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## THE LEADING VILLAGES OF VERMONT IN 1840

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THE thirteen Vermont towns with over 2500 people in 1840 were rural villages if we compare them with cities as we know them today, but they had already developed important differences from the countryside around them. Vermont's average population density was about thirty per square mile; near their centers these villages were ten to twenty times as dense. Burlington, leading with 4,271 people, was over three times as big as the average Vermont town, yet almost a fifth of the state's banking assets were concentrated in two Burlington banks.<sup>1</sup> Vermonters have always been a comparatively homogeneous people, but the larger towns were beginning to harbor divergent types. In size, density and heterogeneity—the chief characteristics of cities—a handful of Vermont villages were approaching the “urban frontier.”

These towns had grown, as elsewhere before the industrial era, principally to satisfy the needs of merchants. Since “population and wealth tend to collect wherever there is a break in transportation,”<sup>2</sup> a look at the Vermont trade routes will clarify the “pre-urban” situation in 1840.

The period which had opened with the completion of the Champlain-Hudson Canal in 1823 was coming to an end. Any one could see that this canal had reversed the direction of Western Vermont traffic from north to south and brought prosperity to the Champlain Valley. Waterways had been projected all over the map, with the peak of canal fever about 1830. A few short canals bypassing rapids or falls of the Connecticut had actually been constructed. There had been steamboats on Lake Champlain since 1800, when the *Vermont*, the second American steamer, was launched at Burlington; but sloops, schooners and sailing rafts were only beginning in 1840 to yield their supremacy. In the twenties both passenger and freight lines plied the Lake, and on the Connecticut River a few experimental steamboats penetrated as far as Wells River. Sloop navigation below Bellows Falls continued as late as 1864.<sup>3</sup> Until 1850 traffic across Lake

Memphremagog was propelled by sail only.<sup>4</sup> Virgin timber was the chief freight rafted to Whitehall, and marble from Swanton, iron from the New York shore, and farm produce were shipped in smaller quantities. Since by 1840 most of the virgin timber was back in the Green Mountain range or in Essex County, rafting days were about over.

Land travel still depended on the ancient invention of the wheel and on the draft animal—the horse for passengers and the ox for freight—and little further improvement was expected in either road or conveyance. Private enterprise had been allowed to build part of the original network, but no important roads had been turnpiked since 1812. So rapidly was the land settled, and so short were Vermonters on capital, that the towns had to assume the burden of completing through routes. As the inhabitants moved into the valleys from the hills—where they had first settled to escape swamp fevers, travel on firmer ground and keep a better lookout for enemies—some turnpikes preferred to give up rather than spend money for relocation.<sup>5</sup> The people disliked paying toll even more than paying taxes. Exemptions were many and upkeep on the rough terrain difficult. Here and there “shunpikes” were built around tollgates, for example, a loop of road about five miles out of Burlington on the Winooski Pike. Many private companies gave up before 1830, but the last straw was railroad competition, anticipated or real. From 1832, when the first Vermont railroad was incorporated, until 1850, the remaining turnpikes were one by one turned over to the public. The last to go were the most lucrative on main routes, which waited until their receipts dropped, and those in the mountains, where the clientele emigrated. Except for plank roads and toll roads for tourists,<sup>6</sup> there were never any operating turnpikes north of Burlington and St. Johnsbury.

The first roads were “natural,” built by hand, with the dirt scraped into a convex bed between ditches. Some later ones were “artificial,” that is, surfaced with gravel. Ledges were drilled by hand, with a train of powder leading to the charge in the drill hole. The turnpike companies hired their labor, usually from those concerned with the success of the road, while the towns, through their selectmen and road commissioners, fixed the amount of labor-tax which the citizens had to perform, preferably early in the season.

For now it ain't passable—<sup>7</sup>  
Not even jackassable:  
And those who would travel it  
Should turn out and gravel it.

Selectmen heard complaints and decided on needed repairs, but the court of appeal in case of accident caused by bad roads was the town meeting.<sup>8</sup> Arguments were bitter and protracted over the construction and repair of bridges, or the building of a town road to compete with the pike. Stout fences were needed along the highway for protection against livestock. Drovers who let their animals wander off the road were hard to catch, and poor farmers used the thoroughfare as free pasture. Fence viewers, later authorities on land boundaries, in this period certified fences so that owners could collect damages done by strays.<sup>9</sup> Highway grazing was later prohibited.

At least three covered bridges were in process of construction in 1840: at Swanton Falls (public), Sumner's Falls (in Hartland, toll) and Bellows Falls (toll). The long Town lattice truss at Bellows Falls lasted until after the First World War. Twenty Connecticut River spans charged tolls at this period.<sup>10</sup>

The Concord coach, an improvement of the late twenties, and a variety of two- and four-wheeled carriages made for private citizens by local wheelwrights, provided more comfortable traveling than in pioneer days. It was still no picnic, least of all for stage riders. Coaches were frequently jammed, imperfectly protected against dust, rain or snow, and subject to accident. The hardier passengers, perched on top with the baggage, at least had air. This is the way Charles Eldridge described his trip from Springfield, Massachusetts to Brattleboro, a stretch of road smoother than the Vermont average:<sup>11</sup>

Fatigued from the jolting, jouncing, squeezing, stewing confinement of an all day's ride, with our eyes broiled by the sun and ground to two thirds their usual bigness by the dust, we were glad to pile our bones in bed . . . But the snoring propensities of our neighbors [twelve extra beds had been set up in the ball room of the inn] . . . presented an appalling obstacle.

Main line post coaches, although their mail schedules were lenient, changed teams oftener in the hills to maintain speed. They used two or three pairs of horses, descending the long hills on the run and the steep ones at a fast walk, wheels chained.<sup>12</sup>

Perhaps the best index of land traffic through Vermont in 1840 is the frequency of mails carried by the stages, and the size of vehicle prescribed by the Post Office Department.<sup>13</sup> The major lines running every weekday<sup>14</sup> were determined more by the volume of mail originating or destined for points outside the state—Canada, the Hudson and Lower Connecticut Valleys, the Boston area and New Hampshire—than by local mail. These routes and secondary ones operating the round trip three times a week were required to use four-horse post coaches. Less frequent runs of once or twice a week were made in

one- or two-horse, covered carriages or wagons, or on horseback. The trunk line in Western Vermont, from Whitehall or Bennington to Highgate, carried a higher percentage of mail from the southeast, as the main Albany-Montreal post road had always followed the west shore of Lake Champlain when the mail was not sent by boat.<sup>15</sup> Outside origin and destination of mail, rather than the existence of good passes, also explains why there were three routes running every week-day through the Green Mountains south of Rutland, and only one other major crossing, via Montpelier. The Connecticut River highway, covering alternately the towns on both banks as far as Haverhill, New Hampshire, opposite Newbury, completed the framework.

The net of secondary post roads had a closer mesh east of the Green Mountains, since the main range is nearer the west, and because of the generally denser population in the three southeastern counties. Nearly all these nineteen routes were alternate methods of penetrating the mountains. The rest were parallel roads in the Champlain Valley, short connecting links south of Woodstock, and four long highways reaching the Canadian border in Orleans County. Grand Isle and Essex Counties, and large parts of Bennington, Rutland, Lamoille and Franklin Counties had infrequent service.

Schedules were arranged to be covered in one day or less, except up the Connecticut Valley (thirty-two hours, elapsed time, from Hartford, Connecticut, 183 miles to Haverhill) and two overnight runs in the north. Starting from three to six in the morning, with an hour out for dinner half way, the passengers and mail would arrive, depending on the distance, from late afternoon to midnight. Bad weather, however, might keep them traveling all night.<sup>16</sup>

If we follow the trail of the Vermont post coaches, we see at once the centers toward which their routes converged. Montpelier, just east of the double range of Green Mountains, was the most strategically located. From the capital eastward, traffic had its choice of several almost equally good valleys. Westward there was only the Winooski route through Bolton Notch, and no comparable pass between Mount Holly and Johnson. Henry Dearborn called the Burlington-Montpelier route "the most remarkable road I ever passed," because he seemed to be going down grade right up to the mountains that towered beside the Notch.<sup>17</sup> Nine post roads started at Montpelier.<sup>18</sup> Here lived Mahlon Cottrill, landlord of the Pavilion Hotel, and Horatio N. Baylies, a merchant there since 1823, and woolen manufacturer since 1838.<sup>19</sup> Cottrill, with Baylies as his principal partner, had contracts with the Post Office for nearly \$12,000 in 1840,

as well as a Boston-Montreal stage line. Since Montpelier was the stopover point, travelers had their choice of seven public houses, which were filled with legislators and lobbyists when the Assembly was in session.<sup>20</sup>

Nature had given no other inland town such a monopoly. The traveler planning to enter New York State south of the Lake had his choice of at least seven routes starting at the Connecticut, and several more if bound for the northwest. From the west he had fewer high-ways to select from, but there was always an alternative, whether he paralleled the Lake or turned his back on it. In the Connecticut Valley, main roads focused on Brattleboro, Bellows Falls, Windsor, Woodstock, Hartford, and in the west, on Bennington, Whitehall, Rutland, Middlebury, Burlington and St. Albans. Connecticut River towns, instead of being arranged in twin-city formation with competing pairs connected by a bridge, alternated in checkerboard fashion. Inland the single hub, such as Rutland or Woodstock, took shape. Most of these centers, and many smaller ones on a reduced scale, had their own stage operators, mail contractors and several taverns, with interlocking ownership and commercial connections.

Whitehall, at the lake end of the "Northern" Canal, was the gateway to the Champlain Valley, as well as a stopping place for west-bound emigrants from the hill country or Europe. In 1840 it was larger than any Vermont town except Burlington, and on the New York side of the Lake it was second only to Plattsburgh:<sup>21</sup>

	Whitehall	Burlington	Plattsburgh
1830	2889	3226	4913
1835	3076	—	4426
1840	3813	4271	6416
1845	3954	—	6095

According to a Vermont student going to Oberlin during the third week of the 1836 season,<sup>22</sup> it was

a town of considerable business but the most ill looking, irregularly layed [sic] out & most filthy place that I ever saw . . . . The town in a continual crowd & bustle with ten thousand emigrants . . . . Found it impossible to find a suitable boat. The best I could do was to take one filled with the noisy, intemperate profane trash with a few Americans no better. The wreckless [sic] oaths of the whole company (or nearly so), drinking, smoking & . . . . the continuous yelling of infants promised a great variety of disagreeables . . . . [On the canal boat there were] 26 or 30 individuals in a little cabin of 12 feet by 10. . . .

At Whitehall were the offices of Peter Comstock, an aggressive

wholesaler, principal partner since 1831 of the leading lake freight line, the Northern Transportation Company, operator of freight and passenger canal boats and of the Red Bird stages between Albany and Montreal.<sup>23</sup> During the suspension of navigation his four horse coaches carried the mails thrice a week to Vergennes in eleven or twelve hours. As it was becoming increasingly desirable to make arrangements covering the entire passage between Canada or the lake ports and Troy, Albany or New York, Whitehall was the natural mid-point from which to manage the freight business. In 1840 Comstock and his partners sold the Northern Transportation Company to James H. Hooker, who with Troy interests had a heavy stake in Hudson River transportation. This company and the Northern Line of Eddy, Bascom and Company, also of Whitehall, carried most of the freight between Montreal and New York.

Passenger steamers were easier to monopolize, being expensive to build and maintain. The original company had a monopoly, but between 1825 and 1827 the Champlain Transportation Company and three steam ferries—between St. Albans and Plattsburg, Burlington and Port Kent, and Charlotte and Essex—began to cut into its profits. In 1835 the Champlain Transportation Company, with headquarters in Burlington, distributed stock to all its rivals and consolidated them. Peter Comstock had permitted himself to be 'taken care of,' presumably in the same way. Nevertheless, he laid the keel of a new vessel the following spring and forced the monopoly to buy it on terms favorable to himself. This time they took care to bind him not to build any more vessels for eight years. When the time was up he promptly built another.

In 1840 the monopoly operated five steamers, two as canal boat tugs, one as a Burlington—Port Kent ferry, and the sister ships, *Burlington* and *Whitehall*, carrying the through passengers. Alternately starting at St. Johns or Whitehall, they crossed at Burlington. They were a splendid pair of boats for the time.<sup>24</sup> The Company had earned a reputation for safety in sixteen years, for it had never had a fatal collision, fire or explosion. Everyone agreed that the boats were clean, luxurious, and manned by well-trained crews.

The public, however, was not satisfied. In the first place, the fares were too high: five dollars through the lake including meals and berth. Furthermore, the steamers catered to the so-called aristocracy. Self conceit and fine broadcloth are well accommodated, wrote an impecunious parson, but "the poor forward deck passenger is but little cared for."<sup>25</sup> Some disliked the fact that during the recent Canadian

Rebellion the line had continued to serve St. Johns; others objected to the bars; and the managers and proprietors, C. P. Van Ness, for example, had personal enemies of long standing. In 1840 this opposition succeeded in passing an amendment to the grand list law taxing steamboat stock, and new competition loomed.<sup>26</sup>

Almost every shore town had its dock and warehouse, but Burlington was Vermont's leading port, both in size and in volume of business. Since 1822 it had been the port of entry for the Customs District of Vermont. There were well over a hundred steamers, sloops, schooners and canal boats on the Lake, with a tonnage of approximately 8,000, and Burlington firms owned a larger proportion than any other port except possibly Whitehall.<sup>27</sup> Burlington's importance in trade depended on its location as the best point of transshipment between land and lake routes. Possessed of a good natural harbor between Sharpshin (now Rock) and Pottier's (now Shelburne) Points, a light house three miles out on Juniper Island since 1826 and a breakwater begun in 1837, it was best equipped to handle the largest volume of trade. Its steamboat shipyard and drydock in Shelburne Bay had served since 1820; and it had three long wharves.<sup>28</sup>

Burlington merchants served as middlemen for livestock, wool and other farm products as exports, and merchandise as imports, although wheat or flour was now coming in rather than going out, and lumber rafting to the Hudson had dwindled to almost nothing. Burlington was a hub with half its spokes in the water. Since freighting by water was both cheaper and faster than teaming, Burlington merchants could serve almost all of Northern Vermont more successfully than any other dealers in the state. Henry Dearborn was struck with the extent of Burlington's trading area in 1838:<sup>29</sup>

I was not a little astonished to see a waggon [sic] load of flour, at Littleton [New Hampshire] . . . which came from Rochester, [New York] via the Erie Canal, the New York Northern Canal and Lake Champlain, to Burlington . . . and from thence, by land transportation, across the state. . . . The gentleman to whom it belonged, informed me, that—flour was thus brought to that town, & others in the valley of the Connecticut river, in New Hampshire and Vermont, cheaper than from Portland. . . .

A Burlingtonian later asserted:<sup>30</sup>

. . . for a long time until the completion of the railways the merchandize for the northern, northeastern and central part of the state, and the products of the same districts on their way to markets passed through the hands of Burlington merchants. . . .

The annual turnover was estimated at nearly a million dollars.<sup>31</sup> Bur-

lington had more six-day stages and boats than Montpelier, and double the hotel accommodations. Here, if anywhere in Vermont, could be discerned the first signs of urbanization.

Alone among the population centers of Vermont, Burlington had a large number of people and a large proportion of its total population in a single nucleus. Bennington's people were divided between three villages and three hamlets, as well as the countryside within the boundaries of the town. The East Village at Rutland was little more than a mile or so of post road where the roads between Whitehall and Woodstock or Bellows Falls crossed near the green. Brattleboro and Montpelier were squeezed against rivers by impending hills. But in Burlington approximately three thousand people lived on less than a square mile of slope from the Lake to the College Green, and from North Street to a block south of the wharves. Most of these concentrated their activities in the lower half of this area, a forty-block gridiron.

The original Lake settlement consisted of the few blocks on a mild slope near the wharves. Soon a trail through the pine forest linked Burlington Bay with Winooski Falls. It met the post road from the south on the terrace less than half a mile up the hill, followed it north to Pearl Street, thence eastward and over the hill to the Falls. After 1840 a new road was laid north from Pearl Street, avoiding the hill by skirting the edge of the Winooski intervale. Pearl Street was named for Stephen Pearl, the first settler on the third terrace at the north end of the College Green, where a small group of houses had been built. The Winooski Turnpike as originally chartered from Montpelier to Burlington was to have followed Main Street to the Lake, and Main was surveyed with a rod of extra width to bear its expected traffic. Teamsters and stage-men, however, disliked the grade and until bridged, the dip into the ravine just above Church Street. The charter was amended in 1811 to end the turnpike at the College Green.

Traders from the Bay formed the habit of going up to the post road to meet customers coming from the interior. Led by Samuel Hickok they gradually moved, until by 1840, the second terrace had become the business center of town. The heart of this business area was Court House Square. Like every other green or common in the state, it was at the crossroads: where Shelburne Street became the road to Winooski, between the docks and the college. Here most vehicles passed, most travelers stopped, and many important dealers and professionals located their offices and stores. Frontage on the Square was valuable.

It had "stores & houses . . . on the four sides & a circular area enclosed with a neat painted railing, in which paths had been cut and bordered with trees & the remainder of the ground . . . covered with verdure. . . ." <sup>32</sup>

A street separated the park from the court house row, which consisted of the brick court house, in the center, flanked on the north by the brick Strong block, owned and principally occupied by wholesalers emphasizing hardware. The county clerk as well as the sheriff and the juries had rooms on the ground floor below the court room, and the town used the basement for its meetings. The town had contributed half the construction cost of \$3,000 after the previous court house on this site had burned in 1828. The Roman Catholics, whose church had burned in 1838, were worshipping in the town room of the Court House. <sup>33</sup>

The post office, then on the west side of the Square, was as busy as the court house, with gross receipts probably reaching three thousand dollars a year. <sup>34</sup> Twelve businessmen gave their address as Court House Square. In addition, on College Street near the green stood the Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank and John Howard's hotel. Most of the important lawyers had their offices here, including ex-Congressman Heman Allen, future Congressman George P. Marsh, town representative Carlos Baxter, David A. Smalley and Wyllys Lyman. Here, too, were all the Whig booksellers, printers and publishers. The Democratic press and the bookshop of Postmaster Mills were on Main Street. Two more large hotels at the head of Shelburne (St. Paul) Street—Benjamin Bishop's Franklin and the American, run by Ira Shattuck, the stageman—took up the far side of the southwest corner. <sup>35</sup>

In the ordinary small Vermont village practically all the public and institutional buildings and most of the tradesmen and mechanics were on or close to the green. Burlington was too big for that. A business directory based on 1841 information <sup>36</sup> listed 250 dealers, mechanics and professionals, excluding most teachers, in seventy-three lines of business. Burlington usually had the most in any particular kind of business, and such trades as architect, auctioneer, brewer, carpet weaver, organ maker and stucco worker were not listed for any other town. Burlington had forty-nine stores with \$353,000 capital, two banks with \$461,000 in assets, and real and personal property well over \$2,000,000. In the principal neighborhood industries there were about sixty in building construction, thirty-five clothing workers, thirty-five cobblers and about two dozen in household furnishings.

There were twenty-six lawyers and eleven ordained ministers; twelve hotels and one Thomsonian infirmary. An overwhelming proportion of these businesses was located in the twenty-seven-block gridiron from the Lake to Church and White Streets, in diminishing concentration from the Water-Main-Church-Pearl route.<sup>37</sup>

Church Street, named for the Unitarian meeting house at its head, had received some of the most important institutional buildings when Court House Square had become too small for them. Here, on the southwest corner of Bank, stood the Bank of Burlington, largest in the state. North of Cherry, Burdick's Central House faced the county jail. Besides, in the four blocks to Main were more shops, stores and offices than on any other of the village's two dozen streets.

The Unitarian Church symbolized the Burlington of the generation just passing. On the axis of the busiest street, its tall steeple with its clock and belfry kept time for the business community, which had wealthy representatives in its church society. They had raised \$23,000 in 1816—a large sum for the time and place—to hire a prominent Boston architect and provide an organ for the first meeting house in town. As Unitarianism had its stronghold in the seaports of Massachusetts, so in Vermont the largest of four Unitarian churches presided over its commercial capital.<sup>38</sup>

Four of the other church sites were in pairs on side streets. The Congregationalists, from whose white church White Street (now Winooski Avenue) derived its name, had engaged Henry Searles, a Burlington architect, to erect a unique Greek Revival temple after the fire of 1839. When completed three years later, its crowning cupola, a copy of the choragic monument of Lysicrates, proudly contested the Unitarian claim to first place in the village. The building was also a material pledge of allegiance to the classical culture upheld at the college on the hill, whose president and two of whose professors were Congregational clergymen. Just south of it stood the small Methodist chapel that expressed Methodism's compromise between Episcopacy and Independence with its Gothic pointed gables and round arched windows. Balancing the position of the White Street churches was St. Paul's Episcopal Church, on St. Paul Street, in the care of Bishop John H. Hopkins. In the same block across the street, Father Jeremiah O'Callaghan was preparing to build St. Mary's to replace his burned chapel on Hyde Street near the Intervale. St. Paul's, the first thoroughly Gothic Revival building in town (1832), and probably the second in the state, advertised in blue limestone its distinct minority tradition. St. Mary's, consecrated in 1841, did not

assert its even more dissident position among the denominations, but followed the prevailing architectural style. Its boxlike cupola and minimum of decoration indicated that available funds had been stretched to house the largest Roman Catholic flock in the state.<sup>39</sup> The Baptists met beyond the College on the road to Winooski, doubtless to accommodate their members in the surrounding country, but they were planning a building on the southwest corner of Main and Church Streets.

There was no manufacturing area in the main part of town. Unlike most Vermont villages, Burlington was not built around a water privilege. Its predominantly neighborhood industry depended upon charcoal, horse and hand power, which could be assembled anywhere. The only manufacturers with more than a strictly local sale for their products operated a pottery, a glass house and a shipyard:<sup>40</sup>

		<i>Value</i>	<i>Capital</i>	<i>Employees</i>
Ebenezer L. Farrar and Wait,	stone or earthenware	\$7,000	\$5,000	10
Champlain Glass Co., Frederick Smith and Wilkins,	window glass	30,000	15,000	40
Champlain Transportation Co. and others	steamer repairs and sailing vessels	69,500	—	—

These figures represent virtually all the boatbuilding in Vermont, over half the value of glass produced, and almost a third of the products of eight potteries.<sup>41</sup>

Since available power did not determine the location of these plants, they were placed out of the business section, on good routes leading inland or to the wharves, and close to the homes of the laboring population: on or near Water and lower Pearl Streets. As the town expanded, the lakeside to the south became the factory district. Lumber handling and woodworking firms settled there. The pottery and shipyards lasted through the next forty years, but the glass house shut down in 1848. After a fire in 1831, the Company had established its principal works near Saranac, New York, where the supply of wood for charcoal was superior.<sup>42</sup> Near Water Street were the village's only metal workers above the level of blacksmith. Metalworking never became a major industry but it developed with the town.

Characteristic of Burlington housing around 1840 were the close association of home and working place, the large proportion of land to buildings, the homogeneous architecture, and the slow subdivision

of peripheral land and construction of dwellings, especially north of Pearl Street. There was no well defined residential area, although many families of means were living "on the Hill," especially on the three roads leading to the campus. The constable lived around the corner from the jail and a few blocks from the court house. Samuel Hickok's home and three-story brick store, an old landmark, stood side by side west of the Square. This living and working in the same place is characteristic of the village, not the city.

The labor for the productive activities of Burlington, and for its commerce, was already more heterogeneous than in most other Vermont towns. Nearly every breadwinner considered himself a workman; groups conscious of their professional or managerial status were small. Ethnic and religious differences were the basis of the major variations of status. French Canadians and Irish had been filtering into the Champlain Valley for twenty years. For ten years the flow had been steady and large enough to affect social institutions.<sup>43</sup> They came from farms and settled first on farms in Grand Isle County and along the lake shore as far south as Addison. They had their first settled missionary priest in 1830, and a house of worship, the first Roman Catholic church in the state, three years later. In 1840 between 650 and 1,000 persons of French Canadian or Irish origin lived in Burlington, employed at common labor, in domestic service, and a few in handicrafts. Often illiterate, poor and clannish, they yet shared with Yankees the universal hope of bettering their lot.<sup>44</sup>

Distributed all over the town, these newer arrivals lived in rented, wooden cottages or tenements, often doubling up. Immigrant servants might live in a big house where their different ways made it hard to be part of the family, as native domestics had hitherto been. They concentrated, however, on the lower streets near the Battery, where they worked.<sup>45</sup> Three or four German families and thirty-eight transient Negroes were the only other non-Yankees. Two Germans, Dr. B. J. Heineberg and Theodore F. Molt, music teacher at the Female Seminary, were professionals, and two more in Marshal Hersh's household were mechanics. Only one of the seven Negro families appeared in any previous census, although there had been over forty Negroes in Burlington during each of the three previous enumerations. Eight were servants in white families. The color line was presumably crossed in the household of Louis Vayo, in his thirties, and a Negress between twenty-four and thirty-six (both illiterates), with four children under ten.<sup>46</sup> These examples show that the Burlington working class was becoming more segregated and heterogeneous.

Burlingtonians still enjoyed the convenience of having home and shop together. With about 400 dwellings for 739 households, and about forty blocks in the area west of White Street, most lots were large enough for backyards and gardens. A large share of the town's horses, and even many of its 1,455 cows and oxen were stalled, pastured and worked within the village. The rural aspect was reinforced by the omnipresent stables, wells and other outbuildings (there was little plumbing and no sewer of any kind); by the proximity to plants and animals; and by the outdoor life that accompanied such relatively open surroundings.<sup>47</sup>

The streets themselves were those of a country village, although most downtown houses were set too close to the street to have sizable dooryards. Pedestrians and vehicles abroad at night carried their own lanterns. A few streets near the center had been paved, probably with brick, by the early thirties.<sup>48</sup> Some were graveled, but most were mere dirt—muddy or dusty according to the weather. The yellow locust was most widely used along the streets, scenting the June air with its fragrance, but the borer was killing it off rapidly. The grove in the Unitarian Church yard, for which Locust Street (now Elmwood Avenue) was presumably named, was not removed however, until 1875.<sup>49</sup> The locusts were supplanted by sycamores, in turn destroyed by blight, and finally by the elms which today are retreating before the Dutch elm disease. Few country towns were as well shaded.<sup>50</sup>

Travelers approaching on a lake steamer saw above the waterfront a mass of foliage, topped by steeples and shingled roofs, with a few spots of white, red and a little yellow showing through, and the college dome capping the crest of the hill. Invariably their comment was "neat," "handsome," "pretty," whether they merely spent an hour near the wharf or stayed longer. General Dearborn, who had time for sight-seeing before his stage left, admired "the Alpine aspect" of the Lake and the Adirondacks, like so many visitors before and after him. The landscape appeared at its best in the summer sunset—precisely the time scheduled for the Burlington stop by both southbound and northbound steamers. "The streets are regular," he continued,<sup>51</sup>

& some of the houses beautiful. I passed a neat garden containing a green house, summer house, & a number of pear, apple & plum trees. The grounds were well laid out & shew much taste in floriculture. The dahlias shew there had been no frost here although often it comes much earlier; I suppose the Lake tempers the weather. . . . Some of the sidewalks are paved with brick and others are graveled.

Gardening, indeed, was almost universal. Many citizens raised the

popular Fameuse (pronounced "Fay-mews") apple, a French Canadian contribution, and other hardy fruits. Chauncey Goodrich, later author and publisher of *The Northern Fruit Culturist*, was the leading promoter of horticulture in the Champlain Valley, if not in the state. Burlington was known by its fruits, as Goodrich was fond of saying, for its \$5,107 worth of orchard products in 1840 was surpassed by only two towns in Vermont.<sup>52</sup>

Visitors found Burlington neat and handsome because of its harmonious and tasteful architecture. Its carpenters and masons lacked sophistication and knowledge of fashion, but as elsewhere in the settled parts of the nation which did not have the money to hire architects but were in no undue hurry to be housed, they wrought in a sound tradition.<sup>53</sup> Burlington's even growth for twenty years had provided construction workers with steady employment. Its mushroom expansion after 1846 led to jerry-building and gingerbread. These builders achieved almost instinctively a modest domestic scale. Their errors resulted from the occasional effort to be pretentious. Master-carpenters all over the state were sure in their treatment of wood, but in Burlington their brother masons were almost equally successful in brick. They had more experience than the masons of other towns, for the Champlain Valley had more dwellings of masonry than elsewhere in Vermont, and Burlington the most of all. With the profits of a thriving commerce, Burlington could afford to build more brick houses, which cost three times as much as an ordinary frame dwelling.<sup>54</sup> A red sandstone and a bluish-gray limestone were available in ledges within two miles of the Court House, but little had been used for buildings. Ex-Governor Van Ness's Grassmount was the kind of mansion people dreamed of having, although in 1840 they would have preferred a full colonnade to its slender pilasters, and the full Greek order of a gabled temple to its low-hipped roof. This substantial, urbane structure, framed with a white fence and affording a view protected by acres of slope below, was equaled in comfortable elegance by several others on the hill or near the lake.<sup>55</sup>

Most of the outskirts were being cultivated in small parcels by some of the town's 232 farmers—the lowest percentage in the state<sup>56</sup>—often by persons whose main occupation was not agriculture. The principal exception was the remnant of the original pine forest on the steep slope to the southeast. The owners of the marginal cleared lands profited more by selling off house lots as the village grew than they did from their regular occupations. The cultivators of this land were already in a more favorable position than most farmers because of

their ready market for vegetables, poultry and dairy products. An indication of the direction of village expansion is the increase in the number of children in School District Number Nine, which included the northwestern section. In the fall of 1840 the part north of Pearl Street was separated to form a seventh village district, Number Fifteen. This had in 1850 almost as many scholars as its parent district in 1840.<sup>57</sup>

The College Green was a focus of settlement which had been distinct from the Bay before the War of 1812 but which had almost entirely lost the characteristics of an independent center. Only the half dozen members of the faculty and the hundred students made this area the center of their life.<sup>58</sup> One or two stores, an inn, a barber-shop, a millinery and dressmaking shop, and J. H. Hill's engraving establishment catered to the college people or had first chance at the trade coming in over the Winooski Pike or the upper road from the Falls. Fields came almost up to the south side of the campus, but Goch Street (now North Prospect) and the road to Winooski (Colchester Avenue) were thinly settled. Moses Catlin, whose mills were at the Falls, had built a mansion on the wooded hill to the east.

The college buildings had been erected with the substantial aid of townsmen—an indication that strife of town and gown did not extend to the conservative businessmen. Many common people did not like the professors for their neutral stand during the Canadian Rebellion, and the Roman Catholics sensed their scarcely concealed hostility, but by and large the college was the pride of the community, not an isolated institution. The two-story medical building had been used since 1834, when the medical department closed, to house the scientific apparatus and the college's extensive scientific courses. Facing College Street were three brick buildings dating from the fire of 1824. The domed center contained the chapel, library and classrooms; students occupied the two wings. The Reverend Joseph Torrey, Professor of Languages, had gone to Europe about seven years before and bought an important part of the 8,000 volume library, a fine collection for the times and the size of the college. North of the main buildings stood "the old yellow house," built for the preparatory department in 1794-1798, and beyond that, the home of the Reverend John Wheeler, the president, with an apple orchard sloping down behind. The heavy enrollment of the previous five years had forced many students to find rooms downtown—another sign that the Square and the Green were becoming part of one town.<sup>59</sup>

College Green was Burlington's eastern gateway, but Winooski

Falls, the first Yankee settlement north of Vergennes in the Champlain Valley, was the principal mill site of the area and one of the best in the state. Since the Winooski, or Onion, as it was then more commonly called, drained a wide area, drought could not interrupt the flow. Here the river fell over two ledges, the lower providing a thirty-seven foot head. During the first thirty years, timber, grain, gypsum, flaxseed and homespun were processed and bog iron forged. Moses and Guy Catlin, among the first to develop the power after Ira Allen, were still grinding flour and plaster on a large scale and sawing lumber in 1840, on the principal water privilege below the covered bridge on the Burlington side. Nelson and Bates had a small chair shop employing nine laborers on this side. The shortages of the War of 1812 provided opportunity for a paper mill, which survived the vicissitudes of the next twenty-five years, as well as the woolen mill established in 1821. The fire of December 21, 1838, burnt them both out, along with the Catlins, a ship block factory and another sawmill, and the papermakers, already struggling with the depression, gave up. Burlington capitalists raised the \$130,000 that built a new woolen factory on the Colchester side, the first mill on that side in many years. For the next fifteen years a good deal of the Burlington capital available for investment was used to keep the mill, one of the three largest in the state, in operation. Its plant consisted of nine buildings, including a six-story brick factory and a long wooden tenement for the girls who operated the looms. A Burlington machinist, Guy Edwards, owned the foundry and machine shop which made in 1840 \$30,000 worth of patent fence, textile machinery and other castings.<sup>60</sup>

The industrial village, always closely connected with Burlington interests, developed on the Colchester side because of the sharp slope up the south bank to the terrace at the college level. Already it was almost as populous as the rest of the town of Colchester, despite the latter's rich intervale farms, and larger than Colchester Center. It lay athwart the post road, which passed the Center by. It had more inns, stores and mechanics' shops, and the only Congregational meeting house in the town, built in 1839. One minor link with Burlington was broken as a result of growth on both sides when the Baptists built a meeting house at the Center in 1838. Fewer thereafter crossed the river to worship at the Colchester Avenue chapel, and consequently the Burlington Baptists were planning to move downtown. Roman Catholics went to Mass in Burlington until after 1870. Until 1863, Winooski used the Burlington post office. The Center had an equally new Methodist church and, of course, the town hall, but Winooski

was the settlement that promised further growth. This growth tied it more and more into the life of Burlington, until it became a suburb, separated only by political boundaries.

The pattern of Burlington-Winooski was in its main outlines repeated in lesser Vermont towns.<sup>61</sup> In these places the center had generally the same kind of institutional and architectural grouping, but it was smaller and less busy. Around the center the business area, mills and homes were bound together more tightly than in Burlington, and focused more on whatever falls there were—and virtually without exception every town had at least a brook turning a water wheel. Yet the smaller villages had practically no gridiron development. Beyond the tiny nucleus, buildings stretched out along the highways. Only a few—Vergennes, Middlebury and Bennington, as well as Burlington—showed by their low percentage of population engaged in agriculture that their central nuclei heavily outweighed their rural outskirts.

Burlington typified the newer half of the state, which had only one village—Middlebury—over 2500 in 1820. South from Hartford and Rutland, the large towns of 1840 had been well developed villages when Vermont entered the Union. A generation more of village life meant a stronger tradition, with the kind of conservatism based on money longer possessed or spent for comfortable homes and public buildings. Bennington was old enough to have built up one center and to have partly shifted toward another.

A few other towns had special institutions on their peripheries, and all the large ones tended to be centers of higher education, legal practice and publishing. Middlebury straddled the falls of the Otter, but its green and most important buildings were on the east or post road side. Its college occupied the rim of the hill to the west, with stores and dwellings stretching out between. Middlebury College had graduated over twice as many students as the University of Vermont in its first forty years, but for the first time the current college generation was definitely larger in Burlington.<sup>62</sup> In either case, the small student bodies and tiny faculties gave a distinct character to their communities and increased business by several thousand dollars, but were in no sense the roots of their villages' economies. There was, however, a tendency for the well-to-do to send their sons to the towns to learn more than the state felt was enough for its citizens, and especially to the colleges at Middlebury and Burlington, as well as to Dartmouth and the colleges of Southern New England, and to the denominational academies at smaller places. One or more ministers

and doctors found a living in well over half the villages of the state, but two fifths of the lawyers, whose principal clientele was the trading and banking class, were found in the large towns. One third of the lawyers lived in the eight largest towns, which were also the most important county seats. Printers could still set up shop with little capital, but stayed where there was legal and commercial business to advertise and news to report.<sup>63</sup>

The state government and two state institutions already contributed a little to the importance of the host towns. The capitol at Montpelier, like the court houses and town halls at the lower levels of government, was on the green. But trade and transport, not playing host to the Assembly, was the mainstay of Montpelier's economy. No bureaucracy spent its salaries in Montpelier stores, although an unusually large number of lawyers settled there, in part drawn by the business of state government. The few state offices were kept by the incumbents in the towns where they continued to live after their appointments. They did go to the capital to report in the fall, and with the legislators and lobbyists, constituted an extra three hundred or so comparatively well paid persons to be served by Montpelier business. The warm months were the busy season in the villages, as on the farms, but Montpelier had an extra boom during October and November, while the General Assembly met.

The State Prison at Windsor and the new Brattleboro Retreat, as institutions of segregation, were naturally not near the centers of their towns. The forced labor of the convicts at Windsor had for over twenty years supported an extra, large scale textile, shoe, or machinery factory, one of the few in Vermont thus far powered by steam. In 1840 about forty convicts were used by contract with Nicanor Kendall and Company to make underhammer rifles, the largest manufacturing enterprise in Windsor.<sup>64</sup> The Brattleboro Retreat, opened only three years before, was too young and small to have had much effect upon the village, but it already had more inmates than Middlebury College had students.<sup>65</sup>

The lie of the land helped determine route crossings where towns grew, and contributed to the congestion or dispersion of their buildings. Next to crossroads, water power was the magnet that drew people together. The location of falls was usually at the weak point in a rough ridge which rose abruptly from the stream. The area for building around the falls was uneven, and in places like Bellows Falls a source of congestion. What impressed one observer about Bellows Falls was the din of machinery and the falls, reverberating between

the steep walls of the Connecticut River.<sup>66</sup> Another noted in 1833 how much the appearance of a city Brattleboro had, although it had then scarcely over 2,000 people.<sup>67</sup> The problem of finding level space for village lots was less acute in places like Windsor and Montpelier, where the power was taken from tributaries.

Since small amounts of water power were widely dispersed, so was industry. The size of Vermont mills was a relative matter. Compared with 1820, the growth had been marked, but this growth seemed slight in comparison with the expansion of the next forty years. When viewed with respect to the nation at large, there was not a single important or large scale establishment in the state. Within the limits of the local scene there was already a distinction between the industry of the large towns and the rest, both in scale and type. Metalworking, boatbuilding, paper, pottery, glass and textile production, which required relatively large amounts of capital and labor, were more concentrated in the larger centers. Here labor was more productive per man because higher captialization allowed the use of more and better machinery. Capital was available from commerce; there was more and steadier water power; and facilities were superior for moving the products. In the existing state of the industrial arts, the larger proportion of the labor pool was available for alternative industries. Hence most of the large centers—Bennington, Burlington-Winooski, Middlebury and at least five others—were multiple industry towns.

Several were beginning to develop specialties. Virtually all the ship building was done in Burlington. Three quarters of the potteries were in Bennington, Burlington and Middlebury and the more important of two glasshouses was in Burlington. Nearly all the factory-made small arms, hardware, cutlery and machinery came from three large towns in the Windsor region and two machine shops in Winooski and Brattleboro. Paper mills in Newbury, Bennington, Montpelier, Springfield, Brattleboro and Rutland accounted for over half the product, capital and labor in that branch. Even in importance of iron furnaces, where proximity to ore and fuel counted most, Bennington held the lead. In textiles, the most important single type of manufacturing in Vermont, over two thirds of the spindles for weaving cotton were in Bennington, Middlebury and Springfield, but only one third of the woolen manufacturing was located in eleven towns over 2,000. These included, however, those with the most up-to-date machinery and techniques, of which the Winooski mill and Judge Elijah Paine's in Northfield were the outstanding examples.<sup>68</sup>

Fourteen towns and Vermont's only incorporated city, Vergennes,

totaling a seventh of the population of the state, had nevertheless more than a fifth of the property listed, about a third of the commercial and postal business, two fifths of the capital invested in stores, and almost four fifths of the bank assets. The large and wealthy towns bore a smaller proportion of the tax burden—an indication of their silent power in getting the preponderant rural majority to pay more than its direct share, partly on the ground that the encouragement of industry benefited all the people. For example, in the town of St. Johnsbury, the property of the partnership of Erastus and Thaddeus Fairbanks, which was just beginning to expand its scale business into what became a leading Vermont industry, was appraised as follows in comparison with that of the local tavern keeper in 1840:

E. & T. Fairbanks		Ira Armington	
Foundry	\$300	Tavern Stand	\$1800 at 6% \$128.
Work Shop	550	Saddler's Shop	250 at 6% 15.
Storehouse	300	1 Cow	15 1.25
Plow Shop	75	1 Horse	35 3.
Scale Shop	200	1 Chaise	25 1.50
Saw and Grist Mill	1000	2 [gold?] watches	70 8.00
Counting House	350		
	<hr/>		<hr/>
	\$2775		\$2195 listed at \$156.75
Listed at 6%	166.50		
State tax, 3%	5.00	State tax, 3%, \$4.70	

Even adding the tax paid personally by the Fairbanks partners (about \$6 each) they paid only a little over three and a half times the state tax of the innkeeper, whose business was perhaps a tenth as large.<sup>69</sup> The discrepancy was even greater between the valuation of industrial-commercial properties and farms, none of whose assets were intangible and therefore easily concealed from appraisers.

The inhabitants of the large towns used their post offices much more than the average Vermonter in 1839-1841, as seen by a comparison of the median and average figures for all Vermont post offices with those of the main offices in the fifteen leading villages:<sup>70</sup>

	Median		Average	
	Vermont	15 Towns	Vermont	15 Towns
Compensation	\$41.40	\$430.78	\$72.33	\$415.51
Net Proceeds	65.05	633.94	117.18	722.89
Total	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$106.45	\$1064.72	\$189.51	\$1138.40

Burlington, Montpelier and Vergennes emerge as the primary commercial centers, especially the first two. The leading villages had more

wholesalers and comparatively large scale enterprisers, and more small specialty shops. Where the average capitalization of the large town store was \$5,350, that of the rest was \$3,370, yet there was a store for every 200 people in the centers (for less than 100 in Burlington and Vergennes); for every 500 elsewhere.<sup>71</sup>

	Grand List	Bank Assets	Post Office	Stores		No. in Com- merce
				No.	Capital	
15 Towns	\$454,710	\$2,075,528	\$19,657	226	\$1,208,900	420
All other Towns	1,745,052	562,665	41,743	521	1,755,160	883
Total	2,199,762	2,638,193	61,400	747	2,964,060	1303
% in 15 Towns	20.7	78.7	32.0	30.3	40.8	32.2

Trade was the basis of growth just before the railroads came. The towns on the best available transportation routes, aided by slowly growing and diversified manufacturing, grew most rapidly. Champlain Valley towns were quickened by the prosperity brought by the lake traffic, and none grew so fast as Burlington. Its unique harbor and wharves integrated into the village as nowhere else on the Vermont shore. Trade multiplied capital, the prerequisite for railroad building and industrial expansion. Consequently the Vermont promoters sought this capital in the financial centers of the North East and in the towns to be benefited. Trade aided the migration of labor, skilled or unskilled. Trade collected the raw materials which handy Vermonters could fashion into marketable goods. Broadening trade throughout the nation increased the demand for a widening variety of commodities, and increased the means for satisfying that demand. The outward spiral of commercial prosperity enabled more people to enjoy the benefits, both tangible and intangible, of urban civilization. In the long run even Vermont farmers would be swept into the urban stream, and take advantage of proximity to urban industrialism.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> E. P. Walton & Sons, *Walton's Vermont Register and Family Almanac . . . 1841* (Montpelier, 1841), 129.

<sup>2</sup> Charles H. Cooley, "The Theory of Transportation," *American Economic Association Publications*, 9:223-370 (May 1894), 313. The chief sources for information on vehicles, goods carried, passengers, construction and repair of routes, etc., are William J. Wilgus, *The Role of Transportation in the Development of Vermont* (Montpelier, 1945), especially 51-59; Thomas H. Canfield, "Discovery, Navigation and Navigators of Lake Champlain," in A. M. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer* (Burlington, 1867-1891). 1 : 656-707, especially 683-696, 701-707; Gertrude E. Cone, *Studies in the Development of Transportation in the Champlain Valley to 1876* (MS. M.A. thesis, University of Vermont, Burlington,

Vt., 1945); W. DeLoss Love, "The Navigation of the Connecticut River," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, n.s. 15:385-441 (Apr. 1904); and Frederic J. Wood, *The Turnpikes of New England* (Boston, 1919), 31-53, 249-284.

<sup>3</sup> *Rutland Herald*, March 10, 1864.

<sup>4</sup> *Montpelier Watchman*, Sept. 26, 1850.

<sup>5</sup> William M. Gillespie, *Manual of the Principles and Practice of Roadmaking* . . . (1847; 10th ed., New York, 1871), 29. Old Bennington and Danville are examples of towns on high ground.

<sup>6</sup> E. g., up mountains like Mansfield. F. J. Wood, *Turnpikes of New England*, 282.

<sup>7</sup> From a Michigan rhyme quoted in *Walton's Register* (1844), 22.

<sup>8</sup> *Acts and Resolves Passed by the Legislature of the State of Vermont, at their October Session, 1842* (Montpelier, 1842), 18, 22-23, title and place of publication vary, cited below as *Vermont Laws*.

<sup>9</sup> Morrisville town meeting was reported to have elected E. M. Irish, 300 pounds, Leonard Wood, six feet eight, and "Banty" Terrill, "the size of a tame cherry," fence viewers for 1868. "Voted, that all fences upon which Irish could sit, that Wood couldn't straddle nor Banty crawl through should be deem legal fences." (*Woodstock Spirit of the Age*, Mar. 26, 1868 quoting Hyde Park *Lamoille Newsdealer*.)

<sup>10</sup> G. Barney in A. M. Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 4:1041-1042; F. J. Wood, *Turnpikes of New England*, 255-256; *Vermont Laws* (1840), 55-56. On bridge-building in Vermont, see H. W. Congdon, *The Covered Bridge* (Illus. by E. E. Royce; Brattleboro, 1946).

<sup>11</sup> "Journal of a Tour Through Vermont to Montreal and Quebec in 1833." Vermont Historical Society *Proceedings*, n.s. 2:53-82 (June 1931), 58. The sixty-mile trip had taken nearly eleven hours.

<sup>12</sup> Compare the braking method of freight wagons as described in "The Journals of Henry A. S. Dearborn," *Buffalo Historical Society Publications*, 7:33-225 (1904), 180.

<sup>13</sup> The following description of Vermont post roads is based principally on the *Register of Contracts for Star Mail Routes*, covering New England for the four years beginning July 1, 1837 (Mss. in the Industrial Records Division of the National Archives).

<sup>14</sup> Several ran daily in 1837, but an avowed retrenchment policy (or was it really politics or the Sabbatarian movement?) gradually discontinued Sunday trips between October 1838 and March 19, 1841. At the same time some six-day lines were made tri-weekly.

<sup>15</sup> Charles O. Paullin, *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States* (ed. by John K. Wright; New York, 1932), plate 138, H, J, K.

<sup>16</sup> Schedules for routes 225 and 238, set to leave Haverhill for Derby Line at 6 a.m. "or earlier if the mails are in" refer principally to #252 from Bellows Falls or Windsor, due to arrive at midnight.

<sup>17</sup> In fact the altitude of the Pavilion Hotel in Montpelier was scarcely two hundred feet above that of the college buildings in Burlington. "Journals of Henry Dearborn," 155, entry for Oct. 7, 1838.

<sup>18</sup> For Burlington, St. Albans, Barton, Danville, Haverhill, Hanover, Claremont, Woodstock and Hancock.

<sup>19</sup> A. M. Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 4:493-494; Daniel P. Thompson, *History of the Town of Montpelier* (Montpelier, 1860), 136, 299-300.

<sup>20</sup> D. P. Thompson, *History of Montpelier*, 134; *Montpelier Patriot*, June 20, 1836; *Walton's Register* (1842), 122.

<sup>21</sup> New York Secretary of State, *Census of the State of New York for 1855* (Albany, 1857), xviii, xxxi. The federal census figures are less accurate, for the assistant marshals took a much longer period to complete their enumerations.

<sup>22</sup> Journal of Elam J. Comings, May 9-10, 1836, quoted in Robert S. Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College* (New York, 1943), 2:539. I am indebted to the trustees of Oberlin College for permission to quote this excerpt. Business and emigration had slowed down by 1840, but Whitehall's character as a canal town and lake port, here exaggerated by the straitlaced youth, had not changed.

<sup>23</sup> A. M. Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 1:683, 696; "Peter Comstock and George Comstock Baker," *Albany Argus*, May 31, 1908. A description of travel on the Red Bird Line in the 1830's is quoted in reminiscences published in an unidentified Plattsburgh newspaper, June 27, 1891 (clipping in the possession of Hugh McClellan, Champlain, N. Y.).

<sup>24</sup> The *Burlington*, completed at Shelburne Harbor in 1837 at a cost of \$75,000, had dimensions of 190'x25'x9', a speed of 15 m.p.h. (Lake sailors did not refer to distances in terms of knots), and weighed 405 tons dead weight. The *Whitehall*, started by Comstock, cost \$70,000 when completed in 1838, weighed 460 tons, had the same speed, and dimensions of 215'x23'x9'. Such foreign travelers as George Combe, J. S. Buckingham, Charles Lyell and Dickens were uniformly enthusiastic about these vessels.

<sup>25</sup> Rev. R. Brierly to Ephraim Maxham in Middlebury *Vermont Observer*, undated, ca. Nov. 28, 1843. Brierly paid \$1.25 from Chimney Point to Whitehall, with berth. The fare from Burlington to Whitehall, presumably without extras, was \$1.50 in 1836 (E. J. Comings Journal quoted in R. S. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin*, 2:538).

<sup>26</sup> *Vermont Laws* (1840), pp. 15-17. The stock of the Champlain Transportation Company was the only personal property affected at the time by this section of the law.

<sup>27</sup> Zadock Thompson *History of Vermont, Natural, Civil and Statistical* (Burlington, 1842), pt. 2, 215. The Collector of Customs for the District of Vermont reported as of Sept. 30, 1838 that 67 vessels rated at 4250 tons were owned in Vermont. These included only four steamboats, as well as 17 sloops, 15 schooners and 31 canal boats.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pt. 2, 215-217, including a detailed description of the breakwater. In 1840 there were also lighthouses on Split Rock near Essex, N.Y., and on Cumberland Head near Plattsburgh, N.Y. Plattsburgh, port of entry for the District of Champlain and the largest port on the Lake (but with a much smaller and less populous trade area), also had a breakwater begun in 1837. See also pt. 3, 143, 160.

<sup>29</sup> "Journals of Henry Dearborn," 155, entry for Oct. 7, 1838.

<sup>30</sup> Russell S. Taft in A. M. Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 1:503.

<sup>31</sup> Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont* (1842), pt. 3, 40. The principal sources used for the description of Burlington that follows are A. M. Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 1:487-733, Zadock Thompson, *op. cit.*, pt. 2, 144-152, pt. 3, 37-40, and *Walton's Registers* for 1841 and 1842. In general the first two are reliable as observations and memories of recent events by leading and observant Burlingtonians. The third is usually accurate in what it includes, but has omissions.

<sup>32</sup> "Journals of Henry Dearborn," 178-179, entry for Oct. 12, 1838.

<sup>33</sup> John S. Michaud, "The Diocese of Burlington," in William Byrne and others, *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States* (Boston, 1899), 471.

<sup>34</sup> Ephraim Mills' compensation as Postmaster was \$731.62 for the year ending Sept. 30, 1841. Net proceeds for the same period were \$1,874.19, which put the Burlington office in a class by itself in Vermont (U. S. Dept. of State, *Register of All Officials and Agents . . . in the Service of the United States*, (Washington, 1841), pt. 2, 28, hereafter cited as U. S., *Official Register*).

<sup>35</sup> The American Hotel had sixty occupants at the time of the 1840 census (U.S. MS. Schedules, Population, Vermont, 2:28b, hereafter cited as U. S. MS. *Census, Population*).

<sup>36</sup> *Walton's Register* (1842), 116-118. No 1841 Vermont almanac had a business directory.

<sup>37</sup> U. S. Bureau of the Census, MS. "Schedule of Mines, Agriculture, Commerce, Manufactures, &c . . . District of Vermont," 1840, in the Industrial Records Division of the National Archives, hereafter referred to as U. S. *MS. Census, Economic* (1840), contains data on stores. The grand list for 1842 (A. M. Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 1:505) appraised Burlington property at \$977,856 in real and \$509,148 in personal estate. Listers notoriously undervalued property and much property was exempt (see *Revised Statutes of the State of Vermont* (Burlington, 1840), 538, sec. 2).

<sup>38</sup> Either Peter Banner, designer of Boston's Park Street Church, or Charles Bulfinch was the architect. The doorway detail is similar to that of the Park Street Church. See Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont*, pt. 3, 38; *Vermont, a Guide to the Green Mountain State* (Boston, 1937), 107.

<sup>39</sup> Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont* (1842), pt. 3, 201-202, with illus.

<sup>40</sup> U. S. *MS. Census, Economic* (1840); A. M. Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 1:513-515. Chauncey Goodrich should be included as a book manufacturer, but no separate figures for his business have been found.

<sup>41</sup> U. S. Census Office, *Compendium of the Sixth Census* (Washington, 1841), 126-127, 129; U. S. *MS. Census, Economic* (1840).

<sup>42</sup> *Burlington Sentinel*, May 27, June 10, Oct. 7, 1831.

<sup>43</sup> There were 935 foreign-born in Vermont in 1820 and in 1830, 3,364, nearly all English, French Canadian and Irish (U. S. Dept. of State, *Statistical View of the Population of the United States, from 1790 to 1830* (Washington, 1835), 38). See also Herbert E. Putnam, "Vermont Population Trends—1790 to 1930 as Revealed in the Census Reports," Vermont Historical Society *Proceedings*, n.s. 9:14-26 (Mar. 1941), especially 21-23.

<sup>44</sup> This estimate is based on an analysis of the nomenclature of the MS. population schedules (nativity not reported) and the size of the Catholic congregation. Some of the French Canadians had no doubt already Anglicized their names beyond identification; names of Irish or Scottish origin can easily be confused.

<sup>45</sup> Persons with unmistakably French or Irish names are found on almost all twenty-four pages of the MS. census schedules. Although they are generally mixed, there are several large groups of French listed together, and separate groups of Irish, with hardly any Yankees between—a rough indication of segregation. The business directory of *Walton's Register* (1842) lists five French and four Irish names, including one hotel keeper each.

<sup>46</sup> The 1840 census made no distinction between mulattoes and blacks and did not show family relationships (U.S. *MS. Census, Population, Vermont*, 2:36b).

<sup>47</sup> Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont* (1842), pt. 3, 40; U. S. *MS. Census, Population* (1840), Burlington. The original charter provided town lots of an acre each.

<sup>48</sup> C. W. Eldridge, "Tour Through Vermont," 73.

<sup>49</sup> *Burlington Free Press* (evening ed.), June 24, 1875.

<sup>50</sup> Henry P. Hickok in A. M. Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 1:516; Charles Lyell, *Travels in North America* (London, 1845; 2v.), 2:156-157; Joseph J. Gurney, *A Journey in North America* (Norwich, Eng., 1841), 237.

<sup>51</sup> "Journal of Henry Dearborn," pp. 173-174, 178. See also Frances Wright D'Arusmont, *Views of Society and Manners in America . . . During the Years 1818, 1819, and 1820* (London, 1821), 300; Charles A. Murray, *Travels in North America* (1839; 3rd ed. rev.; London, 1854; 2v.), 1:72-73; J. J. Gurney, *Journey in North America*, p. 237; James S. Buckingham, *America, Historical, Statistic, and Descriptive* (London, 1841; 3v.), 3:194; Charles Lyell, *Travels in North America*, 2:156; Charles Dickens, *American Notes . . .* (London, 1907), p. 211. These journals confirm other details about the village in 1840, such as the superiority of its

steamers, its wide streets, abundant shade, good hotels and tasteful domestic architecture.

<sup>52</sup> Burlington 1849, 2nd ed., 1850; Woodstock, \$6,115; Calais, \$5,797 (U. S. *MS. Census, Economic* (1840).)

<sup>53</sup> See the discussion of typical styles before 1850 in H. W. Congdon, *Old Vermont Houses* (2nd ed., New York, 1946), especially 4-6, 17-20, 33, 36, 38, 61-67, 87, 89-97, 141-143, on the relation of the building tradition to Vermont society.

<sup>54</sup> *Compendium of the Sixth Census* (1840), 129. Wooden dwellings averaged \$400 to \$600; brick houses, upwards of \$1500.

<sup>55</sup> H. W. Congdon, *Old Vermont Houses*, 70-71, 80.

<sup>56</sup> *Compendium of the Sixth Census* (1840), 19.

<sup>57</sup> Russell S. Taft in A. M. Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 1:520. See also G. P. Marsh to J. N. Pomeroy, Feb. 12, 1844 (Marsh Mss. in Wilbur Library, University of Vermont), proposing Maiden Lane extension through their and Wyllys Lyman's vacant real estate.

<sup>58</sup> *General Catalogue of the University of Vermont and State Agricultural College, 1791-1900* (Burlington, 1901), 14-15, 67-76; *Compendium of the Sixth Census*, 19.

<sup>59</sup> Julian I. Lindsay, "University of Vermont also Celebrating Sesquicentennial" in *Burlington Daily News*, March 4, 1941, 45 and correspondence with author; contemporary catalogues of the University of Vermont.

<sup>60</sup> On Winooski, see Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont*, (1842) pt. 3, 40, 56-57; A. M. Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 1:515, 517-518, 593-594, 760-762; *Burlington Free Press*, June 19, 1840 (machinist's advertisement of teasing gig), Mar. 15, 1844 (advertisement of auction sale of Burlington Mill Co. property), Dec. 5, 1844 (machine shop fire), May 17, 1872 (history of woolen mill); U. S. *MS. Census, Economic* (1840), Colchester.

<sup>61</sup> A fuller version of this article, in the possession of the author, contains tables based on census and almanac data for the thirteen towns over 2500 in population, plus Rockingham and Vergennes, which support the generalizations that follow.

<sup>62</sup> *Compendium of the Sixth Census* (1840), 19; University of Vermont, *General Catalogue*, 37-69; T. S. Pearson, *Catalogue of the Graduates of Middlebury College* (Windsor, 1853), 9-119.

<sup>63</sup>

	Employed in Agric.	Profes- sionals	Law- yers	Print- ers	Academy, College, Scholars	Adult White Illit.	Negroes	Pop.
15 Towns	7,745	413	136	142	1665	389	327	42,540
All Vermont	73,150	1563	325	158	4346	2270	730	291,948
% in 15 Towns	10.6	26.4	41.8	90.0	38.1	17.1	44.8	14.6

<sup>64</sup> U. S. *MS. Census, Economic* (1820), (1840), Windsor; Guy Hubbard, "The Development of Machine Tools in New England," *American Machinist*, v. 59-60 (July 5, 1923-Sept. 18, 1924), 59:463, 920 (Sept. 27, Dec. 20, 1923), quoting autobiography of R. S. Lawrence, originally printed in J. W. Roc, *English and American Tool Builders* (New Haven, Conn., 1916), 281-291.

<sup>65</sup> Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont* (1842), pt. 2, 219.

<sup>66</sup> Hosea Beckley, *History of Vermont* (Brattleboro, 1846), 202. See also Caroline (Howard) Gilman, *The Poetry of Travelling in the United States* (New York, 1838), 134.

<sup>67</sup> C. W. Eldridge, "Tour through Vermont," 59.

<sup>68</sup> U. S. *MS. Census, Economic* (1840), Northfield, and *Compendium of the Sixth Census* (1840), 119.

<sup>69</sup> E. T. Fairbanks, *The Town of St. Johnsbury, Vermont* (St. Johnsbury, 1914), 225; *Vermont Laws* (1840), p. 53; Fairbanks, Morse & Co., *Pioneers in Industry; the Story of Fairbanks, Morse & Co., 1830-1945* (Chicago, 1945), 28, which quotes

from company records a gross figure of \$50,000 in 1843, and states that the gross business doubled every three years from 1840 to 1857—erroneously, in the light of figures in the U.S. *MS. Census* for 1850 (\$161,000 produced), and 1860 (\$530,000). Few taverners could gross \$2,500.

<sup>70</sup> U. S., *Official Register* (1841), pt. 2, 27-37. The "leading villages" are those over 2,500 in 1840, Rockingham and Vergennes. A median is the middle number in a series; an average is obtained by dividing the total by the number of items.

<sup>71</sup> The table is based on census and almanac data for Vermont and for towns over 2,500 plus Rockingham and Vergennes, which had 14.6% of the state's population. The post office figures approximate gross proceeds, for which data is not published, by adding the net proceeds to the postmaster's compensation.

