



## Propaganda, Pestilence, and Prosperity: Burlington's Camptown Days During the War of 1812

*The arrival of the U.S. Army first doubled then tripled Burlington's population. The presence of 3,000–4,000 troops simultaneously boosted the local economy and created a number of social problems.*

By KAREN STITES CAMPBELL

Colonel Isaac Clark surveyed the scene before him on the morning of June 21, 1813. The crowd gathering at the U.S. Army encampment along the Burlington waterfront expected to witness the execution of eight deserters, four condemned to die by the gallows, four to face the firing squad. To the solemn beat of regimental drums, the troops marched into the parade grounds and formed a square. The doomed soldiers were led into the center of the square and faced Colonel Clark, resplendent astride a white horse, his commander's sword hanging by his side. The prisoners fell to their knees and begged for mercy: "We have offended and broken the laws of our country, and by them, we are condemned to suffer the most ignominious punishment. . . . We do as our only hope cling to the belief we shall be spared." All eyes turned to Colonel Clark when he responded: "Soldiers—You whose lives have become forfeited for the crime of desertion . . . know, that the government, through me . . . has permitted you to return to duty, graciously *pardoned you*." Clark warned the assembled troops never to expect such clemency again, for in the future "retributive justice will be as exemplary and terrible as its mercy has been conspicuous." For the benefit of the anxious townspeople, Clark stressed that the compassionate pardon by the U.S. Army demonstrated "that we are slow to punish, and do not delight in unnecessary severity."<sup>1</sup> The army successfully averted

The first part of this article can be found here:

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In the Christmas Eve issue, Dr. Mann wrote: "The dead have in all cases been interred in Coffins," sometimes two to a coffin "but never more," and with proper "burials and honors due the brave." Captain John Johnson inspected conditions at the hospitals and reported to the press that both the general and regimental hospitals were "in the highest order . . . perfectly clean and neat; good nurses . . . and well supplied." The army invited a citizens' group to review the hospitals as well, and they came away "perfectly satisfied."<sup>40</sup>

For the people of Burlington, however, the worst was yet to come. As the soldiers were recovering, the townspeople were dying. The *Centinel* listed more and more residents' deaths as the winter progressed, although the obituaries did not indicate the cause of death in most cases. Mann reported that the civilian death rate climaxed in February 1813 at seventy-three fatalities. Over the winter an estimated 100 Burlington residents, nearly one in twenty, died from the pneumonia, leaving behind many grieving friends and relatives.<sup>41</sup>

The generally accepted methods for care often proved far more deadly than the symptoms of the disease. Medical practices were somewhat barbaric by today's standards; at that time physicians lacked even the simple understanding of the benefits of hygiene and the correlation between the spread of germs and disease. Burlington physician John Pomeroy treated both the troops and the general public and corresponded with Dr. Mann on his progress. When the standard practices of "liberal bloodletting" and administering large doses of opiates and alcoholic "stimulants" resulted in "the unfortunate conclusion of these cases," Pomeroy was ready to try the innovative methods Mann advocated. Mann prescribed expectorants to relieve congestion, minimal amounts of opium to ease discomfort, followed by sweat baths and warm teas. Pomeroy tried these methods and reported success; patients responded to the cure almost overnight. Finally, by the end of February, the epidemic slowed, and it was brought under control by winter's end.<sup>42</sup>

Contemporary estimates of the extent of the epidemic vary widely. Dr. Joseph Gallup, reporting on the "most severe epidemic disease that has ever afflicted the inhabitants of Vermont," lamented the lack of proper public accounts from the physicians in Burlington. Gallup unsuccessfully attempted to ascertain the state's total losses but did gather accounts from several towns: Woodstock, 54; Pomfret, 4; Sharon, 40; Arlington, 10; Sandgate, 20; Manchester, 60 or 70; both Rupert and Dorset, 40 to 50; Bennington, 70; Castleton, 60; Clarendon, 80. Gallup calculated an average of twenty-five deaths per town for an estimated civilian loss of 5,650, or one death per thirty-eight inhabitants, plus 750 soldiers, for a statewide total of 6,400 deaths to "lung fever."<sup>43</sup> Mann lambasted

Gallup's estimate that over half the soldiers in Burlington died of the disease and blamed the inaccuracy on exaggerated Federalist propaganda. Mann's own estimate of 200–250 is corroborated by a statement from a soldier in the Eleventh Regiment stationed in Burlington: A. S. Cogswell reported that from November 1812 to July 1813 a total of 295 soldiers died.<sup>44</sup>

Numbers alone do not tell the story of the devastating impact of the tragedy. University of Vermont president Reverend Daniel Sanders lost his youngest child that winter. Dr. Pomeroy's son, Cassius, a promising young doctor who had returned home to assist his father in caring for the troops, also died. Reverend Sanders's sense of the emotional damage of the epidemic is evident in his funeral speech for the young doctor:

A large portion of our county has, of late, been made familiar with the scenes of death. . . . It has employed much of the conversation, as well as carried distresses into the hearts of every class of men. . . . It was not a common epidemick, not the pestilence in its usual form, but every where was terrour, and dissolution . . . husbands and wives expired in the sight of each other. . . . Scarcely too could friends return from the deary grave, before a fresh victim was ready for another solemn visit there.

Sanders likened the victims to saints who “die only in order to live forever,” and said of their loss, “If one of you be brought to think religiously, your friends will not have died in vain.”<sup>45</sup>

#### THE CAMPAIGNS OF 1813

News of the capitulation of York (present-day Toronto) on April 27, 1813, sparked great celebration in the Champlain District. The *Centinel* splashed the news over the pages of the paper for several weeks, supplementing its reports with eyewitness accounts and editorials on the heroic actions of the U.S. troops. Here at last was a bonafide, successful invasion, and the *Centinel* played it up for all it was worth.<sup>46</sup>

Conversely, defeats received only brief mention. On June 3, 1813, the editor announced, “We stop the press” to report a heavy cannonade from the US *Eagle* and *Growler* seeking out the British fleet at the northern end of Lake Champlain. The American ships, the wind against them, fell to the enemy, and the British navy now ruled the lake. This potentially devastating news received little press: a mere mention of the facts, along with expressions of outrage that the British publicly exhibited the American captives in Montreal, Quebec City, and Halifax.<sup>47</sup>

The U.S. campaign strategy for 1813 planned an attack on Canada from the Champlain District. By July 3,000 U.S. troops and 800 militia poured into Burlington. When the Thirtieth Infantry marched into town, Cap-

tain David Sanford wrote home to Castleton, "I do not like our encampment at this place. We are very much troubled for wood and water. . . . When the 30th Regiment will be ordered from this place is unknown, but I hope soon." (Sanford served in Burlington for the duration of the war.) The troops complained about bad food as well. General Chandler admonished Nathan Haswell for issuing horse meat to the troops. Haswell emphatically denied the charge: "no Horse flesh has ever been dealt out . . . and if there is a Speculation or fraud, it lays at some Other Door."<sup>48</sup> A. S. Cogswell, of the Eleventh Regiment, blamed his officers for the poor conditions: "We have some very good officers, but a large part of them are the most Ignorant and ugly parcel of rascals that I ever saw. . . . There is three of our officers appointed to inspect the flour, but they do not know good flour from Lime, therefore our Bread has been for some time (to speak politely about it) most damnable poor stuff. . . . Even the whiskey is bad!"<sup>49</sup>

While restless soldiers complained about poor food and whiskey, the waiting meant worry and loneliness for the wives and families left at home. "My heart is distressed for you. I don't wish to discourage you from doing your duty as a man of honor, but that I had wings that I could fly to you once more," wrote Colonel Clark's wife, Amie, from their home in Castleton.<sup>50</sup>

In late July 1813, General Wade Hampton assumed Dearborn's command and arrived in Burlington to lead a campaign across the border. Before operations got off the ground, British forces went on the offensive. On July 31 the enemy fleet landed at Plattsburgh, bombed and burned public and private buildings, then turned their attention toward Burlington. According to one eyewitness account, the British "shot a number of 24 lb. balls into the village. . . . One struck the roof of a house & lodged in the lower room, which was about all the damage that was done."<sup>51</sup> The British sailed south to Shelburne and Charlotte, capturing a number of private vessels before returning to Isle aux Noix.

Although the British attack (Burlington's only military action) "excited great alarm," what became known as Murray's Raid caused little damage, merely destroying some of the army's storehouses. Express reports from Burlington the day following the raid reveal embarrassment over the enemy's use of the captured *Eagle* and *Growler* against the American installations. Commodore Macdonough returned the shots from the Burlington harbor under the battery, but with his new fleet still in the final stages of construction, he dared not chase the enemy into open water. In a day or two, the reports promised, Macdonough's fleet "shall again have the command of the lake," and the navy on Lake Champlain will prove "the honor of the American flag."<sup>52</sup>

General Hampton hesitated to move against the British, fearing he lacked an adequate force to counterattack successfully. Hampton waited until late September before he finally ordered Colonel Clark's company north to make a "petty war" by "kicking up a dust on the lines." Clark marched over the border on October 11 and surprised a small British force under Major Joseph Powell at St. Armand, near Missisquoi Bay. After a ten-minute battle, Clark's forces emerged victorious capturing 101 of the enemy without a single loss to the Americans.<sup>53</sup> Despite the 3,000–4,000 men at his disposal, Hampton worried about facing the superior British force, failed to pursue the advantage, vacillated, then did nothing more. So ended the military campaign of 1813.

#### THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN

"The war is very troublesom [*sic*] in this part of the country and what the event will be god only knows it appears that america is in a lamentable situation the party spirit runs high the people are devided [*sic*] about half in favour of the war and the rest oppose it. . . . Here is more politicks than religion," wrote Jedediah Lane of Jericho to his brother in late August 1813.<sup>54</sup> Lane spoke the truth about the political battle then waging; the only fighting that season occurred in the governor's race. The *Centinel* entered the fray, calling on Federalists to "pause and reflect" upon their "sworn allegiance" to their country. Editor Thomson predicted that Galusha would win again in September. The *Centinel* announced on September 24, with 169 towns reporting, "Gov. Galusha will undoubtedly be elected, as will the republican Council."<sup>55</sup>

Thomson's confidence proved correct, yet controversy over the votes cast by 200 U.S. troops proved the undoing of the Democratic-Republican slate and cost Galusha the election. Major John McNeil marched the soldiers under his command to the polls in Colchester, ostensibly to avoid the crowds waiting to vote in Burlington. The Democratic-Republicans won a stunning victory in Colchester—258 to 38. However, a number of Colchester citizens complained to the canvassing committee about numerous infractions related to the soldiers' vote. In addition to taking the Freeman's Oath en masse without providing individual proof of Vermont residency, the soldiers allegedly had received large rations of rum beforehand from their officers, who coerced their companies to vote for the Democratic-Republican candidates or suffer punishment. The secretary of state collected depositions, and a committee appointed to review the matter ultimately nullified the entire Colchester vote.<sup>56</sup>

With the votes from Colchester disallowed, Galusha lost his slight majority of 50.3 percent of the popular vote. The new count gave Galusha only 49.5 percent. to Federalist Martin Chittenden's 48.7 percent. With

neither candidate holding a majority, the General Assembly convened on October 14 to decide the vote by joint ballot. Despite a heated debate and the ensuing controversy over a disputed ballot for Galusha, the legislature elected Chittenden by a margin of one vote. Members of the General Assembly, equally divided between Federalists and Democratic-Republicans, accused each other of bribery and wrongdoing. Galusha's backers contended that one Democratic-Republican vote had been palmed by the ardent Federalist Josiah Dunham, secretary of state.<sup>57</sup>

Despite the presence of the troops, Burlingtonians split their vote nearly fifty-fifty between the two parties, with 296 to 253 to reelect Galusha. But the local victory for the Democratic-Republicans, easily attributed to Vermont soldiers, did not accurately reflect public opinion in Burlington, which shifted away from the pro-war party, no doubt hampered by the army's failure to achieve a significant victory. Perhaps because of this shift in the public's mood, the *Centinel* stopped printing anti-Federalist editorials for the duration of the war. For the moment, the newspaper turned its attention to the "brilliant naval victory on Lake Erie," Oliver Perry's decisive rout of the British fleet on the Great Lakes on September 10, 1813. For the first two weeks of October, the newspaper ignored the lost election and glorified the military victory and the quote that made Perry famous: "We have met the Enemy; and they are ours!"<sup>58</sup>

The season ended far less auspiciously in the Champlain Valley. Governor Chittenden openly opposed the war, and in his inaugural address he denounced the primary objective of the war party: "the conquest of the Canadas, of which so much has been said, if desirable under any circumstances, must be considered a poor compensation for the sacrifices which are, and must be made." Chittenden worried about the constitutionality of sending militia troops outside the state.<sup>59</sup>

The governor soon acted on his concern. As commander in chief of the militia, Chittenden issued a proclamation on November 10, 1813, recalling the Third Brigade of Vermont militia stationed in Plattsburgh. Sanford Gadcomb drafted the response on behalf of his brigade, refusing to obey the governor's orders: "An invitation or order to desert the standard of our country will never be obeyed by us."<sup>60</sup> Democratic-Republicans throughout Vermont expressed outrage at Chittenden's actions. A motion introduced in the U.S. Congress but later tabled called for his prosecution as a traitor, guilty of enticing "soldiers in the service of the United States to *desert*."<sup>61</sup>

With winter's approach the militia went home and the regular army again retired to their barracks for the season. Disease returned over the winter of 1813–1814, but with less ferocity than the previous year. Dr.

Mann reported a total of sixty-six fatalities among the 3,000 troops from January to April. There were far fewer deaths among the local inhabitants as well (one or two listed each week), in part because the army set up a quarantine camp south of Burlington, away from the populated areas of town. William D. Farnsworth, a young boy during the war, later recalled: "The change helped the boys but the farmers around there complained some and said their chickens and roasting ears of corn would vanish."<sup>62</sup>

#### TENSIONS BUILD

Around this time the *Centinel* started to hint at problems between the townspeople and the soldiers. Editorials encouraged the army officers to instruct their companies on "the necessity of appearing always cleanly and handsomely dressed" and urged the troops to "conduct themselves at all times with decency and circumspection." With 3,000 soldiers already crowding the waterfront encampment and more troops expected for the next season, the *Centinel* noted the need for more comfortable quarters in order "to make men look and feel as Soldiers ought."<sup>63</sup>

The army entered into negotiations with the University of Vermont trustees to rent the college building to accommodate the overflow. The trustees happily obliged the government; the university was heavily in debt and saw this as an opportunity to stave off bankruptcy. The two parties agreed upon a rental fee of \$5,000 and the university hastily arranged an early commencement at the end of March 1814, dismissing the students and faculty. President Sanders, due nearly \$2,000 in back pay, resigned. U.S. Army troops "ranged without constraint [*sic*] thro' the halls," complained the governor. Nevertheless, Chittenden admitted that considering the university's fiscal problems, the rental fee "was a strong consideration for them to resort to some expedient for pecuniary relief."<sup>64</sup>

"Great complaint is made by the Inhabitants of the Town in consequence of depredations committed by the soldiers," General Macomb warned Colonel Elias Fassett, commander of the College Cantonment. Fassett ordered the officers to stop their men from "the abominable practice of stealing. The benevalence of the Inhabitants of this Village toward the Soldiers, and Quantities of all [necessities] being for sale at a fair price makes the crime of theft unpardonable."<sup>65</sup>

Fassett initiated garrison courts-martial to deal with the "malconduct of the soldiers." His orderly books for the Thirteenth Infantry note a series of disorderly conduct and petty theft charges, with punishments ranging from fines and confinement to quarters to orders to "wear a ball & chain for one month." More serious crimes involved striking a civil officer in town, stealing government property (muskets, tents, axes) and selling

the stolen goods to the townspeople, and horse theft. The worst offenders faced imprisonment for up to sixty days and suffered the loss of their daily rum rations.<sup>66</sup>

Thieves and drunkards in the Eleventh and Twenty-ninth Regiments received harsh punishments as well. Garrison orders reveal a common sentence of “twelve bats on his naked posteriors.” Disobeying orders resulted in hard labor. If these measures failed to reform rowdy conduct, public humiliation was called for: soldiers were forced to “ride a wooden horse . . . with a hangmans cap and a 4 lb. shot tied to each foot and a label placed upon him designating his crime.” Nor were officers exempt from discipline. A charge of “ungentlemanlike & unofficerlike conduct” for repeated public intoxication resulted in Lieutenant Jackson Durant’s expulsion from the services of the U.S. Army.<sup>67</sup>

The *Centinel* published an article attesting to serious tensions between the restless troops and the citizens. General Macomb admitted that the soldiers caused some problems, and “many of them [were] drunk, and it was difficult to controul them,” but he promised “no further mischief,” as he had issued “very strict orders and taken proper measures to prevent any.” At its worst, this “mischief” included arson; some disgruntled soldiers burned the house of John P. Wiswall for an unnamed grievance and threatened other residences as well. The general responded by stationing army guards to protect private homes and reassured the public that security had been restored.<sup>68</sup>

Tensions between the political parties grew to a fever pitch. Josiah Dunham, editor of the vitriolic *Windsor Washingtonian*, led the opposition attack. Dunham had organized the Windsor chapter of the Washington Benevolent Society in 1812 and insisted that U.S. military failures were a sign of “the hand of retributive justice, of a highly offended and avenging God.” He pointed out a number of sure indications of God’s wrath: “he has subjected us to the control of an intolerant party spirit, to the horrors and calamities of an unnecessary, unjust, and ruinous war. . . . Our old men and maidens, our wives and our little ones, are wasting by *the pestilence, that walketh in darkness.*” Since the government had violated the “inalienable rights” of its citizens by imposing harsh commercial restrictions that strangled their livelihoods, “they are no longer free. . . . They are SLAVES.” Despite Dunham’s position as Vermont secretary of state, he openly advocated for secession: “There are two things dearer to the true Whigs of the North, than the Union—COMMERCE, and FREEDOM!”<sup>69</sup>

While some radical Federalists called for dissolving the Union, the Democratic-Republicans fervently argued for unanimity to save the nation from “the total subjugation of America” by Great Britain. The Sons

of Liberty, a Democratic-Republican society organized in Bennington by Hiland Hall, spoke out against “the poisonous gall of party spirit” and called for reconciliation. “Internal broils and commotions” endangered the very liberties so hard won in the Revolution. Should the parties fail to unite against the common cause, the ghosts of those ancestral heroes would “haunt our dwellings.” The Union, weakened by its own factions, faced its greatest challenge: “the fate of our republic, and the destiny of unborn millions, hangs on the passing moment!” The people must put an end to the “storm of party rage” and with God’s blessing “preserve the temple of American Liberty . . . till the Heavens and the earth shall be no more.”<sup>70</sup>

#### THE CONCLUSION OF THE WAR

The 1814 campaign opened with the same high expectations as in preceding years. In late March Brigadier General James Wilkinson gathered 4,000 men at Champlain, New York, to move against the British garrisoned at nearby La Colle Mill, Quebec. The U.S. forces outnumbered the enemy, but they failed to take the post and turned back after a two-hour battle.<sup>71</sup>

For most of 1814, the *Centinel* turned its attention to the war between Great Britain and Napoleon. Napoleon’s preoccupation with the Russian front enabled the British to concentrate on the North American war. The Americans stepped up their offensives and captured key positions along the Niagara peninsula. The British retaliated by bombing Washington, D.C., in August.

With the arrival of 11,000 British regulars in Montreal, the 1814 American campaign in the Champlain Valley shifted to defensive actions. Sir George Prevost planned to invade the Champlain Valley along the western shore, not wishing to offend those Vermonters who had continued to smuggle “the whole of the Cattle required for the use of the Troops.” In September Prevost moved south, and on September 11, 1814, the two sides met near Plattsburgh in a bloody clash. Macdonough’s navy defeated the seasoned British invaders in an astonishing victory, celebrated as the Battle of Lake Champlain. Volunteers from throughout Vermont and eastern New York rushed to assist General Macomb’s outnumbered army. Upon learning of the naval defeat and with the land battle turning against him, Prevost withdrew his army to Canada.<sup>72</sup>

The *Centinel* rushed an extra edition into print announcing the “glorious news” to the Champlain Valley. All of Vermont celebrated this important victory, and newspapers and broadsides throughout the state carried reprints of the Burlington reports. Vermont Democratic-Republicans urged the Federalists to reconcile and “unite and prosecute the war vigorously.”



*Commodore Thomas Macdonough led the American fleet to victory against superior British ships at the Battle of Lake Champlain, September 11, 1814. Courtesy of Special Collections, University of Vermont.*

Even Governor Chittenden softened his antiwar stance after the victory, issuing a proclamation printed in the September 23 issue of the *Centinel*:

Whereas it appears, that the war, in which our country is unfortunately engaged, has assumed an entirely different character, since its first commencement . . . and, whereas, the conflict has become a common, and not a party concern, the time has now arrived when all degrading party distinctions and animosities be set aside . . . that every heart may be stimulated, and every arm nerved, for the protection of our common country, our liberty, our altars, and our firesides.

Chittenden won the gubernatorial contest again in 1814.<sup>73</sup>

Macdonough's victory on Lake Champlain, along with the repulse of the British at Baltimore, Maryland, proved excellent bargaining chips for the U.S. commissioners negotiating for peace. The British dropped their demands for territorial gains and conceded to the American terms for antebellum status quo. The Treaty of Ghent, signed on Christmas Eve, ended the unpopular war and heralded an era of swelling patriotic sentiment and the demise of the Federalist opposition party.

Over the next six months, the troops in Burlington received dismissal orders and marched home. Part of the barracks became Burlington's first public housing—used as a workhouse for the poor. In 1840 the town of Burlington bought the old battery for “a public common and highway forever and for no other purpose.”<sup>74</sup>

Vermonters were tired of war, especially this war that had brought more internal struggle than external victories. Politicians and veterans alike called for an end to party conflict: "it remains for the freemen to complete the pledge — by the peaceful triumphs of union, over the fallen depravity of faction." The University of Vermont reopened with a new president, Samuel Austin. In his inaugural address on July 26, 1815, Austin asserted, "Prejudice, and party jealousies and aversions, ought certainly to be put to sleep." The war over and the hated embargo lifted, the Democratic-Republican Party and Governor Galusha easily won the 1815 elections.<sup>75</sup>

With the return to peacetime, Burlington once again looked northward, setting aside the thought that Canadians had recently been the enemy and reestablishing trade with the Province of Quebec. Cornelius Van Ness formed a group of traders into the Champlain Transportation Company and won exclusive rights to steamboat navigation on Lake Champlain, heralding the prosperous steamer era. Perhaps UVM president Austin summed up the public's hopes for Burlington's future as well when he declared in his inaugural address that it was time for the university to rise above the "ruins which war has produced, GO ON AND PROSPER."<sup>76</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Centinel*, 24 June 1813. The newspaper changed its name several times during the war years. From its inception in 1801, the Burlington weekly went by the name of the *Vermont Centinel* then in 1810 changed to *Northern Centinel*. In December 1812 a new volume started under the name of the *Centinel*, then briefly modernized the spelling to *Sentinel* before finally settling on *Northern Sentinel* (a title it retained until its demise in 1849). For the sake of continuity, I refer to the *Centinel* in the body of the text, but in the notes I cite the specific title.

<sup>2</sup> Martin Chittenden to Joseph Farnsworth, 3 January 1809, Joseph D. Farnsworth Papers, Vermont Historical Society (hereafter VHS). (The Farnsworth Papers are a rich source for the Federalist position containing correspondence from Isaac Tichenor and Martin Chittenden throughout the embargo and war years.) H. Nicholas Muller, "Smuggling into Canada: How the Champlain Valley Defied Jefferson's Embargo," *Vermont History* 38 (winter 1970): 5–21.

<sup>3</sup> William Doyle, *The Vermont Political Tradition: And Those Who Helped Make It* (Barré, Vt.: Northlight Studio Press, 1990), 80–85; William A. Robinson, *Jeffersonian Democracy in New England* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), 82–84, 91.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas W. Arnold, comp., *Two Hundred Years and Counting: Vermont Community Census Totals, 1791 to 1980* (University of Vermont: Center for Rural Studies, 1980), 18; W. S. Rann, *History of Chittenden County, Vermont* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Mason & Co., 1886), 404, 411, 461, 486; *The Vermont Register and Almanac for the Year 1811* (Burlington: Samuel Mills, 1811), 101.

<sup>5</sup> *Swift's Vermont Register and Almanac, 1812* (Middlebury, Vt.: Samuel Swift, 1812), 54; *First Congregational Church, Burlington, Vermont: Sesquicentennial Celebration, 1805–1955* (Burlington: n.p., 1955).

<sup>6</sup> Jonathan Robinson to Isaac Clark, 9 June 1812, Colonel Isaac Clark Papers, Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont (hereafter UVM Spec. Coll.), box 1, folder 11.

<sup>7</sup> Walter Hill Crockert, *Vermont: The Green Mountain State*, vol. 3 (New York: Century History, 1923), 61; *Northern Centinel*, 4 June 1812.

<sup>8</sup> *Northern Centinel*, 4 June 1812, 15 October 1812.

<sup>9</sup> Roger H. Brown, *The Republic in Peril: 1812* (New York: Norton, 1971), 152–153.

- <sup>10</sup> "Memoirs of Hon. Royall Tyler," manuscript, vol. 2, 301–304, VHS.
- <sup>11</sup> George F. G. Stanley, *The War of 1812: Land Operations* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1983), 40–41.
- <sup>12</sup> Cornelius P. Van Ness, *An Oration Delivered at Williston, July 4th, 1812, to a General and Very Numerous Meeting of the Republicans of Chittenden County* (Burlington: Samuel Mills, 1812), 12, 47–48. Already a presidential appointee as the U.S. district attorney for Vermont, Van Ness received the important appointment as customs collector for the port of Burlington in 1813. See Rann, *History of Chittenden County*, 228–229.
- <sup>13</sup> Lieutenant Satterlee Clark to Isaac Clark, 7 February 1812, Clark Papers, UVM Spec. Coll., box 1, folder 9.
- <sup>14</sup> "Union, Peace & Commerce. The results of the meeting at Williston, August 27, 1812 . . . Milo Cook, Secretary," broadside, UVM Spec. Coll.; *An Address of Members of the [U.S.] House of Representatives . . . to Their Constituents, on the Subject of the War with Great Britain* (Bennington, Vt.: S. Williams & Co., 1812), 29.
- <sup>15</sup> *Northern Centinel*, 27 August 1812.
- <sup>16</sup> Isaac Clark Jr. to Colonel Isaac Clark, June 1812, Clark Papers, UVM Spec. Coll., box 1, folder 9; *Northern Centinel*, 8 October 1812.
- <sup>17</sup> Herbert T. Johnson, comp., *State of Vermont: Roster of Soldiers in the War of 1812-14* (Montpelier, Vt.: Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, 1933).
- <sup>18</sup> *Northern Centinel*, 18 June 1812.
- <sup>19</sup> James Mann, *Medical Sketches of the Campaigns of 1812, 1813, 1814* (Dedham, Mass.: H. Mann & Co., 1816), 122.
- <sup>20</sup> Orsamus C. Merrill, *An Oration Delivered at the Meeting House in Bennington, Vermont, on the Sixteenth of August, 1815* (Bennington, Vt.: Darius Clark, 1815), 15.
- <sup>21</sup> T. M. Adams, *Prices Paid by Vermont Farmers for Goods and Services and Received by Them . . . 1790-1940* (Burlington: Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station, 1944), bulletin 507, table 45, 87.
- <sup>22</sup> *Centinel*, 21 January 1813.
- <sup>23</sup> Rann, *History of Chittenden County*, 407; H. Nicholas Muller, "A 'Traitorous and Diabolical Traffic': The Commerce of the Champlain-Richelieu Corridor During the War of 1812," *Vermont History* 44 (spring 1976): 78–96. See examples in the *Northern Centinel*, 23 July 1812; *Centinel*, 17 December 1812.
- <sup>24</sup> Rann, *History of Chittenden County*, 404; Crockett, *Vermont*, vol. 3, 77; *Northern Centinel*, 24 September 1812.
- <sup>25</sup> *Northern Centinel*, 4 June 1812, 12 November 1812; *Centinel*, 11 February 1813, 3 June 1813.
- <sup>26</sup> *Centinel*, 17 and 31 December 1812, 15 April 1813, 20 May 1813, 24 June 1813, and 8 October 1813.
- <sup>27</sup> *Northern Centinel*, 9, 16, and 23 July 1812; *Centinel*, 15 April 1813.
- <sup>28</sup> Colonel Isaac Clark to the Military Agent, Albany, 23 June 1812, Clark Papers, UVM Spec. Coll., box 1, folder 23; Crockett, *Vermont*, vol. 3, 62.
- <sup>29</sup> *Northern Centinel*, 23 July 1812.
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 9 July 1812.
- <sup>31</sup> Pierre Berton, *The Invasion of Canada: 1812-1813* (Markham, Ont.: Penguin Books, 1988), 153–158.
- <sup>32</sup> *Northern Centinel*, 17 September 1812; Jonas Galusha to the Town of Vineyard [Isle La Motte], 4 July 1812, Jonas Galusha Papers, VHS.
- <sup>33</sup> Senator Jonathan Robinson to Colonel Isaac Clark, 22 December 1812, Clark Papers, UVM Spec. Coll., box 1, folder 41; *Northern Centinel*, 3 and 10 September 1812.
- <sup>34</sup> *Northern Centinel*, 3 September 1812; *Acts and Laws of the Legislature of the State of Vermont . . . October 1812* (Danville, Vt.: Secretary of State, 1812), chap. 99.
- <sup>35</sup> *Acts and Laws . . . 1812*, chaps. 102, 116, 144.
- <sup>36</sup> Mann, *Medical Sketches*, 19.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 20–21, 44–45, 199–200. See also *Centinel*, 24 December 1812.
- <sup>38</sup> *Centinel*, 17 December 1812, 21 January 1813.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 and 31 December 1812.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 24 December 1812, 21 January 1813, 4 February 1813.
- <sup>41</sup> Mann, *Medical Sketches*, 199–200.
- <sup>42</sup> Letter to [Dr. James Mann] from Dr. John Pomeroy, 10 February 1813, John Norton Pomeroy Papers, UVM Spec. Coll., box 1, folder 28.
- <sup>43</sup> Joseph A. Gallup, *Sketches of Epidemic Diseases in the State of Vermont . . . to the Year 1815* (Boston: Wait & Sons, 1815), 69–75.
- <sup>44</sup> Wilmond W. Parker, ed., "Letters of the War of 1812 in the Champlain Valley," *Vermont Quarterly* 12 (January 1944): 109–110.
- <sup>45</sup> Daniel Clarke Sanders, *A Discourse, Pronounced in the Chapel of the University of Vermont, 29th April, 1813 Occasioned by the Death of Doct. Cassius F. Pomeroy, A.M. and Mr. Ebenezer Gil-*

bert, *Member of the Sophomore Class* (Burlington: Samuel Mills, 1813), 3–7, 12.

<sup>46</sup> *Centinel*, 6, 13, and 20 May 1813; 3 June 1813.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 June 1813.

<sup>48</sup> James Sanford, "Capt. David Sanford—His Relation to the War of 1812 Pertaining to the Town of Castleton, Vt.," *Proceedings of the Rutland County Historical Society* 2 (1882–1885): 21; letter from Brigadier General John Chandler to Haswell and reply on same, 8 March 1813, Nathan B. Haswell Papers, UVM Spec. Coll., carton 1, folder 226.

<sup>49</sup> Parker, "Letters of the War of 1812," 109.

<sup>50</sup> Mrs. Clark to Isaac Clark, 20 September 1813, Clark Papers, UVM Spec. Coll., box 1, folder 51.

<sup>51</sup> Dr. Daniel Coit to Captain William Eastman, July 31, 1813, in Francis Davis McTeer and Frederick C. Warner, eds., "The British Attack on Burlington," *Vermont History* 29 (January 1961): 83.

<sup>52</sup> *War*, 10 and 17 August 1813. Published in New York City, the *War* was a weekly chronicle of military actions during the war years.

<sup>53</sup> *Centinel*, 15 October 1813.

<sup>54</sup> Letter from Jedediah Lane to his brother, 28 August 1813, Jedediah Lane mss., UVM Spec. Coll.

<sup>55</sup> *Centinel*, 22 April 1813 and 13 May 1813.

<sup>56</sup> Affidavits of citizens of Colchester and Burlington, 11 October 1813, *Vermont State Papers*, vol. 72, 18–19, Vermont State Archives; E. P. Walton, ed., *Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont*, vol. 6 (Montpelier, Vt.: Steam Press, 1878), 4–5, 39–50.

<sup>57</sup> Christie Carter, ed., *Vermont Elections, 1789–1989* in *State Papers of Vermont*, vol. 21 (Montpelier: Secretary of State, 1989), 236, 361. See also "His Smuggled Excellency—or No Gov. in Vermont," a political poem about malfeasance in the election, *Northern Sentinel*, 28 January 1814.

<sup>58</sup> *Centinel*, 1 and 8 October 1813.

<sup>59</sup> *Journals of the General Assembly of the State of Vermont* (Rutland, Vt.: Fay & Davison, 1813), 45–47.

<sup>60</sup> Remarks on Chittenden's proclamation, November 1813, Sanford Gadscomb Papers, box 1, folder 10, UVM Spec. Coll.; Walton, *Governor and Council*, vol. 6, 421, 492.

<sup>61</sup> *Mr. Sharp's Motion, Relating to the Conduct of Martin Chittenden . . . Ordering the Militia of That State, Engaged in the Service of the United States, to Withdraw from Their Service* (Washington, D.C.: A. & G. Way, 1814). Copy in the VHS collections.

<sup>62</sup> M70M, *Medical Sketches*, 144; *Burlington Free Press and Times*, 18 June 1895.

<sup>63</sup> *Northern Sentinel*, 4 March 1814.

<sup>64</sup> University of Vermont, "Minutes of the Corporation," 23 and 24 March 1814, University of Vermont Archives; Martin Chittenden to the General Assembly, 22 October 1814, *Vermont State Papers*, vol. 74, 48, Vermont State Archives. Repairs for the building caused by extensive damage during the occupation amounted to \$5,000, eventually repaid by the government. After settling back salaries, UVM's profit totaled less than \$3,000 for its trouble. See "Report of UVM Corporation to the General Assembly," 23 October 1815, *Vermont State Papers*, vol. 67, 35, Vermont State Archives.

<sup>65</sup> U.S. Army, Thirtieth Infantry, "Orderly Book, War of 1812, Burlington, Vt., Nov. 2–Dec. 31, 1814," UVM Spec. Coll., vol. 1, entries for 3 and 7 November 1814.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 14, 15, and 24 November 1814. See also vol. 2, 10 March–14 June 1815, entries for 23 and 27 May 1815.

<sup>67</sup> "Garrison Orders, Burlington, Vermont, July 13–Aug. 4, 1813," *Moorsfield Antiquarian* 11 (August 1937): 83, 87–88, 98–99.

<sup>68</sup> *Northern Sentinel*, 3 June 1814.

<sup>69</sup> Josiah Dunham, *An Oration . . . at Windsor, February 12, 1814 . . . at the Request of the Washington Benevolent Society* (Windsor, Vt.: Thomas Pomroy, 1814), 5–6, 12–13, 30.

<sup>70</sup> Elson Galusha, *An Address, Delivered by Request of the Association of the Sons of Liberty in Bennington, Vermont on the Fourth of July, 1814* (Bennington, Vt.: Darius Clark, 1814), 6, 13–15. Copy in the VHS collections.

<sup>71</sup> Walton, *Governor and Council*, vol. 6, 496–502.

<sup>72</sup> Sir George Prevost to Lord Bathurst, 5 August 1814, in William Wood, ed., *Select British Documents of the Canadian War of 1812* (Toronto: Champlain Society, 1926), 3: 345–346. For an in-depth study of the Battle of Lake Champlain, see Kevin J. Crisman, *The Eagle: An American Brig on Lake Champlain During the War of 1812* (Shelburne, Vt.: New England Press, 1987).

<sup>73</sup> James Fisk to Joseph Farnsworth, 12 October 1814, Farnsworth Papers, VHS; *Northern Sentinel*, 23 September 1814.

<sup>74</sup> Rann, *History of Chittenden County*, 449–450; George Grenville Benedict, "The Battery and Battery Park," *Proceedings of the Vermont Antiquarians Society* 1 (December 1898): 73.

<sup>75</sup> Merrill, *Oration*, 26; Samuel Austin, *An Inaugural Address, Pronounced in Burlington, July 26, 1815* by Samuel Austin, *D.D. President of UVM* (Burlington: Francis G. Fish, 1815), 14.

<sup>76</sup> Austin, *Inaugural Address*, 15.