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Alden Partridge and the United States-Canada Boundary

Partridge recorded his daily account of the survey expedition in two small volumes of a journal that includes descriptions of people, places, and social customs, as well as technical detail.

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By the end of the War of 1812, the only undisputed portion of the United States-Canada boundary east of the St. Lawrence River was the St. Croix River which, from its mouth to its source, separated Maine from New Brunswick. From the river source, the theoretical boundary ran due north from the highlands dividing the waters that flowed respectively into the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic Ocean; next westward along those highlands to the northwesternmost head of the Connecticut River; then down that river to the parallel of 45° north latitude; and finally westward along the parallel to the St. Lawrence. Article 5 of the Treaty of Ghent in 1814 provided for the establishment of a joint American-British commission to mark the controversial line on the ground. This task, massively understated by the British Foreign Secretary to be “a mere operation of survey,”¹ proved impossible to accomplish, even after four years of exploration and mapping. In fact, the boundary took three decades of survey, contention, arbitration, and diplomatic negotiation before it was eventually settled in its present location.

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Since Vermont occupies only ninety miles, or about thirteen percent of this eastern boundary, the participation by Vermonters in the work of the Article 5 commission during its lifetime from 1816-1822 was disproportionate to that of the other border states. Representing the United States were Cornelius Peter Van Ness² as commissioner, and William Czar Bradley³ as government agent, both of them Vermont lawyers. John Johnson,⁴ Surveyor General of Vermont, was appointed chief United States surveyor to the commission, until his replacement by Captain Alden Partridge⁵ in 1819. Partridge and his three assistant surveyors, one of whom had served under Johnson and who himself succeeded Partridge as chief surveyor, were also Vermont natives.

John Johnson and his British counterpart, Joseph Bouchette,⁶ had started their survey at the source of the St. Croix River in 1817 for the initial purpose of exploring and marking the due north, or North Line, section of the boundary. In the following year, Bouchette was removed as chief British surveyor for alleged incompetence⁷ and replaced by William Franklin Odell of New Brunswick.⁸ Johnson and Odell continued the North Line exploration in 1818, but one year later Johnson, like Bouchette, was removed because of doubts concerning his ability. In March 1819, almost certainly unknown to Johnson who might reasonably have expected reappointment for the coming field season, Bradley wrote to inform Partridge that Van Ness had decided to dispense with the professional employment of Johnson, a man "who has long been his neighbor." Johnson's services were "not relinquished from any want of personal esteem but as the business increases in difficulty and importance the Commissioner considers that to abandon in this case the competition with British artists and men of science to a person of his [Johnson's] attainments, however respectable considering his means of improvement, would be a dereliction of public duty."⁹

Alden Partridge of Norwich, Vermont, and the former superintendent of the United States Military Academy at West Point who had resigned as an officer of the Corps of Engineers a year earlier, accepted the offer of an assignment with the boundary commission. His qualifications as a surveyor for the new task were impressive, for they combined teaching credentials with practical experience. In 1813 he was appointed professor of engineering at West Point, becoming apparently the first person in the United States to hold that title.¹⁰ A firm believer in vigorous outdoor exercise, Partridge often took extended hikes, which he called pedestrian excursions, to record geographical observations and map the topography of the northeastern United States.¹¹ Since the year 1809, he had undertaken scientific expeditions to many remote peaks in Maine, as well as to other mountains in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Con-

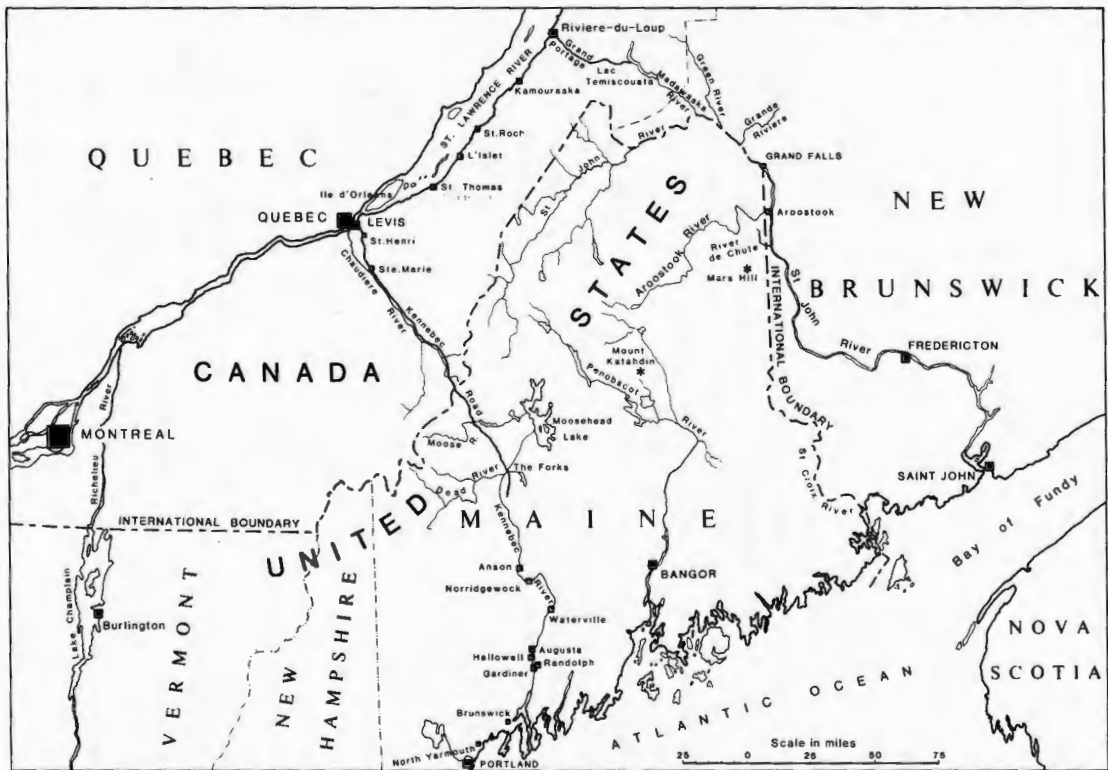
necticut, the Catskills, and the Hudson Highlands. Nor did he neglect the Green Mountains of his home state; he climbed Killington in 1811, Ascutney in 1817, and in 1818, during a two-hundred-mile, seven-day journey, Camel's Hump and Mansfield.¹² On all these climbs, Partridge carried barometers and thermometers to determine the height of each summit above sea level. Indeed, his method of obtaining altitudes from barometric readings established his reputation as a scientist. In addition to articles that appeared in leading journals, popular accounts of Partridge's topographical surveys were carried by newspapers all over the United States.¹³

On 25 May 1819, Partridge and Odell were instructed by agents William Czar Bradley and Ward Chipman¹⁴ to continue exploring the highlands west of the North Line, with three main objects. First, they were to meet at Mars Hill, Maine, to take a general view of the terrain from its summit, and then make a joint survey of the tract of country extending westward from the Aroostook River and the River de Chute along the highlands to the headwaters of the Penobscot, Kennebec, and Chaudiere rivers. Second, the surveyors were to investigate the highlands between the northern extremity of the Johnson-Odell exploring line of 1818 and the closest adjacent sources of the Kennebec and the Chaudiere. Third, from those last two sources, the highlands exploration was to continue to the northwesternmost head of the Connecticut River. The two surveyors were enjoined to proceed "diligently, amicably, and impartially . . . without expecting any advantage to be derived from priority of one survey over the other in point of time."¹⁵

Partridge recorded his daily account of the survey in two small volumes of a journal¹⁶ that includes descriptions of people, places, and social customs, as well as technical detail. The following are selected excerpts from the journal, accompanied by explanatory comments and notes. Partridge's narrative began at Levis, a town on the south bank of the St. Lawrence River, across from Quebec City.

June 22nd, 1819. I left Point Levis about 7 o'clock in the morning, accompanied by my three assistants, Messrs. Burnham,¹⁷ Partridge¹⁸ and Hunter,¹⁹ for the Grand Portage.²⁰ We were mounted in chariots which is a vehicle with two wheels, a small body and a spring seat. It is drawn by one horse and will carry two persons besides the driver who is mounted on a small seat in front. The weather was fine and road good. The country generally very level, well cultivated and thickly settled. The soil appeared organically good but is much coarse and wants manuring, to which, however, the Canadians are much averse. . . .

June 25th. . . . The houses of the Canadians are generally constructed of stone or hewn timber locked together at the corners. They are, with



The United States-Canada Eastern Boundary. Courtesy of Alec McEwen.

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very [few] exceptions, one story high, with a sharp roof, well calculated to allow the snow to slide off in the winter, and white-washed on the outside, which gives them a very neat appearance. Indeed, a great degree of neatness appears to pervade their establishments generally. Their parishes are all furnished with churches built of stone, which are distributed along the bank of the river within an average distance of each other of about 9 miles. The French language prevails almost exclusively, very few can speak any English. The inhabitants, though for want of education much circumscribed in their views, appear to be happy, and are certainly a very hospitable, well disposed people. Their wants are few, and those being supplied they appear perfectly contented.

June 26th. Immediately after breakfast commenced preparations for crossing the portage, and about 10 o'clock I started on foot equipped with two barometers, a detached thermometer, a spying glass and a map in a tin case, the two latter slung across my shoulder. I was accompanied by my three assistants already mentioned and two men all heavily laden with provisions and baggage. The road for the first two miles was tolerable for footmen, though scarcely passable for any kind of wheel carriage, but after this it was horrible. The mud was deep and very soft, and it was very difficult on account of the bushes, avoiding it. . . .

After crossing the Grand Portage, along which they took barometric observations to obtain their height above sea level, Partridge and his men traveled down the Madawaska and the St. John rivers to the latter's confluence with the River de Chute, about fifteen miles south of the Aroostook River.

July 3rd. . . . About sunset we arrived at the mouth of the River de Chute where I found the British surveying party encamped. I immediately landed, and informed Mr. Odell, the British surveyor, of my arrival and that I expected to be joined by my party shortly. . . .

July 7th. . . . Struck our tents, preparatory to proceeding to Mars Hill, and about 9 o'clock A.M. we took up our line of march accompanied by Mr. Odell, the British surveyor and his assistants, for that station. . . . Mars Hill is an insulated eminence situated about one mile and six chains due west from the eastern boundary line of the U.S. It consists of two peaks, the northern and southern, which are, in a right line, two miles six chains and sixty links apart, but to get from one to the other it is necessary to travel about two miles and a quarter. The south peak is the highest. The prospect from this hill is very fine and extensive. To the southwest at a great distance appear some lofty peaks of mountains, the most elevated of which is supposed to be Mount Katahdin, near one branch of the Penobscot River. To the west are some eminences, though not very

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elevated. To the northwest and north, the country appears to rise pretty uniformly for a great distance, and finally to terminate in a ridge of elevated land which extends, to appearance, nearly in a northwest and southwest direction as far as the eye can reach. Indeed, the whole country to the west and as far north as the ridge just mentioned, setting aside the small inequalities on its surface, appears to form an immense inclined plane, fronting toward the south with a gentle inclination to the east. This whole extent is still in a state of nature, without the habitation of a single civilized being to adorn its surface. It may emphatically be styled an ocean of wood. . . .

The next few days were too wet and foggy to permit the surveying of prominent peaks by theodolite and plane table. Partridge and Odell decided instead to return to River de Chute to make arrangements for ascending the Aroostook.

July 12th. Weather partly clear and sultry. Considerable rain last night. About six o'clock A.M. we broke up our camp at the mouth of the River de Chute and got under way for the Aroostook, distance 15 miles. Myself and one assistant (John M. Partridge) with our baggage and the instruments occupied one canoe, and the remainder of the party the two others. About one o'clock I reached the mouth of the Aroostook, the other two canoes having fallen considerably in the rear, and on going ashore found that the party which stopped here on the 5th inst. had broken up their camp and removed to some other station. I immediately [realized] they must have gone up to the falls of the Aroostook, distant from the mouth about 3 miles. We accordingly pursued our course up this river which for the 1st mile was very smooth and the current gentle. It then became so full of rapids that myself and assistant found it necessary to land and endeavor to make our way on foot along the north shore. This we effected with some difficulty, having to wade through the water in one place where it was of considerable depth, and about 4 o'clock reached the foot of the falls, and discovered the encampment of our party on the opposite shore. This we hailed, when Mr. Hunter came with a canoe and took us across. Our canoe got safely up a few minutes after, and the two others arrived in about an hour. I found that the commissary, Mr. [Richard] Powers, had got a store house nearly completed at the head of the falls, and had likewise succeeded in getting nearly all the provisions across the portage, a distance of rather more than a mile. There is a salmon fishery at the foot of the falls, nearly opposite our camp, which is in a kind of amphitheater immediately on the beach, and we succeeded in procuring two fine ones which afforded us a repast, after living for a week almost wholly on salt pork and pea soup. I found the

flies and mosquitoes far less troublesome at this place than either on Mars Hill or at the River de Chute. This enabled me to anticipate a good night's sleep, of which I had been in a great measure deprived during the two preceding nights. I commenced my barometrical observations, as usual, at this place. . . .

July 17th. Weather foggy in the morning, then became partially clear, and again cloudy towards evening. At 9 o'clock A.M. I started on an excursion to the mouth of the Aroostook for the purpose of making a barometrical observation, in order to determine the difference in altitude between the surface of the river at its junction with the St. John and at the foot of the falls. I went in a log canoe, accompanied by Mr. Burnham and two men. We shipped some water in passing the rapids, but returned safe at half past eleven. The distance 6 miles. The banks of the river, particularly its northern, from its mouth to the falls, are high and covered with a thick growth of cedar, hemlock, spruce, fir and some pines, intermixed with a considerable proportion of maple, black and white birch, poplars and some beech. The channel, except for about one mile, is rocky and the current swift, with several rapids two of which are passed with difficulty. The breadth of the river at the mouth I should judge to be about 100 yards. Mr. Campbell,²¹ assistant to Mr. Odell, arrived about six o'clock P.M., with . . . canoes loaded with provisions, from the River de Chute, but brought no news of Mr. Odell. . . .

Upon receiving word that Odell, who had gone to Fredericton, would not reach the Aroostook until 22 July, Partridge decided to continue up the river without him.

July 23rd. Weather pleasant but warm. A little after 8 o'clock we struck our tents and resumed our route. We passed several islands, and encountered a number of shoals which were passed with difficulty, being obliged to drag the canoes several times, and to walk round one rapid. At half past 12 we landed on the beach on the western shore by a small brook where, seated on the ground under a burning sun, we took our dinner, consisting of pork fried in the morning with boiled pease, cold, and hard bread. . . .

July 27th. . . . After proceeding about 6 miles I landed on the northern shore, on a dry beach, to await the arrival of the other canoes which were considerably in the rear. I waited here about half an hour when Mr. Burnham came up on foot and informed me that his canoe, a birchen one, had struck on a rock about 2½ miles back and broke a hole through the bottom, in consequence of which he was obliged to unload it, and that he thought it doubtful whether it or the others reached here this evening. Under these circumstances our prospects for the night were not

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the most consoling. We were on an open beach, without shelter or provisions, and the rain was already commencing. I immediately despatched my canoe to assist those in the rear, and Mr. Burnham and Mr. J. M. Partridge, who came in my canoe, in conjunction with me, set about erecting a temporary tent of a blanket for a shelter during the night. Fortunately however the other canoes arrived just at dark, and relieved us from spending a supperless and probably otherwise not very pleasant night as the [rain] fell copiously during a large part of it. The appearance of the country for the first 8 miles was much the same as yesterday. During the remaining 6 miles it exhibited greater signs of being marshy. The banks and islands were generally covered with high grass and the channel became very crooked, with a sandy bottom. We progressed this day 14 miles, and in the course of it made a fine haul of trout. . . .

July 29th. Weather foggy in the morning, but afterwards cleared away and became pleasant. At 7 o'clock we struck our camp and resumed our course. The shoals became more frequent and we were obliged to drag our canoes nearly one half the time. In this manner we proceeded on about three miles when we came to a division of the stream, a large branch [Little Machias River] coming in from the westward, while the principal one continued nearly a south course. I proceeded about half a mile up the latter, when the water became so shallow as to render it nearly impossible to get our canoes, which were only half loaded, along. I determined therefore to return to the point of division and encamp there until these branches could be explored. I accordingly detached Mr. Burnham in a canoe up the principal one with directions to explore it as far as he could and return at evening. He returned at 7 o'clock and reported that he had been about 4½ miles, that he passed some good water but that the shoals were worse than any we had passed, their empty canoe being with difficulty got over some of them, and that in one place the progress was entirely blocked up by flood-wood. He also stated that from the top of a tree which grew on an eminence and which afforded him an extensive view of the country, he could discover no lakes or bodies of water in any direction. Mr. Partridge, who had gone up the smaller branch on foot about three miles, also reported that he found the channel completely blocked by flood-wood, and the water so shallow as to render it impossible to get up it with an empty canoe. Under these circumstances I considered any further attempt to reach the waters of the Penobscot by this route would be vain, and occasion a useless waste of time. I consequently determined to return in the morning to our encampment of the 27th, distance about 6 miles, for the purpose of examining a stream that came in there from the westward, and should the route in this direction

be found impracticable then, as the only alternative, to retrace our steps to the mouth of the Aroostook and endeavor to effect our object by proceeding up the St. John.

July 30th. Weather pleasant. At 6 o'clock A.M. I despatched Messrs. Burnham and Partridge in a birch canoe with orders to proceed down the river to our encampment of the 27th, whence one of them was to proceed to explore the stream abovementioned [Beaver Brook] and the other to ascend an eminence [Haystack Mountain] about a mile distant to the southeast from which he would be enabled to take a view of the circumjacent country, and each to report to me the result of his excursion. At 8 o'clock I broke up the camp and commenced my return down the river, and at 11 o'clock reached the encampment abovementioned, distance about 6 miles. Shortly after my arrival at this place, Mr. Partridge returned from the eminence, and about 12 o'clock Mr. Burnham arrived from his excursion up the stream, and reported that he had proceeded up the channel about $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles and that he found the water so shoal that it would not float his birch canoe empty. I now was fully convinced of the utter impracticability of proceeding any further by the route of the Aroostook and accordingly at half past one o'clock we commenced our return to its mouth and reached our encampment of the 26th a little after sunset, being obliged as usual to drag our canoes over the shoals. My canoe received a serious injury by running foul of a shoal, to repair which detained us half an hour. We progressed this day $19\frac{3}{4}$ miles. . . .

August 2nd. . . . At half past 12 we resumed our course, and a little after 5 o'clock P.M. fell in with Mr. Odell and his assistants who were encamped, having progressed up the river about 30 miles above the falls. I landed at his encampment with my assistants, and stated to him the situation of the navigation and also my conviction of the impracticability of executing anything further which could be effective in that direction. I also proposed to him the plan of proceeding up the St. John (which plan I had previously proposed to him while at the River de Chute) and penetrating in that direction to the head waters of the Penobscot and Kennebec, which course would lead us to sections of the country we were required more particularly to explore. To this plan however he declined, urging as his principal reason that the season was too far advanced to accomplish it. He also indicated his intention of proceeding further up the Aroostook and then of closing the campaign by returning to Fredericton. Being unwilling to relinquish what I conceived to be by far the most important part of our contemplated operation, I still persisted in my determination of penetrating through on my return home, in the direction above-mentioned. A little before 7 o'clock I took my leave of Mr. Odell

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and we resumed our route. About sunset we reached our place of encampment on the 21st of July, where we pitched our tents for the night, having progressed this day 24 miles.

August 3rd. . . . About 11 o'clock we reached our encampment of the 20th of July, where we took dinner, on pork and beans. . . . Thus have we in fifteen days explored the Aroostook for more than 100 miles, making a survey of the same, and during the whole of this period have not seen a single human being, except those belonging to our own or the British party. Indeed there is not on its shores, throughout its whole extent, a solitary human habitation. Its whole course is through an uninterrupted wilderness. The land in many places appears fertile but the timber indicates a cold climate. . . .



Alden Partridge (1785-1854). Engraving by H. W. Smith after a portrait taken by John Vanderlyn in 1818. Courtesy of Norwich University Archives.

August 5th. Weather much the same as yesterday. After mature deliberation I determined to abandon the exploration I contemplated up the St. John. This determination was produced from a belief that owing to the advanced state of the season, and the time that must necessarily elapse before the provisions can properly be returned to this place and got over the portage, it would be too late to accomplish the object in view, and also from an apprehension that in consequence of the low state of the water, we should not be able to get through with loaded canoes, in which event we should be brought into the same dilemma as in attempting to ascend the Aroostook and the season there would evidently be too far advanced to attempt anything further. As a substitute for the foregoing I propose returning immediately with my two assistants, Messrs. Burnham and Partridge, to Quebec, and from there attempt to penetrate by land through to the Kennebec, and by continuing a series of barometrical and thermometrical observations throughout this extent, I shall be enabled to complete a profile of the country extending from the St. Lawrence on the one side to tide water in the Kennebec on the other. . . . In order however to derive all the advantages possible from an excursion up the St. John, I have directed my other assistant, Mr. Hunter, to proceed on that route with three men, two canoes, and the requisite supply of provisions, and to penetrate if possible into the head waters of the Penobscot, making a survey of the streams throughout which he passes and also such observations on the adjacent country as circumstances may permit, and report the result of his proceedings to me. . . .

Partridge and his party retraced their steps down the Aroostook, up the St. John and the Madawaska, and along the Grand Portage to the St. Lawrence, en route for Quebec City where they arrived on 14 August. Here, Partridge took the opportunity to do a little sightseeing, watch the British troops on parade, and assess the strength of the city's military fortifications.

August 21st. . . . The city of Quebec, the capital of Lower Canada and residence of the Governor General of the British possessions on the continent, is situated on a tongue of land included between the River St. Lawrence on the south and the St. Charles on the north. It consists of two distinct divisions called the upper and lower towns. . . . The lower town, in consequence of its situation, is a disagreeable residence, the streets being narrow and dirty, and the houses, which are generally of stone, from one to three stories high, dark and unpleasant. The upper town is much more pleasant and airy, and the houses generally more elegantly built. It is however irregular and when compared with the cities in the United States, neatly and commodiously built of brick, it makes but an

indifferent figure. . . . Quebec is strong by nature; I mean the upper town [whose] natural strength has been considerably improved by art. It, the upper town, is nearly enclosed by fortifications. These, however, except on the westerly or rather southwesterly side, do not appear to be of any great strength. . . . Towards the Plains of Abraham, however, a tolerably regular front of fortifications is exhibited, consisting of bastions, curtains, ravelins and counterguards, the flanks of some of which are casemated. This front, if attacked only on the side of the Plains, would oppose a powerful resistance, and could not be carried except by regular siege or blockade. I am disposed to believe however that a considerable portion of it might be exploded by batteries judiciously disposed, and thereby rendered in a great manner useless. . . . Indeed, I am of opinion that were the city of Quebec besieged by an army of suitable force, properly organized, with a requisite train of artillery, and the whole ably commanded, that it would yield much sooner than is generally supposed. . . .

August 22nd. . . . I was violently attacked this morning with the dysentery, accompanied with severe pains in my bones and with fever. It continued increasing in violence during the day. . . .

August 29th. . . . About 10 o'clock this morning Mr. Burnham started on the expedition to explore the head waters of Connecticut River. My other assistant, Mr. Partridge, remaining in order to accompany me on the route to the Kennebec. . . .

Leaving Levis on 31 August, Partridge and his cousin John traveled by horse and carriage along the Chaudiere and Liniere rivers to the place where the Kennebec Road met the highlands boundary near the present Jackman-Armstrong border crossing.

September 3rd. Weather favorable, though very warm. At a little after 6 o'clock we resumed our course, and proceeding on about 8 miles we reached Indian [Metgermette] River, which empties into the du Loup [Liniere], heading within about 2 miles of the St. John, where we halted and took dinner, consisting of chocolate, crackers and cheese. After resting about an hour, we again got under way and proceeded forward until a little after 5 o'clock, when having arrived within one mile of the monument at the supposed boundary line between Lower Canada and the U.S., we encamped for the night. . . .

On 10 September, Partridge reached the terminal point of his survey at Hallowell, Maine, where he completed 236 miles of barometric readings from Quebec City by connecting his observations to tidewater on the Kennebec River.²² His official report of the exploration, together with

the supplementary reports of Burnham, Hunter and J. M. Partridge, were filed with the boundary commissioners on 19 May 1820.²³

Having spent the summer on the survey, Partridge left the project to resume his role as educator. In the latter part of 1819 he founded what is now Norwich University, thereby establishing the first private military college in the United States. Although no longer directly concerned with the boundary problem, Partridge retained a close interest in its development. His three former assistants continued the exploration during the 1820 field season, joined by Nathaniel Hall Loring who, like Hunter and J. M. Partridge, had been a West Point cadet during Partridge's superintendency. Twenty years later, Partridge published a lengthy letter that denounced the failure of the two governments to reach agreement regarding the location of a boundary, which, in his view, was not in doubt.²⁴ He recommended that the United States and Britain appoint surveyors "to run the line where we have uniformly contended it should be run." If Britain refused, then the United States should send its own surveyors and make available "one hundred thousand of our gallant citizen soldiers" to protect them if necessary. His response to any objection that such conduct might provoke war with Britain was "let it come."

Unilateral, but inconclusive, surveys of the controversial border region were made by Britain, 1839-41, and by the United States, 1840-42. At stake were about twelve thousand square miles of disputed territory. A boundary compromise was achieved by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842, and a joint survey team marked the new line during the years 1843-45. The boundary struggle was finally over, and Alden Partridge had lived to see its peaceful conclusion.

NOTES

¹ George L. Rives, *Selections from the Correspondence of Thomas Barclay* (New York: Harper, 1894), 368.

² Cornelius Peter Van Ness (1782-1852), collector of customs at Burlington, later chief justice and governor of Vermont; T. D. Seymour Bassett, "The Rise of Cornelius Peter Van Ness, 1782-1826," *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society* 10 (1942): 3-20.

³ William Czar Bradley (1782-1867), state legislator and congressman; *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1929), 2:576.

⁴ John Johnson (1771-1842), engineer and millwright, surveyor general of Vermont, 1813-17; *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: J. T. White, 1893-1919), 17:290-91.

⁵ Alden Partridge (1785-1854); *Dictionary of American Biography*, 14:281-2; Lester A. Webb, *Captain Alden Partridge and the United States Military Academy, 1806-1833* (Northport, Alabama: American Southern, 1965).

⁶ Joseph Bouchette (1774-1841), surveyor general of Lower Canada, 1804-41; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966-1988), 7:95-98.

⁷ Rives, *Correspondence of Thomas Barclay*, 395, 401.

⁸ William Franklin Odell (1774-1844), lawyer, provincial secretary of New Brunswick, 1812-44; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 7:657-59.

⁹ Partridge Papers, Northeastern Boundary Survey, Bradley to Partridge, 29 March 1819, University Archives, Norwich University.

¹⁰ Lawrence P. Grayson, "A Brief History of Engineering Education in the United States," *Engineering Education* 68 (December 1977), 3:248.

¹¹ Dean P. Baker, "The Partridge Connection: Alden Partridge and Southern Military Education," Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1986, 110.

¹² Laura and Guy Waterman, *Forest and Crag: A History of Hiking, Trail Blazing, and Adventure in the Northeast Mountains* (Boston: Appalachian Mountain Club, 1989), 30-31.

¹³ Waterman, *Forest and Crag*, 31; Baker, "The Partridge Connection," 111.

¹⁴ Ward Chipman (1754-1824), New Brunswick lawyer, judge, and legislator who shared the office of British agent with his son, Ward Chipman, Jr.; *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 6:135-45.

¹⁵ Maine State Archives, Northeastern Boundary Records, "Journal of the Commission appointed under the 5th Article of the Treaty of Ghent, 1816-1822," 1:99-104.

¹⁶ "Survey of Northeastern Boundary between U.S. and Canada." A journal kept by Alden Partridge, surveyor in charge, 22 June 1819 to 12 September 1819, 2 volumes, 175 pages, MS, University Archives, Norwich University Library, Northfield, Vermont. The author gratefully acknowledges the permission he was granted by Norwich University to examine and publish extracts from this journal.

¹⁷ Hiram Burnham (1798-1852), chief United States surveyor on the northeastern boundary, 1820-22, afterwards a surveyor in Michigan for many years; Roderick H. Burnham, *The Burnham Family* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard, 1869), 129.

¹⁸ John Milton Partridge (1799-1831), first cousin to Alden Partridge, professor of geometry and topography at Norwich University, 1820-25, afterwards a merchant in the lumber and stone quarrying business; William A. Ellis, ed., *Norwich University, 1819-1911* (Montpelier: Capital City Press, 1911), 2:44.

¹⁹ William Guy Hunter (1798-1877) of West Windsor, resigned from West Point in April 1819 after two years as a cadet; member of the Vermont Council, 1830-31. Information from West Windsor Historical Society, Brownsville, Vermont; United States Military Academy Archives; and Vermont State Archives, Montpelier.

²⁰ The old name for the trail, thirty-seven miles long, that was first opened in 1783 to connect the St. Lawrence River with Lake Temiscouata.

²¹ Colin Campbell (1783-1843) of St. Andrews, New Brunswick, surveyor, legislator, judge, sheriff, and newspaper proprietor, *The Standard*, St. Andrews, 31 August 1843, Charlotte County Historical Society, St. Andrews, N.B.

²² Alden Partridge, "Register of Barometrical and Thermometrical Observations," Partridge Papers, Northeastern Boundary Survey, University Archives, Norwich University.

²³ Maine State Archives, Northeastern Boundary, "Journal of the Commission . . . 1816-1822," 1:108.

²⁴ A. Partridge, "The North Eastern Boundary," *The Age*, Augusta, Maine, 9 January 1841.