

VOL. XXXIII No. 4

Price 1 Dollar

---

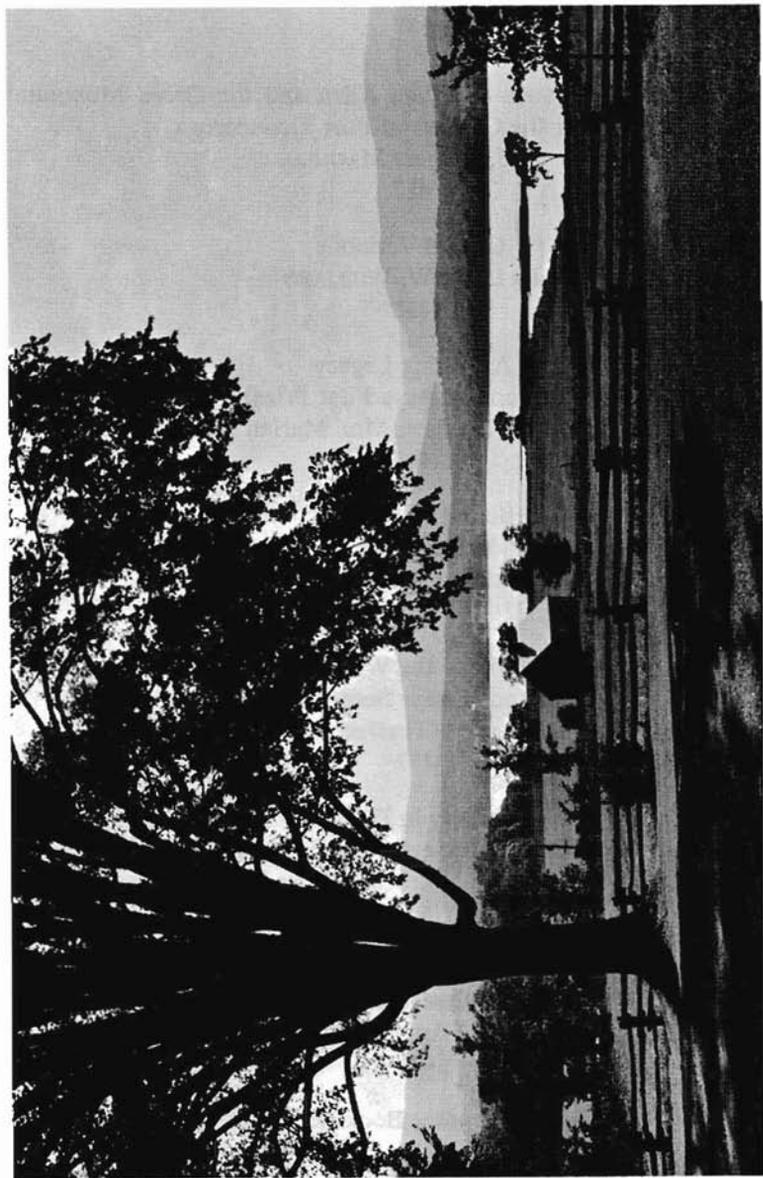
# VERMONT *History*



October 1965

---

The PROCEEDINGS of the  
VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY



*Old Herrick House at Hand's Cove, Shoreham*



## Hand's Cove: Rendezvous of Ethan Allen and The Green Mountain Boys for the Capture of Fort Ticonderoga

By J. ROBERT MAGUIRE

WHEN Nathan Hand came to Shoreham from Easthampton, Long Island, in 1792, with his wife and seven of their nine children, the family settled on the farm formerly owned by Rufus Herrick on the shore of Lake Champlain. The cove on the lake shore of the farm, known during the Herrick occupancy as Herrick's Cove<sup>1</sup> and thereafter to the present as Hand's Cove, had been the rendezvous in 1775 for Ethan Allen and his men for the attack on Fort Ticonderoga. Seventeen years before that memorable event, a cousin of Nathan Hand, Captain Elias Hand, had commanded a company in another attack on the fort, during the French and Indian War; and, according to a family tradition, the accounts of soldiers returning from that war of the fertile lands on the shores of the great lake had first set Nathan to dreaming of settling there one day.<sup>2</sup>

The Herrick house into which the Hand family moved, and where they lived for the next fifty of the one hundred and fifty years the farm remained in the family's possession, stands today, sound and essentially unaltered. It is described as follows in an historical account of the Hand family:

The house they came to, as good today as then, was built of solid square timbers around an enormous central brick chimney. Four large rooms with innumerable closets, and cupboards, below stairs, and above, four small rooms and three triangular attics.<sup>3</sup>

1. The report of a committee appointed at a town meeting held on May 30, 1791, to divide the town into School Districts, accepted and ratified at a meeting held on May 4, 1793, refers to Herrick's Cove in designating the boundary between the Third and Fourth School Districts. Shoreham Town Records: I, 49.

2. *Letters of the Hand Family 1796-1912* collected and arranged, with a Biographical Sketch by Susan Train Hand, New York: Edwin S. Gorham, 1923, 8.

3. *Ibid.*, 9.

The house is two rooms deep and one and a half stories high. Squared timbers, laid one atop the other, form the walls of the front and sides of the house to a depth of one room, and also form the center partition of the first story; the second set of rooms has plank walls. This feature of its construction suggests the possibility that the house might originally have been one room deep, and that at least the heavy timbered part of it may date from an earlier, less settled time than the immediate post Revolutionary period when Rufus Herrick is said to have come to Shoreham and when several houses of more typical braced frame construction were built in the town.

There is some local tradition, for which no documentary support has been found, that the house had been the home of Samuel Beman and his son, Nathan, Allen's guide into Ticonderoga; this tradition is shared by contemporary descendants of the Bemans. Recalling the historic event sixty years later, Nathan Beman wrote as follows of the circumstances of his coming to act as Allen's guide:

I was then eighteen years old, and resided with my father, Samuel, in the town of Shoreham, Vt., nearly opposite the fort. I had been in the habit of visiting the fort very frequently, being well acquainted with Captain Delaplace's family, and other young people residing there. On the day preceding the capture my father and mother dined by invitation, with Captain Delaplace. I was of the party, and spent the day in and about the fort. On our return to Shoreham in the evening, and, just as we were landing, we discovered troops approaching whom we soon ascertained to be Allen and his party. To my father—to whom he had long been acquainted—Allen stated his object and the proper measures were at once concerted to accomplish it.

It was agreed that I should act as guide. . . .<sup>4</sup>

Whether or not the home of the Bemans, if the house had been standing in Allen's time, situated as it is on a slight rise overlooking and commanding a view of the cove, at a distance of a few hundred yards, and considering the sympathies of the local inhabitants at the time,<sup>5</sup> one could almost assume Allen's presence there during the long night of waiting for the boats to transport his force across the lake, while he and Benedict Arnold wrangled over the latter's claim to command of the expedition.

4. *Malone Evening Telegram*, Malone, New York, June 9, 1943, 8, states that the "letter from the pen of Nathan Beman" was written originally to the *Malone Palladium* and appeared in that paper's issue of May 28, 1835.

5. The Rev. Josiah F. Goodhue in his *History of the Town of Shoreham, Vermont*, Middlebury Vermont, 1861, 12, names nine individuals who "either then or afterward, [were] inhabitants of this town, [who] are known to have been with Allen when he entered the fort." He notes elsewhere, 11, that William Reynolds, who settled in Shoreham before the Revolution, "was a tory, the only one who ever lived in this town."

The following information was collected, for the most part from among the Shoreham town records, examined in the light provided by Goodhue's *History of Shoreham*, hereinafter referred to as Goodhue, in an attempt to learn something of the origin of the old Herrick house and whether it could in fact have been a part of the setting at Hand's Cove on May 9-10, 1775.

\* \* \* \*

Nathan Hand purchased the house and farm from the estate of Rufus Herrick, receiving a deed from Samuel Strong "as Commissioner authorized and appointed by the Judge of Probate for the District of Addison to sell and convey a certain farm or tract of land lying and being in Shoreham . . . lately occupied and improved by the said Herrick known by the name of Herrick farm containing one hundred and twenty-five acres be the same more or less."<sup>6</sup> Goodhue furnishes the following information about Rufus and Nathan Herrick, who apparently were brothers, although Goodhue does not identify them as such:

Nathan Herrick, son of Col. Samuel Herrick, an officer in the army of the Revolution, settled on Larabee's Point, in 1783; sold out to John S. Larabee, and left town in 1787.

Rufus Herrick, from Dutchess County, N. H. (sic), settled near Hand's Point in 1783, on the farm afterwards owned by Deacon Nathan Hand and Capt. Samuel Hand. He died on that place about 1787.<sup>7</sup>

According to the Herrick family genealogy, Rufus and Nathan Herrick who settled in Shoreham were the sons of Col. Rufus Herrick and both died in 1788.<sup>8</sup> Colonel Rufus Herrick was from the region of the Nine Partners in Dutchess County, New York. At the time of the formation there in April 1762 of the precinct of Amenia he was elected

6. Deed dated May 19, 1792, from Samuel Strong, Commissioner, Estate of Rufus Herrick, deceased, to Nathan Hand. Shoreham Land Records, II, 32.

7. Goodhue, 20.

8. *Herrick Genealogy. A Genealogical Register of the Name and Family of Herrick from the Settlement of Henerie Hericke, in Salem, Massachusetts, 1629 to 1846, with a Concise Notice of their English Ancestry* by Jedediah Herrick. Revised, Augmented and Brought down to A. D. 1885 by Lucius C. Herrick, M. D., Columbus, Ohio: Geo. Riddle, Book Printer, 1885, 62. Colonel Samuel Herrick, to whom Goodhue refers as Nathan's father, was Colonel Rufus Herrick's kinsman, in whose honor, and his own, Ethan Allen named the mid-Champlain islands the Two Heroes. He was a captain under Allen in the Ticonderoga expedition and was in command of the party that seized the boats at Skenesborough originally intended to be used to transport the attacking force across the lake but, arriving too late, subsequently used by Benedict Arnold in the expedition against St. Johns. It was he to whom Arnold transferred command of Ticonderoga, rather than acknowledge the authority of Colonel Hinman of Connecticut, during the bitter controversy between Allen and Arnold that continued after the capture of the fort.

Constable and continued thereafter to hold various local offices. He was appointed a captain in the Fourth Continental Regiment by the Provincial Congress of New York on June 28, 1775, and the following month completed the raising of a company, which was ordered to Ticonderoga. He remained at Ticonderoga for eighteen months,<sup>9</sup> during which relatively quiet time before the advance of Burgoyne's army he must have seen something of the place on the opposite shore of the lake where the inhabitants were so sympathetic to the Colonial cause and where his two sons were to settle at the war's end, a few years later. A third son, Samuel, was a member of his father's company; quite probably he is the Samuel Herrick whose name appears as a witness on the deed to the Shoreham farm which his brother, Rufus, received from Paul Moore in 1787.

Paul Moore, who was born in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1731, is described by Goodhue as "one of the most prominent characters engaged in the early settlement of the town."<sup>10</sup>; "a daring and fearless adventurer" who ran away to sea at the age of 12, he spent more than twenty years of his life as a sailor. On his return from sea he came to the New Hampshire Grants with some soldiers from the French war and spent much of his time hunting in the region around Lake Champlain. "In the fall and winter of 1765 he spent six months in Shoreham, in a hut which he constructed of pine and hemlock boughs, without seeing a human being the whole time"<sup>11</sup>; the following year, 1766, "[h]e came with the first company . . . and lived in the first log house that was built, until it was burnt by the Indians."<sup>12</sup> A friend and supporter of Ethan Allen and Seth Warner, who were frequent visitors at his house during the land contests between the Green Mountain Boys and the settlers under the New York grants, Moore was unable to take an active part in dispossessing the Yorkers due to a lameness resulting from an accident in his saw mill. After the flight of the other Shoreham inhabitants before Burgoyne's army, and the reoccupation of Fort Ticonderoga by the British, Moore spent the winter of 1778 in Shoreham in a cabin with Elijah Kellog "while there were no other persons in this town."<sup>13</sup> Kellog was one of Allen's party at Ticonderoga and "is said to have been the first man who entered the fort after Allen and

9. *Ibid.*, 55-56.

10. Goodhue, 8.

11. *Ibid.*, 151.

12. *Ibid.*, 8.

13. *Ibid.*, 10.

Arnold."<sup>14</sup> Moore was twice captured by the Indians during the Revolution. "He was once a large proprietor of lands, which if he had retained, would have made him wealthy. Some of these he gave away at an early day, as an inducement to settlement, and others he sold for a merely nominal sum."<sup>15</sup>

The deed from Paul Moore to "Rufus Herrick ju<sup>r</sup> of amena presinct Dutches County State of New York" dated January 15, 1787<sup>16</sup> shows that the land purchased by the latter was not only not among those lands that Moore sold "for a merely nominal sum" but was purchased for an amount considerably in excess of average land values prevailing at the time. The price was £175 for 125 acres, or one pound eight shillings (approximately seven dollars) per acre. With two exceptions, this is the highest recorded price paid for land found in the Shoreham Proprietors' Book, which contains 116 deeds covering the years 1761 to 1789.<sup>17</sup> The exceptions appear in two deeds covering one hundred acre lots in the first division of lands made in the center of the township, one of which was sold for £150<sup>18</sup> and the other for £190; the latter deed indicates specifically that there were buildings located on the land.<sup>19</sup>

Goodhue notes the following values of land in Shoreham at the time:

In 1783, the price of land was from one to two shillings per acre, and in 1784 from three to six shillings. In 1785, Ebenezer Turrill paid £130 for one right, which was about \$1.30 per acre. From 1785 to 1791, the price was from one to three dollars an acre, according to quality and location. After 1791, when Vermont was admitted to the Union and the claims of New York were adjusted, the price of lands rose very rapidly.<sup>20</sup>

14. *Ibid.*, 10.

15. *Ibid.*, 158.

16. Shoreham Proprietors' Book, 190. Although Goodhue, 20, says that "Rufus Herrick . . . settled near Hand's Point in 1783," the year of the earliest town records, no record relating to him other than for the year 1787 has been found: these include a list dated April 9, 1787 of officers and men between 16-45 years of age liable for military service (Document Box 97, Vermont Historical Society Library, Montpelier, Vt.); account noted "Shoreham April ye 16th 1787 this Town Indebted to Rufus Herrick for one Days work Laying out Highways—4 shillings" (Shoreham Town Records; I, 8); record of payment of 5s3/4d by the Town Treasurer to Rufus Herrick on November 6, 1787 (Shoreham Town Records; I, 39). Neither Rufus nor Nathan Herrick's name appears on a list of residents of the town who had taken the freeman's oath in connection with the town organization meeting on November 20, 1786.

17. Two additional deeds, which appear to be out of place in the Proprietors' Book, are from the year 1804: they concern the same one hundred acres of land, in both conveyances the price being four hundred dollars.

18. Deed dated March 24, 1786, Shoreham Proprietors' Book, 174.

19. Deed dated February 7, 1789. *Ibid.*, 203. The habendum clause of the deed makes specific reference to "all buildings and whatever appertains thereto"; this is the only deed in the Proprietors' Book which contains a reference to the existence of a building of any kind on the land being conveyed.

20. Goodhue, 88-89.

A second noteworthy feature of Rufus Herrick's deed from Paul Moore is the use of the descriptive words "one certain farm" in the granting clause. This usage appears in no other deed in the Proprietors' Book. Among the earlier deeds the references are for the most part in terms of undivided rights of named Proprietors and among the later deeds, in terms of a tract, a parcel or a lot of land of specified acreage identified according to a particular Proprietor's right and occasionally by lot and division number. While not to be accorded undue significance in itself, the unique reference to "one certain farm," when considered with the exceptionally high price paid by Herrick and the probability discussed below of an earlier occupant of the land, suggests improvements of the kind which would include a dwelling house.

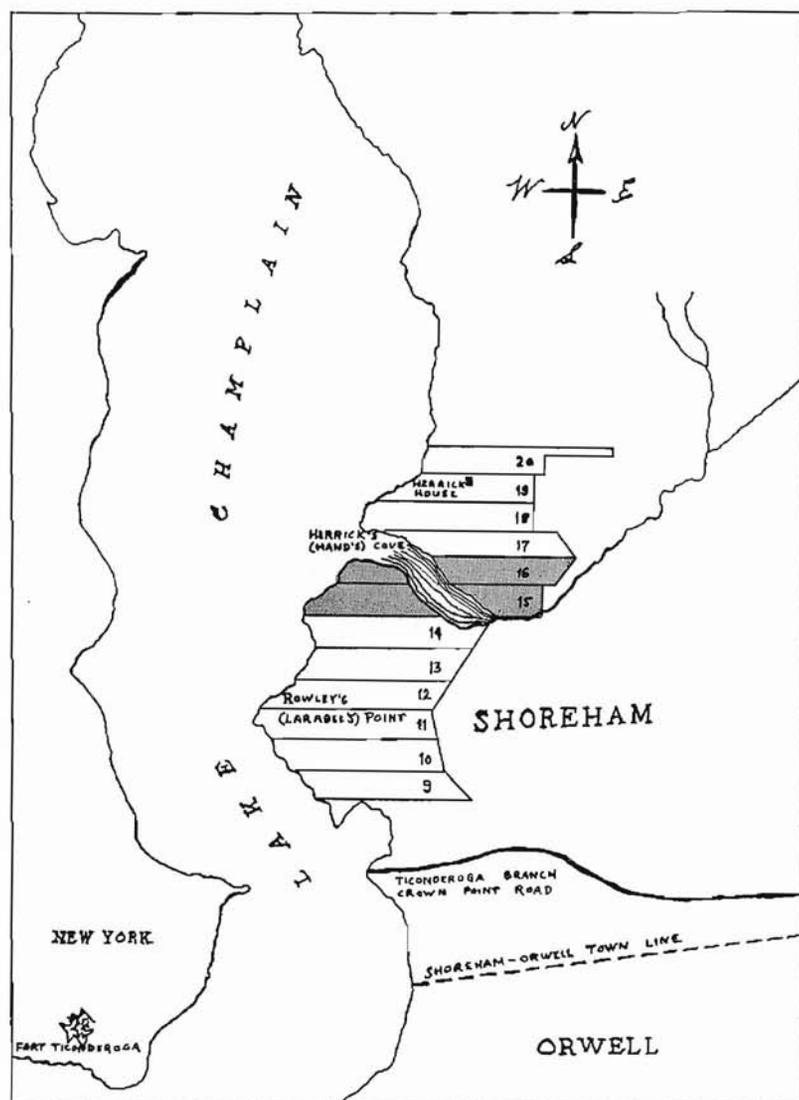
There is no record that Moore himself ever occupied the farm he sold to Rufus Herrick. His title to the land, however, is well documented in the Proprietors' Book. While not one of the original Proprietors, Moore, as noted above, was among the most active in the early settlement of the town and became a large landowner. His land holdings derived principally from purchases of Proprietors' rights. Of the 64 individuals whose names appear in the Charter as grantees of the township in 1761, Goodhue notes that "most . . ., it is believed, had no personal interest in the grant";<sup>21</sup> and further, that due to the cloud on land titles resulting from the jurisdictional controversy between New York and New Hampshire, "[t]he Proprietors regarded their rights as of little or no value, and many of them sold out for a mere trifle. Paul Moore bought one right in 1767 for twelve shillings, and three rights in 1768 for thirty-six shillings."<sup>22</sup>

At a Proprietors' meeting held on April 28, 1783, the earliest such meeting of which there is a record, a survey of the first division of lands into one hundred acre lots in the middle of the town was approved, and second, third and fourth divisions of lands were authorized: the second division to consist of "a lot of twenty-six acres adjoining the lake shore" to each Proprietor, and the third and fourth divisions to consist of hundred acre lots. It was voted at the meeting "[t]hat those Proprietors who have made improvements on the lake shore, shall have their twenty-six acres to cover their improvements, and no more, in equal width with the other lots for their draft in said division, in proportion to one right of twenty-six acres as above mentioned."<sup>23</sup>

21. *Ibid.*, 1.

22. *Ibid.*, 88.

23. Shoreham Proprietors' Book, 14.



Shoreham second division lots numbers 9 through 14 (Rowley's Point), 17 through 20 (the Herrick farm) and 61 and 62 (north of Five Mile Point—not shown) were withdrawn from the lottery of second division lands held on May 31, 1784 because of improvements previously made on such lots entitling the proprietors who had made the improvements to have the lots assigned to their respective rights.

At the next meeting, which was held on October 6, 1783, it was voted that the second division lots "contain twenty-five acres, to be drawn by lottery, and ascertained to each original right, and called the second division."<sup>24</sup> Surveying of the second division lots began on October 27, 1783.<sup>25</sup>

The drawing for the second division lands took place at a meeting held on May 31, 1784. Pursuant to the vote had at the Proprietors' meeting the previous year, those Proprietors who had made improvements on the lake shore were entitled to have their right to a second division lot cover such improvements. Accordingly, a dozen second division lots were withdrawn from the lottery and assigned to the respective rights of the following Proprietors:

<i>Lot No.</i>	<i>Proprietor</i>	<i>Assignee of Proprietor's Right</i>
9	John Waters	Paul Moore (Thomas Rowley?) <sup>26</sup>
10	John White	Thomas Rowley
11	Daniel Warner	unrecorded (Thomas Rowley?) <sup>27</sup>
12	Jonathan Gates	Nathan Rowley
13	John Marsh	Thomas Rowley
14	William White	Thomas Rowley
17	John Goddard	Paul Moore
18	John Goddard, Jr.	Paul Moore
19	Samuel Brooks	Paul Moore
20	Daniel Ward	James Moore <sup>28</sup>
61	Ephraim Stearns	Daniel Newton <sup>29</sup>
62	Ephraim Curtis	Daniel Newton <sup>29</sup>

These lots make up three separate, readily identifiable parcels of land: (i) numbers 9 through 14, Rowley's Point, later known as Larabee's

24. *Ibid.*, 17.

25. *Ibid.*, 257.

26. Although Paul Moore was the record owner of the right of John Waters, by deed dated March 9, 1769 (Shoreham Proprietors' Book, 140), it appears probable in view of the surrounding circumstance that at the time of the assignment of the lots Thomas Rowley or his son, Nathan, had some color of title to at least the second division interest in the right, either by arrangement with Moore or otherwise. They would have required six rights, to support a claim to the six lots comprising Rowley's Point. They appear as record owners at the time of only four of the six rights to which lots 9 through 14 were assigned. There is no record of ownership at the time of the right of Daniel Warner to which lot number 11 was assigned, but similarly it seems likely that the Rowleys had at the time some color of title to at least the second division interest of this right. It does not seem likely that Paul Moore would have had a claim to a separate improvement on Rowley's Point nor is there any record of his ever having had an interest in any of the land situated there. That lots 9 through 14, i.e., all of Rowley's Point, were treated as a single parcel of land and assigned to the Rowleys, is indicated by the fact that at a Proprietors'

Point; (ii) numbers 17 through 20, the Herrick Farm;<sup>30</sup> and, (iii) numbers 61 and 62, the land on the lake shore immediately north of Five Mile Point.<sup>31</sup> Since the lots were assigned in accordance with the vote of the Proprietors referred to above, we may conclude that improvements had been made on these three parcels of land at the latest as of the date of the drawing, May 31, 1784 and quite probably as of the date the vote was had, April 28, 1783, since the fact of such improvements apparently gave rise to the vote. All of the individuals claiming the improvements were in the town prior to the Revolution. Goodhue

meeting held the following year, on October 11, 1785, two gores of land lying directly east of and contiguous to lots 9 through 15 (lot number 15 having been drawn as a school lot) were assigned as parts of fourth division lots to the rights of John White and William White, both of which were owned by the Rowleys. There is no record of when or to whom Paul Moore disposed of his interest in the right of John Waters. By April 22, 1790, the entire right appears to have been owned by one Abraham Hollenbeck of Canaan, Litchfield County, Connecticut, who, on that date, deeded the various divisions of land allotted to the right, including second division lot number 9, among his children. That lot number 9 did not by itself represent valuably improved land is indicated by the fact that John S. Larabee sold the lot in 1813 for one hundred dollars. Shoreham Land Records, V, 144.

27. See footnote 26.

28. James Moore was Paul Moore's brother. He held the right of Daniel Ward by deed dated September 23, 1773. Shoreham Proprietors' Book, 135. He assigned second division lot number 20 to Paul Moore by deed dated October 6, 1786. *Ibid.*, 216.

29. The rights of Ephraim Stearns and Ephraim Curtis were purchased by Marshal Newton by deed dated March 19, 1766. *Ibid.*, 122. Goodhue, 9, inexplicably refers to Marshal Newton as "one of the original proprietors of the town," although his name does not appear on the Charter among those of the grantees of the township. Possibly Goodhue confused him with Jonas Newton, whose right, together with those of five others, Marshal Newton purchased by the deed referred to above. Apparently Marshal Newton died sometime between January 23, 1783, on which date he deeded several of the rights to members of his family, and October 16 of the same year, when Daniel Newton exhibited an account in behalf of his estate before a Proprietors' meeting; the account was for the labor of two men twenty-five days each plus interest for eighteen years; it was approved and ordered paid. Shoreham Proprietors' Book, 18. Daniel Newton apparently became the owner of the rights of Ephraim Stearns and Ephraim Curtis on the death of Marshal Newton; he received a quitclaim deed to the rights from other members of the family on April 6, 1803. Shoreham Land Records, III, 265.

30. Rufus Herrick's deed from Paul Moore also includes lot number 16, which is cut through by the Cove. Moore's title to this lot is not recorded. The house is situated on lot number 19. Nathan Herrick's deed is not recorded. There is on record a deed dated February 28, 1803, from "Rufus Herrick of the Town of Washington County of Dutchess and State of New York and Roswell Kinne of the town Amenia County and State aforesaid," to John S. Larabee, conveying second division lots number 12, 13, and 14 and "the gore of Undivided land lying between the aforesaid lots and number 21 in the third division and also what is East of number fifteen in said Second division and the lot number twenty-one said gore consisted of forty-nine acres be the same more or less-said being assigned to Esqr. Rowley as will appear by the proprietors' record." Shoreham Land Records, VI, 292. The grantors were apparently the heirs or assignees of Nathan Herrick: His wife was Jemima Kinne of Preston, Connecticut; several marriages between members of the two families are recorded. See *Herrick Genealogy, op. cit.* The land conveyed by the deed had been sold by Thomas and Nathan Rowley to Daniel Newton by deed dated November 9, 1785, Shoreham Land Records, I, 26. Whether Nathan Herrick acquired it from Newton is not recorded. The land was separated from Rufus Herrick's farm by second division lot number 15, which had been drawn as a school lot.

31. Goodhue, 135, says that "Five Mile Point has its name from its reputed distance from the 'Old Fort' at Ticonderoga."

refers to the fact that settlements had been made on Rowley's Point and Five Mile Point before the Revolution.<sup>32</sup>

The improvements at Rowley's Point may be attributed to Rowley himself on the basis of the information we have from Goodhue that he resided there both before and after the Revolution:

Thomas Rowley, Esq., and Samuel Beman, and Nathaniel Beman settled before the Revolution in the vicinity of Larabee's Point, and returned to their several places after the war in 1783.<sup>33</sup>

Thomas Rowley, Esqr., returned in 1783 to the farm he had left at Larabee's Point, where he lived with his son, Nathan, some time; sold that place in 1787 to John S. Larabee . . .<sup>34</sup>

Goodhue also records that Thomas Rowley "built there (i.e., Rowley's Point) two log houses, and made some improvement."<sup>35</sup>

With respect to the improvements assigned to the Proprietors' rights owned by Paul Moore and Daniel Newton, there is no similar evidence that Moore or Newton or Marshal Newton, made such improvements themselves. If they did not, in order to maintain their right pursuant to the Proprietors' vote to have such improvements covered by their respective Proprietors' rights, they necessarily would have had to acquire some color of title to the improvements. The evidence is against the possibility of Moore or Marshal Newton's having acquired any such color of title from their respective predecessors in interest to the various Proprietors' rights, in each instance the original Proprietor, in view of the early dates at which all but one of these rights were acquired,<sup>36</sup> and in view of the fact that none of the Proprietors concerned apparently had any direct interest in the grant.

There are two deeds recorded in the Proprietors' Book which appear to be relevant to Moore's claim to the improvements on the land he later sold to Rufus Herrick. One is a deed from Joseph Earl "of Shoreham, or resident in Shoreham" to Paul Moore.<sup>37</sup> Significantly, it is dated May 31, 1784, the date of the drawing of the second division lots, which occurred at the Proprietors' meeting held at 10 o'clock in the morning on that day. In consideration of the sum of thirty pounds, Earl

32. *Ibid.*, 10.

33. *Ibid.*, 10.

34. *Ibid.*, 19.

35. *Ibid.*, 162-163.

36. All the rights except that of Samuel Brooks were acquired prior to the Revolution. Paul Moore acquired the rights of John Goddard and John Goddard, Jr. by deed dated August 24, 1768 (Shoreham Proprietors' Book, 148) and that of Samuel Brooks by deed dated March 3, 1784 (*Ibid.*, 145); James Moore acquired the right of Daniel Ward by deed dated September 23, 1773 (*Ibid.*, 135); and Marshal Newton acquired the rights of Ephraim Stearns and Ephraim Curtis by deed dated March 19, 1766 (*Ibid.*, 122).

37. *Ibid.*, 142.

sold and quitclaimed to Moore "all the right of possession to the lot of land on the lake shore whereon I now live in Shoreham" and agreed that he would "never make or hold any further claim or demand unto the above mentioned possession." The deed clearly characterizes Earl's title as deriving solely from possession. At a time when, according to Goodhue,<sup>38</sup> land with clear title could be had from three to six shillings an acre, thirty pounds will be seen to have been a considerable sum for a mere quitclaim deed.

The second deed<sup>39</sup> is from Phebe Earl "late of Shoreham . . . now resident on [sic] Ticonderoga" to Joseph Everest "late of [left blank in the recorded deed] in the State of Vermont."<sup>40</sup> The deed recites that Phebe Earl was acting "by virtue of the power vested in me by my husband, Joseph Earl, by his letter of attorney to me dated March 4th, 1784." In consideration of the sum of one hundred "Spanish Mill Dollars,"<sup>41</sup> Phebe Earl sold "all the right, title, interest, property and demands that my said husband Joseph Earl hath or ever had in and upon any lands in the township of Shoreham aforesaid, by virtue of any possession made or labor done on the lands which the said Joseph Earl lived on and improved in said Shoreham, the whole of said labor and possession (being that which) I do now sell, and in the name and stead of the said Joseph Earl, do forever quitclaim unto the said Joseph Everest his heirs and assigns forever, so that the said Joseph Earl his heirs and assigns, shall never hereafter have any challenge or demands

38. Goodhue, 88.

39. Shoreham Proprietors' Book, 146.

40. This could have been Joseph Everest who was living in the town of Addison, Vermont, before the Revolution about whom the following is recounted in *Statistical and Historical Account of the County of Addison, Vermont* by Samuel Swift, Middlebury, Vermont, 1859, 90, 93, "In the autumn of 1776, Mr. Ferris and his son, Squire Ferris, assisted in the escape of Joseph Everest and Phineas Spalding from the British schooner Maria of sixteen guns, then lying at anchor off Arnold's Bay. These two men were Americans, who had been seized in Panton and Addison and were made prisoners for favoring the American cause. Both were taken from the schooner in a dark night and conveyed on shore in a small canoe." ". . . the following persons, of whose captivity we have no definite information, were taken to Quebec at the same time (November, 1778): Benjamin Kellog and Joseph Everest of Addison." His name appears on two payrolls of Capt. John Stark's Company in Col. Ira Allen's Regiment, one for service in connection with alarms at Skenesborough and Ticonderoga, April 1, 1780, and the other for service in defence of the northern frontier of the State in October, 1780. His name appears later on a payroll of Captain Zadock Everest's Company in Col. Ira Allen's Regiment for service in an alarm around May 1, 1782. *The State of Vermont Rolls of the Soldiers in the Revolutionary War 1775 to 1783* compiled and edited by John E. Goodrich, Rutland, Vermont, 1904, 176, 287, 596.

41. The Spanish milled dollar was of approximately the same value as the later American dollar. Although the usual money of account at the time was British, due to the scarcity of British coins in circulation, a variety of other kinds of foreign money, principally Spanish, was used instead. When Alexander Hamilton recommended to Congress in 1791 the establishment of a national coinage system, in order to disturb the existing state of affairs as little as possible, the metallic content of the dollar was fixed at 371.25 grains of silver, which was the average amount of silver in the Spanish milled dollars then in circulation.

on said lands, by virtue of possession or improvement as above said." This deed bears the following endorsement by Thomas Rowley, the Proprietors' Clerk: "This deed was recorded through a mistake [sic] and ought not to have bin [sic] recorded."<sup>42</sup> The fact that the deed to Paul Moore prevailed over the deed to Joseph Everest, although three months later in time, could be explained by Everest's having lacked the necessary Proprietors' rights on which to perfect his claim to Earl's improvements, and/or Moore's having had an underlying interest in improvements other than those made by Earl, and/or a weakness in the power of attorney from Earl pursuant to which Phebe Earl purported to sell his interest to Everest.

The "lot of land on the lake shore" is not identified in the two deeds otherwise than as that "whereon I [i.e., Joseph Earl] now live in Shoreham." It is apparent that valuably improved land was involved; and, since Earl lived on it, presumably with his wife Phebe, "late of Shoreham," there must have been a dwelling house. The value of the improvements is indicated by the amounts Moore and Everest were willing to pay for a title based merely on possession. Under the circumstances, there would seem to be good reason to believe that the land referred to in the two deeds was the Herrick farm; Moore's only other recorded interest in improved land on the lake shore was his record ownership of the right of John Waters, to which second division lot number 9 had been assigned.<sup>43</sup> The question remains whether Moore secured the quitclaim deed from Earl (i) in order to perfect his title to land on which he, or a third party through whom he claimed an interest, had previously made improvements by virtue of which such land had been assigned to his Proprietors' rights, or (ii) in order to provide himself with a color of title to the improvements on the land made by Earl so as to be in a position to have the land assigned to his Proprietors' rights.

Joseph Earl appears as a signatory to three petitions to the Vermont General Assembly for grants of land among the vacant or theretofore unallocated lands in the State.<sup>44</sup> The first, the petition of John Crego, dated February 1, 1779, of which he is one of four signers, recites that:

Whereas there is a Tract of Land lying and being in Said State, Adjoining Shoreham and a Tract of Land Commonly known by Commodore

42. Curiously, Thomas Rowley not only recorded both deeds, as Proprietors' Clerk, but his name appears as one of two witnesses to each of the deeds, each of which purports to convey the same interest of Joseph Earl but to different grantees.

43. See footnote 26.

44. *State Papers of Vermont*, ed. by Mary Greene Nye, Brattleboro, Vermont, 1939, V 62, 77, 267.

Grants Patten, lying in a Triangular or three Square form; which Land has not heretofore been Granted to any Man, or Number of Men;—And Whereas your Petitioners have for a Number of years past been in the Peaceable Possession of the Premises; Therefore would the Rather Take Incouragement to prfer a Petition in Hopes of Preference to any other.

There is no record in the Journals of the General Assembly of what disposition was made of this petition. The land referred to in the petition is probably included in the present township of Orwell.<sup>45</sup> The next petition, that of Captain Thomas Lee, undated but filed May 7, 1779, covers the present township of Orwell, which the sixty-five petitioners "being settlers in the frontiers of this State" prayed be granted to them "by or under the name of *Maxwell* or such other name as the honble Assembly may think proper." There is no record of legislative action on this petition.<sup>46</sup> The third petition, undated but filed June 5, 1781, was the petition of Reuben Case and 63 others for a township on the west side of Lake Champlain which included Fort Ticonderoga; again there is no record of legislative action.<sup>47</sup>

The recital in the petition of John Crego, dated February 1, 1779, states that the four petitioners had "for a Number of years past been in the Peaceable Possession of the Premises," which are described as adjoining Shoreham on the south, between Shoreham and Grant's Patent in Orwell. Is it possible that "the lot of land on the lake shore" referred to in Earl's deed to Paul Moore formed part of the premises which were the subject of the petition and that Earl's possession of such land preceded the date of the petition, February 1, 1779, by "a Number of years"? If this had been the case it is not likely that Moore could have had an interest in improvements on the land antedating those made by Earl; in which event, Moore's deed from Earl would seem to have been the basis of Moore's standing to have the land assigned to his Proprietors' rights. If one considers, however, that John Crego [Crigo] was a member of the first company that came to Shoreham in 1766 and that he and his family both before and after the Revolution lived with Paul Moore,<sup>48</sup> one of the principal figures in the laying out of the township, it does not seem likely that he, Crego, would have been sufficiently un-

45. *Ibid.*, 63.

46. *Ibid.*, 77.

47. *Ibid.*, 267.

48. Goodhue, 8. Crego was one of those "known to have been with Allen when he entered the fort"—Goodhue, 12. His wife, Molly, was the daughter of Abraham Hollenbeck of Canaan, Litchfield County, Connecticut, who, as of April 22, 1790, was the owner of the right of John Waters. See footnote 26. Although when and from whom he acquired the right are not recorded, it is conceivable that it was through his connection with Crego that he acquired the right from Paul Moore, who had purchased it from the Proprietor in 1767. Shoreham Proprietors' Book, 140.

familiar with the town lines to have submitted a petition for land described as being south of Shoreham which included land north of Rowley's Point.<sup>49</sup>

Assuming then that the "lot of land on the lake shore" was the Herrick farm, that this was not part of the land referred to in Crego's petition and that Earl settled there some time subsequent to the date of the petition, is it possible that he could have built the old house on the Herrick farm, in addition to the other "labor done on the lands [he] lived on and improved in said Shoreham"? While this is of course a possibility, it does not seem likely that Earl would have invested the considerable time, materials and manpower obviously required to build a house of such size and construction on land to which his claim was apparently no better than that of a squatter; nor does it seem likely that one who was willing to make, or capable of making, such an investment would not have troubled first to secure a proper title. The petitions for grants of land referred to above indicate Earl's awareness of this consideration and evidence his endeavors to secure a good title. The land grant controversy between New York and New Hampshire had made settlers on the New Hampshire Grants sensitive to the question of title, a matter which in any event was accorded careful attention by a land-conscious people, as is evidenced by the large number of recorded conveyances and surveys in the early town records. The wording of Phebe Earl's deed to Joseph Everest is fairly explicit in defining her husband's interest in the land as deriving from "possession made" and "labor done on the lands." Had he improved the land with a house of such relative size and value, it seems likely that such fact would have been recited among the bases of his interest in the property.

As noted above, the second division of land in the township was authorized to be laid out at the Proprietors' meeting held on April 28, 1783. As the surveying of the lake shore lots proceeded accordingly, starting on October 27, 1783, a squatter would doubtless have been made acquainted with the fact that there was to be a division of the land among the legal owners. That Earl was put on notice of this and was preparing to quit the land seems to be indicated by the "letter of attorney. . . dated March 4th, 1784" which he gave to his wife, who by March 22, 1784, the date of her deed, had departed Shoreham and was living at

49. A third signatory to the petition was John Larabee, a surveyor and "said to have been a man of more than common education in his day" (Goodhue, 20), who, having been "for a Number of years past . . . in the Peaceable Possession of the Premises" adjoining Shoreham on the south, may be presumed to have been generally acquainted with the Shoreham town lines, although, according to Goodhue, 20, he did not settle in Shoreham itself until 1783.

Ticonderoga, authorizing her to sell his interest in the land; this was three months before his deed to Moore.

It is practically certain that no building occurred in the town between the time of Burgoyne's advance up the lake in 1777 and the end of the war in 1783, when former residents began to return to the almost deserted town and new settlers started to arrive.<sup>50</sup> As noted above, according to Goodhue, after the flight of the settlers before Burgoyne's army, Paul Moore and Elijah Kellog were the only persons in the town during the winter of 1778. After Moore's capture by the Indians, Kellog spent another winter entirely alone.<sup>51</sup> Goodhue says of Kellog that after having been taken prisoner in 1777 and "detained awhile at Ticonderoga", from which he escaped, he was "allowed to remain [in Shoreham] unmolested, under British protection, till the close of the war."<sup>52</sup>

There is no record of when Joseph Earl first took possession of the "lot of land on the lake shore. . . in Shoreham" where he and his wife Phebe lived; it does seem apparent that he was preparing to quit his possession by March 4, 1784. Presumably his occupancy had been of sufficient duration to enable him to perform the valuable "labor done on the lands" referred to in Phebe Earl's deed. Assuming that Earl had spent at least one working season on the land, during the previous spring, summer and autumn, it would mean that he had settled there at least as early as the spring of 1783, perhaps before then. In any event, it does not seem likely that between 1777 and the time of his coming he had been preceded in his occupancy by any other who had been a squatter on the land long enough to build so substantial a house.

If the house had been the home of Samuel and Nathan Beman before the Revolution, where were they at the war's end, when Joseph and Phebe Earl were in residence there? In Nathan Beman's letter written in 1835 to the *Malone Palladium*, quoted in part above, he makes the following statement regarding his career during the Revolution subsequent to the capture of Fort Ticonderoga:

I accompanied Colonel Warner to Crown Point, and was present at the taking of the fortress. I shortly afterward enlisted in Col. Warner's regiment and served in it during the war.<sup>53</sup>

50. Goodhue, 18.

51. *Ibid.*, 10.

52. *Ibid.*, 10.

53. *Malone Evening Telegram: op. cit.*, 8. The letter opens as follows: "Mr. Allen—I have seen in the New Yorker of the 24th of January last, an article purporting to be taken from the New England Magazine giving some passages from the life of General Ethan Allen. The facts stated seem to be extracted or condensed from a life of General Allen by Mr. Sparks." After setting forth the account of the capture of Ticonderoga as it had appeared in the article in question, Beman wrote that "I believe the above

His name appears in a return of officers and men in Colonel Warner's Regiment, in which his enlistment date is given as June 1, 1777 and his place of residence as Manchester;<sup>54</sup> in another return he is shown as having completed his three year enlistment in the regiment.<sup>55</sup>

The only recorded deed among the Shoreham town records relating to the Bemans is one dated July 2, 1783 from Samuel and Nathan, described as "of Manchester in the County of Bennington and State of Vermont," to Eli Smith "of said Manchester," conveying the third division lot of the right of Ephraim Stearns.<sup>56</sup> At the time, since the third division lots were not drawn until October 16, 1783, the deed represented the transfer of a right to a hundred acres out of as yet undivided land. At the time of the drawing, the land later occupied by Eli Smith was withdrawn from the lottery and assigned to the third division of Ephraim Stearns' right. This could be an indication that improvements had been made on the land prior to the drawing either by Smith himself, or by the Bemans, or by a predecessor in interest to the Bemans.<sup>57</sup>

Since Goodhue records that the Bemans returned after the war to the

statement of the manner of capture to be correct." He then added some further details of his own to the effect that Arnold had not been present at the capture and did not arrive at the fort until some days later. This latter account of Beman's is so overwhelmingly controverted by documentary evidence that Beman has come to be regarded as an unreliable witness of the events of the capture of the fort. In *The Taking of Ticonderoga in 1775: the British Story* by Allen French, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1928, 81, the author, referring to an article on Beman's letter by the Rev. B. F. DeCosta in *Historical Magazine*, Series 2, Vol. III, 273, May, 1868, notes that the letter "is printed as example of historic fable, easily discredited by its statement that Arnold was not at the capture"; French questions Beman's role as Allen's guide, 81: "Young Nathan Beaman the guide. Appears in no contemporary story, but first(?) in History of Shoreham," 14. Actually Nathan Beman appears as Allen's guide in the account given twenty-five years before Goodhue's History of Shoreham by Jared Sparks in his *Life of Ethan Allen: The Library of American Biography*, conducted by Jared Sparks, Boston, 1834, I, 274: "It was important to have a guide, who was acquainted with the grounds around the fortress, and the places of access. Allen made inquiries as to those points of Mr. Beman, a farmer residing near the Lake in Shoreham, who answered that he seldom crossed to Ticonderoga, and was little acquainted with the particulars of its situation; but that his son Nathan, a young lad, passed much of his time there in company with the boys of the garrison. Nathan was called, and appeared by his answers to be familiar with every nook in the fort, and every passage and by-path by which it could be approached. In the eye of Col. Allen he was the very person to thread out the best avenue; and by the consent of the father and a little persuasion Nathan Beman was engaged to be the guide of the party." Jared Sparks notes, 276: "The facts respecting Nathan Beman were related to me by a gentleman, who received them from Nathan Beman himself."

54. *Vermont Revolutionay Rolls, op. cit.*, 108.

55. *Ibid.*, 111.

56. This deed was recorded twice: Shoreham Proprietors' Book, 236; and Shoreham Land Records, II, 436. Eli Smith was one of four brothers who came to Shoreham from Manchester after the Revolution. They were originally from Nine Partners, Dutchess County, New York, as were nearly all the early settlers of Manchester. Goodhue, 12, identifies one of the brothers, Stephen Smith, as having been with Allen at the capture of Ticonderoga; he also names a son of one of the brothers, Nathan Smith, Jr., as having been a member of Allen's party, Goodhue, 23.

57. Ephraim Stearns sold his right in 1766 to Marshal Newton who died sometime

place they had left "in the vicinity of Larabee's Point,"<sup>58</sup> it would seem that the land assigned in October, 1783, to the third division right of Ephraim Stearns, which they had sold to Eli Smith in July, 1783, at which time they were apparently still resident in Manchester, was not the place they had occupied prior to the Revolution. The date of their return to town is not recorded; Goodhue says merely that it was in 1783 and that they remained only "a few years."<sup>59</sup> Assuming that on their return they found Joseph Earl and his wife in possession of the place they had left, is it possible that Paul Moore, like Daniel Newton known to them from the pre-war period in Shoreham and likewise known to have been generous with his extensive land interests, used his Proprietors' rights to cover the Bemans' improvements on the lake shore, they apparently having no interest at the time in any Proprietor's right on which to base a claim to the improvements, and then acted for them in buying out the interest of Joseph Earl? The Bemans had received fifty pounds from Eli Smith for the interest in Ephraim Stearns' right, out of which could have come the thirty pounds paid to Earl. If one assumes that this occurred, it explains two otherwise unexplained circumstances: (1) the basis of Moore's claim to the improvements on the Herrick farm, a place where there is no record that he ever had any personal interest, the location of his dwelling house and

between January 23 and October 16, 1783; on his death the right apparently passed to Daniel Newton. See footnote 29. There is no record of how the Bemans acquired the third division of the rights. In view of (1) the fact that Marshal Newton, the owner of six rights, made only three recorded conveyances, all to members of his family, in each instance an entire right, and all on the same day, January 23, 1783, possibly in contemplation of his death, which occurred sometime during the following months, (2) the fact that Daniel Newton is shown by recorded deeds to have sold the other six divisions of the right of Ephraim Stearns to various purchasers between the years 1785 and 1804 and (3) the early date of disposition of their interest in the right by the Bemans, it seems probable that the latter acquired the interest from Daniel Newton, with whom they doubtless had many common bonds from pre-war days in Shoreham. Goodhue says, 11, that "[o]nly six families are known to have lived in this town previous to 1775" and "the whole number of inhabitants did not probably exceed thirty." Among such a small population, consisting of a remarkably homogeneous people, as was true throughout the New Hampshire Grants at the time, engaged in the common enterprise of clearing land and establishing homes in the wilderness, one can imagine that there was a feeling of solidarity. Conceivably Newton, who, from the evidence of the Shoreham land records, was among the most active dealers in town lands, gave the Bemans the interest in the right or sold it to them for a nominal amount, they being without any recorded interest in a Proprietor's right. In any event they did not trouble to record the conveyance, a further suggestion that it might have come to them cheaply. Goodhue, 134, indicates that both Newton and Paul Moore, as large land owners, were not only interested in promoting the settlement of the town, but acted somewhat in the role of benefactors among the early settlers: "Paul Shoreham Crigo was the first male child born in this town, probably before the Revolution. Paul Moore gave him his name, and one hundred acres of land. Daniel Newton Kellog was the first male child born after the Revolution. Daniel Newton gave him his name and twenty-five acres of land." Newton also exhibited his generosity to Elijah Kellog, selling him fifty acres of land in 1783 for the nominal sum of ten shillings. Proprietors' Book, 164.

58. Goodhue, 10.

59. *Ibid.*, 10, 19.

saw mill being well known and precisely described by Goodhue;<sup>60</sup> and (2) the unaccounted for three year interval (the "few years" the Bemans remained in Shoreham, according to Goodhue) between the date of Moore's deed from Joseph Earl, May 31, 1784, and the date of Moore's deed to Rufus Herrick, January 15, 1787, during which time the Herrick farm, owned of record but not occupied by Moore, although consisting of valuably improved land, was apparently unoccupied.

Goodhue furnishes only slight information as to the return of the Bemans to Shoreham after the Revolution and their subsequent departure a few years later: "Thomas Rowley, Esq., and Samuel Beman, and Nathaniel [sic] Beman settled before the Revolution in the vicinity of Larabee's Point, and returned to their several places after the war in 1783."<sup>61</sup> "Samuel Beman. . . returned in 1783 to the place he had left, stayed there a few years, and went to the River St. Lawrence, where he died at an advanced age";<sup>62</sup> "[he] is said to have kept a tavern in a log house at Larabee's Point."<sup>63</sup> Perhaps the Bemans, like many a pioneer before and after them, found life in the recently organized town less congenial than in the earlier days of first settlement and, under the press of an influx of new settlers, sought out less crowded frontiers. A glimpse of Nathan Beman's subsequent life is provided by Jared Sparks in his *Life of Ethan Allen*; after recounting Nathan's part in the Ticonderoga expedition, he remarks as follows: "Whether this exploit of his boyhood was the only one performed by him during the war, I know not; but his martial aptitude was displayed in another career, he having been for many years a noted hunter of wolves, on the northern borders of New York between Lakes Champlain and Ontario."<sup>64</sup>

Jared Sparks describes Samuel Beman as "a farmer residing near the Lake in Shoreham."<sup>65</sup> Nathan Beman, in that part of his letter to the *Malone Palladium* which is quoted above, says that he "resided with my father, Samuel, in the town of Shoreham, Vt., nearly opposite the fort. . . . On our return to Shoreham [from Fort Ticonderoga] in the evening, and, just as we were landing, we discovered troops approaching whom we soon ascertained to be Allen and his party."<sup>66</sup> If Goodhue's

60. Goodhue, 8. "Moore's Saw Mill" is shown on the 1780 map included in Burgoyne's *A State of the Expedition from Canada*, London, 1780: "A Map of the Country in which the Army under Lt. General Burgoyne acted in the Campaign of 1777, showing the Marches of the Army & the Places of the principal Actions. Drawn by Mr. Medcalfe & Engraved by Wm. Faden." Published February 1, 1780 by Wm. Faden, London.

61. Goodhue, 10.

62. *Ibid.*, 19.

63. *Ibid.*, 37.

64. Jared Sparks, *op. cit.*, 276.

65. *Ibid.*, 274.

66. *Malone Evening Telegram*, *op. cit.*, 8.

account of the route followed by Allen and his men from Castleton to the lake shore is accepted, as it is by most historians concerned with the event, and if we are to believe Nathan Beman that he and his family discovered the troops approaching while they were in the act of landing on the Vermont shore, the only place this could have happened, because of the topography of the area, was at Hand's Cove.<sup>67</sup> If the Bemans' home had been located on Larabee's Point, the question presents itself of why, coming from Fort Ticonderoga, they would have by passed Larabee's Point and gone on to land at Hand's Cove. If Nathan Beman is to be considered an unreliable witness so far as his testimony at the age of 78 as to the events of the capture of the fort is concerned, his incidental statements that bear upon the location of his home "nearly opposite the fort" in Shoreham need not necessarily be held suspect.

\* \* \* \*

Returning to the question of whether the old house were standing prior to the Revolution, the possibility of this being so suggested by its construction appears to receive support from the written record considered above. Further evidence will have to be uncovered if the question

67. Goodhue, 13, states that "They took the old Crown Point Road in Sudbury, and came to Lake Champlain—not in Orwell, as is stated in Williams' History of Vermont, nor at Larabee's Point, as has been said by others, but at a place called since Hand's Cove, where the men lay concealed from the view of the enemy in a ravine"; and again, 16-17, "On leaving Castleton, they directed their way to the old Crown Point road, which they reached in Sudbury, and pursued through Whiting into Shoreham. They came near the Lake on the farm formerly owned by Abel Randall . . . where they found Daniel Newton chopping, who set his axe by the side of a tree, and joined the party, which went on directly to Hand's Cove, and lay concealed during a part of the day and night in a ravine, more than two miles north of the fort. That was the point from which Allen and his men embarked in the boats and not any place in Orwell." The confusion between Shoreham and Orwell as the embarkation point seems to have been compounded in a recent work on the Revolution: *The War of the Revolution* by Christopher Ward, edited by John Richard Alden, 2 vols., New York, 1952, in which the author says that "[Allen] had gone forward to Shoreham—now Orwell—two miles below the fort, where, in Hand's Cove, the forces were to assemble." While it is generally agreed that Allen and his men followed the Ticonderoga branch of the Crown Point Road from Sudbury, as stated by Goodhue, the exact route of this road has not been definitely traced. In their study "The Mount Independence—Hubbardton 1776 Military Road" (*Vermont History*, XXVII, 1959) 97, the authors, Joseph L. and Mabel A. Wheeler, offer the surmise that the route "may have been from the northwest corner of Sudbury and across near the northern boundary of Orwell, until it passed the south end of Hardigan Hill and then swung north across the Shoreham line where later the Addison Branch of the Rutland Railroad was built, in 1871, to its former Larrabee's Point station and crossing trestle, at a smaller point somewhat south of Larrabee's Point." There is reason to believe that the road passed around the north side of Hardigan Hill, where traces of the roadbed are clearly visible, rather than to the south of it, as suggested by the Wheelers; there is a local tradition to the effect that the roadbed on the north side is that of the old military road. Allen and his men must have left the road shortly after rounding Hardigan Hill and struck off to the northwest where, according to Goodhue, "They came near the Lake on the farm formerly owned by Abel Randall" (where Route 74 turns west to Larabee's Point), from where they "went on directly to Hand's Cove."

is to be answered conclusively. Goodhue says of Daniel Newton that "During his life he kept a diary, but that part of it which comprised the history of events which occurred in the early history of this town, is supposed to have been lost."<sup>68</sup> Perhaps this diary, should it ever be found, could provide the answer.

The Hand family occupied the Herrick house from 1792 until a new brick house was constructed on the farm fifty years later. In a letter dated July 7, 1796, Nathan Hand's wife Anna wrote from Shoreham to her eldest son, Samuel, a sailor, urging him to come to the assistance of his father, now old and infirm, in the management of the farm:

Our harvest is great but the labourers are not only few but are not to be hired. Our grass is enormous. It has never been any compared to this season and your Dada can't mow any at all, & is almost discouraged, as he has a sea of business before him. He is willing to give you as good a chance I think as you can desire. He is willing you should possess one half of the estate and stock. We have now got so as to acquire a comfortable living enough for us both & I most think it would be best for you to come home.<sup>69</sup>

Samuel responded to the appeal, came home and received from his father a deed to a half interest in the farm.<sup>70</sup> Nathan Hand died in 1811 and Samuel acquired, by purchase from his brothers, full ownership of the farm. In the War of 1812 he commanded a company of infantry from Shoreham and led it to the Battle of Plattsburgh, arriving too late, however, to engage in the fighting. Thereafter he was known as Captain Hand.

As the years passed, the family correspondence indicates that the old house was becoming inadequate for the family's needs. In a letter to his father, Captain Samuel Hand, on January 29, 1838, Augustus C. Hand writes:

I am clear Father that you should build unless you *leave the farm*. It is injustice to yourself and family to live in your present habitation.<sup>71</sup>

Reverend Richard Hand writes to his brother, Augustus C. Hand, September 5, 1840:

I have rec'd letter from father—noticing your visit, etc. He declines building this fall. What a place that old house to spend a northern winter?<sup>72</sup>

68. Goodhue, 20.

69. *Letters of the Hand Family 1796-1912*, 24.

70. Deed dated September 25, 1799, from Nathan Hand to Samuel Hand. Shoreham Land Records, II, 420.

71. *Letters of the Hand Family 1796-1912*, 109.

72. *Ibid.*, 141.

Augustus C. Hand writes to his father September 7, 1840:

3 things are suggested: 1st. Will you sell the farm, and hire or buy a place near some village, or 2nd. Will you let out or lease the farm and do likewise or 3d., will you remain on it and build, for I take it for granted that if you remain on it, building is of course necessary, for surely the old mansion cannot be tenatable (comfortably so) another winter.<sup>73</sup>

Again, on September 7, 1840, Augustus C. Hand writes to his father:

Richard writes me that he has sent you a proposition from a Master Builder to build you a house and outhouses this Fall for \$1200. If this is such a house as suits you can you do better? The saving in health, comfort, firewood, etc. will be  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the money.<sup>74</sup>

After repeated urging by his family, the new house was undertaken by Captain Hand and was apparently completed late in 1841 or in the early part of 1842, at which time the old house was abandoned for the new, and "the old mansion" became, and remained for the next hundred years, a tenant house, before finally being deserted. After more than a hundred and fifty years in the possession of the Hand family, the farm passed to other owners in 1943, two distinguished great-great-grandsons of Nathan Hand, Federal Circuit Court Judges Learned and Augustus Hand, being among the several heirs having an interest in the farm who joined in the deeds of conveyance.

73. *Ibid.*, 140.

74. *Ibid.*, 142.

