the attention of the Society a suggestion for the erection of suitable memorials to Seth Warner and Remember Baker. The Society was informed that a bill for this purpose had been introduced in the present legislature and, on motion Messrs. Benedict

and Forbes were elected a committee on the part of the Society to confer with the committee of the legislature which has this matter under consideration.

The resignation of R. N. Preble of Shoreham was received and accepted.

On motion, E. D. Field was appointed temporary treasurer to receive dues and remit them to Treasurer Field of Rutland, who could not be present.

The matter of securing the usual authority from the legislature for the printing and distribution of the Proceedings of the Society was referred to a committee composed of Messrs. DeBoer and Goddard.

A memorial concerning the preservation of the American frigate "The Constitution" was presented by President Benedict. Mr. Goddard moved that, in view of the action which had been taken by Congress since the issuance of the memorial, it be referred to the Managers for proper acknowledgment, and it was so voted.

The suggestion of Librarian Goddard that a transcript of General Whitelaw's Diary be included in the proceedings for 1905-1906 was referred to the Committee on Printing with power to act.

The Secretary reported that biographical sketches had been prepared of the members of the Society who have deceased since the last report and it was voted to include them in the Proceedings.

The President appointed the following standing committees for the year ensuing.

On Library—J. A. DeBoer, E. M. Goddard, J. E. Goodrich.

On Printing—T. S. Peck, F. A. Howland, W. H. Crockett.

On Finance—H. F. Field, J. A. DeBoer, F. A. Howland.

The meeting adjourned to meet in the Hall of the House of Representatives at 7:30 o'clock in the evening for the biennial public exercises.

A true record.

Attest:

JOSEPH AREND DEBOER,  
Recording Secretary.

## NECROLOGY.

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### HON. HENRY BALLARD.

HENRY BALLARD was born in Tinmouth, Vermont, April 20, 1836, son of Jeffrey B. and Amelia (Thompson) Ballard. Obtaining his early education at Castleton Seminary, he entered the University of Vermont, from which he was graduated with high honors in 1861, and was selected to deliver the master's oration at the college commencement three years later. He was graduated from the Albany Law School in May, 1863. Returning to Burlington, which became his home, he entered the law office of Daniel Roberts and remained there until his admission to the bar in September, 1863, when he opened an office of his own in his adopted city. A year later he was admitted to practice in the United States district and circuit courts. Mr. Ballard obtained the reputation of being one of the best criminal lawyers Vermont ever had. He was emphatically a trial lawyer and as a jury advocate stood among the best.

Soon after the commencement of the Civil War and immediately after his graduation from college, Mr. Ballard enlisted as a private and was mustered into service as 2nd Lieutenant of Co. I, 5th Vt. Vols. He served throughout the peninsular campaign and was present at the battles of Lee's Mills, Williamsburg, and the seven days' fight before Richmond. He was obliged to resign from the army in July, 1862, because of ill health. Mr. Ballard was an ardent Republican and an effective political speaker. From 1868



until recent years his services on the stump were always in demand during political campaigns, not only in Vermont, but in New York, New Hampshire and Massachusetts.

Among the civil and political honors which came to Mr. Ballard were the following: State Senator from Chittenden county, 1878; City Attorney of Burlington for two years; delegate to Republican National Convention, 1884, where he served as chairman of committee on credentials; delegate to National G. A. R. Encampment in San Francisco, 1886; one of the reading clerks at the National Republican Convention in 1888; and Representative from the City of Burlington, 1888.

He was a member of Stannard Post, G. A. R.; Webster Historical Society of Boston; Home Market Club of Boston; American Institute of Civics of New York City; charter member Vermont Commandery, Military Order of the Loyal Legion, and of the Vermont Fish and Game League. In religious circles, Mr. Ballard was an Episcopalian. He also took an active interest in the Young Men's Christian Association.

December 15, 1863, Mr. Ballard was united in marriage to Annie J., daughter of Robert and Huldah (Bailey) Scott of Burlington. Five children were born to them. He is survived by Mrs. Ballard and three of their children, Harry, Kate (Mrs. James B. Henderson) and Maude.

He died at the home of his son, Dr. Harry E. Ballard, in Hartford, Conn., on Sunday, September 23, 1906, at the age of 70 years.

## CHARLES MILLER BLISS.

CHARLES MILLER BLISS, M. A., was born in Hartford, Conn., January 1, 1827, and fitted for college at the Hartford High School. He entered Yale in 1848 and was graduated in 1852. After graduation he spent a few months at Hartford in miscellaneous study and reading and went to Europe in May, 1853, remaining abroad till June, 1854. In September following he removed to Woodford, Vermont, where he engaged in farming and lumbering. After 1870 his home was at Bennington, Vermont. At the beginning of the Civil War he entered the service of his country as Sergeant of the 2nd Vermont Infantry, and a few months later was promoted 2nd Lieutenant. He participated in the first battle of Bull Run and in several of the skirmishes and most of the battles of McClellan's Peninsular Campaign. He afterwards engaged in the work of the U. S. Sanitary Commission. He was a frequent contributor to newspapers in his vicinity, discussing educational, political and agricultural topics, and from August, 1870, till November, 1871, he was editor and proprietor of the Bennington Free Press. In the autumn of 1875 he commenced a movement for a monument to commemorate the Battle of Bennington. In the two years following he spent much time and money in pushing forward this movement and also the celebration of the one hundredth year of Vermont's existence as a state, and the Centennial of the Battle of Bennington, during the week of the 16th of August, 1877. The success of those celebrations was due largely to his efforts.

He married, February 15, 1870, Miss Sarah Adell Godfrey, daughter of Samuel L. and Ruth B. Godfrey, of Bennington. They had no children.

He died suddenly, December 21, 1905, aged 78 years, 11 months and 20 days.

He was a writer of much ability and well informed on many historical and public subjects. Though not a church member or a church-goer, he was a Puritan in his life and conduct.

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#### WILDER LUKE BURNAP.

WILDER LUKE BURNAP was born September 3, 1839, in Canojoharie, N. Y., where his parents, Luke and Abigail (Robbins) Burnap then resided. They removed later to Groton, Vt., and in that town Mr. Burnap spent his boyhood and youth. He fitted for college at Leland Seminary and entered Dartmouth College in 1859. In his junior year he enlisted, in June, 1862, in the company composed of students of Dartmouth College and Norwich University, which became a part of the first Regiment of Rhode Island Cavalry and has been described as the only company composed wholly of college students in the Union Army. The company did gallant service in the Shenandoah Valley and in Maryland. After the Battle of Antietam, the company was mustered out and young Burnap returned to college and was graduated with credit in 1863. He removed to Burlington, Vermont, studied law in the office of Wales & Taft; was admitted to the Bar of Chittenden County in 1866; and soon after opened an office in Burlington as an Attorney and Solicitor in Bankruptcy. He soon gained an enviable standing by his ability, care in the conduct of his cases and gift as a speaker. He was State's Attorney of Chittenden County 1871-1875. In 1882 he was elected to the State Senate

and was a prominent and influential legislator in that body. In 1895 he succeeded Hon. E. J. Phelps as Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the Medical Department of the University of Vermont, and held the office for ten years and until his death. He was City Attorney of the city of Burlington, 1885-1887, was School Commissioner of Burlington, 1898-1904, and held several other local offices. He was a loyal son of his Alma Mater and was President of the Alumni Association of Dartmouth College for a number of years. He possessed a fine literary and artistic taste. As a lawyer, no member of the Bar of Vermont stood higher than he for legal learning, integrity and ability, and as a citizen he commanded respect by his sturdy independence of thought and action and devotion to high ideals of life and conduct. He was a staunch Republican in politics.

He died July 15, 1905, from internal hemorrhage, following, after several weeks, an operation for appendicitis.

He married May 11, 1870, Miss Fannie Castle of Burlington, who survives him with three sons, Robert L., James W. and Clement F. Burnap.

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#### CHARLES DEWEY.

CHARLES DEWEY, who died at his home in Montpelier, Vermont, August 31, 1905, was born in Montpelier, March 27, 1826, eldest son of Dr. Julius Y. Dewey, in direct descent from Thomas Dewey, of Sandwich, County of Kent, England, who settled in Dorchester, Massachusetts, in 1633.

He was educated in the local schools, fitted for college in the Washington County Grammar School, and was graduated from the University of Vermont in 1845. In the

same year he was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Vermont Mutual Fire Insurance Company. In 1850 he was elected Secretary of the company and so continued for twenty-one years, and as a director for thirty years. In 1871 he left the Vermont Mutual to become Vice-President of the National Life Insurance Company, and succeeded to the presidency on the death of his distinguished father in 1877, remaining in that position until his retirement from active business in 1900. Among the other positions of trust and responsibility with which he was honored were: Director, Vice-President and President of the First National Bank, of Montpelier; Director, Vice-President and President of the Lane Manufacturing Company, the chief industry of Montpelier; 1864, Trustee of the Washington County Grammar School, and from 1877 President of the Board; 1867-1869, State Senator from Washington County; 1882, State Inspector of Finance by appointment of Governor Barstow; for over half a century a vestryman and for a third of a century a warden of Christ Church, Montpelier.

He was married May 3, 1848, to Betsey Tarbox, of Randolph, Vermont. To them were born three sons and six daughters.

Mr. Dewey was an intense lover of his state, his city, his church, his home and the business with which he was identified, devoting an active and full life to their interests and discharging his trust with fidelity.

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#### DWIGHT H. KELTON.

MAJOR DWIGHT H. KELTON, U. S. A., was born in Montpelier (now East Montpelier), Vermont, October 4, 1843. Son of Stillman S. and Ursula (Sprague) Kelton.

He came of pioneer New England stock, two of his ancestors being Mayflower passengers and his great grandfather, Dr. Philip Vincent, being the first resident physician in Montpelier, where he located in 1793.

His education was obtained in the common schools and at Barre Academy, from which he ran away to enlist in the 13th Vermont Volunteers, but was rejected, being under age. He then spent two years at Norwich Military College. He enlisted in the 98th New York Infantry January 29, 1864; was commissioned Captain of the 115th United States Colored Infantry October 15, 1864; and was honorably mustered out February 10, 1866. He re-entered the service July 20, 1866, as 2nd Lieutenant, U. S. A., was commissioned 1st Lieutenant March 26, 1868, and Captain February 16, 1885. He was retired with the rank of Captain March 6, 1888, for disabilities received while in the line of duty, and by special act of Congress April 23, 1904, was brevetted Major. The only extended leave had by him during the almost a quarter of a century of service in the Army, was in 1873, when he spent nearly a year in European travel and in study at Leipsic.

Although he saw much active service on the frontier; being stationed in Kentucky, Dakota, Texas, Michigan, New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado, he found time to publish a history of the Sault Ste. Marie Canal and the Annals of Fort Mackinac, besides a volume entitled "Indian Names," which has a peculiar value because in it are collected and arranged in permanent form some hitherto unpublished facts and legendary tales of a disappearing race.

On July 19, 1889, Major Kelton married Miss Anna L. Donnelly of Mackinac Island, Mich., who alone survives him.

He died at his home in Montpelier, August 9, 1906, and was buried in the National Cemetery at Arlington.

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## ARTHUR ROPES.

ARTHUR ROPES, editor and publisher of the "Vermont Watchman," and the "Montpelier Daily Journal," died at Montpelier, Vermont, April 1, 1905.

He was born at Newbury, May 5, 1837, the son of George and Miriam (Johnson) Ropes. Was educated in the common schools of his native town, at St. Johnsbury Academy and one year at Dartmouth College in the class of 1864. Taught school in Newbury and Waterford, became an instructor in St. Johnsbury Academy and for a time principal of the public schools in that town. He began his business career as bookkeeper for a St. Johnsbury lumber firm; was teller of the old Passumpsic Bank; cashier of the Northfield National Bank; a surveyor in the Lake Superior region for a year because of ill health; twelve years in manufacturing business in Waterbury and Montpelier; in 1880 entered the "Vermont Watchman" office and from that time until his death was actively engaged in newspaper work. He was assigned to editorial work practically from the start and became editor and publisher of the "Vermont Watchman" in 1888. In 1899 he established the "Montpelier Daily Journal."

Mr. Ropes was an editorial writer of great force. His pen was a power in Vermont and was especially forceful and earnest when he was writing about forestry, mineralogy,

roadmaking, public schools and kindred topics directly affecting her interests. An ardent Republican, he was one of the most earnest and able advocates of party principles, both state and national, that the Republican party in Vermont has every had. Devotion to his family, state and country were marked characteristics of the man.

He was married June 28, 1864, to Mary J. Hutchins of Waterbury, who survives him with two daughters, Mrs. William E. Harlow and Mrs. John P. Adams.



## PUBLIC MEETING.

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PUBLIC MEETING, NOVEMBER 9, 1906.

The society met at 7:30 o'clock in the Hall of the House of Representatives and was called to order by President Benedict. Prayer was offered by Dr. J. Edward Wright. Introductory remarks were made by the President as follows:

### REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT.

*Members of the Vermont Historical Society, and Ladies and Gentlemen.*

We may congratulate ourselves this evening upon the facts that our State Historical Society has reached its sixty-eighth annual meeting with a larger membership and comprising more leading citizens than it has ever had, since its organization in 1838; and that it enjoys distinct marks of confidence and approval on the part of the people of Vermont. We must have noted with gratification, the increased interest in the career of our Commonwealth, as evidenced by the recent multiplication of monuments and memorials erected to commemorate historic events within our borders, or in honor of history-making Vermonters. Since the last previous meeting of our Society in this hall an imposing memorial tower of stone, has been erected by the Vermont Society Sons of the American Revolution, upon an eminence commanding wide stretches of land and water, upon the farm in Burlington, which was once the home of

General Ethan Allen, and upon which he died. The tower was dedicated with impressive ceremonies and an imposing military parade on the 16th of August, 1905. The occasion was graced by the presence of the Vice-President of the United States, of the Secretary of the Interior, Hon. Ethan Allen Hitchcock, direct descendant from the Hero of Ticonderoga, who was present as the personal representative of President Roosevelt, and by Governors, ex-Governors, U. S. Senators and ex-Senators, Representatives and ex-Representatives, and many other persons of marked distinction in this and other States. The addresses and exercises were of high interest and dignity, and have been published in a volume for permanent preservation.

In July of last year the Vermont Society of Colonial Dames unveiled with appropriate ceremonies a monument to Ann Story, the heroic pioneer woman, celebrated in history and in fiction, upon or near the site of her cottage in Salisbury. The massive marble block for this was the gift of Hon. Fletcher D. Proctor, and an admirable address was delivered by Judge Stafford of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, who is to address us this evening.

A great granite boulder was placed in the cemetery in Waitsfield through the interest and efforts of two brothers, Walter E. Jones of Waitsfield and Matt Bushnell Jones, of Newton, Mass. A tablet upon the face of the stone bears the names of thirty-one soldiers of the American Revolution, buried in that town. The tablet was unveiled September 15, 1906, when a valuable historical address was delivered by Mr. Matt B. Jones, in which he gave an interesting sketch of the life of General Benjamin Wait, from whom the town took its name.

A tall and fine soldiers' monument has been recently erected in Middlebury as the gift of Col. Ilsley, a generous citizen of that town.

A massive stone now stands to mark the ground in Brattleboro, upon which so many regiments of Vermont volunteers were mustered into the army, during the War for the Union. And steps are in progress to procure the erection of similar monuments in other towns at an early day.

In arousing the historical interest which has led to the erection of these monuments, this Society may claim some share. It is to be hoped that the number of such memorials for the instruction of posterity and promotion of patriotic feeling, may steadily increase; that we may see monuments erected, better late than never, in memory of Col. Seth Warner and Captain Remember Baker; that the ladies who are planning to mark the site of the first settlement by white men on the soil of Vermont, at Fort St. Anne on Isle La Motte, may accomplish their worthy purpose; that the old Constitution House in Windsor may be replaced on its ancient site and be suitably preserved; and that other similar projects may materialize in the coming years.

I may barely allude to the standing which this Society has gained among similar societies, as evidenced by the fact that it was one of the seven Historical Societies invited to be represented—as it was represented by its president—at the celebration of the 200th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin at Philadelphia on the 17th to the 20th of last April.

On the day the celebration began the great earthquake and fire which destroyed San Francisco occurred, and the dust and smoke of that terrible catastrophe, almost blotted

out the Franklin Bicentenary from the sight of the public at large. But it was one of the most imposing functions of its kind on record in our land. One hundred twenty-four universities and Scientific and Historical Societies of England, Scotland, France, Spain, Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, Mexico and other countries, as well as of the United States and Canada, were represented by some 300 delegates, including many men of world-wide fame. The State of Pennsylvania appropriated \$20,000 towards the expenses of the celebration, and there were other large contributions. The arrangements were planned and carried out in a most sumptuous and distinguished manner under the auspices of the American Philosophic Society, of Philadelphia. Among the striking features of the celebration was the presentation of the great gold medal, voted by Congress, to the Republic of France, in recognition of the sympathy and assistance received by Franklin at the hands of that Republic. The presentation of the medal was made by Secretary of State Elihu Root, and the medal was received in a graceful speech by M. Jusserand, the French ambassador to this country. Other features of the occasion were of the highest interest; but I must detain you no longer from the addresses which are the chief attractions of this meeting.

President Benedict then introduced Judge Wendell Phillips Stafford, as a jurist who had gained distinction on the bench of the Supreme Court of Vermont, and was winning national fame as an orator and judge of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, who spoke upon the "Life and Services of Thaddeus Stevens, Statesman and Reformer."

It was followed by a paper by Prof. George Henry Perkins on "Prehistoric Vermont and Relics and Evidences of Early Occupation by Indian Tribes."

The meeting attracted a distinguished audience which filled the hall. The judges of the Supreme Court occupied seats near the speaker's desk and the members of Marquis de LaFayette Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, attended in a body.

The following resolutions were proposed and unani- mously adopted by a *viva voce* vote of the Society :

By Mr. W. W. Stickney :

*Resolved*, That the Vermont Historical Society hereby tenders to the Honorable Wendell Phillips Stafford, Justice of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, its sincere thanks for his able and scholarly address on "The Life and Services of Thaddeus Stevens, Statesman and Reformer," and requests him to supply a copy of the same for publication in the Proceedings of the Society.

By Mr. Frank L. Greene :

*Resolved*, That the Vermont Historical Society express to Prof. George Henry Perkins its sincere thanks for his most interesting historical address on "Prehistoric Vermont and Relics and Evidences of Early Occupation by Indian Tribes," and request him to furnish a copy of said address for publication in the Proceedings of the Society.

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Mr. Matt Bushnell Jones, of Newton, Mass., was proposed for membership by Mr. Fred A. Howland and he was elected by a *viva voce* vote.

On motion, the meeting adjourned.



# THADDEUS STEVENS

AN ADDRESS BY

WENDELL PHILLIPS STAFFORD

Judge of the Supreme Court of the  
District of Columbia

Delivered at the annual meeting of the Vermont Historical Society held on the ninth day of November, 1906, in the hall of the House of Representatives, at Montpelier, Vermont.





## THADDEUS STEVENS.

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When I was a boy there was a picture tacked up on the dingy wall of my father's factory office, which I used to gaze upon with wonder and awe. It was the picture of an old man seated in a chair. I remember he had a club foot and seemed to be distorted with age and pain; yet the face was one of commanding power. There was scorn in the firm-shut lips; there was a defiant glance in the eagle eyes; and yet it was a face that even as a child I felt that I could trust. "Who is that old man, father?" I asked. And, as nearly as I can remember, he replied: "That is Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania. He was born over here in Danville or Peacham. He was leader of the House of Representatives at Washington during the war and afterwards until he died. They called him the great commoner, because he believed in the common people and fought like a tiger for the rights of all men rich and poor, black and white. He hated slavery with a hatred that knew no bounds and he poured out on rebels and traitors all the vials of his wrath. When you are older you can read and judge

Note.—The address here printed brings to light no new facts concerning the career of Thaddeus Stevens. The material presented is all to be found in existing sketches and histories, and most of it in the admirable biography of Stevens by Samuel W. McCall, in the American Statesmen series. My effort is analogous to that of a painter who attempts the portrait of one who has been faithfully photographed already. It may present something of the artist's personality, but can hardly be expected to add anything of historical value. For these reasons I should have been glad to have been excused from furnishing a copy for the proceedings.—W. P. S.

for yourself; but I tell you, he was a great man, that old Thad Stevens!" And so when I found I was to make this address my mind went back to that early impression, and I said to myself: "I will try to draw the portrait of that strong old man,—that true son of Vermont, who fought as bravely and as mightily for the Union in the halls of Congress as any of her sons fought upon the field, and who finally breathed her own implacable hatred of oppression into the three great amendments to the constitution." That is how it happens that I am speaking to you to-night of Thaddeus Stevens, War Leader of the House of Representatives and Father of the Constitutional Amendments.

Thaddeus Stevens was the spirit of Vermont incarnate. Even in his faults and his failings he was ours. He came as honestly by his defects as he did by his virtues. Imperious, irascible, he carried in his breast a heart as tender as a child's. When he was a child himself his mother had gone about among the neighbors nursing the sick through a terrible epidemic. Thad saw her sacrifice, and never forgot the lesson. Human suffering never failed to touch him to tears. His own infirmity made him especially solicitous for the halt and lame. He gave to his physician this order: "Doctor, whenever you come across a poor boy who has any trouble with his legs, do the best you can for him and send the bill to me." Even to the careless and improvident he was kind and generous—that is, if he had any thing himself. Sometimes his own pockets were empty. If that was the case he would never disclose the fact but would put his refusal to give on the ground that they were unworthy to receive, and give them a sharp lecture on their shiftless ways. There was never a particle of sham piety about him.

He hated cant with all the intensity of his nature. He had a near relative who was very punctilious to ask a blessing at every meal. Thad said to him: "Morrill, why don't you take some rainy day in the fall and bless all your garden sauce at once, and save this everlasting repetition?" Yet no one loved genuine righteousness in man or nation more than he and no one gave himself more resolutely to secure it.

Nobody seems to remember much about his father. Some say he was a worthless sort of fellow and ran away. Some say he was killed in the war of 1812. We know he was a shoemaker and taught Thad to cobble. And tradition says he was a great wrestler and could throw any man in the county. But there is no need to inquire about his father. His greatness is all accounted for by his mother; and that is where greatness usually begins. She had four sons. The others were well and able-bodied—Thad was sickly and lame. You can guess which was the favorite. A poet once wrote:

These mothers are like God—they love  
Ugly and fair alike.

He made a great mistake; they love the ugly and misshapen far the best; on them they lavish their tenderest care; for them they are ready to labor and go without. "It is plain Thad can never make his way by physical labor. He must go to the academy and college and if I have to work my fingers off he shall." And he did. Do you wonder that Stevens' heart always melted at mention of his mother? The greatest pleasure his prosperity brought him was the ability to give her the fine farm she wanted and the bright gold pieces she loved to drop in the contribution box. "Every thing I have done, every thing I am, I owe to my

mother." So he said. And when he died his will provided that her grave in Peacham should be carefully tended and its corners planted with roses "or other cheerful flowers" to the end of time. Oh, harsh and forbidding old man, we have found your secret out. Your sternness was only a mask to hide the over-tender nature. How many of the softest hearts that beat put on this appearance of hardness for their own protection! When Jesus was on earth he saw through such disguises, just as he saw through the mask of hypocrisy and pretence the Pharisee put on. He drew about him such men as this—men on whom the religious world of his day looked askance but whom the Son of Man saw to be kind and true of heart. Thad Stevens never belonged to any church but when the "ordained hypocrites" of his time turned their backs upon the slave, "the least of these my brethren," Stevens went to him and gave him all he had. Whether he was a Christian or not, judge ye! Once, later in life, he was betrayed into a theological discussion. He showed such a profound familiarity with the subject that the listeners asked him, if he had not at some period of his life studied for the ministry. Stevens parried the query with his customary snort: "Humph! I have read their books."

No doubt he had read them and read them well. That was a habit he had. He bent himself to his task with an iron will, and studied relentlessly. He never meant that anything he set out for should get away from him—least of all an idea. He went through the academy at Peacham; he spent a term or two in the university at Burlington; but he finally graduated from Dartmouth. That was in 1814. Then he went to Pennsylvania to teach school and study

law. When he was ready to take his examination he found that the lawyers had passed a rule to keep him out. The rule required that the applicant should not have been engaged in any occupation except the study of law during the years of his preparation.

Stevens had been teaching school daytime and studying law nights. So he crossed into Maryland and took the examination there. Then he came back and settled down in Gettysburg where the great battle was afterwards fought. He had a right to practice in Pennsylvania then, being a member of the bar in Maryland. But it is one thing to have the right and it is another thing to get the chance. It was a long time before Stevens got a chance, and in the meantime he nearly starved. Again and again he was almost ready to give up. One day he said to an acquaintance: "I can't stand it any longer. I have got to go away." The next day opportunity knocked at his door. It was a murder case. The old story. He was offered the chance to defend because the case was too poor for any body else to touch. Stevens seized the chance. He could not win his case but he tried it with such astonishing ability that his reputation in that community was made, and from that hour he never lacked for business. The plea was insanity. In those days it was a new fashioned plea and very unpopular; but Stevens believed thoroughly in the truth of the defence. Long afterwards he said he had defended fifty murder cases, and succeeded in every one but this; and yet that this was the only man in the whole lot that ought to have been acquitted.

But Stevens found better business than defending murderers. They were close by Maryland. Fugitive slave

cases were common and these enlisted every faculty of body, mind and heart that he possessed. If he couldn't save the poor wretch in court he would buy him rather than let him be taken back. He saw the wicked, cruel system close at hand. He knew it in its most hideous aspect. His soul flamed whenever slavery showed itself. He brought to the borders of the slave states the spirit of the free hills and mountains of the north, and he never lost it as so many others did.

I must tell you a story to illustrate his method in court. A Quaker miller in that part of Pennsylvania had been very active in assisting runaway slaves to make their escape. He was put on trial for doing so in one instance, and the charge was that he had levied war against the United States. The case was tried before Justice Grier, afterwards of the Federal Supreme Court. When the evidence was all in, the district attorney made an extended argument upon the question of law, reading from volume after volume to show what conduct might constitute the crime in question. Stevens listened in immovable contempt, silent to the end. When the attorney had taken his seat he rose, hobbled over to the clerk's desk, leaned upon it, and looked Grier in the eye. "I have listened to this long and labored argument with the gravest anxiety—not for my client, but for you. Because it is now for you to tell this jury whether a Quaker miller, white with the dust of his occupation, and riding on a bob-tailed sorrel nag, can be found to have been *levying war*, under any construction to be given to the constitution." And he sat down. He always knew when to sit down. I sometimes think that is the hardest lesson a lawyer ever has to learn.

The constitution declared that persons held to service in one state, if they escaped into another, should not be discharged therefrom but should be surrendered on claim of the owner. "Very well," said Stevens, "then we will do it. But it doesn't say the rest of us shall turn out and join the hunt. It doesn't say that a man shall not have a trial by jury to *decide* whether he is a freeman or a slave. We will stand by the constitution but we won't stretch it a hair's breath in the interest of slavery." Case after case he defended for nothing; but he was no Hessian. He never let out his sword to the oppressor. Those were the days that molded the great advocate of freedom. These were the experiences that burned into his soul the lesson the whole country was finally to learn.

Stevens didn't make the mistake so many young lawyers make—of going at once into politics. I think it would trouble you to name a really great lawyer who did not give the first years of his professional life entirely to the law. Those are the days that determine what he is to be. With the sure instinct of genius Stevens devoted himself for fifteen years to the mastery of his calling. In those years he laid broad and deep the foundations of his massive learning and acquired the accomplishment of his consummate skill. When he died Jeremiah Black declared that he had not left his equal at the American bar; and Jeremiah Black was a rival, a political opponent—himself accounted by many the greatest lawyer of his time.

Stevens always went to the heart of his subject. He always laid his finger on the sore spot of his adversary's case. He never wasted words. He had pondered well

the Greek saying, "The half may be more than the whole." He never took a note during a trial. He trusted his memory and his memory never betrayed the trust. He flew at the decisive point with all the ferocity of his nature and fastened upon it with a grip that nothing could relax. Airs and graces he despised, but his words quivered with the intensity of his conviction, and his wit illumined the obscurity of his subject as the lightning lays the landscape bare beneath a midnight sky. His sarcasms stung like hornets and his drollery was indescribable and unique. Senator Morrill said he wasted wit enough every day to make the reputation of an ordinary humorist. The most mirth provoking things he ever said were spoken with a face of unmoved, funeral solemnity. When he was leader of the House at Washington he could at any time put the chamber in a roar without an effort. If you read the record you will find, "laughter," "great merriment," following remarks of his which, having lost the manner in which he made them, have lost their whole significance and charm. After all the great secret is personality, and no analysis can penetrate to that.

Stevens was forty-one when he first went to the legislature. Instantly he took his place in the front rank. The next year he was returned and took a hand in the great fight for free schools. I must linger a moment upon that. Pennsylvania furnished education for the rich at established rates and if a father was too poor to pay, he was obliged to make application for assistance on the ground of poverty. Class distinction sprang up and sensitive parents kept their children at home rather than send them to be looked upon as paupers. This year the legislature passed an act providing for public education for rich and poor alike at the



public charge. But this meant more taxes for the comfortable people who had no children of their own. A mighty reaction set in. The Pennsylvania pocket book was as sensitive as any other pocket book, and a legislature was elected pledged to repeal the law. The Senate did its part at once. Then the repeal bill came before the house. A test vote was taken on a preliminary question and showed a majority of thirty in favor of repeal. Then Stevens appeared upon the scene. He had been absent until now. The friends of free education gathered round him and told him it was useless to oppose the tide. The mercenary wave had swept every thing before it. Now one man stood up against it. Stevens immediately moved to strike out the whole bill after the enacting clause and to substitute for it a bill of his own strengthening the free school law. Upon this motion he made a speech which for immediate practical effect upon its hearers has never been equaled in a legislative assembly in this country. The house was packed. The Senate which had just passed the bill crowded in to hear this audacious argument against their action. His biographer says: "Stevens then in the prime of life was erect and majestic. His form had outgrown the slenderness of youth. It was not yet bent with the heavy weight of years." A witness declares "he looked like a descended God." He was inspired by his great subject. He spoke with the fire of a Hebrew prophet. The house was electrified. It voted as soon as Stevens took his seat and carried his motion almost two to one—and the Senate hurried back to its chamber, revoked its former action and concurred. To understand the magnitude of his triumphs we must remember that the men whom Stevens convinced and persuaded were not

merely opposed to his motion when he began. They had been elected on that very issue. They had been commanded by their constituents to vote for the repeal. Yet such was the force of reason, such was the power of righteousness in Stevens' speech, that everything was forgotten save the mighty elemental truths he brought to bear; and before many days Pennsylvania herself, clothed and in her right mind, was ready to praise and bless him for the service. So it is always. No matter what the hue and cry of the moment may be, no matter how the multitude may be hurried away to do evil, the leader who dares to utter the deepest, noblest, truest word, he it is who is certain to be acknowledged in the end as the true voice and tribune of the people. Is it strange that Stevens always looked back upon this victory as the crowning achievement of his life? Often he said that he would be paid and overpaid for all his labors if a single child of destitution who had found the blessing of education through his help should come to drop a tear of gratitude upon his grave.

The speech made his name a household word throughout the state and Pennsylvania was proud to call him her son. But after all he was only an adopted son. He really belonged to us. I suppose you have all heard the witticism that was sprung on a banquet of Pennsylvanians. They had been praising their state *ad nauseam* as is apt to be the case at all state meetings. Finally a guest arose and said: "I give you a toast—The three greatest Pennsylvanians, Benjamin Franklin, of Massachusetts, Albert Gallatin, of Switzerland and Thaddeus Stevens of Vermont!"

A year or two after the free school victory a convention was called to amend the state constitution. Stevens

was a member. It was a stormy time and Stevens was in his element. Every attempt to carry class or race distinctions into the organic law found in him a constant and determined foe. You can see how early and consistent a friend he was of equal suffrage. The constitution as the convention left it limited the right to *white* citizens. Stevens having fought in vain against the odious discrimination, utterly refused to affix his name to the document that contained it. And that was away back in 1837.

About the same time he attended another convention. It had been called by the supporters of slavery. They thought the only way to save the Union was to put a stop to the anti-slavery agitation. How Stevens ever managed to get a seat in such a body no one seems to understand, but he did, and he succeeded in making it so ridiculous that there was nothing left for it to do but to adjourn. Of course he was the champion of the very views the convention was called to denounce. Yet he made himself the central figure of the scene and by his mastery of parliamentary tactics, by resolutions, points of order, by wit, eloquence, sarcasm, he turned the whole movement into a rout. His own self-command was complete. His countenance was imperturbable. His sallies kept the convention in alternate bursts of laughter and applause. Nothing was too personal or *ad captandum* for his use. A minister rose and bitterly denounced him for bringing a firebrand into the convention. Stevens solemnly rebuked the reverend gentleman for indulging in personalities, gravely pretending to believe that by "firebrand" he was referring to a member with flaming red hair who had come in with Stevens and sat at his side. Whereupon the convention nearly exploded. I cannot re-

call another instance where a single unsupported member, hostile to the sentiment of the assembly and gaining admittance for the sole purpose of defeating its objects, has been able by sheer force of personal address and management to turn a serious gathering into a farce and utterly frustrate its whole design. Surely it was only the rarest combination of humor, eloquence and forensic skill that could make such a performance possible.

After this he devoted himself a great deal to politics and of course he was an intense partisan. In the last years of his life, when he was leader of the House, he came in one day just in time to vote on a contested election case, and asked a member of his own party how the matter stood. "Not much choice," he replied. "They are both damned rascals." "Very well," said Stevens, "which is our damned rascal?" Yet this was only dealing with things as he found them. Partisan as he was, he was wise and just enough to see the folly of determining such questions by a party vote and advocated another method. He proposed that they should be referred to a committee who should hear and decide the question judicially as is done in England.

Well, he devoted so much time to politics that when he was fifty years old he woke up one morning and found himself poorer than he was when he landed in Pennsylvania. He had been engaged in a large iron business and his partner had run him in debt \$200,000. Stevens went to work and paid it up to the last cent. In the course of his life he made and lost three fortunes and yet left a comfortable estate at the last. He went to Lancaster and fought his way to the front in a new field. He drew young men about him as a magnet draws the steel filings. He had nine stu-

dents in his office at one time. In politics the machine was against him but the people were for him and by a great majority they elected him to Congress. That was in 1849 and Stevens was fifty-eight years old.

He had now reached that chamber where with the possible exception of John Quincy Adams he was one day to become the greatest figure that ever dominated its debates. But that supreme period of his life was even then some fifteen years away. On his first appearance the little company of Free Soilers and Conscience Whigs rallied around him and adopted him as their leader. He was their candidate for speaker. It was 1850—the year of the second great compromise on the subject of slavery. The war with Mexico was ended. A vast region had been gained. New territories were to be organized, new states were to come in. California stood knocking for admission—"California," as Seward described her, "the youthful queen of the Pacific in her robes of freedom gorgeously inlaid with gold." Congress, controlled by the slaveholders, hesitated to admit her. The Mexican war had been kindled and carried on to make more slave states and behold, the first state in the new territory ready for admission had spurned slavery from her threshold and adopted a free constitution. New Mexico and Utah were to be given territorial governments. How about slavery in these? Should it be provided for or prohibited? These and other great issues arose and at the bottom of each was the burning question of slavery. Thirty years before, Missouri had asked for admission as a slave state. She was finally admitted but upon the express condition that through the rest of that vast region purchased from France and known as Louisiana a line should be drawn at 36° 30'—and

north of that line slavery should be forever prohibited. That was the famous Missouri compromise of 1820. Now a new compromise was proposed by Henry Clay and in the end it was adopted. Among other things it provided for a stronger fugitive-slave law. It took away trial by jury and required the citizens of free states to actively assist in the capture and return of slaves. On this proposition Stevens made his first speech in Congress. It was a topic where he was at home and which roused him as no other subject could. For almost the first time Congress heard the voice of the untterrified north speaking the bitter, blasting truth on the subject of slavery where it had so long listened to the soft phrases of conciliation and persuasion. It was a new experience and I am still Yankee enough to think that it was wholesome. "Keep slavery where it is," he declared, "and it will die of its own poison. Let it spread and the whole body will become diseased. Surround it with a cordon of freemen and in twenty years not a single slave state, but will have on its statute books a law for the gradual extinction of the system." With merciless sarcasm he handled the pretension that the negro was better off as a slave; that when he had tried freedom he had been known to return and voluntarily receive the yoke. That delusion held its ground even after the beginning of the war. One day a Union officer happened to meet a slave running away towards the north. He had known him in the days of his servitude. "Why Sambo," he said, "why should you run away? You had a good home, plenty to eat and drink and the most considerate of masters!" "Well, sah," Sambo replied as he continued his flight, "yo' can put in yo' application—de situation am vacant."

But Stevens was speaking in 1850, and he was a decade ahead of his time. The fugitive slave law was enacted. The compromise was adopted, and once more the slave question was put to sleep. Stevens was not a man to compromise on a question of principle. He lost interest in the politics of such a period and went back to the law. When he appeared in that chamber again it was on the eve of civil war. The years that had come and gone had been big with events. The nation had moved steadily towards freedom. If the south had kept the compromise of 1850 it might have held the scepter for another generation. But it was not in the slave party to rest on any ground it had gained. It struck out at every point. It repealed the Missouri compromise, held sacred by the north for thirty-four years. It disputed the power of Congress to keep slavery out of the territories. It flaunted the Dred Scott decision from the highest seat of judgment. It strove with bullet and bowie-knife to force slavery upon Kansas; and with culminating impudence it proposed a revival of the slave trade. Meanwhile a great political party had been born pledged to resist the further extension of slavery. The election of 1860 was almost at the door, at the close of which it was to be truly said that "for the first time in the history of the republic the slave had elected a president of the United States."

It was December, 1859, and Stevens was on the verge of three score years and ten. He had not expected to come to Washington again. When he had retired a few years before he had delivered his valedictory; and now as he reappeared he sadly confessed the consciousness of failing powers. "More graceful would it be to retire—for us who

find by repeated trials that we can no longer bend the bow of Ulysses. Fitting would it be to lay down the discus we have not the strength to hurl." It was the new hope for liberty that moved him to put on the armor—that marvellous political awakening—that "marshalling of the conscience of a nation to mould its laws." It was his opportunity—at last his hour had come. It had come to him in his age. If he had died before he would have been forgotten. "I have no history" was his melancholy exclamation a few months before. "It is my life long regret that I have lived so long and so uselessly." It is as a gaunt, infirm and aging man but with the undying fire of liberty and genius in his spirit that he will be painted for the times to come. He did not stand now as he stood in the days of his youthful vigor fighting his way to the head of a hostile bar. He looked no longer as he looked on that day in the statehouse at Harrisburg when he swept house and senate by his impassioned speech and compelled them to do right by the children of the poor in Pennsylvania. He was nearing the end of a long and lonely life that had been childless and wifeless. Age had bent his frame. Infirmity had crippled his gait. Suffering had blanched his cheek. Thought and care had plowed deep into his forehead. Strife and passion had left the mark of bitterness and scorn upon his sunk and withered lip. But with the clear vision of a prophet he saw that one of the crises of the world's history was at hand, and denying to himself the comfort and quiet of age, he gathered up all the remnants of his ancient strength to strike his last and mightiest blow for freedom.

The house was eight weeks in choosing a speaker. The question was whether the new Republican party could



muster strength enough to organize and control the body. One day a Democratic member got up and invited all who were opposed to the Republican program to meet in one caucus and act together. That only meant that the rest should give up and vote for the Democratic candidate. Stevens punctured the proposal with one of his favorite weapons—ridicule. He said it made him think of the happy family described in "The Prairie," where the owl, the prairie dog and the rattlesnake all lived in one hole. Stevens helped to keep the contest lively. Now and then he relieved the strain by his humor. For instance he rose with a serious countenance to a question of privilege—saying that one of his votes had been criticized in the public press and he desired to make an explanation. He sent the newspaper to the clerk's desk and asked that it be read. The clerk looked at it blankly and replied that the paper was printed in German and he could not read it. "Very well then," said Stevens with unaffected gravity, "I will postpone my explanation till the clerk can read it." Finally the various forces hostile to slavery came together and the Republican candidate was seated in the chair.

Let us come at once to December, 1860. Lincoln has been elected, but the party that elected him is terrified by the consequence of its victory. Secession conventions have been called, and Congress goes down on its knees begging the south to come back and take everything it ever claimed. Both houses pass a constitutional amendment to make slavery perpetual in this government. Yes, two-thirds of house and senate voted for this horrible measure. I rejoice to-night that Stevens opposed every syllable of the weak-kneed, cowardly proposition. "The time for compromises has gone

by," he cried, "what we need now is courage, calm, unwavering courage that no danger can appall. We will faithfully execute the present compact, but if it be torn in pieces by rebels our next United States will have no foot of ground a slave can tread—no breath of air a slave can ever breathe."

Senator Dawes, then a member of the House from Massachusetts, has left us a striking picture of the scene. "No one who saw it," he declares, "can ever forget it. All I can say of it or of him is tame without the inspiration of the time and of his presence. It was the last of Buchanan's administration. Lincoln had been elected. The House resembled a powder magazine more than a deliberative assembly. His denunciation of traitors to their face was terrible, his exposure of the barbarism of their pretended civilization was awful. Nearly fifty southern members rose to their feet and rushed towards him with curses and threats of violence. As many of his friends gathered round him and moving him in a hollow square in the space in front of the speaker's desk opened before his assailants and stood guard over him while he arraigned the slavocracy in an indictment that surpassed even the great arraignment of Sumner. He was nearly seventy. On his form and voice time had made sad inroads, but he stood at that moment erect as at thirty-five. Calm and self-possessed as a judge he lashed them into fury, and then bade them compose themselves at their leisure. The excitement beggars all description and can live only in the memory of those who witnessed it." The long subserviency of the north was near its end. In that uncompromising tribune of the people the old domineering south had at last found its master.

But the time had not yet come for the great radical to lead. A little longer the counsels of fear were destined to prevail. Bear in mind, state after state had already seceded. The president of the confederate congress had declared the separation perfect and perpetual. A president of the new republic had been elected and his cabinet appointed, yet even then Congress hugged the old delusion to its heart that by surrendering all it might bring the rebels back—and it voted to surrender all. It was only when that full offer was spurned that the north sadly and reluctantly took up the gage of battle, which was not to be laid down until the principles for which the old commoner contended had been emblazoned in the constitution of the Union and in the constitution of every single state that had rebelled.

You remember how cautiously Lincoln began; how tenderly he pleaded with the South in his inaugural; how slowly he moved until Sumter was fired upon and he knew he had a solid North behind him. On the 4th of July Congress met in answer to his call. Union men were in the saddle now. In the House of Representatives there was no looking about for a leader. All eyes were turned on Stevens. James G. Blaine, by no means a partial admirer, declares: "He was the natural leader and took his place by common consent." It was Blaine, also, who said, "He had the courage to meet any opponent, and was never overmatched in intellectual conflict." He stood at the head of the committee charged with the duty of raising money to support the government and carry on the war as well as the duty of advising how it should be spent. It was exactly the duty Milton described in his noble sonnet to Sir Henry Vane—

Then to advise how war may, best upheld,  
More by her two main nerves, iron and gold,  
In all her equipage.

In three days he brought in a bill to raise \$250,000,000. He followed it with another appropriating \$160,000,000 for the army, and for the navy \$30,000,000 more. They passed at once. Then he bent himself to the task of raising a revenue to answer these enormous calls. With courage, with tact, with patience, he brought Congress and the country to his plans. Yet, burdened as hardly ever man was burdened, his eye swept the horizon, and his capacious mind was already busy with the outcome of it all. He seemed to see the end from the beginning.

You remember the Crittendon resolution? It declared that war was not waged for conquest nor to interfere with slavery, but only to restore the old order of things, and that when that end was accomplished the war should cease. Senate and House hurried to adopt it. Stevens stood out almost alone against it. He did not believe in apologizing for the war or going about to explain it. "Ask those who made the war what is its object. The laws of war must govern our conduct now." He saw that the struggle was to be long and bloody. He had a vision of the tremendous price that must be paid—the awful sacrifice that was to be exacted. He did not believe in the nation tying its hands by resolutions. If it should become necessary to free the slave or arm him against his master, if new conditions must be imposed to secure the peace hereafter, he would not pass a resolution now to stare us in the face. The resolution did pass, but a few months saw it broken. When the next

session had to deal with the same matter Stevens moved to lay it on the table and his motion was sustained.

Southern citizens were devoting their property to the rebellion. Stevens said "confiscate it." Masters were setting their slaves to build forts and dig trenches. "Set them free," said Stevens, "every man that is employed against us. If the war goes on the time will come when we shall arm every rebel's slave to fight upon our side." The bill failed, but the day came when the House was glad to pass it.

At the outset the south had one enormous advantage. Her vast crops could be raised by slaves exactly as in time of peace. She could keep her fighting strength untouched and send the products of her plantations to buy the supplies of war in European markets. Stevens would have snatched this advantage from her. Even before Lincoln was inaugurated he brought in a bill to do it. A year later he brought it up again. "Repeal," said he, "the laws creating southern ports of entry. Then foreign nations cannot enter them. It would be an act of war against this country. A nation has a right to close its own ports. It can do so by a law. That law is better than a fleet. But blockade them and you must keep everybody out by force. They have a right to enter if they can. Worse than all, if you blockade them you acknowledge them as belligerents, and foreign nations will do the same." What would have happened if his advice had been heeded we shall never know. We proclaimed the blockade and Europe acknowledged the belligerency of the south.

From the very beginning Stevens' mind was occupied with the great question of reconstruction. Never doubting

the ultimate triumph of our arms he was sounding the depths of the profound problem which, a few years later, was to engross the attention of the people and their leaders. He came to his conclusion early, announced it boldly, advocated it without ceasing and adhered to it until he died. Distrusted, doubted, opposed in the beginning, the logic of events confirmed it and it had to be accepted and adopted in the end. No dreamer, no speculator, no spinner of fine theories, but a practical man of affairs and the hardest-headed lawyer of his day, he wasted no time seeking to discover in the constitution itself provision for the steps that must be taken toward the seceding states. The constitution did not contemplate an effort on the part of its members to dissolve the union. The power to preserve its own existence against a parcel of rebellious states was not to be looked for in its phrases but in the powers of war which pertain to every nation fighting for its life. The southern states had repudiated, spurned and spit upon the constitution; could they at the same time claim the protection of its terms? Stevens said, "You cannot, indeed, destroy the constitution but you can place yourself outside of its protection while you are waging public war against it." Already he was grappling with the question that would face us when the war was closed. When the rebel states should be subdued would they have a right to be treated as back again in the old Union, under the old terms, bringing the same old sources of controversy with them, or would Congress have a right to prescribe the terms on which they should be received? Should they come back slavery and all? Should they continue to hold seats in Congress for themselves and for the black race too? Should they have

power to repudiate the debt that had been made in putting their rebellion down? Should the loyal men of the south be liable to pay the debts of disloyalty and treason? With a mind that pierced like a sword even to the dividing of the joints and marrow, he drove the question home. He saw that the whole case turned upon one point. If the trouble was only a domestic insurrection it was to be suppressed by criminal prosecutions in the courts, and the insurgents were entitled to the protection of the constitution and the ordinary laws. But if it was a public war, then they were subject to the laws of war alone. He proved by all the oracles of the law of nations that when a republic is broken into two armed camps it is civil war and while the war continues the two factions stand towards each other as separate and independent powers. *Was* this a public war? Europe had acknowledged the belligerency of the South. We had acknowledged it ourselves. We had blockaded their ports, exchanged prisoners of war and sent flags of truce. It was not a mob, nor a riot nor an insurrection, but war, public war, and the greatest civil war in history. While it lasted, no paper obligations could be relied upon by the south against the north, and when the rebellious faction should be vanquished it would be for the victor to lay down the terms of peace. So was he preparing the minds of men for the time when, conquered in the field, the rebel states should demand to be restored as of right to every privilege under the old constitution which they had renounced and defied.

The shilly-shallying military movements that marked the early stages of the war—you can guess what sort of a

critic Stevens was of these. Here is the way he described McClellan's march to Antietam: "The President ordered him to pursue the enemy. He started after them with an army of 120,000 men before him and marched that army at the rapid rate of six miles a day until they stopped and he caught up with them!"

Throughout the whole struggle Stevens was bending his best energies to remove the cause. No man knew better where it lay. "Now is the time to get rid of slavery. There can be no solid peace, no permanent union so long as it remains. Let our generals liberate the slaves that flee to them and arm them against the enemy. We shall never conquer until we adopt a new method. Southern soldiers are as brave as ours, their leaders as intelligent. The swamps and mountains will be their allies. The climate will kill our armies off. We keep a vast army at home to till the field and run the factory; but every white man in the south can fight and not a single hand be missed from the plantations. The slave does not carry a gun but he is the mainstay of the war. Call him to your side and let him fight for his freedom. He will not prove inhuman. I do not look to see the day when in a Christian land merit shall counterbalance the crime of color; but give him an equal chance to meet death in battle. Let him find equality in the grave—the only place where all the children of God are equal." For more than a week, against every form of obstruction and opposition, Stevens stood on the floor of the house and battled for negro enlistment. Finally the measure passed, and the humane valor of hundreds of thousands of black soldiers vindicated its justice and its wisdom.



Slowly but steadily Congress and the country moved towards the great goal—emancipation. First the House and Senate resolved that Federal aid be extended to any state that would voluntarily adopt a measure for gradual emancipation. Stevens said it was “the most diluted milk and water gruel proposition ever offered to the American people;” but he voted for it. Then he moved to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and it was done. Then he supported Lovejoy’s bill prohibiting slavery in the territories, and it passed. Then Lincoln warned the rebel states that unless they laid down their arms by January first he would set their slaves free. January first came and he kept his word. From that hour the God of Battles smiled upon our cause. The crest of the rebellion broke on the field of Gettysburg and the long reflux wave of confederate disaster and defeat began its ebbing course. The next day Vicksburg fell and the morning of deliverance began to break. But Lincoln’s proclamation did not affect the slave states that were not in the rebellion. There slavery still remained. His right to issue the proclamation at all was certain to be questioned in days to come. There was only one way to set the matter at rest and that was by constitutional amendment. The North was ready for emancipation now. The thirteenth amendment which makes slavery forever impossible under the Stars and Stripes stands to-day almost in the very words in which Stevens cast his motion.

Reconstruction! Never since the constitution was adopted had the statesmen of this country been called upon to face so grave a question. It had shown itself in Congress as early as the second year of the war. We gained a foothold in Louisiana and the attempt was made to erect

a loyal government there. Congress and the President were not agreed. The war was yet to be fought out and so the question was put aside for the time being. When it came up again Lincoln was in his grave and a president of another sort was in his seat. Congress and Lincoln might have come together. Congress and Johnson never could. He began by threatening to hang all the rebels. Ben Wade, you remember, advised him to content himself with a baker's dozen and kindly offered to name the right ones. In six weeks Johnson had turned completely round and from that time on was the champion of the south. He tried to go on without Congress. He said "The war is over. The southern states stand just where they did to start with. They have all and the same rights with the rest. There is nothing to do but repair their state machines a little and set them going." He called on the south to do it. The same men who had headed the rebellion were the ones that were to do the work. It was soon done. New governments were quickly running in all the rebellious states and senators and representatives were chosen. Now up to this time there was little sentiment in the north in favor of negro suffrage. But emancipation was another matter. The north could not forget that slavery had been the root and cause of the rebellion and it did watch with anxiety to see whether emancipation was to be a theory only or a fact. It did not have long to wait. As soon as Johnson's legislatures could put pen to paper they had the negro back in his chains. Under the thin disguise of vagrant and apprentice laws they resumed over the black race a dominion as absolute and in some respects more cruel than the old. They did not even pretend to treat the races as equal before the law. They

made one law for the white man and another for the black. Let me remind you of a single instance. If a white man broke his contract with a negro it was only ground for a civil suit. If a negro broke his contract with a white man he could be whipped with thirty lashes or put to labor for a year. Such was the first fruit of the presidential plan. It did not taste well on the lips of those who had given their own blood, or blood that was dearer than their own, to make every foot of the republic free.

Congress came together. It was December, 1865. Would the new members be seated? Would Johnson's new governments be recognized? Stevens sat with a great majority behind him, the undisputed leader of the House. He wished to gain time. He wanted the president's policy to have a chance to bring its bitter fruit to ripeness before the contest with the White House should be on. Before the President's message could be received he put through his resolution for a joint committee. It was to look into the condition of the southern states and report whether they were entitled to representation in either house. Till then no member from an ex-confederate state should be received. He was at the head of the committee on the part of the House. Before the session was two days' old he had brought forward a series of amendments to the constitution. They would have changed the basis of representation in Congress so that the south would have no seats there on the basis of her black population unless she gave them the ballot. They forbade the payment of the rebel debt. They declared all citizens of whatever race or color equal before the law. These he said were the conditions on which the rebel states should be received. Even then, you must

notice, he did not propose to compel the south to adopt negro suffrage. He would leave it for *her* to say whether she would enfranchise the negro and have eighty-three seats or refuse to do it and content herself with forty-six. If his form of amendment had been adhered to this would have been the result. Unfortunately it was changed and under its provisions time has defeated the old commoner's purpose. To-day nobody in the south pretends the negro is allowed to vote and yet the south holds nearly half her seats in Congress and wields half her political power by virtue of the very race that she excludes.

On the 30th of April, 1866, Stevens reported to the House the famous fourteenth amendment substantially as we have it now,—that sublime guarantee of freedom and equality worthy to be inscribed in letters of gold and sure to be revered by after ages with the Petition of Right and Magna Charta. How was it treated by these states that were demanding recognition? Every one rejected it. In some of the legislatures there was not a solitary vote in its support. If such was the temper of the white people of the south, what hope was left that free governments could be established there at all? Think for a moment what it meant. Consider the attitude taken by the southern states. What they said, in effect, was this: We will not consent that the war debt of the Union shall be paid. We reserve the right to make the country pay our own debt when we get the power. We will not give a single black man the ballot; yet we claim the right to send representatives to Congress for the black as well as for the white. We have passed these laws annulling emancipation and we propose to enforce them. What are you going to do about it?

Stevens said, "There is only one thing *to* do. Give every black man the ballot. Not otherwise can we protect him in the freedom we have given him. Without him the Union has not friends enough in the south to organize loyal government. With his aid free constitutions may be adopted." It is easy now to say that suffrage ought not to have been conferred upon the black man all at once. But what should *we* have done? That was the condition that confronted *them*, statesmen as wise and brave as ever sat in council. It was not a question between allowing free government to be set up and carried on by the white race on the one hand or the black race on the other; it was a question whether there should be free government at all; it was a question whether the war had been won or lost. It was a question whether we were still in the clutches of the merciless power that had held free institutions by the throat for seventy years,—whether the dead had really died in vain, and whether government of the people by the people and for the people had not perished from the earth.

Then it was that Stevens made his great plea for universal suffrage—the same ground he had taken in the constitutional convention for Pennsylvania thirty years before. It was the speech that to all appearances would be his last. He was white and haggard, worn and broken by his vast labors in the cause of freedom. There was little hope that another session would find him in his place. The house was hushed to hear his farewell message and his words came with unparalleled solemnity and power. "I desire to make one more, perhaps an expiring, effort to do something useful for my fellow men. It is easy to protect the rich and the powerful; it is labor to guard the down-trodden and

the poor,—the eternal labor of Sisyphus, forever to be renewed. I believe we must all account hereafter for the deeds done in the body. I desire to take to the bar of final settlement the record I shall make here to-day on this great question of human rights. It cannot atone for half my errors, but some palliation it may be. Who is there that will venture to take this list with his negative seal upon it and unroll it before that stern judge who is the father of the immortal beings they have trampled under foot,—whose souls they have been crushing out?"

Congress was not ready for the measure then and it went over to the next session. Meantime a political campaign almost without a parallel in the history of the country had brought the north to the position occupied by Stevens. Johnson himself had opposed the fourteenth amendment. Three of his cabinet had broken with him on the question and resigned. He had made his appeal to the country against what he called the tyranny of Congress. The chief humorist of the day said the question was whether political power should be concentrated in the Senate and House of Representatives or whether it should be diffused through the person of the President. The country thought such concentration safer than such diffusion—especially as Congress was for saving the fruits of the war, and the President was for throwing them away. Stevens himself had been too feeble to take any part in the campaign. As it proved, he had little more than a year to live. But he husbanded his failing strength and took his seat once more. He looked more like a spirit than a man, but he was the spirit of a united north now—a north that had come at last to espousal of the very principles for which during more

than forty years he had been as the voice of one crying in the wilderness. His theory of reconstruction was adopted. The southern states were recognized as conquered provinces. They were divided into military districts under generals of the army charged with the maintenance of law and order. They were not to be recognized as states until they should ratify the fourteenth amendment and adopt constitutions in harmony with it. In framing their new constitutions the blacks must be allowed to vote as well as the whites, and their constitutions, when adopted, must wipe out all distinctions of race and color and guarantee equal rights to all. This was that momentous reconstruction bill, which, passing house and senate over Johnson's veto, became the law of the land, the full, ripe harvest of the seed that had been sown in the proud ordinances of secession.

The old commoner's work was done. And yet we are to have a final glimpse of him in another role, perhaps the most dramatic and impressive of all,—as he stood at the bar of the senate to impeach Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, of high crimes and misdemeanors in office. It was February, 1868, and Stevens died in August. Already the hand of death was on him. Day after day during the trial that succeeded he was carried to and from the senate in a chair. Such was the tenacity of life in his wasted frame that he turned to the stalwart negroes who bore him and asked, "Who will carry me, boys, when you are dead and gone?" The representatives of the people had been roused to fury by Johnson's long, bitter, obstinate resistance to the people's will. Finally they had voted to impeach him. It was Stevens who had checkmated him at every play. For three years, almost, at the head of

a loyal and determined house he had thwarted him in every attempt to nullify the results of war. Again and again he had met and over-ridden his veto with the constitution at two-thirds majority. It was fitting that it should be reserved for him to rise from his deathbed to bring to the bar of the senate that unique and tremendous accusation. He did it like the great lawyer that he was. "Who can forget," said Charles Sumner, "his steady, solemn utterances of that great arraignment? I doubt if words were ever delivered with more effect. They were few but they will resound through the ages."

When Congress took its recess near the end of July, Stevens was too weak to be taken to Pennsylvania. The others scattered to their homes. He staid behind in Washington, and there in a few days he died. Undaunted to the last he said: "I am going to die in harness. I mean to die hurraing." A few of his kin were by him. Two sisters of charity watched at his side. Two colored clergymen came and asked leave to say a prayer for him, and he gave them his hand. One of the sisters took a glass of water and tenderly baptized him, and like a little child falling asleep in his mother's arms that indomitable spirit passed away.

It was a sweet and fitting act to touch his rugged brow with the sign of our redemption; but I cannot think they would have missed it in the world to which he went. For the motive that inspired Thaddeus Stevens's life was, in the profoundest sense, a religious one. He was not impressed by the signs and symbols of religion; he was not convinced by the creeds in which the subtlest intellects of two thousand years have expressed their belief in a spiritual



world; he was not a mystic, lost in solitary contemplation of the divine presence; he was not a poet captivated by the beautiful mythology that gathers about any faith that finds a home in the heart of man. But religion speaks with a thousand voices; it has its own appropriate appeal for every human soul. To Thaddeus Stevens the Son of Man came in the likeness of the poor and enslaved of his own generation. In their unhappy faces, with their beseeching, black and bruised hands, he made to Thaddeus Stevens his appeal, and he did not appeal in vain. The consecration of a divine, unselfish purpose kindled his brain and touched his lips with the fire of prophecy. It is a false and shallow view that looks upon this man merely as a fierce and bitter partisan, or as a keen, determined lawyer, or even as a sound, farseeing statesman. He was something more than these; he was a witness to the truth. He was caught up by a breath of that great spirit that is forever moving over the face of the human deep lifting now one and now another to be leader and a light to the wandering and shipwrecked race. He felt himself upborne on the wings of eternal truth. The words he spoke were not his own but the words of justice, that cannot fail. Heaven and earth might pass away, but its words would not pass away. Apostle or martyr was never persuaded of the necessity or the sanctity of his witness. That is what electrified his hearers. That is what gave him, on his great day at Harrisburg, the appearance of a descended God. That is what forced Senator Dawes to say of him: "There were moments when he did not look like any other man I ever saw and scarcely like a man at all." God gave him to see with unobstructed vision the absolute equality in which all men stand before

their Maker and in which they shall one day stand before the law. For that ideal he battled. And when he was near his end he pledged his friends to bury him, not with the prosperous and powerful, not in any burial place that would exclude the race for which he had labored, but in a certain small and obscure graveyard where the dead of every class and color were received. And so they did. His very grave stands as a witness to the principles he fought for in his life.

To that humble far off resting-place our thoughts go out from this assembly with peculiar tenderness and pride. We think of his boyhood of poverty and promise, of genius and deformity. We think of the mother whose unquestioning sacrifice made all his triumphs possible. We see him far from home, struggling for a foothold among strangers, forging his way over every opposition to the first place at the bar. We see him defending the forlorn and helpless fugitive in the court of justice, freely devoting to the defence of liberty the skill and learning and eloquence which all the money of oppression could not buy; and when the law claims its victim we see him paying the ransom out of his own slender store. We see him standing up alone against an unjust movement of the people and by the single might of moral earnestness defeating it and putting it to shame. We see him refusing to put his name to a state constitution that presumes to draw a line between the sons of men according to the color of their skin. We see him at last in the halls of Congress facing the fiery and despotic south with a spirit as intense and uncompromising as its own. We see him returning to those halls again after years of silence, the infirmity of age upon his body but the fire of an exalted purpose in his soul, determined to die in harness now that the

battle is really on. We think of the marvellous foresight that took in every element of the problem and had it solved before his fellow statesmen understood its terms. We hear him day by day and month after month expounding his principles, preparing the way for the measures that he knew must come, waiting with patience till the country was ready to adopt his view, and then pouring the hot lava of freedom into the mold of unassailable and enduring law. We think of his wit, his eloquence, his logic, his skill, the courage that never wavered, the resources that never failed, all dedicated to a lofty and unselfish plan—the iron will that nothing could bend or shatter and underneath the stern forbidding countenance the heart as tender as a child's! Then, indeed, we are eager to stretch out our hands and claim him. Sleep sweetly in your unfrequented grave among the poorest of God's creatures. If no sculptor has given your rugged figure to the eyes of men, if no poet has sung your praises, if the dark despairing multitudes for whom you strove never knew of their benefactor, you would not care for that. Your work still stands in the very framework of free government where you imbedded it. Your spirit still lives in millions who accept without a question the principles you vindicated against the greatest odds. And here among the hills where you were born, where in your youth you girded up your loins and went forth to battle, men still love liberty and hate oppression,—still cherish the grand ideal of absolute justice and equal rights for all that made your life heroic. You were worthy of Vermont and Vermont is proud of her son.



**PREHISTORIC VERMONT**

**Evidences of Early Occupation by  
Indian Tribes**

**BY**

**GEORGE HENRY PERKINS, Ph. D.**



## PREHISTORIC VERMONT.

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That the area now covered by the state of Vermont was more or less fully occupied by Indian tribes long before it was seen by white men is conclusively proved by remains of village sites, camp grounds and thousands of objects fashioned from shell, copper, bone, earthenware and most of all, of stone. These, now found buried in the earth, were in common use when the first Europeans wandered hither. Village sites are few and it seems probable that for many years previous to the coming of Europeans the permanent villages were few and small.

The savage allies who journeyed with Champlain when he made that well known first visit to the lake which bears his name explained this. They told him, that because of long continued feuds between themselves, Algonquins, and the Iroquois who lived on the west side of the lake, the region about it was not inhabitable. This does not account however for the apparently similar absence of villages from the eastern part of Vermont. Still there may have been a similar condition of things in the Connecticut River Valley. At any rate, whatever was the cause, the fact remains that few evidences of long continued settlement have been found anywhere in the State.

Camping grounds, some of which were undoubtedly occupied season after season and for months continuously, are numerous. The early inhabitants of Vermont appear to have been accustomed to spend the coldest part of the win-

ters in the dense forests and in the spring or early summer to have moved from their shelter to some pond or lake where fishing was good and near which there could be found fertile soil. Here they brought their skin tents and what few possessions they had and settled down for the season. The squaws made such rude clearings as they could with the stone implements which the men had fashioned and scratching over the surface of the rough ground, they planted corn, melons, squashes, tobacco and possibly a few other vegetables and waited for the growing and maturing of the crops. The squaws did the farm work, all of it, the men went hunting, fishing or on the war path or in default of these occupations, lounged about the camp. In the fall, the fruits of both agriculture and hunting were packed in bundles and with the other property, carried into winter quarters, that is into the thick spruce forests. Here the winter was passed in idleness for the most part, story telling, working on stone implements or sleeping. All the early writers tell us that these people were surprisingly improvident and that while during the early part of the winter, when food was plenty, they gorged themselves by continual feasting, during the latter weeks, the food supply having usually given out, they almost starved. Although only a very small part of what is now Vermont was occupied for any long time by the Indians a considerable part of its area was crossed and recrossed by trails leading from friendly villages to others of like mind or, and perhaps more often, the paths were the thoroughfares of war parties seeking plunder, blood and revenge. As it was less laborious and much safer to travel in canoes than on foot the longer journeys were always made, so



far as possible, by lakes and streams. There can be no doubt that by far the most commonly traversed route was that which led through Lake Champlain, for here they could paddle their canoes at leisure, while far enough from either shore to be out of danger of ambush or sudden attack from the enemies. Most of these lines of travel led from the villages or camps about the St. Lawrence to those in eastern New York or southern New England. Hence the main object of the wandering tribes was to get from North to South or the reverse. When the Algonquins of the north set forth on a raid upon the Iroquois they went through the St. Lawrence west as far as what they called the River of the Iroquois and paddling their canoes up this into Lake Champlain they proceeded as far south as they chose and then landed and marched into the Adirondack forests toward the villages west of the lake. Or if they had other matters in view they paddled south through the lake till they reached the mouth of the Winooski. Then they turned eastward and followed the windings of that stream as far as they could and if they wished to go farther, they made a not long carry over to the White River and down this into the Connecticut and on to the Sound if they chose to sail so far. Another not uncommon route appears to have been by the lake as far as Otter Creek, then up to its head waters, thence by carry to the Black River, thence to the Connecticut and southward as they chose. More easterly courses were from the St. Lawrence via the St. Francis into Memphremagog and south through that lake to the Clyde or Barton Rivers and so on by carries and streams to the Connecticut or beyond. Other shorter routes were numerous.

As would be expected, by far the larger number of the specimens that are in our collections were found along the river valleys or in the vicinity of lakes. In number and quality these specimens surprise one not familiar with Vermont relics. No other New England state has given to the collector such variety of form and character, or such elegance of finish as may be found in any large collection of Vermont Indian relics. Most of the objects were I make little doubt made and used by the Iroquois and Algonquins, but there are some which appear to have been obtained either by trade with other and distant tribes or to have been taken in war. Archaeologically I think that Vermont, the Champlain Valley at any rate, is more closely allied with New York and the west than with the rest of New England. I do not intend when speaking of the elegance of some of our archaeological specimens to intimate that all are of this sort. Quite the contrary is true. By far the larger part of our specimens are rude, some of them very rude, but those that are made with most care and of finest material equal the best found anywhere in the country. I have mentioned evidence of some sort of trade with other and distant tribes. This is found in objects made from materials not occurring near Vermont. Pieces of white coral more or less worked have been found near Burlington. Native copper is not found in place anywhere this side of Lake Superior but chisels, gouges, awls, beads, etc., of this copper are found in several parts of the State. So, too, occasionally, a spear point or a knife has been found quite unlike most of those so commonly discovered here, not only finely formed, but made from some of the brightly colored stones of the Ohio Valley. Copper objects are nowhere common, but we have

a dozen or two of knives, spear heads, bars, chisels, etc., and a larger number of beads. For many years no objects of bone were found, but we have now a very respectable collection of awls, pottery, stamps and other objects made from bone. Most of these have been found by one of my collectors, Mr. Griffin, near Malletts Bay at an old camping ground which he discovered there. The big leg bones of deer appear to have furnished material for most of these, though the tines of the horns were also much used.

Many pages might easily be written upon the pottery of our former inhabitants, but only brief mention of the many varieties of patterns, seen on the hundreds of fragments which have been picked up can be made here. No painted pottery or that ornamented with raised figures or made in the forms of animals such as has so often been found in the west, ever occurs here. Our ware is always decorated by indented or stamped figures or lines in more or less geometrical patterns. Thus we find lines, circles, dots, triangles, crescents, zig-zags, serrations, etc., arranged in endlessly varying designs. Without illustrations it is impossible to give any adequate conception of the variety and character of these ancient attempts at artistic work. Our jars are of all sizes from little ones that would hold less than a pint to those that hold 12-15 quarts.

Our earthenware is nearly always in pieces, only three entire specimens found in Vermont being at present in existence, but many of the fragments are so large that the form and ornamentation can be easily understood. Moreover sometimes, several bits are found that may be put together and thus a large part of the original jar be restored. The form in this region was always globular, at least the

lower part is, the upper may be square or even pentagonal and those that are more elaborately shaped are always more carefully ornamented than others. The paste from which these jars were made was always the same or nearly so. It consisted of finer or coarser bits of quartz, feldspar, mica and sometimes other materials, all obviously obtained by pounding up pieces of granite or some similar stone and mixing this with more or less clay. Naturally the fine or coarse character of the jar depends upon the make-up of the paste. Finally the whole was coated outside and inside with fine clay in order that a smooth surface may be produced. After the jar was formed from a mass of this mixture and coated it must have been allowed to dry partially and then upon the soft surface the pattern was impressed. Then the dish was burned. In some of the jars there is little decoration except around the always thick rim. In others the figures may cover nearly the entire surface and some are decorated inside the rim. The rim itself may be dentellated, scalloped or otherwise worked into ornamental shape. Every now and then some new find of pottery fragments discloses new designs. I am sure that no one can examine a collection of Vermont pottery of the olden time without realizing the skill and real artistic feeling of the makers and also the endlessly varied designs wrought upon the surfaces of the jars. Not only globular jars were fashioned by the potters, who were usually, if not always squaws, but pipes of earthenware are not very uncommon. These are usually of the finest material and often are exceedingly well made. When such vases and jars as those the Indians made could be so easily fashioned from the clay paste it would seem a waste of labor to work stone into

dishes and yet we do find a few of this harder material. These are of quite different shape from the deep jars of earthenware, being more like the modern wooden chopping dishes, shallow and thick. All are made from soapstone. As has already been suggested, most of the implements and also weapons and ornaments were fashioned from some of the harder sorts of stone. Flint, quartzite, white and crystalline quartz and even agate and jasper were used more than any other rocks for the smaller objects, while granite, greenstone, trap or other hard, fine grained stones were used for the axes, celts and other large objects. Softer materials were also occasionally taken, usually when the object to be made was designed more for ornament than use. Slate, talcose rock, soapstone and the like were all more or less in use. Some of the pipes, amulets, gouges and even what appear to have been used as knives were made from these softer materials and many of them are well nigh perfect in regularity or form and elegance of finish. No modern sculptor could carve from the rough mass any more perfect specimens of his handiwork than is seen in the best of these slate or soapstone objects. But the above commendation of the work of the aboriginal artist need not be limited to articles made of soft stone, for some of the very finest examples of their work are wrought from the hardest material they could find. It is difficult to estimate the amount of time and careful, patient labor which must have been given to the fashioning of many a gouge, pipe or amulet which has been thrown up by the plow of the Vermont farmer. We can only marvel at the untiring skill and artistic sense which we find exhibited. Perhaps no other class of objects so well shows this as do the pipes.

While we cannot by any means bring forward such an array of elaborately carved and superbly finished pipes as has been taken from the mounds of the Ohio Valley, we are nevertheless able to show no mean assortment of exceedingly well formed and finished specimens of this class. Steatite, slate, gypsum, these and similar soft rocks were chosen when a pipe was to be made and most generally, the work was well done. The form was sometimes that familiar to us, but more frequently it was quite different. Some of them would scarcely be recognized even by our most persistent smokers. Besides platform, bell shaped, trumpet shaped and other strange forms we find certain straight tubes some of which are twelve or even fifteen inches long which we should scarcely recognize as pipes at all did not some of the California tribes to this day use similar tubes as pipes. The small size of most of the pipes would quite disgust a modern devotee of the weed. It must, however, be remembered that among the American Indians, throughout the continent, smoking was very largely a ceremony, not a pastime. A single whiff or at most a few, and the pipe was passed on. Smoking for the mere enjoyment of it was not by any means unknown, but it was not the rule, apparently. Far more often smoking was a religious and solemn ceremony. A sort of burnt offering to the spirits above. The tubular pipes just mentioned are noticeably exceptional in size and may have been used differently from the much more numerous small pipes.

Nowhere common, but always attracting attention when found, are what, for want of a better name, are called Ornamental Stones. Even the object for which these were designed is conjectural. It is supposed that some of them at

least, were intended to be worn as ornaments, others were very likely amulets or charms, medicine, as an Indian would call them. They are generally of handsome material, regular form and ground to smooth or even polished surfaces.

The common stone chisel or celt is found everywhere made of a great variety of material sometimes finished in the best manner, sometimes rudely flaked with no sign of rubbing to an even surface. Many of these celts were undoubtedly used as chisels and therefore held in the hand, but many were attached in one way or another to a wooden handle and thus they became axes. One of the old writers tells us that a common method of fastening the handle to the axe was as follows. After the stone had been laboriously worked down to the desired form and this might have been the work of months, or even years, the owner took it to the forest where he selected a suitably sized and shaped branch growing on some tree. This he trimmed somewhat, but did not otherwise injure it, except that he made a cleft in the branch at some distance from the tree to which it was growing. Into this cleft the stone axe was fastened and left for months until the wood had grown about it and become firmly fastened. The branch was then cut from the tree and worked into a handle. The owner's mark set upon the stone effectually secured it against removal. Probably few implements were so generally used or for so great a variety of purposes as was the celt. It was of every size from those only three or four inches long to large and heavy specimens twelve inches or more in length and sometimes very heavy. Some were ground to an edge at each end and a few were celt at one end and gouge at the other. Gouges are almost wholly New England implements, being

found only very seldom outside of our territory. And in New England, they are far more varied and more carefully made in Vermont than elsewhere. The names well indicate the general form of these implements. Their use is quite uncertain. Some of the larger gouges are as carefully wrought as the most perfect ornamental stone objects and these finer specimens often do not show the least sign of having been used. Many are ruder and of harder stone and these were without doubt ordinary tools, but what can we say of those elegant, highly polished specimens which have been now and then the fortunate find of some collector? They do not seem likely objects for ceremonial use and yet it is difficult to think of any other service which they could have rendered.

As the celt on the one hand passes into the gouge, so on the other it develops into the grooved axe. In the west and south these grooved axes, often of large size, are far more common than in Vermont. Apparently our forerunners here did not make or use many of them. The grooved axe is evidently merely a celt made short and wide, bearing about its upper part a shallow groove by which it could be more readily attached to a handle. Some of these are tiny, but most are large and heavy.

The mortar and pestle, articles of essential importance in all Indian tribes were not absent from the ancient Vermont household. The mortars were generally rude, little more labor, usually, having been put into their making than was necessary for the excavation of a shallow depression in a large boulder or similar piece of stone which was otherwise in its original condition.



The pestle, however, always shows more careful work. This was hammered into a more or less cylindrical form and sometimes its surface was polished. More rarely, the upper end was rudely carved so that it bore some resemblance to the head of a bird or other animal. Some of our finest pestles are over two feet long, the longest that I have seen is twenty-nine inches. It may be that these long pestles were rather clubs. If we may credit some of the older writers the squaws were shrewd enough to aid themselves when pounding corn or whatever they wished to break up, by placing the mortar under the elastic branch of some convenient tree and fastening the upper end of the pestle to this by a strip of buckskin, secure its help in lifting the implement as they pounded.

Occasionally a flaked or chipped celt or axe has been found, but nearly all of the classes of objects thus far considered, though very probably at first roughed out by flaking or chipping, were finished by grinding, or rubbing on a stone with sand. This process was necessarily tediously slow if the stone from which the implement was to be made was very hard as it usually was. Not only months or even years were occupied, at intervals undoubtedly, in the making of the best celts or axes or amulets, but we are told by the old writers that some of the more elaborate objects were passed on from one maker to his son and were only brought to their final perfection after several generations had expended much labor upon them. Of course when people have little to occupy them, neither time nor labor count for much.

There are other sorts of ground and polished objects which appear in our collections, but they must be left with-

out further comment. Many times more abundant than the ground and polished objects are those that were shaped by chipping or flaking. Except for a few finely finished slate points, all the spear heads, arrow points and most of the knives were made in this way. Some of the many forms of quartz were used in the manufacture of these objects and many of them are prettily colored and exceedingly well made. The Vermont points, while of many sorts of quartz, are by far most commonly made of a grayish or bluish quartzite which occurs in many localities in the State. This is the most common material and the triangular outline is most frequent. These of course, were without haft or barbs, but hafted and sharply barbed specimens, though less common than forms without these are yet numerous and some of them will not suffer by comparison with similar specimens from any part of the country or indeed the world. Still these delicately pointed and symmetrically shaped points are exceptional here. For the most part our Vermont points, spear and arrow, are less finely formed and regular than those from the region of the mounds. We have some specimens as fine as the finest, but they are few, and our average is composed of specimens of good workmanship, indeed, but yet inferior to those found in the west.

Not only were the smaller points made by flaking and chipping, but spear heads a foot long have been found and still larger oval or ovate objects which are supposed to have been used as spades or hoes. Other chipped implements are drills, long, narrow pointed, scrapers, with blunt rounded edges, knives of all shapes and sizes, and various

nondescript articles, the use of which is wholly problematical.

I have by no means mentioned all of the many varieties of Indian implements or ornaments which have rewarded the search of diligent and patient collectors. The different classes mentioned are those which are most numerous and therefore most commonly found. At the advent of the white man all the tribes of North America were living in the stone age but they had most of them advanced far beyond what in European archaeology is called the rude stone age, and while they were savages, they were nevertheless savages who had in many respects risen far above the lower stages of savagery. This is shown not only by those objects which we have been considering but also by their political, social and religious organization.



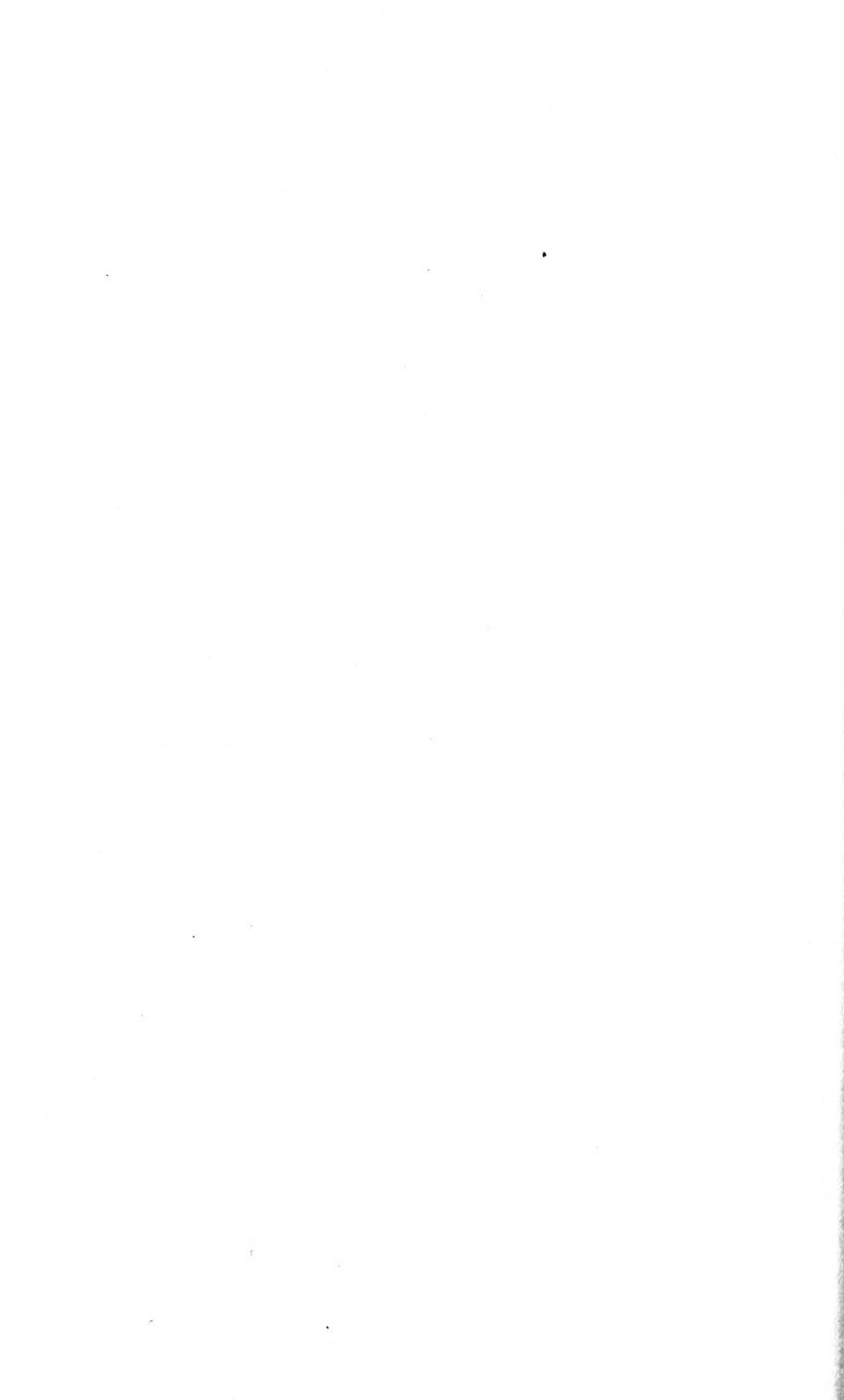
LIFE OF  
GENERAL JAMES WHITELOW

Read before the

Vermont Historical Society

At St. Johnsbury, 1864, by Thomas Goodville, of  
Barnet, Vt.

From manuscript in possession of the Vermont Historical Society



## JAMES WHITELAW.

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James Whitelaw, Esq., of Ryegate, in the County of Caledonia, and State of Vermont, was the son of William Whitelaw, and was born February 11, 1748, at New Mills, in the parish of Oldmonkland, Lanarkshire, Scotland. In his youth he was well educated, especially in the art of land surveying, and its kindred subjects. His large manuscript books, written while he was studying surveying, are still preserved in his collection of papers, and show that he was a careful and diligent student. The large number of diagrams, correctly and beautifully delineated, and the long descriptions and demonstrations these large manuscript volumes contain, prove conclusively that he acquired a thorough knowledge of the art of surveying. February 17, 1773, 140 persons, most of whom were farmers, residing in Renfrewshire, Scotland, formed themselves into a company called "The Scots-American Company of Farmers" to purchase a large tract of land in America for settlement. By the members who settled on their land in Ryegate, it was commonly called the "Inchinnan Company," because most of the members belonged to the parish of Inchinnan, and also to distinguish it from another Scots-American Company formed in Stirlingshire, Scotland, whose agent was Col. Alexander Harvey, who purchased and settled a large tract of land for that company in the adjoining town

of Barnet. In the books of the Inchinan Company, General Whitelaw is called a "Land Surveyor of Whiteinch in the Parish of Geran." Having become a member of the company, he and David Allen, another member, were appointed by the company commissioners to go to America and search out and purchase a suitable tract of land for the Company to settle. They sailed from Greenoch March 25, 1773, and after a voyage of 60 days landed in Philadelphia, Pa., on the 24th day of May following. From the time Gen. Whitelaw left his native country till 1794, when his agency for the company ceased, he kept a well written journal, which is still preserved, and which shows that he was a man of extensive and accurate observation and deep practical judgment. He recorded in the town books of Ryegate the rules and regulations of the company which are numerous and lengthy. The day he landed he accidentally became acquainted with Rev. John Witherspoon, D. D., one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and then president of the College of New Jersey, who informed him that he had a large tract of land in Ryegate, on the Connecticut River, and in the Province of New York, consisting of 23,000 acres, which he desired to sell, but advised the commissioners to make thorough search in the country before they bought lands anywhere. The commissioners being directed in their commission to begin their search for lands in the Province of New York, went to New York City by Princeton, N. J., where they visited Dr. Witherspoon and received information about the lands in Ryegate from John Hindman, who had just returned from viewing the



lands in that township. Having obtained a description of lands in different places to be sold, they sailed up the Hudson River to Albany, and went and viewed the lands of Sir William Johnston, on the Mohawk River west of Schenectady. Here they purchased horses, and afterwards travelled on horseback in search of lands to purchase. They came by Saratoga and Stillwater to Salem, N. Y., where dwelt Dr. Thomas Clark, who with other Scotchmen procured from the Governor of New York, December 21, 1774, a large tract of land on the head branches of the Passumpsic River, in Caledonia County, Vt. From Salem, they came to Manchester, Vt., crossed the Green Mountains by a spotted line in woods, and on the 26th day of June they arrived at Charleston, N. H., where dwelt John Church, a joint owner with Dr. Witherspoon of the township of Ryegate, and who accompanied them to show them the lands in that town. They arrived in Ryegate June 30th, at the house of Mr. Hosmer, who with his family were the only persons living in town. Gen. Whitelaw writes in his journal, "On our way to Ryegate we lodged at Hanover, N. H., where Mr. Wheelock has his Indian Academy or college. We called on him and told him what we heard before leaving Scotland concerning his lands. He said he had about as much land left as would serve about thirty families, which he would give to settle if they would but come and live on it. He said he would prefer Scotch people before any other, as he thought much of their religion and mode of church government. He told us that he had at his college

about 80 students, above 30 of whom were upon charity and 17 of them Indians."

The commissioners having examined the lands in Ryegate returned by Hartford and New York to Princeton, N. J., where they were kindly received by Dr. Wither-  
spoon on the 15th of July. He proposed to them that "if they would buy the whole township of Ryegate, excepting 2,000 acres, they should have it at 2 shillings sterling per acre; if they took three-fourths of the town, excepting 1,500 acres, they should have it for three shillings and 3 pence, York currency, per acre, and if they took one-half the town, they should have it at 3 shillings, York money, per acre." But he advised the commissioners to take all due pains to find out a better place for their purpose, as he was very anxious that the company should succeed. Gen. Whitelaw in his journal writes "Princeton is a handsome little town and stands in a pleasant situation. The college building is said to be the largest and best in America. At present the college contains more than 100 students, besides about 80 Latin scholars."

On the 19th of July, 1773, after dining with the president of the college, they went to Philadelphia, where they obtained information of lands for sale in Pennsylvania, and provinces further south. Leaving that city July 26th, they passed through Carlisle, Shippensburg and Chamberstown, Pa., Hagerstown, Md., and crossed the Potomac at Shepardston, and went through Alexandria and Fredericksburg, Va., and arrived at Edinton, N. C., on the 13th day of August. In his journal the general gives a particular

description of the places they visited and the lands they viewed, giving the price, climate, soil, growth of timber, advantages and disadvantages of location, distance from the market, and other circumstances. Having returned to Princeton, N. J., the commissioners bargained with Dr. Witherspoon on the second of October for one-half the township of Ryegate, which was a New Hampshire grant chartered September 8, 1763, but at the time of the purchase it was claimed by New York as belonging to the county of Gloucester in that province, and is so described in the deeds given at that time. The commissioners came by New York and Hartford to Newbury, Vt., where they arrived the first day of November, 1773. On the 10th day of the month, John Church, as agent for Dr. Witherspoon, came, and on the 19th of the same, they divided the township of Ryegate into two parts, by a line running westerly from Dodge's Falls, on the Connecticut River to the west line of the town. The commissioners chose the southern half of the town, judging it for several good reasons superior to the northern half.

Mr. Hosmer, the first person who lived in town, seems to have acquired some rights in town, as the places he had improved were excepted in the sale. He had pitched his camp nearly opposite the narrows on Connecticut River, about a mile and a half from the southeast corner of the town, which is near the mouth of Wells River. When the commissioners returned to Ryegate, John Hindman with his family had just moved into town and was building his house on a lot of land presented to him by Dr. Witherspoon

for moving the first family into town as permanent settlers. The commissioners lodged with him the winter of 1773-4, and after assisting him to finish his house, they built one for themselves which stood a few rods southeast from the present residence of William T. Whitelaw, the general's grandson. They finished their house about the first of January, 1774, and then they cut down the woods and made a large clearing. Gen. Whitelaw then went to Portsmouth, N. H., and Newburyport, Mass., and bought and brought a sleighload of such necessaries as they required. In April the commissioners made about 60 pounds of maple sugar, after which they commenced the surveying of the land they had purchased for the company. This is the first surveying performed by Gen. Whitelaw in America. On the 13th of May ten of the colonists, one of whom was accompanied with his family, arrived in Ryegate from Scotland. Having finished the survey, Gen. Whitelaw drew a chart of the south half of Ryegate and recorded in his journal the number of lots, (400) and marked the quantity of land in each. This was the first chart he made in America. David Allen, the other commissioner, left Ryegate August 1st, 1774, to return to Scotland to report to the company, and lay before them a plan of the land the commissioners had purchased for them in America. All the colonists conveyed him to Gen. Bailey's in Newbury, and one of them went with him to Newburyport, Mass. In the meantime Gen. Whitelaw had some log houses and one frame house, 17 by 38 feet, built to accommodate the colonists as they arrived, till they improved the lots of land they had chosen and built houses

on them. They were generally well pleased with their situation. About the beginning of January, 1775, Gen. Whitelaw purchased a part of a lot of land lying between Ryegate and Wells River and containing the half of that river with the great falls on it, for the purpose of erecting grist and saw mills for the use of the colonists. About the middle of August the same year he raised a house for himself on the lots he had taken. This was the first frame dwelling-house erected in Ryegate, a part of which is now standing, (1864). It was in this house that the first school in Ryegate was kept. About the same time the frame of the grist mill was raised. In the beginning of October, 1775, the saw mill was raised, and on the 28th day of the same month the grist mill was set going, and the saw mill in the end of July the next year. Having received an alarming report that St. Johns had been taken by the British regulars, and that Indians would be sent through the country to lay it waste, all the inhabitants of Ryegate July 1, 1776, fled to Newbury for safety. After waiting ten days and no Indians appearing, they all returned to their own houses in Ryegate. When Gen. Whitelaw came to Ryegate to settle, he had travelled 2700 miles on horseback in this country in the service of the "Scots-American Company of Farmers." The colony he had planted in Ryegate was checked in its prosperity by the Revolutionary war, after which trying period it increased and flourished. In 1794, being Surveyor-General of Vermont and otherwise engaged, he resigned his office of agent for the company which he had held for nearly 20 years. About this time he opened a land office

in which he continued to do business till his death in 1829. He was early chosen to different offices by the town of Ryegate, and was town clerk and town treasurer for about 46 years. It appears by his accounts against the state that he had surveyed some town lines as early as 1780. In 1783 after Great Britain had acknowledged the Independence of the United States, he was appointed a Deputy Surveyor to the Surveyor-General. Messrs. Whitelaw, Savage and Coit petition the legislature October 18, 1787 and state that they had been engaged the most of their time for four years past as deputies of the Surveyor-General in surveying towns in the northern part of Vermont, and that they had received no remuneration for their services, or pay for their expenses, amounting to one hundred pounds, and expressing their willingness to take grants of salable lands for their payment. Accordingly, the legislature, October 26, 1788, granted them three tracts of land situated in different parts of the state, and equal in the whole to one township of land. In October, 1787, Gen. Whitelaw was elected by the legislature Surveyor-General of the State of Vermont. To this office he was annually reelected till November, 1804, a period of more than seventeen years. He surveyed the town lines or chartered limits of a considerable number of towns in the middle and northern part of the state, some of which he allotted. It appears from his accounts as Surveyor-General against the State, that in October, 1788, he was engaged several days in making a plan of the state. In 1796 he drew a small map of the state, finely delineated. From this beautiful manuscript map which is still preserved, he

published the same year a map of the state of Vermont which he improved and republished in 1810. These maps are of a large size, 30 by 44 inches. He secured the copyright, which is dated November 1, 1796. In 1813 he published a map of the northern part of the United States, and the southern part of Canada, 22 by 15 inches, designed to show the seat of the war between the United States and Great Britain in 1812-15. It appears by a letter written to him by his father, October 23, 1783, that he had sent an order to Scotland to John Gardner to make him a surveying compass, and that Gardner was then making it, and that they expected to have an opportunity to send it to him as soon as the next spring. This surveying compass and chain, with his magnet, and some of his mathematical instruments, are in the possession of Mrs. Susan White, his granddaughter, in Griggsville, Illinois.\* If the compass she has in her possession is the one made by John Gardner, it is probable, if not certain, that it is the compass Gen. Whitelaw used for many years while he was both a Deputy-Surveyor and Surveyor-General. If these surveying instruments should be obtained by the Historical Society of Vermont, they would be a valuable addition to their historical collection.

By the legislature he was empowered to settle disputes about town lines, and appointed one of the trustees of the Caledonia County Academy, and named in the charter granted October 27, 1795. This office he continued to hold till September 4th, 1811. When he resigned the Board of

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\*Now in the possession of the Vt. Historical Society.

Trustees "voted that the thanks of this board be presented to him for his eminent services to this Institution." By John Adams, President of the United States, he was appointed July 17, 1798, a commissioner for the third district of Vermont under an Act of Congress passed July 9, 1798, "to provide for the valuation of lands and dwelling-houses and enumeration of slaves within the United States." In the General's collection of papers was found a slip of paper on which he had written the following, viz.:

"The whole valuation of the State of Vermont, as returned by the assessors and equalized by the commissioners

|                                  |                 |
|----------------------------------|-----------------|
| Dwelling-houses above \$100..... | \$ 1,557,339.86 |
| Land and small houses .....      | 15,157,083.13½  |

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\$16,714,422.99½

It is the glory of Vermont that it required no "enumeration of slaves." In 1800 he was appointed postmaster of Ryegate. Most probably it was by his exertions that the mail was first extended from Newburyport, Caledonia County, through Ryegate and Peacham to Danville, and afterward to Barnet and St. Johnsbury. He continued postmaster of Ryegate till his death.

Dr. Witherspoon at Newbury, Vt., June 17, 1783, gave a power of attorney to Gen. Whitelaw and Col. Harvey to sell the land he owned in Ryegate and Newbury. These two men were fellow pioneers in the settlement of Caledonia County. The legislature of Vermont out of regard for these two Scotchmen, and the two large and flourishing colonies of their countrymen, they had planted and



nurtured in Barnet and Ryegate, called the county "Caledonia" the ancient Roman name of their native country.

Gen. Whitelaw must be placed at the head of the list of great men of this county, for he was most probably the first man in the county who held office under the state of Vermont and the United States, and long he held office under both governments. At his death he had 614 volumes of newspapers, 254 of which were bound. Most of these volumes were destroyed when the capitol of this state was burnt. Most of his papers belonging to his office of Surveyor-Deputy and Surveyor-General, are in possession of Henry Stevens, Esq., of Burlington.\* The remaining part of his large collection of papers is in possession of William T. Whitelaw, Esq., of Ryegate, the General's grandson. They consist chiefly of manuscript books and papers in his own handwriting, together with more than 5000 letters from correspondents, relating chiefly to business in his land office. Four small folio volumes contain more than 8000 answers to letters received. Some of these answers are transcribed in full, but only the substance of the majority is recorded. He kept copies of his letters to his relatives, and the Company in Scotland. These contain some valuable and interesting information with respect to the early history of Caledonia County. In his collection of papers are some rare and valuable documents. One of these is a deed\* beautifully written on a very large sheet of parchment which is signed and sealed by Dr. Witherspoon.\*

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\*Now in the possession of the Vt. Historical Society.

In stature General Whitelaw was about six feet and ten inches high, with a large and robust frame. He seemed to have sprung from a strong and healthy Scotch family. His uncle, James Whitelaw, lived one hundred and six years, and walked ten miles to a funeral the week before his death. He was generally very healthy, but three years before his death he had a severe fever which lasted three months. His last illness was palsy, which continued two weeks, but did not deprive him of speech. He was a very diligent man and in his lifetime performed a great amount of labor, manual and mental. After his labors for more than ten years in settling Ryegate, he was actively engaged in surveying for 12 or 14 years. He performed an immense amount of writing in his land office and surveyorship. He had a very remarkable power of resisting cold. He often surveyed land at a great distance from home in the winter using snow shoes, and remained in the woods night and day for weeks in the coldest weather. He very seldom used gloves or mittens in working or traveling in the coldest weather in winter. He possessed a great talent for transacting business, which was well done and gave great satisfaction to those who employed him. His fees as land agent and surveyor were moderate. At one time he lost \$2600 by suretyship for a friend. Though he was never rich, he always had a competence and lived comfortably and respectably. He was hospitable and charitable, and generously gave away much of his property. His disposition was pleasant and kind, and he acted often and successfully the part of a blessed peacemaker. He was naturally very

modest and unassuming, so that he appeared to strangers reserved, but with his friends he was social and facetious. He was uniformly very exact and prompt in performing his work, and cheerful and faithful in performing the duties of a husband, father and friend. His moral character was pure and good. All who were acquainted with him esteemed him highly, and had the utmost confidence in his ability and integrity. He sprang out of a pious family and was a member of the Church of Scotland. He observed the worship of God in his family, and gave his children a literary and religious education. He liberally supported the public ordinances of the Gospel, and attended the religious services of the Associate Presbyterian Church of Ryegate. The writer visited him on his death bed when the dying man requested him to pray for him that he might have the Grace of Christ.

He died calmly April 29, 1829, aged eighty-one years. He was interred in the graveyard at the center of Ryegate, and a monument has been erected to his memory.

Gen. Whitelaw was married March 5, 1778, to Abigail Johnston, of Newbury, Vt., by whom he had four children, two sons and two daughters, who survived him but are all now dead.

He was married the second time November 23, 1790, to Susannah Rogers of Bradford, Vt., who was a descendant of the ninth or tenth generation from John Rogers, the famous English Martyr, who was burnt at the stake, February 4, 1555.

He was married the third time August 29, 1815, to Mrs. Janet Harvey, of Barnet, Vt., who was the widow of his friend, Col. Alexander Harvey, of Barnet.

Barnet, Vt., A. D., 1864.

THOMAS GOODWILLIE.

JOURNAL  
OF  
GENERAL JAMES WHITELOW  
SURVEYOR-GENERAL OF VERMONT

FROM A MANUSCRIPT  
PRESENTED TO  
THE  
Vermont Historical Society

BY  
Oscar L. Whitelaw and Robert H. Whitelaw  
1898

This journal is copied from the original manuscript now in the possession of the Vermont Historical Society which was presented to the society in April, 1898, by Mr. Oscar L. Whitelaw and Mr. Robert H. Whitelaw of St. Louis, Mo., great-grandsons of General James Whitelaw.

It is to be noted that a portion of the journal is missing. Pages one and two at least are lacking. The entries begin on the top of page three under date of April 8th (1773). The journal covers pages 3 to 76 inclusive of the manuscript, the rest of the space being taken up with entries relating to taxes in the various towns in Vermont made some years later than the others. There are also some entries in the back of the volume dated from 1790 to 1794 of no general interest being merely memoranda regarding the state of the weather and items relating to the care of the farm. It has not been thought worth while to print these items.

Montpelier, Vt., January, 1907.

## JOURNAL.

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Thursday, Aprile 8th, on the morning the weather turned calm, by which time we were in Lat.  $40^{\circ}$  and Lon. about  $18^{\circ}$  during which time nothing passed worth remarking, excepting that we saw the main mast of a ship go along our side one morning.

It remained calm till Saturday, the 10th, on the morning of which the wind shifted N. E., from which point we had a good breeze, and continued a S. W. course till Sunday, the 25th, when we were in Lat.  $30^{\circ}$  and Lon.  $46^{\circ} 30'$ .

Sunday, the 9th of May, we spoke a sloop from Virginia bound for Nevis, John Robertson, Master, fifteen days out, and in Lon.  $62^{\circ} 30'$  by his account, though by ours we were only in  $61^{\circ} 48'$ . We had not seen any other vessel since Saturday, Aprile 10th.

We kept sailing between the Lat. of  $30^{\circ}$  and  $33^{\circ}$  from the 25th of April till Friday, the 14th of May, at which time we were in Lon.  $68^{\circ}$ . We stood then to the N. W., and on Wednesday, the 19th, we spoke the brigantine Carpenter, from Philadelphia, bound for Lisbon, Samuel Williams, Master, 35 leagues, E. S. E. of Cape Henlopen.

Thursday, the 20th, about 3 o'clock afternoon, we had the first sight of America, and about 9 o'clock at night we came to an anchor in Delaware bay in order to wait for a pilot.

Friday, the 21st, about 7 o'clock in the morning, we got our pilot aboard, when we loosed, and at night we came again to an anchor at the head of the bay.

Saturday, the 22nd, we loosed again about 7 o'clock in the morning, and about 3 o'clock we came to an anchor about a mile below Newcastle; about 6 o'clock same night the wind springing up fair we again loosed and got as far as the high lands of Crastine, where we again anchored.

Sunday, the 23d, we had the wind all down the river, and was obliged to turn up with the tide, and about 12 o'clock at night, came to an anchor below Philadelphia, where we were obliged to stay till the health officer came on board to visit the passengers, each of which had to pay to him one shilling sterling.

Munday, the 24, at 12 o'clock, we came to one of the wharfs, the whole distance we sailed being about 5000 miles by the log.

When we arrived here Alexander Semple was standing on the wharf ready to receive us in order to conduct us to his brother's house, where accidentally we met with Dr. Witherspoon, who informed us that he had a township of land called Ryegate, in the Province of New York, upon Connecticut River, containing about 23,000 acres, which he was ready to dispose of, in order to serve us, in case we thought it would suite our purpose, but in the meantime desired us to make every other trial, and not be too hasty in making a bargain, and instantly desired us to call for him at Princetown, on our way to New York.



We stayed in Philadelphia three days, where we were very kindly entertained by our friends and acquaintances, part of which time we spent in viewing this city, which perhaps is the best laid out in the world, the streets are all broad and straight, and all cross each other at right angles, extending itself upon the banks of the Delaware between two or three miles, and about one mile back here is an excellent market for every article that farmers or others have to sell and commonly ready money. We had several offers of lands in this province, but deferred the viewing of them at this time as by our commission we were first to begin at New York, for which place we set out with the stage on Thursday, the 27, at six o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Princetown at 5 o'clock in the afternoon, where we again met with Dr. Witherspoon, Robert and John Hyndman and James Findlay we stayed here till the next stage day, which time we spent in viewing Doctor Witherspoon's plantations, as also receiving particular intelligence about the township of Ryegate from James Findlay and John Hyndman, who had both been lately on the ground.

We set off again with the stage and arrived at New York on Tuesday the first of June in the afternoon. On the road from Philadelphia to New York we came through several handsome little towns and crossed several navigable rivers.

The country here is generally well cleared & makes a very pleasant appearance especially in the province of Pensilvania.

On our arrival at New York we were conducted to one Mr. Winter's house for lodging, by Mr. Robert Hyslap, one of our fellow passengers, who had been eight years in this place before.

Wednesday, June 2d, we were directed to Mr. Mason by the same person, where we had the pleasure to meet with Mr. Marshal from Philadelphia, and having delivered our letters of recommendation to them, they promised to do everything in their power to serve us, being exceedingly well pleased with our plan, and went immediately along with us to several gentlemen in this city who they knew had lands to dispose of and desired them to make out their proposals to us as soon as possible, on account that we wanted soon to leave the town.

We stayed here eight days, which time we employed in informing ourselves where lands was to be got from surveyors and others that was acquaint in the country, and several gentlemen in this place have given us letters to their correspondents in the country to show us their lands.

Saturday, the 5th, the Matty arrived here from Philadelphia, & on the 8th we wrote home.

Wednesday, the 9th, having got our business over in this place, we set off in a sloop for Albany, commanded by one Captain Cuyler, and on Thursday, the 10th, about 4 o'clock in the morning, the wind being contrary, we came to an anchor at a place called the butterhill about 66 miles above New York, and on Friday night we came to Pokeepsie wharf, which is 33 miles from York from whence we loosed on Saturday morning, and at night we arrived at

Albany, and was conducted to the house of Mr. Cartwright for lodging by our Captain.

The banks of Hudsons River from a little above New York to within twelve miles of Albany appears to be very barren, being mostly rocky on both sides, and in some places exceeding high and all covered with small wood.

Albany is much about the size of Port Gascon, the houses built of brick and wood, and the streets very broad, and pretty regular, and the country on the river side is very pleasant.

On Monday, the 14th, we delivered the letters we had from our friends in N. York to several men in this place, especially one to Mr. Campbell, who informed us that he knew a good many lands in several parts of the Province, but the best he knew of was on the Mohawk river belonging to Sir William Johnston Bart. and was so good as to give us a letter of recommendation to him.

On Tuesday, the 15th, we set out for Johnstown, and arrived there on Wednesday, the 16th, about 5 o'clock afternoon, and lodged with one Mr. Tice. From Albany to Scenectady, which is 16 miles, the country is barren sand covered with pine. Scenectady is a handsome little town, and stands on the south bank of the Mohawk river, at which place we ferried over the river. The flats upon this river from this to Johnstown are all very fine land, but as you ascend the country it is very stoney, tho the soil is good and covered with oak, beech, walnut, and hickory and divers other kinds of wood. About an hour after we came to Johnstown we met with Sir William Johnston at our lodging, who told us that he had plenty of lands either to

set or sell, and appointed to-morrow at 9 o'clock to meet with him at his house which appointment we kept, but he being taken ill of a cholic we could have no access to him till Friday afternoon, at which time he ordered a surveyor to go along with us to show us the lands of which Mr. Campbell spoke, which is one of the places which he had a mind to sell.

On Saturday morning we set off along with the surveyor to view the above mentioned lands, and having passed over a large patent of very fine land, which he only leases on the following terms, viz.: The first five years free, and ever after at six pounds the hundred acres, York currency, reserving to himself all coals or other minerals which may be found in the ground. We next came upon the lands he proposed selling to us, which also is tolerable good land tho not so good as the last mentioned tract. The situation seemed to us not very agreeable, being about 12 or 14 miles from the Mohawk river and over a high hill, and some large swamps, also the price we thought high, being a dollar an acre. While we stayed here we bought two horses, viz.: one from Dr. Adams at eight pounds, and the other from Billy Luckey at nine York currency.

On Monday, the 21st, we set off from Johnstown by the same road we went up, till we came to Scenectady from whence we went along the south bank of the Mohawk river through an old Dutch settlement of excellent low land abounding with wheat and all other kinds of grain, and at night lodged at Loudons ferry.

(Two things very remarkable happened since we left York, viz.: on the 12th of June the frost was so strong that

the ice in many places was as thick as a dollar and did a deal of harm to Indian Corn, potatoes and other tender plants, and on the 17th Colonel Johnston's house was burnt by lightning, both things are very uncommon in this place).

On the 22nd we set out from Loudons ferry, and after crossing the Mohawk river we came through a large tract of barren land, after which we came into a fine, large, well inhabited flat of good land on the banks of Hudsons river, and going up the river we went through Stillwater and Saratoga, a little above which we crossed the Hudsons river, and went along through a large flat covered with pines for three or four miles, then crossed battenkill, which is a pretty large river and good land in many places on its banks, and at night we came to the house of Mr. Reid at Whitecreek, where John White stays, where we lodged till the 23d, on which we set out for Dr. Clark's where we were kindly entertained, and he gave us many friendly advices how to behave concerning our affairs, and several letters of recommendation to his acquaintances in several parts of America, and he told us he had some good lots of land to dispose of but not so much as to serve our purpose.

On the 24th we set out from Dr. Clarks and came along the banks of Battenkill a great way, which is all high ground, and the settlers here apply themselves mostly to raising stock. By night we got as far as Manchester, where we lodged with one Mr. Allan.

The 25th in the morning we set out from Mr. Allans and for ten miles we had no road but only the trees marked and some places it was almost impossible to go through by

reason of rocks, boggs, high mountains and other difficultys. We saw no house till twelve o'clock when we came to one Mr. Uttlies where we dined, then set out again on a road which was cut but as there was little repair on it, it was all choaked up in many places by old trees falling across it which made it little better than the former. Here we traviled 16 miles without seeing any house (except two or three which were forsaken by their inhabitants on account of some dispute which has subsided for some years between the Governments of New York and New Hampshire concerning their boundary line, so that the people which settled under one Government were so harrassed by the other that they have left their plantations and got new ones in places where there is no dispute). At night we lodged at Chesters and on the 26th we crossed Connecticut river and came to Charlestown in New Hampshire, where Mr. Church lives who is partner with Dr. Wither- spoon in Rygate, and Munday, the 28th, we set out along with him to view it and arrived at it on Wednesday, the 30th in the morning, when we set out from the house of Mr. Hosmar, who lives on the town about a mile from the south-east corner. On our first outset we went along the River side through barren, hilly land, the wood mostly hemlock, and we crossed two pretty large brooks, both fit for mills, after which we went westward over a tract of pretty good land, the wood, beech, mapple and some Hemlock and birch, till we came to the place pitched on by John Hyndman, then continuing west we went over a small piece of rocky land, then over a large tract of good land, the wood mostly beech and maple, with some ash and birch, and well watered

with plenty of small brooks, then over about four chains of a rocky hill, then good land as before for a considerable way, then we came to a large pond, the banks of which are steep, barren land and mostly covered with hemlock and pine. We continued westward along the side of a large hill, in many places pretty steep and stoney, tho good ground and may be excellent pasture, the wood, beech, mapple, basswood and some ash, after which we traveled southward over a very large tract of exceeding good land, all lying towards the south and pretty level and may be very easy cleared, as the trees are at a distance from one another, and scarce any undergrowth, the wood, beech, maple and basswood, after which we went east ward over an excellent meadow, then over a small piece of barren, sandy ground covered with pines, then over good land till we came near the river side which is barren as before, and so ended our course.

On Friday, July 2nd, we returned and arrived at Charlestown on Saturday night. All this way which is about 72 miles is filled with new settlers, and the country in many places good land, but the most inconveniency is its distance from navigation. Ryegate lies more than 200 miles above Hartford, which is the farrest that sloops come up Connecticut river, above which it is only navigable for canoes, and there are four falls which makes about ten miles of land carriage, the nearest seaport to Ryegate is Portsmouth, which is about 100 miles and the road not good, however, they can sell the produce of their farms pretty high in the meantime to new settlers, they sell wheat commonly about four shell: ster. a bushel, Rye about the same, and Indian corn about three shillings. Beef about

two pence and mutton the same, and pork about five pence, butter about 6 pence and Cheese about four pence half penny per pound, all ster :

On our way to Ryegate we lodged at hanover, where Mr. Wheelock has his Indian Academy or College. When we went and called for him and told him what we had heard concerning his land before we left Scotland and he said he had about as much land now as would serve about 30 families, which he would give to settlers if they would but come and live upon it, and he said he would prefer Scotch people before any other, as he thought much of their religion and manner of Church government, but as the country settles so fast he expects it will all be settled in a short time, he told us he had at his College about 80 Students, above 30 of which were upon Charity and 17 of them Indians.

On Munday, the 5, we left Charlestown and got on our way to York, and as the nearest and best road is down the east side of Connecticut River, we came through three of the New England Governments, viz.: Newhampshire, Massachusets Bay and Connecticut, we had the river always in our view, every now and then till we came to Hartford, in the Massachusets Bay Government, and it has many shallows and rifts in it all that way, but is so deep below that, that small sloops come that length, we saw nothing remarkable all this way, the part of Newhamshire government which we came through for many miles below Charlestown is poor, barren ground, but toward the lower end of it the ground is good and all well settled and has several pretty large towns, of which the most remarkable are Northfield, Sunderland, old Hadly and South Had-



ly, then we came into the Massachusetts Bay government, which has been all settled for a long time, and is a well inhabited and pleasant Country, abounding in all kinds of grain and has abundance of large orchards, and has many towns of Considerable bigness, such as Springfield, Suffield, Windsor, Hartford, Weathersfield, &c., next we came through Connecticut government, which is likewise an old, settled place, and pretty good land in many places, tho in most places very stoney, but the whole road is almost shaded with fruit trees, so that you may pull as many cherries and apples in their season as you please without going out of your road, and it is not uncommon for one farmer to make one hundred Barrels of Cyder in one year, each barrel containing eight Scotch Gallons. There are many large towns likewise in this government, such as New Haven, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, Norwalk, Stamford and Horseneck. These are all along the Sea Coast. Next we came again into York Government, which in this place is exceeding stoney, though the soil is in many places pretty good, and they have likewise abundance of large orchards. And after coming through several small towns on the coast, such as Rye, New Rochel, East Chester, and Kingsbridge, we arrived again at New York on Munday the 12 of July, after a seven days' ride from Charlestown.

The people here are affable and discreet and of a fair Complexion. The women in particular are very handsom and beautiful. The Indians, of which we saw plenty at Johnston, are of a tawny Complexion, and of an ordinary size, and goes almost naked excepting a kind of blanket which they wrap about their shoulders, and two pieces of skin, one

of which hangs down before and another behind to cover their nakedness. They seem to be very fond of jewels, a great many of them wearing ear rings, bracelets and nose jewels, which is an ear ring which they hang between their mouth and nose, the gristle of their nose being pierced for that use. They have their faces for the most part painted with red and black Strokes. They have straight black hair, which their squas or women always wear long. We seed one man of them in particular, which besides all the fore-mentioned jewels, had a round piece of leather hung before his breast, which was all drove full of white headed nails, and had a great number of buttons and other trinkets hung round it. He had a cap made of some beasts skin, with the hair on it, and a long tail hanging down to the small of his back and about 20 or 30 womens Thimbles hung to the end of it, and as he went along made a mighty noise by the tinkling of his Thimbles, buttons and other jewels.

They have here an excellent breed of horses, black cattle, sheep, and vast numbers of hoggs, and their land produces Indian Corn, Rye, Wheat, peas, barley, oats and flax. Their Indian Corn will produce 50 bushels per acre, Rye and wheat from 20 to 30 bushels per acre, barley, peas and oats about the same quantity, the common prices through this province are much the same as those which you find before in the description of Ryegate. They sow their flax very thin, as their only intention is to raise seed and they do not pull it till it be quite ripe.

The weather since we came to this country has been mostly dry and for the most part clear. The heat tho they tell us, has been for some weeks rather more than

common is noways intolerable, tho a good deal warmer than at home. We stayed at New York three days, which time we spent informing ourselves about the Southern Provinces, and also to refresh our horses, which were very much fatigued.

On the 15th, at noon, we set off for Philadelphia and come to Princetown on the 16th at night, here we staid till the 19th. Dr. Witherspoon being so good as to find us pasture for our horses, which was very rare to be got on account of the great drought, the like of which has not been known these many years.

Doctor Witherspoon has now made us his proposals concerning Rygate, and his terms are these, if we take the whole, reserving to them 2000 acres, two shillings ster: P acre, if three-fourths reserving them 1500 acres, 3-3 York Currency, and if we take only one half, three shillings York money. But he advised us to be at all due pains, and if we should find a better place for our purpose, to take it, as he is very fond that our scheme should succeed.

Princetown is a handsom little town and stands on a pleasant situation, and the College is said to be the best and the largest building in America, and at present contains upwards of 100 students, besides about 80 Latin scholars.

On the 19th, after dining with the President, we left this place and arrived at Philadelphia on the 20th, in the afternoon. Here we stayed till the 26th, which time we spent informing ourselves about this and the Southern Provinces, in which we was much assisted by Mssrs. Semple, Sproat, Milliken, Stewart and Marshal, who gave us letters themselves, and also caused others of their ac-

quaintances to give us letters to their several correspondents, to give us any assistance or advice that they could.

On the 26th in the afternoon we left this place and proceeded on our way to Shamokin or Fort Augusta, and arrived there on the 30th. The lands on this road are pretty flat and also good for the most part for about 50 miles from Philadelphia, and the houses mostly built of stone and mostly possessed by Dutch and Germans, but as you advance the country it is mountainous and exceeding rocky so that it is scarce fit for settling, tho the lands are all taken up and surveyed till you come within 8 miles of the fort, where the land becomes more flat and very good. We had a good deal of difficulty to find provisions on this road, as at one place we had 17 miles without a house and the next stage we had 23 miles, and little to be got when we came to these houses at fort Augusta. We lodged with one Mr. Hunter till the 2d of August, which time we employed in informing ourselves about the lands here and on the other parts of the Susquhanna, which had been much recommended to us by some people in Philadelphia but we found that there was no one place large enough for our purpose but plenty too large for our money, as wood lands sells here from 20 to 50 shillings pr. acre. Here they have laid out a new town much after the plan of Philadelphia which is building very fast. Here we met with some more of our old friends, the Indians, who spoke English very well, and were likewise very courteous, particularly one John Hendrick, son to King Hendrick, one of the Mohawk Sachems, who was much renowned for a great warrior.

On the 2d of August we left this place and set out for Carlile. We rode the Susquehanna a little below the new town (which is called Sanbury) where it was upwards of half a mile broad, as it took us 22 minutes to cross it, and it is about 2 feet deep upon an average from side to side, and the stream pretty rapid, and at this time it is at its lowest pitch.

The ground along the banks of this river is very flat and good for about 8 miles, and watered by two small rivers, called Penns Creek and Middle Creek, then it is rocky for several miles, then tolerable flat and good till you come to the Blue Mountain, and well watered by Juniatta river, after Crossing the blue Mountain we came into the County of Carlile, which is pretty level and good land about the town and all well settled. This, like all other American towns, is laid out in squares, with straight streets, and contains a good deal of inhabitants.

On Thursday, the 5th, we set out on our way to Alexander Thomson's, and on our way lodged with Allan Scrogg, a farmer from Scotland, to whom we had been recommended. Here we met with an uncommon large spring, which in the dryest season of the year affords sufficient water for two breast milns. From this we went to Alexn. Scrogg's, who is brother to the former, they have both got large plantations, and Alexander in particular told us that about 36 years ago they came over young men and he had only twenty pounds of stock and went along viewing the country till he spent a great part of it, then went to labour for some time after, after which he bought a large plantation, and when his old son married, he gave him one half

of it, and bought another to his second son for 700 pounds, and what he has yet in his own hand free of debt he says he will not part with for a thousand pounds.

From this we came to Shippensburgh which is a small town containing 50 or 60 houses,—here we got directions for finding Alexander Thomson's which is about seven miles from this place, and we arrived at his house in the afternoon, where we was kindly entertained, as he had been looking for us a long time. Here we stayed ten days to refresh our horses, which was in very much need of it by this time. He has got an excellent plantation of 400 acres of land for which he paid 500£ currency, which is nigh 300£ ster: It lies about 150 miles from Philadelphia, but their nighest landing is Baltimore in Maryland, which is only 90 miles from him, though they have to cross the blue ridge in going to it. This is a fertile soil and all lying upon limestone and this valley continues through all the Provinces of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia, and lies between the Blue ridge and North Mountain, and as it goes southward grows wider till it is so broad that one can scarce see over it. The south side of it is all limestone and exceeding good land, and the north part of it is what they call slate land and is not very good.

Alexander Thomson had 50 acres Clear when he bought his plantation, and has cleared other 50 himself, he has plenty of all kinds of grain, and he seems to be exceedingly well pleased with his situation, and they have never one of his family been sick since he came to this place, and he says he thinks people are in general more healthy there than in

Scotland. He told us that all the lands in or nigh that place was taken up but he could buy plenty of single plantations with improvements on them for about three pounds sterling an acre, as He told us that many people in that neighborhood was selling their plantations and going back to the Ohio, and he thought that would be the best place for us. But after we made all the enquirey about it that we could, we did not think it a fit place for us. For though it is allowed by all to be the best land in America, yet it lies entirely out of the way of all trade, being 300 miles of land carriage from the nearest navigation, and the river itself is fit for no other vessels but canoes or battoes of two or three tons burden, and the lowest settlements on the Ohio are above 2000 miles from the mouth of the Mississippi, and tho two men can go down with one of those battoes in twenty days, yet twelve men will have much adoe to bring it up again in five months, so that there is little probability of ever having much trade there, and though the people can have some sale for their produce in the meantime to new settlers, yet in a few years that market will naturally cease, and though they can raise all the necesarys of life, they can never have any money for their grain, as the price of two bushels will have adoe to bring one to market, and salt sells there just now at 20 shillings a bushel. Rum, and all other things which are brought from the sea coast sells at the like extravagant price.

The province of Pennsylvania seems the most desirable to live in of any place we have yet seen, but it is mostly settled where it is good, and what is to settle is very dear as

you cannot have an acre of good land within 150 miles of any landing for less than twenty or thirty shill.

Here the people are kind and discreet, except the Dutch or Germans who inhabit the best lands in this province, who are a set of people that mind nothing of gayety, but live niggardly and gather together money as fast as they can without having any intercourse with anybody but among themselves. Most of the people in this Province look fresh and healthy, except the women who have for the most part lost their teeth, with eating too many fruits which they have here in great plenty.

Here they have plenty of good horses and all other kinds of cattle, and the ground produces wheat, barley, Rye, Indian Corn, oats, buckwheat, flax, peas and beans of various kinds. They have likewise Melons, Cucumbers, squashes, gourds and pumpkins growing in the open fields, and their gardens are well supplied with all kinds of roots and other garden stuffs that are to be found in Europe.

The air is commonly clear, and the country is as healthy as any place in Europe, excepting only where there are large Marshes or ponds of stagnated water, which is dangerous for agues but we have not yet seen one have the ague since we came to the Country. The summer is pretty hot, but not to such a degree as people at home are taught to believe. They tell us the winters are mostly frosty, but clear, sun shine weather, which prevents it from being so cold as it would otherways be.

On Tuesday, August 17, we left Alexander Thomsons and set out towards the south, and after passing a very small town called Chamberstown, we came into the Province



of Maryland, and lodged at night in a handsom little town of about 150 houses, called Heagerstown. We left this in the morning, and came next to Sharpsburg, which is about the same bigness, and about mid-day came to Potomack river, and crossed over to Shepherdstown in Virginia.

This small part of Maryland which we came through is part of the forementioned valley and is very good land and all settled.

Shepherdstown is upon the banks of the Potomack (but about 70 miles above the falls) and contains about 70 or 80 houses. Here we met with Thomas White, and he and us spent the evening in viewing the town and the country about it, and in the morning went along with us to his acquaintances through the country to make what inquiry we could about lands, but could hear of none in this government without going 2 or 300 miles from navigation. The country here is very good and the people healthy.

We next set out for Carolina and after Crossing Shanadore river we came over the blue ridge and down to the heart of virginia, and we went down the south side of Potomack river and came through several towns such as Alexandria, Colchester, Dumfrie and Aquaia, and then across the Country and crossed Rappahanock River between falmouth and fredericksburgh and next we crossed the head of York River at Herra bridge, then over James river and so through the country and over Roanoak at Taylor's Ferry, after which we came into North Carolina.

The people in the lower parts of Virginia complain much of sickness at this season of the year, but higher up they are pretty healthy. Here they have excellent Indian Corn

in some places, but the ground is mostly sandy and poor, and the places that are good are all planted with Tobacco, and here is but little wheat or other grain. The planters here live well and are all quite idle, as none but negroes work here, of which some planters will have several hundreds, which at an average are worth 60 or 70 pounds ster: apiece, and in these all their riches consists, for there are few of them but are in debt to the storekeepers, and it commonly takes all their Crops to Cloath themselves and their negroes. But those that are industrious and labour themselves, and particularly they who make grain, can make a good deal of money, as the grain sells pretty well and does not require one half of the labour that tobacco does.

About four miles from Roanoak we came into North Carolina, and went right to Mr. Allason's house. The land from the line of the province to this place is for the greatest part very sandy and much of it covered with pines, and in some places a kind of red clay mixed with sand, and the wood mostly oak here. Mr. Allason has got a good plantation lying along the side of a creek, and he tells us he has bought two other good plantations, and could buy plenty more very reasonably, but he does not think that our scheme will suit this place well, as there are no tracts of good land to be had in one place, as the good lands lie mostly in narrow strips along the water sides, and the people settle on these places and keep the high grounds for range to their Cattle, for which they are excellent, as these pine grounds are all covered with excellent grass. (We arrived here on Tuesday, August the 31 in the afternoon). The lands here sells from ten to twenty shillings P. acre, and we can hear

of no person that has any large tract in one place to dispose of.

On Wednesday, the 8th of September, we left Mr. Al-  
lasons and at night arrived at Bute, where we were kindly  
entertained by Mr. William Park, from Renfrew and after  
telling him our plan, he advised us to Call upon one Mr.  
Montfort, in Halifax, who he told us had the best tract of  
land to dispose of that he knew of in that country. Mr.  
Park was so kind as to give us a letter of recommendation  
to him, we had likewise a letter of recommendation  
to him from Mr. David Sproat in Philadelphia.

On Thursday, the 9th, we left Bute and arrived at Halli-  
fax on Friday forenoon when we went and Called for the  
above mentioned Mr. Montfort who used us very civilly and  
told us of several tracts of land that he had to dispose of,  
one of which lay in Bute County and was the one rec-  
ommended to us by Mr. Park. He told us that it contained  
nearly 6000 acres, the whole as well watered as any tract  
of the same quantity in America, having many very constant  
and fresh running streams through it. There is not 200  
acres in the whole but what he told us is fit for tillage and  
much of it excellent for wheat and tobacco. He told us  
there were 4 plantations Cleared and tended thereon, per-  
haps the 4 Containing in all about 400 acres of cleared  
land, all the rest wood land. He told us likewise that there  
was a good grist miln on a fine constant stream, which has  
never too much nor too little water, and that there are sev-  
eral barns & small houses on the different plantations and  
his price is 9000£ Virginia Currency or 7000£ sterling. He  
likewise told us that he had a tract of land in Halifax County

of about 2400 acres, one part of which is within 4 miles of Halifax town, and the farthest part of it is about 7 or 8 miles from said town. There is in this tract a great variety of kinds of soil, it is all level and pretty well watered, is mostly wood land, some a light sandy soil, some a very strong Marley soil, and very stiff, other parts a mixture between the two, finely timbered with Pine, oak and Hickory, a great deal of it proper for making the finest meadows. This land he will sell for 1000 pounds ster. if taken soon, and he says is worth a great deal more.

He told us also of another tract of land that he had on the head of Broad River, in Tryon County, Containing nearly 7000 acres, and all of it as rich, fine land as any yet discovered in America, being all of it Cane land or high low grounds, which never overflows and grows full of Cane reeds, well timbered and watered and most excellent for raising cattle and Horses. It is all naturally enclosed by the steep, high mountains from the west side round by the north by the east, and is only open to the southeast where a waggon road may go easy and level along the river side into the land. This place was formerly known by the name of the great cove and is of late years known by the name of Montfort's Cove. This land pays to the Crown four shillings Proclamation money of North Carolina P. hundred quit rent P. annum.

He will take one thousand five hundred pounds ster. for this tract of land if a purchaser offers soon and pays down at the time of agreement and receiving title, but unless that happens within six or seven months of this time, he says he will not take under two thousand that money. He

says if the whole is not as good land as to be found in the upper, he will not desire any person to be bound by the bargain they make for it.

About 80 miles from this land there are one or two places of trade on rivers Navigable for large Boats—it lies 200 miles to Charlestown on a fine waggon road.

After having dined with Mr. Montfort we set out on our way for Edinton, where we arrived on Monday, the 13th. The country a good way down from Halifax is nothing but barren sand, and when you go lower down the ground is low, flat and marshy and along the banks of the Roanoak the lands are very rich, but so low and flate that in great freshets the river overflows it for several miles and sweeps all before it. The land about Edinton is all either barren sand or watery swamps. When we came to Edinton we called for Mr. Smith, to whom we had been recommended by Mr. Sproat in Philadelphia. He told us of large tracts of good land upon pretty good navigation, but the price high and the Climate sickly. As to the soil of Carolina we have told in the beginning of our description of it that there are strips of good ground along the sides of rivers and creeks, and the rest sandy and mostly Covered with pines and fit for nothing but raising of cattle which is the only thing the people in this country depend upon. The grass in the woods is rank and good, and the winter being short they can rear cattle without much cost or care. The soil will produce Indian Corn pretty well, which is the only grain the people live upon. Some of their ground will produce wheat, but in small quantities and it must be thrashed out immediately when cut, or else they lose it by being eat by a

small insect called a wevle. They have cotton, tobacco and some small quantities of indigo and rice in some places, but the Culture of indigo is so unhealthy that they reason if a negro lives ten years and works among it they have a good bargain of him.

As to the climate, it is exceedingly hot in June, July and August, and very Cold in January and february, and the rest of the year temperate, and in the back parts the people are healthy, but after we came below Hallifax we did not enter one single house but we found sick persons, and in some we could not find one whole person to feed our horses. As to religion, we scare saw any appearance of it in this Country, but the establishment is Episcopal.

Finding that we could do nothing there, we left Edinton on Monday afternoon, and returned on our way to the North Country again, and in our way passed through Suffolk, which is a handsom little town in the lower parts of Virginia, and on Wednesday, the 15th, we got to Norfolk, which is the largest town in Virginia, and stands on a river deep enough to bring large ships up to the town. This town seems to be about the bigness of Greenock, and seems to have a good deal of trade. Here we was obliged to stay till Saturday before we could get a fair wind to Carry us over the Bay. This passage is about 60 miles, viz.: from Norfolk down to the Bay 25 miles across the bay to the eastern shore 35 miles. We crossed this bay (viz. Cheesapeak) within sight of the Capes of Virginia, and by going this road we brought 14 ferrys all into one which we would have had to cross if we had gone by the post road, and we likewise shortened our road above 20 miles.

After crossing at this place we went through several handsome little towns, such as Snowhill, Crossroads, Dover, Wilmington, Chester and Derby, and arrived at Philadelphia on the 26th of September, all the way from Edinton till you come within about 60 miles of Philadelphia the ground is light and sandy and for the most part does not produce above 10 or 12 bushels of wheat P. acre, but when you come within 60 miles of Philadelphia, the ground Changes from sand to good brown earth and will produce large crops of wheat or any other grain, here it is exceeding pleasant traveling at this season of the year, as the fields are all quite green with young wheat which makes a much better appearance than it does in Scotland at this time of the year.

We traveled about 500 miles (viz. from Hallifax in Carolina to Dover which is within 80 miles of Philadelphia) without seeing a stone of any kind, or any sort of eminence, the ground being for the most part sandy and perfectly level, and in all that 500 miles we was not in five houses but some of the people was sick of the fever and ague or somes other desease, but we have reason to bless God that though we have traveled through such a sickly country, we are now arrived in perfect health at a place where such sicknesses seldom or never appear.

After having refreshed ourselves and horses and discussed what business we had to do, we left Philadelphia on the first of October and came to Princetown that night, and next day we bargained with Dr. Witherspoon for one-half of the township of Ryegate.

We left Princetown on the 5th and arrived at New York on the 6th, and James Henderson arrived here from Philadelphia, with his chest and tools on the 9th and having found a sloop to carry James Henderson with his and our Chests and what Tools and other utensils we had purchased, to Hartford, on the Connecticut river, and having discussed what other business we had to do, we left New York on 19th of Oct., and arrived at Newbury or Kohass on the 1st day of November, and put up with Jacob Bayly, Esq., to whom we was recommended by John Church, Esq., one of the proprietors of Ryegate, and James Henderson arrived about a week after us in a canoe with our chests and tools and some provisions we had bought down the Country, such as Rum, Salt, Molasses, etc. On the 30th of the month Mr. Church came up and we divided the town, the south part whereof has faln to us, which in our opinion, and in the opinion of all that knows it, has the advantage of the north in many respects. 1st, it is the best land in general. 2d, nearest to provisions which we have in plenty within 3 or 4 miles and likewise within 6 of a grist and two miles of a saw miln, all which are great advantages to a new settlement. 3d, we have several brooks with good seats for milns, and likewise Welds River runs through part of our purchase and has water enough for 2 breast milns at the driest season of the year, of which the north part is almost entirely destitute. 4th, there is a fall in Connecticut river just below our uppermost line which causeth a carrying place for goods going up or down the river. 5th, we are within six miles of a good Presbyterian meeting and there is no other minister above that place.



When we came here John Hyndman was building his house, so we helped him up with it both for the conveniency of lodging with him till we built one of our own, and also that he might assist us in building ours. Having finished his house, we began to build our own, and had it finished about the beginning of January, 1774. Nothing worth noticing happened till the spring, only we cut down as much wood as we could and James Henderson made what wooden utensils we had occasion for, and James Whitelaw went down to Portsmouth and Newburyport and brought a slea load of such necessarys as we wanted. In the month of April we made about 60 lbs. of sugar, after which we began the surveying of the town, and first ran lines from north to south (& vice versa) at every forty rods distance, which lines are above three miles long and upwards of 40 in number, one half of which we marked for the ends of the lots and the other half we did not mark, but only run them to know the quality of the ground.

On Monday, the 23rd of May, arrived here from Scotland David Ferry, Alexander Sim and family, Andrew and Robert Brocks, John and Robert Orrs, John Wilson, John Gray, John Shaw and Hugh Semple, and as we had not finished the surveying, Alexander Sim went to work with Colonel Bayley and all the rest with the managers for the company where they continued till the first of July, when we got their lots laid off for them, and David Ferry took possession of No. 1st, Hugh Semple of No. 2nd, 3rd, 4th & 5th, John Orr and his brother of No. 6th & 7th for themselves, & No. 8th and 9th for William Blackwood, John

Gray of No. 10th for himself and No. 11th for John Barr, John Wilson of No. 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th & 17th, Andrew and Robert Brocks of Nos. 21st, 22nd, 23d, 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th, & 28th, Alexander Sim of Nos. 29th & 30th, and John Shaw of Nos. 31st and 32nd for himself, and of 33d, 34th, 35th & 36th for William Warden, and of No. 37th, 38th, 39th & 40th for James Laird.

July the 5th we agreed with Archibald Harvie and Robert Orr for one year's work for the company and on the 11th we agreed with John Shaw and on July 30 with David Ferry, all for one years work.

On Monday, the 1st of August, after having determined the quantitys of the several lotts and drawn a plan of them, and likewise a plan of the town spot, David Allen set out from this place on his way home to Scotland, when the whole of the Ryegate Colonists attended him to Colonel Bayley's and James Henderson went along with him to Newburyport where he took his leave of him.

After finishing the plan of our half of Ryegate we found the Contents to be as follows:

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Here are inserted the tables covering pages 51 to 57 inclusive of the original manuscript.

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On the first of October John Waddels, James Neilson and Thomas McKeach arrived here, and Patrick Long and family, William Neilson and family and David Reid and his wife arrived the 7th. They were all hearty and had a good passage and good usage from their captain.

James Neilson took possession of lots 41 & 42, and William Neilson of Nos. 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49 & 50, and Patrick Long of Nos. 51, 52, 53, and 54 for himself, and of Nos. 55, 56, 57 & 58 for his brother-in-law, and David Reid took possession of Nos. 59 & 60.

On the 8th of Oct. arrived here Robert Gemmil and his son, Robert Tweedale and his wife and Andrew and James Smiths. About this time we began to build a frame house of 17 feet wide and 38 long, which will accommodate 4 familys on occasion. On the 13th we built a small logg house, as these we formerly built could not contain all the people that arrived at that time.

On the 22nd of Oct. Andrew Smith departed this life. He was the first Scotsman that died in this place. He was in good health on the morning of the 21st, but about 11 o'clock forenoon he was seized with a cholic (to which he had formerly been subject) of which he died at 3 o'clock next morning. James Whitelaw with the rest of the new Colonists made choice of a spot near the east side of the common for a burying place where he was decently interred same evening.

James Smith took possession of lots No. 61, 62 & 63 for himself, and of No. 64 for John Gray; Robert Tweedale of No. 65, 66, 67 & 68 and Robert Gemmil of Nos. 69 & 70. Before the beginning of December all the people had houses built on their lots, and they were generally well pleased with their situations.

About the 8th of December James Whitelaw received a letter from Archibald Taylor who was at Salem waiting for an opportunity to come up.

About the beginning of January, 1775, James Whitelaw purchased the part of lot No. 120 of Newbury that lies on the North side of Wells River (which contains the great falls) with one-half the privilege of the river for the purpose of building milns for the company. About which time James Henderson begun to block out wood for building them.

On the first of February, Archibald Taylor and his family arrived here and took possession of Lot No. 113.

About the 16th of April John Scot came here and took possession of Lots No. 18, 19 & 20.

About the middle of August we raised the frames of the grist miln and first frame house in the town, and about the beginning of October we raised the saw miln, and on the 28th of Oct. we set the grist miln agoing.

On the 14th of May, 1776, we met in order to choose military officers for the town, when we chose James Henderson Capt. Robert Brock, Lt. Capt., and Bartholomew Summers, Ensign.

The third Tuesday of May being appointed for the yearly town meeting for choosing the necessary officers for the town, John Gray and James Whitelaw were chosen for assessors; Andrew Brock treasurer; Robert Tweedale and John Orr overseers of the highway; Patrick Long and John Shaw overseers of the poor; John Scot, Collector, and Archibald Taylor, James Smith, William Neilson and David Reid, constables.

About this time James Whitelaw took possession of lots No. 114th, 115, 116 and 117, and James Henderson

of Lots No. 118, 119, 120, and John Waddle of lot 121, and Thomas McKeach of lot 122.

On the first of July upon the alarm coming of St. Johns being retaken by the Regulars, and that Indians would be sent through to lay waste the Country, all the people of Ryegate moved down to Newbury, where they had more company and foolishly thought there was less danger, but after staying there about ten days, and seeing no appearance of danger, they all returned to their respective houses.

A few days after this we set the saw miln agoing, which answers her end very well.

Nothing more happened worthy of notice till the 9th of Jan., 1777, when James Henderson was married to Agnes Sym and on the 17th of the same month Robert Brock was also married to Elizabeth Stewart, which were the two first marriages which ever was in Ryegate.

Tuesday, May the 20th, being the day appointed for the annual town meeting for choosing officers, &c., the same persons who were chosen last year, both for civil and military officers were all unanimously rechosen for another year.

Thursday, June 12th, the inhabitants all met in order to choose their house lots in the town spot when Walter Brock made choice of lot No. 357, John Orr of No. 356, Robert Orr of No. 355 for himself, and Nos. 353 and 354 for William Blackwood, John Gray of 319 for himself, and No. 320 for John Barr, John Wilson of Nos. 2, 3, 4, 321, 322, 323, John Scott of Nos. 276, 277, 278, Andrew Brock of Nos. 349, 350, 351, 352, Robert Brock of Nos. 75, 76, 77,

78, Alexander Sym of Nos. 347, 348, John Shaw of Nos. 196, 197 for himself, and Nos. 198, 199, 200, 201 for William Warden, and Nos. 202, 203, 204, 205 for James Laird, James Neilson of Nos. 273 and 274, William Neilson of Nos. 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, Patrick Lang of Nos. 260, 261, 262, 263, and for Wm. Craig 264, 291, 292, 293, David Reid of Nos. 289, 290, James Smith of Nos. 286, 287, 288, for himself, and No. 285 for John Gray, Robert Tweedale of Nos. 281, 282, 283 & 284, Hugh Gemmil of Nos. 279 and 280, for his father, Archibald Taylor, of No. 206, James Whitelaw of Nos. 207, 208, 209, 210, James Henderson of Nos. 211, 212, 213, and John Waddle of No. 214.

Friday, the 13th of June, this day John Gray is to be married to Jean McFarlan.

On Thursday, the 2nd of Aprile, 1778, the inhabitants met in order to choose selectmen, and other officers, when James Whitelaw was chosen town clerk, John Shaw, Patrick Lang and Alex. Sym, Selectmen, John Wilson and Robert Orr, Constables, John Gray and James Henderson, assessors, Walter Brock and John Hyndman, surveyors of highways, William Neilson and Robert Summers, fence viewers, and Bartholomew Summers, Lieutenant.

On Tuesday, May 18th, 1779, the inhabitants met and chose James Whitelaw, town clerk, James Henderson, Robert Brock and William Neilson, Selectmen, John Hyndman and John Gray, surveyors of highways, Bartholomew Summers and John Orr, constables.

On the 17th of May the inhabitants of Ryegate met in order to Choose their Town officers, when they appointed

Robert Brock Town Cleark, John Gray, John Scot and John Hyndman selectmen, James Henderson and Andrew Brock, surveyors of highways.

The inhabitants of Ryegate having met in order to consult of some method of finishing the house and barn, and for Clearing up what is cut down, and not finished in the Common, and putting the same under improvement, and having Considered of the same, Concluded that the best way was to let some person finish the same and have the use of the whole Common for such a number of years as he and they could agree upon for his pay, when John Scot offered to finish the clearing of what was cut down and put the same under improvement, and likewise to board the sides and cover the roof of the barn and lay a good floor in it and also to finish the house in a good and sufficient manner and make a Cellar under the whole of it, and to keep the fences in repair at his own cost for ten years' use of the Common, viz.: from the first of May, 1780 to the first of May, 1790, and in Case the Company in Scotland wanted the use of it sooner, they were to have it on paying him what cost he had been at, and if any of the Company here that had their house lots in the Clear land, wanted to take them up before the expiration of the foresaid ten years, they are to Clear as much land in any other place of the Common where the said John Scot shall choose or satisfy him any other way that they can agree.

June 1783, Thomas Clark took possession of lots No. 81, 82, 83 and 84, and John Young of No. 85.

Ryegate, March 26, 1793.

The members of the Scotch American Company residing in this town, being legally warned, met and made choice of William Neilson, James Henderson and Hugh Gardner for managers, then Voted that James Whitelaw, who now holds the Deeds of the Company's land shall deed it to the managers and their successors in office.

(Here follows, on pages 68 to 72 of the original manuscript the "Rate Bill for the halfpenny tax for the Township of Ryegate to be paid into the State treasury by the first of April, 1794," and it has been thought best to print only the names of the land-owners and to omit the numbers of their lots, the acres and the amount of the tax. The names of the land-owners are as follows) :

SOUTH DIVISION.

|                    |                      |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| David Reid.        | Josiah Page.         |
| Joshua Hunt.       | John Goodwin.        |
| Hugh Gemmil.       | Campbell Sym.        |
| Joseph Smith.      | Thos. Johnson.       |
| George Ronald.     | Andrew Brock.        |
| Wm. Neilson.       | Hugh Gardner.        |
| Jas. Neilson.      | Jas. McKinley.       |
| Esq. S. Heath.     | John Gray.           |
| Nich. Chamberlin.  | John Orr.            |
| Jesse Heath.       | John Remick.         |
| Daniel Heath.      | Alexr. Millar.       |
| John S. Bayley.    | John Ritchie.        |
| Wm. Johnson.       | William Craig.       |
| E. Johnson &c.     | Allen Stewart.       |
| Widow & J. Taylor. | William Harvey.      |
| James Whitelaw.    | Alexr. Ewen.         |
| Robt. Brock.       | Scotch American Coy. |
| Jas. Henderson.    | John Cameron.        |
| Benj. Wright.      | John C. Jones.       |
| John Wallace.      |                      |



NORTH DIVISION.

|                   |                 |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| John Witherspoon. | John Tomas.     |
| John Pagan.       | Josiah Page.    |
| John Church.      | Nathan B. Page. |
| John Gray.        | John Buchanan.  |
| Caml. Sym.        | Alexr. Simpson. |

(To the rate bill above mentioned is attached the following certificate), viz:

The preceding is the rate bill for the halfpenny tax agreeable to the Act granting said tax passed by the Legislature of the State of Vermont at their session at Windsor in Oct., 1791.

JOSIAH PAGE, }  
 JAMES WHITELAW, } *Selectmen.*

The preceding is a true copy.

Attest: JAMES WHITELAW, T. C.

(On pages 73, 74, 75 and 76 of the diary are the following entries), viz:

LAND UNDER MY CARE.

The land belonging to Franklin and Robinson N. York.

The land belonging to Mr. Alexr. Ewen of Portsmouth.

The lands belonging to Jeremiah Harris Junr., Norwich, Connecticut.

The right of Benjn. Libbee in Ryegate belonging to David Todd of Suffield, Connecticut.

The right of Lyman Potter in Groton.

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The lands in Victory that Jesse Gilbert has put under my care.

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The lands belonging to Capt. James Rogers in Concord, East Haven, Averill, Burke, Caldersburgh, Calais, Woodbury, Montpelier and Walden.

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The lands belonging to Jonathan W. Edwards of Hartford, Connecticut, in the towns of East Haven and Montgomery.

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The lands of John Titus of Greenwich in the County of Fairfield, Connecticut.

---

The lands of Daniel Marsh in Caldersburgh being the rights of Samuel Burr and half the right of Henry White.

---

The lands of William Douglass in the State of New York being the rights of Nathaniel Bartlett and Gordon Merchant in Averill—the rights of Asa Douglass, Jr., & Nathl. Douglass, Jr., in Groton—and the right of Wheeler Douglass in Easthaven.

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The lands in Newark belonging to John Moriarty of Salem, Massachusetts being his own rights and the rights of David Ferguson.

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The lands in St. Johnsbury belonging to Thomas Denny put under my care by Col. John Hurd.

The right of Israel Noble in Minehead belonging to Isaac Beers in Newhaven.

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The lands belonging to John W. Blake of Brattleboro in the towns of Mansfield, Brunswick and Minehead and in Averys gore now Huntington.

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The lands belonging to James A. Wells of Hartford in the towns of Caldersburgh and Warren.

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The lands belonging to Chauncey Goodrich of Hartford, in the township of Caldersburgh.

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The lands in Ryegate belonging to Nathaniel Adams of Portsmouth being lots No. 7, 8 & 16 in the 1st Range, No. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12 & 17 in the 2nd Range, No. 7, 9, 17 in the 3d Range, No. 8, 13, 16 in the 4th Range and No. 15 in the 5th Range North Division.



**George Grenville Benedict.**



## GEORGE GRENVILLE BENEDICT.

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George Grenville Benedict, for 54 years connected with the Burlington Free Press and for 40 years its editor-in-chief, died in Camden, S. C., at 12:45 o'clock Monday morning, April 8, 1907.

On February 4 Mr. and Mrs. Benedict left Burlington, with the intention of passing the balance of the winter and the early spring in the South, Miami, Fla., being their objective point. In St. Augustine, where they stopped with the intention of remaining a few days, Mr. Benedict suffered on February 11 a serious attack of heart failure, being unconscious for an hour. He rallied from the attack and seemed to gain in strength, although slowly. The trip to Miami was abandoned and Mr. and Mrs. Benedict remained in St. Augustine until April 1, when they started North stopping first in Savannah, Ga., and reaching Camden Thursday, April 4. A letter written by Mr. Benedict the following day was received in Burlington Monday morning, a few hours before the telegram came announcing his death. In the letter Mr. Benedict said that he stood the journey well, but the final summons came very suddenly from another attack of heart failure.

Mr. Benedict was born in Burlington December 10, 1826, a direct descendant of Lieut. Thomas Benedict, who came from Nottinghamshire, England, to America in 1638. He prepared for college in the Burlington Academy, grad-

uated from the University of Vermont in 1847 and three years later received from the same institution the degree of master of arts. After leaving college he was a teacher in the Washington Institute in New York City for about a year, and for the three years following was occupied in building and superintending the lines of the Vermont & Boston Telegraph Company, of which company he was president from 1860 to 1865.

In August, 1862, Mr. Benedict enlisted as a private in Company C, 12th regiment of Vermont volunteers. In January following he was promoted to a lieutenancy and was subsequently detailed as aide-de-camp on the staff of Gen. George J. Stannard, commanding the second Vermont brigade. He received a medal of honor, awarded by Congress for distinguished conduct in the battle of Gettysburg, July 3, 1863. He was mustered out of service July 14, 1863. He later served as assistant inspector-general of the State militia, with the rank of major, and in 1866 was aide-de-camp on the staff of Governor Paul Dillingham, with the rank of colonel. A close student of army matters and a graceful writer, Mr. Benedict was in 1878 appointed State military historian, in which capacity he prepared the history of "Vermont in the Civil War," in two volumes. He also published "Vermont at Gettysburg" and a volume of army letters entitled "Army Life in Virginia."

Mr. Benedict's interest in the University of Vermont was active and unceasing from the years when he was a student there. His father was for 23 years a professor, while three of his brothers, a son and several nephews were



students at different times. For 40 years Mr. Benedict has been a trustee and secretary of the institution and for a long time one of the executive committee.

In politics Mr. Benedict was always a staunch republican. He served at different times as secretary and chairman of the State committee of his party and was a delegate to various State and national conventions. He was postmaster of Burlington 1861-65. In 1869 he was elected State senator from Chittenden County and was re-elected the following year. For the next four years he was for the second time postmaster of Burlington and from 1889 to 1893 was collector of customs for the district of Vermont. In non-political offices he at different times was President of the Vermont Press Association, president of the Vermont Historical Society, president of the Vermont Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, governor of the Vermont Society of Colonial Wars and was a member of the Grand Army of the Republic and of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. He was a devoted member and for a long term of years clerk of the College Street Congregational Church, a corporator of the Burlington Savings Bank and a director of the National Life Insurance Company of Montpelier.

Mr. Benedict became associated with his father in the management of the Free Press in 1853 and 13 years later, in 1866, took up the duties of editor-in-chief, a position which he held at the time of his death, being the dean of Vermont journalism.

Mr. Benedict was twice married, his first wife being Mary A. Kellogg of Canaan, N. Y. She died in 1857, leaving a daughter, Mary. In 1864 Mr. Benedict married Katharine A. Pease. She survives him, together with a son, Prof. George Wyllis Benedict of Providence, R. I. Two brothers, Robert D. and B. Lincoln, reside in Brooklyn, N. Y.

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#### PRESIDENT BUCKHAM'S TRIBUTE.

The funeral of the late George Grenville Benedict was held at the College Street Congregational Church at 2:30 o'clock Thursday afternoon, being preceded by a brief service at his long-time home on South Prospect Street. The church was filled with friends from all walks of life and at no funeral ever held in Burlington have there been more societies and organizations from all parts of the State represented. Many places of business were closed and Chittenden County Court took a recess from two to four o'clock.

The honorary bearers were ex-Gov. U. A. Woodbury, J. A. DeBoer of Montpelier, Charles E. Allen, C. W. Woodhouse, Prof. J. E. Goodrich, United States Senator W. P. Dillingham, C. P. Smith, D. W. Robinson, H. W. Allen and ex-Gov. J. L. Barstow, all long-time friends and many representing some of the organizations to which Mr. Benedict belonged. The body bearers were members of the Free Press editorial staff and heads of departments who have been connected with the establishment for many years, as follows: Business Manager W. B. Howe, J. L. Southwick,

W. J. Bigelow and W. B. Gates from the editorial rooms; Cashier W. H. Murdock; A. H. Duhamel, foreman of the news room; J. B. Turcot, foreman of the press room; and C. R. Kent, foreman of the job department.

As a part of the funeral service the following tribute to Mr. Benedict was paid by President M. H. Buckham of the University of Vermont:

One of the most expressive emblems of the havoc wrought by mortality in our human experience is the prostrate pillar—not the broken column—if the words will bear the distinction—not individual eminence fallen and in ruins—but the social pillar, removed from its firm footing on the foundations, and bereaving the mass above of its supporting strength. When the tidings come to us of the passing of such a man as Mr. Benedict, the first thought is one of personal loss—of friendship sundered—of a great gap in our family and neighborhood intimacies and affections. The wrench thus made, the pain it brings, the soreness it leaves, is in a good degree a measure of the worth of a man to those who loved him and whom he has loved. And the sorrow and sense of loss when such a man goes out from among us, is by no means mitigated—it may even be enhanced—by the consideration that he has lived out a long and full life, has brought his powers to their ripest maturity, has finished his work, and earned his right to be released into the higher sphere where the rewards of a good life are awaiting him. But this heavy price we pay for our priceless human affections is not the ultimate tribute we give to the worth of such a life as that of the man we mourn

to-day. The sense of social deprivation, the withdrawal of powers and resources on which the community relied for its highest well-being, this most truly expresses our valuation of a good man's services to our common life. That is a grossly unjust figure, the product surely of a dull imagination, and an ungrateful heart, which likens the life of a single individual, however great and good, to a something floating on the sea for a brief minute, then to be swallowed up and forgotten as though it had never been. Rather is a good life like the once firm pillar, which, shaken out of its place, leaves the heavy load to be carried by the rest of the cluster, the whole fabric weakened and imperilled, until another pillar equally strong, if that may be, is slowly built into its place. The tribute we pay to Mr. Benedict to-day is not so much that in the past we have admired and loved him, as that in the future we shall miss him, and long and sorely miss him. We shall miss the editor; the historian; the clear-headed and farsighted citizen of the city, the State and the nation; the devoted Christian; the exemplary and honorable man in all the walks of life.

As a public man Mr. Benedict was more than anything else, the publisher of a newspaper. In our times the newspaper has come to be one of the elemental and all pervasive forces of our civilization. For good or for evil, it has come to be a power second to none in our social, political and moral life. When on the right side of public questions it is a force more than competent to deal with all opposing forces, when on the wrong side, it is a menace to every good cause and every sound institution. What can you ex-

pect of a certain city, it is shrewdly said, when its morning papers make vice attractive and its evening papers make virtue odious? Happy the city, happy the State, whose newspaper press does its utmost to make vice odious and virtue attractive! I count among the chief influences that have made Burlington the city it is, a city in which the prevailing influences favor morality and everything that is good between man and man, that for more than 50 years past, the leading newspaper has invariably and persistently and bravely stood against what its editorial conscience thought to be evil and in favor of what it thought to be right, "uncaring consequences." Father and son were equally resolute on this point. Woe to the evil that dared to lift its head in this community while George W. Benedict was in the editorial chair. With swift and crushing stroke he smote it to its hurt and often to its death. With gentler and defter and not less effective work, the son has made the paper such that he was proud to see it rank among the best 100 papers in the United States. And may I add as a personal tribute, that I have sometimes trembled at the thought of the evil that might have been done in a university town, with its schools, public and private, if the newspaper that everybody reads, old and young, had sympathized with the baser side of life, had sneered at religion, had frowned upon temperance, had sold its columns to advertisers of immorality; whereas we have had occasion for rejoicing and giving thanks, that whether or not we all agreed with its politics we were always sure that its moral influence was safeguarded by a man of the finest spiritual temper and the

highest ideals of public and private virtue. We were sure too that its endeavors were correct, not only in good morals, but in good literature, good history, good English, good taste. Mr. Benedict's supreme faculty as editor was in his ability to take a subject on which other men had written "about it and about it," and had so confused and muddled it that the right of it was hopelessly obscured, and in the course of a column and a half so to clear it up and settle it, that there was no more to be said and no more was said. And the secret of this was that along with intellectual keenness and good logical sense there was in Mr. Benedict that passion for lucidity, that impatience with everything tortuous and evasive, that marks the man of sound moral discernment. The pure in heart not only see God because they are pure in heart, they see all truth with clearer vision.

Of Mr. Benedict's military career others will doubtless speak as only comrades can speak, and as ampler time will permit. Some of us can remember when the days were darkest, and the strain grew to be more tense than young hearts could bear, how Mr. Benedict enlisted as a private, spent his evenings drilling with Captain Page's company, left home and office for the front with no hope or thought of promotion, received a commission as lieutenant and aide-de-camp on the staff of the Second Vermont Brigade, served with distinction on General Stannard's staff, at the Battle of Gettysburg, survived the perils of field and camp, and returned to serve and honor still further his State and country by writing the "History of Vermont in the Civil

War," one of the best—it has been called the very best—of the State histories of the war, a work through which posterity will know how glorious a part Vermont acted in that great drama for freedom and right.

Of the other relations in which Mr. Benedict stood to the community, I shall speak of only two—and of those two because they are those of which, if of any, he would have wished me to speak. First, as to his connection with the university. It was to be a professor in the university that his father came to Burlington, and of that father four sons and four grandsons have been among its graduates—a university family of three generations. President Eliot has said that a large part of the success of Harvard University is due to the fact that a sufficient number of capable men can be always found, residing within easy distance from the university, who are willing to give without pay their time and their best of service in the capacity of trustees, to the work of carrying on the institution. To this class of men belonged Mr. Benedict. For 42 years he has been a trustee of the university and the secretary of the board of trustees. He has been the intimate and confidential adviser of two presidents, both of whom, I may confidently say, would testify that the university owes to him a large part of any successes which have come to the institution during their administrations, and for which both they, and the university, and all its friends and well-wishers owe him everlasting gratitude. But it was to him all a labor of love and nothing for reward. All the more for that reason will we

enshrine his memory in our hearts and teach our successors and our children to remember him among those whom the university will always delight to honor.

And lastly I would speak a brief word of his membership in the church which meets for public worship in the house where we are assembled. I have never known a man—I believe few men exist anywhere—to whom their church means more, is more dear and precious than this church has been to Mr. Benedict. Outside of his own family, I think it may be said that here was where he garnered up his heart. I mean, of course, not only this particular body of communicants and worshippers, though he did with a special Christian affection love these very men and women, but what this church stands for and represents and tries to live out, of Christian truth and piety. He was one of the original members of the church, was for many years its clerk, and undoubtedly knew personally more of its members, living and dead, than any pastor or officer the church has had. He was constant in his attendance upon both the Lord's day and weekly services and often contributed in his delightful way to the uplifting and edification of his fellow members. He did not profoundly study the new questions which modern research has spread out before the Christian Church, but he had an open mind and welcomed every new truth which brought with it reasons for faith or help to experience. But he clung mainly to the essential and unchangeable truths, to the things that remain because they cannot be shaken. Not to overdo the figure of the pillar removed from its place, this audience room will never be



quite what it has been now that we see no more his erect and military figure on which his 80 years had imposed no stoop—and church meetings will not be the same now that we must miss his strong support of every good thing material and spiritual for which this church and every church stands.

Fellow citizens of Burlington, of Vermont; friends of Mr. Benedict, neighbors, comrades, life-long readers, you who have been associated with him in politics, in business, in the care of the university; you, brethren of his college fraternity, have I said too much in his praise? Have I said half enough? By gifts and opportunities Divine Providence laid upon him great obligations. He gave him good ancestry, health, education, religious nurture, family friends, a versatile and well-balanced mind, openings into almost any career he might choose. Variously endowed, he was a man of many accomplishments and of manifold virtues. The fruitage of all these gifts, all these attainments, he has bestowed upon the community, upon us. He was not a self-seeking man. He turned to his own personal account only a very small share of all that he was capable of being and doing. Take him for all in all, he was a man in respect of whom our long remembrance and our lasting thought will be that God has crowned all His many other gifts to our community by giving to us such a man as George Grenville Benedict.

## MR. SOUTHWICK'S TRIBUTE.

The following appeared as an editorial in the Free Press of April 9th, and was written by J. L. Southwick of the editorial staff :

While the death of the Hon. George Grenville Benedict comes as a distinct shock to this whole community, his loss will be so felt nowhere outside of the immediate family circle as on the staff of the journal with which his name had been inseparably associated for over half a century. The recent announcement of serious inroads on his health, combined with his advanced age, had prepared his associates in newspaper work for his practical retirement from active service, but they had hoped that with the return of milder weather they might still enjoy the benign influence of his presence as sage, counsellor, friend. Recent letters written by him, one of which came to this office on the morning of his death, had spoken of his constantly improving condition, and his staff, as the members of one family, were looking forward to the time when they could welcome him back to the city he so dearly loved. He passed away, however, as he had hoped, suddenly and without a long period of helplessness, and he closed his eventful life rich in years and honors.

A comprehensive sketch of the life and public service of Mr. Benedict is printed elsewhere, but it is fitting that we should speak of those charming qualities of person which he possessed to an abundant degree, and which are made so manifest nowhere outside of the home life perhaps as among associates in the conduct of a daily journal. The newspa-

per is constantly coming into contact with all phases and conditions of life, and the manifold problems and trials presenting themselves are well calculated to bring out every side of a man's character. Amid conditions like these Mr. Benedict ever remained the same kindly and genial gentleman of the old school, inflexible in his insistence on the carrying out of the high standards he set for his newspaper. He was sturdy in his advocacy of what he believed to be right, fearless in his championship of any cause he espoused, utterly unmindful of consequences, in his battle for truth, good government, right living, morality, and religion.

It is only a few months since in commemorating the observance of Mr. Benedict's eightieth anniversary the members of his newspaper staff in common with other fellow townsmen paid him a marked tribute of their respect and esteem. Few know better than the editor the proneness of human nature to err, and while Mr. Benedict was quick to detect infractions of the rules he sought to enforce, he was invariably the patient monitor, constantly endearing himself to subordinates and thus increasing their desire to please him and at the same time attain to the lofty standards he ever held before them. Wherever he might be, in sickness or in health, at home or abroad, his thoughts were daily with his paper, and this interest in the progress and welfare of the *Free Press* was kept up to the very day of his death.

Mr. Benedict was a versatile and many-sided man. He loved art. He was an excellent musical and dramatic critic. He was a thorough student of affairs. His letters of travel

were the delight of all who read them. He possessed what may be termed the historical instinct to a degree that falls to the lot of few men; and the entire State of Vermont is the gainer thereby. Not only in the press but also through his books, historical papers, pamphlets and other writings he helped to preserve the records of many events in the Green Mountain State's history which would otherwise have been lost or left in form or condition unavailable for library reference or student research. His history of "Vermont in the Civil War" is regarded by good authorities as one of the most careful, comprehensive and well written military works of the kind possessed by any State. His long continued and efficient work in connection with the Vermont Historical Society, of which he was long president, is known wherever lives a Vermonter. His love of the historical led him to bring down to date and prepare for publication Gilman's Bibliography of Vermont, which is invaluable for the newspaper office, the historical student and others who need to consult a complete list of books, newspapers, magazines and pamphlets printed in Vermont since the founding of the State.

Mr. Benedict pursued some elusive historical fact or missing point with all the ardor of the huntsman and the patience of the angler combined, sparing neither time nor effort to clear up the matter; and if his wearisome research was rewarded and the record in hand thus made complete, his satisfaction was a joy to behold. It was this inability to take any important fact for granted that accounts for the wonderful accuracy of Mr. Benedict's historical writings.

It was his love of accuracy which led him to rewrite whole chapters of his military history, when those to whom he had written for facts about certain points neglected to reply until he had the first volume of the work practically completed. It was this accuracy which made him the exemplar of reliable newspaper writers and the terror of the shiftless reporter, and rendered it so difficult to meet his ideal of what the daily chronicle should be—a faithful record of all important events and a reliable reflex, of all momentous currents of the day.

Mr. Benedict not only wrote history; he also helped to make history. For half a century he was a participant in some of Vermont's most important councils, and his voice and pen helped to shape some of the State's most far reaching policies and measures. Whether as legislator, or as delegate to national or State convention, or as member of civic or military organization, or as a private citizen working for public welfare, he was ever thorough, ever alert, ever watchful for the right and when he had once satisfied himself on this point there was no shadow of turning, but constant struggle to promote the right.

Mr. Benedict loved Vermont. It would be difficult to find a more zealous or loyal Vermonter than was he, at all times. He was proud of the Green Mountain Boys' struggle for liberty, and of the existence of Vermont for a brief period as a veritable republic, with its own government and public service complete. He gave his country the same devoted support, and when secession threatened the existence of the nation, he was prompt to respond to the call of

the Union, doing loyal as well as efficient service for the cause of freedom. His interest in all military matters kept pace with his patriotism and his love for his fellow soldiers continued unabated to the end.

Mr. Benedict loved Burlington. He was never tired of singing the praises of the city he did so much to help develop, and he was fond of quoting praises of our proud position on Lake Champlain. He gloried in our educational progress, in which he was so conspicuous a figure, and in our institutions. His interest in the University of Vermont was absorbing, and his love for his alma mater was only second to that for his newspaper. He liked to watch the city's growth and expansion. But above all he loved the people of Burlington. He was interested in their welfare and health and prosperity and if any resident was afflicted in any of these respects, none was more solicitous than he. All Burlington was his home.

But while Mr. Benedict stood conspicuous as citizen, soldier, legislator, educator, historian, Christian gentleman, he was best known in his capacity as a gifted and versatile editor. Much of his public service was performed during a generation now passed away, but he continued his work as editor-in-chief up to the very last. His are the traditions which the *Free Press* is trying to exemplify to-day. His are the policies that still live though he has passed out from among us. No one better knew than he the ethics of journalism. No one could stand for more lofty ideals; none strive more zealously to attain the ideal. Though he has left us, his ideals and lofty standards remain and so long

as the *Free Press* is true to the traditions he so firmly established, it will be true to its own best interests and those of the community he loved.

## APPENDIX A.

REPORT OF THE BOARD OF MANAGERS.

MONTPELIER, VERMONT, OCT. 16, 1906.

*Hon. G. G. Benedict, President:*

The Board of Managers, consisting of the officers of the Society, respectfully submit the following report:

The Society has lost by death since our last report the following members: Henry Ballard, of Burlington, distinguished member of the Chittenden County Bar; Charles M. Bliss, of Bennington, identified with the origin of the Bennington Battle Monument; Wilder L. Burnap, of Burlington, lawyer, scholar and gentleman; Charles Dewey, of Montpelier, financier; Dwight H. Kelton, of Montpelier, a loyal citizen of the state; Dr. William N. Platt, of Shoreham, trustee of the State Asylum; and Arthur Ropes, of Montpelier, learned writer and editor. Brief biographical sketches of these men have been prepared and will form part of the Proceedings of the present meeting.

The Librarian of the Society, Edward M. Goddard, has made numerous effective changes in the public presentation of its collections, to which your special attention is directed, but it is very evident that lack of room and a marked want of working facilities continue to greatly hamper the progress of the Society, as has been pointed out over and over again. The fact that the State of Vermont, by law and by the agreement of this Society, holds an irrevocable reversionary interest in all of its property should be sufficient reason for a more decided support and provision for its well-being and extension



by the State, apart from the much more cogent reason that the Society, which now includes the leading citizens of the State among its membership, is devoted to the conservation of its material, agricultural, industrial, civic, political, literary, ecclesiastical and military history.

The program for the public exercises on the evening of November 9th, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, will include a brief introductory address by the President and an address by Judge Wendell Phillips Stafford of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, Washington, D. C., formerly of St. Johnsbury, on "The Life and Services of Thaddeus Stevens, Statesman and Reformer," and a paper by Professor George Henry Perkins of Burlington on "Prehistoric Vermont and Relics and Evidences of Early Occupation by Indian Tribes."

There will be presented to the Society at this meeting a considerable list of applications for membership, all of which applicants have had due consideration and are recommended for election.

It is pleasant to record, also, the fact that the Vermont Association of Boston has seen fit this year to include in its itinerary to the home State participation in the public exercises of the Vermont Historical Society.

It is a matter of the utmost satisfaction to report that interest in the objects of our Society continues to increase. We earnestly urge upon our members that they lend their influence to the utmost extent in furtherance of its purpose and especially to the securing in their respective cities and towns, if not already existing, of adequate, up-to-date local histories, in order that a true record of events and of men may not be lost through local neglect. The present time is

especially auspicious and opportune for the preservation of much,—in some cases, of practically everything—relating to the origin and history of Vermont towns. It is entirely reasonable to urge that such records deserve the attention of the localities to which they appertain, and that individuals, public-spirited and otherwise interested in general affairs, apart from themselves merely, should make it their specific duty to obtain a positive action in this regard.

We also respectfully suggest that any member of the Society who has the time and inclination would perform a distinct service by preparing an index to the Hemenway Gazetteer, which work, while full of useful information, loses much of its value because it lacks such accessible and ready index of its contents.

The charter of the Society, dating back to 1838, was amended December 9, 1904, by the General Assembly of this State, authorizing it, among its other rights, to accept "property loaned or committed to it on trust or on condition." Acting under this grant of power, your officers have undertaken the deed of trust described in the following correspondence:

"DEED OF TRUST."

"*Whereas* in 1899 the Dewey Monument Committee composed of Everett C. Benton, of Waverley, Mass.; James T. Phelps, of Boston, Mass.; Levi P. Morton, of New York City; John M. Thurston, of Nebraska; Wallace F. Robinson, of Boston, Mass.; Joseph W. Babcock, of Wisconsin; John B. Corliss, of Michigan; Rome G. Brown, of Minneapolis, Minn.; L. L. Coburn, of Chicago; and Stephen A. Foster, of Chicago, was organized with the object of securing and presenting to the State of Vermont a monument to commemorate Admiral Dewey's victory at Manila, such

purpose being set forth more fully in the circular letter used by said Committee in collecting funds, as follows:

“At the porch leading to the State House at Montpelier there is now a very appropriate and striking statue of Ethan Allen, commemorating his heroic deeds. It is now proposed that the natives of Vermont who have by the fortunes of time chosen other sections of the country in which to reside erect a statue recognizing the brave and worthy acts of one of their number who has brought great honor, not only to the State and Nation, but to humanity in general. As a slight token of such appreciation they wish to present to the dear old State a fitting memorial of Admiral George Dewey. When this is done future generations will observe that on the left Ethan Allen, denoting strength, and the one on the right George Dewey, to establish. Together they will always be a reminder of God's promise that in strength would be establish his Kingdom.

“It is desirable that this be done by a general contribution from all Vermonters now resident outside of the State, and the Committee solicits from you a cash subscription, as your means may permit, of from \$1.00 to \$10.00.’

“*And Whereas* said Committee has collected and now has in its possession the sum of \$2,524.18, which amount is considered insufficient for carrying out the object in view, and the contributors of the small amounts making up said sum desire so far as can be learned that the money collected be in some manner devoted to the purpose originally contemplated,

“*Now Therefore* the members of said Committee hereby give, assign and transfer to the VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY, a corporation organized and existing by special charter under the laws of Vermont, and an organization devoted among other things to preserving whatever relates to the military history of the State of Vermont, the moneys collected by said Committee for the purpose aforesaid, amounting to \$2,524.18, in trust and upon condition that the said Vermont Historical Society retain said fund and invest the same in such securities as it is permissible under the laws of Vermont for savings banks

to invest their funds until such time as such fund with its accretions and any additions thereto by gift or otherwise may in the judgment of the Board of Managers of said Society be sufficient to erect a statue of George Dewey, the Admiral of the Navy, in the portico of the State Capitol at Montpelier, or if that be not possible or advisable at such place in Montpelier as said committee may determine.

"This Deed of Trust is to become effectual and the moneys herein described to be paid over upon the endorsement on this Deed of Trust by the President of said Vermont Historical Society of the acceptance of said trust under authority of action of the Board of Managers of said Society; and Everett C. Benton, of Waverley, Mass., and James T. Phelps, of Swampscott, Mass., members of said Committee, are hereby authorized to turn over said fund to the said Vermont Historical Society, and are also directed to deliver to said Society for preservation in its archives the original list of subscriptions received by said Committee.

"*In Witness Whereof* the members of said Dewey Monument Committee hereunto set their hands this third day of May, A. D. 1906.

EVERETT C. BENTON  
 JAMES T. PHELPS  
 LEVI P. MORTON  
 JOHN M. THURSTON  
 WALLACE F. ROBINSON  
 JNO. B. CORLISS  
 ROME G. BROWN  
 L. L. COBURN  
 STEPHEN A. FOSTER  
 JOSEPH W. BABCOCK

} *Dewey  
 Monument  
 Committee.*

"20 KILBY ST., BOSTON, MASS., May 10, 1906.

"*To the President and Secretary of the Vermont Historical Society, care of Joseph A. DeBoer, Montpelier, Vt.*

"*Gentlemen:*—Acting under authority of the Dewey Monument Committee, and in conformity with recent correspondence with Mr. DeBoer, it gives me pleasure to hand you a certified cheque on the United States Trust Company

of Boston, transferring to your Society the sum of twenty-five hundred twenty-four dollars and eighteen cents—(\$2,524.18), with the accompanying deed of trust signed by all the members of the Committee, namely, Everett C. Benton, James T. Phelps, Levi P. Morton, John M. Thurston, Wallace F. Robinson, Jno. B. Corliss, Rome G. Brown, L. L. Coburn, S. A. Foster and Joseph W. Babcock,—the said deed showing the history of the fund and the conditions of its transfer to your Society. I also hand you a statement, showing, so far as it is possible for the Committee to obtain, the names and addresses of subscribers. These subscribers were obtained in answer to a printed call, and were all voluntary, without special solicitation.

|  |               |
|--|---------------|
| “The total amount of money received from subscribers was . . . . .   | \$2326.35     |
| As moneys were received, they were by the Treasurer deposited in the United States Trust Co. of Boston, total sum of deposits amounting to . . . . | 2326.35       |
| The interest allowances by the Bank amounted to . . .  | \$303.53      |
| The expense charge, which was limited to actual outlay for printing and postage, amounted to . . . . .   | 105.70        |
| Leaving a gain on the Fund of.   | <u>197.83</u> |
| Making total of . . . . .  | \$2524.18     |

“If it is the pleasure of your Society, I should be glad to receive acknowledgment of this amount, covering the points mentioned in this letter, which I can hold as a discharge for the Committee of its disposal of the Fund.

“Yours very truly,  
“EVERETT C. BENTON, Chairman.”

We record, accordingly, not merely the acceptance of the aforesaid trust but further that the sum named, \$2524.18, was deposited May 12, 1906, in the Montpelier Savings Bank & Trust Company under the title of the "Dewey Monument Fund, Vermont Historical Society," subject to the prevailing rate of interest from said date.

We advise that said fund be now transferred by vote of the Society into the hands of its Treasurer and that the Deed of Trust and the List of Subscribers to said fund be passed to the Librarian for permanent care. We further advise that said fund be safely invested in accordance with the discretion of the Society's Treasurer and that the earliest opportune time be taken for the consummation of the purpose and intent which originally inspired the creation of this fund and for the effective discharge of this trust.

Respectfully submitted,

JOS. A. DE BOER,

*Recording Secretary, for the Board of Managers.*

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#### APPENDIX B.

#### TREASURER'S REPORT, 1905-1906.

*Henry F. Field, Treasurer, in account with the Vermont Historical Society, 1905-1906.*

#### DR.

|               |   |          |
|---------------|---|----------|
| Oct. 16, '05, | To balance last reported....                        | \$435.24 |
|               | To annual dues for 1904<br>paid during the year.... | 2.00     |
|               | To annual dues for 1905<br>paid during the year.... | 84.00    |
|               | To annual dues for 1906<br>paid to date .....       | 90.00    |

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|---|------|----------------|
| To annual dues for 1907<br>paid in advance . . . . .  | 6.00 |                |
| To annual dues for 1908<br>paid in advance . . . . .  | 1.00 |                |
| To membership dues Geo.<br>P. Anderson for 1905. . . . .  | 2.00 |                |
| To membership dues Francis<br>M. Crosby, candidate for<br>1906 . . . . .                            | 2.00 |                |
| To membership dues Chas.<br>W. Howard, candidate for<br>1906 . . . . .                              | 2.00 |                |
| To membership dues Chas.<br>D. Watson, candidate for<br>1906 . . . . .                              | 2.00 |                |
| To membership dues Geo.<br>M. Hogan, candidate for<br>1906 . . . . .                                | 2.00 |                |
| To interest on deposit<br>with Montpelier Savings<br>Bank and Trust Co. to<br>July, 1905 . . . . .  | 9.14 |                |
| To interest on deposit<br>with Montpelier Savings<br>Bank and Trust Co., to<br>July, 1906 . . . . . | 9.42 |                |
|   |      | <hr/> \$646.80 |

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| Oct. 20, '05, by paid J. A. DeBoer,<br>Sec'y. bill for postage . . . . .               | \$ 4.61 |
| Nov. 21, '05, by paid Free Press<br>Ass'n. bill for letter heads. . . . .              | 2.25    |
| Jan. 6, '06, by paid E. M. Goddard,<br>Librarian, 3 months' salary . . . . .           | 25.00   |
| Jan. 6, '06, by paid Argus & Patriot,<br>bill, notices annual meeting,<br>etc. . . . . | 2.75    |

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| April 21, by paid E. M. Goddard,<br>Librarian, 3 months' salary..                           | 25.00 |
| April 21, by paid E. M. Goddard,<br>Librarian, disbursements ....                           | 6.59  |
| April 21, by paid Mather & Temple,<br>bill material for library.....                        | 10.00 |
| April 21, by paid Union Card Co.,<br>bill material for library.....                         | 1.26  |
| April 21, by paid Pneumatic Hand<br>Stamp Co., bill .....                                   | 1.13  |
| April 11, by paid E. M. Goddard,<br>Librarian, 3 months' salary ..                          | 25.00 |
| April 11, by paid E. M. Goddard,<br>Librarian, disbursements ....                           | 5.55  |
| Oct. 11, by paid E. M. Goddard,<br>Librarian, 3 months' salary ..                           | 25.00 |
| Oct. 18, by paid Tuttle & Co., bill<br>receipt books for Treasurer..                        | 2.75  |
| Nov. 8, by paid Henry F. Field,<br>Treasurer, disbursements for<br>postage, 1903-1906 ..... | 5.36  |

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\$142.25

Balance in Treasurer's hands..504.55

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\$646.80

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Rutland, Vermont, November 8, 1906.



APPENDIX C.  
NEW MEMBERS ELECTED NOVEMBER 9, 1906.

| <i>Name.</i>                     | <i>Residence.</i> | <i>Recommended by</i> |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Arthur G. Osgood.....         | Randolph, Vt.     | George Davenport.     |
| 2. George M. Hogan.....          | St. Albans, Vt.   | Walter H. Crockett.   |
| 3. Charles Douglas Watson.....   | St. Albans, Vt.   | Walter H. Crockett.   |
| 4. Marshall Jay Haggood.....     | Peru, Vt.         | G. G. Benedict.       |
| 5. George O. Stratton.....       | Montpelier, Vt.   | Fred E. Smith.        |
| 6. Wallace Gale Andrews.....     | Montpelier, Vt.   | J. Eli Goodenough.    |
| 7. Francis Marion Crosby.....    | Hastings, Minn.   | Edward M. Goddard.    |
| 8. Lewis Bartlett Cross.....     | Montpelier, Vt.   | Jos. A. De Boer.      |
| 9. Hale K. Darling.....          | Chelsea, Vt.      | Jos. A. De Boer.      |
| 10. William Tarbox Dewey.....    | Montpelier, Vt.   | Jos. A. De Boer.      |
| 11. James Borden Estee.....      | Montpelier, Vt.   | Fred A. Howland.      |
| 12. William Moore Hatch.....     | Strafford, Vt.    | Jos. A. De Boer.      |
| 13. Henry Dwight Holton.....     | Brattleboro, Vt.  | Jos. A. De Boer.      |
| 14. Mary Everett Pease.....      | Burlington, Vt.   | Isaac Thomas.         |
| 15. Zophar M. Mansur.....        | Newport, Vt.      | Jos. A. De Boer.      |
| 16. Charles Sumner Lord.....     | Colchester, Vt.   | Hamilton S. Peck.     |
| 17. Charles Willard Howard, M.D. | Shoreham, Vt.     | Elmer Barnum.         |
| 18. Frederick Barnard Richards.  | Fair Haven, Vt.   | Theodore S. Peck.     |
| 19. Charles Miner Thompson.....  | Cambridge, Mass.  | J. Eli Goodenough.    |
| 20. Harriet Towne.....           | Burlington, Vt.   | Isaac Thomas.         |
| 21. Mary Louise Tracy.....       | Johnson, Vt.      | Edward D. Collins.    |
| 22. Alfred Erwin Watson.....     | Hartford, Vt.     | Jos. A. De Boer.      |
| 23. James Edward Wright.....     | Montpelier, Vt.   | Jos. A. De Boer.      |
| 24. John B. Brainerd.....        | Boston, Mass.     | William W. Stickney.  |
| 25. C. H. Bradley.....           | Boston, Mass.     | Nelson L. Sheldon.    |
| *26. Matt Bushnell Jones.....    | Newton, Mass.     | Fred A. Howland.      |

\*Elected at public meeting.

## APPENDIX D.

## OFFICERS 1906-7

**President.**

GEORGE GRENVILLE BENEDICT, Burlington.

**Vice-Presidents.**

WILLIAM W. STICKNEY, Ludlow.

FRED A. HOWLAND, Montpelier.

H. CHARLES ROYCE, St. Albans.

**Recording Secretary.**

JOSEPH A. DE BOER, Montpelier.

**Corresponding Secretaries.**

THEODORE S. PECK, Burlington.

CHARLES S. FORBES, St. Albans.

**Treasurer.**

HENRY F. FIELD, Rutland.

**Librarian.**

EDWARD M. GODDARD, Montpelier.

**Curators.**

EZRA BRAINERD, Addison County.

SAMUEL B. HALL, Bennington County.

REV. HENRY FAIRBANKS, Caledonia County.

REV. JOHN E. GOODRICH, Chittenden County.

PORTER H. DALE, Essex County.

WALTER H. CROCKETT, Franklin County.

NELSON WILBUR FISK, Grand Isle County.

CARROLL S. PAGE, Lamoille County.

DR. GEORGE DAVENPORT, Orange County.

F. W. BALDWIN, Orleans County.

PHILIP R. LEAVENWORTH, Rutland County.

HIRAM CARLETON, Washington County.

BERT EMERY MERRIAM, Windham County.

GILBERT A. DAVIS, Windsor County.

FREDERICK G. FLEETWOOD, Secretary of State,

HORACE F. GRAHAM, Auditor of Accounts.

GEORGE W. WING, State Librarian.

} *ex-officio.*

### STANDING COMMITTEES.

**On Library.**—Joseph A. De Boer, E. M. Goddard, John E. Goodrich.

**On Printing.**—Theodore S. Peck, Fred A. Howland, Walter H. Crockett.

**On Finance.**—Henry F. Field, Joseph A. De Boer, Fred A. Howland.

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### APPENDIX E.

## NAMES OF REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS BURIED IN VERMONT.

Compiled by Walter H. Crockett, of St. Albans, Secretary of the Vermont Society, Sons of the American Revolution, additional to the list printed in the Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society for 1903-04.

#### *Addison.*

Lorain Evarts,  
Samuel Pond,  
Jacob Post,  
John Strong.

#### *Albany.*

Marshall Pillsbury,  
Samuel Russell,  
Ebenezer Watson.

#### *Alburgh.*

Ichabod Babcock,  
John Babcock.

#### *Andover.*

Joseph Abbott,  
Jonas Adams,  
Luther Adams,  
Peter Adams,  
Hart Balch,  
John Barton,  
David Burton,  
Jonathan Crane,  
Joseph Dodge,  
Ebenezer Farnsworth,  
David Hazleton,  
Solomon Howard,  
Daniel Knight,  
Samuel Manning,

Jesse Parkhurst,  
Peter Putnam,  
Joseph Stickney,  
Samson Walker,  
Moses Warner.

#### *Arlington.*

Constant Barney,  
Ephraim Blowers,  
Israel Burritt,  
John Calkins,  
Capt. Martin Deming,  
John Gray,  
Benoni Hawkins,  
Simeon Littlefield.

- Athens.*  
 Ezra Chaffee,  
 Charles Colton,  
 George Porter.
- Bakersfield.*  
 Aaron Barlow,  
 Joshua Barnes,  
 Jonathan Farnsworth,  
 Foster Paige,  
 Maj. Elisha Parker.
- Baltimore.*  
 Seth Houghton.
- Barnard.*  
 Samuel Bennett,  
 William Bennett,  
 Hollan Blackmer,  
 Jacob Boyden,  
 William Buckman,  
 William Chamberlin,  
 Moses Davis,  
 Robert Dean,  
 John Foster,  
 Peter Foster,  
 Elisha Freeman,  
 William Freeman,  
 Sergt. Charles French,  
 William Harlow,  
 Ezra Spaulding,  
 Samuel Stewart.
- Barnet.*  
 Levi Hall,  
 Stephen Rider,  
 John Waddell.
- Benson.*  
 Bristol Bennett,  
 Rufus Ewen,  
 Eli King,  
 Timothy Prince.
- Berkshire.*  
 Arthur Danow,  
 Levi Darling,  
 John Perley,
- Ezekiel Pond,  
 Elisha Shaw,  
 Edward Whitmore.
- Berlin.*  
 Allen Andrews,  
 Elijah Andrews,  
 Daniel Hayden,  
 Job Reed,  
 Lemuel Stickney.
- Bethel.*  
 Jason Bannister,  
 Moses Bragg,  
 Reuben Brooks,  
 Stephen Cleveland,  
 Bibye Cotton,  
 Amos Crain,  
 Stephen Fisk,  
 Joel Marsh,  
 Nehemiah Noble,  
 Ezra Putnam,  
 Benajah Strong.
- Bloomfield.*  
 Adin Bartlett.
- Braintree.*  
 Edward Bass,  
 Simeon Curtis,  
 Elijah Huntington,  
 Thomas Kenney,  
 Matthew Pratt.
- Barre.*  
 Daniel Averill,  
 William Farwell,  
 Elisha Gale,  
 Ebenezer Putnam,  
 Col. Enos Walker.
- Barton.*  
 John Adams,  
 Benoni Burnham,  
 Joseph Hyde,  
 John Monsam,  
 Jonathan Robinson,  
 Lemuel Sturtevant.
- Belvidere.*  
 Moses Brown,  
 Eliphalet Carpenter,  
 John Rosier.
- Bennington.*  
 David Avery,  
 Caleb Austin,  
 Ephraim Bowen,  
 Cornelius Bracy,  
 Solomon Clark,  
 Charles Cushman,  
 Aaron Deming,  
 Jeremiah Field,  
 Job Greene,  
 Peter Hardwood,  
 Simeon Harvey,  
 David Hinman,  
 Benjamin Hoadley,  
 Jesse Loomis,  
 Abner Noble,  
 Lieut. John Noble,  
 Martin Norton,  
 Jonathan Robinson,  
 Samuel Rockwood,  
 Samuel Safford,  
 Simeon Thayer,  
 Isaac Tichenor,  
 Col. Ebenezer Walbridge.
- Bradford.*  
 John Putnam,  
 Arad Stebbins.
- Brandon.*  
 Simeon Bigelow,  
 William Dodge,  
 Stephen Durkee,  
 Zeeb Green,  
 Nathaniel Harris,  
 Solomon Hinds,  
 Jonathan Merriam,  
 Ebenezer Squires,  
 Roger Smith.
- Brattleboro.*  
 Elnathan Allen,  
 John Carpenter,  
 Stephen Greenleaf,

Ruthford Hayes,  
Reuben King,  
George Loveland,  
Ephraim Nash,  
Asa Putnam,  
Daniel Stearns,  
Reuben Stearns.

*Bridgewater.*

Isaac Bisbee,  
George Boyce,  
Joseph Boyce,  
James Crooker,  
George Denison,  
Sergt. Sam'l Denison,  
Daniel Dike,  
James Fletcher,  
Seth Fletcher,  
Joseph French,  
Josiah Gibbs,  
Elisha Gilbert,  
Asa Green,  
Capt. John Hawkins,  
Asa Jones,  
Stephen Knowlton,  
Rowland Leonard,  
Amos Murdell,  
Thomas Palmer,  
Benjamin Perkins,  
Nathan Pratt,  
Eleazer Robinson,  
Phineas Sanderson,  
Beriah Smith,  
Thomas Southgate,  
Noah Thompson,  
James Topliff.

*Bridport.*

David Cory,  
Asa Hemenway,  
Jacob Hemenway,  
Samuel Hemenway,  
Phineas Kitchell,  
Sergt. Abel Rice,  
Dr. William Vaughn.

*Bristol.*

Rufus Barnard,  
Joseph Bird,  
Walcott Burnham,

Jeriah Chamberlin,  
John Corry,  
Ebenezer Cushman,  
Robert Dunshee,  
Cyprian Eastman,  
Asahel Hall,  
Samuel Hall,  
Jeremiah Hatch,  
John D. Holly,  
Paul P. Holly,  
William Howden,  
Jeremiah Mead,  
Asaph Parmelee,  
Benjamin Plumley,  
Amos Scott,  
Abraham Vreedenburgh,  
David Whitney.

*Brookline.*

Samuel Bennett,  
Eleazer Cushman,  
Luther Newcomb.

*Brookfield.*

Reuben Adams,  
Barna Bigelow,  
Experians Fisk, Jr.,  
Nathan Fisk,  
Timothy Kendall,  
John Paine,  
Noah Paine.

*Brownington.*

Humphrey Nichols,  
Joel Priest,  
Isaac Smith,  
Samuel Smith.

*Brunswick.*

Simeon Wait.

*Burke.*

Seth Clark,  
Abner Coe,  
Sergt. Benj. Farner,  
Daniel Hall,  
Sergt. Isaac Martin.

*Burlington.*

Alanson Adams,  
John Adams,  
Reuben Bostwick,  
Capt. Amos Burnham,  
Daniel Castle,  
Samuel Hitchcock,  
William Kilbourne,  
John Pierce,  
Nathan Seymour.

*Cabot.*

Moses Ainsworth,  
Benjamin Andrews,  
Eliphalet Bill,  
Joseph Hoyt.

*Calais.*

Solomon Janes.

*Cambridge.*

James Campbell,  
Amos Fassett,  
John Fassett, Jr.,  
Elihu Grant,  
Benjamin Griswold,  
Parker Page,  
Joel F. Perham,  
Sergt. Truman Powell.

*Canaan.*

Gilman Clough,  
Oliver Goss,  
John Hughs,  
John Weeks.

*Castleton.*

Joseph Babcock,  
William Bromley,  
William Cushman,  
Sgt. Jonathan Deming,  
Daniel Eaton,  
Preserved Kellogg,  
Daniel Lowden.

*Cavendish.*

Benjamin Adams,  
Timothy Adams,

Isaac Baldwin,  
Samuel Burbank,  
Capt. John Coffeen,  
Joel Davis,  
Nathaniel Fair,  
Asaph Fletcher,  
Nehemiah Green,  
John McLane,  
Elnathan Reed,  
William Spalding,  
Samuel Stearns,  
Oliver Whitney.

*Charleston.*

John Palmer,  
William Sawyer.

*Charlotte.*

Isaac Cogswell,  
Ephraim Page,  
Stephen Turrill.

*Chelsea.*

Sherman Allen,  
Ananiah Bohonon,  
Abraham Brigham,  
Daniel Buck,  
Benjamin Burgess,  
Frederick Calkins,  
Asa Dearborn,  
Hiram Huntington,  
William Killown,  
John Martin,  
Thomas Parker,  
David Perry.

*Chester.*

Benjamin Blaney,  
Nathan Boyden,  
Thomas Caryl,  
Joshua Church,  
Ephraim Clark,  
Jeremiah Dean,  
Stephen Dyer,  
David Earl,  
Timothy Eastman,  
Ebenezer Farrington,  
Daniel Fletcher,  
Paul Fletcher,

Surg. Laban Gates,  
Moses Gile,  
Joshua Jordan,  
Simeon Keith,  
John Kibling,  
Archelous Putnam,  
John Putnam,  
Stephen Randall,  
Waitstill Ranney,  
Reuben Ray,  
Jason Rice,  
Stephen Riggs,  
Ezra Sargent,  
Jabez Sargent,  
William Stoodley,  
John Thurston,  
Amasa Turner,  
Richard Ward,  
Amos Weatherby,  
Benjamin Whitmore,  
Solomon Wilson.

*Chittenden.*

Asa Durkee.

*Clarendon.*

Sergt. Abel Horton,  
Dr. David Palmer,  
Ephraim Parker,  
Sergt. Samuel Parker,  
Isaac Southworth,  
Jesse Sprague,  
Lewis Walker.

*Colchester.*

Alexander Alford,  
Jeremiah Fisher,  
Peter Gale,  
John Law,  
Amos Mansfield, Jr.,  
Claud Monty,  
Amos Preston,  
Lemuel Tubbs,  
David Webster.

*Concord.*

Joseph Ball,  
Elias Cheney,  
Jonathan Corser,

Josiah Goodale,  
David Hibbard,  
Hinds Reed,  
Noah Vilas,  
Capt. Samuel Wetherbe,  
Capt. Samuel Witherell.

*Corinth.*

Jeremiah Dewey,  
Eleazer Porter,  
Eleazer P. Putnam.

*Cornwall.*

Jared Abernethy,  
John Alvord,  
John Boynton,  
Joseph Cogswell,  
Isaiah Gilbert,  
Reuben Hall,  
Israel C. Jones,  
Gideon Miller,  
Reuben Peck,  
William Pratt,  
John Rockwell,  
William Samson,  
Daniel Scovel,  
William Ward.

*Coventry.*

Frederick W. Herman,  
David Lathe,  
Joseph Priest,  
Edward Welch.

*Craftsbury.*

Capt. Ebenezer Crafts,  
Daniel Davison,  
John Hadley,  
Joseph Scott,  
Sergt. Rob't Trumbull.

*Danby.*

Bradford Barnes,  
Minor Hilyard,  
Elijah Lilly.

*Danville.*

Uri Babbit,  
Jethro Batchelder,  
Jesse Cheney,  
Thomas Colby,  
Jonathan Danforth,  
Salma Davis,  
Benjamin Deming,  
Stephen Dexter,  
Samuel Hawley,  
Thomas Hoyt,  
John Rollins,  
Ebenezer Sawyer,  
Caleb Stiles,  
Joseph Tilton.

*Derby.*

Abram Alexander,  
Simon Davis,  
John Healey,  
Isaac Hinman,  
Timothy Hinman,  
Simeon Pope.

*Dorset.*

Peletiah Dewey,  
Benedict Eggleston,  
Asa Farwell,  
Isaac Farwell,  
Asahel L. Fenton,  
Noah Fuller,  
John Sargent,  
Benjamin Tenney,  
James Wrin.

*Dover.*

Benjamin Baldwin,  
Balah Kendall,  
Capt. Elijah Stearns.

*Dummerston.*

Daniel Bemis,  
John Bemis,  
Nathaniel Bixby,  
Thomas Boyden,  
William Boyden,  
Ellis Griffith,  
John Reed,

William Robertson,  
Daniel Tenney.

*Duxbury.*

John Colt.

*East Montpelier.*

Eseck Howland.

*Eden.*

Jonas Harrington,  
Eli Hinds, Jr.,  
Isaac Lackey,  
Samuel Plumley,  
Peter Wylie.

*Elmore.*

Ebenezer Copin.

*Enosburg.*

Job Libbey,  
James Miller.

*Essex.*

France Faxon.

*Fairfax.*

James Bellows,  
Archibald Cook,  
Joseph Cross,  
E. Faxon,  
George Majors,  
Israel Richardson,  
Bradstreet Spafford.

*Fairfield.*

Whitmore Beardsley,  
Jabez Burr,  
Oliver Cleveland,  
Abel Fairbanks,  
Jabez Hawkins,  
Josiah Osgood,  
Philip Priest,  
Silas Safford,  
Dyer Sherwood.

*Fair Haven.*

Samuel Stannard.

*Fayston.*

William Newcomb.

*Ferrisburg.*

Daniel Champion,  
Josiah Johnson,  
William Kellogg,  
Abel Thompson,  
Nathan Walker.

*Fletcher.*

Daniel Bailey,  
Henry Campbell,  
Samuel Danforth,  
Rufus Montague.

*Franklin.*

Paul Gates.

*Georgia.*

Capt. Jonat'n Danforth,  
Loammi Pattee,  
John Wood,  
Reuben Wood.

*Glover.*

Paul Cook,  
Paul Hardy,  
Jesse Thomas,

*Goshen.*

Enoch Reynolds.

*Grand Isle.*

Capt. John Stark.

*Granville.*

Abiathar Austin,  
Eli Lewis,  
Abraham Parker,  
James Shaw,  
Jeremiah Snow,

*Grafton.*

David Blood,  
Simeon Conant,  
Nathaniel Cutler,  
Henry Davis,  
David French,  
Abraham Gibson,  
David Gibson,  
Jonathan Gibson,  
Solomon Gibson,  
Enoch Hale,  
John Kidder,  
Samuel Spaulding,  
William Stickney,  
Joseph Thatcher,  
Jonathan Warner,  
Samuel Whitney,  
Asa M. Wyman.

*Greensboro.*

Samuel Badger,  
John Cross,  
Amos Smith,  
Lieut. Thos. Tolman.

*Groton.*

John Clark,  
Ebenezer Fisk.

*Guildhall.*

John Cook,  
Capt. Benoni Cutler,  
David Denison,  
Moses Hale,  
David Hopkinson,  
Samuel Howe.

*Guilford.*

Nehemiah Andrews,  
Daniel Boyden,  
James Boyden,  
Ebenezer Chamberlain,  
Jeremiah Graves,  
Thomas Harris,  
Samuel Larabee,  
William Marsh,  
Cyrus Martin,  
Jasper Patridge,

Adonijah Putnam,  
Micah Rice,  
Seth Rice,  
Eliel Washburn,  
Aaron Wilder.

*Halifax.*

Thomas Adams,  
James Babcock,  
Abner Bemis,  
Joel Cutler,  
John Farnham,  
David Goodall,  
Jesse Guild,  
John Harris,  
Israel Jones,  
Moses Larned,  
Francis Phelps,  
Elijah Pike,  
Newton Ransom,  
Hezekiah Smith,  
Eleazer Whitney,  
Artemas Woodard.

*Hancock.*

Charles Church,  
Capt. Nath'l Cushman.

*Hardwick.*

Charles Bailey,  
Abel Carpenter,  
Abel Conant,  
Jonathan Curtis,  
John Fox,  
Sergt. Thomas Fuller,  
Sergt. David Norris,  
Eleazer Nutting,  
Samuel Stevens,  
Joseph Weeks,  
Reuben Wheatley.

*Hartford.*

Sgt. Luth. Bartholomew,  
Daniel Beard,  
Capt. William Bramble,  
James Call,  
Simeon Chapman,  
David Coburn (or Col-  
burn),

Joshua Dewey,  
Shadrack Dodge,  
Lieut. Israel Gillet,  
John Gillet,  
Sergt. Jacob Hall,  
Willis Hall,  
Samuel Harrington,  
Daniel Hazen,  
Elijah Hazen,  
Hezekiah Hazen,  
Capt. Joshua Hazen,  
Solomon Hazen,  
Thomas Hazen,  
Benjamin Hoyt,  
Capt. Abel Marsh,  
Daniel Marsh,  
Eliphalet Marsh,  
Elisha Marsh,  
John Marsh,  
Col. Joseph Marsh,  
David Newton,  
John Paddock,  
Samuel Pease,  
Daniel Pineo,  
Eliot Porter,  
Rowland Powell,  
Amos Richardson,  
Thomas Richardson,  
Amos Robinson,  
Francis W. Savage,  
Seth Savage,  
Thomas Savage,  
Darius Sessions,  
Philip Sprague,  
Solomon Strong,  
William Strong,  
Sergt. Andrew Tacy,  
Reuben Tenney,  
Josiah Tilden,  
Oliver Udall.

*Hartland.*

Noah Aldrich,  
Eldad Alexander,  
Quartus Alexander,  
Simeon Alford,  
Wm. Symmes Ashley,  
Thomas Bagley,  
Moses Barron,  
John Billings,  
Nathan Billings,



Eliazer Bishop,  
 Chap. Daniel Breck,  
 Solomon Brown,  
 Isaiah Burk,  
 Jonathan Burk,  
 Marston Cabot,  
 Nathan Call,  
 Samuel Capron,  
 Lieut. Ephraim Carey,  
 Capt. Nathaniel Cole,  
 Melvin Cotton,  
 Thomas Cotton,  
 Holmes Cushman,  
 Ichabod Cushman,  
 Col. George Denison,  
 John Dunsmore,  
 Asahel Doubleday,  
 John Dunbar,  
 Robert Dunbar,  
 Elisha Flower,  
 William Flower,  
 Elisha Gallup,  
 William Gallup,  
 Zelates Gates,  
 Peter Gibson,  
 Peter Gilson,  
 Joseph Grow,  
 Samuel Hearley,  
 Thomas Hoadley,  
 Jonathan Hodgman,  
 Maj. Lot Hodgman,  
 Phineas Killam,  
 Thomas Lawton,  
 Darius Liscomb,  
 Nehemiah Liscomb,  
 John Lull,  
 Timothy Lull,  
 Isaac Maine,  
 Gardner Marcy,  
 Joseph Marcy,  
 Isaac Morgan,  
 Robert Morrison,  
 John Robbins,  
 Eliphalet Rogers,  
 Isaac Sargent,  
 Lemuel Scott,  
 Thomas Shaw,  
 Jesse Smeed,  
 Leonard Spaulding,  
 Lieut. Daniel Spooner,  
 Eliakim Spooner,

Paul Spooner,  
 John Sumner,  
 Asa Taylor,  
 Nathaniel Waldron,  
 Jonathan Whitney,  
 Capt. Aaron Willard,  
 Oliver Willard,  
 Abel Wright,  
 Zadock Wright.

*Highgate.*

Philip Shelters.

*Hinesburgh.*

Moses Dow,  
 Asa Forbes,  
 John Green,  
 Dan Howard,  
 Jonathan Stearns,  
 Eliphaz Steel.

*Holland.*

John Bishop,  
 Isaac Clement,  
 Qm. Eber Robinson,  
 Isaac Sargent.

*Huntington.*

Ebenezer Cutler,  
 Zebediah Joslin,  
 John Moses,  
 Jonas Shattuck.

*Hyde Park.*

John Collins,  
 John McCloud.

*Ira.*

Joseph Tower,

*Irasburgh.*

Benjamin Barton,  
 Amos Conant,  
 Benjamin Hardy.

*Jamaica.*

John Bradley,  
 Nathaniel Cheney,

Timothy Fisher,  
 Ichabod Higgins,  
 Joel Hill,  
 Bailey Rawson,  
 Gideon Stoddard.

*Jericho.*

Peter L. Allen,  
 Isaac Benham,  
 Ichabod Burnham,  
 Benoni Chapin,  
 Ichabod Chapin,  
 Noah Chittenden,  
 Simeon Davis,  
 Azariah Rood,  
 Roger Stevens,  
 J. I. Warner.

*Johnson.*

William Boyes,  
 Solomon Briggs,  
 Jonathan Burnham,  
 ——— Chase,  
 Elisha Dodge,  
 Ralph Ellingwood,  
 David Erwin,  
 William Heath,  
 Jonathan McConnell,  
 Jeremiah McDaniel,  
 Samuel Miller,  
 Daniel Perkins,  
 Arunah Waterman.

*Kirby.*

Zebulon Burroughs,  
 Jonathan Lewis,  
 Asa Parker,  
 Stephen Watkins.

*Landgrove.*

David Carpenter,  
 Hezekiah Ward Clark,  
 Ephraim Hildreth,  
 Reuben Holt.

*Leicester.*

Isaac Atwood,  
 Benjamin Whitman.

*Lincoln.*

Joshua Rugg.

*Londonderry.*

Abraham Abbott,  
David Cochran,  
Bithiah Howard,  
Edmund Ingalls,  
Lincoln Stiles,  
Jeremiah Wheeler,  
Nathan Whiting.

*Lowell.*

Jonathan Powers.

*Ludlow.*

Sergt. Levi Adams,  
Ephraim Dutton,  
Jesse Fletcher,  
Josiah Fletcher,  
Josiah F. Richardson,  
John Spafford,  
Jesse Spaulding,  
Thomas Weatherby,  
Jonathan Whitcomb.

*Lunenburg.*

Louis Cook,  
Zuriah Marshall,  
Samuel Martin,  
Samuel Nash,  
Timothy Nash,  
Azariah Webb.

*Lyndon.*

John Bly,  
Ozias Caswell,  
Stephen Eastman,  
Moses Evans,  
Erastus Harvey,  
Oliver Hartwell,  
Sergt. Henry Hoffman,  
Jacob Houghton,  
Ebenezer Howland,  
Jona. Locklin,  
John McGaffey,  
William Miles,

Rufus Moore,  
Ephraim Niles,  
Job Olney,  
Sergt. Gaias Peck,  
Nathaniel Phillips,  
Elijah Ross,  
Moses Root,  
James Sherman,  
Jonas Sprague,  
Jonathan Swan.

*Maidstone.*

Sergt. Jacob Schoff.

*Manchester.*

Samuel Mitchell,  
Gideon Moody,  
Sergt. Eli Pettibone,  
Samuel Walker.

*Marlboro.*

James Cutler,  
Boomer Jenks,  
Erastus Mather,  
Phineas Mather,  
John Philips,  
Amos Prouty,  
Jonas Whitney.

*Marshfield.*

Joshua Cheney,  
Ebenezer Dodge,  
Joseph T. Eaton,  
Stephen Rich.

*Mendon.*

Hilkiah Grout,  
Isaac Sanderson.

*Middlebury.*

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Alpheus Brooks,  
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Bela Manzer,  
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Jesse Spencer,  
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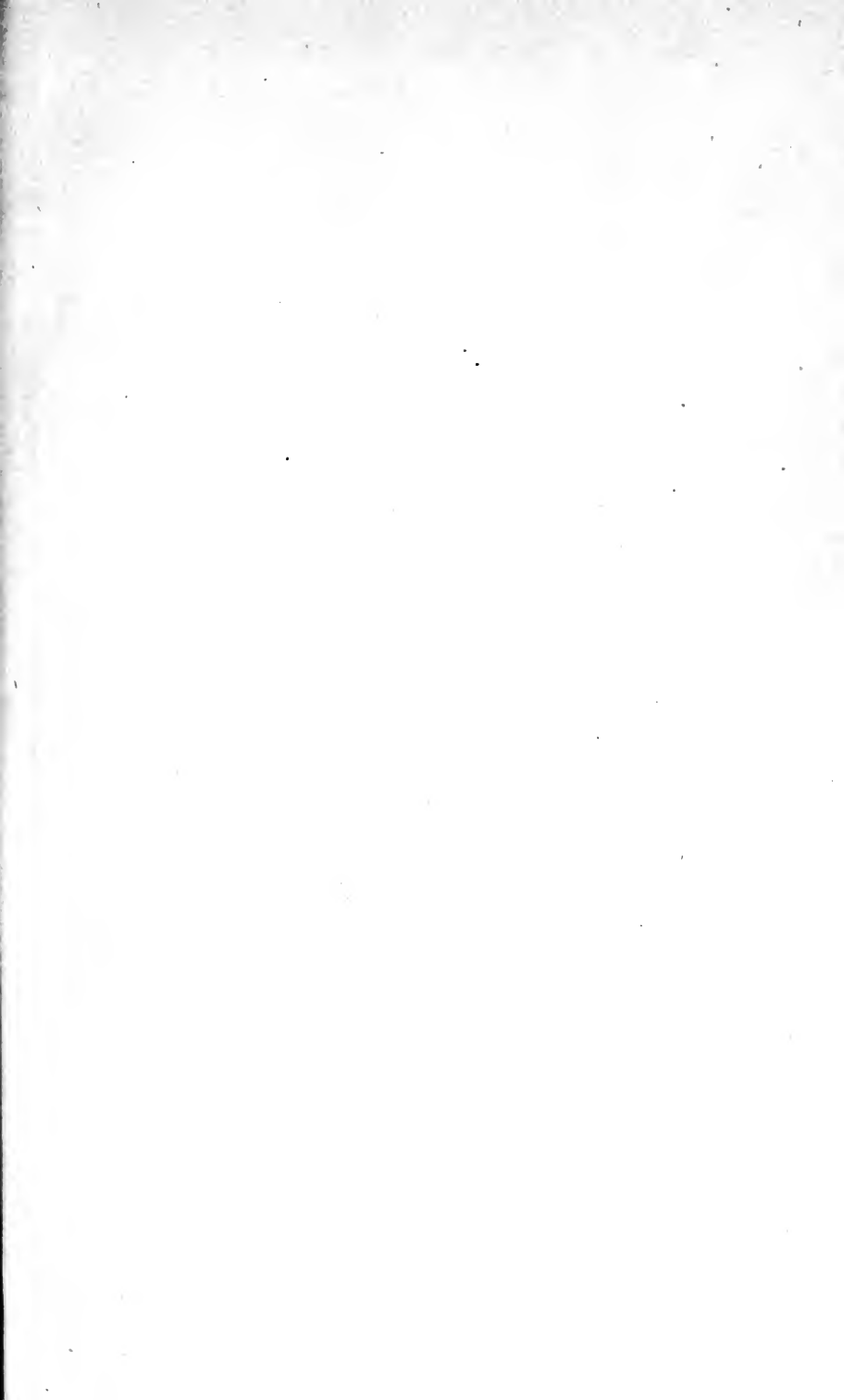
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