



Samuel de Champlain and the Naming of *Vermont*

The evidence from the days of New France (rather, the lack of it) suggests that Green Mountains is not a translation of Vermont. If the truth be known, it is the French word which is a translation. Where did the English name Green Mountains come from? The dating of the earliest mention of these two words might provide some hints.

By JOSEPH-ANDRÉ SENÉCAL

Historians have endorsed the statements of early writers who linked the word *Vermont* with France's colonial presence in the Champlain Valley. One of the earliest voices to make the association is no less an eminence than Zadock Thompson. In his *History of Vermont* (1842), Thompson affirms that the name "Verd Mont" had been applied to the Green Mountains long before the claimed christening of the state as "Verd Mont" by Reverend Hugh Peters in 1763.¹ Earlier, in 1798, Ira Allen had observed that the state had "obtained its name from the French word Verdmont."² Several sources echoed the implied New France antecedent. For example, *Hall's Outlines of the Geography, Natural and Civil History of Vermont* (1864) maintains that "the name Verd Mont was applied by those who early visited it."³ One

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will remember that the earliest European excursion to the state was led by Samuel de Champlain, who named the lake after himself in 1609. Some have maintained that it was Champlain who labeled as “Verd Mont” the mountainous region on the east shore of the lake. There is not a shred of evidence to support this *idée reçue*. Other undocumented statements lend the French explorer the paternity of the name of rivers and mountains (such as Le Lion Couchant/The Couching Lion for Camel’s Hump). The most endearing lore is no doubt the etymological fabrication which explains how Champlain named a river “La Mouette” (Seagull River) only to see the label deformed by some copyist who engraved “Mouette” without crossing the proverbial “t”s. With time and more human caprice “Mouelle” would have become “Moille”: Lamoille River. Did Samuel de Champlain or another actor in the saga of New France name the mountain chain and the state?

Samuel de Champlain was followed by missionaries, traders, settlers, and soldiers who identified rivers and other physical features of the Champlain watershed. Among the many such christenings, let us mention the original European appropriation of what is now Lake George. In 1646, Isaac Jogues, a Jesuit, christened the body of water Lac du Saint-Sacrement. The French left many traces on the toponymy of the state but *Vermont* is simply not one of them. The word *Vermont* is not in any historical way connected with the French presence in the Green Mountain State before 1760. No document (map, travel journal, official correspondence) from the period refers to the Green Mountains or the region as *Vermont* (or *Vertmont*, *Vertsmonts*, *Verdmont*, *les Monts Verts*, *les Montagnes Vertes*), or alternate meanings such as *Versmont* (i.e., *Vers les monts*: towards the mountains).

The word *Vermont* (or alternate renderings) does not appear in the publications of Champlain, *Des sauvages* and *Les Voyages* (1613 and 1632 versions),⁴ or on the maps which he prepared or published. The lake is identified as *Lac de Champlain* and the region to the west of the lake is labeled *Saintonge* on his 1632 map. The word is absent from the *Relations* of the Jesuits or their journals. *Vermont* does not appear in the official correspondence between the officers of New France and the metropolitan authorities, or in any other official correspondence of the period (1636–1763). One will not find « *Vermont* » in other pertinent documents such as the texts connected with the military campaign of the Carignan-Salières Regiment in the Richelieu-Champlain area (notably the *Livre de raison de Francois de Tapie de Monteil, capitaine au regiment de Poitou*, the *Vers burlesques sur le voyage de Monsieur de Courcelles . . .*; the *Mémoire de M. De Salières des choses qui se sont passées en Canada, les plus considerables depuis qu’il est arrivé, 1666*,

and Dollier de Casson's *Histoire de Montréal*). The various journals and reports of military officers from the Seven Years War, such as the journal of Louis Antoine de Bougainville or the letters of Montcalm or Lévis, are eloquently silent.⁵ Other documents that mention the Champlain Valley or the rest of the state, notably the *Voyages* of Louis Franquet, and the travels of Peter Kalm (*Travels into North America*), never refer to "les Monts Verts" or similar designations.

The available maps from the French regime, drafted after the publications of Champlain, maps released between 1633 and 1763, are late in identifying the names of rivers on Lake Champlain. The first important development dates from 1723 when Gédéon de Catalogne published his two-sheet map of the St. Lawrence River. The second sheet, *Partie haute et occidentale du fleuve de Canada ou de St. Laurent depuis le lac Ontario jusqu'à la ville de Québec . . .* (Paris: Moullart-Sanson, 1723), is the first printed map to identify major rivers flowing into the lake (Chasy, Misiscouy, Aux Sable, À la Moille, Aux Loutres) as well as the strategic passage of Pointe à la chevelure. The document of Catalogne was augmented by the mapping of Jacques Nicolas Bellin, notably his *Carte de la Rivière Richelieu et du Lac Champlain dressée sur les manuscrits du Dépost des cartes, plans et journaux de la Marine*, 1744, inserted in Pierre François-Xavier Charlevoix's *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle-France avec le Journal historique d'un voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (3 vols., Paris: Veuve Garneau/Nyon, 1744), and his *Suite du cours du fleuve St. Laurent depuis Québec jusqu'au Lac Ontario pour servir à L'Histoire générale des Voyages* (1757). By then (1757), Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry and Louis Franquet had prepared several maps which remain in manuscript form. Franquet's map, *Carte du Lac Champlain depuis le fort de Chambly jusqu'à la chute des eaux du lac St. Sacrement*, is the most instructive. The Royal Engineer labeled all the major features (islands, points, rivers, French settlements on Lake Champlain). None of these documents, the most precise and exhaustive of the French Regime, include the designation "Vermont" or names for mountains, which are drawn on some maps of Bellin.

The evidence from the days of New France (rather, the lack of it) suggests that *Green Mountains* is not a translation of *Vermont*. If the truth be known, it is the French word which is a translation. Where did the English name *Green Mountains* come from? The dating of the earliest mention of these two words might provide some hints. We can summon three types of evidence: the earliest appearance of the words *Green Mountains* on a map; the earliest references to the words in written documents; contemporary (1749–1780) allusions to an oral tradition.

An inventory of early cartography (1749–1778), from the earliest map showing English settlements in what is now southern Vermont to the first map displaying the words “State of Vermont,” reveals that the earliest map showing “*Green Mountains*” dates from 1778. The first edition of Bernard Romans’ *A Chorographical Map of the Northern Department of North-America* . . . clearly delineates a mountain range with hachures and labels its southern end (diagonally, from Wallingford to Bennington) as the “Green Mountains.”⁶ The words “State of Vermont” also appears for the first time on Romans’ 1778 map. The 1779 edition of Claude Joseph Sauthier’s *A Chorographical Map of the Province of New York* . . . is the first one to extend the label “Green Mountains” to the entire north-south spine of the range, from Canada to Massachusetts. It is significant that earlier maps by Sauthier (1776; 1777; 1778) bear no label for the mountain range.⁷ Equally eloquent is the fact that prior to 1780, no map based on the surveys or compilations of Samuel Blanchard and Joseph Langdon, Thomas Jefferys, J. Green, William Brasier, or John Montresor identifies mountain ranges in the state or includes the labels “Vermont” or “Green Mountains.”⁸

As with cartographic documents from the times of New France, maps from the British Regime identify few physiographic features. With rare exceptions, only Lake Champlain and major waterways such as the Winooski or the Otter Creek are labeled. The earliest identification of mountains (1677) in the area designates the “White Hills” of northern New Hampshire.⁹ For Vermont, the first mountainous features to be graced with a name are Halfway Hill in the township of Killington (1755) and Mount Ascutney (1774).¹⁰ If all this information is the final evidence, then the first cartographic record of *Green Mountains* post-dates the first written documentation by six years (1772/1778).

The available documentation reveals that the earliest textual mentions of the Green Mountains are associated with the appearance of the Green Mountain Boys in the summer of 1772. In a text published in the *Connecticut Courant*, “An Encomium on his Excellency Governor Tryon and his Majesty’s Honourable Council of the Province of New York,” a text presumed to have been written by Ethan Allen, one reads the earliest known reference to the Green Mountains: “Capt. Warner’s Company of Green Mountain Boys under arms, fired three vollies of small arms, in concert and aid of the glory.”¹¹ The term “Green Mountain Boys” was newly coined in August 1772. In the summer of 1770, after the June 28 rebuff of the New Hampshire grantees by the Court of Albany County, Ethan Allen and others had begun to act as bands of armed men. As late as the summer of 1771, these roving gangs of vigilantes were identifying themselves as “New Hampshire Men.” It is only in

the spring of 1772 that the most violent elements of resistance began to call themselves Green Mountain Boys. As rumors circulated that Governor Tryon of New York was marching toward Bennington with troops, the committees of safety in and around Bennington began to collaborate more closely and more openly with the most aggressive agents, associated with Seth Warner, Ethan Allen, Remember Baker, and others. These elements were now calling themselves Green Mountain Boys. In June, news of the Governor arrived, not in the form of an invading army, but in the guise of a conciliatory letter. It is to that development and the rejoicing which it unleashed in Bennington that we owe the encomium (an expression of praise) published in the *Connecticut Courant*.¹²

We can assume that the term *Green Mountains* predates the rise of the Green Mountain Boys. But by how many years? If one remembers that in 1760, English settlers in Vermont numbered no more than 300, it is unlikely that such a small, dispersed colony had already appropriated its geography to the degree of identifying and naming the Vermont section of the Appalachians or, for that matter, any mountain range. Even if the designation *Green Mountains* originated in the 1760s, it must have taken some time to impose itself. Therefore, it is likely that the term *Green Mountains* became common just a few years before the Green Mountain Boys began to construct their mythology, that is, in the late 1760s. A potent argument: No written mention of the Green Mountains can be found before 1772 in the hundreds of documents which have come down to us. The two words simply do not appear in the land grants of New Hampshire or New York, or in any official correspondence dealing with the New York/New Hampshire controversy.¹³

Oral tradition from the earliest days of English settlement could help us in tracing the origin of *Green Mountains* or in refining the date of its earliest use. That testimony would have come down to us in written form and would be subject to great caution. Such evidence is most rare. In 1793, we find the following startling lesson of geography from Ira Allen: "The Green Mountains begin in Canada near the Bay of Chaleur, and one branch runs through Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and ends near New Haven."¹⁴ We can uncover no evidence to buttress Allen's appellation nor does the toponymy of Connecticut or western Massachusetts (at least the written evidence, ancient and contemporary) suggest a basis for such a mental geography. The work of Arthur Hughes on Connecticut place names lists several locations called Green Mountain and Green Hill, most associated with landmarks in northwestern Connecticut where the Allens and many of the earliest settlers of southern Vermont grew up.¹⁵ However, none of these appellations refers to a

mountain range or smaller features which would extend past the confines of one locality. No mountain range in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts ever bore the name Green Mountains.¹⁶ At best the comment of Ira Allen suggests that settlers from Connecticut imported the term *Green Mountains* and that they were aware of a north/south mountain range.¹⁷ It does not allow us to refine the date or the circumstances of the christening of the Green Mountains.

Based on a review of the evidence, we can write with some degree of confidence that the word *Vermont* is a translation of Green Mountains, a construction which most likely comes from Thomas Young, a scholar who probably knew some French.¹⁸ The first documented use of the word *Vermont* is dated April 11, 1777. On that day, in Philadelphia, Young addressed a broadside “To the Inhabitants of Vermont, a Free and Independent State.”¹⁹ All evidence points to Thomas Young as the originator of the word *Vermont*, a translation of the English *Green Mountains*.²⁰ Young’s purpose was probably to honor the bombastic Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys.

A related question might ask why Young invented *Vermont* rather than *Montagnes Vertes* or *Vertsmonts*. In other words: how good is Young’s French? Is *Vermont* correct French? The answer is yes. In the language of France two words compete to designate mountains: *mont* and *montagne* (mount and mountain). The nouns come from the Latin *mons/montis* and *montanea*. The French *mont* is much older than *montagne*. The word is documented as early as 1080 and figures prominently in the epic *Song of Roland*: “Roland regardet es munz e es lariz” (Roland scans the mountains and the hills). However, by the 1700s, *mont* had clearly lost out to *montagne*. Except for writing poetry and geographic naming, *mont* is seldom called upon modern French. In 1777, *mont* was already archaic; but its use in place naming was well established and carried an aura of antiquity. Grammatically, the word order (adjective + noun: *vert* + *mont*) and the fusion of the adjective and the noun are perfectly correct. In modern French, one would say in a normal enunciation: *les monts verts*. However, Young’s creation is probably not inspired by modern French; not even the modern French of 1777. Above all, grammatically speaking, it is not part of a sentence. The word order answers the special rules of geographical naming.²¹ In the creation of place names one often finds the adjective before the noun and the adjective fused to the noun. For examples: *Beaumont*, *Belmont* or, more to the point, *Rougemont*, *Vertmont*. In some cases, one or more letters (such as the final consonant) may disappear. The spelling *ver* for *vert* is well documented. Dauzat verifies a *Verfeil* (for Verte Feuille); also *Verdaches*, *Verdon*, *Verdets*.²² In the mountainous regions of Alsace,

one will even discover a *Vermont*. However the *Vermont* of Eastern France does not come from *Vert Mont* but from *Louver Mont* (Wolf Mountain). In Switzerland, in the region of Neuchâtel, one finds a vineyard “Vermont” in the commune of La Landeron. The etymology of this last Vermont is unknown; so is the origin of the family name most illustrated by Hyacinthe Collin, abbé de Vermont (1693–1761), born in Versailles, who left historical canvases of some notoriety. However, the family name Vermont can be traced to the village of Thorigny-sur-Ormeuse, the valley of the same name (Ormeuse) on the border of the old province of Champagne. By 1517 the maintenance of a royal road between Pont-sur-Yonne and Villeneuve-l’Archevêque led to the creation of a small hamlet, Vermont, nestled near a chateau of the same name, which was leveled before 1507. By 1650 the large farm known as Vermont had become a fief which would be purchased by the noble family of De Thorigny in 1679. An important official of Paris (Prévot de Paris), the youngest son of the family, carried the title “de Vermont.” His portrait, from the brush of Nicolas de Largillière, *Portrait de Lambert de Vermont* (c. 1697), can be admired at the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena. Today, the fief survives and the rue de Vermont, a cul-de-sac, leads to it.

Vermont was almost named New Connecticut. Instead, like Maine, the Green Mountain State bears a decidedly French name—not to underline the French presence in those parts once claimed by Louis XIV or XV, but because English minds in their appropriation of the world (at least the Atlantic World) sometimes resorted to historical antecedents stamped with the French fleur-de-lys. In the case of Maine, no one has been able to explain why the region bears the name of a French province.²³ Likewise, who can explain why Green Mountains was translated into Vermont? Because of the francophilia of Young or Ethan Allen? It matters little; it is enough that the quirks of history announced the coming of French-Canadians to the state and their significant contribution to its welfare and progress.

NOTES

¹See Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont, Natural, Civil, and Statistical* . . . (Burlington: C. Goodrich, 1842), 8. Given the mendacious propensity of the Reverend Hugh Peters, one should reject the claim, made much after 1777, that, in an elaborate ceremony which would have been performed on Mount Pisgah (Killington) in 1763, he christened the state “Verd-Mont.” See H. Nicholas Muller III, “The Name of Vermont: An Afterword,” *Vermont History* 41 (Winter 1973): 80–81.

²See Ira Allen, *The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont, One of the United States of America* (London: J. W. Myers, 1798), 259.

³See *Hall’s Outlines of the Geography, Natural and Civil History of Vermont* (Montpelier: C. W. Willard, 1864), 14.

⁴Champlain’s narrative covering his discovery voyage on Lake Champlain will be found in the 1613 and 1632 editions of his *Voyages*. The lake is also briefly mentioned (with no references to

toponymy) in *Des sauvages* published in 1603. All three texts will be found in *The Works of Samuel de Champlain*, Henry Percival Biggar, General Editor, 6 vols. + a portfolio of maps and illustrations (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1922–1936). A reprint was released in 1971 by the University of Toronto Press. The integral text is available online on the site of the Champlain Society: <http://www.Champlainsociety.ca/publications>. The reader will find all of Champlain's *Voyages* in this publication, as well as a few primary documents. A transcription of the original French text is available along with the modern English translation. The reader should note that the last edition of the *Voyages* (1632) includes a second, much-revised text of the *Voyages* of 1613 and 1619, including the original narrative of the 1609 exploration of Lake Champlain (vol. 2 of the Biggar edition for the original; vol. 6 for the 1632 version).

Champlain prepared four different maps that document his cartographical work on the Lake Champlain sector. The first was *Carte géographique de la Nouvelle France faite par le Sieur de Champlain Saint Tongeois Cappitaine Ordinaire pour le Roy en la Marine* (1612). Second, the two small maps (10 × 13 inches), *Carte géographique de la Nouvelle France en son vray morididâ . . .* (1612), and the corrected and augmented *Carte géographique de la Nouvelle ffranse en son vray meridein . . .* (1613), must be interpreted as two different states of the same plate, although the second version includes added details of the upper reaches of the Ottawa River and a notation for Lake Champlain. The two maps can be quickly identified by the different ornamentation engraved between Labrador and Greenland: a fishing vessel (1612) or a whale (1613). These three maps are the earliest documents to display “lac de Champlain.” The third, a larger map (17 × 32 inches; 43 × 76 cm), *Carte géographique de la Nouvelle France*, is the only one produced under the supervision of Champlain to display the name of the engraver: David Pelletier. It is by far the most beautiful engraved map prepared for Champlain. The Pelletier Map (1612) is the very first to show Lake Champlain. It displays details (islands to mark the Grand Isle Archipelago; a narrowing and reorientation of the lake south of Split Rock) which are not found on the two smaller, cruder maps. A final map appeared during Champlain's life: *Carte de la nouvelle france, augmentee depuis la derniere, servant a la navigation. Faicte en son vray Meridien par le S^r de Champlain* (1632). A fifth map exists in manuscript form: Untitled: “Faict par le s^r de Champlain 1616.” Two original copies have been found and can be consulted at the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, and the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg. The unfinished copper plate based on the 1616 manuscript map was completed by the Royal Geographer Pierre Duval and published in 1653: *Le Canada faict par le S^r Champlain ou sont la Nouvelle France, la Nouvelle Angleterre, la Nouvelle Hollande, la Nouvelle Suede, la Virginie, etc. . . .* A second edition, with revisions, was published in 1677. A legible reproduction of all maps can be found in the excellent synthesis of Conrad Heidenreich and Edward H. Dahl, “Samuel de Champlain's Cartography, 1603–1632” *Champlain: The Birth of French America*, Litalien, Raymond and Denis Veaugeois, comp., translated by Kathe Roth (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 312–332. The original edition is in French: *Champlain: la naissance de l'Amérique française* (Sillery [Québec]: Les Éditions du Septentrion, 2004). The word “Vermont” appears in none of the cited material (text or map). Champlain did not label mountains, rivers, islands, or other features. His naming is limited to the lake “lac de Champlain” and the region (not the mountains) to the west which is identified as “Saintonge” (the native province of Champlain) on the 1632 map only.

⁵A search for most of these documents can be performed using Boolean strategies (similar to the advanced search matrix on services such as Google) by visiting the Website of Library and Archives Canada. Many of the textual and map documents concerning Lake Champlain have been digitized and can be inspected and retrieved online.

⁶*A Chorographical Map of the Northern Department of North America, Drawn From the Latest And Most Accurate Observations* (New Haven: circa 1778). A Dutch edition, almost a facsimile of the 1778 original, appeared in 1780 (Amsterdam: Mortier, & Covens junior).

⁷*A Chorographical Map of the Province of New York in North America. Divided Into Counties, Manors, Patents and Townships . . .* (London: William Faden, 1779). The range is labeled twice. The most southerly notation follows the spine of a clearly delineated mountain range up to the township of Ludlow. The second label (in bigger type but otherwise identical), can be seen more to the west. The lettering stretches from Rutland to the Winooski River (“Onion R.”).

⁸“A Chorographical Map of the Province of New York, Divided Into Counties, Manors, Patents and Townships,” in Thomas Jefferys, *The American Atlas* (London: R. Sayer & J. Bennet, 1776). “A Topographical Map of Hudson's River, With Channels, Depth of Water, Rocks, Shoals, & c. And the Country Adjacent, From Sandy Hook, New York and Bay of Fort Edward, Also the Communication With Canada by Lake George And Lake Champlain as High as Fort Chambly on Sorel River,” in William Faden, *The North American Atlas* (London: 1776). *A Map of the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, With a Part of Pennsylvania And the Province of Quebec From the Topographical Observations of C.J. Sauthier* (Augsburg: Mathew Albert Letter, 1777). *Mappa Geographica provinciae novae eboraci ab Anglis New York dictae ex ampliori delineatione ad exactas dimensiones concinnata in arcuius spatium redacta cura Claudie Joseph Sauthier cut accedit Nova*

Jersey ex topographicis observationibus (Nuremberg: Homann, 1778). Samuel Langdon, *An Accurate Map of His Majesty's Province of New Hampshire* (London: 1756). Joseph Blanchard and Samuel Langdon, *An Accurate Map of His Majesty's Province of New Hampshire in New England, Taken From Actual Surveys of All the Inhabited Parts, And From The Best Information of What Is Uninhabited, Together With The Adjacent Countries Which Exhibits The Theater of This War in That Part of the World* [London: 1761]. J. Green, "A Map of the Most Inhabited Part of New England Containing the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire With the Colonies of Connecticut [*sic*] and Rhode Island" [London: 1755] in R. Sayer and T. Jefferys, *A General Topography of North America And the West Indies* (London: 1768). Captain Holland, "A Chorographical Map of the Country Between Albany, Oswego, Fort Frontenac And Les Trois Rivières Exhibing All the Grants Made by the French Governors on Lake Champlain and Between that Lake and Montreal" [London: 1775] in T. Jefferys, *The American Atlas* (London: R. Sayer & J. Bennet, 1775). John Montresor, "A Map of the Province of New York with Part of Pensilvania [*sic*] and New England From an Actual Survey by Capt. Montresor" [London: 1775] in William Faden, *The North American Atlas* (London: A. Drury, 1777). William Brassier, "A Survey of Lake Champlain Including Lake George, Crown Point And St. John" [London 1762] in T. Jefferys, *The American Atlas* (London: R. Sayer & J. Bennet, 1776). For other maps published before 1778, see David Allan Cobb, "Vermont Maps Prior to 1900: an annotated cartobibliography," *Vermont History*, 31: 3-4 (Summer and Fall, 1971); *A List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Map Division, 1909-1992); and David C. Jolly, *Maps of America in Periodicals Before 1800* (Brookline, Mass.: David C. Jolly, 1989).

⁹The map made to accompany William Hubbard's *A Narrative of the Troubles With the Indians in New England . . .*, "A Map of New England," (1677), is one of the earliest to identify "White Hills" in New Hampshire. Because of an error in the first edition (Boston), that printing of the map is known as the "Wine Hills" edition. The second edition (London) carries the corrected "White Hills."

¹⁰For the first mention of Halfway Hill, see J. Green, "A map of the most inhabited part of New England, containing the province of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, with the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode Island divided into counties and townships" (1755). It should be noted that Henry Popple's *A Map of the British Empire in America With the French and Spanish Settlements Adjacent Thereto* (1733) includes the label "Champlain Hills" written horizontally at the latitude of the Winooski River. For Mount Ascutney, see Captain Holland's "A Chorographical Map of the Country Between Albany, Oswego, Fort Frontenac and Les Trois Rivières Exhibing All the Grants Made by the French Governors on Lake Champlain and Between That Lake and Montreal" [London: 1775] in Jefferys, *The American Atlas* (London: R. Sayer & J. Bennet, 1775). The label reads "Ascutnea." One also notes a "Sawyer Mountain" straddling the townships of Fairlee and Thetford.

¹¹The text is quoted in Ethan Allen, *A Brief Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of New York Relative to Their Obtaining the Jurisdiction of That Large District of Land, to the Westward from Connecticut River* (Hartford: Eben. Watson, 1774). A modern edition will be found in Ethan and Ira Allen: *Collected Works*, J. Kevin Graffagnino, ed. (Benson, Vt.: Chalidze Publications, 1992), 1:36-37.

¹²See Robert E. Shalhope, *Bennington and the Green Mountain Boys, The Emergence of Liberal Democracy in Vermont, 1760-1850* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 52-97; Charles A. Jellison, *Ethan Allen: Frontier Rebel* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969); and the introduction to J. Kevin Graffagnino edition of *Ethan and Ira Allen: Collected Works*, 1: vii-xxiii.

¹³See in particular Vol. 26 of the *State Papers of New Hampshire*, and Vol. 7 of the *State Papers of Vermont: New York Land Patents, 1688-1786: Covering Land Now Included in the State of Vermont . . .* (Montpelier: Office of the Secretary of State, 1947). Many of the documents can be found in Vol. 4 of *The Documentary History of the State of New York*, Edmund B. O'Callaghan, comp. (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1851). See also Vol. 1 of *Collections of the Vermont Historical Society* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1870); *Memoir of Colonel Seth Warner*, Daniel Chipman, ed. (Middlebury: L. W. Dark, 1848); and *Vermont State Papers, Being a Collection of Records and Documents Connected with the Assumption and Establishment of Government by the People of Vermont . . .*, William Slade, ed. (Middlebury: J. W. Copeland, 1823).

¹⁴Ira Allen, *The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont*, 2.

¹⁵Arthur Hughes, *Connecticut Place Names* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1976). Also: Edmund Burke Thompson, *Maps of Connecticut before the Year 1800: A Descriptive List* (Windham, Conn.: Hawthorn House, 1940).

¹⁶Nothing of the sort appears in Charlotte Pease Davis, *Directory of Massachusetts Place Names: Current, Obsolete Counties, Cities, Towns, Sections or Villages, Early Names* (Lexington: Bay State News, 1987).

¹⁷The mental concept of Appalachia as a mountain system stretching from Alabama to the Gaspé Peninsula is relatively new (early 1900s) and has yet to impose itself universally. See David S. Walls,

“On the Naming of Appalachia,” *An Appalachian Symposium: Essays Written in Honor of Gratis D. Williams*, J. W. Williamson, ed. (Boone, No. Carolina: Appalachian State University Press, 1977), 56–76; also, Karl B. Raitz and Richard Ulack, *Appalachia: A Regional Geography* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), 9–29.

¹⁸In addition to French, contemporary witnesses imply that Young could conduct scholarly work in Dutch, Latin, and Greek. But this is by no means documented. See Renwick K. Caldwell, “The Man Who Named Vermont,” *Vermont History* 26 (October 1958): 294–300.

¹⁹The text is reproduced, with a brief introduction from Marilyn S. Blackwell, in *A More Perfect Union: Vermont Becomes a State*, Michael Sherman, ed. (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1991), 186–191. The only extant copy of the broadside is housed in the municipal library of Providence, Rhode Island.

²⁰For further evidence see Thomas Chittenden, Ethan Allen, and Joseph Fay’s petition to the General Assembly, “For a Grant of Land to the Family of One of the Founders of the State,” dated 20 October 1786, in *State Papers of Vermont*, vol. 8, *General Petitions 1778–1787* (Montpelier: Office of the Secretary of State, 1952), 271–273, requesting a land grant for Young’s widow. The petitioners refer to Young as a “worthy friend . . . to whom we stand indebted for the very name of [Vermont].” The petition was denied. The document is quoted on the back cover of *Vermont History* 23: 4 (October 1955). See also Ira Allen, *The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont*, 86: “This name [Vermont] was given to the district of the New Hampshire Grants, as an emblematical one, from the French Verd-mont, Green Mountains, to perpetuate the name of the Green Mountain Boys, by Dr. Thomas Young, of Philadelphia.”

²¹For the grammar peculiar to place naming in French, one can consult Charles Rostaing, *Les noms de lieux*, 9th ed. rev. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1980). Much foolishness has been expounded on this subject by amateurs. See Joseph Palermo, “L’étymologie mythique du nom du Vermont,” *Romance Notes*, XIII: no. 1 (Autumn 1971): 1–2. The article was translated by Maurice Kohler (then a Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Vermont) and published in *Vermont History* 41 (Winter 1973): 78–79, as “The Mythical Etymology of the Name of Vermont.” H. Nicholas Muller very diplomatically commented on such fanciful variae. See Muller, “The Name of Vermont: An Afterword,” 79–81.

²²See the letter “V” in Albert Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieux en France*. 2nd ed. rev. and completed by Charles Rostaing (Paris: Guenegaud, 1978). Also, for place names formed from *veridis*, see Ernest Nègre, *Toponymie générale de la France* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1990–1991), vol. I: *Formations pré-celtiques, celtiques, romanes*.

²³See Benjamin and Barbara Shearer, *State Names, Seals, Flags, and Symbols: A Historical Guide* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994) 8; and *Illustrated Dictionary of Place Names. United States and Canada*, Kelsie B. Harder, ed. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1976), 316.