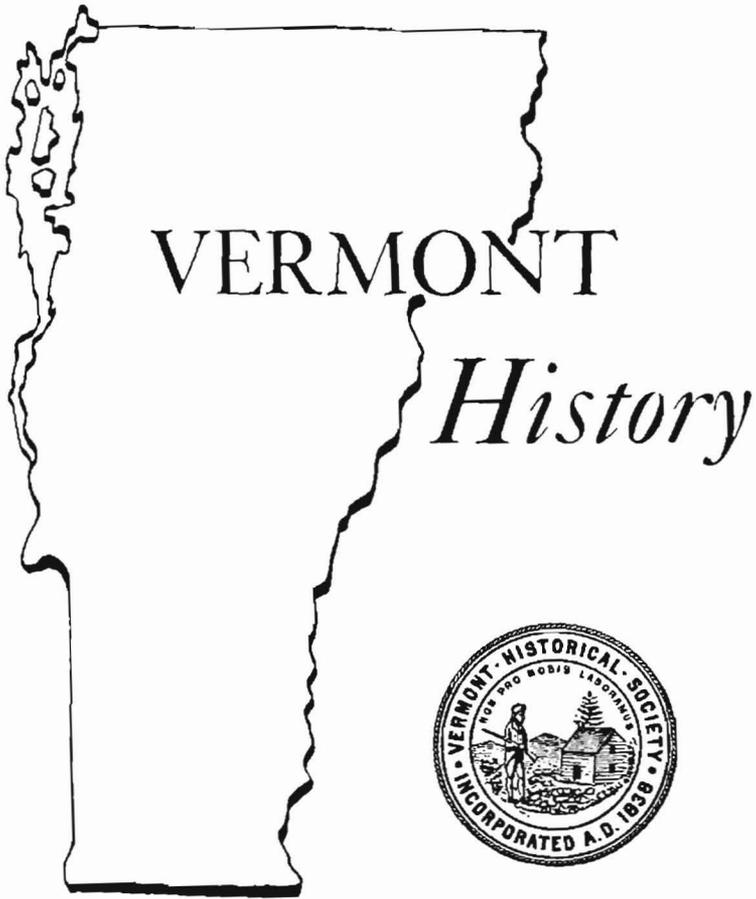


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“ . . . broadsides enhance the understanding of the historical events and provide a dramatic and often visually graphic sense of the past.”

## 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.<sup>1</sup> 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.<sup>2</sup>

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.<sup>3</sup> 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, 1800.

I THOUGHT I was standing on the west bank of White River, in the State of Vermont, about the distance of a mile from the junction of that 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 abreast, 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 glistening 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 steadfastly 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—"*This wicked club, who are laying plots to deceive the nations, shall immediately be cut off, and utterly destroyed.*"—While pronouncing these words their carriages stood still; but when the sentence was finished, they arose in their carriages about the height of a tree, and proclaimed 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, 1800.

Figure 1.

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 Ingalls' 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 full! Treason, rebellion and murder stain it with the blood of our citizens, falling in the face of the government and laws of our country. By whom? A foreign foe? No! No, (heirid to relate!) by the bloody hands of domestic traitors.

Capt. JONATHAN CRADY, a respectable farmer, belonging to Burlington; Mr. ELLIS DEXTER and Mr. ASA MARSH, two respectable young men, belonging to Capt. Pratt's company of militia, stationed at Windmill Point, were all killed at Burlington, on Wednesday the 2d inst., about noon, in a most cruel and barbarous manner, by a party of insurgents, employed in flogging north into Canada, in violation of the law. The Captain detached Lieut. Farrington, a sergeant and twelve men, in pursuit of a boat, which had gone up Orleans river after a load of potatoes. The Lieutenant found the boat and took possession of her, notwithstanding the insurgents threatened to blow out his brains if he attempted to meddle with her. The Lieutenant dropped down the river, with the cutter and the boat he had taken, about half a mile; when the insurgents fired upon him and killed Dexter. The Lieutenant then ordered both boats to be rowed on shore, near the place where the first proceeded; he landed with his men, and ascended the bank of the river immediately the insurgents discharged a large gun, called a wall-piece, the barrel of which is eight feet in length, and was loaded with sixteen ounce balls, and fired back that which caused instant death to Captain Crady and Mr. Marsh, severely wounded the Lieutenant in the head, the left arm, and slightly wounded him in the right shoulder. Capt. Crady had been laboring in his field during the forenoon, near the fatal spot, was gone when the government troops entered the spot, which, at the same instant, sent two such companies into captivity.

If any thing can add to the horror of this, no horrid scene, it is the observation of certain federal characters of the vicinity, who even by claim to the name of high respectability, tending to screen the treason, and throw the whole weight of guilt on the part of the government.—Says one, *The men were first here by Penniman to find an empty boat, and did the fact.*—Says another, *I hope to God Penniman will be hung for it.*—Says another, *I should care but spare about it, if I did not fear it would influence the ensuing election.*—Says another, on hearing of the melancholy event, *I am glad if it, if they are republicans who are killed.*—Such was the nature of expression which passed from the mouths of federalists, while the blood was still gushing from the wounds of our countrymen, murdered by federal hands at mid-day, within the boundaries of that town which boasts itself of being the strong hold of federalism, and some of whose principal merchants furnished the insurgents with powder and ball, for the express purpose of performing this bloody work.

The federalists now begin to lament their fate, and profess to feel regret for the transaction; but their hypocritical tears will not avail them. This horrid deed has been done by their procurement; they are partners in the guilt of the perpetrators, and they are accountable 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 higher walks of life, who arrogate to themselves all the virtues, all the talents, and all the religion of the country, combine together for the purpose of opposing the laws of their country; when they openly and publicly, by printing and speaking, treat the government and the officers of the government, from the President of the United States down to the lowest executive officer, with insult, ridicule and contempt; when they trample on the laws of their country, by daily evasions, both by precept and example, the violation of these laws by force and arms; when they rank as the friends of the insurgents, 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 cast upon the bleeding bodies of our murdered citizens; and when they even infect the faithful soldiers with oppression with grief at the loss of his beloved comrade;—then is the cup of guilt full, then is it time to RISE IN DEFENSE OF YOUR COUNTRY AND YOUR LIVES.

This is no ordinary contest. It is not a simple question, who shall be governor and councilors; but it is a struggle for the maintenance of your government; for the preservation of those rights purchased with the blood of your fathers; and for the preservation of your lives. Should that faction whose hands are still reeking with the blood of your brethren, come into power, what have you to expect? If they hold those things in the face of law, in the face of authority, what will they do when clothed with power? This bloody scene is but an opening wedge to the measure they would pursue. The tragedy of Shakespeare 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 malice of an unprincipled and vindictive faction.

Fellow citizens, as you depend the fate of your country—by your suffrages at the approaching election, you will decide, whether you defend the name of freedom; whether you are worthy of your fathers; whether you will defend the government of your country, and punish your wrong your children, and your own lives; or whether you will tamely give up your dear bought rights, and submit your necks to the axe of the guillotine.

By supporting our private patriotic governor and councilors, you will promote the existence of our government, and transmit to posterity the blessings we now enjoy.

By neglecting to attend the polls, or by voting for the federal ticket, you will commit on your country at the harvest of misery, oppression and murder.

MONITOR.

Figure 2.

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 *Blacksnake*. 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.

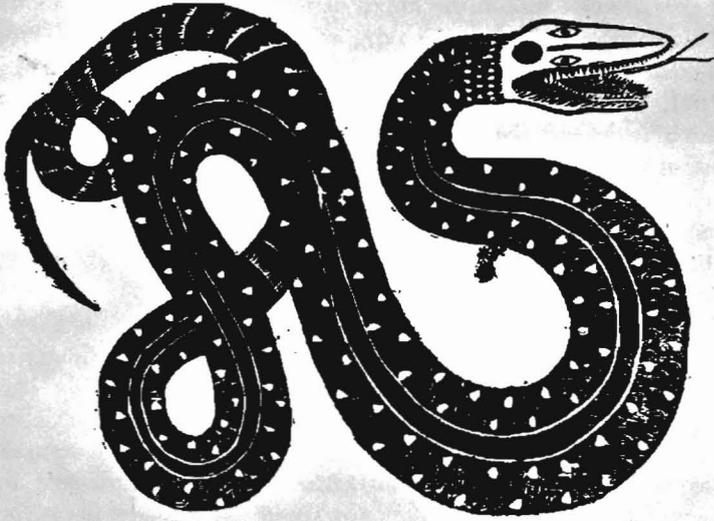


The repeal of the Embargo on March 1, 1809, four days before James Madison succeeded Jefferson in the Presidency, restored free access to Canadian markets to Vermont's commerce. But in the succeeding two years it became glaringly apparent that the United States would go to war with England. As the war 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 North-western 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



# A MONSTER.

FRIGHTFUL AS TEN FURIES!!  
TERRIBLE AS HELL!

The following is copied from the JOURNAL kept by Mr. Jacob M. Morrison, during his tour in the Westward of Fort Recovery.

May 27, 1794. THIS morning about an hour after sunrise we proceeded on our route about a mile west from the place where we had lodged the preceding night, we were extremely terrified by the appearance of a large snake, which we discovered the most terrible Monster which human eyes ever beheld, to which our dogs dare not approach; but only stood barking at a considerable distance. At the sight of an enormous creature, every hair on our heads seemed to stand on end with fear! Though we had no reason to apprehend ourselves in danger, for he was busily employed in devouring a large Panther, which seemed an insupportable misfortune, as a common opinion would have been in competition with our own dogs.

We halted and placed ourselves in the best advantage in order to view his monster devouring the Panther, which he did by winding his tail round him and drawing it such a degree as to crush and break his bones, which we could frequently hear sounding like the snapping of a whip, accompanied by the most hideous howls of the agonizing animal. A conversation was soon held in order to discuss the most efficient method of attacking or destroying an enemy. It was finally determined, that one of the company should go back to the house and procure a horn, on which one of us, being mounted and armed with a musket, should approach within a convenient distance of the snake, and giving him a well-aimed shot, should retreat precipitately in case he was attacked. Accordingly the person appointed, proceeded back to the house and returned in a few minutes armed on a horn which he substituted for the musket. It was then concluded to approach and attack him, he should have devoured his game; which he did in the following manner:—After having lashed up all his tail as above, he fastened him with his mouth at the extremity of the horn, and then withdrew his body until the horn was nearly closed the edge of his mouth, and then he commenced such in our favor, but he was not without great apprehension.

alone of his scales being as hard as a nail could not penetrate them.—However, having mounted the horn myself, I attacked him in the manner above described, and, after giving him three shots, he was so far disabled that we all approached with long poles, and dispatched him without much further difficulty. It was not till about two o'clock in the afternoon, that we accomplished a part of our business: an antiseptic, took to our fears and curiosity.—We had seen an opportunity to view his interior, and such a mixture of horror and beauty, I believe was never before ever beheld by our species.—After we had drawn him out straight, we proceeded to measure his dimensions, which we did exactly, and found him to be no less than 30 feet 8 inches in length and the largest part of his body to be 3 feet 1 inch in diameter.—His eyes were indistinguishably large and piercing.—His head was of a most beautiful changeable green, towards the top inclining to a yellow, but darker towards his snout and round his jaws.—Upon the top of his head was a large oval black spot.—He was incased with three rows of scales of the most beautiful whiteness.—His back, from his neck nearly to the end of his tail was covered with scales of the most beautiful green I ever beheld, on each side was a row of large black scales, between two small and narrow. His body was perfectly white along the middle, but turning upon a yellow towards each side. The scaly part of our business was to describe upon the horn manner to dispose of the skin, which we looked upon as a most valuable part of our game.

As the day was so great that we could not complete the skinning of it before dark, and as we could not possibly carry it away whole, we concluded to leave it until morning. Accordingly we went back to the abandoned hut, and in the morning returned with it, and in about three hours we completed the business to our satisfaction. The skin we carefully washed and cooled it with dry earth, when we spread and rolled it up for the convenience of carrying.

UP to every garden, palace, and field, the work of the above account, they are daily executed by using of Mr. PEARL'S Method in 1794, which is the best and most perfect.

REMOVED AND BOUND BY WILSON—(V.L.)

1818.

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 governor. 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 Frontier is left, in a measure, unprotected, and the peaceable 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 Division, who are now doing duty, 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, to 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 holden 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 fly 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, so 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 reposed 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 10th day of November, in the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Thirteen; and of the Independence of the United States, the thirty eighth.

MARTIN CHITTENDEN.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY'S COMMAND,  
SAMUEL SWIFT, Secretary.

Figure 5.

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 *Patriotes* 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 retreat until we conquer, sword in hand—  
We're the noble lads of Canada—come to arms, boys, stand.

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

We're as choice a British army as ever cross'd the sea—  
We'll burn both towns and cities, and with smoke behind the scenes,  
We'll subdue 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 reach'd the Flatbush banks my boys and here we'll  
make a stand  
Until we take the yankee flag McDonough doth command;  
We're the Growler and the Eagle, that from Smith we took  
away;  
And we'll have their noble fleet that lies anchor'd in the bay—  
We're the noble lads, &c.

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

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

Now the battles' growing hot, my boys, I don't know how 'twill  
turn—  
While McDonough's boats on swivels hung continually to burn—  
We see such constant flashing that the smoke beclouds the day,  
And our larger boats they've struck, and our smaller run away—  
O we've got too far from Canada—run for life, boys, run.

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

Now prepare for your retreat, my boys, make all the speed you  
can—  
The Yankees are surrounding us, we'll surely be Burgoyne'd—  
Behind the hedge and the ditch and the trees and every stump  
You can see the smoke of bullets and the cursed Yankee jump—  
O we've got too far, &c.

Now we've reach'd the Chazy heights, my boys we'll make a  
short delay,  
For to rest our weary limbs, and to feed our hearts on hay—  
Soon McDonough's cocks began to crow, was heard at Staten  
Island,  
And a report throughout the camp was the general alarm,  
O we've got too far, &c.

O! prevent he sigh'd aloud, to his officers did say,  
"The yankee troops are here in sight and hell will be to pay—  
"Shall we fight like men of courage and do the best we can,  
"When we know they will dog us too to sea! I think we'd bet-  
ter run.  
"O we've got too far, &c."

Now if ever I reach Quebec alive I'll surely stay at home,  
For McDonough's gun'd the victory, the Devil fight McDonough—  
I had rather fight a thousand troops as good as a'er cross'd the  
sea  
Than fifty of those Yankee boys behind the stumps and trees—  
O we've got too far, &c.

They told us that the Federalist word fidelity to the Crown;  
They'd join our Royal Army and the Democrats pull down;  
But they all came together as a band of brothers join'd;  
They will fight for independence till they die upon the ground—  
O we've got too far, &c.

The Old 76's have sallied forth, upon their crutches they do  
lean;  
With their rifles level'd on us, with their spears they take good  
aim;  
For there's no retreat to those, my boys, who'd rather die than  
run;  
And we make no doubt but these 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 say 'twould be a day of mirth—  
But I've left so many troops behind, it comes me to morn—  
And if ever I 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, likewise to George Pro-  
vant;  
And to our respective families, and the girls that love us most—  
To McDonough and McComb and every Yankee Boy—  
Now fill up your tumblers full, for ever was so dry—  
Now we've all got back to Canada—stay at home, boys, stay.

*Charles Corbridge*  
*During Charles*

Figure 6.

THE RETREAT OF THE ENGLISH FROM New-Orleans.

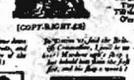
General Gaines, calling for Volunteers by recruiting the...



BATTLE OF PATTSBURGH, VICTORY ON LAKE CHAMPLAIN.

In which 14,000 British soldiers were defeated and put to flight by 4,000 Yankees and Green-mountain Boys, on the memorable Eleventh of Sept., 1814.

When "Banks of the King"...



With some 17,000 men...



Bank of Niagara!



Bank of Niagara!

Figure 7.

NOTES
1.H.N. Muller's "Floating A Lumber Raft to Quebec City, 1805: The Journal of Guy Catlin from Burlington," Vermont History, 39 (1971), 116-124, provides a first-hand account of the profitable character of Vermont-Canadian trade prior to the Embargo. For a detailed account of the Canadian trade out of Lake Champlain, see H.N. Muller, "The Commerce of the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River Route, 1760-1815," Ph.D. Diss., University of Rochester, 1968.
2Two important studies dealing with Vermont's reactions to the Embargo and the War of 1812 are H.N. Muller, "Smuggling into Canada: How the Champlain Valley Defied Jefferson's Embargo," Vermont History, 38 (1970), 5-21; and Edward Brynn, "Patterns of Dissent: Vermont's Opposition to the War of 1812," Vermont History, 40 (1972), 10-27.
3Georgia Baumgardner, American Broadside (Barre, Mass., 1971), introduction; and Ola E. Winslow, American Broadside Verse from Imprints of the 17th and 18th Centuries (New Haven, 1934), p. xviii.
4Most of the details of the Blacksnake affair can be found in Walter Hill Crockett, Vermont: The Green Mountain State (New York: The Century History Company, 1921-1923), III, 11-15.