The PROCEEDINGS of the VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY
"... broadsides enhance the understanding of the historical events and provide a dramatic and often visually graphic sense of the past."

Broadside Illustrations of the Jeffersonian-Federalist Conflict in Vermont, 1809-1816

By John J. Duffy

The years 1800-1807 were boom times in Vermont. The Census of 1800 reported this northwestern corner of New England as the fastest growing state in the Union, and investments of all kinds could be relied upon to turn substantial profits. Until the passage of the Embargo Act in 1807 and its supplement in March of the next year, Canadian trade on Lake Champlain through such ports as St. John, Montreal, and Quebec was strong and yearly increasing. The following eight years, however, encompassed nationally and internationally turbulent times which were fully reflected in the economic and political life of Vermont.

The embargo on trade with England and the hatred it earned Jefferson when Congress amended the law to forbid inland trade with Canada, the War of 1812, and the Federalists' threats of secession all had profound and wrenching effects on the social and political structure of Vermont. As in the rest of New England, the Federalist Party was strong and vocal. Leading names in the ranks of the early settlers and the rosters of the Revolutionary Fathers by 1810 were written prominently on the Federalist rolls. Chittendens and Allens, first generation descendants of the first governor's family and the chiefs of the Green Mountain Boys, soon after 1800 were among the wealthy landowners who invested shrewdly in Canadian trade. Among post-Revolution immigrants, the Catlins, for example, had come to Vermont from Connecticut in the decade before the turn of the century and by 1810, through their association with John Jacob Astor, had joined the leading import-export merchants in that section of the United States. Jeffersonian Vermonters, on the other
hand, generally found among the more recent immigrants to Vermont, often lacked sufficient capital or credit to profit from Canadian trade. They were usually small landholders, shopkeepers and, as would occur later in that religious expression of Jacksonian democracy called the New Measure Revivals of the 1830's, often drawn from the ranks of the unemployed and farm and day-laborers.

The conflict between Jeffersonian Republicans and Federalists in Vermont had earlier witnessed heated episodes, the most famous being the prosecution and jailing of the Republican Congressman Matthew Lyon under the Sedition Act of 1798 for his opposition to the Adams administration. Lyon later had the satisfaction of casting the decisive vote from Vermont which many claimed elected Thomas Jefferson President in 1800. With the strong development of a rich trade with Canada, the Federalist-Republican conflict deeply split Vermont after the enactment of the Embargo, and the political differences increased during the war years of 1812-15. Studies of the period conclude that four of ten Vermonters directly opposed the Embargo by 1810 and by 1814 perhaps five to six of ten opposed the War of 1812. 2

Some of the most interesting documents recording the Federalist-Republican conflict, though largely unexamined for their relation to and exposition of the main patterns of the dispute, survive in the form of broadsides. A broadside, a single sheet of paper printed on one side only, was intended to circulate information on subjects of an urgent nature. Broadsides provide some of the earliest, if not the first, examples of printing in New England. In 1639, one year before the printing of the Bay Psalm Book, Stephen Daye's press in Cambridge produced “The Freeman's Oath,” and political statements have ever since dominated broadsides production in New England. Though perhaps not strictly historical literature, broadsides do enhance the understanding of the historical events and provide a dramatic and often visually graphic sense of the past. 3 An especially informative selection of broadsides illustrating various aspects of the political dispute fired by the Embargo and the War of 1812 are in the collections of the Vermont Historical Society. Printed in the years from 1809 to 1816, these documents demonstrate vividly how a small, mostly rural society could communicate the range of political attitudes and social values. Printed in 1809, “A Dream, or Vision, by Samuel Ingalls, of Dunham in the Province of Lower Canada . . .” (Figure 1.) spoke threateningly to those who would prohibit trade with the British Empire's American outpost north of the 45th parallel. When large majorities in town meetings in early 1809 passed resolutions threatening secession or violence as anti-embargo measures, Republicans supporting Jefferson in Vermont knew well the minority position they held in their
A DREAM, OR VISION,
By SAMUEL INGALLS, of Dunham, in the Province of Lower Canada, on the night of Sept. 2, 1809.

I THOUGHT I was standing on the bank of White River, in the State of Vermont, about the distance of a mile from the junction of the River with Connecticut River, in company with my brother James Ingalls. I heard a rushing noise in the air; and instantly casting my eyes upward, there appeared to my view three carriages of polished gold, (in the form of the top of a chaise without wheels) passing through the air in a direct line aforesaid; and steering toward the South. The workmanship of the carriages was exceedingly curious, similar to banister or wicker-work. The distance between each carriage appeared to be about six or eight feet.

In the carriage next to me there were three women elegantly attired; the woman who sat in the centre was considerably larger than either of the other two.

In the middle carriage were three men richly arrayed; the largest was in the centre.

In the third carriage were three Angels, as I supposed by their having wings suspended from their shoulders; the largest Angel was in the centre; their apparel was so shining or glittering as to surpass my power of description. Each Angel held in his hand a wand or sceptre of burnished gold, of curious workmanship, to appearance about six or seven feet in length. Each Angel wore, on his head, a crown or diadem of gold; and on the front of each crown was an erect frontispiece, with large letters or characters written thereon, which I could not understand.

As they passed through the air, I could distinctly hear the Angels sing a hymn, but I can recollect only a part of the tune, and only these words of the hymn: "Prepare to give me room, ye nations, I am coming!"

I steadily kept my eyes upon them, until I saw them descend in their carriages on the west bank of Connecticut River, in the town of Hartford, in Vermont. I could plainly discern that the Angels were about breast high above the buildings; but the other two carriages, at this time, were lost to my view. — The Angels stretched out their wands or sceptres over Connecticut River, and conversed together a considerable time, but I could hear nothing distinctly, except a tremendous sound. I saw the houses on the east or opposite shore of Connecticut River, in New-Hampshire, totter and shake as if there had been an earthquake, and appeared to me to threaten immediate destruction; but none of the buildings fell to the ground.

They all then arose in their carriages, and I very distinctly heard them pronounce these words — "Thus saith God, I will spare the rest of this wicked generation one hundred and forty years, saith the Lord." — And immediately they all went up out of my sight.

This is really a Dream or Vision which I Samuel Ingalls had, while sleeping, in the night of the 2d of September, 1809.
communities. After James Madison, who succeeded Jefferson to the presidency, failed to negotiate a treaty with England in the summer of 1809, Samuel Ingalls' vision of imperial avenging angels descending the Connecticut River from Canada to support Federalists in their struggle appealed to many Vermonters.

Federalist newspapers, like the Montpelier Watchman, warned of "Democratic [-Republican] societies" acting as "instruments of Napoleon." Meanwhile, the Bennington World, a Jeffersonian-Republican journal, agreed with Ingall's vision of a "Wicked club, who are laying plots to deceive the nations," and instead called for committees of public safety to deal with "domestic traitors" among the Federalists. The effects of these threats from both sides of the dispute proved no more destructive than the angels in Ingalls' dream vision: they appeared "to threaten destruction; but none of the buildings fell to the ground."

The continuing trade, mostly smuggled over the Champlain-Richelieu water route, provided a major expression of Federalist antipathy to the embargo in land-locked Vermont. Despite a Jeffersonian-Republican majority of the General Assembly, the governorship, and the Supreme Court, resistance to the Embargo Act in 1808-09 in northern Vermont remained virulent. Smuggling of goods and produce, especially lumber and potash on Lake Champlain, was carried on extensively between Vermont and Canada. The Blacksnake, a forty-foot, single-masted cutter, became one of the most notorious and successful smugglers' ships on the lake in 1808. In this year its crew attempted to prevent federal and militia officers from impounding the boat as it lay beached upstream from the lake on the Winooski River waiting to receive a new load of contraband potash bound for Canada.

A small force of twelve officers and privates surprised the crew of the Blacksnake (so-called for its tarred hull) on August 4, 1808, and took the notorious vessel. The smugglers, ten of them, led by Truman Mudgett of Highgate, resisted and fired on the militiamen as they attempted to sail their customs cutter and the captured Blacksnake down the river. Mudgett lost three of his crew, most of whom were captured at the site of the incident. Authorities arrested the remaining fugitives on or near the border.

The smugglers' trial stirred partisan feelings between Republicans supporting the Embargo Acts and anti-Jefferson Federalists in Vermont. The broadside, "To the People of Vermont" (Figure 2.), published as an attack on Federalist supporters of the Blacksnake's crew, warned in heated rhetoric of a social and political disaster if the Federalists emerged victorious in the coming election. Firmly convinced Federalists, like Ethan Allen, Jr., when called to jury duty, found themselves dismissed for holding the smugglers innocent of any crime, even murder in this case.
TO THE PEOPLE OF VERMONT.

FELLOW CITIZENS,

IT IS DONE! The cup of guilt is filled! True blood, efficiency and honor fully bled us to meet our destiny. Our land has been bled of the best of our citizens, killing in its full force of the government and foes of our cause. By whom? A foreign foe? a foe to our land, (stained red?) by the bloody hands of domestic traitors.

Capt. Jonathan Chauncey, a respectable citizen, belonging to Burlington, Mr. Elisha Alms, and Mr. Amos Adams, two respectable young men, belonging to Capt. Pratt's companies of militiamen, stationed at Windham, were all killed at Burlington, as witnesses of the fact, alone now, in a most woe-lorn and harrowing manner, by a party of infirmities, employed in fomenting and inciting into Connecticut, in violation of the laws. TheCitizen dashed their缨lings, a large and active man, in pursuit of a horse, which he gave up in Union, after a fast pursuit. The Lieutenant found the horse and took possession of it, not dreaming of the infirmities threatened to put out his heart if he reattacked to murder her. The Lieutenant dropped down the river, with the cavender and the horse he had taken, about half a mile, where the infirmities fired upon him and killed them. The Lieutenant then ordered both hands to be rowed on shore, where the place where the dead proceeded, to boat back with his men, and attended the body of the river as immediately the infirmities discharged a large gun, called a well-placed, the body of which is right in the rowboat on the left hand, and then back that which caused the death of Captains Chandler and Mr. Marth, severely wounded the Lieutenant in the head, the left arm, and leg. A shot in the right shoulder, Capt. Chandler was shot in the field during the encounter, near the flat spot, on his return to dinner, but just reached the place where the government troops entered the field, when the mortally stricken left place, which, at the same instant, fell to the ground, leaving only the upper body standing upright.

If any thing can add to the horror of this, too horrible scene, it is the observation of certain Federal chancellors of the victory, who have come to the scene of high responsibility, tendency to foment the infirmities, and those who were left here by Vermont to fill, as empty heart, and did the fail—days. Vermont, on the 4th of July, and the day, and the other. I should not fail to speak about it, if I did not fear it would influence the writing down—days another, on hearing of the terrible scenes, I am glad of it, if they were president, that will be killed. They were the cause of execution which passed from the majority of Federalists, whereby, if you still purchase from the water's edge of said country, considered by federal hands at mid-day, within the boundaries of that state which bound itself to be the bringer of the Federalists, and force of whole principal merchants purchased with powder and ball, for the express purpose of performing this bloody work.

The Federalists now have in lengthen their faces, and pressed to feel regret for the transaction, but their hypocritical words will not avail them. This horrid deed has been done by their procuration, they are partners in the guilt of the perpetrators, and they are responsible to their country and their God, for all the blood that has been shed.

When a large body of men, and more especially those in the line of life, who long to themselves all the worse, all the talents, and all the resources of the country, can emerge together, for the purpose of opposing the government of their country, and from your government and public, by printing and speaking, treat the government and theイルされてる, the government, from the President of the United States down to the lowest executive officer, with such suf- difficult and compact; when they transact on the laws of the government, on daily co- ciples, both by precept and example, the op- eration of those laws by force and arms; when they exist at the face of the infirmities, in every act of treason they commit, when they bid defiance to government, and threaten the officers with assassination if they attempt to do their duty; when with more than foreign barbarity they could the blazing battles of our cherished relations; and when they even incite the federal battle while apprehended with grief at the site of his beloved soil — then is the cup of guilt full and their fate is at hand to receive in defense of your country and your lives.

This is a titanic contest. It is not a simple question, that is to be governed and considered; but it is a struggle for the existence of your government; for the preservation of those rights possessed with the blood of your fathers; and for the preservation of your lives. Should that follow, which goodly men, full-ruling with the blood of your fathers, come into power, what have you to expect? If they have done these things in the face of you, in the face of humanity, when will they do when clothed with power? This bloody form is but an opening wedge to the entrance they would partake. The tragedy of Revolutionists would be realized in the United States; and every distinguished character, who is a friend to his country, might expect to be sacrificed to the manner of an unprincipled and vassiallable faction.

Fellow citizens, you depend the fate of your country—by your footsteps at the approaching elections, you will decide, whether you desire the men of Science; whether you are worthy of your fathers; whether you will defend the government of your country, through your children, or proceed to your own lives; or whether you will hastily give up your birthright, and follow the pollution of the nation in the right. Remember.

By supporting our private patriotic governors and ourselves, you will perpetuate the free government of the United States, and prevent the blessings we now enjoy.

By neglecting to attend the polls, or by voting for the federal tickets, you will entail on your country the horrors of tyranny, oppression and murder.

MONITOR.
The Supreme Court of Vermont sat as a grand jury, Royall Tyler presiding Chief Justice, and handed down an indictment which led to convictions of most of the crew of the Blacksna. One of the ten smugglers, Cyrus Dean, was sentenced to death and was hanged before 10,000 spectators in Burlington on November 11, 1809. Mudgett, however, won a discharge in 1810 after a *nolle prosequi* was entered in his case. Others received sentences which included one hour in the pillory, fifty lashes, and the distinction of being the first convicts incarcerated at Windsor State Prison after its opening in June, 1809.

From the passage of the Embargo Act in 1807 until the end of the War of 1812, smuggling contraband goods in and out of Canada became a primary means of marketing Vermont's produce and supplying essential foreign imports as well as serving as an obvious expression of dissatisfaction with national policies. Before the war broke out in 1812, anti-Jeffersonian newspapers expressed tolerance of, sometimes even applauded, smugglers and condemned government enforcement officers as repressors of individual liberties. Even during the war, when contraband trade with Canada took on a treasonous air, Sir George Prevost, Governor of Canada, could inform London that the British army in Canada received two-thirds of its beef from Vermont. An observer from Burlington, speaking in the pages of the *New Hampshire Sentinel* (May 14, 1808), asked of the embargo, "Why this severe restriction upon our small, but absolutely necessary commerce with Canada?"

Many Vermonters saw the smuggler as a noble figure, a hero opposing the restrictive rule of a Jefferson or a Tiberius. Like the "Virtuous Wife, who fed her Father with her own milk," (Figure 3.) the smuggler brought the necessary trade goods from Canada—the milk—which sustained Vermont until the opening of the Champlain-Hudson Canal expanded opportunities for southern trade with New York markets in the 1820's.

Only recently settled but quickly becoming populated, Vermont in 1810 presented a combination of frontier egalitarianism and urbane, class-consciousness. Such a mixed audience could easily see the lesson in a broadside drawn from Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis historia*. Conservative Vermonters in need of a cultural tradition to provide a justifying framework of values for their smuggling activities could respond affirmatively to the example from a Latin classic of the virtuous daughter succoring her father. Unread frontiersmen could equally appreciate how resistance to Caesar's repressive rule would bring its own reward. The broadside of the "Virtuous Wife" was one of the most popular documents in the anti-embargo campaign, and it went through three separate printings during the years 1809-10.
THE GREEK DAUGHTER

Or, an example of a VIRTUOUS WIFE, who, and her Father with her own milk—be being commanded to be barred to death by Tiberius Caesar, Emperor of Rome: that was afterwards pardoned, and the Daughter highly rewarded.

Figure 3.
The repeal of the Embargo on March 1, 1809, four days before James Madison succeeded Jefferson in the Presidency, restored free access to Canadian markets to Vermont's commerce. But in the succeeding two years it became glaringly apparent that the United States would go to war with England. As the war began, patriotic fervor needed stirring. Following in the tradition of Samuel Ingall's "Dream, or Vision," the broadside recounting Jacob Berriman's destruction of a monstrous, panther-eating snake "Westward of Fort Recovery" in the spring of 1794 provided an instructive message for Vermonters during the opening days of the War of 1812. (Figure 4). "The Second War of Independence" threatened Vermont and the nation just as seriously as the events during the Anglo-American crisis in the 1790's. Indian wars and American charges that the British armed and directed the Indian depredation in the Old Northwest exacerbated the crisis which included action on the Maumee in Northwestern Ohio at about the same time that Berriman presumably observed the monster frightful as ten furies.

In 1792 the Indians badly defeated General Hugh St. Clair, with the entire United States regular army of 2,000 men, a few miles from Fort Wayne. After occupying American posts in the Northwest Territory, the British governor of Canada proposed in late 1792 that the land between the Great Lakes and the Ohio River, as well as parts of New York and Vermont, be established as an Indian state. Lieutenant Governor Simcoe of Upper Canada built a fort on the Maumee a hundred miles southwest of Detroit. Thus the British imperial monster was prepared to devour a meal which would include the Vermont catamount. In 1812 the feline emblem was familiar with Vermonters and recalled Jonas Fay's tavern, the site of the legendary war councils of the Green Mountain Boys, under the sign of the panther.

Reorganized after St. Clair's defeat, the American army under the command of "Mad Anthony" Wayne prepared to battle the imperial monster in the shape of an Indian force with Canadian and British support on the Maumee in the spring of 1794. Mounted riflemen from Kentucky joined Wayne's force, and after a series of encounters throughout the spring and early summer and Wayne's construction of Fort Defiance, the Americans, with mounted troops leading the attack on the flanks, defeated the British and Indian force at the Battle of Fallen Timbers on August 20, 1794. Finally, after a conference of almost six weeks in the summer of 1795, the hostilities ended and the fifteen United States acquired from the Indians, for $10,000, portions of the Northwest Territory, Detroit, and the future site of Chicago.

As the war broke out with England in 1812, the parallels with that
Figure 4.
earlier war were clear in the minds of many Americans. Indian war on
the northwestern frontier, this time led by Tecumseh and the Prophet,
had contributed to the American declaration of war. "A Monster . . .
Terrible as Hell" threatened again, and Vermonters were to be made
aware of it through the emblematic story from Jacob Berriman's Journal.
Proof of the tale, the broadside claimed, was the stuffed skin on exhibit
in Philadelphia at the Museum of Charles Wilson Peale, the famous
painter whose portraits of Washington as general and defender of
independence would bring courage to the hearts of those who feared the
return of the all-devouring serpent.

With the declaration of war in 1812, Vermonters began to show their
Yankee colors. Jeffersonians had achieved a Republican majority in the
Vermont legislature and passed a local "Non-Importation" law in
November, 1812, which forbade all trade with Canada. Conviction for
violation of the law would bring the condemnation of the contraband,
a $1,000 fine, and seven years' hard labor. Federalists, meanwhile, quietly
contemplated secession and, when they regained a majority in the General
Assembly in 1813 resolved by one vote a hotly contested gubernatorial
election by choosing Martin Chittenden as Vermont's last Federalist gover-
nor. The voters of the state also sent six Federalists to Washington to
fill all of Vermont's Congressional seats.

The imperialists' British serpent obviously, no longer presented a threat
to the now triumphant Federalists. Jeffersonian pleas to have "the
British expelled from every inch of the North American Continent" were
so little heeded that Governor Chittenden even contemplated withdrawing
Vermont's militia from the national defense. The Third Brigade of
Vermont's Third militia Division had been ordered across Lake Champlain
into New York early in September, 1813, to join General Wade Hampton's
ill-fated expedition against Canada, only to be thwarted by Canadian
forces a few miles north of Plattsburgh at Chazy and Chateaugay in late
September and October. Chittenden quickly proclaimed the deactivation
of the brigade and ordered its return to Vermont. His official broadside
proclamation was distributed throughout the Champlain Valley (Figure 5.)
From their camp at Plattsburgh, however, the officers responded: "we
shall not obey your Excellency's order for returning, but shall continue
in the service of our country."

One year later Commodore Macdonough would redeem Hampton's
disaster at the Battle of Plattsburgh Bay. The classic route of invasion
from the St. Lawrence Valley to the Hudson River proceeded up the
Richelieu River and south through Lake Champlain. Like the Indians,
the French, and Burgoyne before him, the British General Sir George
Prevost in 1814 led his powerful army against American regulars and
BY HIS EXCELLENCY

MARTIN CHITTENDEN, ESQUIRE,

GOVERNOR, CAPTAIN-GENERAL, AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF, IN AND OVER THE STATE OF VERMONT,

A PROCLAMATION:

Whereas, it appears, that the Third Brigade of the Third Division of the Militia of this State, has been ordered from our frontiers to the defence of a neighbouring State — And, whereas it further appears, to the extreme regret of the Captain General, that a part of the Militia of said Brigade have been placed under the command, and at the disposal, of an Officer of the United States, out of the jurisdiction or control of the Executive of this State, and have been actually marched to the defence of a sister State, fully competent to all the purposes of self defence, whereby an extensive section of our own Province is left, in a measure, unprotected, and thepeaceable, good citizens thereof are put in great jeopardy, and exposed to the retaliatory incursions and ravages of an exasperated enemy — And, whereas, disturbances, of a very serious nature, are believed to exist, in consequence of a portion of the Militia having been thus ordered out of the State —

Therefore...to the end, that these great evils may be provided against, and, as far as may be, prevented for the future —

Be it Known...that such portion of the Militia of said Third Brigade, in said Third District...be now being...in the State of New York, or else-where, beyond the limits of this State, both Officers and men, are hereby ordered and directed, by the Captain General and Commander in Chief of the Militia of the State of Vermont, forthwith to return to the respective places of their usual residence, within the territorial limits of said Brigade, and there to hold themselves in constant readiness to act, in obedience to the Orders of Brigadier General Jacob Davis, who is appointed, by the Legislature of this State, in the command of said Brigade.

And the said Brigadier General Davis is hereby ordered and directed, forthwith, to see, that the Militia of his said Brigade be completely armed and equipped, as the Law directs, and held in constant readiness to march on the shortest notice, to the defence of the Frontiers; and, in case of actual invasion, without further Orders, to march with his said Brigade, to act, either in co-operation with the Troops of the United States, or separately, as circumstances may require, in repelling the enemy from our territory, and in protecting the good citizens of this State from their ravages or hostile incursions.

And in case of an event, so seriously to be deprecated, it is hoped and expected, that every citizen, without distinction of party, will be at once to the nearest post of danger, and that the only rallying word will be—OUR COUNTRY.

Feeling, as the Captain General does, the weight of responsibility, which rests upon him, with regard to the Constitutional duties of the Militia, and the sacred rights of our citizens to protection from this great class of community, as essentially necessary in all free countries; at a moment too, when they are so imminently exposed to the dangers of hostile incursions, and domestic difficulties, he cannot conscientiously discharge the trust repose in him by the voice of his fellow citizens, and by the Constitution of this and the United States, without an unequivocal declaration, that, in his opinion, the Military strength and resources of this State, must be reserved for its own defence and protection, exclusively—excepting in cases provided for, by the Constitution of the United States; and then, under orders derived only from the Commander in Chief.

Given under my hand at Montpelier, this sixt day of November, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirty, and of the Independence of the United States, the thirty-eighth.

MARTIN CHITTENDEN,

BY HIS EXCELLENCY'S COMMAND,

SAMUEL SWIFT, Secretary.
militia on and around the lake. Prevost's army of 10,000 faced fewer than 3,000 men at Plattsburgh on the New York side of Lake Champlain. On September 11 the British and American fleets engaged in a murderous conflict in which Macdonough defeated the British squadron and won naval control of the Lake. Prevost, who had failed to take the small but strongly fortified American positions at the south end of Plattsburgh Bay and with the American navy able to cut his supply line, retreated in discouragement back to Canada. The broadside ballad, "The Bold Lads of Canada" (Figure 6.), voiced the Canadian complaint that "they told us that the Federalists were friendly to the Crown; /They'd join our Royal Army and the Democrats pull down."

Cooperation with British military power was not a Federalist aim. While the American victory at Plattsburgh may have vindicated the national government's war policy for Republicans, in Vermont and other New England states the Federalists continued in their distress, and the talk of secession mounted. In late 1814 Vermont again elected Federalists to all major political offices, including the reelection of Martin Chittenden. Yet Massachusetts Governor Strong's invitation to convene a meeting of Federalists at Hartford with its suggestion of a secession movement did not attract Vermont.

Victories at Plattsburgh and then New Orleans on January 15, two weeks after the war had been officially concluded by the peace treaty at Ghent on Christmas Eve, cooled the heat of internal conflict between Jeffersonians and Federalists. The threat of secession in the Hartford Convention seems also to have purged the demons of strife in Vermont's political life. As the months passed through 1815, memories of frustration, accusations of treason, and scars of economic hardships and military defeats rapidly healed.

As the broadside celebrating American victories in songs of praise for the heroes of New Orleans, Niagara, and Plattsburgh spread across the state (Figure 7.), no one doubted the vindication of American rights and that Uncle Sam had delivered Britain a resounding defeat. Federalists lost public offices, never to return again, and the Era of Good Feelings began.

But good feelings could not restore the boom times of 1800-1807. The exodus west would begin soon after the Erie and Champlain-Hudson Canals opened in 1824. And the 1830's would see a third of Vermont's towns lose population. The great religious revivals and the popular response to the Patriots War of Lower Canada would excite Vermont in the 1830's, but only a national question of deep moral significance, slavery, would again stir Vermont into passionate and dedicated action in the nineteenth century.
The Bold Lads of Canada.

COME all you British heroes, I pray you lend an ear—
Draw up your British forces, and then your volunteers—
We're going to fight the Yankee boys, by water and by land.
And we never will return until we conquer, sure as hell.
We're the noble lads of Canada—come to arms, boys.

O! now the time has come, my boys, to cross the Yankee brook—
We remember they were rebels once, and conquered by Burgoyne.
We'll sanction those haughty Democrats, and pull their devilings down.
And we'll have the States inhabited with subjects to the crown—
We're the noble lads, &c.

We're as chary a British army as ever crossed the sea—
We'll buy both town and river, and with a smile face down the enemy.
We'll show the old Green Mountain boys, their Washington is gone.
And we'll play them Yankee Doodle, as the Yankees did Burgoyne.
We're the noble lads, &c.

Now we've reached the Plattsburg banks, my boys, and here we'll make a stand—
Until we take the Yankee foe, McDougall hath command.
We're the Grouse and the Eagle, that from Smith we took away.
And we've their noble fleet that lies anchored in the bay.
We're the noble lads, &c.

O! our fleet is here in view, my boys, the cannon loudly roar—
With death upon us cannon balls, we'll shatter their decks with gore.
We're a water craft sufficient to sink them in an hour.
But our orders are to board, and the Yankee flag destroy.
We're the noble lads, &c.

O! what bitter groans and sighing we heard on board the fleet,
While McDougall's cock is crowing boys I fear we shall get lost;
If we lose the cause by sea, my boys, we'll make a quick return,
For as soon as hell is lost we shall all be Burgoyne's.
We're the noble lads of Canada—stand at arms, boys, stand.

Now the battle's growing hot, my boys, I must know how you will stand—
While McDougall's boats on swivels hung continually to burn—
We could see constant firing that the smoke hid from the sky,
And our larger boats they've struck, and our smaller men away.
O we've got too far from Canada—run for life, boys, run.

O! prevent he sight'd stand, and to his officers he said—
"I wish the Devil and those Yankees could both sail along side—
"For the hearts of France and England can't stand before them well—
"For I think they'll dog the devil and drive them back to hell—
O we've got to fer, &c."

How prepare for your retreat, my boys, make all the speed you can.
The Yankees are surrounding us, we'll easily be Burgoyne'd—
Behind the breast and the ditched and the trees and every strong
You can see the eyes of Bitch and the cursed Yankee pump.
Oh their got too far, &c.

Now we've reached the Cherry height, my boys we'll make a short delay—
'Tis to rest our weary limbs, and to find our breaths on boy—
So McDougall's cock begins to crow, was heard of Sherlock here,
And a report throughout the camp was the general alarm.
O we've got too far, &c.

O! prevent he sight'd stand, and to his officers did say—
"The Yankee troops are here in night and hell will be to pay—
"Shall we fight like men of courage and do the best we can—
"When we know they will fly on us to eat I think we'll better run—
"O we've got too far, &c."

Now if ever I reach Quebec alive I'll surely stay at home,
For McDougall's cock was the victory, the Devil fight McDougall—
I had rather fight a thousand troops as good as ever around the same.
Then fifty of these Yankee boys behind the stumps and trees.
O we've got too far, &c.

They told us that the 39arians were Bendery in the chase—
They'd join our Royal Army and the Democrat pull down;
But they all unite together as a band of brothers joined—
They will fight for independence till they die upon the ground.
O we've got too far, &c.

The Old 76's have mixed their, upon the crotchets they do lean;
With the sides of lady in us, with their spots they take good aim.
For there's no restraint to those, my boys, who'd rather die than run,
And we make no doubt but they are those that conquer'd John Burgoyne.
When he got too far, &c.

Now we've reach'd the British ground, my boys we'll have a day of rest—
And I wish my soul that I could my 'round be a day of worth—
But I've left as many troops behind, it causes me to mourn—
And if ever fight the Yankees more I'll surely stay at home.
Now we've all got back to Canada—stay at home, boys, stay.

Here's a health to all the British troops, thence to George Frew—
And to our respective families, and the girls that love us sport—
To McDougall and N'Conch and th'proper Yankee boy—
Now fill up your mugs boys, and toasting the Queen's—
Now we've all got back to Canada—stay at home, boys, stay.

Charles
Denny Charles

Figure 6.
NOTES


3 Georgia Baumgardner, American Broadsides (Barre, Mass., 1971), introduction; and Ola E. Winlow, American Broadsides Verse from Imprints of the 17th and 18th Centuries (New Haven, 1934), p. xviii.