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Ethan Allen's Irish Friends

Allen's plight drew sympathy and aroused indignation in Ireland, especially among Irish radical politicians, who were always looking for an opportunity to discredit the English administration in its handling of American affairs.

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In late 1775, winter in the British Isles grew abnormally harsh, second only in that century to the stormy winter of 1737. Newspapers recorded blizzards, high winds, and temperatures as low as -13°C . The Lee River in southern Ireland pushed large ice floes into Cork harbor, while arctic cold froze the Liffey River and thick ice closed Dublin Port on the east central coast. Severe blizzards and high gales shut down road transport across Ireland.¹

As the foul weather battered the island that December, large military transport ships heading for America formed a convoy at Cobh on the south Irish coast with orders to take on troops barracked at Cork and Waterford for reinforcements to the beleaguered British army facing rebellion in both North Carolina and the northeastern coastal colonies. With the turn of the year, the worst storm of the century "brought old hardy sailors to their prayers,"² sinking the troopship *Marquis of Rockingham* with 110 casualties.³ Thirty troopships eventually reformed at anchor in Cobh during January, waiting for their escorting flagships, HMS *Solebay* and HMS *Thunder Bomb*, and three medium-sized frigates.

Departing from Falmouth, Cornwall, on January 8, 1776, HMS *Solebay* safely sailed through the deadly violent storm, the last ship to join the convoy at Cobh. As news quickly spread throughout Ireland concerning the assembly of a fleet of nearly fifty troopships, hospital ships, frigates, and ships of the line, Irish political interests focused on the *Solebay* and its human cargo: a group of American and Canadian prisoners who had

been captured at Montreal in September 1775, transported to England, and were now headed back to America.⁴ The prisoners' fates were unknown; newspapers conjectured they were being shipped back to the colonies either for prisoner exchange or continued incarceration.⁵ The most prominent member of the group was Ethan Allen, the notorious Yankee rebel leader from the New Hampshire Grants.

For over two centuries, information about and interpretation of Allen's experience as a prisoner of war has relied almost exclusively on his own account, *A Narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen's Captivity, Containing His Voyages and Travels*, published in 1779, a year after his release and return to what was by then called Vermont. The *Narrative* contains many details of Allen's exploits and tribulations from May 1775 to May 1778. For some passages, Allen was the only witness who left a surviving account, and his bombastic, often self-promoting rhetoric has evoked both admiration and skepticism in his readers down the ages. For a few episodes in this personal drama, we have the words of other witnesses to the events that Allen described. Never before, however, have we seen the brief Irish portion of Allen's captivity through other eyes. Newspaper and personal accounts of Irish observers, recently uncovered and reported in this article, not only corroborate Allen's *Narrative* but show us how another portion of the population of the British empire responded to the revolution in America and used Allen's presence among them as a captive rebel to express their own resentment of England's governance of Ireland.

At dawn on May 10, 1775, Allen and Benedict Arnold led an irregular force of Green Mountain Boys and militia from Connecticut and Massachusetts in the capture of Ticonderoga, the crumbling French-built fortress controlling Lake Champlain and the route from Montreal to New York.⁶ On September 25 Allen was himself captured after an ill-conceived and poorly coordinated attack on the walled town of Montreal.⁷

Clamped in manacles, the survivors of Allen's force of Americans and French Canadians taken at Montreal were held on the brig *Gaspé*. Allen was also painfully locked in 40-pound leg irons, an insulting burden for an officer.⁸ News of the harsh treatment meted out to Allen and his fellow prisoners by their British captors quickly traveled by dispatch runners from Seth Warner, leading an advance scout of Green Mountain Rangers at La Prairie across the St. Lawrence from Montreal, to Richard Montgomery, the Irish-born commander of American forces besieging St. John, 20 miles to the south.⁹ In October Montgomery wrote to Guy Carleton, the British commander at Montreal and also an Irishman, threatening a massacre of the captured British garrison at Chambly if the "shocking indignity" of keeping Ethan Allen and his men in manacles and leg irons did not cease.¹⁰ Carleton ignored Montgomery's threat and in early

December sent Allen and his rebel companions, still shackled, to Quebec to be placed on HMS *Adamant* bound for Cornwall.¹¹

Newspapers in Ireland were eager to report word from any source about America, but Allen's captivity appears to have attracted special attention and sympathy. Dublin's *Freeman's Journal*, for example, reproduced from the *Falmouth News* an extract of a letter from a British naval officer who had traveled on the same ship as Allen, arriving on December 28 from Quebec, "to which place I never intended to return nor will I ever go upon such service again to any part of America."¹²

Allen's capture, severe treatment, and transportation from Quebec to Falmouth caught the public's imagination. *Town and Country* magazine in London reported that in January, as the American prisoners sat in the hold of the *Solebay* at Cobh, newspapers in various parts of England and Ireland had printed verses in parody of an air from *The Beggar's Opera*, John Gay's 1732 satire on Georgian manners and the politics of Robert Walpole's administration. Closely mimicking Gay's catchy rhymes and meter, the parody presented Jemmy Twitcher, a villainous highwayman, taking a slash at contemporary politics and the American policies of Lord North, England's first minister:

Your prisoners, thou' they are prisoners, spare
 And quash this idle strife
 For on the rope that swings then & there
 Hangs many a subject's life.¹³

These lyrics fueled Irish sympathy for the American prisoners and, according to one newspaper, influenced decisions on the fate of Allen and his companions. The *Hibernian Journal* of Cork reported "this merciful decision [not to hang the Americans] was brought about by Twitcher's singing his parody."¹⁴

Irish political observers were alert to constitutional questions pestering the North administration over how to handle Allen and other American prisoners. Irish newspapers reported that soon after arriving in Falmouth, Allen had engaged an English attorney to challenge the constitutionality and authority of his imprisonment. John Wilkes (1727–1797), mayor of London and a vigorous opponent of the administration's coercive American policy, obtained a writ of habeas corpus for Allen early in his eleven-day imprisonment at Pendennis Castle in Cornwall.¹⁵ With Irish newspaper reports prompting the opposition's questions to the administration, the Crown finally ordered the confinement of Allen and his fellow prisoners.¹⁶ Until then, with no official order determining the status of the Americans, Allen and the other prisoners faced an ambiguous future, possibly including the traitor's fate of "a halter at Tyburn" that General

Richard Prescott promised him after Allen's capture at Montreal.¹⁷ Wilkes's suit and the general effect of English and Irish support had forced an English policy decision defining Allen as a prisoner of war, not a traitor. After Solicitor General Alexander Wedderburn failed to persuade Allen to revive his loyalty to the Crown in exchange for his freedom,¹⁸ Irish newspapers announced in early January that Allen and his companions would be shipped back to America. The *Hibernian Journal* reported that "an acrimonious debate is said to be already had in the [English] Cabinet on the fate of the American prisoners from Canada. . . . It was agreed to let them remain as such prisoners till the fate of the next campaign be known."¹⁹

As January wore on, rumors about the fate of the prisoners continued to appear in the Irish newspapers. One mistaken story in the Cork newspaper reported that Quebec had fallen to the Americans under Montgomery and that the captured British commander, Carleton, would be exchanged for Allen, thus explaining the haste in returning him to America.²⁰ But by the middle of the month, editorial comment in the Irish radical press correctly concluded that the English government, rather than trying Allen and his companions as traitors, was sending them back to America as prisoners. *Faulkner's Dublin Journal* implied that the decision to return Allen was taken at the highest level but noted the public's attention to the incident:

The reason of the Government's intention of sending back Mr. Ethan Allen and his companions must now appear very palpable to the intelligent and dispassionate man. Whatever view malice or prejudice may endeavour to set this intended measure in, it is certainly a VERY POLITICAL ONE of the highest water, as these persons will be exchanged for some of the regulars and at the same time will rather pacify than inflame the minds of many right thinking people who might lead on this Island to oppose other vigorous measures.²¹

Allen's plight drew sympathy and aroused indignation in Ireland, especially among Irish radical politicians, who were always looking for an opportunity to discredit the English administration in its handling of American affairs. By the end of January, public subscriptions were opened at Cork and at the Dublin Exchange Coffee House. On February 2 the *Hibernian Journal* reported that Allen and his companion prisoners "were brought to England to be tried as rebels but now are returned to be exchanged as prisoners-of-war. Their friends in England did not do anything to relieve their miseries but as soon as their arrival was announced on hospitable shores, subscriptions were opened to provide them with the proper necessities both by the Patriotic citizenry of Dublin and of Cork."

Graphic accounts of American prisoners suffering from inadequate

protection against winter on the north Atlantic (details of which would later be confirmed in Allen's own account) elicited Irish generosity:

These unhappy prisoners, when taken, were destitute of all clothing, saving those then on their backs and in this situation transported to England from Canada where they remained in jail for nearly three months without being brought to trial and now by order of the Administration on board the above man-of-war [*Solebay*] to be conveyed back to America but without any additional clothing in this most inclement season. Humanity shrinks at the distressed conditions of these wretches who have been deprived of their liberty, dragged from their country and friends for upwards of 3000 miles (as now appears) against all statutes and Common Law (otherwise they would have been tried and legally punished), confined in a close dungeon, fettered in irons and without a second shirt or coat to refresh their aching bodies.²²

In the first few days of February, newspapers in both Dublin and Cork noted that "several Gentlemen of Cork, struck by the wretched conditions of these brave fellows, who are stout and remarkably well looking, have begun a subscription to purchase clothing and other necessities for their voyage and in a few hours have received upwards of 30 guineas."²³

One of the Cork subscription raisers reported that two men from Cork went on board the *Solebay*

to enquire about their [Allen's and the other prisoners'] situation and to assure them of the disposition of several gentlemen in this city to alleviate their distresses. . . . A subscription was begun this morning among some friends of the CAUSE and near fifty guineas was collected to buy clothes for his men and necessaries for himself. . . . I have not been refused by a single person on the subscription.²⁴

In the *Narrative* of his thirty-two months in captivity, Allen described the friendly Irish reception and generous support he and his fellow prisoners received as the *Solebay* lay in Cobh for nearly a month on its return to America.²⁵ Allen, however, seems to have had just a glimpse of what became widespread interest and sympathy for the prisoners on the *Solebay*. He recalled that "it was soon rumored in Cork that I was on board the *Solebay*, with a number of prisoners from America; upon which Messrs. Clark and Hay, merchants in company, and a number of other benevolently disposed gentlemen, contributed largely to the relief and support of the prisoners, who were thirty-four in number, and in very needy circumstances."²⁶

Clark, Hay, and James Bonwell are the only Irish-named benefactors of the Americans Allen mentioned in his *Narrative*. Bonwell, who according to the *Narrative* gave Allen a beaver hat "richly laced with gold," appears in a Dublin directory as a linen merchant. The only surviving eighteenth-century Cork directory lists two Clarkes and six Hayses as

merchants. A Philip Clarke was “a Clothier Merchant of Batchelor’s Walk, Cork City,” and Benjamin Hays was an attorney and merchant “in the South Mall, Cork City.” If Allen’s “Clark” and “Hay” were Catholics, they would not have appeared in any eighteenth-century Irish business directory.²⁷

Allen wrote his *Narrative* from memory in spring 1779. Although he recalled the actions of those who appeared briefly on the stage of his captivity drama, he often either forgot or misspelled their names.²⁸ Allen probably never learned or knew the name Edward Newenham, perhaps his most prominent Irish benefactor at Cobh. Newenham’s identity and his role as one of Allen’s sympathizers, uncovered only recently, seem to have been unknown as well to Allen’s early and recent biographers.

Hoey’s Dublin Mercury, a fiery newspaper that supported the government, reported on February 2, 1776, that its favorite opposition target, Sir Edward Newenham, a radical member of the Irish Parliament, had organized a public subscription for the American prisoners at the Dublin Exchange Coffee House. Newenham (1732–1814) sat in the Irish Parliament with the Patriot faction, beside Henry Grattan, Thomas Connolly, and Alexander Montgomery, MP from county Donegal and brother of Richard Montgomery, recently killed while commanding the American forces besieging Quebec in December 1775.²⁹ Volatile and bombastic—like Allen—Newenham publicly declared his friendship for the American rebel cause: when the news of Richard Montgomery’s death in the snow before Quebec reached Dublin in March 1776, Newenham cocked a snook at Lord North’s administration by appearing in the Irish House of Commons attired in black mourning clothes.³⁰

Edward Newenham was the younger son of Thomas Newenham of Coolmore. The Newenhams were county Cork gentry with an active interest in Irish Patriot politics.³¹ According to an advertisement in the *Cork Evening Post* (1786), a cadet branch of the Newenham family was headed by George Newenham, “Clothier to the Aristocrats”—and possibly provider of thirty-three suits of clothes given to Allen’s fellow prisoners at Cork and the gift to Allen of “super-fine broadcloth, sufficient for two jackets, and two pair of breeches.”³² Richard Newenham, George’s father, was Ireland’s largest dealer of worsted yarn, spun from Carolina and Georgia cotton, and a Quaker opponent of England’s policy toward America, especially the importation embargo on American cotton.³³ Perhaps George Newenham and his father were prompted by their cousin Edward, whose Dublin subscription for the Americans might also have paid for the gift of clothing.

Edward Newenham lived at Belcamp Hall, Coolock, county Dublin, serving as MP from 1776 to 1797. In 1778 Newenham concretely expressed



*"Sir Edward Newenham, Knight, Representative for the County of Dublin."
From the Hibernian, Dublin, 1778.*

support for the American victories over the English at Lexington and Concord when he constructed on the grounds of his estate a folly he called the Washington Tower, with an exterior plaque commemorating those events.³⁴ Newenham's tower still stands, the sole monument to Washington erected in Europe during his lifetime and the only monument in Ireland that commemorates him. Newenham often claimed in private as well as in political debate that the fate of the American colonies—civil riot and war—would be the fate of Ireland unless Parliament granted reform and fiscal independence from Westminster.

After the American peace in 1783, Newenham built an oval room at Belcamp Hall, unwittingly prefiguring the Oval Office of the yet-to-be-designed and built American president's official residence. Called the



Washington Memorial Tower. Built 1778 at Belcamp by Sir Edward Newenham in honor of American independence. Courtesy of Eugene A. Coyle.

States, Newenham's room displayed busts and etchings of America's Revolutionary heroes: Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Lafayette, and Benedict Arnold. For his treachery, Arnold's bust was turned to face into its alcove. When Jane Livingston, Montgomery's widow, arrived at Belcamp Hall on her visit to Ireland in 1789, she viewed in the States an elaborate, stuccoed mural depicting the death of her husband in the snow before the walls of Quebec, a macabre memorial still on display.³⁵

One of Newenham's enshrined American heroes returned the favor done to Ethan Allen by his Irish benefactor. In 1782 Newenham asked Benjamin Franklin to help him and his family obtain a release from house arrest in Marseilles, where the French government, then at war with Great Britain, had confined them as suspected British spies. Writing to Franklin at Passy during his mission to the court of Versailles, Newenham reminded Franklin that "your worthy and virtuous countrymen have always met with my favour, particularly, Col Allen and those who were associated with him," and he assured him, "my own conduct towards the United States has been such that I am confident your excellency will not think me undeserving of your particular protection."³⁶ Franklin arranged for the Newenhams to obtain a passport and license to travel to Ostend and then home to Ireland.

The British convoy left Cobh and Allen's Irish benefactors on February 12, 1776. Allen, however, quickly acquired additional Irish friends during these early days of his lengthy captivity. On board the *Solebay* was Master of Arms Gillegin (or perhaps Gilligan), "an Irishman who was a generous and well disposed man, and in a friendly manner, made me a proffer of lying with him in a little birth, which was allotted him between decks, and enclosed with canvas." Allen, "comparatively happy" with Gillegin's "clemency," bunked with him "in friendship" till the frigate anchored in the harbor of Cape Fear, North Carolina.³⁷

As the convoy left Cobh for America, however, another furious Atlantic storm drove the British fleet east to the Bay of Biscay. The convoy regrouped and sailed on to the island of Madeira, where Allen "found that Irish generosity was again excited; for a gentleman of this nation sent his clerk on board, to know of me if I would accept a sea store from him (particularly of wine)." But Captain Symonds of the *Solebay* ordered the ship to take the newly risen fair wind, thus leaving Madeira and its wine before Allen's final Irish gift could reach him.³⁸

Allen was certainly grateful for the help from his Irish friends. Immediately after receiving their gifts of food, spirits, and clothing in Cobh, he wrote directly to his benefactors: "Gentlemen of Cork, I received your generous present this day with a joyful Heart. Thanks to God, there are still feelings of humanity in the worthy citizens of Cork, towards those

of your own bone and flesh, through misfortune from the present broils in the Empire are now needy prisoners.”³⁹ Allen’s brief note of gratitude to the Irish traveled to America almost as quickly as the *Solebay*, to be published in the *Connecticut Courant* in early summer 1776 as Allen and his companions lay at anchor in North Carolina.⁴⁰

In May 1778 Allen finally returned to the New Hampshire Grants, now a “young Vermont,” having endured the longest British captivity of an American officer.⁴¹ On the first anniversary of his exchange and freedom, May 3, 1779, Allen hosted a party at a tavern in Arlington to honor the Irish who had assisted and supported him in the early days of his wearisome captivity. No guest list survives from that party, but it is a fair guess that any Irish in the vicinity were warmly welcomed.⁴²

NOTES

¹ The severe weather conditions in winter 1775–1776 were reported in *Faulkner’s Dublin Journal*, 23 January 1776; *Saunders Newsletter*, 23 January 1776; and Cork’s *Hibernian Journal*, 23 January 1776, among other papers.

² Ethan Allen, *A Narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen’s Captivity, Containing His Voyages and Travels*, (New York: Fort Ticonderoga Museum, 1930; reprinted Rutland: Vermont Heritage Press, 1988), 48; hereafter cited as *EAN*.

³ *Finn’s Leinster Journal*, 25 December 1775, provided details on the fate of HMS *Marquis of Rockingham*.

⁴ “Thirty one effective men, and seven wounded” were taken at Montreal with Allen. The wounded stayed in Canada. The rest, including Allen, his American followers, eleven French Canadians, plus two additional American prisoners, were shipped to Quebec and England. *EAN*, 20, 32. In a letter to the earl of Dartmouth in London, dated 9 November 1775, Lieutenant-Governor H. J. Cramahé of Quebec explained: “We are obliged to send home [to Britain] the Rebel Prisoners, having no proper place to confine them. . . . The Master [of HMS *Adamant*] having insisted upon it as a condition without which he would not take them on board, I have been obliged to write a requisitional letter to any of the officers commanding the King’s ships or forts upon the Coast to receive them until further directions could be given.” Manuscript SP 44/91/443–4, Public Records Office, London.

⁵ *Faulkner’s Dublin Journal*, 13 January 1776.

⁶ The most recent treatment of Allen’s capture of Ticonderoga is found in Michael Bellesiles’s *Revolutionary Outlaws: Ethan Allen and the Struggle for Independence on the Early American Frontier* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 114–118. For Allen’s own account, see *EAN*, 6–10.

⁷ *EAN*, 14–22; a letter from an unidentified author, Montreal, 25 September 1775, Ethan Allen Papers, Vermont State Archives, Montpelier. “Extract of a Letter from a Gentleman in Quebec,” 30 September 1775, in Peter Force, ed., *American Archives*, 4th ser., vol. 4 (Washington, D.C., 1841), 798–799. Allen’s adventures and his tale might have ended in the swamp before Montreal in 1775 but for another Irishman, a fusilier who thrust his bayonet between Allen and a Mohawk’s pointed firelock and “drove away the fiends, swearing by Jasus he would kill them.” *EAN*, 27.

⁸ *EAN*, 26–28.

⁹ Seth Warner to Richard Montgomery, 26 September 1775, Ethan Allen Papers.

¹⁰ Richard Montgomery to Guy Carleton, 22 October 1775, Ethan Allen Papers.

¹¹ “To the best of my memory, [HMS *Adamant* sailed] the eleventh of November, when a detachment of Gen. Arnold’s little army appeared on Point Levy, opposite Quebec.” *EAN*, 31.

¹² The extract of the British naval officer’s letter recounts his sighting Montgomery’s troops marching from Montreal and complements Allen’s description of Arnold’s “little army”: “A few days before I left I saw a fine army of Americans with a large train of artillery marching from Montreal to Quebec which place now & all Canada is in their hands.” *Freeman’s Journal*, 9 January 1776.

¹³ *Town and Country Magazine*, 11 January 1776. Anticipating theater riots, a common part of urban life in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Lord Lieutenant Harcourt closed *The Beggar’s Opera* in Dublin after a brief run in February, “lest the Irish mobs should apply the character of Jemmy Twitcher.” *Freeman’s Journal*, 19 March 1776.

¹⁴ *Hibernian Journal*, 11 January 1776.

¹⁵ *EAN*, 48–51. “The American prisoners from Canada,” as Allen and his companions were called in Irish newspapers after their transportation to Falmouth, became highly controversial figures in the British debate over how to deal with the rebellious American colonies. See, for example, Olive Anderson, “The Treatment of Prisoners of War in Britain During the American War of Independence,” *Bulletin of Historical Research* 28 (1955): 63–83. In a letter dated 19 September 1777, Thomas McKean told John Adams that John Wilkes obtained the writ of habeas corpus for Allen; see Robert J. Taylor, ed., *The Papers of John Adams*, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 288.

¹⁶ After the American victory at Yorktown, Parliament finally defined the legal status of American prisoners of war by legislation, in 22 George III 3 (1782), C 10/12. Allen became aware of the debate only “some time after I left England.” *EAN*, 37.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁸ House of Lords report, 5 March 1776.

¹⁹ *Hibernian Journal*, 11 January 1776.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, 25 January 1776.

²² *Hibernian Journal*, 2 February 1776. “I happened to be taken [at Montreal] in a Canadian dress, viz. a short fawn skin jacket, double-breasted, an under vest and breeches of sagathy, worsted stockings, a decent pair of shoes, two plain shirts, and a red worsted cap; this was all the cloathing I had in which I made my appearance in England.” *EAN*, 36.

²³ *Freeman's Journal*, 3 February 1776; also *Saunders Newsletter*, 2 February 1776, and *Hibernian Journal*, 2 February 1776.

²⁴ Force, *American Archives*, vol. 4, 36.

²⁵ *EAN*, 48–51.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 48.

²⁷ Bonwell appears in *Wilson's Directory* (Dublin, 1775); R. Lucas, “A Directory of Cork and Cork City for the Year 1787,” *Cork Archaeological and Historical Society* 72 (1967): 135–137.

²⁸ Among thirty passengers on HMS *Adamant* carried from Quebec to Falmouth in November 1775, Allen mentioned a “Col. Closs,” that is, Daniel Claus, deputy superintendent of Indian affairs in Quebec. *EAN*, 32. Later, in Halifax jail, he recounted how “a worthy and charitable woman, Mrs. Blackden,” who was in fact the Loyalist Sarah Blackden, brought him food and wine. *EAN*, 67. See also Sarah Blackden to Levi Allen, Paris, 21 August 1789, Allen Family Papers, University of Vermont, Burlington.

²⁹ Rex Cathcart, “The Death of General Montgomery, 25 December 1775,” *Irish Sword* 18 (1992): 85–90.

³⁰ *Hoey's Dublin Mercury*, 27 March 1776.

³¹ Eugene A. Coyle, “Sir Edward Newenham, the Eighteenth Century Dublin Radical,” *Dublin Historical Record* 64 (1993): 15–30.

³² *EAN*, 48.

³³ R. Tenison, *Cork Archaeological and Historical Society* 1A (1899): 244.

³⁴ The plaque on Newenham's Washington Tower reads: “Oh, ill-fated Britain! / the folly of Lexington & Concorde / shall render asunder / Forever! / Disjoin America from thy Empire.” Coyle, “Sir Edward Newenham,” 26.

³⁵ John C. Fitzpatrick's *Writings of George Washington from the Original Manuscript Sources, 1745–1799*, vol. 27 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1970), records forty-six letters between Newenham and Washington, one informing Newenham of Jane Livingston's impending visit to Ireland.

³⁶ Dixon Wecter, “Benjamin Franklin and an Irish Enthusiast,” *Huntington Library Quarterly Review* 4 (1940): 204–235. Edward Newenham to Benjamin Franklin, 28 June 1779, in Barbara B. Oberg, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 29 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1992), 330–331.

³⁷ *EAN*, 47.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 52–53.

³⁹ Force, *American Archives*, vol. 4, 35.

⁴⁰ *Connecticut Courant*, 24 June 1776, 42.

⁴¹ Allen was attached, without commission, to General Philip Schuyler's and then Richard Montgomery's staff in August 1775 after the New Hampshire Grants committees of safety elected Seth Warner, Allen's cousin, to command Congress's newly formed Green Mountain Rangers. Bellesiles, *Revolutionary Outlaws*, 124–125. Soon after his return to freedom and Vermont, Allen thanked Washington and Congress for his newly received commission as brevet colonel in the Continental Army in letters to George Washington (28 May 1778, Pell-Thompson Research Center, Fort Ticonderoga Museum) and to the president of the Continental Congress, Henry Laurens (28 May 1778, National Archives).

⁴² Charles Jellison, *Ethan Allen, Frontier Rebel* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969), 221–222.