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REVOLUTION AND EMPIRE ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER:

IRA ALLEN OF VERMONT, 1751-1814

A Dissertation Presented

by

JONATHAN K. GRAFFAGNINO

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

February 1993

Department of History

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REVOLUTION AND EMPIRE ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER:

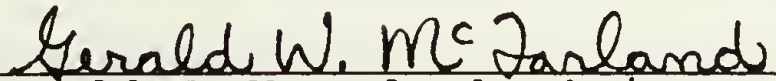
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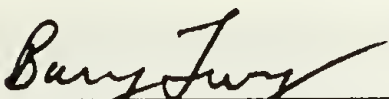
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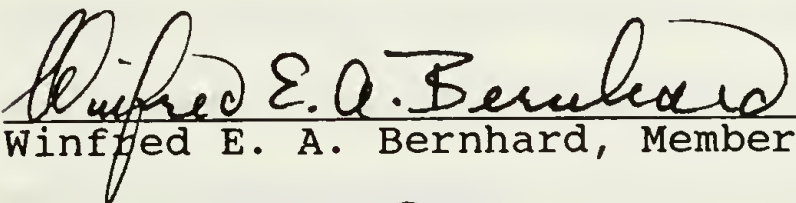
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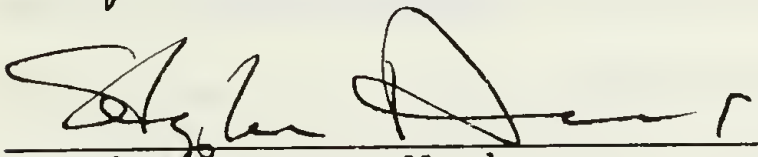
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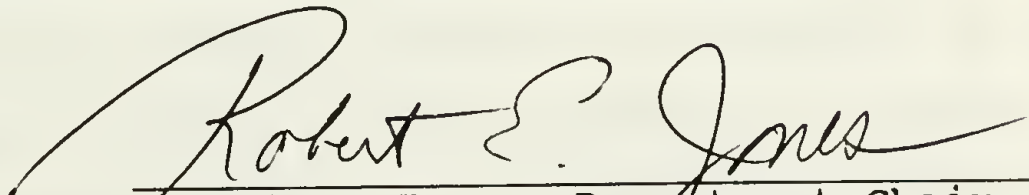
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provided much-appreciated expert advice on placing Allen into the contexts of his place and time.

Pursuing a doctorate while maintaining a full-time job has been a difficult juggling act, and I wish to thank my colleagues in the Special Collections department of the University of Vermont's Bailey/Howe Library--Connell Gallagher, Nadia Smith, David Blow, Sylvia Knight, Ingrid Bower, and Jeffrey Marshall--for their patience and support.

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ABSTRACT

REVOLUTION AND EMPIRE ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER:
IRA ALLEN OF VERMONT, 1751-1814

FEBRUARY 1993

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Ira Allen was the quintessential late-eighteenth-century frontier entrepreneur. At the age of 21, he founded the Onion River Land Company, a loose family partnership designed to speculate in land titles to the disputed northern New England territory known as the New Hampshire Grants. By the time he turned 40, Allen claimed ownership of more than 100,000 choice acres along the eastern shore of Lake Champlain. Where most of his contemporaries saw an inhospitable wilderness, Allen anticipated a Champlain Valley of thriving communities, busy commercial centers, and extensive trade, all under his profitable control. Combining a romantic faith in the future of the backcountry with a relentless drive to acquire more land, he devoted his life to the elusive goal of prosperity in the area he called "the country my soul delighted in."

Yet there was more to Allen's tangled career than land speculation and development schemes. He was a key figure in the oligarchy that preserved the independence of the

fledgling State of Vermont during the American Revolution, serving as Vermont's first Treasurer, Surveyor-General, and tireless ambassador-at-large. Absorbing the rhetoric of the national struggle against England, he adapted it for local application by writing books, pamphlets and broadsides that described Vermont as an unyielding opponent of foreign and domestic tyranny. After the war, Allen led the drive to create the University of Vermont, which he envisioned as a beacon of republican virtue and educational opportunity for the common man. When his Green Mountain empire collapsed, he planned revolutions in Canada and Mexico in desperate, unsuccessful attempts to regain his lost power and wealth. In his grand dreams, remarkable achievements, and ultimate failure, Ira Allen was an outstanding example of the backwoods leaders whose blending of personal and public priorities influenced the development of the American frontier from Maine to the Carolinas.

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LIST OF ENDNOTE ABBREVIATIONS

- AFP -- Allen Family Papers, Special Collections,
Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont, Burlington,
Vt.
- EA/IA: CW -- Ethan and Ira Allen: Collected Works, ed. J.
Kevin Graffagnino, 3 vols. (Benson, Vt.: Chalidze
Publications, 1992)
- G & C -- Records of the Governor and Council of the State
of Vermont, ed. Eliakim P. Walton, 8 vols. (Mont-
pelier, Vt.: Joseph Poland, 1873-1880)
- IA -- Ira Allen
- NAC -- National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario
- NEQ -- The New England Quarterly
- ORLC -- Onion River Land Company
- SPOV -- State Papers of Vermont, ed. Vermont Secretary
of State's Office, 23 vols. (Montpelier, Vt.: State of
Vermont, 1918-1991)
- UVM -- University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.
- VH -- Vermont History
- VHS -- Vermont Historical Society
- VSA -- Vermont State Archives, Secretary of State's
Office, Montpelier, Vt.
- WMQ -- The William and Mary Quarterly

PROLOGUE

By almost any standard, the February 11, 1814, issue of the Burlington, Vermont, Northern Sentinel was unremarkable. Printer Samuel Mills offered his few hundred readers the usual small-town weekly's mix of stories pulled from urban newspapers that had made their way to Burlington, along with a variety of local advertisements and public announcements. Napoleon's troubles in France, the Duke of Wellington's campaign in Spain, and the United States' conflict with England dominated the national and international news; the local material mainly involved the War of 1812 and the sprawling U.S. Army encampment north of Burlington's central village. Mills had room for a few columns of non-military items as well: Benjamin Wesson of Bakersfield, Vermont, declared he would no longer be responsible for the debts of his wife Lorinda, who "has left my bed and board"; John Killips advertised for "Journeyman Shoe Makers" interested in "constant employ, and good wages" in his Burlington shop; and "A Hint" urged Sentinel subscribers to pay their bills. Probate court notices, an anonymous and mercifully brief poem, "Lines addressed to Miss H----- on her attention to a female friend in sickness," and a handful of miscellaneous ads filled the rest of the paper's four pages.

There were also eight obituaries, a few more than usual. Readers learned of the deaths of Revolutionary hero Major-General William Heath, 124-year-old Matthew Williams of Frankfort, New Jersey, venerated great-great-grandmother Hannah Bedell of Staten Island, and Miss Pamela Bennett of Burlington. Printer Mills found something noteworthy about each of the deceased, from Heath's war record to Bedell's exemplification of American motherhood. The lone exception was an obituary in the middle of the list: "In Philadelphia, on the evening of the 15th ult., General Ira Allen, late of Colchester, Vt., aged 64 years." There was nothing else--no "honest man and a christian" label, as for Col. Ephraim Sawyer of South Hero; no expression of "deep regret," as for the premature demise of young James Parker of Williston; and no indication of community respect, as reflected in the impressive attendance at Bennett's funeral. Twenty years earlier Ira Allen had been the richest man in the Champlain Valley, and for nearly two decades prior to that he had been one of the most powerful men in Vermont; yet by 1814 his reputation had faded so completely in the town that had once been the center of an Allen family empire that two brief lines sufficed to mark his passing.[1]

Cursory as it was, the obituary in the Northern Sentinel was the only public notice of Ira Allen's death

that appeared in Vermont in 1814. There were no other newspaper obituaries; no memorial services at the University of Vermont in honor of the school's principal founding father; and no published eulogies or sermons recalling Allen's accomplishments on the northern New England frontier.[2] The graves of the other members of the small circle that had dominated Vermont's Revolutionary affairs--Thomas Chittenden, Seth Warner, Ira's eldest brother Ethan--were popular historical shrines, sources of patriotic inspiration for locals and travelers alike; but Ira Allen's body went to an unmarked pauper's plot in Philadelphia's Free Quaker Cemetery. The only Vermonters who noticed were his many creditors, who scrambled unsuccessfully to collect on old claims against an insolvent estate. Clearly, whatever Allen's stature had been during Vermont's turbulent formative decades, by 1814 he had fallen from public grace in the Green Mountain State.

Perhaps it is not surprising that Vermonters thought little of or about Ira Allen by 1814. In the quarter-century since Vermont's entry into the Union as the fourteenth state in 1791, Vermonters had molded their image of the state's early heroes to conform to a three-fold standard of republican virtue, military prowess in the struggle against tyranny, and selfless adherence to the

cause of American liberty. There was little room in this idealized memory of Vermont's past for the entrepreneurial scheming and the self-serving use of public office that had characterized Ira Allen's Vermont career. Even at his most influential in the 1770s and 1780s, Allen had not gained the good opinion of his contemporaries in Vermont; and by the time of his death after a long decline and a decade of self-imposed exile from the state he had helped create, he was neither popular nor well-known. To the few Vermonters who remembered him and the many newcomers who had arrived since his heyday, Allen was an unsavory figure better omitted from the popular historical lore about the Green Mountain frontier.

Yet if Ira Allen and his counterparts elsewhere on the early frontier were unattractive to most Americans in 1814 (and for a long time thereafter), today their stories are significant to the study of regional and national history. The early frontier entrepreneurs, politicians, and propagandists who flourished in backwoods regions from Maine to Mississippi between 1760 and 1810 played prominent roles in the emergence and development of a new American nation. Rural pamphleteers such as Herman Husband of North Carolina and Pennsylvania and Samuel Ely of Maine adapted the secular faith of the natural rights of man to local circumstances,

publishing fiery invocations of liberty and the true spirit of justice. Land speculators such as William Bingham, Oliver Phelps and Manasseh Cutler pushed for settlement of the frontier and worked to impose their versions of order and virtue on the wilderness and its inhabitants. Backwoods leaders in half a dozen frontier regions took their cue from the national revolution against England and yearned to form new states, some of which actually materialized, while more ambitious dreamers such as William Blount of Tennessee and Aaron Burr wove intricate schemes of backcountry empires that involved desperate plots and international intrigue. Although their own and later generations found little to admire in such men, in some cases they left as deep a mark on the nation as their more esteemed contemporaries.[3]

Ira Allen epitomized many of the characteristics, pursuits and goals of the Revolutionary frontier entrepreneur. He organized a land speculation company at the age of 21, eventually gained shaky title to more than 200,000 acres of Champlain Valley real estate, and dreamed of achieving lasting prosperity for his family through industry, trade and development. He helped found Vermont in 1777, then negotiated unsuccessfully for the state's return to the British Empire in the early 1780s. He published more than 2,500 pages of propaganda in a writing career that

spanned four decades, continually reworking the rhetoric of the Revolution and republicanism to promote a variety of ends. When his power and wealth declined in Vermont, he resumed his revolutionary career, planning armed rebellions first in Canada and then in Mexico in hopes of using them to rebuild what he had lost. And, finally, like many of his counterparts who also reached too high and risked too much, he ended his life in poverty and disgrace rather than in the wealth and power he once knew. Unquestionably a hard Founding Father to love, Ira Allen nonetheless earned a place in any consideration of the eighteenth-century American frontier.

NOTES

1. (Burlington) Northern Sentinel, February 11, 1814, page 3.
2. UVM trustee minutes, March 23-24, 1814, UVM Archives, vol. 2, pp. 47-57. There is no mention of Allen's death in the minutes of the October 1814 or March 1815 meetings.
3. Among the studies of the early frontier, see especially the following: Mark H. Jones, "Herman Husband: Millenarian, Carolina Regulator, and Whiskey Rebel" (Ph.D. diss., Northern Illinois University, 1983); Alan Taylor, Liberty Men and Great Proprietors: The Revolutionary Settlement on the Maine Frontier, 1760-1820 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); William Wyckoff, The Developer's Frontier: The Making of the Western New York Landscape (New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 1988); William H. Masterson, William Blount (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954); and Andrew R. L. Cayton, The Frontier Republic: Ideology and Politics in the Ohio Country (Kent, Oh.: Kent State University Press, 1986). For a useful overview of recent scholarly work, see Gregory H. Nobles, "Breaking into the Backcountry: New Approaches to the Early American Frontier," The William and Mary Quarterly, 3d ser., 46, 4 (October 1989): 641-70.

CHAPTER 1

CONNECTICUT YANKEE

Life on the the New England frontier was an Allen family tradition long before Ira Allen and his brothers rose to power in Revolutionary Vermont. Since their migration from England to Massachusetts in 1632, Ira's American ancestors had been helping push the frontier westward and northward. Samuel Allen, Ira's great-great grandfather, was one of the founders of Windsor, Connecticut, in 1640. Samuel's widow Ann and their son Nehemiah were among the early settlers of Northampton, Massachusetts. Nehemiah's eldest son, Samuel, capitalized on the sudden availability of cheap land in Deerfield by moving there the year after the famous 1704 massacre. In 1720, Samuel's widow Mercy, Ira's grandmother, participated in the creation of the western Connecticut town of Litchfield. None of Allen's forebears reached the heights he and his brothers would achieve in Vermont, but in their restless movement they established a model for Ira's generation.[1]

Ira Allen's parents fit the family pattern. Joseph Allen was 12 when he accompanied his mother to Litchfield in 1720, and he grew up amid the town's transition from frontier hamlet to stable community. In 1736 Joseph married Mary Baker of nearby Woodbury; four years later the young couple joined the drive to open up Connecticut's northwestern frontier. Public interest in the area known as

the "Western Lands" had been growing, with speculators and would-be settlers petitioning the Connecticut General Assembly to arrange the sale of new townships there. Bowing to public pressure, the legislature approved the organization of seven towns north and west of Litchfield, and between 1737 and 1740 Kent, Sharon, Goshen, Canaan, Salisbury, Norfolk, and Cornwall were created, laid out, and settled.[2]

Joseph Allen played a leading role in organizing the town of Cornwall. In September 1738 the first proprietors' meeting elected him to a committee for laying out the roads and the boundaries of the initial 50-acre proprietors' lots; two months later he became the town's tax collector. He also served as moderator of the first town meeting in 1740, as a selectman, and as a member of the committee charged with finding a Congregational minister willing to settle on the frontier. In Litchfield, Joseph and his generation had limited access to local leadership positions; in Cornwall's smaller pond, energetic young men could dream of becoming big fish much more rapidly. Joseph and his siblings had risen to the middle rungs of Litchfield's economic ladder by the late 1730s; now they and their children hoped to climb higher in their new home.[3]

Joseph and Mary Baker Allen and their three-year-old son Ethan moved to Cornwall in 1740. They settled in the

northern part of the town, on the west side of what became known as North Cornwall Road. Soon after their arrival, Joseph sold land to his elder brother Daniel, who followed him from Litchfield. Joseph and Mary built a house, set up a farm, and began carving a living out of Cornwall's rocky hills. Seven more children followed Ethan, from Heman in October 1740 to Ira, born on May 1, 1751. All eight of the children lived to adulthood, an unusually high survival rate for a mid-eighteenth-century frontier family.

Cornwall grew slowly in the 1740s and 1750s. The first settlers cleared the pine, elm, oak, and spruce trees that covered their lands, hunted deer, bear, rabbit, and quail, and killed the rattlesnakes that abounded during the town's early decades. The hilly topography slowed attempts to farm the "generous but stubborn soil."^[4] Residents who did produce a surplus of crops or had lumber to sell had trouble getting their goods to larger markets. The proprietors failed to induce entrepreneurs to establish gristmills or sawmills in Cornwall, despite the availability of mill-sites on the Housatonic River and many smaller streams. With success in agriculture and trade elusive, many of the town's residents turned to land speculation as a source of income, but even this activity did not bring economic growth. By 1756, Cornwall's population had risen to barely 500 people,

and the town had only one tavern, one meetinghouse, and one general store. After sixteen years, the thriving community that Joseph and Mary Allen had envisioned in 1740 had failed to materialize.

We know very few details of Ira Allen's childhood in Cornwall. In the 1790s he wrote about his youth in a never-completed manuscript autobiography, but the manuscript of the portion dealing with his life prior to 1769 was lost.[5] Joseph Allen died in April 1755, when his youngest son was only three years old, so Ira's mother must have been the chief parental influence of his youth. Unfortunately, other than Levi Allen's fond recollection of her as "a too indulgent Mother," the documentary record is virtually silent on Mary Baker Allen. We know that by the early 1760s she had rejected the radical New Lights who had gained control of Cornwall's Congregational church, preferring to list herself as a dissenting Episcopalian, but beyond that she remains a cipher. Perhaps she was responsible for instilling the emphasis on family that characterized Ira's adult relationships with his siblings; whatever the source, like many colonial New Englanders the Allens of Ira's generation established a close-knit family circle that served as the hub of their individual careers.[6]

Left without a father, young Ira nonetheless had his five older brothers as male role models. As the youngest,

Ira must have been influenced by watching and learning from his brothers' early entrepreneurial ventures, their occasional scrapes with the law for brawling and blasphemy, and their disdain for a future as farmers in Cornwall. The range of personalities and temperaments was considerable: Ethan, the eldest, was confident, loud, impetuous, physically prepossessing, and frequently domineering; Heman, the solid businessman of the clan, was quiet, dependable, and widely respected as a man of great leadership potential; Heber was the least adventurous, opting for a quiet family life rather than the grandiose schemes that drove the others; Levi, the black sheep of the family, was philosophical, humorous, inconsistent, eternally optimistic, and perpetually unsuccessful; and Zimri, just three years older than Ira, was "a young Man of much ability and goodness of heart" whose weak constitution would send him to an early grave. Rounding out the cast was cousin Remember Baker, Ethan's age, a tough frontier woodsman who taught Ira how to survive in the northern wilderness. As a boy and young man Ira found much to admire in his brothers and cousin, and throughout his life he retained vivid memories of their influence on his early development.[7]

Given the course of Ira's later career, perhaps the most intriguing gap in his early history concerns his

education. While Ira and all of his siblings were literate, judging by their lifelong respect for the power of the pen someone must have nurtured a deeper love of learning in Ethan, Levi and Ira. Ira presumably went to the schoolhouse that Cornwall built near the Allen house in 1762, but who taught him or what he studied is unknown. Certainly he had no formal education beyond the age of seventeen, and as late as his mid-twenties his spelling and grammar were riddled with juvenile errors and inconsistencies. Yet like Ethan, and to a lesser extent Levi, as an adult Ira would build on that shaky foundation, using practice and self-education to turn himself into a persuasive writer. Interestingly enough for a man who would help create a university expressly for the purpose of educating the sons of poor frontier farmers, Allen never assigned credit to anyone for starting him on the path toward becoming an educated man.[8]

Joseph Allen's death in 1755 disrupted the Allen family's progress toward the top of Cornwall's economic and political hierarchies. He had risen into the top quarter of the town's taxpayers in the 1740s, and his service in local offices had put him just outside the small circle of Cornwall's political elite. Had he lived a few years longer, Joseph and his sons might have made it to the top, but Ira's brothers were too young to become part of the upper echelon

forming in the late 1750s and early 1760s, and by the time they were ready to lead most of the top spots had been filled by Joseph's contemporaries or younger men whose fathers' estates had continued to grow after 1755. Locked out of power, and facing the prospect of limited success at farming in Cornwall, the Allen brothers began to look elsewhere for opportunity.[9]

The branching-out of the Allens began in the early 1760s, while Ira was still a boy. Ethan married in 1762, and that same year he and Heman helped start an iron furnace in Salisbury and laid plans for another in Cornwall. The Cornwall furnace never materialized, but the Salisbury operation did well. In 1765 the two brothers sold their shares, and Heman opened a general store in Salisbury; Ethan moved to Northampton, Massachusetts, where he and his wife's brothers formed a partnership to manage a lead mine. While Heman's store prospered, Ethan's stay in Northampton was short and stormy. The lead mine was unprofitable, and Ethan's outspoken deism angered the town's leaders. In July 1767 he was ordered out of Northampton. Levi worked briefly for Ethan and Heman at the iron furnace, dabbled in the Great Lakes fur trade, and then joined Heman as a partner in the Salisbury store. None of these early family ventures was particularly successful, but with the exception of

Ethan's lead mine they did produce some profits, and they expanded the brothers' entrepreneurial perspective beyond the confines of Litchfield County.[10]

Land also became a major field of investment for the Allens in the early 1760s. Their father had speculated in land in the 1750s, buying and selling Cornwall rights and investing in a few shares of the Susquehannah Company, a Connecticut group which claimed ownership of Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley. According to Levi's recollection Joseph Allen taught his sons "that next to religion landed Property was the most Substantial." By the time Ira's brothers began to come of age, land speculation had become very popular throughout British North America, as seaboard investors looked for big profits from frontier tracts and back-country settlers sought opportunity for themselves and landed legacies for their children. Young Levi Allen, inspired by visions of a vast wilderness empire, dreamed of buying millions of acres from the Great Lakes Indian tribes. Closer to home and on a more practical level, the brothers began slowly buying a few lots in Cornwall and Salisbury. The problem with Litchfield County speculation, as they soon discovered, was that their limited capital would not go very far toward purchasing lands in established townships. As a result, the Allens decided to invest in unoccupied lands

that could be had at a fraction of the Litchfield County cost per acre. They bought some additional Susquehanna Company shares, but by 1764 their speculative vision was turning north rather than west. On December 20, 1764, in the brothers' first documented investment in the area that would become Vermont, nineteen-year-old Levi purchased one right in a new township called Barnet, situated on the west side of the upper Connecticut River Valley.[11]

In 1764, hundreds of southern New England speculators and settlers were becoming interested in the northern frontier. The military campaigns of the French and Indian War had greatly increased public knowledge of the Vermont area, and the British victory in the war had removed the threat of French attacks on New England settlements. With the end of the war, the residents of relatively crowded and expensive Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts began to clamor for access to the valleys north of Deerfield and Williamstown. There were millions of acres of open, fertile land up for grabs, at prices that initially would be far lower than the older settled areas of New England. In addition, northern New England's Indian tribes had been decimated by disease and warfare, so from a white perspective moving north seemed far easier and less dangerous than heading west or south. The New England

tradition of migration to cheap, open land was well-established; now the young men and women looking for opportunity on the frontier focussed on the lands between the northern Connecticut and Hudson Rivers as a prime destination.

With that kind of escalating demand, it was inevitable that a willing supplier would emerge. For most of the southern New England market, that supplier turned out to be Benning Wentworth, Royal Governor of New Hampshire. A canny Portsmouth merchant who became Governor in 1741, Wentworth recognized that Vermont real estate had great potential for profitable development and that there was considerable confusion over colonial boundaries and ownership of vast stretches of frontier throughout British North America. He knew that Massachusetts had included the northern towns of Putney, Brattleboro and Dummerston in its Equivalent Lands compensation to Connecticut in settling the two provinces' 1713 boundary disagreement. He was also aware that in 1724 Massachusetts had built Fort Dummer in Brattleboro as a northern line of defense against the French and Indians, and then tried in the 1740s to force New Hampshire to assume the cost of maintaining and garrisoning the outpost. To the west, New York had shown little interest in extending its settlements or its authority east of the Hudson. Wentworth

realized that under these circumstances whichever colony pressed its claim to the Vermont area first and most vigorously might well wind up the winner in any jurisdictional dispute.[12]

Wentworth began granting lands west of the Connecticut River in 1749, when the end of King George's War temporarily halted French incursions against the New England frontier. He started with the town of Bennington, taking the Massachusetts-New York border as his guide and locating the new township as far west as he thought he could press any New Hampshire claim. At the same time, knowing that this aggressive expansion might alarm New Hampshire's western neighbor, Wentworth sent New York an innocently-worded inquiry about that province's limits. When New York's administration replied that its authority extended to the Connecticut River, Wentworth simply ignored the response. He followed the Bennington grant with a charter for the town of Halifax in 1750. Fourteen additional towns were chartered over the course of the next four years before the outbreak of the French and Indian War cooled interest in northern lands.

As soon as the fall of New France made the northern frontier safe once more, Governor Wentworth resumed his grants of Green Mountain real estate. With demand for

frontier land now very high again, between 1760 and 1764 he issued charters for 112 new townships west of the Connecticut. Responding to the preferences of his clientele, the Governor concentrated on the valleys and lowlands that comprised the most saleable portions of the Vermont area. In all, Wentworth dispensed title to nearly three million wilderness acres, or approximately one-half of the modern state of Vermont. By the time he was done, the northwestern New England frontier had become widely known as the New Hampshire Grants, or more simply, "the Grants." [13]

Benning Wentworth's Vermont charters were all quite similar. The typical Wentworth town was six miles square, granted to 40-50 proprietors at a low cost of £20-£40. Each charter set aside lots for a school, the first minister to settle in the town, a Church of England glebe, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and prohibited the cutting of pine trees suitable for Royal Navy ship masts. Wentworth also reserved two free rights for himself in each community, amassing a paper empire of some 65,000 acres in the process. In addition to the Governor's rights, most of the new towns included free land for various Wentworth relatives, business associates, and political allies. All of the charters carried a clause requiring proprietors to "Plant and Cultivate" a minimum of

10 acres of each right within five years. In principle, this prevented speculation and required that all proprietors be bona fide prospective settlers rather than opportunistic speculators; in practice, very few of the original Wentworth grantees ever saw their Vermont lands, and rapid sale and resale of the Wentworth titles soon became commonplace.[14]

New York did not sit idly by while Wentworth sold off three million acres of "New York" land. The aggrieved province's leaders had their agents in London protest Wentworth's first round of grants in the early 1750s, but the truly vehement New York objections began a decade later when the postwar New Hampshire charters started to appear in large numbers. Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden led the New York forces, arguing that the 1664 royal charter to the Duke of York clearly gave New York jurisdiction east to the Connecticut. On December 28, 1763, Colden issued a proclamation for circulation in New England, warning investors not to purchase New Hampshire titles to the disputed territory. Three months later, Wentworth produced his own proclamation reasserting New Hampshire's claim, urging the few hundred families living on the Grants to continue to consider themselves New Englanders until the Crown settled the controversy. New Hampshire had every right to claim jurisdiction as far west as the

Massachusetts-New York line, Wentworth wrote, but he kept up this bold front strictly for his American audience: in London, New Hampshire's agents worried about the reaction to the numerous irregularities in Wentworth's frontier development program and adopted a far lower profile than their New York counterparts in the battle of petitions to the King's administrators.[15]

New York's persistent protests in the early 1760s gradually attracted the attention of a British government struggling to cope with a vast new empire. On July 20, 1764, the King-in-Council declared the west bank of the Connecticut River "to be" the New York-New Hampshire boundary. The Council and the Board of Trade were severely critical of Benning Wentworth's self-enriching grants and his violation of Crown guidelines for issuing colonial frontier charters. The Council's decision put an end to Wentworth's sale of Vermont towns, and the residual disapproval of his actions was probably a factor in his giving up the governorship in 1767. However, the Council's ruling did not include any mention of what should happen to the 128 Wentworth towns west of the Connecticut, or to the claims of the speculators and settlers who had purchased them. As it turned out, that oversight and the ambiguity of the two words "to be" would suffice to fuel the Yankee

versus Yorker fire over the New Hampshire Grants for the next two decades.[16]

Not surprisingly, New York regarded the July 20, 1764, decision as absolute confirmation of its longstanding, complete control of the Green Mountains. With the Council's decree in hand, New York began its own program of Vermont grants. Under a royal proclamation of October 7, 1763, that authorized colonial land grants to veterans of the French and Indian War, New York issued military bonuses for some 300,000 Vermont acres, mostly along the eastern shore of Lake Champlain. Between 1764 and 1775 the province also made extensive civilian grants east of the Hudson. Most of these were similar in size to the Wentworth town charters, but they were considerably more lucrative for the New York government: where the Wentworth charters had cost £20-£40 per township, the New York grants carried fees of £36 per 1,000 acres, payable to a roster of six colonial officials. The New York charters were as popular as the Wentworth grants had been, and by the start of the American Revolution New York's governors --Henry Moore, John Murray, William Tryon, and Colden--had signed grants for 103 Vermont towns, covering a total of 2.1 million acres. Approximately one-quarter of the New York grants overlapped with the earlier Wentworth charters.[17]

Like the Wentworth grants, most of New York's were thinly-veiled exercises in land speculation. In both cases the long lists of proprietors' names were often mere window-dressing, as two or three major investors frequently bought out their fellow grantees as soon as the ink on the charter had dried. The majority of New York's military grants also passed quickly into the hands of speculators, often for as little as a tankard of rum in the case of the 50-acre bonuses issued to privates. In New Hampshire, a clique of Wentworth political cronies and associates acquired large holdings on the frontier; in New York, powerful officials like James Duane, John Tabor Kempe, and Goldsbrow Banyar benefitted in similar fashion from access to the governors who signed the grants. Other than Benning Wentworth himself, the major New Hampshire speculators tended to resell their Vermont lands more quickly than their New York counterparts, but there were soon plenty of Green Mountain titles from both sides available for purchase.

Speculators and prospective settlers interested in Vermont lands had options in addition to the New Hampshire and New York grants. In the early 1760s, John Henry Lydius, an Indian agent of shifting loyalties and dubious veracity from Fort Edward, New York, began peddling long-term leases to 35 towns southeast of Lake Champlain that he claimed

under a suspect 1732 grant from the Mohawk Indians. Also, prior to losing its North American empire in 1763, France had created several dozen large seigniories in the Champlain Valley; now, English and American entrepreneurs began to use those titles as the basis for speculative claims. A few enterprising developers obtained leases to tracts in what would become Franklin County, Vermont, from the Abenaki Indians of the northern Champlain Valley, with plans to establish mills and villages on the rivers flowing into the lake. By the late 1760s anyone thinking of investing in Green Mountain lands had a variety of ways to do so.[18]

For many in southern New England, the Wentworth titles still seemed like the best bet. Everyone agreed that the Crown's July 1764 ruling put the Grants under New York jurisdiction, but the feeling was widespread that eventually the King might validate individual claims under the 1749-64 Wentworth charters rather than repudiate thousands of sales based on confidence in a royal governor's powers; the more optimistic New England outlook was that George III might even reverse the 1764 decision if enough Yankee settlers moved north under Wentworth charters. In the meantime, the financial risk in acting on these assumptions was limited, since prices for land with New Hampshire titles remained quite low in the absence of royal confirmation. Some

speculators were happy to dump their Wentworth titles for a quick profit, and many others offered favorable terms to stimulate more rapid settlement and thus to drive up the value of their holdings. There was also an emotional incentive involved: most New Englanders who wished to relocate undoubtedly preferred New Hampshire's town-based, relatively democratic system of government, with its freehold tradition and low fees and quitrents for land; in comparison, New York's county-based framework, higher rents and fees, landlord-tenant emphasis, and political and social traditions that struck most New Englanders as aristocratic seemed quite uninviting. In particular, New York's Anti-Rent War of 1766-67, in which tenants on the Hudson River manors rebelled unsuccessfully against their wealthy landlords, exacerbated Yankee distrust of Yorker authority. Taking all of these factors into consideration, gambling on the New Hampshire titles became an attractive option for many ambitious young people like the Allen brothers.[19]

By the late 1760s, the Allens were ready to investigate the northern frontier. Dozens of their Litchfield County neighbors, including cousin Remember Baker, who set up the first mills in the town of Arlington in 1764, had already moved to the Grants. Even with the jurisdictional question still unresolved, the reports that filtered back to western

Connecticut were full of optimism about the future of the Vermont area. The Allen brothers had been slowly buying Wentworth titles, but apparently none of them had yet seen the Grants in person. Finally, in 1768, Heman and Levi Allen concocted a plan for bringing furs and deerskins from Vermont to their store in Salisbury for processing and sale. Ethan Allen was at loose ends since his forced departure from Northampton in 1767, so in the summer of 1768 he set off for the Grants to hunt, visit his cousin in Arlington, and explore the prospects for Allen family investment on the northern frontier.[20]

Although he was barely 18 when Ethan left for the Grants, Ira Allen was eager to join his brothers in the search for opportunity outside Litchfield County. In September of 1769, he helped Levi and Heman buy 350 "store hogs" and supervised the fattening of the herd for market. He drove the hogs to Hatfield, Massachusetts, in October 1769, took 150 to Albany three months later and sold them "at a high price," and spent the rest of the winter in Berkshire County, Massachusetts, caring for the remainder of the herd. It was Ira's first taste of financial responsibility, and his brothers left the project entirely in his hands. The winter of 1769-70 was an exciting time for the teenage entrepreneur, and he never forgot the blizzards,

feed shortages, and other trials that had tested his youthful ingenuity. In June 1770 he again made the trip to Albany, this time with 400 hogs that he sold "for good pork at a great profit." Looking back at the experience in 1799, he recalled proudly, "I attended to the business throughout the whole." [21]

Ira's entrepreneurial debut notwithstanding, there was much more that commanded the Allen brothers' attention in Albany in June of 1770 than just selling hogs. The tension between the Yankee settlers and the New York authorities on the Grants had been building steadily since the 1764 Crown decision in favor of New York interests. On June 28, 1770, the Albany County Court began proceedings in a series of nine cases that became known as the Ejectment Trials. The first, Small v. Carpenter, involved a request by Yorker Small for a writ evicting Yankee Carpenter from a farm in the southwestern Grants town of Shaftsbury. The judges for the case were Robert R. Livingston and George D. Ludlow; the plaintiff's attorney was James Duane; and among those in attendance was New York Attorney-General John Tabor Kempe. All four men were speculators in New York titles to Grants lands. Representing Carpenter were Jared Ingersoll of New Haven, Connecticut, and Peter Silvester of Albany. Assisting Ingersoll and Silvester, and hired by southern New

England speculators in Wentworth titles to serve as manager of the nine Yankee defendants' cases, was Ethan Allen.[22]

The Ejectment Trials marked the culmination of five years of New York attempts to govern the New Hampshire Grants. Between 1766 and 1770, New York had divided the Grants into counties-- Albany for the western half, Cumberland for the southeast, Gloucester for the northeast-- appointing local sheriffs, justices-of-the-peace, and other officials to administer justice. Although this system differed from the New England tradition most settlers had left behind, the majority was willing to accept New York's governance, which until the creation of independent Vermont in 1777 constituted the only formal legal and political structure on the Grants. What provoked grumbling from many of them and outright rejection by nearly all the Yankee speculators was New York's demand for payment of confirmation fees for the Wentworth titles. The new charges were approximately £330 per township, plus annual payment of New York's quitrents of two shillings sixpence per 100 acres, much higher than the rates exacted by New Hampshire. However, New York periodically discounted the confirmation fees by as much as 50 percent, bringing them down to a manageable level for some settlers, and by 1770 a total of 79 Grants towns originally chartered by Benning Wentworth

had applied for New York confirmatory patents. Unpopular as the New York fees were, some Yankee speculators and settlers clearly felt they had no practical alternative.[23]

Yet for many Yankees interested in the Grants the New York fees were unacceptable. Some Wentworth claimants, especially the larger speculators who had no hope of raising the cash to purchase confirmatory patents on thousands of acres, protested that they had bought their land from one royal governor and that having to buy it again from another amounted to extortion. In addition, the New Hampshire charters that later New York grants had overlapped were not eligible for confirmation; west of the mountains, in particular, this was a major problem. Looking to the Crown for relief, in 1766-67 Yankee speculators gathered names on petitions to the King and sent Samuel Robinson of Bennington to London with them. Robinson and William Samuel Johnson worked hard for the Yankee cause, persuading the King to issue an order on July 24, 1767, that prohibited any additional New York grants in the Vermont area until the Privy Council could sort out the confusion. Although this briefly slowed New York's land sales, it did not address the larger problem; and since the Council did not follow up with a more detailed ruling on how to handle the old Wentworth titles, the situation remained tangled.[24]

Yankee and Yorker continued to clash in the late 1760s. Confrontations between the two factions increased, most noticeably on the west side, as New York officials tried to govern a rapidly growing frontier population made up largely of southern New Englanders holding New Hampshire titles. The most significant incident occurred in October 1769 at the Bennington farm of Yankee settler James Breakenridge. A New York surveying team tried to run the lines of a New York grant across the property, but Breakenridge and his neighbors, including several Bennington town leaders, drove the Yorkers away, vowing not to tolerate any interference with their right of ownership under the Wentworth charters. East of the mountains such forcible defiance was rare, but in May and June 1770, just before the Ejectment Trials began, an anti-New York mob first "arrested" New York sheriff Daniel Whipple and then forced the Cumberland County Court to adjourn at Windsor by the simple expedient of abducting John Grout, the only attorney in attendance. There was more to the unrest on the Grants than just Yankee versus Yorker animosity: much of the antagonism also involved the debtor-creditor disagreements and backcountry-seaboard tensions common throughout the colonies in this period. Yet regardless of the range of issues behind them, the meaning of the Breakenridge farm and

Cumberland County Court disturbances was clear: whatever ruling the Albany County Court made in the Ejectment Trials, actual enforcement of New York authority on the Grants was becoming increasingly difficult.[25]

The proceedings at Albany in June 1770 represented New York's attempt to apply the letter of the law to the Wentworth title-holders. Small v. Carpenter went badly from the start for the Yankee side. When attorney Ingersoll tried to introduce Wentworth's 1761 charter for the town of Shaftsbury as evidence, Judges Livingston and Ludlow refused to admit it. "No evidence had been given . . . to prove that the said province of New Hampshire ever included the lands in question," they declared, and "no authority had ever been vested in any governor of New Hampshire to grant the said lands or to exercise any powers whatsoever there." [26] This decision doomed the Yankee cause, since Ingersoll, Silvester and Allen had built their defense around the legitimacy of the Wentworth charters. They pushed the Carpenter case through to the inevitable verdict in Small's favor and let the remaining eight requests for writs of eviction proceed uncontested. The court ruled for the plaintiff in each case, putting the full weight of the New York legal system firmly behind the province's argument that the New Hampshire charters were worthless.

The lesson of the Ejectment Trials was not wasted on the Yankee faction on the Grants. Many had disliked New York from the beginning; now they had proof that there was no justice for them in the "aristocratic" New York courts. Similar feelings were widespread by 1770 among American colonists from New England to the Carolinas, as frontier residents grew increasingly unhappy with seaboard and urban domination of politics and the courts. On the New Hampshire Grants that discontent was an important factor in the unfolding of local events that led up to the Revolution. Ethan Allen aptly expressed the Yankee attitude when James Duane and John Tabor Kempe visited him at his Albany lodgings the day after Small v. Carpenter and offered to pay him to work for New York's interests on the Grants. "The Gods of the valleys are not Gods of the hills," Ethan told them, and when they asked for an explanation, he invited them to accompany him to Bennington, where "the phrase should be explained." [27] Few of Allen's American frontier counterparts had his flair for colorful verbiage, but by 1770 agrarian spokesmen throughout the back-country echoed the sentiment he had articulated.

Yankee unrest on the Grants produced action as well as verbal strategies for discrediting opponents in the summer of 1770. The westside town of Bennington had become the

center of the anti-New York movement, and soon after the Ejectment Trials ended, the most vocal and angry dissidents gathered there at Stephen Fay's Catamount Tavern. Still determined to resist New York authority, they agreed to continue their appeals to the Crown. As a more immediate and practical step, they also formed a paramilitary group to protect the property of the Wentworth title-holders, calling the new organization the Green Mountain Boys. The meeting named Ethan Allen as "colonel commandant" of the Boys, partly in appreciation of his recent work at Albany, but principally because his physical size, energy, and bombastic style made him the perfect leader in the fight to terrorize and intimidate Yorker officials and settlers. The creation of an anti-New York guerrilla force was a crucial turning-point in the battle for the Grants: from now on, the Yorkers could have their courts and the letter of the law; their Yankee opponents would place their faith in the armed might of the Green Mountain Boys.[28]

Too young at 19 for a role in the Ejectment Trials or the organization of the Green Mountain Boys, Ira Allen was nonetheless poised that summer of 1770 to strike out on his own. Family illnesses kept him in Connecticut during June and July, as he spent several weeks caring for his dying sister, Lydia Allen Finch, and his ailing mother. Stricken

with "a fit of the nerve palsey," Mary Baker Allen was paralyzed on one side, and Ira tended to her for more than a month before moving her to Heman's home in Salisbury. After that, there was little to keep him in Litchfield County, and he began to make plans for leaving. In August, although he was still a minor, he sold his share of his father's modest estate for £48 to give him a small stake for investment in Wentworth titles. Sometime in early autumn 1770 he bought his first Vermont real estate, purchasing several New Hampshire rights in the westside Grants town of Poultney. A few days later Ira started north on his first trip to the Grants, where he planned to visit his newly-acquired lands, scout out additional acquisitions his meagre remaining capital might cover, and experience firsthand the excitement that brother Ethan, cousin Baker, and their back-country comrades had recently injected into the Yankee versus Yorker conflict.[29]

NOTES

1. Orrin P. Allen, The Allen Memorial (Palmer, Mass.: C. B. Fiske & Co., 1907), pp. 1-25 passim.

2. Ibid., pp. 28-29. On the eighteenth-century Connecticut frontier, see: Charles S. Grant, Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town of Kent (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961); Toby L. Ditz, Property and Kinship: Inheritance in Early Connecticut, 1750-1820 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Jackson Turner Main, Society and Economy in Colonial Connecticut (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); and Bruce H. Mann, Neighbors and Strangers: Law and Community in Early Connecticut (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987).

3. For background on early Cornwall, see Theodore S. Gold, Historical Records of the Town of Cornwall, Litchfield County, Connecticut (1877; rev. ed., Hartford, Conn.: The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., 1904), and Edward C. Starr, A History of Cornwall, Connecticut: A Typical New England Town (New Haven, Conn., Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Co., 1926).

4. Gold, Historical Records, p. 20.

5. The surviving portion of Allen's autobiography, covering the years 1769-73, is published in James B. Wilbur, Ira Allen: Founder of Vermont 1751-1814 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), 1: 1-59.

6. Michael A. Bellesiles, ed., "The Autobiography of Levi Allen," VH, 60, 2 (Spring 1992): 84. Starr, History of Cornwall, p. 49. On the family in eighteenth-century New England, Christopher M. Jedrey, The World of John Cleveland: Family and Community in Eighteenth-Century New England (New York: Norton, 1979).

7. Allen, The Allen Memorial, pp. 44-54, for brief biographical sketches of Ira Allen's siblings. The best biographies of Ethan Allen, and useful for background on the Allen family, are: Michael A. Bellesiles, "Life, Liberty, and Land: Ethan Allen and the Frontier Experience in Revolutionary New England," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Irvine, 1986); Charles A. Jellison, Ethan Allen: Frontier Rebel (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1969); and John Pell, Ethan Allen (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929). The only other detailed study of one of Ira's brothers or sisters is Benny F. Cockerham, "Levi Allen (1746-1801): Opportunism and the Problem of Allegiance," (M.A. thesis, University of Vermont, 1965).

8. Born five years before Ira, Levi Allen recalled his own rudimentary education as "small improvement in incorrect English, with vulgar arithmatick"; Bellesiles, ed., "The Autobiography of Levi Allen," p. 83. Among the relevant studies of eighteenth-century New England education, see James Axtell, The School Upon a Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1974), and Lawrence A. Cremin, American Education: The Colonial Experience 1607-1783 (New York: Harper & Row, 1970).

9. Richard L. Bushman, From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967); Edward M. Cook, Jr., The Fathers of the Towns: Leadership and Community Structure in Eighteenth Century New England (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976); Bruce C. Daniels, ed., Power and Status: Officeholding in Colonial America (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1986); idem, ed., Town and County: Essays on the Structure of Local Government in the American Colonies (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1978); Michael Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Knopf, 1970).

10. Bellesiles, "Life, Liberty, and Land," chap. 1; Cockerham, "Levi Allen," chap. 1.

11. Bellesiles, ed., "The Autobiography of Levi Allen," p. 84; Simon Stevens, deed to Levi Allen, Dec. 20, 1764, AFP, box 1, folder 9; an undated partial inventory of the holdings of the Onion River Land Company indicates that the Allens may have purchased Vermont lands as early as 1762, ms. at VHS, MSS 24 #5. James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: Mentalite in Pre-Industrial America," WMQ, 3rd ser., 31, 1 (January 1978): 3-32; John J. Waters, "Family, Inheritance, and Migration in Colonial New England: The Evidence from Guilford, Connecticut," WMQ, 3rd ser., 39, 1 (January 1982): 64-86; Louis B. Wright, The Dream of Prosperity in Colonial America (New York: New York University Press, 1965).

12. Charles E. Clark, The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England, 1610-1763 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), chaps. 19-20; Douglas E. Leach, The Northern Colonial Frontier, 1607-1763 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), chap. 10; Herbert W. Denio, "Massachusetts Land Grants in Vermont," Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 24 (1920-22): 35-39;

Francis M. Thompson, "Vermont from Chaos to Statehood; New Hampshire Grants and Connecticut Equivalent Lands," History and Proceedings of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, 1912-1920, 6 (1921): 231-71.

13. Jere R. Daniell, Experiment in Republicanism: New Hampshire Politics and the American Revolution, 1741-1794 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970), chap. 1; idem, Colonial New Hampshire: A History (Millwood, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1981), chap. 9; John F. Looney, "Benning Wentworth's Land Grant Policy: A Reappraisal," Historical New Hampshire, 23, 1 (Spring 1968): 3-13.

14. The Wentworth charters for Vermont towns are published in Albert S. Batchellor, ed., The New Hampshire Grants (Concord, N.H.: Edward N. Pearson, 1895), vol. 26 of Provincial and State Papers, New Hampshire (40 vols., Concord, N.H., 1867-1943), ed. Nathaniel Bouton et al.

15. For details of the early New Hampshire-New York dispute over the Vermont area, see Matt B. Jones, Vermont in the Making, 1750-1777 (1939; reprint ed., Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1968), chaps. 2-3, and Hiland Hall, The History of Vermont, from Its Discovery to Its Admission Into the Union in 1791 (Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell, 1868), chaps. 5-6.

16. The text of the July 20, 1764, King-in-Council ruling is published in William Slade, Jr., comp., Vermont State Papers (Middlebury, Vt.: J. H. Copeland, 1823), p. 19.

17. Hiland Hall, "New York Land Grants in Vermont," Collections of the Vermont Historical Society, 1 (1870): 147-59; Jones, Vermont in the Making, chaps. 4-6.

18. On the Lydius claim, see: William H. Hill, "A Land Map of John Henry Lydius," Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society (1921-1923): 157-82; idem, Old Fort Edward (Fort Edward, N.Y., 1929), pp. 27-49; and [Thomas Young], Some Reflections on the Disputes Between New-York, New-Hampshire, and Col. John Henry Lydius of Albany (New Haven, Conn.: Benjamin Mecom, 1764). On the French grants in the Champlain Valley, Guy O. Coolidge, The French Occupation of the Champlain Valley from 1609 to 1759 (1938; reprint ed., Harrison, N.Y.: Harrison Hill Books, 1979).

19. Allan R. Raymond, "Benning Wentworth's Claims in the New Hampshire-New York Border Controversy: A Case of

Twenty-Twenty Hindsight?," VH, 43, 1 (Winter 1975): 20-32. On New York's Hudson River land riots and agrarian unrest in the 1760s, see: Staughton Lynd, Anti-Federalism in Dutchess County, New York (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962), chap. 3; Irving Mark, Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York, 1711-1775 (1940; 2nd ed., Port Washington, N.Y.: Ira J. Friedman, 1965), chap. 6; Sung Bok Kim, Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York: Manorial Society, 1664-1775 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), chap. 8; Patricia U. Bonomi, A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), chap. 6; Edward Countryman, A People in Revolution: The American Revolution and Political Society in New York, 170-1790 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), chap. 2.

20. Bellesiles, "Life, Liberty, and Land," chap. 1; Cockerham, "Levi Allen," chap. 1.

21. IA autobiography, 1: 1-3, quote from p. 3.

22. Jellison, Ethan Allen, pp. 33-37; Hall, History of Vermont, pp. 116-19.

23. Jones, Vermont in the Making, chaps. 4-6, and Appendices H-J.

24. Ibid., chap. 7.

25. For New York perspectives on the early tensions on the Grants, see: Mark, Agrarian Conflicts, chap. 7; Countryman, A People in Revolution, chap. 2; Dixon Ryan Fox, Yankees and Yorkers (New York: New York University Press, 1940), chap. 6.

26. The text of the court's ruling is in Hall, History of Vermont, pp. 481-82.

27. The earliest reference to this incident is in IA, The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 15-16; Later versions of the story offer numerous variations on Ethan's precise wording. [James Duane], A Narrative of the Proceedings Subsequent to the Royal Adjudication, Concerning Lands to the Westward of Connecticut-River, Lately Usurped by New Hampshire (New York: John Holt, 1773), p. 15, claimed that Ethan Allen accepted the New York bribe, then reneged on his promise to promote the Yorker cause.

28. Bellesiles, "Life, Liberty, and Land," chap. 4.
29. IA autobiography, 1: 8.

CHAPTER 2

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE GRANTS

Travelers on the crude western Connecticut and Massachusetts roads would have seen little that was worthy of comment about Ira Allen in the fall of 1770. At 19, Allen was 5' 7-1/2" tall, with brown hair, black eyes, and a slender build. By Allen family standards, where Ethan's 6' 2", 220-pound frame took the prize for bulk, he was quite small, so much so that his brothers pinned the derisive nickname "Stub" on him; but against the physical norms of late-eighteenth-century New England he was an average young man. Still, his unremarkable outward appearance was somewhat deceptive: Ira's wiry frame was tough and hard, capable of great stamina, as he would demonstrate many times over the next few years while exploring the northern New England wilderness. More important for his future, however, were the intense drive and determination already developing behind those black eyes. As the youngest and smallest of six brothers, Ira had learned early in life to rely on brains rather than brawn to get ahead at home; now he was about to test whether that formula would work in the rough world of the New Hampshire Grants.[1]

The Grants were in turmoil when Ira reached them that autumn of 1770. The area now had approximately 8,000 residents, up from just a few hundred five years earlier,

and the growing number of newcomers found it difficult to steer clear of the Yankee versus Yorker conflict. The great majority of the settlers held their lands under New Hampshire titles, but the battle over New York's demand for confirmatory patents made the future of those claims very uncertain. For many on the Grants, royal intercession seemed to be the best hope for stability. On both sides of the mountains, partisans of the two factions gathered signatures on petitions to the King, asking for his support. Early in November, 433 eastside Yorkers signed a plea to the Crown, begging for protection against the Yankees who had disrupted New York's Cumberland County Court five months earlier and who were now proclaiming that New Hampshire would soon reassert its ownership of the Vermont area. In January 1771, 68 eastside Yankees sent a rebuttal to George III, arguing that New York control of the Grants was a disaster for the inhabitants. "Under God we rely on your Majesty only for relief," the Yankees wrote. "We can have no hope from your Majestys [sic] Servants at New York, from whose operations our distresses have arisen." [2]

Yet petitions, no matter how impassioned, were not the solution. As the leaders of the anti-New York faction had learned, and as frontier dissidents all over America were coming to appreciate, reliance on traditional legal forms of

redress was not an effective way of addressing back-country disputes. England was too busy to devote much time or attention to frontier grievances; the seaboard-dominated colonial governments were unreceptive to backwoods concerns; and the colonial legal system's conservative insistence on the letter of the law was unpalatable to agrarian factions in the age of the "natural rights of man." In such a climate, America's frontier residents were increasingly likely to look for extra-legal ways of settling their differences with the established order, making force a powerful adjunct to the rules of law and government. On the New Hampshire Grants in the early 1770s, the most powerful force was unquestionably the Green Mountain Boys.[3]

From their formation in the summer of 1770, the Green Mountain Boys had proved quite effective at disrupting New York's attempts to govern the Vermont area. Harassing Yorker sheriffs and other county officials, and intimidating settlers who held New York titles, Ethan Allen and his men successfully undermined New York's authority. The Yankee rebels specialized in dramatic, well-publicized incidents that served as useful object lessons to all prospective opponents. In July of 1771, 150 Green Mountain Boys thwarted Albany sheriff Henry Ten Eyck's attempt to evict James Breakenridge from his Bennington farm. Two months

later, Ethan Allen and several followers, "blackened and dressed like Indians," scared William Cockburn away from a survey he was conducting for James Duane.[4] In October, Allen helped drive four Yorker settlers out of Rupert, warning them that he could raise hundreds of armed men at a moment's notice to battle New York. By the end of 1771, New York's control of the Grants, especially west of the mountains, had been severely compromised.(5)

The Green Mountain Boys' tactics were similar to those employed by backwoods vigilante groups elsewhere on the pre-Revolutionary frontier. Pennsylvania's Wild Yankees and Paxton Boys, North Carolina's Regulators, New Jersey's Liberty Boys, and Maine's Liberty Men were also active in the 1760s and 1770s as paramilitary branches of agrarian-democratic dissent movements. Their rhetoric had much in common, as they denounced privileged landlords, greedy absentee proprietors, and aristocratic courts and governments. Loosely organized but usually working within accepted limits for forceful action (the Green Mountain Boys and their supporters, for instance, claimed that they never actually killed anyone), these groups used riots, court closings, and assorted night-rider tactics to battle what they characterized as entrenched systems designed to impose tyranny on honest yeomen. While the details of the local

complaints varied, as did the success rates of the individual causes, the prevalence of the informal back-country military outfits was indicative of a growing spirit of rebellion on the colonial frontier in the years leading up to Lexington and Concord.[6]

New York's government reacted angrily to the resistance of the Green Mountain Boys. On December 9, 1771, new Governor William Tryon, fresh from inflicting a crushing defeat on the North Carolina Regulators, issued a proclamation offering £20 rewards for the captures of Ethan Allen, by now the most notorious of the Yankee rebels, and six of his confederates. Two days later, another Tryon proclamation reasserted "the ancient and incontrovertible right of New York to extend to Connecticut River as its eastern boundary." Tryon's hardline policies had worked in North Carolina, but they failed on the Grants. On February 5, 1772, Ethan Allen, Remember Baker, and Robert Cochran responded with their own proclamation, posting a £15 bounty on James Duane and £10 on John Tabor Kempe, payable on delivery to "Landlord Fays" tavern in Bennington. When New York tried a more direct approach with a nighttime raid on Baker's Arlington home in March, a contingent of Green Mountain Boys gave chase, rescued their wounded comrade, and sent the Yorker posse back to Albany after threatening to kill them if they ever set foot on the Grants again.[7]

Ira Allen played only a minor role in the anti-New York agitation in the two years following the Ejectment Trials. Leaving the task of frontier warfare to Ethan, Ira busied himself instead with private business work, spending his summers on the Grants and his winters in Litchfield County. In the summer of 1771, he went into the leather business with Heman and Levi, almost losing his life in an accident at a fulling mill. Able to purchase 10,000 acres in Hubbardton for only £64, he traveled the Grants woods with Remember Baker and learned the basics of surveying, tracking, and forest survival skills from his rugged cousin. One additional week of study under a master surveyor back in Salisbury in March of 1772 concluded Allen's professional training and qualified him, at least in his own opinion, for all surveying work he, his brothers, or any other Yankee speculators might require on the Grants. A battle with measles, in Ira's words, "left my blood out of order" and weakened his eyes temporarily, but by May of 1772 he was on his way back to the Grants, ready at 21 to apply his limited experience and considerable ambition to the entrepreneurial possibilities of the northern frontier.[8]

The lone-wolf pattern Ira Allen adopted in his youthful expeditions and business ventures persisted through the rest of his life. Unlike extrovert Ethan, at his best in a

crowded tavern or at the head of a company of Green Mountain Boys, Ira preferred to work alone or with only his brothers and close relatives as trusted associates. Beyond his family, he had few and indistinct loyalties: he seemed uninterested in belonging to or committing himself to community at the local level, and he was unwilling to give time to social institutions or groups unless participation in them could advance his financial projects. Even as a young man, Allen was cold to the philosophical, religious and ideological controversies that inflamed the hearts and minds of his generation. He would become adept at the rhetoric of revolution, using it frequently and effectively throughout his career, but the impression would always be one of distance and calculation rather than passion and commitment. In short, family and business were all that really mattered to Ira Allen; with a very few exceptions, he determined the value of anything else by its relationship to those two priorities.

In May of 1772, wearing a green silk eyeshade to protect his weakened eyes, Allen left Salisbury again for the Grants. He arrived to find Bennington in an uproar over rumors that Governor Tryon was heading for the Grants with British troops. The Green Mountain Boys chose Ira to ride to Albany to investigate the situation and lead an ambush of

the invasion force. Ira was willing, but the rumors proved unfounded; in fact, having failed with the stick, Tryon was now ready to offer a carrot to his stubborn Yankee opponents. On May 19, he proposed a truce, asking the New Hampshire claimants to send anyone but Ethan Allen and the others named in the December 11, 1771, reward proclamation to negotiate a settlement. Catamount Tavern owner Stephen Fay and his son Jonas went to New York, presented Tryon with a letter from the residents of Bennington and another from the outlawed leaders, and returned home with conciliatory promises of fair treatment to all inhabitants of the Grants. For the men and women of Bennington, few of whom held speculative interests in New Hampshire titles, this was an encouraging step forward, and on July 15 they gladly approved the truce in anticipation of further negotiations. Eight stormy years had passed since the King-in-Council's "to be" ruling, but now it seemed that a resolution of the struggle for the Grants was at hand.[9]

The euphoria of July 15 was premature. At work on new surveys in the Champlain Valley when the Bennington meeting was held, Ira Allen and Remember Baker learned that Yorker surveyor William Cockburn was back on the Grants and set out in pursuit. "Traversing the wilderness," Allen tracked his elusive quarry for several days before picking up the trail.

A lame leg sidelined him before the chase ended, but on July 18, Baker, Seth Warner, and a group of Green Mountain Boys captured Cockburn near Bolton. They destroyed his instruments, took him south to Castleton for a mock trial, and banished him from the Grants on pain of death if he ever returned. When the New York authorities heard the shaken Cockburn's side of the story, their reaction was predictable: the Green Mountain Boys remained a lawless banditti, and the only way to deal with them was with force, not reconciliation. Almost as soon as it had begun, the truce was over.[10]

Unaware of the impact the Cockburn incident would have, Allen spent the next few weeks applying homemade poultices to his bad leg and considering "the extent of the New Hampshire Grants, and [the] probable advantages that might arise by being contiguous to lake Champlain."[11] He presented this new insight to brothers Ethan and Heman, but they were cool to the idea, and Ira went back to the northern woods with Baker. In late September they stumbled across the Colchester camp of Benjamin Stevens, another New York surveyor willing to risk the wrath of the Green Mountain Boys. Lying in wait for Stevens and his party, Allen and Baker took them by surprise, stole their supplies, and threw one of Stevens' assistants into a fire before

sending the terrified Yorkers home with the usual colorful death threats. In the larger scheme of Grants events it was just another instance of Yankee defiance of New York, but to Ira Allen the Stevens incident was more significant. His exploration of the Burlington-Colchester area while chasing the Yorker surveyors had strengthened his resolve to concentrate his landholdings along the lake; and Stevens' outraged reports of the indignities heaped on him moved Ira into the company of brother Ethan and cousin Baker as a major Yankee troublemaker in the eyes of the New York authorities.[12]

After the confrontation with Stevens, Allen resumed his work in the Winooski River Valley. Surveying the town of Mansfield (today's Stowe and Underhill) for himself and a group of Connecticut investors, he found that his own lands there were worthless mountain acreage. Baker was highly amused by his young cousin's discovery, but Ira was determined to find a profitable way out of the dilemma. The way he handled the affair reveals a good deal about his personal sense of business ethics. In January of 1773, he met the other Mansfield proprietors at Salisbury and told them that his lands, covered with undesirable spruce and fir, actually abounded in valuable "gum-wood" trees, which he described as tall, straight, and much like the cherry

tree. Allen's story proved so convincing that the other speculators bought his Mansfield lands and paid him £90 for his survey, "which I considered of more consequence than the whole town." "Having closed this business satisfactorily," Ira recalled a quarter-century later, "I returned to my brother's and had a hearty laugh with my brothers Heman and Zimri, on informing them respecting the gum-wood &c." As many of his future business associates would learn the hard way, in Ira Allen's world all was fair where money was involved.[13]

But Ira had more important business in Salisbury in January of 1773 than small-time swindles of unsuspecting Grants proprietors. Firmly convinced by now of the potential of what he'd come to regard as "the country my soul delighted in," he convened a family meeting to try to persuade his skeptical relatives.[14] They were reluctant to give up their southern Grants properties for lands on the far northern frontier, but eventually Ira's persistence carried the day. He and brothers Ethan, Heman, and Zimri, along with Remember Baker, "agreed to join in partnership" in what they called the Onion River Land Company. Strictly a family concern, with no outside investors and little formal structure, the Company's only stated objectives were to buy New Hampshire title to lands in the Champlain and

Winooski River Valleys, encourage settlement in the area, and reap the profits from the resulting rise in real-estate prices. At the outset, with the question of which colonial government would rule the Grants still up in the air, it undoubtedly struck Ira's new partners that achieving even those limited goals would be difficult. His broader vision of a family empire of commercial and industrial activity centered around Burlington Bay and the falls of the Winooski River at Colchester would have to wait.[15]

Having created a new company, the Onion River partners worked hard to make something of it. Selling off their individual holdings, they pooled their resources and began purchasing as many rights to Champlain Valley land as they could acquire. Defying New York's standing rewards for their capture, Ira and his brothers rode up and down the Hudson River Valley to visit speculators who held lands in the towns they wanted. Although he was not a partner, Levi Allen bought a good deal of land for the Company on his travels throughout New England. With New Hampshire charters in disfavor among those speculators who anticipated an eventual New York victory in the fight for control of the Grants, the Allens bought at bargain prices; and since payments were largely in promissory notes, the clan was able to leverage its small cash reserves into an impressive

portfolio of deeds and titles. By the summer of 1775, the Onion River Land Company claimed ownership of more than 65,000 acres of the northwestern Vermont area. While this was a small amount by the standards of speculators elsewhere in the colonies, and although a handful of Yorker investors--James Duane, Goldsboro Banyar, Samuel Avery--claimed as much or more of the Grants under New York titles, the Company's holdings far exceeded any other investor's accumulation of New Hampshire titles.[16]

Ira Allen and his partners began promoting and developing their Champlain Valley lands as early as the spring of 1773. They offered easy terms of sale, contingent upon permanent settlement and improvement within a year. Advertisements in the Connecticut Courant by "Ethan Allen and Company" announced the availability of good farms in "a large tract of Land, situate on both sides the mouth of Onion River, and fronting westerly on Lake Champlain containing about forty five thousand acres." [17] Prospective settlers responded eagerly, bringing cash into the Onion River coffers and additional supporters into the anti-New York camp; among the most important entries in the latter category was Thomas Chittenden of Salisbury, future Governor of Vermont and one of Ira Allen's few close friends, who bought a Williston farm from the Company in May of 1773.[18]

Since the settlers who did move into the Champlain Valley in 1774-75, as well as those who purchased with the intention of going to the northern frontier within a few years, paid the Company far more for their farms than the land had cost the Allens, the early returns on the partners' decision to follow Ira's lead were quite encouraging.[19]

As the Onion River Land Company's most experienced woodsmen, Ira Allen and Remember Baker took responsibility for the partnership's frontier activities. Beginning in the summer of 1773, they cut rough roads from the southern Vermont settlements to the Winooski River to improve access to the area. Faced with a considerable problem in managing tens of thousands of acres acquired in rapid and haphazard fashion, they also directed surveying teams that established boundaries for hundreds of new lots and farms. Aware that their New York adversaries also had their eyes on the Champlain Valley, Baker and Allen built a blockhouse at the Colchester falls of the Winooski as a head-quarters for the ORLC and a trading post for settlers moving into the territory. The blockhouse, which Allen named Fort Frederick, was an imposing structure: two stories high, with outer dimensions of 20 feet by 32 feet, walls eight inches thick, 32 portholes in the upper story, "every part proof against small arms," and a spring within the walls to ensure

a water supply in case of siege. "In this situation, we were a terror to the New York claimants," Ira recalled proudly in his autobiography, and he was undoubtedly correct.[20] Until the American Revolution, Fort Frederick was the only fortified outpost on the Vermont side of the Champlain Valley, and its presence served as a warning to any Yorkers foolish enough to think about encroaching on what the Allens now considered family territory.

The Onion River Land Company made considerably more progress in its formative years than the majority of its American counterparts in the 1770s. The Susquehanna Company, founded in 1753, in which Joseph Allen had invested, managed to locate approximately 2,000 settlers in western Pennsylvania by the start of the Revolution, and Daniel Boone established Boonesborough for Richard Henderson's Transylvania Company in 1775, but there were few other backwoods land-speculation success stories. England's disapproval of large speculative grants in the 1760s and 1770s prevented the organizers of the Ohio Company, the Walpole Associates, and the Illinois Company from turning their immense claims into either settlements or profits.[21] With southern New England residents eager to move north to what they viewed as cheap, uncrowded, fertile lands, the Allens' Vermont venture had distinct advantages

over the larger operations elsewhere on the pre-war frontier. While the Allen empire was small, as long as New York remained unable to prevent settlement under Wentworth charters, it had excellent prospects for the future.

Ira Allen and his brothers recognized that the continued success of their company depended on keeping New York off the Grants. If New York won control of the area, the Company would certainly go bankrupt, and its owners would almost surely be arrested for past transgressions against New York authority. Well aware of the stakes, the Allens and Baker saw continued leadership of the anti-New York movement as an essential element of their Onion River scheme. In July of 1773, Ira played cat-and-mouse with New York surveyor Samuel Gale along the Winooski, never quite catching him but reminding nervous Yorkers "that there was no safety for them in any part of the district of the New Hampshire Grants, however far in the wilderness."^[22] Ethan Allen led additional Green Mountain Boy raids, terrorizing New York settlers in New Haven in August 1773 and in Clarendon three months later.^[23] In addition to billing the Company for all personal expenses incurred in their political activities, the Allens distributed Onion River lands "by way of Donation" to "Persons who have been active" against New York."^[24] As far as the ORLC partners were

concerned, any expenditures in support of the anti-New York cause were sound corporate investments.

By the summer of 1773, the New York government was totally frustrated over its inability to rule the Grants. On August 31, Governor Tryon asked for British troops to occupy the decaying forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point and crush the Green Mountain Boys, but general Frederick Haldimand, who would become a player in the Vermont drama during the Revolution, told Tryon that New York should be able to handle "a few lawless vagabonds" on its own.[25] Each new act of Yankee defiance was proof to the contrary, of course, but without army cooperation New York had few viable options. Finally, in early February 1774, the New York Assembly approved resolutions calling for additional bounties on the heads of Ethan Allen, Remember Baker, and five others. This was nothing new; on March 9, however, the Assembly went much further, passing a draconian new statute designed to frighten the Yankee faction into submission. Entitled "An Act for preventing tumultuous and riotous Assemblies," it outlawed the seven Yankee "ring-leaders" and declared them convicted felons if they failed to surrender themselves. The new law also established a one-year jail sentence for participation in "riotous" assemblies on the Grants, and made capital crimes of interference with New

York officials and harassment of Yorker settlers or supporters, both of which were favorite tactics of the Green Mountain Boys. As had been true with the 1770 Ejectment Trials, New York was again pinning its hopes on formal traditions of law and government as the cure for its frontier woes.[26]

As in 1770, however, the letter of the law carried little weight with the back-country dissidents on the Grants. Yankee meetings at Manchester and Arlington in early March 1774 denounced New York's February resolutions and vowed to continue the struggle. In April, Ethan Allen and his fellow outlaws published a defiant response to the March 9 law, which the anti-New York movement had quickly dubbed the "Bloody Act." Urging the inhabitants of the Grants to fight on against Yorker injustice, the Yankee "ring-leaders" closed with a bit of doggerel by Thomas Rowley of Danby condemning the "law made now of late,/ Which destines men to awful fate,/ And hangs and damns without a trial." [27] The Rowley poem and the prose of the address preceding it were relatively crude and unsophisticated, but as propaganda their passionate indictments of New York tyranny worked well among the people who mattered most, the residents of the Grants.

The anti-New York faction remained ready to use more direct methods where prose and poetry failed to persuade.

Sometime after the passage of the Bloody Act, in what became the most famous incident of Yankee intimidation, the Green Mountain Boys seized Dr. Samuel Adams of Arlington and took him to Bennington for trial. Convicted of supporting New York's claim to the Grants, Adams was hoisted in an armchair to the top of the Catamount Tavern signpost, where he endured two hours of humiliation beside a stuffed catamount positioned to snarl defiance in New York's direction. As with previous engagements of open-air theatre starring the Green Mountain Boys, the public effect of acting out the practical difference between Yorker words and Yankee action was considerable. "This mild and exemplary disgrace had a salutary effect on the Doctor," Ira Allen recalled drily, "and many others." [28] For Adams and the others in the dwindling circle of outspoken westside Yorkers, the tough talk of the Bloody Act was feeble ammunition when the Green Mountain Boys came calling.

Increasingly secure in their control of the western half of the Grants, the Yankee leaders also took steps in 1774 to neutralize their Yorker counterparts east of the mountains. In May of 1774, Ethan Allen wrote to Crean Brush and Samuel Wells of Brattleboro, who as Cumberland County's representatives to the New York Assembly had been instrumental in passage of the March 9 law. Their spreading

of "hatred and Malice" against the Yankee dissidents had been noted, Allen told them, and although they were "but busie Understrappers to a Number of More Overgrown Villains which Can Murther without remorse," they should mend their ways. "The Green Mountain Boys will Not Tamely resign their Necks to the Halter to be Hang'd by your Curst Fraternity of Land Jockeys who Would Better Adorn a Halter than we," Allen added, "there fore as You regard Your Own Lives be Carefull Not to Invade ours[,] for what Measure You Meat it shall be Measured to You again." Finally, in return for Brush's work in the Assembly, Ethan warned that "we Intend Shortly visiting your Abode," where administration of a whipping "with the Beech Seal" would convey more convincingly "the high Esteem we have of your Person." [29] There was probably no need for the Green Mountain Boys to carry out this last promise; in the atmosphere they'd created on the Grants, a good threat alone often sufficed.

Ira Allen was still working largely on his own in the Champlain Valley backcountry in the summer of 1774. Heman and Zimri back in Connecticut were buying lands for the Onion River Land Company, and Remember Baker and Ethan were more active with the Green Mountain Boys, so Ira was left to manage most of the Onion River Land Company's frontier operations. He continued surveying, cut additional roads,

supervised the work crews he had hired, and assisted settlers moving onto Company lands along the lake and the Winooski River. Concentrating much of his attention around the falls at Colchester, he built a sawmill and gristmill there near Fort Frederick, planted an apple orchard, and planned the distribution of farms and houses on both sides of the river. This was a happy and productive period for young Ira, one in which he alternated hard work with visionary musings on the potential of the lake and its valley. By the end of the summer, developing the "the country my soul delighted in" had become an obsession that would dominate the rest of his life. As Ira recalled a quarter-century later, his "ambition, vigor of youth, [and] a firm constitution" were now "united to acquire a character and fortune," and he devoted all his time and energy to working towards the commercial, industrial, and real-estate success the Allen family would enjoy once New York had been ejected from the Grants.[30]

Keeping New York off the Grants remained Ethan Allen's specialty. In late January 1775 he served as "judge" at the impromptu trial of Benjamin Hough, a particularly troublesome Yorker from Clarendon, handing down a sentence of 200 lashes that left Hough barely alive.[31] Ethan also took another stab at writing propaganda, this time trying

something more ambitious than the occasional newspaper articles he had produced since 1770.[32] Apparently written in the summer of 1774, A Brief Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of New York, Relative to their Obtaining Jurisdiction of that Large District of Land, to the Westward from Connecticut River was printed and ready for distribution in January of 1775.[33] As Charles Jellison has pointed out, the 211-page pamphlet was neither brief nor a narrative, but it was a major production for the anti-New York movement nonetheless.[34] The first detailed statement of the Yankee side of the Grants controversy, the Narrative lent an air of substance and legitimacy to the cause, and Ethan and his comrades regarded it as an impressive accomplishment.

In large part, A Brief Narrative was a rebuttal to the published work of the Allen family's principal Yorker nemesis, James Duane. In 1773 Duane published two pamphlets, A Narrative of the Proceedings Subsequent to the Royal Adjudication, Concerning Lands to the Westward of Connecticut River; Lately Usurped by New-Hampshire and A State of the Right of the Colony of New-York, with Respect to It's Eastern Boundary on Connecticut River, to detail New York's unassailable claim to the Grants.[35] Duane's style was dry and dusty, weighed down with endless

seventeenth and eighteenth-century precedents intended to prove that New Hampshire had never legally had jurisdiction west of the Connecticut River. It was unfortunate that some Yankee settlers had to suffer as a result, Duane wrote, but the law, "founded in Reason and Justice," wisely said, "'Caveat Emptor'"; perhaps a benevolent New York would give them other unoccupied lands elsewhere in exchange for their Vermont property. As for Yankee speculators like the Allens and their Onion River Land Company, those "wild Adventurers" deserved nothing for trying "to maintain by Force and Violence, what they had acquired by Wrong and Fraud." The Yankee insistence on the "Law of Self, and Family Preservation" as justification for the depredations of the Green Mountain Boys "might be pardoned, from an uncivilized Savage," but in civilized society they "disgrace an Assembly of Englishmen, who are taught to esteem the Laws as their best Birth Right, and the greatest Blessing that can be enjoyed." [36]

A Brief Narrative was very different from Duane's works. Ethan Allen could also quote (and misquote) chapter and verse of obscure precedents to counter Duane's "notorious and dishonorable Mis-Representations," but Ethan's real message was that the Yankee settlers had an inalienable natural right to the land they had endured

"extreme Fatigue, Hunger, and infinite Hardships" to make their own. The Yankees on the Grants were honest yeomen, loyal subjects of George III, who asked only for the chance to cultivate the farms they had bought in good faith from Governor Wentworth. The Yorker elite, on the other hand, were "Land-Monopolizers" and "insatiable Ravishers," working with their "crafty, desinging[sic], & monopolizing Government" to "deceive, cheat and over reach the Commonality of their Species, under a Pretence of Law, Justice, and Government, and a great pretended Zeal of Loyalty, &c." On New York's claims of fairness in dealing with the inhabitants of the Grants, Ethan raged, "Such Hypocrisy debases Human Nature, is the Pest of Society, [and] partakes of Falshood[sic] and Treachery." New York might have "Interest, Connection, and Grandeur" on its side, but the Yankees had the spirit of justice on theirs, and they would fight forever to protect their rights.[37]

A Brief Narrative reflected the American political rhetoric of its day. Like most of his seaboard and urban counterparts, Ethan Allen emphasized his faction's loyalty to the King, a stance many American revolutionary pamphleteers would quickly abandon after "the shot heard 'round the world" at Lexington Green. In Ethan's portrayal, the Yorkers, with their aristocratic attempts to impose tyranny

on the Grants, became the equivalents of the royal ministers and Parliament that America's radical writers were reviling in 1774-75. Allen's emotional adaptation of national revolutionary slogans and attitudes for local application had a powerful appeal, particularly among the Grants settlers who constituted the most important portion of his audience. More significantly, with the start of the American Revolution just a few months away, the Allens and their allies would soon find the arguments they had developed in their struggle for the Grants well-suited for application to the patriots' larger conflict with England. [38]

By the end of 1774, revolutionary sentiment had spread from coastal centers into most parts of the Grants. The inhabitants of the northern frontier had maintained strong ties to southern New England, where the anti-British message had first taken hold. Less occupied with the Yankee versus Yorker battles that raged on the west side, the communities east of the Green Mountains were quicker to establish the Grants' support for the growing colonial unrest. On October 19, 1774, six weeks after the First Continental Congress convened at Philadelphia, 18 delegates from 12 Cumberland County towns met at Westminster in response to a letter from the New York City Committee of Correspondence. The

eastiders resolved to resist Parliamentary oppression, to establish a five-man Committee of Correspondence, and to form a county Committee of Safety. In the short run, the Committee of Correspondence strengthened the area's links with revolutionary groups in Massachusetts and Connecticut; over the next two years, as New York's hold on the Grants weakened, the Cumberland County Committee of Safety became virtually the only functioning governmental body in operation east of the mountains.[39]

West of the Green Mountains, the fight against New York was still the Allen party's main priority. On January 31, 1775, 46 westside delegates, including Ethan, Heber and Ira Allen, gathered at Manchester for a two-day convention. "Taking into their most serious Consideration" the history of the Grants controversy, those present voted to resist New York, called for all Yorker officials on the Grants to renounce their commissions, recommended the arrest of James Duane and other leading Yorker land speculators, and alerted the Green Mountain Boys to "hold themselves in Readiness at a Minute's Warning, to maintain inviolable the foregoing Compact and Resolutions of this Convention." The Manchester meeting reasserted the Yankee side's loyalty to the King, but rather than "sink their Posterity into a State of Barbarism and Ignorance well fitted for Tenants to the New-

York Patentees," the delegates were determined "to make such just and equal Rules, Injunctions, Constitution and Officers as are judged necessary and expedient, for the best Good of the Inhabitants of this District aforesaid." In effect, the westside representatives had taken the first formal step toward independence for the New Hampshire Grants.[40]

The Westminster and Manchester conventions indicated the growing strength of the anti-establishment movements on the Grants early in 1775, but east and west still had not found a common focus for their revolutionary energies. While some of the eastside rebels were anti-New York, more were either pro-New York or neutral on the question of jurisdiction. A few, led by maverick Charles Phelps of Marlboro, actually favored having Massachusetts take over the southeastern quadrant of the Grants. On the west, although the anti-New York faction was in charge, the Allens and their followers had not yet attracted any outside support for their Yankee insurrection. On the eve of the American Revolution, the potential existed for uniting the north country malcontents; what was lacking was some event or issue to bring them together. Ira Allen and his brothers had long wished for a local catalyst to merge the priorities of east and west, anti-Britain and anti-New York into a

working agenda for the future of the Grants; now, as the spring of 1775 approached, one was at hand.

NOTES

1. The most detailed physical descriptions of IA are a British passport of May 17, 1798, and a French passport of Oct. 1, 1800, photocopies in AFP, box 18, folder 51, and box 21, folder 117, respectively.

2. E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., The Documentary History of the State of New York (Albany, N.Y.: Charles Van Benthuyssen, 1849-51), 4 vols., 4: 663-67 and 672-75. For general background, see Matt B. Jones, Vermont in the Making 1750-1777 (1939; reprint ed., Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1968), chaps. 10-11.

3. Richard M. Brown, "Back Country Rebellions and the Homestead Ethic in America, 1740-1799," in R. M. Brown & Don E. Fehrenbacher, eds., Tradition, Conflict, and Modernization: Perspectives on the American Revolution (New York: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 73-99; James E. Crowley, "The Paxton Disturbance and Ideas of Order in Pennsylvania Politics," Pennsylvania History, 37 (1970): 317-39; George W. Franz, "Paxton: A Study of Community Structure and Mobility in the Colonial Pennsylvania Backcountry," (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1974); Staughton Lynd, Anti-Federalism in Dutchess County, New York (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1962), ch. 3; Irving Mark, Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York, 1711-1775 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), ch. 6; James P. Whittenberg, "Planters, Merchants, and Lawyers: Social Change and the Origins of the North Carolina Regulation," WMQ, 3rd ser., 34, 2 (April 1977): 215-38.

4. Hiland Hall, The History of Vermont (Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell, 1868), p. 130.

5. Ibid., p. 133; Michael A. Bellesiles, "Life, Liberty, and Land: Ethan Allen and the Frontier Experience in Revolutionary New England," (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Irvine, 1986), pp. 245-50. In addition to Bellesiles, Donald A. Smith, "Legacy of Dissent: Religion and Politics in Revolutionary Vermont, 1749 to 1784," (Ph.D. diss., Clark University, 1980), offers considerable detail on the Green Mountain Boys.

6. Edward Countryman, "'Out of the Bounds of the Law': Northern Land Rioters in the Eighteenth Century," in Alfred F. Young, ed., The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism (DeKalb, IL.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976), pp. 37-69; A. Roger

Ekrich, "Poor Carolina": Politics and Society in Colonial North Carolina, 1729-1776 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981), chaps. 6-7; Dirk Hoerder, Crowd Action in Revolutionary Massachusetts, 1765-1780 (New York: Academic Press, 1977); Marvin L. Michael Kay, "The North Carolina Regulation, 1766-1776: A Class Conflict," in Young, ed., The American Revolution, pp. 71-123; Pauline Maier, "Popular Uprisings and Civil Authority in Eighteenth Century America," WMQ, 3rd ser., 27, 1 (January 1970): 3-35; Thomas L. Purvis, "Origins and Patterns of Agrarian Unrest in New Jersey, 1735-1754," WMQ, 3rd series, 39, 4 (October 1982): 600-27; John P. Reid, "In a Defensive Rage: The Uses of the Mob, the Justification in Law, and the Coming of the American Revolution," New York University Law Review, 49 (1974): 1043-91; Alan Taylor, "'A Kind of Warr': The Contest for Land on the Northeastern Frontier, 1750-1820," WMQ, 3rd ser., 46, 1 (January 1989): 3-26; Gordon S. Wood, "A Note on Mobs in the American Revolution," WMQ, 3rd ser., 23, 4 (October 1966): 635-42.

7. Hall, History of Vermont, pp. 134-36. On William Tryon as Governor of New York, see Paul D. Nelson, William Tryon and the Course of Empire: A Life in British Imperial Service (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), chaps. 6-7.

8. IA autobiography, in James B. Wilbur, Ira Allen: Founder of Vermont 1751-1814 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), 2 vols., 1: 8-13. Allen's 1773 manuscript "Book Containing the most Usefull Rules in Surveying Wrote with my own Hand and Agreeable to my Invention" is in VSA.

9. IA autobiography, 1: 13; Hall, History of Vermont, pp. 138-41; William Slade, ed., Vermont State Papers (Middlebury, Vt.: J. H. Copeland, 1823), pp. 22-29.

10. IA autobiography, 1: 14. IA, The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 23.

11. IA autobiography, 1: 15.

12. Ibid., 1: 15-19; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, 4: 485.

13. IA autobiography, 1: 20-37, quotes from page 37. For details of a similar IA swindle involving speculator Samuel Avery, idem, 1: 37-38 and 41-42.

14. Ibid., 1: 53.
15. Ibid., 1: 38; J. Kevin Graffagnino, "'The Country My Soul Delighted In': The Onion River Land Company and the Vermont Frontier," NEQ, 65, 1 (March 1992): 24-60. "Winooski" is the Abenaki Indian word for "onion," and the ORLC's name reflects the Yankee settlers' preference for the English version of the river's name.
16. IA autobiography, 1: 39-41; Edward Burling deed to the ARLC for several Champlain Valley rights, photostat in AFP, box 3, folder 7; copies of Allen deeds for purchases in the town of Colchester are in Colchester Proprietors' Records, UVM, 1: 189-231; ORLC to Levi Allen, Feb. 15, 1774, AFP, box 3, folder 49; Levi Allen deeds and documents concerning Champlain Valley purchases 1773-74, AFP, boxes 2-4. On the Grants holdings of New York speculators, Hall, History of Vermont, pp. 506-11.
17. Connecticut Courant, May 29, 1773. Levi Allen published a similar advertisement for his own Champlain Valley lands, Connecticut Courant, November 21, 1774.
18. ORLC agreement with Thomas Chittenden, Jonathan Spafford, and Abijah Pratt, May 12, 1773, photostat in AFP, box 3, folder 14.
19. IA bond to Joseph Jerway, Oct. 14, 1774, photostat in AFP, box 3, folder 86.
20. IA autobiography, 1: 41-59, quote from p. 44; Ethan Allen to Benjamin Ferris, May 10, 1773, AFP, box 3, folder 13.
21. Julian P. Boyd, The Susquehannah Company: Connecticut's Experiment in Expansion (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1935); George E. Lewis, The Indiana Company, 1763-1798: A Study in Eighteenth Century Frontier Land Speculation and Business Venture (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1941); Shaw Livermore, Early American Land Companies: Their Influence on Corporate Development (1939; reprint ed., New York: Octagon Books, 1968); Aaron M. Sakolski, The Great American Land Bubble (New York: Harper Brothers, 1932); Daniel M. Friedenbergh, Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Land: The Plunder of Early America (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1992), ch. 12.
22. IA autobiography, 1: 45-49, quote from p. 49; IA, History, pp. 29-36.

23. Hall, History of Vermont, pp. 164-65 and 172-73; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, 4: 512-16.

24. Ethan Allen, bill to ORLC for expenses on behalf of the anti-New York cause, March 15, 1775, photostat in AFP, Box 4, folder 18.

25. O'Callaghan, Documentary History, 4: 511-12; idem, 4: 534, on a similar New York request to Gen. Thomas Gage, Sept. 1, 1774, and his refusal.

26. Slade, Vermont State Papers, pp. 37-38 and 42-48.

27. Ibid., pp. 38-42 and 49-54.

28. IA, History (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 27; Hall, History of Vermont, pp. 187-88.

29. Ethan Allen to Crean Brush and Samuel Wells, May 19, 1774, AFP 3-67; for general background on events in eastern Vermont in the early 1770s, Benjamin H. Hall, History of Eastern Vermont (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1858), chaps. 7-8.

30. IA autobiography, 1: 53; Colchester Proprietors' Records, UVM, 1: 11-14; IA memo of survey of Brown Chamberlain's land, Burlington, Nov. 10, 1774, photostat in AFP, box 3, folder 90; Walter H. Crockett, "Ira Allen and Colchester," Papers and Proceedings of the Vermont Antiquarian Society, 1, 1 (1897-1900): 19-35.

31. Hall, History of Vermont, pp. 188-89; O'Callaghan, Documentary History, 4: 539-44.

32. "The Vision of Junus the Benningtonite," Connecticut Courant, Sept. 22, 1772 is the longest of the unsigned articles often attributed to Ethan Allen; republished in Collections of the Vermont Historical Society, 1 (1870): 106-08.

33. (1774), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 1: 1-113.

34. Charles A. Jellison, Ethan Allen: Frontier Rebel (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1969), p. 95.

35. Narrative (New York: John Holt, 1773); State of the Right (New York: H. Gaine, 1773).

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38. Bernard Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967); idem, Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750-1776 (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1965); Philip G. Davidson, Propaganda and the American Revolution, 1763-1783 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941); Pauline Maier, From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972); Arthur M. Schlesinger, Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764-1776 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958); Carl Berger, Broadsides & Bayonets: The Propaganda War of the American Revolution (1961; rev. ed., San Rafael, Ca.: Presidio Press, 1976); John Phillip Reid, The Concept of Liberty in the Age of the American Revolution (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Michael Kammen, Spheres of Liberty: Changing Perceptions of Liberty in American Culture (Madison, Wi.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986), Part One; Joyce Appleby, "The Social Origins of American Revolutionary Ideology," Journal of American History, 64, 4 (March 1978): 935-58; Larzer Ziff, Writing in the New Nation: Prose, Print, and Politics in the Early United States (New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 1991), ch. 2.

39. G & C, 1: 317-22; Hall, Eastern Vermont, pp. 198-205.

40. The Proceedings of the Convention of the Representatives of the New-Hampshire Settlers, Containing the Covenant, Compact and Resolutions and Also, Twelve Acts of Outlawry, Passed by the Legislature of the Province of New-York, Against Those Settlers, and Their Answer to the Same (Hartford, Conn.: Ebenezer Watson, 1775), pp. 3-4 and 7.

CHAPTER 3

THE REVOLUTION BEGINS

Frontier conditions still prevailed throughout the New Hampshire Grants on the eve of the American Revolution. In early 1775, the area between the upper Hudson and Connecticut rivers contained large stretches of open, cheap land, as a result of which considerable opportunity remained for hardy buyers. Settlement had pushed as far north as Colchester on the west and Maidstone on the east, but many Grants towns still had only a few inhabitants. The western Abenaki Indians, their numbers cut sharply by disease and European encroachments since 1700, maintained a presence in the northern half of the Grants, most noticeably at an ancient village in Swanton beside the falls of the Missisquoi River. There were few roads of any kind on the Grants, and travel in all seasons was easier by water than by land. Even in the most heavily settled areas, wolves and an occasional catamount stole livestock and provided inspiration for tales of the dangers of life in the northern New England back-country.[1]

By 1775 there were approximately 20,000 white settlers living on the Grants. Nearly all were farmers, working a living from soil that by New England standards would remain rich and fertile for another two generations. Most Grants residents owned their own farms, and many held title to a

few hundred timbered acres as well, but large-scale speculation among actual inhabitants was quite rare; certainly there were no rivals among the settlers to the Allens and their Onion River Land Company. The average Grants farmer tilled approximately five to ten per cent of his land; a diligent individual might clear three acres a summer by the slow, tedious processes of girdling and burning trees. Because land was cheap, hired labor was expensive. Men had little incentive to work for others when they could buy their own farms on easy credit terms. The principal Grants crops were corn, wheat, oats, and rye, with beef cattle and swine, fruit trees and maple sugaring providing additional food and an occasional small surplus for barter and exchange. With the backwoods economy still in its earliest stages of development, cash was scarce. Many were in debt to a few, and a good deal of economic tension existed on the northern frontier.[2]

A dozen years after settlement had begun in earnest, only a few towns of any size on the Grants. Bennington, Westminster, Windsor, Brattleboro, and a handful of other communities, all in the southern half of the Grants, had small cohesive villages with a tavern or inn, gristmills and sawmills on local waterways, and perhaps a general store. Few lawyers, doctors, or ministers, no schools, and only a

handful of churches were to be found. News of the outside world reached the frontier, but the spread of information was haphazard. Since no printer had yet set up shop on the Grants, there were no newspapers either, and the Allens had to go to Hartford, Connecticut, to have their anti-New York pamphlets printed. Visitors to Bennington or Westminster could see a slight resemblance to the villages of western Connecticut, but living conditions throughout the rest of the Vermont area remained rough and uninviting by southern New England standards.[3]

Still, the Grants were definitely a New England society. The great majority of the residents had migrated north, many of them from western Connecticut and Massachusetts. Financially, most were from New England's lower middle-class; all dreamed of prosperity on the frontier, but few were either very poor or very wealthy on their arrival. The New England tradition of freehold farms, rather than tenant farming, was strong on the Grants, as New York's landlord-speculators had learned. The settlers' cultural baggage included a preference for open town meetings as the basis of local government, and they had already begun to chafe at the control exercised over some towns by absentee proprietors. In religion, most of the settlers who belonged to an established denomination were

Congregationalists and Baptists, but there were deep splits developing between the New Lights, Separatists, and New Side Presbyterians who predominated among the Green Mountain Boys and their supporters and the more conservative Old Light, Old Side Presbyterian, and Anglican residents.[4]

Other differences among Grants residents in 1775 were products of geography. The Green Mountains were not only a physical barrier, they marked a social and cultural dividing line as well. The eastern half of the Grants had a higher population, larger and better developed villages, and a more stable and mature society. The east's closest ties extended across the Connecticut River to New Hampshire towns often settled by friends and neighbors who came from the same parts of southern New England as the eastside Grants settlers. For the river towns, the Connecticut was thought of as a link rather than a boundary, a perception that would come into play frequently during the American Revolution. Less threatened than westerners by overlapping New Hampshire and New York charters, easterners were less militant on the anti-New York movement and less prone to produce incidents of Yankee-Yorker violence. In short, the distance between the two halves of the Grants was much more than just a question of miles and mountains.[5]

The east-west split was a serious problem for the Allens and their Yankee faction. Battling New York on the

west side had taken all their energy for five years, and the results had been encouraging. Now, with New York's control over the western half of the Grants virtually eliminated, the Allens had to think seriously about the next step, providing an alternative to New York jurisdiction. Returning the Grants to New Hampshire remained a popular option, but Crown approval seemed unlikely. Ethan Allen had discussed the Yankee dilemma with Philip Skene, owner and lord-in-residence of a manor at the southern end of Lake Champlain, and Skene had expressed great enthusiasm for becoming Governor of a new province encompassing the Grants and the northeastern New York back-country.[6] That appeared promising, but to do anything--hold off New York, reintroduce New Hampshire's claim, or work with Skene for the creation of a new royal province--the Allens needed to establish much closer ties to the Connecticut River towns and the prospective revolutionaries among their leaders.

The turning point in favor of the westside Yankee hopes of uniting the Grants came in March of 1775. On March 13, some 100 eastside men occupied the Cumberland County court house at Westminster to prevent the scheduled session of the court from trying local debtor-creditor cases. The county judges had previously agreed to convene the court only long enough to hear evidence in one felony case, but

sheriff William Patterson declared that the court would not bow to mob pressure and ordered the rioters to disperse. When they refused, Patterson and an armed posse returned to the court house on the night of March 13 and fired on the building's occupants. The opening volley killed one man, fatally injured a second, and wounded eight others. Patterson and the posse then stormed the court house, imprisoned those left inside, crowding both wounded and uninjured rioters into two small rooms for the remainder of the night, and declared the restoration of law and order accomplished.[7]

The next morning, March 14, the county court convened just long enough for justices Thomas Chandler and Noah Sabin to adjourn to the June session. Realizing that their show of strength had gotten seriously out of hand, the court's officers hastily prepared a "State of the Facts" that characterized the previous night's melee as a necessary action against lawless, violent vagabonds. Yet despite the court's appeal for support from "Reasonable Inhabitants," by noon several hundred men from both sides of the Connecticut River had gathered at Westminster in support of the imprisoned rioters. This new vigilante group quickly retook the court house and jailed the sheriff, posse, judges, and officials of the court. What had begun as a minor flare-up

of debtor-creditor tension now had the look of a local rebellion.[8]

The Cumberland County court house altercation might have remained an eastside affair, but on March 15 a band of Green Mountain Boys under Lieutenant Robert Cochran arrived in Westminster. Describing the recent incident as a heroic uprising against New York tyranny, Cochran and his men offered their services to continue the struggle. Ethan Allen and his followers had warned the Grants residents of New York's corrupt and oppressive ways, and now here was tragic proof. Deceased rioter William French and his dying companion Daniel Houghton were brave martyrs to the cause of liberty, the westsiders proclaimed, slain by treacherous Yorker authorities and proof that there was no justice for the Grants under New York's rule. The Connecticut River Valley had heard and read the westside Yankee rhetoric before, but now the deaths of French and Houghton made it far more powerful. From now on, when the Allen brothers wrote or spoke their anti-New York message, the residents of the eastern half of the Grants were more inclined to listen.[9]

The Westminster Massacre, as the incident soon became known, served as a catalyst for the Vermont region in another way as well. With revolutionary fervor spreading

throughout New England in the early spring of 1775, the incident at Westminster fit in well with the rising tide of anti-British feeling. In the larger scheme of things, the unfortunate French and Houghton could be portrayed as American martyrs as well as regional ones, blurring the distinction between British tyranny and New York injustice in a way that served the purposes of both the Yankee faction and the Whig movement on the Grants. Thus a single atrocity brought the Allens and their eastside counterparts closer to agreement on the twin issues of regional autonomy and national independence from England.[10]

When war broke out between Great Britain and the American colonies in April of 1775, Ira Allen and his brothers quickly joined their frontier insurrection to the national rebellion. As the eldest and most sincerely revolutionary, Ethan led his family's support of the American cause. By early May, he was talking with Connecticut rebel leaders about the feasibility of seizing Fort Ticonderoga, which both sides in the war considered a critical military outpost in any North American conflict. "Key to the continent" in 1758-59, Ticonderoga had barely been garrisoned since the end of the French and Indian War. But even in a dilapidated condition, the fort was valuable because of its location on the Champlain Valley's strategic

north-south invasion route. For the immediate future, the American rebels were particularly interested in acquiring Ticonderoga's dozens of heavy cannon, since artillery was in very short supply in the colonies. As the closest thing to a military unit on the northern frontier in the spring of 1775, the Green Mountain Boys were the logical choice for executing an American attack on the fort.[11]

The American expedition against Ticonderoga in May 1775 was a loosely organized, haphazard affair. Ethan Allen gathered his Green Mountain Boys at Castleton, while a small contingent of Connecticut and Massachusetts militia made its way north to the Grants. By May 9, some 200 men had assembled at Shoreham, across the narrow lake from the fort. Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold, who had arrived with a commission from the Massachusetts Committee of Safety, quarreled briefly over who should lead the attack, then compromised by agreeing to a joint command for a dawn assault. A shortage of boats left most of the rebel force stranded on the eastern shore, but in the early morning of May 10 Allen and Arnold led 83 men to the crumbling fort. Walking through the open front gate, they woke the sleeping garrison of four dozen British soldiers and took possession without firing a shot, "In the name of the great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress." "The sun seemed to rise that

morning with a superior lustre," was Ethan Allen's recollection, "and Ticonderoga and its dependencies smiled on its conquerors, who tossed about the flowing bowl, and wished success to Congress, and the liberty and freedom of America." [12]

The capture of Fort Ticonderoga, along with the taking of Skenesboro and Crown Point the next day, constituted the first offensive action of the American Revolution and a major victory for the patriots. Ever impetuous, Ethan Allen was eager to make the most of the moment. An ill-advised sortie to the northern end of Lake Champlain ended in ignominious flight from the British outpost at St. Johns on May 20, but Ethan remained convinced that Canada was ripe for the taking. On May 29, he wrote to the Continental Congress, urging them to organize an army for an immediate attack on Montreal and Quebec. "Provided I had but five hundred men with me at saint Johns," Allen declared, "I would have advanced to Montreal[.] Nothing Strengthens our friends in Canada Equal to our Prosperity in Takeing the Severanity of Lake Champlain[.]" The people of Canada and the northern Indians were sympathetic to the American cause, Ethan promised, and a quick, bold invasion would surely succeed. [13]

Yet Ethan Allen had regional as well as national priorities on his mind. Whether or not Congress agreed to

invade Canada, the Allen brothers were determined to protect the Grants against attack from the north. They knew that some American leaders wanted to abandon Ticonderoga and Lake Champlain and establish the northern line of American defense at the south end of Lake George. This would be disastrous for the inhabitants of the Grants, Ethan told Congress, since it would leave them completely defenseless against the mighty British army and its Indian allies. The Green Mountain Boys and their families had risked everything to give Congress control of the lake and its valley, and if "they should after all their Good Service in behalf of their Country be Neglected and Left Exposed they will be of all men most Consummately miserable." [14]

Working at Fort Frederick when the expedition against Ticonderoga began, Ira Allen apparently reached the southern end of the lake too late to join in the triumphant assault. Only Remember Baker could match his knowledge of the lake's eastern shore, however, and Ira soon became a valuable scout for the American command. His duties ranged from spying on the British at the northern end of the Champlain Valley to escorting loyalists and other British subjects to the enemy's lines. Sometimes his responsibilities were undemanding, as when he deposited Brooke Watson, English merchant and future Lord Mayor of London, in a swamp three

miles from the nearest house.[15] More often, though, Allen's work as frontier scout that first summer of the war was quite dangerous. "Send no scout after me," he wrote to Benedict Arnold from Colchester on June 20, "from this Date I Shall Go Principally in the Night so as to Get Down undiscovered." No British army or scouting party could slip past him, Ira assured Arnold, and given the freedom to operate independently, he promised to "Loase my Life or See St. Johns & Know their Numbers and motion and Whether there is any Canadians or Indians Joind them." [16]

While the Continental Congress was preparing for the invasion of Canada, the Allen family suffered two major political setbacks in the summer of 1775. The first came in late July, when a westside convention met at Dorset to organize a new Green Mountain Boy regiment for addition to the northern American army. Congress had agreed to let the inhabitants of the Grants choose their own officers, rather than having them appointed by New York, and Ethan Allen expected to become Lieutenant-Colonel and commander of the regiment. The convention, however, had other ideas. The delegates made Heman Allen a captain and Ira a lieutenant, but they chose steady, deliberate Seth Warner over Ethan for the top position by a vote of 41-5. Stunned by this rejection, Ethan blamed his defeat on the conservatism of

"the old men," and criticized them for slighting him after "I saved them from the encroachments of New York." That did not change the convention's decision, though, and the Green Mountain Boys in the new regiment began preparations for joining Philip Schuyler's invasion army without their longtime leader.[17]

The second misfortune to strike the Allen family at this time was more serious, and far more painful for Ira. Soon after the Dorset convention, Remember Baker was killed in a skirmish with a band of Indians near the British outpost at Isle aux Noix. Baker's death at the age of 35 was a hard blow for his young cousin. More than any other individual, Baker had been Ira's mentor on the frontier, and the two had become very close during their years of surveying and exploring the northern Vermont wilderness. The anti-New York faction and the Onion River Land Company had lost an important leader with Baker's death, but for Ira the loss was that of his dearest friend. Although he was only 25, Allen served as executor of his cousin's estate and became guardian of Baker's young son and daughter.[18]

After several months of planning and debating, the American invasion of Canada finally got under way late in the summer of 1775. Eschewing a formal rank or commission, Ethan Allen attached himself to the American army, while

Seth Warner's Green Mountain Boy regiment assembled at Crown Point in early September. There were only about 170 men in the regiment, little more than a third of the 500-man battalion Congress had authorized. Still, the Grants Yankees looked impressive in their uniforms of green coats with red facing, blue-and-white checked shirts, and buckskin vests and breeches, and their ranks included many experienced woodsmen and veterans of the anti-New York raids. Captain Heman Allen and Lieutenant Ira Allen were among those present when the regiment joined General Richard Montgomery's command at Isle aux Noix on September 16.[19]

Soon after the Green Mountain Boy regiment connected with the American army, word came of a disastrous Ethan Allen misadventure. Ethan had been roaming the Richelieu and St. Lawrence valleys on recruiting and foraging expeditions, and in late September he appeared near Montreal with some 85 French-Canadian and 25 New England recruits. Certain that Montreal was too lightly defended to withstand a surprise attack, he began to dream of the glory the leader of a successful American assault would receive. Working out a plan with Colonel John Brown of Massachusetts, Allen neglected to inform Montgomery of his intentions before launching an attack from the north side of the city on the morning of September 25. When Brown inexplicably failed to

lead his 200 men in from the south, Allen and his motley band were left stranded. Most fled at the first volley from the city's defenders; the remainder, including the hero of Ticonderoga, soon surrendered.[20]

Ira Allen had little time to mourn his brother's capture or to reflect on its implications for the family and the Yankee movement on the Grants. Warner's regiment was busy throughout October 1775 at Laprairie and Longeuil, participating in American attempts to keep British forces under Guy Carleton bottled up in Montreal. The British fort at St. Johns fell on November 3 after a stubborn siege of six weeks, and 10 days later Montgomery's army occupied Montreal. Allen emerged briefly from junior-officer anonymity on November 15, when he carried a message demanding the surrender of the British fleet at Sorel. Seth Warner and nearly all of his men departed for the Grants on November 20, but Ira apparently decided to see the invasion through. He and about a dozen of his Yankee companions watched the regiment leave for home, then braved the fast-approaching Canadian winter to head down the St. Lawrence with Montgomery to the British stronghold at Quebec.[21]

The rebel siege of Quebec was a dismal failure. The remains of Benedict Arnold's 1,100 men, exhausted by their march through the Maine woods, met Montgomery's command at

Quebec in early December, but the citadel and its defenders proved far tougher than American strategists had anticipated. Finally, after a month of ineffectual sorties, and facing the end of many of their troops' enlistments with the coming New Year, Montgomery and Arnold planned a nighttime attack for December 30. Ira Allen was part of a diversionary raid on Cape Diamond, where his job was to set off the rockets that would signal the beginning of the main attack. Allen fired his rockets in a blinding snowstorm, but virtually nothing else went as planned. Montgomery was killed and Arnold wounded early in the attack, and at daybreak half the Americans were dead or captured, with the British still in full control of the city.[22]

The debacle at Quebec was more than enough for Ira Allen. He stayed with the remnants of the American army outside Quebec until February 1776 and then started the long journey home. Seth Warner had raised another Green Mountain Boy regiment in response to frantic appeals from Congress and the American command in Canada, but if Allen met the regiment while he was traveling south, it didn't inspire him to reenlist. Perhaps he recognized the hopelessness of trying to hold Canada once spring brought a new British army across the Atlantic; more likely, he had simply reassessed his priorities. "I left the continental army before

Quebec," he recalled 25 years later, "and returned to the New-Hampshire grants, for the express purpose of supporting the titles to land, granted by the governor of the province of New-Hampshire, against illegal claims of land speculators, under subsequent grants made by the governor of the colony of New-York." [23] Ira would serve the American cause again, but never outside the Grants. From now on, the regional revolution came first.

Allen returned to an area apprehensive about its military future and unsure of its political one. Everyone on the Grants knew that if the British pushed the American army out of Canada, a southward invasion via the Champlain Valley would surely follow. Against that backdrop, the question of Yankee or Yorker was inconsequential, but that did not prevent Grants residents from continuing their long-running political feud. In late November of 1775, the Cumberland County Committee of Safety had met to nominate officers for New York militia regiments, approving a solidly conservative, eastside, Old Light, and Anglican slate. On January 16, 1776, a westside convention at Dorset appointed Heman Allen and four others to draft an anti-New York petition to Congress and agreed to pay the committee's expenses to present it in person. Unless the upcoming northern campaign of 1776 went badly for the British, none

of the political posturing would matter; but if luck favored the rebels, the competing Grants factions were prepared to make their cases again.[24]

On his return, Ira Allen found himself thrust into a much more prominent position on the Grants than he had filled a year earlier. Some of the change stemmed from the added maturity that came from his service as an officer in Canada. Equally important, however, was the simple fact that the Allens, once so deep in energetic and influential men, now faced a severe leadership crisis. Remember Baker was dead; Ethan Allen was in a British prison; and Zimri Allen, he of the sweet disposition and frail constitution, was dying at 28. Even with the Onion River Land Company's activities suspended until the war ended, the family needed to promote the anti-New York cause and defend their extensive land claims under the Wentworth titles. Heman Allen had already taken on some of the responsibility, and he would soon carry the second Dorset convention's petition to Congress. Yet increasingly in the months and years to come, it would be Ira Allen who took the lead in protecting the family's interests.[25]

But in the short run, concerns about the war and the British army driving south from Canada dominated the summer of 1776 on the northern frontier. As he had the previous

year, Ira Allen put his backwoods experience and solitary style to good use by serving as a Champlain Valley scout for an American command anxiously anticipating Guy Carleton's attack. Aware of what a British victory would do to the American cause, Allen was also worried about the threat to the residents of the Grants. Meeting with Generals Sullivan, Gates, Schuyler, and Arnold at Crown Point in early July, he secured their approval for a series of small forts stretching across the northern Grants from Colchester to Coos. The forts would help protect the Grants, he wrote to the inhabitants of Poultney a few days later, and the fleet that Benedict Arnold was building at Skenesboro "will be able to beat all the powers of Britain on this lake." [26] Allen must have known he was painting a far more rosy picture than the facts warranted, but his air of confidence may have provided some comfort to the few settlers who still had not retreated well south of the military theater.

Yet Ira's cheerful assurances notwithstanding, by July of 1776 it was obvious that the British might win the war with a decisive victory in the Champlain Valley. Guy Carleton's army of 16,000 men had easily swept the residue of the American invasion force from Canada, and now the enemy was poised to drive south to Albany. The ragged northern American army of a few thousand men, many unfit for

duty, was little deterrent to Carleton's progress; what kept him waiting at St. Johns through the summer of 1776 was the need to establish naval as well as land superiority. Benedict Arnold had set up a makeshift shipyard at Skenesboro, and the assortment of gondolas, galleys and schooners he was hurriedly constructing out there gave Carleton pause. The British began building their own ships at St. Johns, assembling a much stronger fleet than Arnold's, but it was early autumn before the cautious Carleton was ready to launch his armada and begin the hunt for Arnold's squadron. [27]

While the military drama in the Champlain Valley was unfolding, the Yankee faction on the Grants resumed activity. In late June, the westside leaders sent out a call for a third convention "at the dwelling house of Mr. Cephas Kent, innholder at Dorset." On July 24, 1776, 49 delegates from 32 towns assembled at Dorset. Two of the 49 were from Townshend, the first time any town east of the Green Mountains had sent representatives to a westside meeting. Among the 47 westerners were Ira and Heman Allen, representing the towns of Colchester and Middlebury, respectively.

The third Dorset convention lasted two days. Heman Allen reported on his trip to Philadelphia and the

Continental Congress' suggestion that the Grants submit to New York "for the present" with the promise that such submission would not prejudice consideration of their case once the war ended. Rejecting Congress' advice, the delegates voted 48-1 in favor of a resolution recommending, "That application be made to the inhabitants of said Grants to form the same into a separate District." The Grants would continue to support the American Revolution, the convention pledged, "under all the ties held sacred amongst Mankind"; but cooperation with, or even temporary obedience to, New York were out of the question. In the future, the Dorset meeting unanimously agreed, any residents of the Grants who followed New York "shall be deemed enemies to the Common Cause." Three weeks after the national declaration of independence from England, it appeared that at least some on the Grants were ready for a regional declaration of their own. [28]

The westside move for a permanent break with New York continued to accelerate in the summer of 1776. In early August, Heman Allen crossed the Green Mountains with Jonas Fay of Bennington and William Marsh of Manchester to attend a joint meeting of the Cumberland and Gloucester Committees of Safety. Asking for eastside support for the new-state drive, they urged the Connecticut River towns to send

delegates to the next Dorset convention in late September. Allen and his colleagues must have been persuasive, since when the fourth Dorset convention opened on September 25, among the 56 delegates from 36 towns were representatives of eight eastside communities. The Dorset meeting un-animously reaffirmed the July 24 resolution in favor of a new state, which New York's "disingenuous conduct" and its "illegal, unjustifiable and unreasonable measures" made necessary. The delegates also decided to prepare a new petition to Congress on the statehood issue, in the hope that a more eloquent representation of the Grants' case might offset New York's considerable influence in the national legislature.[29]

Ira Allen rose gradually in the hierarchy of the revolutionary faction on the Grants in 1776. At the third Dorset convention in July, he, Thomas Chittenden, and Jonas Fay served as a committee to instruct Heman Allen and the others selected to solicit eastside support for the new-state proposal. The September convention gave him a more important assignment, naming him to tour Cumberland and Gloucester counties to gather signatures in support of the Dorset meetings' proceedings and resolutions, and to publicize the next Grants meeting, scheduled for October 30 at Westminster. Neither Ira nor Heman could hope to match

the absent Ethan's ability to dominate public discussions, but Heman's calm, quiet style and Ira's youthful energy combined to compensate at least partially for the hole Ethan's capture had left atop the Yankee faction. Together with other emerging westside leaders--Jonas and Joseph Fay of Bennington, Thomas Chittenden of Arlington, Joseph Bowker of Rutland, who acted as chairman of the third and fourth Dorset conventions--the two brothers helped reenergize the anti-New York movement and spread the most recent version of its message throughout the Grants.

Ira's tour of the east side, which occupied the entire month of October, took him away from the Champlain Valley just as the campaign of 1776 was near its climax. In early October, Guy Carleton and his commodore, Thomas Pringle, set sail from St. Johns in search of Benedict Arnold's American fleet. The British found the Americans on the morning of October 11 at Valcour Island, where Arnold had anchored his 16 vessels at the narrow northern end of the channel between the island and the New York shore. This well-chosen position forced Pringle to attack from the south against the wind, which temporarily neutralized the greater firepower of the British ships. By the end of the day, however, the British had gained the advantage, and even a daring nighttime flight south by the remainder of Arnold's battered

fleet only delayed the inevitable for two days. Arnold and most of his men escaped capture, but their vessels had been sunk or burned, and by nightfall of October 13, 1776, the British had undisputed naval control of Lake Champlain.[30]

Although although Arnold lost the battle, the months the enemy had spent building their fleet cost them the campaign. With the north-country winter drawing near, by mid-October Carleton had too little time left to follow up on his victory at Valcour. Rather than risk becoming bogged down in a winter siege of the American force at Ticonderoga, he chose to withdraw to Canada in November of 1776. The British hopes of winning the war by splitting New England off from the rest of the United States would have to wait until 1777, when John Burgoyne would lead another powerful British army to the Champlain Valley. In the meantime, the American army, which throughout the campaign had been too weak to defeat the enemy in a pitched battle, had gained the time its commanders needed to build a more effective defense.

The British decision to postpone the invasion also gave the inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants another season to work out their region's political future. That Carleton's army would retire to Canada was not immediately clear, however, and when another Grants convention opened at

Westminster on October 30, attendance was quite low. Only six westside towns and nine eastside communities, all from Cumberland County, sent representatives to the Westminster meeting, the first regional Grants convention held east of the Green Mountains. Because of the disappointing turn-out, the convention cut short its deliberations after two days and contented itself with authorizing several new anti-New York declarations and a petition to Congress "requesting their approbation for the district of the New-Hampshire Grants to form themselves into a State separate from N. York." After appointing an 11-man committee to tour the east side in search of support for the new-state movement, the delegates voted to call another convention at Westminster for mid-January 1777. By then, it was hoped, the military situation would be resolved, and enthusiasm for statehood might be more in evidence.[31]

Ira Allen continued his slow ascension in the Grants leadership at the October 30-November 1 Westminster convention. In the absence of Jonas Fay, he served as clerk of the meeting, was appointed to a committee to prepare a petition asking for New York's approval of statehood for the Grants, and agreed to make another public-relations tour of the Connecticut River Valley. Most important, he also answered the convention's call for a volunteer to write "a

Pamphlet setting forth the advantages that would arise to the people at large on the district of the New-Hampshire Grants, by forming into a separate State." Brother Ethan had demonstrated a flair for such political propoganda; now, with the author of A Brief Narrative unavailable, Ira would try his hand at revolutionary pamphleteering. That and traveling throughout Cumberland and Gloucester counties "to Unite the people for a full Convention" took up all of November and December, but by mid-January 1777 Allen was back in Westminster for another meeting of the heads of the anti-New York crusade.[32]

Twenty-four delegates answered the call to order when the Westminster convention opened on January 15, 1777. Seven westside and 10 Cumberland County towns were represented, and three eastside communities had sent letters approving the idea of regional autonomy. Joseph Bowker was elected chairman, Ira Allen served as clerk, and Heman Allen, who had missed the autumn Westminster convention, was in attendance. After a committee reported that more than three-quarters of the people in Cumberland and Gloucester counties "that have acted, are for a new state," the delegates unanimously approved a resolution, "That the district of land commonly called and known by the name of New-Hampshire Grants be a new and separate state; and for

the future conduct themselves as such." They then produced a formal declaration of independence from New York and selected the name "New Connecticut" for their creation, a free and independent republic on the northern frontier.[33]

The birth of New Connecticut epitomized the adaptation of the rhetoric of the American Revolution for local application. The framers of New Connecticut's declaration of independence justified their action in terms that echoed those approved in Philadelphia the preceding July. New York's tyranny was similar to England's, and the convention, "whose members are duly chosen by the free voice of their constituents in the several towns," had followed the national example. Surely if the United States could rebel against foreign oppression, individual areas of the new country could do the same against domestic injustice. Indeed, New Connecticut's leaders emphasized the direct connection between their actions and measures passed by the Continental Congress. In May of 1776, the Westminster delegates noted, Congress authorized regions without governments to form their own; now the Grants had done just that. In the eyes of the men assembled at Westminster in January of 1777, New Connecticut's right to exist was clear and irrefutable.[34]

For Ira Allen and his family, the establishment of independent New Connecticut marked the culmination of

almost seven years of anti-New York agitation. The Allens had led the Yankee movement since the Ejection Trials, and their personal stake in it had grown with each passing year. Creating a new government on the Grants, something the family had sought since at least 1774, gave Ira and his brothers reason for to hope that their struggle to validate their Wentworth titles was close to success. Still, proclaiming the existence of a new state was one thing; nurturing it to a healthy, secure condition amid the turmoil of the Revolution was quite another. As the Allens and their allies were about to find out, fighting off New York, Congress, the British, and other outside enemies, along with facing the challenge of determined internal dissent, would require both skill and luck.

NOTES

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2. Bertha S. Dodge, Vermont By Choice: The Earliest Years (Shelburne, Vt.: The New England Press, 1987), offers a popular overview of day-to-day life on the Grants, largely gleaned from individual Vermont town histories.

3. Mary R. Cabot, Annals of Brattleboro: 1681-1895, 2 vols. (Brattleboro, Vt.: E. L. Hildreth & Co., 1921); Mary E. Minard, History of Westminster: Vermont Sesquicentennial Souvenir of Westminster, 1791-1941 (Westminster, Vt.: The Town, 1941); John C. Page, "The Economic Structure of Society in Revolutionary Bennington," Vermont History, 49, 2 (Spring 1981): 69-84; Henry S. Wardner, The Birthplace of Vermont: A History of Windsor to 1781 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927); Bernard Bailyn, Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), pp. 604-37.

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8. G & C, 1: 330-38; William Slade, Jr., comp., Vermont State Papers (Middlebury, Vt.: J. H. Copeland, 1823), pp. 55-60; E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., The Documentary History of the State of New-York, 5 vols. (Albany: Charles Van Benthuyzen, 1851), 4: 903-14.

9. Charles A. Jellison, Ethan Allen: Frontier Rebel (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1969), pp. 98-99; Bellesiles, "Life, Liberty, and Land," pp. 291-92.

10. Bernard Bailyn, The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967); Pauline Maier, From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1765-1776 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972).

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23. IA, Copies of Letters, rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 335.
24. G & C, 1: 11-14, 342-43. For photo-reproductions of Jonas Fay's manuscript records of the 1776-77 Vermont conventions, see Redfield Proctor, ed., Records of Conventions in the New Hampshire Grants for the Independence of Vermont 1776-1777 (Washington, D.C.: no printer listed, 1904).
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CHAPTER 4

DEFENDING VERMONT

For the six years after the creation of New Connecticut in 1777, the focus of Ira Allen's attention was on defending the new state against its internal and external foes. Like many of his entrepreneurial counterparts in other states, Allen displayed an interesting combination of patriotism and selfishness in his wartime activities. In the eyes of his enemies, he always kept his personal and family business priorities uppermost in his mind, and he certainly blended his personal interests with his public duties and responsibilities. Still, whatever his motivation, throughout the rest of the American Revolution he would be one of the two or three most active and influential individuals in the oligarchy that ruled New Connecticut and its successor, independent Vermont. Between 1777 and 1783, no one held more offices, wrote more pamphlets, logged more hours and miles, or did more to ensure the survival of the Green Mountain republic. Whatever had to be done in Revolutionary Vermont, particularly if the assignment was a one-man job, Ira Allen was always there to take care of it.

Ira began his work for New Connecticut as soon as the January 1777 Westminster convention adjourned. He spent nine days writing various political pieces for the new state, then rode to Hartford, Connecticut, to have some

printed in the Connecticut Courant. Published between mid-February and mid-March, Allen's Courant articles described the drive for statehood using the now-familiar rhetoric that portrayed New Connecticut's residents as honest farmers resisting Yorker tyranny and injustice. Citing selected parts of the minutes of the 1776-77 Grants conventions, Ira reported that the frontier's residents were almost unanimously supportive of the new state and its anti-New York, anti-England position. The Grants could not submit to New York, he declared, and statehood seemed the only way to protect the basic human rights now being sought in the war with Great Britain. Having declared its independence of the Empire State, New Connecticut now looked to Congress for approval of its existence.[1]

Ira was not the only Allen brother working for New Connecticut in early 1777. In late March, Heman Allen accompanied Jonas Fay, Thomas Chittenden, and eastside leader Dr. Reuben Jones to Philadelphia and the Continental Congress. On April 8, the four men presented New Connecticut's "Declaration and Petition," one of the pieces Ira had written in late January, to Congress. The "Declaration and Petition" reviewed the history of the Grants, detailed New York's iniquities, and summarized the proceedings of the January Westminster convention. The

Yankees on the Grants had used Congress' action "of the fourth of July last" as their inspiration, and now they considered their region "a free and independent State, capable of regulating their own internal police in all and every respect whatsoever." Surely the national legislators would agree and admit New Connecticut's representatives "to seats in the Grand Continental Congress." [2]

But Congress neither agreed nor admitted, and the New Connecticut petition was tabled. New York's strong opposition to recognition of the upstarts on the Grants carried considerable weight, and the representatives of other large states were not eager to set a precedent of sanctioning a backcountry rebellion. Realizing that they could not achieve their goal, Heman Allen and his three companions headed north again. Before they left, however, they met with Dr. Thomas Young, Ethan Allen's friend and fellow philosopher in the early 1760s, who had taken up residence in Philadelphia. An avid revolutionary, Young advised Heman and the others to continue the battle for a new state on the Grants. As his contribution to the cause, Young wrote a fiery letter of support, which the north-country delegation had printed as a broadside to spread the word about their state's battle for recognition.

Young's broadside was a fine example of Revolutionary propaganda. After quoting the text of Congress' May 15,

1776, resolution urging Americans to establish their own governments wherever necessary for their "happiness and safety," Young then addressed himself in large type, "To the Inhabitants of VERMONT." This was the first time the name "Vermont" had appeared in print, apparently a signal that the "New Connecticut" label was to be abandoned because the Wyoming Valley region of Pennsylvania had a prior claim to it, but Young's message entailed much more than giving the state a new name. He urged Vermonters not to be discouraged by Congress' initial rejection of their petition. Organize a government, hold elections, and adopt a constitution (Young recommended Pennsylvania's as a good model), "and I will ensure your success at the risque of my reputation as a man of honour or common sense. Indeed they can by no means refuse you! You have as good a right to chuse how you will be governed, and by whom, as they had." Encouraged by this prediction, Allen, Fay, Chittenden, and Jones rode north carrying copies of Young's broadside for distribution throughout Vermont.[3]

Ira Allen remained busy during the spring of 1777. Hearing that brother Ethan had been transferred back to America for parole on Long Island, Ira suggested to Heman on the latter's return from Philadelphia that Ira lead a contingent of Green Mountain Boys to the Connecticut coast,

cross Long Island Sound in a whaleboat, and rescue Ethan. Dissuaded by Heman's opinion that such an expedition, even if successful, would lead to British retaliation against all other American officers on parole, Ira went back to work for Vermont. He rode through Cumberland and Gloucester counties "to counteract the Intrigues of Newyork" and urged settlers to attend town meetings to elect representatives to the next Vermont convention, scheduled for June 4 at Windsor. Ira also worked at more writing projects, particularly the pamphlet that the October 1776 Westminster convention had authorized. Finally completed in April and printed in May 1777, the result, Some Miscellaneous Remarks, and Short Arguments, on a Small Pamphlet, Dated in the Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York, October 2, 1776, and Some Reasons Given, Why the District of the New Hampshire Grants Had Best be a State, was Ira's first lengthy published work.[4]

Some Miscellaneous Remarks began by retracing the arguments that Ethan Allen and the Yankee movement had advanced many times between 1770 and the start of the American Revolution. Ostensibly reacting to New York's October 1776 pamphlet reasserting its authority over the Grants, Ira denied that New York had ever had jurisdiction over the Vermont area prior to the July 1764 King-in-Council

decree. "God gave mankind freedom by nature," he wrote in his best imitation of John Locke, "and made every man equal to his neighbors, and has virtually enjoined them to govern themselves by their own laws." New York had argued that the Grants could not prosper without a seaport, but Ira, based on his experience as a partner in the Onion River Land Company, believed otherwise. Lake Champlain and its water connection to Quebec gave northwestern Vermont, where the Allens had concentrated their holdings, many commercial advantages over other inland states. As for the argument that the Grants had few qualified political leaders, Allen replied, "I think we have men of as much virtue, and as good talents by nature, as any in the world," and added that just as the fledgling United States had produced capable leaders out of necessity, so too could a new state on the northern frontier.[5]

Judging by the attendance at the June 1777 Windsor convention, the four-and-a-half months of work that Allen and his colleagues did was effective. When the convention opened on June 4, there were 72 delegates in attendance, the most yet at any Grants meeting. The representation of 22 westside and 22 eastside towns was also a good sign for a movement that had hitherto seemed to have little support east of the mountains. Just who, beyond themselves, the

delegates represented was in some cases quite unclear. Ira and Heman Allen, for example, attended as the representatives of Colchester, which had been deserted since the spring of 1776. Undeterred by such considerations, and noting that the settlers of western Pennsylvania had called their region New Connecticut for several years, the Windsor convention began by renaming their state Vermont. Reaffirming their support for the Revolution and reiterating the reasons for separating from New York, the delegates closed with a call for a constitutional convention to meet at Windsor the first week in July.[6]

Despite the solid turnout at the June 4 convention, name changes and state constitutions were not the principal concerns of most Vermonters in the summer of 1777. As expected, the British had sent another army south from Canada to finish the campaign Guy Carleton had started. This time the English commander was John Burgoyne, and his army consisted of more than 7,000 men. Burgoyne's goal was to drive south through the Champlain Valley, turn west to the Hudson, and meet with Sir William Howe's army moving north from New York City and a smaller force under Barry St. Leger pushing southeast from Oswego through the Mohawk Valley. As in 1776, the idea was to cut New England and the northern theater off from the rest of the United States,

destroying the American will to continue the war. If Burgoyne succeeded, it seemed likely the American Revolution would be over.[7]

By mid-June of 1777, Burgoyne was ready to sail south from St. Johns into the Champlain Valley. Advised by loyalist Philip Skene, who had once been the Allen brothers' candidate for governor of a new northern province, Burgoyne urged the people of Vermont and northern New York to pledge their loyalty to the Crown or risk the terrible vengeance of his Indian auxiliaries. Facing almost certain destruction, a fair number of frontier settlers in Burgoyne's path underwent rapid conversions to the loyalist cause; the rest fled southward to temporary safety. Ira Allen went to the Champlain Valley to help with the evacuation, then rode to Ticonderoga, where Arthur St. Clair and some 3,000 men had made the crumbling fort the center of the American line of defense. Conferring with St. Clair and his officers, Allen realized the seriousness of the situation for the State of Vermont. Quite apart from the ramifications for the American nation, if Burgoyne took Ticonderoga, Vermont would stand defenseless, armed only with the hope that the enemy would push on to the Hudson without bothering to attack the hapless Green Mountain State.[8]

While Burgoyne was advancing on Ticonderoga, Congress was debating the question of how to deal with Vermont.

There was strong support for New York's position, and only the hard work of Roger Sherman of Connecticut and few other pro-Vermont members prevented a total defeat of the new state's cause. Even with the efforts of Sherman and his allies, however, the result was discouraging. On June 30, Congress passed several resolutions criticizing Vermont's position. Congress had never countenanced any subversion of the territorial claims of the original 13 states; Vermont's independence was not a logical extension of the national break with England; the creation of Seth Warner's regiment was "never meant to give any encouragement to the claim of the people aforesaid, to be considered, as an independent State;" and, finally, Thomas Young's broadside of April 11 applauding the Vermont experiment was "derogatory to the honour of Congress." The resolutions stopped short of total condemnation of Vermont's existence, but it was clear that there was little support for admitting Vermont as the fourteenth American state.[9]

Burgoyne's military threat and the disapproval of Congress were not Vermont's only problems in the early summer of 1777; the Allens and their allies faced considerable internal opposition as well. East of the mountains, a strong Yorker faction was adamant in its refusal to accept the new state. New York's passage in

April of a conservative state constitution, featuring
quitrents, property qualifications for suffrage, a strong
executive, and life tenure for judges, had worked in
Vermont's favor among the frontier residents who saw it as a
non-democratic document that would exclude them from power.
Yet despite the fact that the Empire State's new constitu-
tion struck many back-country residents as proof that the
Allens' longstanding attacks on the Yorker aristocracy had
been justified, there was still much work for the pro-
Vermont faction to do. Some critics were already saying
that the Allens and their circle "are persuing that which
they Esteem their privit Interest and prefer that to the
public weal of America," charges that would persist
throughout the war.[10] The upcoming state constitutional
convention offered a good opportunity to gain broad support
by producing a popular frame of government, and Vermont's
supporters worked hard to promote the convention as the
means of bringing peace and stability to the region. Put
your grievances on hold, Jonas Fay and a committee of
Bennington leaders asked their opponents, and send
representatives to Windsor, where "we doubt not but ample
provision will be made for the settlement of such matters,
to the satisfaction of such agrieved parties." [11]

The Vermont constitutional convention opened at Windsor
on July 2, 1777. The Reverend Aaron Hutchinson,

Congregational minister of Pomfret, harangued up the 50 delegates, who included Ira and Heman Allen, with an impassioned sermon entitled, "A Well-Tempered Self-Love a Rule of Conduct for Others." Hutchinson denounced both British tyranny and New York oppression, summarizing the standard justifications for creating a new and independent state. As a lukewarm deist, Ira Allen had little use for Hutchinson's heavy reliance on biblical quotations and references, but he approved of the sermon's political message. From Ira's point of view, the important thing was that the emphasis on resistance to New York served as an appropriate prelude for the deliberations to follow.[12]

With Hutchinson's exhortations fresh in their minds, the delegates to the Windsor convention began the task of framing a government for Vermont. Anxiety over Burgoyne's siege of Ticonderoga filled the air, especially after the receipt of a letter from Seth Warner pleading for help against the anticipated enemy attack on the fort. Joseph Bowker, president of the convention, wrote to New Hampshire about the crisis, and then the delegates started the tedious job of approving a draft constitution "paragraph by paragraph." When they had almost finished, word arrived on July 8 that Ticonderoga had fallen, leaving the Vermont frontier unprotected. The news sent the convention into a

panic, and according to Ira's recollection 30 years later, many members "were for leaving Windsor precipitately," but a thunderstorm stayed the exodus long enough for the remaining representatives to rush through the first draft. "The Constitution was read through with little attention;" a 12-man Council of Safety was appointed to govern the state until elections could be held; and the convention adjourned so that the delegates could hurry home to their families.[13]

The constitution the Windsor convention approved so hastily was a mix of liberal and conservative features. Following the recommendation in Thomas Young's April 11 broadside, Vermont's leaders used Pennsylvania's 1776 state constitution, noted for its democratic provisions, as their starting point. They copied substantial sections of the Pennsylvania document word-for-word, and the basic framework of government they adopted was quite similar. If it survived the summer, Vermont was to have a unicameral legislature, a multiple executive centered around a governor and a 12-man council, annual elections, and a council of censors charged with periodic review of the constitution and the constitutionality of legislation. Taking the radical Pennsylvania model two steps further, the Vermont framers also outlawed adult slavery (the first time an American

constitution had done so) and provided for universal male suffrage without property or tax-paying qualifications. On the surface, the new state had embraced the democratic ideals of the Revolution more enthusiastically than had most of the original members of the American union.[14]

Yet the Vermont constitution also included some features that would have undemocratic results in the years ahead. Most importantly, where Pennsylvania had set limits on multiple office-holding and reelection to executive positions, the Vermont document did not. Pennsylvania had apportioned its council seats by county, assuring some diffusion of executive power, but Vermont's councillors would be the 12 highest statewide vote-getters, regardless of geographic distribution. In addition, a vaguely-worded section in the Vermont constitution gave the governor and council the power of "perusal and proposals of amendment" over all legislation. These provisions opened the door for control of the state by a tight circle of multiple-officeholders at the upper echelon of executive, judicial, and administrative power. For most of the first decade of Vermont's existence, government by oligarchy would prevail in the Green Mountain State.[15]

In early July of 1777, however, the future development of state government mattered little to most Vermonters.

Arthur St. Clair's decision to abandon Ticonderoga on July 6 to save his small army from destruction by Burgoyne's invasion force left the Vermont frontier open to attack. St. Clair retreated towards Castleton, hoping to turn west there to join Philip Schuyler's army near Fort Edward. On the morning of July 7, Burgoyne's pursuit column caught up with the American rear guard at Hubbardton, where Seth Warner had chosen to bivouac rather than hurry on to Castleton as ordered. Warner's 900-man detachment fought well at first, but the arrival of Hessian reinforcements broke the American line and sent the rebel troops fleeing into the woods. American losses of killed, wounded and captured totaled 323 men against the enemy's 174 casualties. The only battle of the Revolution to be fought on Vermont soil had gone badly for the American side.[16]

The fall of Ticonderoga and the setback at Hubbardton threw Vermonters into a panic. St. Clair took advantage of the brief opportunity Warner's resistance provided and hurried to Fort Edward with 1,700 men, but that was small consolation to Vermonters, many of whom now saw flight or joining the loyalist side as their only options. With the Green Mountain republic facing annihilation, Ira Allen emerged as a major force in the attempt to save Vermont. As secretary to the Council of Safety, he spent the month after

Warner's defeat at Hubbardton trying to assemble some sort of military force to protect the state. Vermont "seems to be at Present the object of Distruction," he wrote to the New Hampshire Council of Safety on July 15, "and unless we can obtain the assistance of our friends . . . it will soon be out of the power of this State to maintain a frontier." [17] Similar pleas to Massachusetts and Connecticut also emphasized that helping Vermont would protect the frontiers of her neighbors, a message that proved effective in securing troops from the rest of New England. Closer to home, Allen communique warned of the enemy's interest in the Continental Army stores at Bennington and urged Vermonters who had fled from the British to return and fight for their homes and their state. Still, as Burgoyne turned west towards the Hudson in late July, Vermont north of Castleton was under British control and the hold the state's leaders claimed over the southern half of the Grants was tenuous at best. [18]

In addition to finding outside support against a Burgoyne attack, Allen also led the drive to provide Vermont with its own military. In mid-July, the Council of Safety considered calling for an evacuation of the state, then decided the most it could accomplish was to raise two militia companies of 60 men each. According to Ira's

recollection of the Council's debate, he was the only one to insist that a full regiment was both necessary and feasible. When the other members challenged him to find the funds for such an ambitious proposal, Ira recalled, he worked through the night to devise a plan to confiscate the property of all Vermont loyalists, sell it at auction, and use the proceeds to pay for the new regiment. The Council approved the idea, and within three weeks Vermont had its own militia regiment, under Colonel Samuel Herrick, to provide at least some resistance to any expedition Burgoyne might send against it.[19]

Allen's confiscation and sequestration plan, which he proudly (and mistakenly) characterized as "the first instance in America of seizing and selling the property of the enemies of American independence," also had some long-term benefits for Vermont. Herrick's regiment gave the Council of Safety and later the state government a police force for stifling internal dissent. Moreover, by applying the Tory label to any Vermonters who resisted their authority or opposed an independent state on the Grants, Vermont's rulers now had a convenient, patriotic way of ridding themselves of their most bothersome detractors. The funds the confiscation program brought in (£190,433.6.4 Continental currency between 1777 and 1783) provided much-

needed income without the imposition of unpopular taxes. Finally, those at the top of the new state's political hierarchy, including Ira Allen and his family, wound up buying choice farms and lands in the confiscation sales, enriching themselves at the expense of their banished enemies. On several counts, Ira's overnight plan became a valuable tool for the personal and public goals of Vermont's leaders.[20]

Allen's efforts to shore up Vermont's defenses paid off in mid-August. Frustrated by his army's glacial progress and dangerously short of supplies, Burgoyne sent Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Baum east towards Bennington with a detachment of 800 Germans, Tories, Canadians, and Indians. Burgoyne and Baum expected little resistance to the raid, which they anticipated would gather provisions, horses, and additional loyalist recruits, but they didn't know that Ira's letters and requests for help had brought General John Stark of New Hampshire and some 2,000 New England militiamen to Bennington to face Baum. On August 16, Stark's forces routed Baum's just west of the Vermont-New York border, and Seth Warner redeemed himself for the loss at Hubbardton by leading his regiment south from Manchester in time to help defeat a late-arriving column of 650 Hessian reinforcements that threatened to undo Stark's initial success. When

the Battle of Bennington had ended, the British had lost more than 900 of their German mercenaries, while Stark had total casualties of only 70 men.[21]

Bennington was a crippling blow to Burgoyne's campaign. He failed to acquire the supplies and horses he needed, and he lost more than 10 percent of his army. In addition, Stark's victory punctured the myth of Hessian invincibility and swelled the number of recruits flocking to Henry Gates' American defense line on the upper Hudson. After Bennington, Burgoyne was well on his way to the ignominious surrender that came at Saratoga in mid-October. Four days after the American triumph along the Walloomsac River, Burgoyne acknowledged the role Vermont had played in the miscarrying of his best-laid plans. "The great bulk of the country is undoubtedly with the Congress in principle and in zeal," he wrote to Lord George Germain, but "The New Hampshire Grants in particular, a country unpeopled and almost unknown in the last war, now abounds in the most active and most rebellious race of the continent, and hangs like a gathering storm on my left." [22]

Having helped engineer the victory, Ira Allen apparently did not participate in the Battle of Bennington. Throughout July he had shifted back and forth between military activities and attempts to diffuse internal

opposition to the shaky Vermont government, and he spent the middle of August attempting to rally support for the new state in the towns east of the Green Mountains. Writing from Putney on August 13, he urged residents of the Connecticut River Valley to disregard the efforts of "some Gentlemen . . . to alienate or seduce the minds of some of the good People here from a new State." Vermonters had the power to decide their own political future, he argued; therefore, rather than rush back to New York's jurisdiction, they should wait to examine the new Vermont constitution, compare it to New York's, and "then Candidly Determine whether it is best, Wisest and Cheapest for those Inhabitants to govern themselves or pay Foreigners for doing it." [23] In the meantime, Ira arranged to place anti-New York articles in the Connecticut Courant as a way of tilting the scales in his faction's favor. Now that the external military threat had receded, Allen was not about to let internal problems derail the drive for an independent Vermont. [24]

Ira continued his pro-Vermont campaign throughout the rest of 1777. In late October, he wrote another pamphlet criticizing New York's claim to the Grants. The following month he rode to Williamstown, Massachusetts, where President of the Council of Safety Thomas Chittenden had

moved his family; together the two men drafted a preamble to the state constitution that detailed New York's misdeeds and concluded, "it is absolutely necessary for the welfare and safety of the inhabitants of this State, that it should be, henceforth, a free and independent State." [25] Securing the Council's approval of the preamble and reworking the manuscript draft of the constitution, Allen then went to Hartford, Connecticut, to arrange to have his pamphlet and the constitution printed. He returned to Vermont in time for a December 24 convention at Windsor that set March 3, 1778, as the date of the first statewide elections and agreed in secret to delay distribution of the constitution until just before then as a way of limiting public debate over it. After Windsor, it was back to Hartford for the printed pamphlets and constitutions, followed by long hours touring Vermont in January and February of 1778 to place copies wherever they might do the new state some good. [26]

Concerned about the public reaction to the constitution, Ira saw his new pamphlet as an effective means of undercutting New York's appeal to Vermonters. Written hastily and containing only eight pages of text, Miscellaneous Remarks, on the Proceedings of the State of New-York, Against the State of Vermont, &c. characterized the Empire State's April 1777 constitution as a conserva-

tive, undemocratic document. Noting that it confirmed all laws on New York's books as of April 19, 1775, Allen reminded his readers that the notorious Ejectment Trials had occurred under those statutes. "All nature have reason to shudder at such laws taking place again," he wrote, and argued that New York's retention of quitrents and its rejection of all New Hampshire charters west of the Connecticut were proof of a government designed "only to gratify the avaricious land-jobbers of New-York." Besides, New York and its leaders were infamous for their loyalist tendencies, in stark contrast to the patriotism Vermont's brave citizens had displayed in action at Ticonderoga and Bennington. Vermonters on both sides of the mountains need only spurn New York, Ira concluded, follow the national example in solidifying their independence, and elect good men in March to ensure "all the blessings that are common to our specie." [27]

Despite Allen's optimistic tone in the Miscellaneous Remarks, his independent Vermont party faced a good deal of internal opposition by early 1778. On January 28, a Yorker convention at Brattleboro sent a petition to New York Governor George Clinton, asking for protection from the "pretended state of Vermont." Clinton responded a month later with a proclamation designed to encourage the eastside

dissidents and improve New York's image among undecided Vermonters. New York would cancel all penalties and fines imposed under the 1774 Bloody Act, the governor declared, confirm all New Hampshire or Massachusetts titles to Vermont lands not subsequently granted by New York, and lower its confirmatory fees and annual quitrents. New York's generosity did have a time limit, however. To qualify, individual Grants residents must assert their loyalty to the Empire State by May 1; after that, the offer was null and void. The Yorkers of Cumberland County were quite encouraged by Clinton's proclamation, and they announced plans for elections at eastside town meetings in March to demonstrate the strength of the opposition to Vermont's "pretended" authority.[28]

The resurgent Yorkers were not the Vermont government's only internal problem. For several years, residents of the upper Connecticut River Valley had been hoping for a state that would encompass both sides of the river. The movement's New Hampshire leaders wanted a state that would be more responsive to the backcountry than the Granite State's seaboard-dominated regime had been; while the Vermonters who favored the idea saw the Connecticut as a natural link between river towns which shared three traits: New Light religious majorities; settlers who had moved

north from the same areas of western Connecticut and Massachusetts; and an interdependent local economy. Centered at Dartmouth College, this faction became known as the Dresden Party, after the Hanover, New Hampshire, district in which Dartmouth was located. In January 1778, a Dresden Party propagandist who signed himself "Republican" published a 15-page pamphlet, Observations on the Right of Jurisdiction Claimed by the States of New-York and New-Hampshire, Over the New-Hampshire Grants (so called), Lying on both Sides of Connecticut-River, to advance the argument that independent Vermont should absorb the frontier towns of western New Hampshire.[29] Supporters of the river-centered state proposal held a series of organizational meetings in the early months of 1778, with the last one strategically planned for Cornish, New Hampshire, on March 11, one day before the first Vermont legislature convened just across the river at Windsor. The Cornish convention voted to send a delegation to Windsor to lobby for the Dresden Party's interests; in the meantime, riders would circulate among 16 western New Hampshire towns to gather signatures on petitions asking for admission to the Green Mountain State.[30]

The turnout for the first session of the Vermont legislature must have been encouraging to the state's

founders. Even though Ira Allen had purposely distributed only a few copies of the new state constitution, and despite the ongoing jurisdictional controversy, some 50 representatives from three dozen towns showed up in Windsor on March 12. The legislators attended to a variety of business--creating Unity County for the eastern half of the state; setting up shire towns and militia districts; drafting laws for the confiscation and sale of Tory property--but the biggest issue of the session was the Dresden Party petition from 16 New Hampshire towns asking to join Vermont.

Recognizing that an eastward expansion would simultaneously throw the balance of political power in Vermont east of the Green Mountains and infuriate New Hampshire, Allen and his westside colleagues argued vehemently against the proposed East Union. When their Connecticut River counterparts threatened a walk-out, however, the westerners had to agree to put the issue before the people in a statewide referendum. This was not what Ira and his allies wanted, but at least it kept the state's fragile east-west coalition together and gave its leaders time to devise a plan for defeating the East Union idea at the legislature's June and October sessions.[31]

In addition to debating the river-centered state question, the March 1778 legislature named Vermont's first

governor. The new chief executive, 48-year-old Thomas Chittenden, was a logical choice. A middle-class farmer originally from Salisbury, Connecticut, Chittenden had been a militia colonel, justice-of-the-peace, and member of the Connecticut colonial assembly. Since leaving Litchfield County in 1774 to move to the Champlain Valley, he had risen to the top echelon of the Yankee hierarchy by attending some of the 1776-77 Grants conventions, visiting Congress early in 1777 on New Connecticut's behalf, and becoming president of the state Council of Safety in the summer of 1777. Nicknamed "One-Eyed Tom" for the blindness in his left eye, Chittenden was as politically experienced as any Yankee leader in Vermont; more importantly for the place and time, he also possessed a combination of personal qualities that made him remarkably effective at forging coalitions among the competing factions on the northern frontier. Quiet, unassuming, unsophisticated even by backcountry standards, and nearly illiterate, the new governor soon demonstrated a practical wisdom and common touch that perfectly suited a Vermont pioneer generation's faith in the spirit of justice over the letter of the law. A much-needed cohesive force in Vermont's formative years, Chittenden became the state's most popular leader and adapted well enough to changing social and political conditions after the Revolution to

retain the governor's chair every year but one until his death in 1796.[32]

A good selection for the fledgling State of Vermont, the appointment of Thomas Chittenden as governor in March of 1778 was especially propitious for the Allen family. Chittenden was one of the Onion River Land Company's first customers, buying his Williston farm from the Company in 1773; moreover, he became an active speculator in Champlain Valley lands, so that his sense of the state's future and its priorities matched those of the ORLC partners. Ira Allen in particular developed a close personal relationship with the new governor. He served as Chittenden's secretary during much of the Revolution, putting the governor's thoughts onto paper and working hand-in-hand with him on all aspects of running the state government and its finances. In time the working relationship grew into a strong friendship, and Chittenden seems to have become a virtual father figure to the younger man. When Ira's political fortunes began to wane after the war, the governor remained his staunch ally, even though public criticism of that support would cost Chittenden a term as chief executive in 1789. Outside of his own brothers and Remember Baker, Chittenden was probably Ira Allen's closest and most trusted friend.

The Allen-Chittenden relationship had ample opportunity to bloom after March 1778 because the legislature that made Chittenden governor also named Ira state treasurer and placed him on the 12-man Council that functioned as the upper house of the state assembly. Ira remained treasurer until 1786, during which period he exercised near-complete control over the state's finances. His bookkeeping methods were sloppy at best, but for eight years he was in charge of Vermont's income and expenditures. As a member of the Council, Allen was further linked to the small group of men who ran the state until the mid-1780s. With considerable annual turnover in the House and very little in the Council, the Council became by far the dominant chamber of the legislature. Moreover, since most of the Council members also held other influential public offices, Chittenden, Allen, and a handful of others wielded disproportionate power in state affairs. As elsewhere during the Revolution, with the reality of war making the creation of an efficient government a top priority for many Americans, achieving the dream of liberty, equality and participatory democracy had to wait in Vermont. Instead, the Chittenden-Allen faction, which became known as the Arlington Junto because it often met in Chittenden's Arlington home, constituted a tight oligarchy that

controlled the Green Mountain State's government throughout the war.[33]

The Allen family's leadership in Vermont underwent a major change in May of 1778. On May 18, Heman Allen died at his home in Salisbury, apparently from the lingering effects of an illness contracted at the Battle of Bennington the previous August. Only 37 when he died, Heman had been active in Vermont despite maintaining his residence in Litchfield County, and his death was a major loss to Ira personally and to the Vermont cause. The blow was softened two weeks later, however, when Ethan Allen returned to Vermont after 32 months as a British prisoner. Ethan quickly adjusted to the changes the Grants had undergone since 1775, and he soon joined the Arlington Junto and resumed his work as propagandist, enforcer-at-large, and scourge of Yorkers on both sides of the Green Mountains. Together and individually, Ethan and Ira spent the summer of 1778 traveling around Vermont, writing more pamphlets, and in general doing their best to shore up the shaky foundations of the state's authority.[34]

It was fortunate for the Arlington Junto that Ethan Allen returned, for there was much to do. The eastside Yorkers remained quite active throughout the spring and summer of 1778, stubbornly refusing to submit to Vermont.

They wrote frequently to George Clinton to ask for military assistance and to assure him that the majority of eastside Vermonters remained loyal to New York. "Cumberland County is greatly infested with New York malcontents," Ethan acknowledged in July; "they hold conventions in defiance and direct opposition to us &c under New York." [35] The following month a Yorker poll of Unity County residents found 480 voters in favor of the Empire State, 320 preferring Vermont, and 185 neutral. Clinton encouraged the Yorkers to continue to defy Vermont; meanwhile, he pressed Congress for strong condemnation of Vermont and decisive action against it. The ongoing Yorker-New York situation was a serious threat to Vermont's future, and countering its effect on Congress was one reason Ethan set out for Philadelphia in September 1778. [36]

In addition to its Yorker troubles, Vermont also had to deal with the challenge of the Dresden Party. In June the legislature voted 35-12 in favor of the East Union idea and extended state patronage to Dartmouth College. Granting favors to Dartmouth was no problem for the Arlington Junto, but the decision to admit the 16 western New Hampshire towns was a major worry. When the legislature reassembled at Windsor in October with representatives from the New Hampshire communities in attendance as voting members, the

Allens and their allies were ready to undo the East Union. On October 10 Ethan, just back from Philadelphia, reported that, "except this state recede from such union, immediately, the whole power of the confederacy of the United States of America will join to annihilate the state of Vermont, and vindicate the right of New Hampshire." [37]

Ethan's warning worked: after a long debate, the legislature effectively ended the East Union by deciding in three close votes not to add the New Hampshire towns to Unity County and not to create a new Vermont county for them. The representatives from New Hampshire resigned from the legislature in protest, which was just what the Allens wanted; however, in a move Ethan and Ira did not anticipate, legislators from towns on the Vermont side of the river, including lieutenant-governor Joseph Marsh of Hartford, also joined in the walk-out. This left the House with barely enough members for a quorum; and after the protesting members issued a call for a December convention to plan for a new river-centered state, the problem the Allens thought they had solved with their clever manipulation of the vote on Vermont's counties still loomed as large as ever. [38]

Ethan and Ira put in long days and nights for Vermont in the autumn of 1778. Ethan returned to Philadelphia to inform Congress of the dissolution of the East Union and to

work for Vermont's admission as the fourteenth state. Ira devoted a few days to various small matters, including the design of a state seal, then turned his attention to the East Union. He went first to Exeter to assure the New Hampshire legislature that Vermont wanted no part of the western New Hampshire towns and to blame the situation on the agitation of Dartmouth president Eleazar Wheelock and his followers. In late November it was back to Vermont to write a three-page letter, "To the Inhabitants of the State of Vermont," and have it printed for distribution prior to the upcoming Dresden Party convention. The letter reported on Ira's trip to Exeter and argued that reviving the East Union would undoubtedly provoke Congress and Vermont's neighbors to invade the state.[39]

Worried about what the Dresden Party would do next, Ira attended the Party's December 9 meeting at Cornish, New Hampshire as an unofficial "observer." Ignoring Allen's presence, the delegates from 14 western New Hampshire towns and eight eastern Vermont communities made it clear they had no loyalty to Vermont or New Hampshire, only to the goal of a river-centered state. They unanimously approved resolutions in favor of having Vermont reestablish the East Union; failing that, they called for New Hampshire to reclaim all of Vermont. Taking a page from the Allens' book on poli-

tical persuasion, the convention also voted to issue a 60-page pamphlet to publicize the Dresden Party's position to the region and the nation. Distributed early in 1779, A Public Defence of the right of the New Hampshire Grants (so called) on both Sides Connecticut River, to associate together, and form themselves into an Independent State, used the same Revolutionary slogans the Allens had employed in justifying Vermont's break with New York; but now the message was that the Connecticut River towns were equally free to join whichever state they pleased. This hostile adaptation of their own rhetoric must have irked Ethan and Ira, especially since A Public Defence had the potential to hurt the Arlington Junto at home and in Philadelphia, where Congress might now put far less stock in their assurances that a few loyalist Yorkers constituted the only internal opposition to Vermont's state government.[40]

Ira and his westside colleagues did not let A Public Defence go unanswered. In early January 1779, Ira dashed off a rebuttal, which he called A Vindication of the Conduct of the General Assembly of the State of Vermont. Forty-eight pages long, A Vindication reviewed the history of the "imaginary" East Union, criticized the river towns for promoting their own self-interest over the security of the majority in Vermont and New Hampshire, and argued that the

representatives who walked out of the October 1778 legislature had no legitimate grievances against Vermont. In what must have struck even Ira as tortuous logic, the pamphlet also defended Vermont's right to secede from New York but denied that the river towns had any similar right to independence. While they undoubtedly convinced few supporters of the Dresden Party, Ira's arguments, along with Ethan's report on his second trip to Congress, did have some effect on the Vermont assembly when it reconvened at Bennington in February 1779. On February 12 the legislature formally abolished the East Union, declaring it "totally void, null, and extinct." The Dresden Party had lost the battle, but it would regroup and return to bedevil the Allen brothers again; for now, however, the Arlington Junto had restored political control of Vermont to the west side of the Green Mountains.[41]

The earlier propaganda wars for the Grants had been fought on presses in Connecticut and New York, but Ira Allen and the Dresden Party waged theirs in 1778-79 on a new press that operated briefly on the northern frontier. Early in the fall of 1778, Eleazar Wheelock persuaded Alden and Judah Paddock Spooner to move from New London, Connecticut, to Dresden, where they opened a small printing office on the Dartmouth campus. Initially the Allens were delighted to

have a press so near at hand, and they and the State of Vermont made extensive use of the Spooners' services during the Dresden Press' 13 months of existence. Ethan and Ira published five titles, totalling some 227 printed pages, at Dresden, and the state paid the Spooner brothers to print broadsides, lottery tickets, acts and laws, and other official Vermont documents. The only problem for the Arlington Junto was that the Spooners soon displayed an annoying willingness to print for any customers who could pay them, regardless of political affiliation. When it became clear that the Dresden Party planned to take advantage of the Spooners' press, the Allens began to search for a way to move the Dresden shop across the Connecticut River into Vermont, where they might be able to monitor its production. After the Dresden Press shut down late in 1779, it took another four years for Vermont and the Allens to solve their printing problem by establishing Alden Spooner in Windsor and Anthony Haswell in Bennington as official state printers.[42]

Busy as the East Union situation kept him, Ira Allen found time for other Vermont work in the first half of 1779. He revised Stephen Row Bradley's Vermont's Appeal to the Candid and Impartial World, one of the few Vermont propaganda pieces not written entirely by an Allen; he

traveled to Albany to confer with the northern command about defending Vermont's frontier; and he worked on untangling his muddled accounts as state treasurer.[43] In March, he set out again for Exeter, where he spent two weeks trying to derail the Dresden Party's attempts to interest New Hampshire in reacquiring Vermont. Many of New Hampshire's legislators were eager to reassert the Granite State's claim, in part because they anticipated sizable profits from selling charters to Vermont's ungranted northern lands, but Allen was eventually able to get the matter tabled despite the protests of the Dresden lobbyists. After that, it was back to Vermont for another "To the Inhabitants" letter urging Vermonters not to listen to what Ira maintained were the Dresden Party's lies and misrepresentations. Driven by a blend of public and private motivations, Allen maintained a remarkable pace in defending Vermont's ruling clique against its numerous adversaries.[44]

While Ira was devoting all his time and energy to Vermont's problems, the Allen family was experiencing troubles of its own. By 1779, brothers Zimri and Heman and cousin Remember Baker were dead; now the family would suffer another loss through political defection. Levi had always been the black sheep of the Allens, despite his efforts in 1775-77 to secure Ethan's release or exchange. Sometime in

1778 he apparently became a loyalist. Denouncing his brother as a Tory in January 1779, Ethan asked Vermont to confiscate Levi's extensive land-holdings in the Champlain Valley. Levi responded angrily from Connecticut, and the two brothers quarreled long-distance through occasional articles in the Connecticut Courant. [45] Sometime during the year Levi also turned out a bit of doggerel to express his opinion on who was really the worst member of the family:

THE THREE BROTHERS

Ethan -- Old Ethan once said over a full bowl of grog,
 Though I believe not in Jesus, I hold to a God;
 There is also a Devil--you will see him some day
 In a whirl wind of fire take Levi way.

Ira -- Says Ira to Ethan it plain doth appear
 That you are inclined to banter and jeer;
 I think for myself and I freely declare
 Our Levi's too stout for the prince of the air;
 If ever you see them engaged in affray,
 'Tis our Levi who'll take the Devil away.

Levi -- Says Levi, your speeches make it perfectly clear
 That you both seem enclined to banter and jeer;

Though through all the world my name stands
 enrolled

For tricks sly and crafty, ingenious and bold,
 There is one consolation which none can deny
 That there's one greater rogue in this world
 than I.

Ethan and Ira -- 'Who's that?' they both cry with equal
 surprise.

Levi -- ''Tis Ira! 'tis Ira! I yield him the
 prize.'

Despite Levi's humor, it was undeniable that the warm ties that had characterized the Allen family before the war were severely strained. Levi would return to Vermont and his brothers' good graces after the Revolution; until then, the team of seven young relatives from Litchfield County who had worked so closely together in the late 1760s and early 1770s was reduced to three--Ethan, Ira, and Heber, who eschewed politics for a quieter life on his Poultney farm.[46]

Almost as soon as the East Union controversy subsided early in 1779, Vermont's problems with the eastside Yorkers flared up again. In April, a mob of 100 unarmed Yorkers marched to Putney to "liberate" two cows that Vermont

officials had seized from their Yorker owners. The state government had ignored several previous incidents of Yorker defiance, but this time the Arlington Junto decided to retaliate. Vermont supporters on the east side arrested 36 "perpetrators" and lodged them in the Westminster jail, and Ethan Allen led 200-350 Green Mountain Boys eastward to serve as a security force during the public trials that followed. In late May a Vermont court at Westminster handed down fines against 30 of the 36 defendants; meanwhile, as a more impressive object lesson, Ethan and his troops built a public whipping post in the center of town. Ethan's presence alone might have sufficed to frighten the Yorkers. The day before the trials began, a Yorker meeting at Brattleboro begged George Clinton for relief from the hero of Ticonderoga, a ruffian "more to be dreaded than death with all its terrors." For the time being, the Arlington Junto had demonstrated that in a crisis it could control both sides of the Green Mountains.[47]

Once Ethan and his "ferocious" troops, "with their Savage Scalping Knives hanging down upon their Guilty Crimson Coulerd Boosoms," had finished intimidating everyone in what became known as The Great Cow War, it remained for other members of the Arlington Junto to promote Vermont as the best choice for the state's eastside residents.[48] Ira

Allen, for one, adopted a conciliatory tone just after the trials, writing, "We mean not to boast of our Victory over those Gentlemen that were in favour of N. York, but hope to make them our friends & have the Pleasure of Treating them as such." [49] A few days later, Thomas Chittenden combined Ethan's and Ira's methods. The governor displayed the stick by signing a law establishing severe penalties for holding office under New York or any other outside government; and he offered the carrot by pardoning all Vermonters indicted since January 15, 1777, for crimes against the state. The combined efforts of Vermont's leaders were productive. As one disheartened Yorker leader wrote to George Clinton, "if Congress does not immediately determine this controversy in favour of New York or the state effectually protect their Subjects here, it cannot be thought strange if they should in a Body join the only Government under which they can be secure . . . Who will dare resist the Execution of the Laws of Vermont, unless upon tolerably sure Ground, when whipping, branding, &c. will infallibly be the Consequence if superior force does not prevent it?" [50]

With the eastside Yorkers temporarily quieted, Ira Allen went back on the road for Vermont in the summer of 1779. In late June he returned to Exeter to continue the campaign to keep the General Court from reasserting New

Hampshire's claim to Vermont. The task was formidable. Peter Olcott and Bezaleel Woodward of the Dresden Party were also in Exeter, and their overtures had many New Hampshire legislators keenly interested in reacquiring the Grants area. Ira tried to counter their arguments, but the prospect of reinstating a lucrative real-estate business for the one-third of Vermont not covered by the 1749-64 Wentworth charters was more persuasive. On June 25, the General Court voted to reclaim Vermont. All Allen could extract were promises not to exercise jurisdiction west of the Connecticut for the time being and to drop the claim if Congress recognized Vermont as the fourteenth state. Ira then hurried back to Vermont and wrote up a report of his trip that he had the Spooners print at Dresden as another in his series of letters "To the Inhabitants of the State of Vermont." The Dresden Party leaders were a scheming lot, he reminded Vermonters, and their efforts to create a river-centered state constituted a dangerous threat to the liberties and rights Vermonters had won by fighting New York and England. The rhetoric was the same; by now, Ira could adapt it for use against any opponent.[51]

On his return from Exeter, Allen started a new kind of work for Vermont. The June 1779 session of the legislature had named him the state's first surveyor-general, adding

that position to his duties as treasurer and councillor. Strapped for revenues, Vermont's leaders recognized that the ungranted third of the state, principally in the northern half of Vermont, represented a good deal of potential income. Ira's pre-war background as surveyor and developer, along with his apparently limitless energy, made him a natural choice for surveyor-general. Beginning in the summer of 1779, he organized surveys of northern Vermont, handled petitions from would-be purchasers and proprietors, and carefully influenced the sale of new charters. It took a great deal of Allen's time, but the results justified the effort. The granting of new townships became a major financial benefit to the state. Starting with seven charters in the autumn of 1779, Thomas Chittenden signed grants for 78 new towns by the end of the Revolution; and the revenues produced helped the Arlington Junto avoid the popular unrest over taxes that plagued other states during the war.[52]

Given Ira's reputation as an ambitious land speculator, it must have occurred to some of Vermont's legislators in June of 1779 that they were taking a chance in making him responsible for the state's ungranted lands. In fact, during his eight-year tenure as surveyor-general Allen did see to it that he benefitted personally from the sale of new

charters. Prospective proprietors learned that offering the surveyor-general "a handsom Reward" helped improve their chances of obtaining grants.[53] Putting his knowledge of the lands in unappropriated areas to good use, Ira also became an original proprietor of 23 of Vermont's most promising new towns. In some, such as Alburg and Irasburg, he immediately bought out the other grantees to become sole owner; in others, he acquired only a few individual rights. Often he paid nothing for his new properties; he simply took them as remuneration for his various services on behalf of the state. This attention to personal well-being was not unusual among public officials of Allen's generation, in Vermont or the rest of the United States, but Ira perfected what his less resourceful counterparts merely practiced. By the end of the Revolution, he owned in excess of 100,000 acres, distributed through more than 50 northern Vermont communities.[54]

Yet if Ira lined his own purse as surveyor-general, he also helped direct the use of Vermont land grants to strengthen the position of the state's beleaguered government. Within the state, each new settler who obtained a Vermont title had a stake in defending Vermont's independence. As the state's population grew with the immigration of newcomers settling under Vermont charters, the percentage

of residents opposed to the challenges of New York, New Hampshire, and the Dresden Party rose accordingly. In addition, Allen also oversaw the program by which Vermont distributed free lands to leaders in other states, officers in the Continental Army, and members of Congress. As early as September of 1779, John Jay explained the support in Congress for Vermont by noting, "divers persons of some consequence in Congress and New England expected to advance their fortunes by lands in Vermont." [55] With the start of Vermont's town-chartering in October 1779, the Arlington Junto had a way to give larger amounts of free land to key potential outside supporters. By the end of the war, the list of prominent Americans who had received Vermont grants included Connecticut's Ezra Stiles, Jonathan Trumbull, Jonathan Edwards, Eliphalet Dyer, Oliver Wolcott, and Benjamin Huntington, Rhode Island's William Greene, Jonathan Arnold, and David Howell, and New Hampshire's John Stark. By February of 1783 George Washington was citing Vermont's "very politic measures" in secretly giving "large tracts of land" to army officers and New England state leaders as one reason he would hesitate to try to subdue Vermont by force. [56] Land was independent Vermont's most valuable commodity, and its judicious management under Ira's direction during the war was a key to the state's survival.

Congress devoted a fair amount of attention to the question of Vermont's survival or destruction in 1779. In late May, New York introduced a resolution guaranteeing that the 13 states could keep all lands they had claimed before April 1775. Aimed at Vermont, the measure failed when a coalition of states hoping to share in the redistribution of the western land claims of Virginia and North Carolina voted against it. Defeated on that point, New York did manage to secure the appointment of a five-man committee to visit Vermont and report back to Congress. Although two of the members, John Witherspoon of New Jersey and Samuel J. Atlee of Pennsylvania, went to Bennington in late June and met with Vermont's leaders and the few anti-Vermont individuals who dared to speak out against Arlington Junto in its own backyard, the committee failed to produce any strong recommendations on the controversy. Jonas Fay and Paul Spooner spent August in Philadelphia on Vermont's behalf, while the eastside Yorkers sent Charles Phelps of Marlboro to present their side of the story, but Congress continued to vacillate on the Vermont question. Finally, in late September and early October, Congress passed resolutions setting February 1, 1780, as the date for hearing arguments and claims on the Vermont dispute. Until then, the resolutions decreed, all claimants to the Vermont area--

Vermont, New Hampshire, New York, Massachusetts, the Dresden Party--must refrain from forcing their authority on inhabitants who favored another government. For Congress, which seldom had the power or will to act firmly on any local issue during the Revolution, this amounted to a remarkably strong declaration.[57]

By the autumn of 1779, the Vermont oligarchs probably recognized that mere words from Congress were not likely to determine which faction wound up in control of the Grants. Nonetheless, Congress' support and the attitudes of the individual states could have some impact on the Vermont controversy, and the Allens and their allies remained interested in forging alliances inside and outside the state. Thus the October session of the legislature appointed Jonas Fay, Moses Robinson, Stephen Row Bradley, and Ira Allen to go to Philadelphia for the February 1 hearings. In the meantime, Ethan would go to Massachusetts to ask it to drop its claim to the southeastern Vermont area, and Ira would make a tour of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware to persuade their governments to back Vermont's admission into the Union. The legislature's decision to send him south alone and ahead of Fay, Robinson, and Bradley was evidence of the faith the Arlington Junto had in the 28-year-old Ira's abilities. The trip would be

the first time he had served the state outside New England, as well as his first contact with the leaders of the United States. He had done well in taking Vermont's message to New Hampshire and in writing propaganda for Vermonters to read; now Ira was about to see if he could succeed in cutting deals and manipulating words to make friends for the Green Mountain State in a larger and more demanding arena.[58]

NOTES

1. IA ms. 1776-87 expense bill, photostat in AFP, box 4, folder 65, p. 1; Connecticut Courant, Feb. 17, Feb. 24, March 3, and March 17, 1777.
2. The text of the "Declaration and Petition" is published in William Slade, Jr., comp., Vermont State Papers (Middlebury, Vt.: J. H. Copeland, 1823), pp. 70-73, and in James B. Wilbur, Ira Allen: Founder of Vermont 1751-1814 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), 2: 471-73.
3. Young's broadside is published in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 474-76, and in G & C, 1: 394-96. David Freeman Hawke, "Dr. Thomas Young--Eternal Fisher in Troubled Waters, Notes for a Biography," New-York Historical Society Quarterly, 54, 1 (January 1970): 7-29; Pauline Maier, "Reason and Revolution: The Radicalism of Dr. Thomas Young," American Quarterly, 28, 2 (Summer 1976): 229-49.
4. (Hartford, Conn.: Ebenezer Watson, 1777), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 1: 114-31; IA, Ira Allen's Address to the Freemen of Vermont, and Legislature Thereof, Respecting a Cargo of Military Stores, Captured by the British (1808), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 247; IA ms. 1776-87 expense bill, photocopy in AFP, box 4, folder 65, p. 2.
5. IA, Some Miscellaneous Remarks, in EA/IA: CW, 1: 117, 129.
6. The minutes of the convention are in G & C, 1: 52-61.
7. For overviews of the 1777 campaign, see: Max M. Mintz, The Generals of Saratoga: John Burgoyne & Horatio Gates (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1990); Willard S. Randall, Benedict Arnold: Patriot and Traitor (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1990), ch. 12.
8. IA ms. 1776-87 expense bill, photocopy in AFP, box 4, folder 65, pp. 2-3.
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10. Quote from Cumberland County Committee of Safety, June 26, 1777, in G & C, 1: 366; Jacob Bayley to president

of the New York convention, Feb. 19, 1777, in O'Callaghan, Documentary History, 4: 560-61.

11. Nathan Clark et al. to John Clark, Timothy Phelps, and Francis Trainer, June 20, 1777, in G & C, 3: 495-96.

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56. George Washington to Joseph Jones, Feb. 11, 1783, in G & C, 3: 264. Jones replied to Washington, Feb. 27, 1783, "The influence Vermont has gained in the army, and in some of the states that espouse her cause, do little credit to the parties concerned; and to this influence is in a great measure to be ascribed the variable, indecisive conduct of Congress respecting the claims of that people," pub. in VHS Collections, 2 (1871): 326-28.

57. Taplin, "The Vermont Problem," pp. 124-43; G & C, 1: 521-22, and 2: 170-74 and 183-85.

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CHAPTER 5
NORTHERN INTRIGUE

Ira Allen began his trip to Philadelphia and the Continental Congress in January of 1780. On his way to Congress' scheduled February 2 hearing on the Vermont controversy, he visited the state legislatures of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland to promote Vermont's admission into the federal union. Distributing copies of Ethan's latest propaganda masterpiece, a 172-page pamphlet entitled A Vindication of the Opposition of the Inhabitants of Vermont to the Government of New York, and of Their Right to Form an Independent Government, Ira crafted his arguments to suit the interests of each state.[1] In New Jersey, Delaware and Maryland, he highlighted Vermont's desire to have the larger states' western land claims go into a common pool to pay state and national war debts. In Pennsylvania, which had claims on the western frontier, he emphasized the Green Mountain State's loyal support of the American cause in the war with England. The "undue influence" of Cadwallader Colden at "the rotten Court of Britain" had been responsible for the 1764 King-in-Council decree, he told his counterparts on the Pennsylvania Council, and Congress had no right to rule on any dispute that antedated the Revolution. Since Vermonters already viewed themselves "virtually in Union with the other free states of America,"

the states should certainly direct their delegates to support Vermont in any upcoming Congressional debates or resolutions.[2]

Although Ira believed that his diplomatic efforts in January were quite productive, the results in Congress the following month were inconclusive. Congress argued sporadically over the Vermont situation through February and into early March without reaching a consensus. In lobbying for Vermont's admission as the fourteenth state, Allen, Jonas Fay, Stephen Row Bradley, and Moses Robinson revived the story that the Crown had created a new northern province in 1774 with Philip Skene as governor. Peter Olcott and Bezaleel Woodward arrived from the upper Connecticut River Valley to promote the Dresden Party's ongoing interest in a river-centered state. New York, New Hampshire and Massachusetts reasserted their ancient ownership of all or part of the Grants. In the end, the problems posed by both major alternatives--either accepting Vermont statehood or attempting to subdue the Arlington Junto militarily-- and its own chronic inability to act decisively overwhelmed Congress. When Ira and his colleagues gave up and headed home, little had changed. Vermont remained outside the United States, with some friends and many enemies in the national government.[3]

Ira returned to his usual full schedule in Vermont. In early March, he attended the state legislature's session at Westminster, where he reported on his trip to Philadelphia. The demands of the Surveyor-General's office took large blocks of his time, during which he continued to add to his holdings of rights in newly-chartered northern townships. Finding supplies and men for Vermont's frontier forts took him to Albany for a week. The state's perpetually-shaky finances and his own muddled accounts as Treasurer required his attention, as did writing proclamations and letters for Governor Chittenden, having various state publications printed, and dealing with new rumblings of Yorker dissent east of the mountains. In late March, he and Ethan bought a farm in Sunderland that would become their home until after the Revolution. The schedule was hectic, but Allen seemed to thrive on the frantic pace of his public and private activities.[4]

Ira barely had time to get his many Vermont responsibilities under control before it was time to go back to Philadelphia. In early June, Congress resolved that the Arlington Junto must stop granting land and abusing Yorkers and set early September as its new deadline for ruling on the Vermont controversy. In response, Ira and Chittenden drafted a long, defiant letter to Samuel Huntington,

President of Congress. Vermonters had some say in their own fate, the letter proclaimed, especially given the state's unswerving commitment to the Revolution. Notwithstanding the usurpation and injustice of neighboring governments towards Vermont, and the late resolution of Congress," Vermont still wanted to join the Union; but if rejected again, the Junto might have to "take such other measures as self-preservation may justify." On August 16, the second anniversary of the Battle of Bennington, Chittenden appointed Ira and Bradley to deliver this slightly cryptic message, and nine days later the two young diplomats set out for Pennsylvania again.[5]

Allen's second trip to Congress was more productive than the first, albeit not in his discussions with the nation's leaders. Surprised by the hospitality shown to the Dresden Party's Peter Olcott and eastside Yorker Luke Knowlton, if not by the rigid anti-Vermont stance George Clinton continued to have New York's Congressmen take, Ira and Bradley saw little chance for recognition of Vermont statehood. Frustrated by their lack of progress, they submitted a "remonstrance" on August 22 that criticized "our grasping adversaries (thirsting after domination and prey)" and echoed Chittenden's letter in denying Congress' sovereignty over the Green Mountains.[6] Shortly there-

after, Allen and Bradley started for home, but not before Ira had pulled off a last-minute coup, the results of which would make the trip to Philadelphia worthwhile. He met privately with Yorker Knowlton, one of Vermont's most respected and influential eastside dissidents, and persuaded him to defect to the Arlington Junto's camp. Allen and Knowlton agreed to keep the defection a secret, with Knowlton to work behind the scenes in Vermont to sabotage the Yorker movement.[7]

About the time that Ira returned to Vermont in October of 1780, the dispute over the future of the Green Mountain State entered a new phase. For more than three years, ever since the Westminster convention of January 1777, Great Britain and the British military in America had kept a watchful eye on the Vermont situation. As early as May 1777, William Smith, a prominent New York loyalist, had high hopes for Vermont's leaders: "May it not be supposed if they are disavowed by the Congress, that they will suddenly turn about, look to Great Britain and join the army from Canada." [8] Divide and conquer was an integral part of England's strategy for ending the Revolution, and enticing Vermont away from the American side seemed to be an achievable goal with major political and military benefits. "Recollect its situation," Sir Henry Clinton wrote of

Vermont in December 1778; "what those people did against Burgoyne, what they could do for us." The British government agreed, and by the summer of 1779 preparations were under way for contacting Ethan Allen, the best-known member of the Arlington Junto, as well as "a man of infamous character" in one loyalist observer's opinion, to see if Vermont would consider a reunion with England.[9]

It took nearly a year for the British to make contact with Vermont. The first overtures were made in the summer of 1779, when Henry Clinton sent a "trustworthy friend" north from New York City. The messenger fell ill, however, and a replacement simply concocted a story about an imaginary meeting with Ethan Allen rather than make the trip.[10] Clinton didn't learn for several months that he'd been deceived by his own agent, so he decided to wait until the spring of 1780 before trying again. A more substantial beginning came in March 1780, when wealthy loyalist Beverly Robinson wrote from New York to Ethan to sound out his feelings. He had heard that "most of the inhabitants of Vermont are opposed to the wild and chimerical scheme of the Americans in attempting to separate the continent from Great Britain," Robinson wrote, and he wanted to let Ethan know that the beleaguered little state could find security and relief from its many American enemies in "a separate government under the king and constitution of England." [11]

Robinson's letter did not reach Arlington until August 1780, when Ethan placed it before Chittenden and selected members of the Junto. From the Vermont oligarchy's perspective, opening secret negotiations with the British represented both an opportunity and a dilemma. The state had been at war with England for more than three years, but fidelity to the American cause had brought little return from the other states or from Congress. Admission to the federal union in the foreseeable future seemed unlikely; George Clinton was pressing hard for an American invasion to restore New York's sovereignty east of the Hudson; and continued allegiance to the United States carried with it the threat of annihilation by another British army driving south from Canada. If England offered sufficiently generous terms, life in an autonomous province with elected leaders and validation of all New Hampshire and Vermont land grants might be acceptable; if the talks led nowhere, at least negotiating with the enemy might temporarily halt the frequent raids the British and their Indian allies were conducting against the northern frontier. At the same time, demonstrating that Vermont had viable options other than supine obedience to the United States might improve the state's chances for acceptance by Congress. It would require considerable skill to walk the tightrope and escape

destruction by one side or the other, but in the fall of 1780 the potential benefits to Vermont and its leaders seemed to outweigh the dangers. On September 27, after a month of deliberation, Vermont's leaders responded warily to the British. Writing to Sir Frederick Haldimand, military commander and governor of Quebec, Thomas Chittenden suggested an exchange of prisoners between Vermont and Canada.[12]

A native of Switzerland who had served in the British army since the French and Indian War, Haldimand was not eager to deal with Vermont. He realized that England's control of the Champlain Valley made communication between Arlington and Quebec much safer than between Vermont and Sir Henry Clinton in New York City, but he did not trust the "profligate banditti" who inhabited the Green Mountain State. "No dependence can be had" in Ethan Allen, Haldimand warned Clinton in August 1780, "and his Followers, or dependents, are a collection of the most abandoned wretches that ever lived, to be bound by no Laws or Ties." [13] The Governor-General could see only one advantage in negotiating with Vermont. Since his arrival in Quebec in 1778, certain that his motley collection of 6,000 men could not possibly defend an area that stretched from the Great Lakes to the mouth of the St. Lawrence River, he had worried obsessively

about a second American invasion. Haldimand could not know that the rebel commanders were equally fearful of his army; in his eyes, making the Champlain-Richelieu access rout more secure by neutralizing Vermont would help protect Quebec. Thus he accepted the burden of bargaining with Vermont's leaders and, in the process, lent his name to what became known as the Haldimand Negotiations.[14]

The opening round of the Haldimand Negotiations began in late October 1780, just after a devastating Indian raid on Royalton reminded Vermonters how vulnerable they were to British attack.[15] Justus Sherwood, a Green Mountain Boy in the early 1770s and now an officer in the Queen's Loyal Rangers, met with Ethan Allen over the course of several days near the Vermont frontier blockhouse at Castleton. Allen told the Vermont troops that Sherwood was there to arrange a prisoner cartel, and he prefaced their private discussions with the assertion that he would never agree to a "Damd Arnold Plan to sell his Country and his own honour by Betraying the trust reposd in him." Ethan soon came down from that patriotic pedestal, however, and under Sherwood's skillful prompting he began to outline the terms under which Vermont's return to the Empire might be effected. At present, he told Sherwood, his fellow Vermonters "would Cutt off his head" if he suggested such a

course; however, if Congress continued its anti-Vermont stance, perhaps the Arlington Junto would be able to steer the people towards the British side. If so, Vermont must become a separate province, with elected civil officials; Ethan must command his own Vermont troops in any action against the United States; and all New Hampshire land grants west of the Connecticut River must be confirmed. Everything must be kept entirely secret, Ethan insisted, and he would send Joseph Fay and Ira to Castleton after the adjournment of the state legislature to continue the negotiations with Sherwood.[16]

Yet keeping the secret proved more difficult than Ethan Allen had anticipated. The Vermont General Assembly met at Bennington from October 12 to November 8, and rumors about the discussions at Castleton dominated the last week of the session. The legislators approved the idea of a prisoner exchange, and on November 2 the Council appointed Joseph Fay and Ira as commissioners to attend to it, but after that the Allen-Chittenden faction began to have problems. On November 3, militia officers William Hutchins and Simeon Hathaway submitted "remonstrances" criticizing Ethan's conduct in dealing with the enemy. After Ethan angrily resigned his commission as brigadier-general of militia to protest the attack on his honor, the legislature dismissed

the Hutchins and Hathaway charges; however, in a turn of events that undoubtedly surprised Ethan, the House accepted his resignation. The whispers that reached Bennington soon spread throughout Vermont and beyond, and by the end of November regional and national leaders were exchanging worried comments on the "treasonable conduct" of the state's ruling oligarchy.[17]

Ira Allen and Vermont Secretary of State Joseph Fay set out for Castleton as soon as the legislature adjourned on November 8. They found their old comrade Sherwood the following day, but Major Ebenezer Allen, a distant cousin of Ira's, refused to let them leave the blockhouse until November 11. Then the trio finally received the wary major's permission to head north, they found that an early winter and two-inch-thick ice on Lake Champlain slowed their party's progress towards St. Johns. Although their ostensible mission was still only to work out the details of a prisoner exchange, on November 13 Sherwood provided Ira and Fay with full details of his meetings with Ethan and assured them of Haldimand's strong interest in making Vermont a royal province. The two Vermont negotiators turned back for Arlington the next day, but not before promising to go to St. Johns the following spring to continue the negotiations. In the meantime, Vermont's leaders

would sound out the state's inhabitants on reunification, and Haldimand would curtail British attacks on the northern frontier to avoid alienating Vermonters during this period.[18]

With the Haldimand Negotiations in recess for the winter, Ira Allen turned his attention back to Vermont's internal and external problems. Funding and supplying the state militia continued to occupy him, even with the threat from the north diminished for the time being. In late November he drafted a letter from Governor Chittenden to George Clinton and rode to Poughkeepsie to deliver it. Meeting with New York legislators in Clinton's absence, Ira urged them to drop the Empire State's claim to Vermont as a way to promote cooperation against attacks from Canada. As soon as he got back to Vermont, a new round of trouble in the Connecticut River Valley drew him eastward across the Green Mountains. A resurgent Dresden Party had organized a series of meetings to revive the idea of a river-centered state, and the enthusiastic response on both sides of the Connecticut had led to plans for a major convention at Charlestown, New Hampshire, in mid-January 1781. With little time to counter the new Dresden threat before the Charlestown meeting, Allen determined to be there when the river-town delegates gathered to plan "a Union of the Grants."[19]

The Charlestown convention convened on January 16, 1781, with representatives of 43 Vermont and New Hampshire towns in attendance. Ira did not make it across the Connecticut in time to watch the first session, so he missed the opening vote in favor of asking New Hampshire to extend its jurisdiction westward to cover all of Vermont. When Allen reached Charlestown that evening, he conferred with secret ally Luke Knowlton, then informed selected delegates that the convention's vote would surely bring an army from Canada to attack the river towns. The Arlington Junto "had a flag at Canada," he told them, and any move against the state would end the de facto truce the Haldimand Negotiations had instituted. When word arrived from Newbury the next day that hundreds of enemy tracks had been found in the snowy northern woods, the convention hurriedly reversed itself and voted to petition the Green Mountain State to create a second East Union and thus allow western New Hampshire to enjoy the benefits of the Junto's special relationship with the British. In less than 24 hours, Ira's diplomatic chicanery had turned apparent defeat into a partial victory for Vermont.[20]

But there were some drawbacks to Allen's triumph at Charlestown. In order to keep the Dresden Party's many Vermont supporters quiet, Vermont would in fact have to

absorb the New Hampshire towns. As with the first East Union of 1778-79, this would shift the balance of power away from the west side and the Arlington Junto, and invite retaliation by New Hampshire and Congress as well. Ira knew all of this, of course, but under the circumstances he and his faction had little choice. At the February session of the state legislature, he served on a joint committee that worked out the details for the East Union, and the General Assembly agreed to admit the delegates of the New Hampshire towns when it reconvened at Windsor in April. A major problem for the Allens and their allies in 1778, the East Union had risen from the ashes to trouble them again.[21]

This time, however, the Allen-Chittenden circle had a solution in mind. Ira had visited the New York Senate in late January and persuaded its members to drop New York's claim to Vermont, but the following month Governor Clinton had staved off concurrence in the lower house by threatening to prorogue the legislature. Unable to make any headway with the Empire State, and faced with the unwelcome changes the East Union would entail, the Green Mountain oligarchs decided to address both problems by creating a West Union with the towns of northeastern New York. Ira made a tour of the New York frontier in March 1781 "to informe the People of that Vicinity" of Vermont's intentions, and on April 11

the General Assembly voted 48-39 to pursue the idea. Realizing that a West Union would undo their dream of a river-centered state, the just-seated New Hampshire representatives overwhelmingly opposed the proposal, but to no avail. The representatives of 10 New York towns presented their credentials at the June session of the Vermont legislature. In a few short months, the Green Mountain republic had nearly doubled in size.

While the East and West Union dramas were unfolding, the British in Canada were watching and waiting. Disturbed by Thomas Chittenden's assertions that bad weather and unfavorable traveling conditions had forced several Vermont negotiating teams to abort expeditions to Isle aux Noix, Frederick Haldimand sent spies south throughout the winter of 1780-81 to make sure the state's leaders were not misleading him about their desire to rejoin the Empire. The confusing rumors the Governor-General's agents brought back from these intelligence missions did little to clarify the situation, and Haldimand and his subordinates remained unsure of the Arlington Junto. Writing from Isle aux Noix in February of 1781 while waiting for another Vermont delegation that would not arrive, Justus Sherwood declared that he was as "sensible of their Inherent Deceit as any man can be" and vowed he would be extremely careful in dealing

with the duplicitous Allen brothers. Reacquiring Vermont remained a high priority in London, however, so as the spring of 1781 approached Haldimand warily prepared for another round of talks with the "profligate Banditti" who ruled Vermont.[23]

If Haldimand was suspicious of Vermont's intentions, so too were his rebel counterparts. The explanations that Chittenden and the Allens had offered in the fall of 1780 for their contact with the enemy had convinced few American leaders, but the Vermonters stuck to their story about prisoner exchanges and selfless loyalty to the American cause. In March 1781 Ethan sent copies of Beverly Robinson's letters to Philadelphia and reminded Congress that the cartel with Haldimand had protected New York's northern frontier as well as Vermont's. Congress should be careful, he warned, or perhaps its unfair refusal to recognize Vermont's existence would drive the state into an alliance with England. As for himself, Allen thundered, "I am as resolutely determined to defend the independence of Vermont as Congress are that of the United States, and rather than fail, will retire with hardy Green Mountain Boys into the desolate Caverns of the Mountains, and wage war with Human nature at large." [24] Unmoved by Ethan's magnificent rhetoric, and perturbed by the goings-on east of the

Hudson, Philip Schuyler wrote to George Washington in May, "The conduct of the Vermontese is mysterious." It was indeed, Washington responded, and if Vermont's oligarchy truly was planning treason, "I wish they may be detected in their villainy, and brought to the punishment they deserve." [25]

Despite the prospect of receiving "the punishment they deserve" from the American side, the Arlington Junto resumed the Haldimand Negotiations in the spring of 1781. In late April, Ira spent several days making preparations with Thomas Chittenden; then, on May 1, his thirtieth birthday, Allen left Sunderland for Isle aux Noix. He and his escort of 19 Vermont militiamen, none of whom knew the mission involved anything but arrangements for continuing the prisoner cartel, reached the British fort beside the Richelieu on May 7. At first, Ira tried to play a delaying game in his talks with Justus Sherwood and Major Andrew Dundas. He told them he and his Vermont colleagues were working to prepare Vermonters for reunion with the Empire, but that for the present his instructions were to negotiate only on the prisoner exchange. Assuring them that Vermont would send someone with broader powers that summer, Allen drafted a detailed proposal for exchanging captured men and supplies and asked for Haldimand's reaction. [26]

Familiar with Ira's slippery ways from their days as Green Mountain Boys, Sherwood was not about to let him off that easily. While Dundas, who had not been let in on the true reason for the talks, might be satisfied with dickering over whether state militia ranks equalled British army ranks, Sherwood had come to Isle aux Noix with explicit instructions from Haldimand: make arrangements now for Vermont's return to British jurisdiction. He told Allen that the Governor-General's patience was exhausted, and that Vermont must choose to be England's friend or enemy, regardless of the difficulty of the choice. Borrowing some of Ethan's rhetoric, Ira blustered that his people might choose neutrality and defy all outsiders; in response, Sherwood noted drily that belligerent words were far more intimidating to Yorker farmers than to a career soldier like Haldimand. There was not much room left for maneuvering, and the "cautious and intricate" Vermonter finally gave in. By the afternoon of May 10, he and Sherwood had begun to discuss the terms of Vermont's becoming a British province.[27]

Even with the diplomatic preliminaries out of the way, the talks at Isle aux Noix proceeded at an erratic pace during the next two weeks. Ira asked to see Haldimand in person; Sherwood said it wasn't necessary; and Ira counter-

ed by wondering if Vermont might need an act of Parliament to believe that the negotiations were a British priority. For 14 days, Allen led Sherwood on a serpentine path, forever on the verge of committing Vermont's leaders to a definite break with the American Revolution but never quite taking the final step. He exhibited the same maddening style in letters to Haldimand that spoke of neutrality, the prisoner cartel, the East and West Unions as good buffer zones for Vermont in case of an American invasion, the honorable intentions of the Junto, and, always, the need for more time to acclimate Vermonters to a switch in allegiance. When both Haldimand and Sherwood complained that his statements lacked sincerity and candor, Ira unctuously replied "on the honor of a gentleman" that he would do better now that he had studied them as role models. Taking his leave of Sherwood on May 25, Allen headed home promising to be in touch by mid-July with news of the progress certain to be made towards reunion at the June session of the General Assembly.[28]

Haldimand and Sherwood didn't know what to make of Ira and the Isle aux Noix negotiations. Often they feared that Vermont was just buying time, using the talks to keep the British military bottled up in Canada while pressing Congress to validate Vermont statehood rather than risk its

return to the Empire; occasionally it seemed that Ira might be telling them the truth; and always the potential benefits to England of splitting Vermont away from the American confederation made them hesitate to set a final deadline for reunion or renewed hostilities. Ira himself was a major part of the problem, Sherwood reported to his superior: "Col. Allen's Dark & intricate manner of proceeding . . . obliges me sometimes to view him with contempt, and always with suspicion." [29] It wasn't that Ira tried to obscure the fact that he and Ethan were acting in large part out of self-interest, Sherwood admitted; after all, Ira had freely acknowledged that "he and his family have a large fortune, which they do not intend to lose, if there is a possibility of saving it; at any hazard, he is determined that Congress shall not have the parcelling of his Lands to their avaricious Minions." Rather, the real trick lay in forcing the brothers to make a choice instead of letting Vermont sit out the rest of the war in order to align the state with whichever side won. Even before Ira had left Isle aux Noix, Sherwood had come to the conclusion that sending a British army up Lake Champlain to welcome Vermont back into the Empire might be the only way to wring a decision out of the Allens and their little circle of conspirators. [30]

Returning to Sunderland on June 3, 1781, Ira Allen spent the next few days preparing several versions of his report on his trip. Nearly a dozen members of the Council, the House, and the Arlington Junto were now in on the secret, and Ira's first step was to tell them everything that had transpired on the *Richelieu*. The June session of the General Assembly at Bennington, however, was a much more delicate matter. The legislature now included New Hampshire members from the East Union and New York representatives from the West Union, as well as a growing number of Vermonters concerned about the Allen brothers' apparent treason. In addition, Frederick Haldimand had sent several spies to Bennington to determine what Ira said about rejoining the Empire. When Ira addressed the General Assembly on June 19, his audience included all these groups. A carefully-worded report emphasizing the patriotic advantages of restraining British military activity by continued negotiations over the prisoner cartel temporarily quieted the Junto's loudest critics; and that evening Ira met privately with Haldimand's agents to assure them that Vermont would soon be a British province. Looking back at his accomplishment nearly 20 years later, Ira boasted, "Is it not curious to see opposing parties perfectly satisfied with one statement, and each believing what they wished to believe, and thereby deceiving themselves!"[31]

Despite his pride in the deceptions his ability to manipulate words had effected, Ira knew his position was quite shaky in the summer of 1781. To the north, in a best-case scenario a loss of Haldimand's trust would mean a resumption of Indian and Tory raids on Vermont's frontier settlers; at worst, the army Justus Sherwood was recommending might descend on the state. At home, if those still loyal to the Revolution, probably a majority of Vermonters despite Allen's Isle aux Noix assurances to the contrary, turned against him, he would certainly hang. To the south, east, and west, American leaders from George Washington down were contemplating an invasion of Vermont to save the state from its traitorous leaders. As one means of protecting himself from his Vermont and American critics ... in case the need should ever arise, in June and July 1781 Ira prepared secret documents to justify his contact with the enemy. Signed by his co-conspirators, the manuscripts constituted an insurance policy for the Vermont oligarchy. As the July 10 "Certificate for the protection of Colonel Ira Allen" explained, the Haldimand Negotiations were a necessary, patriotic action by a defenseless republic:

Whereas this state is not in union with the United States, although often requested, etc. This the British power are acquainted with and are endeavoring to take advantage of these disputes thereby to court a connection with this state on

the principle of establishing it a British province. From various accounts we are well assured that the British have a force in Canada larger than this state can at present raise and support in the field, and this state have no assurance of any assistance from any or either of the United States however hard the British forces may crowd on this state from the province of Quebec by the advantage of the waters of lake Champlain, etc. Although several expresses have been sent by the Governor of this state to several of the respective governors of the United States with the most urgent requests to know whether any assistance would be afforded in such case, yet no official answer has been made to either of them.

Wherefore we the subscribers do fully approve Col. Ira Allen sending a letter date Sunderland, July 10, 1781, and directed to Genl. Haldimand, and another letter to Capt. Justice Sherwood, purporting an intention of this state's becoming a British province, etc. This we consider a political proceeding to prevent the British forces from invading this state, and being a necessary step to preserve this state from ruin, when we have too much reason to apprehend that this has been the wishes of some of our assuming neighbors, in the mean time to strengthen the state against any insult until this state receives better treatment from the United States or obtain a seat in Congress.[32]

Ira's "letter dated Sunderland, July 10, 1781" assured Haldimand that things were proceeding smoothly towards reunion. Ethan "has resigned and taken to his old studies, philosophy," he told the Governor-General, but the remaining members of the Arlington oligarchy were sure that by maneuvering Congress into another rejection of the state they could produce a pro-reunion majority in the next General Assembly and "make a revolution so long wished for by many." [33] Ira sent the letter, along with one by

Governor Chittenden noting that Vermont would also bring the East and West Unions back into the Empire, north with Joseph Fay. The Vermont Council had appointed Fay commissary-general of prisoners on June 29, with the power to continue the exchange Ira had negotiated at Isle aux Noix in May. Fay left Arlington in mid-July, and by July 20 he was aboard the British ship Carleton off Crown Point, under sail for the northern end of Lake Champlain. The British had just completed construction of a blockhouse at Dutchman's Point on North Hero Island, and now Justus Sherwood was waiting there to wrap up the final details of Vermont's return to the Crown.[34]

If Sherwood hoped that negotiating with Joseph Fay would be easier than talking to Ira Allen, he must have been disappointed. Fay spent nearly three weeks with Sherwood and Dr. George Smyth, a New York loyalist Haldimand had sent to help out at Dutchman's Point, but the final agreement on reunion proved as elusive as in May. Fay was either completely sincere or "a perfect Jesuit," Sherwood and Smyth wrote Haldimand; while they feared the latter, it was impossible to be sure. As Ira's letter had, Fay promised his impatient hosts that Vermont would be ready to make the switch from American republic to British province sometime that fall. To prove his trustworthiness, he told them about

Ira's secret documents describing the negotiations as a pro-American ruse and offered to send them copies as evidence of the Arlington Junto's cleverness in throwing the United States off the scent. On his "Sacred Faith and Honor, as a Gentleman and Private Agent," Fay vowed, if Haldimand would just be patient a little longer their plans would come to fruition at the October session of the Vermont legislature.[35]

By now, neither Haldimand nor his agents placed much faith in anything the Allens or their colleagues said. The prolonged truce "is just giving them every thing they wish at this time," William Chambers, commander of the British fleet on Lake Champlain, complained to Quebec. "It will enable them to get in their harvest in peace, whilst we reap no one kind of benefit." [36] Sherwood, Smyth, and Haldimand's other subordinates chimed in with similar assessments. The Vermonters were "possess'd of Perfidy, Equivocation and Hypocrisy"; the Allens, particularly Ira, sought only to protect their own Champlain Valley land claims; and Vermont's real intention was to procrastinate until the end of the war.[37] The reports that Haldimand's spies sent back from Vermont indicated that while the Arlington Junto might be genuinely loyalist, popular feeling in the state still favored the American cause. The balance

was clearly against trusting Ira and his associates; on the other hand, regaining Vermont might win the war for England. Haldimand reluctantly decided to give the Junto until the October session of the legislature; in the meantime, however, he would make preparations for sending an army to Ticonderoga in late September to help the Assembly with its decision.[38]

While Joseph Fay was frustrating Sherwood and Smyth at Dutchman's Point in August of 1781, Ira Allen was on his way back to Philadelphia. Appointed by Chittenden to attend Congress with Bezaleel Woodward of Dartmouth College and Jonas Fay, Ira arrived in mid-August to find Congress in an uproar over the Haldimand affair. Rumors about the intrigue on the northern frontier abounded, with the disclosure of intercepted enemy correspondence about regaining Vermont adding fuel to the flames. On July 20 a Congressional committee had recommended admitting Vermont into the American union, and now Ira, Fay and Woodward took advantage of Congress' fear of losing Vermont to push hard on the statehood issue. They emphasized the military advantages of having the Green Mountain militia as an advance guard against British invasion from Canada; they hinted that Vermont might be flexible on compensating owners of pre-1765 New York land grants east of the Hudson; and, in

meetings without Dresden Party leader Woodward, Fay and Allen indicated that once admitted as the fourteenth state Vermont would be willing to jettison the East and West Unions. As Ira had predicted to Haldimand in May, however, Congress rejected his terms by demanding that dissolution of the two unions precede statehood. When Allen and Fay rode north towards Vermont in late August, they must have been pleased with themselves; statehood was now a distinct possibility, and the Arlington Junto remained in a position to cultivate both its American and its British options.[39]

The northern option remained the first concern for Vermont's leaders as the fall of 1781 approached. As soon as Ira returned from Philadelphia, Thomas Chittenden sent him and Joseph Fay to Lake Champlain to see Sherwood and Smyth. Meeting their loyalist counterparts at Skenesborough in mid-September, Allen and Fay declared that this time they'd come north with full instructions to negotiate "relative to a change of government." Sherwood and Smyth told them of Haldimand's plans for sending an army south to usher Vermont back into the Empire, and on September 20 the Vermonters responded with the following "proposal" for the Governor-General:

That in our opinions the first proceedings of the new Legislature of Vermont will be to form into a committee of the whole to hear the report of their

agents from Congress, and then to take into consideration the proposals from Congress, when we have every reason to expect them to be rejected, when the Legislature will proceed to business. As the members are from all parts of the state and many of them strangers to each other, it will not be amiss for them to be a few days together before a public litigation of a change of government, and in order to that we would propose whether a Proclamation for His Excellency General Haldimand, to be then exhibited to the Legislature, might not answer a valuable purpose, as it lay a foundation for them to proceed upon. Such proclamation to contain the terms the Court of Great Britain have authorized His Excellency to give Vermont, which we could wish (as citizens of Vermont are principally emigrants from the New England governments) that their privileges might be as near those they have been accustomed to as may be. That there should be no undue advantage taken by such proclamation, we propose that it be lodged with the general commissioners on the Lake; that as soon as the Legislature have rejected the offers of Congress, that a confidential person be forwarded to said Commissioners with that information, when a flag should be sent to Castleton with such proclamation sealed and directed to the Legislature, when General Enos will forward them by express to the Legislature.[40]

On the surface, the "proposal" seemed to indicate that the Arlington Junto had at last committed to reunion, but the British remained suspicious. "Considering the uniformity of Ira Allen's conduct," Haldimand wrote to Sir Henry Clinton, "he must be the most accomplished villain living, if he means to deceive us"; still, there was something about Ira that inspired uncertainty.[41] Despite these concerns, the British negotiators pressed on because the possibility that Lord Cornwallis' army at Yorktown might soon surrender

made it seem imperative to regain Vermont before a major American victory precluded rapprochement with Britain. Finally deciding that trust (and the army he was assembling for Ticonderoga) would produce the best results, on October 5 Haldimand sent "A Proclamation to the Principal Men and Inhabitants of the District of Country called Vermont" to Sherwood. Vermont would become a separate province, he promised, with most of the privileges enjoyed before 1775 by Connecticut, retention of the East and West Unions, free trade with Canada (a crucial point for the Allens), and the military protection of the British army. Vermonters must surely embrace "terms so evidently humane and generous"; if not, "to themselves alone must be attributed the melancholy consequences which must necessarily follow." Once his army of 1,000 men under Barry St. Leger reached Ticonderoga, Haldimand instructed, Sherwood and Smyth should consult with the Arlington Junto to determine the most propitious time for sending the proclamation on to the General Assembly.[42]

With the second East Union still in effect, the fall 1781 Vermont legislature met at Charlestown, on the east side of the Connecticut. Competing rumors about the Haldimand Negotiations and an impending American triumph at Yorktown dominated the session until an event on the

northern frontier focussed all attention on the Vermont conspirators and their mysterious relationship with the enemy. On October 22 Sherwood and Smyth had ordered the capture of a rebel soldier so they could communicate with Charlestown, but in seizing a Vermont scouting party the British had shot and killed Vermont militia sergeant Archelaus Tupper. Afraid that the killing might alienate Vermonters, St. Leger decided to make amends by sending Tupper's clothes and an apology to Thomas Chittenden, along with a letter from Sherwood and Smyth asking if now was a good time to issue the proclamation. "I thought this gave a favourable opening, to work upon the minds of the Vermontese," St. Leger wrote smugly in his journal, "by shewing a pointed distinction to the Inhabitants of the State"; instead, the receipt of a British apology for an American soldier's death convinced the Arlington Junto's enemies that treason was in the wind.[43] Caught up suddenly in a violent storm of public criticism, Ira Allen and his colleagues appeared to be in serious trouble. St. Leger was ready to attack from the north, while the people of Vermont, whose loyalties the Allens had always assured Haldimand they could deliver when the time came, were demonstrating what Haldimand's spies had long suspected--public opinion in the Green Mountain State was overwhelmingly opposed to rejoining the British Empire.

The arrival of word that Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown on October 18 gave the Arlington Junto time to regroup. As early as October 20 Ira Allen had warned Sherwood that the anticipated British defeat in the south would upset their plans "so well calculated for the happiness of this people and on which I have placed my ambition." [44] When confirmation of Washington's great victory reached Vermont in late October, Ira's prediction came true. Temporarily distracted from their leaders' possible misdeeds, Vermonters, at least according to St. Leger's bitter assessment, turned to "rioting and drinking throughout the Country, on account of their late successes." [45] Faced with further proof that Vermont was not ready for reunion, and aware as well that Yorktown had altered the military realities of the war, St. Leger withdrew his army to Canada in early November.

Safe from a British attack at least until the spring of 1782, the Green Mountain oligarchs turned immediately to mending relations at home and with the United States. Realizing that as soon as public euphoria over Yorktown subsided the Haldimand Negotiations would become a major topic of discussion again, Thomas Chittenden and the Allens worked hard to paint a favorable picture of their role in the affair. As a first step, in early November Chittenden

and Ira drafted a long letter to George Washington concerning "The peculiar situation and circumstances with which this state for several years last past has been attended." Vermont had never intended to rejoin the Empire, they assured him; indeed, their goal throughout the Negotiations had been to deceive the British into a prolonged truce that would protect the state and the northern American theater from invasion. Borrowing from Scripture to illustrate their point, the two Green Mountain leaders wrote, "'I will put my Hook in their Nose and turn them back the way which they came, and they shall not come into this City (alias Vermont) saith the Lord.'" Against all odds, Vermont's patriotic strategy had worked; now, as the state's leaders told anyone who would listen, it was time for a grateful nation to acknowledge their contribution to the freedom of the United States.[46]

While waiting to see if the Junto's version of the Haldimand affair would convince their American detractors, Ira Allen found that new problems with the East and West Unions also required his attention. In early December 1781 he bluffed a New York militia column into retreating from the West Union by sending Vermont troops across the border to strike a belligerent pose. As soon as that crisis had subsided, it was off to Exeter "to consert or find some way

to prevent a civil War between N. Hampshire & the East union." Shortly after his arrival, Allen discovered a situation he could not resolve by pretense or propaganda. The western New Hampshire towns were determined to defend their union with Vermont; William Page of Charlestown had just been imprisoned in Exeter for daring to appear before the General Court as a Vermont citizen; and Ira's attempts to portray the Arlington Junto as sympathetic to the Granite State's interests fell on deaf ears. After several days of fruitless lobbying, Allen went home, leaving Page in prison; a few days later, New Hampshire president Meshech Weare issued a proclamation that ordered all Vermont supporters to move west of the Connecticut within 40 days or face the troops preparing to vindicate New Hampshire's jurisdiction over the East Union communities.[47]

Ira might have given more time to the trouble developing with New Hampshire, but early in 1782 Chittenden and the Council sent him back to Philadelphia with Jonas Fay and Abel Curtis to try his hand again with Congress. George Clinton, Philip Schuyler and others had been eagerly forwarding details of Vermont's "traitorous correspondence" with the British, and the effect on Congress had been very negative. New York's William Floyd wrote gleefully to Clinton that his dispatches had changed the minds of many

members "who before that affected to disbelieve that they the Vermontiers had formed any connection with the enemy." Allen and his comrades spent most of February trying to regain the ground Vermont has lost, with limited success at best. States that had once supported admitting Vermont into the confederation were now undecided, and everywhere the Vermont delegates turned they found strong disapproval of the East and West Unions. As always, Congress lacked the power to do anything decisive about Vermont's situation; still, it seemed that the state's prospects for its southern option had changed markedly for the the worse.[48]

Unsuccessful at Philadelphia, Ira found on his return to Vermont that things had gone badly there as well. The easing of military tensions on the northern frontier led many Vermonters to question the need for stringent oligarchic control of state affairs. The legislature, hitherto a docile tool of the ruling clique, had defied the Arlington Junto over the East and West Unions. Chittenden and the Allens wanted to retain the unions as military buffer zones and bargaining chips in negotiations with either side in the war, but George Washington had recently written to Chittenden that Vermont need only "withdraw your jurisdiction to your old limits" to gain acceptance into the United States. Led by Isaac Tichenor, an ambitious newcomer to the Green

Mountain political scene, the General Assembly dissolved both unions at its February 1782 session and appointed Tichenor to lead a new delegation to Congress. Further evidence of at least a temporary erosion in the Junto's influence came when Tichenor also persuaded the legislature to create a committee to audit Ira's tangled accounts as state Treasurer. Although the Assembly's actions fell short of a revolution against the Allen-Chittenden faction, it appeared that a new group of leaders stood ready to battle the pioneer generation for power within state government.[49]

The spring of 1782 brought additional challenges for Ira Allen and his circle. Angry at the dissolution of the East Union, the Dresden Party adopted an anti-Vermont stance again. Urged on by the Dresden leaders, at least four eastside Vermont towns petitioned New Hampshire for admission, and the Granite State responded that it would gladly seize the eastern half of Vermont if New York would take the west. George Clinton encouraged the Yorkers of Windham County by hinting that the Empire State might adopt "compulsory means" to enforce its territorial claims if Congress continued to vacillate on the issue. The emboldened Yorkers held conventions, wrote defiant resolutions and "remonstrances," resisted Vermont local officials, and

asked Clinton to visit them as soon as possible. Five years after the creation of New Connecticut, the Arlington Junto's hold on Vermonters' loyalties remained quite tenuous.[50]

Ongoing anger over the Haldimand affair was a major feature of the Vermont oligarchy's troubles. In early March 1782, George Clinton distributed a printed broadsheet detailing the negotiations that convinced many Americans of the treachery of the Vermont conspirators. Town meetings within the state, particularly in Windham County, denounced the Allens for plotting with the enemy. Despite the dissolution of the East and West Unions based on George Washington's promise, Congress snubbed Isaac Tichenor and his party when they arrived to finalize Vermont's entry into the United States. Plans circulated for a two-pronged invasion of the Green Mountain State to forestall any British attempt to follow up on the reunion scheme that had been aborted after Yorktown. The Allen-Chittenden faction had been most fearful of invasion from Canada, but now it appeared that the American threat to their control of Vermont had become equally ominous.[51]

Frederick Haldimand and other British authorities doubted the Arlington Junto, but they remained open to continuing the negotiations. "Make the recovery of Vermont to the King's obedience the primary goal of your attention,"

Lord Germain had told Haldimand at the start of 1782, and the Governor-General complied.[52] Loyalist spies visited Arlington to gather intelligence and talk to the Allens; Justus Sherwood resumed his correspondence with Ira; and Haldimand continued to limit raids against the northern Vermont settlements. As in the past, the British were annoyed by the inconsistency and lack of candor they saw in Vermont's leaders and their constituents. "Nothing is to be Expected from Vermont but Cursed hypocrisy & deceit," Sherwood complained on March 28; yet one week later, displaying a little inconsistency himself, he told Haldimand his faith in the Allen brothers had never been higher.[53] For his part, Haldimand felt as he had the previous autumn: "coercion alone must decide the part Vermont would take," and sending another British army up Lake Champlain would be the key in any transformation from Green Mountain State to royal province.[54]

Worried about their loss of influence at home and by Congress' hostility to the Arlington Junto, Ethan and Ira Allen were ready by the spring of 1782 to look north again for Vermont's and their future. First, though, they had to deal with another family loss when brother Heber died at the age of 39 on April 10. Bringing Heber's widow Sarah and her four young children from Poultney to his house in Sunder-

land, Ira acquired an instant family by default.[55] While Ira was adjusting to life as head of a household, Ethan began writing to Sherwood and Haldimand to assure them the Allens were "as anxious as ever to bring matters to a happy issue." Vermont's pro-American faction was bothersome, as the unfortunate dissolution of the two unions demonstrated, he admitted, but he was confident the Arlington Junto could keep the state out of the American confederation. Far less cautious than his youngest brother, by mid-June Ethan was sending promises north that Ira would have hesitated to commit to paper. "Vermont does not belong either to the confederacy or the controversy, but are a neutral Republic," he declared in one letter that must have made his more circumspect fellow conspirators wince; "I shall do everything in my power to render this State a British province." [56]

The second phase of the Haldimand Negotiations moved along by fits and starts in the last half of 1782. Hostilities between American and British troops had virtually ceased by mid-summer, and both sides were anticipating that a formal peace would soon follow. Admitting that they had not yet been able to swing public opinion towards rejoining the Empire, the Allens suggested that Haldimand guarantee Vermont's safety so they could attract loyalist settlers to the state. Looking ahead to the postwar development of

their Champlain Valley properties, the brothers also mentioned that soon it would be time to promote free trade between Vermont and Canada. With peace seemingly at hand, Haldimand was unwilling to commit himself without additional instructions from London, but he did continue to send agents south to gather information and encourage the Arlington Junto's professed interest in keeping Vermont out of the United States. Although he realized that the best chance of reacquiring the state for England had probably passed, the Governor-General also recognized that an independent Green Mountain republic with commercial and geographic ties to Canada might be useful to Britain's peacetime goals in North America.[57]

In the summer and fall of 1782 the Allen-Chittenden faction took steps to resolve their ongoing problems with the eastside Yorkers. The Windham County malcontents had grown restive again. Charles Phelps of Marlboro published a splenetic denunciation of the state government under the title Vermonters Unmasked; towns such as Brattleboro, Guilford and Halifax openly boasted of their allegiance to New York; and Yorker mobs harassed sheriffs who attempted to keep Vermont's version of the peace.[58] After Ira Allen made a tour of the disaffected areas in late August, Thomas Chittenden authorized Ethan to lead 250 Vermont troops on a

secret mission across the mountains. As in the Great Cow War of 1779, Ethan's men easily routed the Yorkers, rounded up most of their leaders, and threatened to kill anyone who disputed Vermont's authority. Ira helped organize the trials that followed, in which the Vermont court handed down convictions, large fines, and property confiscations against most of the defendants. Once again, the Arlington Junto had shown that in an internal crisis it could supplement propaganda and rhetoric with an occasional dose of military action.[59]

Watching the effectiveness of Ethan's raid against the Yorkers, Ira Allen must have wished he could apply the same remedy to his own troubles. The February 1782 session of the legislature had called for a review of Ira's accounts as Treasurer, and Ira found himself mired in disagreements with the state's auditors, led by nemesis Isaac Tichenor. Worried about the charges of dishonesty and frustrated by the time he had to devote to clearing himself, Ira went back to the press to try to make his case. Just before the General Assembly's October 1782 session, he published a 12-page pamphlet, The Treasurer's Address to the Legislature, in June Last, Relative to Public Accounts, that dusted off the Allen family public-relations rhetoric to deny any wrongdoing and demand a speedy settling of his books. "I

did not take such unwearied Pains as I had in assisting to establish a Government here, merely for the Pecuniary Rewards of Office," Ira reminded Vermonters: "it was to establish Freedom, and hand down to Posterity the Blessings of a free Government, and to secure my landed Interest, in Conjunction with that of other Landowners." Unfortunately for Allen, the rhetoric that had often worked well at rousing emotions on less personal issues failed to bring him many supporters on this one, and his problems with Tichenor over his public accounts continued to bedevil him.[60]

Yet if his personal publicity failed him, early in 1783 Ira proved that he still had the touch for political invective. In December 1782 Congress responded to eastside Yorker tales of Ethan Allen's autumn depredations against them by passing resolutions that criticized Vermont for its oppressive tactics and ordered the restoration of all confiscated Yorker property. George Clinton and his Windham County supporters hailed the resolutions as a great triumph for their side, and the Council asked Ira Allen and Thomas Tolman of Arlington to write a response.[61] The result was A Copy of a Remonstrance, of the Council of the State of Vermont, Against the Resolutions of Congress of the 5th of December last, which interfere with their internal Police, published as a letter from Thomas Chittenden to Charles

Thomson, President of Congress. Congress had no right to dictate to Vermonters, Ira and Tolman declared: "The inhabitants of the territory of Vermont have lived in a State of independence from their first settlement to this day." Vermont would still like to join the United States; until then, however, for Congress to denounce the state's government without an impartial investigation "is illegal, and contrary to the law of nature and nations." [62]

The defiant tone of the Remonstrance may have reminded Congress that Vermont was still beyond federal control, but it did nothing to dispel American suspicion of the Arlington Junto's continuing flirtation with the British. In January 1783 the Allen brothers helped Luke Knowlton, Ira's secret eastside ally, and Brattleboro Yorker Samuel Wells escape to Canada ahead of a detachment of Continental troops sent to arrest them for loyalist activities. [63] George Clinton urged Congress to send an army to Vermont; make a show of force, he promised, and "The most Guilty of Leaders would take Refuge in Canada." George Washington also worried about Vermont, but he was not so sure as Clinton about the effect of an American invasion. Many of his officers and men might refuse to fight against fellow Americans; moreover, if Vermont chose to resist, its mountainous terrain and "hardy" inhabitants, including a large number of

deserters from Washington's own army, would complicate any attack. Washington and most other American observers still distrusted Vermont's leaders, but with the war winding down it seemed better to keep them under close scrutiny than to risk a military campaign in the Green Mountains.[64]

Even with a peace agreement imminent, there was much in Vermont's contacts with Canada for American observers to consider in the first months of 1783. Where in 1780-82 it had been the British who initiated and pursued the negotiations, now it seemed that the Vermonters had assumed the role of ardent suitors. Ethan Allen continued to write to Haldimand and Sherwood, sometimes in a disguised hand and the third-person, about his efforts to position the state for another reunion attempt. Haldimand's spies reported that the Allens wanted him to have Vermont attached to Canada in any Anglo-American treaty, "as they are determined they will never voluntarily unite with the American States." [65] The Governor-General was sympathetic but not optimistic. Eighteen months ago this new-found eagerness might have accomplished something, Justus Sherwood informed Ethan; now, "his Excellency sincerely regrets [that] the happy moment . . . cannot be recalled for restoring you to the blessings of a British Government." Having delayed too long, the Allens would have to wait for the peace treaty to determine Vermont's future.[66]

Word that the United States and England had come to terms reached Vermont in late April of 1783. The two nations had signed provisional articles of peace in Paris on November 30, 1782, George Washington announced, with a formal treaty expected to follow soon. In a move that most Vermonters cheered and the Allens deplored, the peace commissioners had placed the Green Mountain State on the southern side of the border between Canada and the United States. However, while it now seemed that Vermont was destined to become American rather than British, the details of Vermont's status and its relationships with its several neighbors remained undecided. The end of the war also meant uncertainty within the state, as social, political, and economic development would now occur for the first time outside the context of the Revolution. The spread of settlement to the northern half of the state, the growth of individual communities and their institutions, and the resolution of what the Revolution had meant to Vermonters would all take place in a milieu very different from Vermont's first six years.

Finally, peace promised major changes for Ira Allen as well. During the war, he had grown from a minor figure on the Grants to one of the most influential individuals in Vermont. At the same time, his careful attention to per-

sonal priorities had brought him an immense, albeit shaky, personal empire, and he had dreams of even greater riches. By the end of the Revolution, however, Ira faced serious challenges to his hopes of retaining the power and wealth he had won. The Arlington Junto's hold on Vermont's government seemed to be growing weaker; Ira's claim to thousands of acres rested on a daunting pile of debts, promissory notes, and contested titles; and his propensity for double-dealing in pursuit of his goals had brought him few friends and a growing list of enemies. Allen had no doubts about his prospects, of course; as always, he had grand expectations for the years ahead.

NOTES

1. (Dresden, N.H.: Alden Spooner, 1779), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 1: 181-233.
2. IA, The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 71-72; IA to "the Council of Pennsylvania, Jan. 20, 1780, pub. in G & C, 2: 236-37.
3. Winn L. Taplin, "The Vermont Problem in the Continental Congress and in Interstate Relations, 1775-1787" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1955), pp. 147-52; IA et al. to Samuel Huntington, Feb. 1, 1780, photocopy in AFP, box 5, folder 26.
4. IA ms. 1776-87 expense bill, photocopy in AFP, box 4, folder 65, pp. [187-89]; Benjamin H. Hall, History of Eastern Vermont (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1858), pp. 370-80.
5. Thomas Chittenden to Samuel Huntington, July 25, 1780, photocopy in AFP, box 5, folder 29, pub. in James B. Wilbur, Ira Allen: Founder of Vermont 1751-1814 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), 1: 155-58; IA ms. 1776-87 expense bill, photocopy in AFP, box 4, folder 65, pp. [188-89].
6. Taplin, "The Vermont Problem," pp. 154-66; Allen & Bradley "Remonstrance," Sept. 22, 1780, ms. at VHS, X MS 974.30 V59cra 1780, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 492-94.
7. IA, Ira Allen's Address to the Freemen of Vermont, and Legislature Thereof, Respecting a Cargo of Military Stores, Captured by the British (1808), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 266; idem, History (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 78; Hall, Eastern Vermont, pp. 675-76.
8. William Smith diary entry, May 8, 1777, quoted in Clarence W. Rife, "Vermont and Great Britain: A Study in Diplomacy 1779-1783" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1922), p. 70.
9. Sir Henry Clinton to William Eden, Dec. 24, 1778, pub. in Benjamin F. Stevens, comp., B. F. Stevens's Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives Relating to America, 1773-1783 (London: Malby & Sons, 1889-95), 5: nos. 548-49; George Germain to Clinton, March 3, 1779, quoted in Rife, "Vermont and Great Britain," pp. 73-74.

10. Sir Henry Clinton to Frederick Haldimand, Sept. 9, 1779, Haldimand Papers (hereafter HP), British Museum, Add. Ms. 21807; Clinton to William Eden, Dec. 11, 1779, Clements Library, University of Michigan.

11. Robinson to Allen, March 30, 1780, HP, Add. Ms. 21835, pub. in G & C, 2: 397-98.

12. Chittenden to Haldimand, Sept. 27, 1780, HP, Add. Ms. 21835.

13. Haldimand to Germain, Sept. 13, 1779, and Haldimand to Clinton, Aug. 13, 1780, HP, Add. Ms. 21714 and 21807, respectively. On Oct. 25, 1780, Haldimand wrote to Germain that he would do what he could with Vermont, "but they are so deceitful a People, that I cannot help being very doubtful about the Success of it," HP, Add. Ms. 21714.

14. On Haldimand, see: John O. Dendy, "Frederick Haldimand and the Defence of Canada" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1972); and Jean N. McIlwraith, Sir Frederick Haldimand (Toronto: Morang & Co., 1910). In addition to Rife, "Vermont and Great Britain," the most detailed overviews of the Haldimand Negotiations are: Michael A. Bellesiles, "Life, Liberty, and Land: Ethan Allen and the Frontier Experience in Revolutionary New England" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of California, Irvine, 1986), chapter 8; Charles A. Jellison, Ethan Allen: Frontier Rebel (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1969), chaps. 12-13; Ian Pemberton, "Justus Sherwood, Vermont Loyalist, 1747-1798" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Western Ontario, 1972); Henry S. Wardner, "The Haldimand Negotiations," Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, 2, 1 (March 1931): 3-29; Wilbur, Ira Allen, chaps. 7-11; and Chilton Williamson, Vermont in Quandary: 1763-1825 (Montpelier: VHS, 1949), chapter 8. Useful for the context of the Negotiations are: John B. Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle: The Interplay of Canada, the United States and Great Britain (1945; reprint ed., Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966); A. L. Burt, The United States, Great Britain and British North America from the Revolution to the Establishment of Peace After the War of 1812 (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1940); J. Mackay Hitsman, Safeguarding Canada, 1763-1871 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1968), chapter 2; and Carl Van Doren, Secret History of the American Revolution (New York: The Viking Press, 1941).

15. Ivah Dunklee, Burning of Royalton, Vermont, by Indians (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1906); Zadock Steele, The

Indian Captive: Or a Narrative of the Captivity and Sufferings of Zadock Steele (Montpelier, Vt.: E. P. Walton, 1818). On a 1778 British raid in the Champlain Valley, see Ida H. & Paul A. Washington, Carleton's Raid (Canaan, N.H.: Phoenix Publishing, 1977)

16. Justus Sherwood journal, Oct. 26-Nov. 31, 1780, HP, Add. Ms. 21836, pub. in VH, 24, 2 (April 1956): 101-09. On Sherwood, in addition to Pemberton, "Justus Sherwood," also of some interest are: Mary B. Fryer, Buckskin Pimpernel: The Exploits of Justus Sherwood, Loyalist Spy (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1981); and Harold M. Jackson, Justus Sherwood: Soldier, Loyalist and Negotiator (No place or publisher listed, 1958).

17. SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 1: 151-53 and 170-71, and 17: 332-33; Collections of the Vermont Historical Society, 2 (1870): 76-82.

18. Sherwood journal, VH, 24, 2 (April 1956): 101-09.

19. IA ms. 1776-87 expense bill, photocopy in AFP, box 4, folder 65, p. [190]; Chittenden to George Clinton, Nov. 22, 1780, in Hugh Hastings, ed., Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York (New York and Albany: State of New York, 1899-1904), 6: 430-37; Hall, Eastern Vermont, p. 401.

20. The most detailed account of Ira's work at the Charlestown convention is [Charles Phelps], Vermonters Unmasked ([Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: John Holt, 1782]), pp. 6-7. See also: IA, History (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 78-79; G & C, 2: 280-83; VHS Collections, 2 (1871): 97-98; Henry H. Saunderson, History of Charlestown, New-Hampshire, the Old No 4 (Claremont, N.H.: The Town, 1876), chaps. 9-10.

21. G & C, 2: 285-96.

22. IA ms. 1776-87 expense bill, AFP, box 4, folder 65, p. [190-91]; G & C, 2: 297-300; Cambridge, N.Y., convention, May 15, 1781, agreement on West Union, photocopy in AFP, box 5, folder 47; Taplin, "The Vermont Problem," pp. 182-83.

23. Sherwood to Robert Mathews, Feb. 19, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21836; Thomas Chittenden to Haldiman, April 26, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21835, pub. in SPOV, 17: 353-54; Micah Townsend report on Vermont, April 10, 1781, pub. in Wilbur,

Ira Allen, 1: 183-86; on Feb. 7, 1781, Lord George Germain wrote to Haldimand, "The return of the people of Vermont to their Allegiance is an Event of the utmost Importance to the King's Affairs," pub. in G & C, 2: 406; Hamilton V. Bail, "A Letter to Lord Germain about Vermont," VH, 34, 4 (October 1966): 226-34; Ian C. Pemberton, "The British Secret Service in the Champlain Valley during the Haldimand Negotiations, 1780-1783," VH, 44, 3 (Summer 1976): 129-40.

24. Allen to Continental Congress, March 9, 1781, pub. in SPOV, 17: 345-47.

25. Schuyler to Washington, May 4, 1781, and Washington response, May 14, 1781, both pub. in VHS Collections, 2: 107-08.

26. IA, History (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 86-90; Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 213-50, prints several May 1781 letters between Allen and the British; numerous mss. concerning Allen's stay at Isle aux Noix are in HP, Add. Ms. 21792, 21835-36, and 21839.

27. Sherwood, "Journal," VH, 24, 3, (July 1956): 211-20.

28. Ibid.

29. Sherwood to Robert Mathews, May 11, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21836; other Sherwood to Mathews letters, May 1781, all HP, Add. Ms. 21836; A. Dundas to Haldimand, May 9, 1781, and Dundas to Mathews, May 11 and May 22, 1781, all HP, Add. Ms. 21792; Mathews to Sherwood, May 15 and May 21, 1781, pub. in G & C, 2: 421-23; Mathews to Dundas, May 28, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21792; Sherwood to Major Lernoult, May 25, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21836.

30. Sherwood, "Journal," p. 219; Sherwood to Mathews, May 20, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21836.

31. IA, History (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 92; IA ms. 1776-87 expense bill, AFP, box 4, folder 65, p. [192]; British agents' report to Haldimand, June 1781, in G & C, 2: 428-29. On the Vermont leaders involved in the Negotiations, IA, History (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 86, says that eight men were in on the secret at the outset, "but more were added as circumstances required." Samuel Williams, The Natural and Civil History of Vermont (1794; 2nd ed., Burlington: Samuel Mills, 1809), 2: 214, identi-

fies the original eight as Thomas Chittenden, Moses Robinson, Samuel Safford, Ethan Allen, Ira Allen, Timothy Brownson, John Fassett, [Jr.], and Joseph Fay, and gives his source as "Governor Chittenden's information to the author, March 4, 1793." On May 25, 1781, Ira Allen told Justus Sherwood that Haldimand should contact Vermont only through Ira, Ethan, Chittenden, Fassett, Brownson, Matthew Lyon, or Jonas Fay, in Sherwood, "Journal," VH, 24, 3 (July 1956): 219. Finally, the eight men who signed Ira's secret June 1781 document explaining the Negotiations as a patriotic pro-American deception were Chittenden, Safford, Fassett, Joseph and Jonas Fay, Brownson, and Moses and Samuel Robinson. Combining these lists produces a roster of 11 Vermont conspirators: Ira and Ethan Allen, Chittenden, Lyon, Safford, Fassett, Jonas and Joseph Fay, Brownson, and Moses and Samuel Robinson.

32. Published in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 270-71; idem, 1: 260-61, for a similar June 1781 document. The two are also in SPOV, 17: 355-58.

33. IA to Haldimand, July 10, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21835, pub. in SPOV, 17: 358-60.

34. Chittenden to Haldimand, July 15, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21835; Fay to Sherwood, July 20, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21836.

35. Fay pledge, Aug. 20, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21836; Sherwood and Smyth letters to Haldimand, Aug. 2, 9, 10, 15, & 18, 1781, all in HP, Add. Ms. 21836, extracts pub. in G & C, 2: 433-34.

36. Chambers to Haldimand, Aug. 10, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21802; same to same, Aug. 1, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21802.

37. Smyth to Haldimand, Aug. 3, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21836; Sir Henry Clinton to Haldimand, July 23, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21807.

38. Anonymous report on Vermont, Aug. 18, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21836; Haldimand to Germain, July 8, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21715; Germain to Haldimand, July 26, 1781, pub. in G & C, 2: 432-33.

39. Taplin, "The Vermont Problem," pp. 207-19; IA, History, pp. 109-13; G & C, 2: 315-20; IA, Fay and Woodward to Congress, Aug. 18, 1781, photocopy in AFP, box 5, folder 53, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 295-98.

40. HP, Add. Ms. 21835, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 305-08; IA, History (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 97-99; Allen and Fay to Smyth and Sherwood, Sept. 16, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21835.
41. Haldimand to Clinton, Sept. 24, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21807, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 303-04; Sherwood and Smyth interrogation of Allen and Fay, Sept. 20, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21835, pub. in G & C, 2: 442-43.
42. Haldimand proclamation, HP, Add. Ms. 21839, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 313-14; Haldimand to Clinton, Sept. 27, 1781, and Oct. 1, 1781, both HP, Add. Ms. 21807, pub. in G & C, 2: 443 and 445-46; Haldimand to Lord George Germain, Oct. 23, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21715.
43. G & C, 2: 320-23 and 449-50; IA, History (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 99-101; Saunderson, History of Charlestown, chap. 10; St. Leger to Chittenden, and St. Leger journal, Oct. 23, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21794; Sherwood and Smyth to Chittenden, Oct. 23, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21835; Roger Enos to Chittenden, Oct. 28, 1781, pub. in SPOV, 17: 374; Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 325-27.
44. IA to Sherwood, Oct. 20, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21835, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 323-24.
45. St. Leger to Mathews, Nov. 16, 1781, HP, Add. Ms. 21794; Haldimand to Germain, Nov. 18 and Nov. 26, 1781, both HP, Add. Ms. 21715.
46. Chittenden to Washington, Nov. 14, 1781, pub. in SPOV, 17: 377-82; IA ms. 1776-87 expense bill, photocopy in AFP, box 4, folder 65, p. [194]; John Stark to Chittenden, Nov. 5, 1781, and Chittenden reply, Nov. 14, 1781, both pub. in SPOV, 17: 375-77; Stark to Washington, Dec. 21, 1781, pub. in VHS Collections, 2: 223-24.
47. IA ms. 1776-87 expense bill, photocopy in AFP, box 4, folder 65, p. [193-94]; IA, History (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 105-09; IA to Col. Thomas Lee, Dec. 8, 1781, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 340-41. While in jail in Exeter, William Page published Proceedings of the Grand Committee of the Legislature of the State of Vermont, at Charlestown, from the 16th to the 19th of October 1781 (Exeter, N.H.: [Zachariah Fowle, Jr.], 1782) to justify his support of the East Union.

48. Schuyler to Washington, Jan. 15, 1782, pub. in G & C, 2: 460-61; Clinton to Washington, Jan. 21, 1782, pub. in G & C, 2: 461; Floyd to Clinton, Jan. 31, 1782, Special Collections, UVM Library, Cat. Ms. File; Robert R. Livingston to Benjamin Franklin, Feb. 13, 1782, pub. in G & C, 2: 481-82; IA, Fay and Curtis to John Hanson, Feb. 21, 1782, pub. in G & C, 2: 373; IA, History (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 109-10.

49. Washington to Chittenden, Jan. 1, 1782, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 368-70; G & C, 2: 379-84; Taplin, "The Vermont Problem," pp. 244-45.

50. Hall, Eastern Vermont, pp. 420-29; G & C, 3: 231-33 and 218-83; Charles Phelps to Clinton and Richard Morris, April 27, 1782, VHS, * Folio x974.3 P513, p. 53.

51. Hall, Eastern Vermont, pp. 419-20; Guilford, Vt., town meeting resolutions, March 13, 1782, Charles Phelps Papers, Special Collections, UVM Library, box 1, folder 52; VHS Collections, 2 (1871): 256-58; William Floyd and John Morin Scott to George Clinton, March 29, 1782, Special Collections, UVM Library, Cat. Ms. File; Taplin, "The Vermont Problem," pp. 249-57; anon. "Memorandum," Oct. 7, 1782, plan for invading Vermont, Special Collections, UVM Library, Cat. Ms. File.

52. Germain to Haldimand, Jan. 2, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21704, pub. in G & C, 2: 460.

53. Sherwood to Mathews, March 28 and April 6, 1782, both HP, Add. Ms. 21837; Sherwood and George Smyth to Mathews, April 20, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21837; Smyth to Mathews, April 28, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21837; Smyth and Sherwood to Vermont leaders, April 22, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21837, pub. in G & C, 2: 465-66; J. Robert Maguire, "The British Secret Service and the Attempt to Kidnap General Jacob Bayley of Newbury, Vermont," VH, 44, 3 (Summer 1976): 141-67.

54. Haldimand to Sir Henry Clinton, April 28, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21808, pub. in G & C, 2: 466-68.

55. Vermont act authorizing IA to sell Heber Allen's real estate for benefit of his heirs, March 4, 1784, SPOV, 13: 245-46.

56. [Ethan Allen] to Smyth & Sherwood, [April 1782], HP, Add. Ms. 21837; [Ethan Allen] to Haldimand, June 16,

1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21837, pub. in G & C, 2: 470; IA & Joseph Fay to Sherwood, May 19, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21837, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 385-86.

57. [Ethan Allen] to [Haldimand], Oct. 16, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21835; [Ethan Allen] to Sherwood and Smyth, Dec. 20, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21838; Haldimand to Sir Guy Carleton, June 22, July 28, and Aug. 11, 1782, all HP, Add. Ms. 21806, all pub. in G & C, 2: 470-71, 475-77; [Jacob Lansing] to Haldimand, July 11, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21837, pub. in G & C, 2: 472-74 and VHS Collections, 2 (1871): 283-86, both mis-identifying author as IA; James Breakenridge to Haldimand, Aug. 2, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21837, pt. 2; Benjamin Sumner and Ranna Cossit interviews on Vermont, Dec. 24, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21837; Sherwood to Mathews, Dec. 28, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21837.

58. Phelps' Vermonters Unmasked was published in the summer of 1782; the ms. of "A Continuation," his unpublished appendix apparently written early in 1783, is at VHS, * Folio x974.3 P513, p. 117; J. Kevin Graffagnino, "'Vermonters Unmasked': Charles Phelps and the Patterns of Dissent in Revolutionary Vermont," VH, 57, 3 (Summer 1989): 133-61; Hall, Eastern Vermont, pp. 435-40.

59. IA ms. 1776-87 expense bill, photocopy in AFP, box 4, folder 65, pp. [195-95]; Hall, Eastern Vermont, pp. 440-55; G & C, 3: 240-42; Donald A. Smith, "Legacy of Dissent: Religion and Politics in Revolutionary Vermont, 1749 to 1784" (Ph.D. diss., Clark University, 1980), pp. 775-87.

60. (Westminster: Judah Spooner, 1782), pp. 5-6; IA ms. 1776-87 expense bill, photocopy in AFP, box 4, folder 65, pp. [195-96].

61. Hall, Eastern Vermont, pp. 465-74; Taplin, "The Vermont Problem," pp. 271-72.

62. (Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, 1783), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 2: 89 and 94; IA ms. 1776-87 expense bill, photocopy in AFP, box 4, folder 65, p. [196].

63. IA, History (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 128; Hall, Eastern Vermont, pp. 723-24; Sherwood to Mathews, Jan. 10, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21838; Knowlton to Haldimand, Jan. 10, 1783, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 418-20; Smyth to Mathews, Jan. 15, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21838; "I. C." [Isaac Clark] to [Sherwood], Feb. 10, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21885.

64. Clinton to William Floyd, Feb. 23, 1783, pub. in Hastings, ed., Public Papers of George Clinton, 8: 79-81; Washington to Joseph Jones, Feb. 11, 1783, pub. in VHS Collections, 2: 324-26.

65. Sherwood to Mathews, March 10, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21838, excerpted in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 427; [Ethan Allen] to Sherwood and Smyth, [January 1783], HP, Add. Ms. 21838; [Ethan Allen] to Sherwood, April 18, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21838, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 430; Sherwood to Mathews, Feb. 19, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21838.

66. Sherwood to Ethan Allen, March 25, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21838, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 428-29.

CHAPTER 6

LAND AND COMMERCE

The end of the American Revolution ushered in an era of rapid growth and development for Vermont. With the removal of the British military threat, new settlers poured into the state and pushed the frontier north beyond its wartime limits. As in the past, the great majority of newcomers arrived from southern New England, particularly western Connecticut and Massachusetts. Vermont's population soared from approximately 35,000 inhabitants in 1783 to more than 80,000 by the end of the decade. Although the largest towns--Guilford, Bennington, Shaftsbury, Putney, Brattleboro--were still concentrated in the southern half of the state, the migratory trend was definitely northward to the open spaces where land was cheap, the soil fertile, and opportunity abundant. It had taken more than a decade, but Ira Allen's expectations for northern Vermont were finally coming true.[1]

As the state's population grew, Vermont society matured as well. Except in the newer northern districts, villages began to take on the look of established communities, with churches, schools and other institutions providing a framework for local stability. On a statewide level, the two counties of 1778 became seven by 1790 to accommodate the legal needs of a populace made litigious by a cash-poor

economy, occasional debtor-creditor tensions, and the widespread uncertainty over conflicting land grants and titles. Some visitors, such as Nathan Perkins, a Congregational minister who reluctantly left the comforts of his Hartford, Connecticut, home to make a missionary tour of the Green Mountains in 1789, continued to describe Vermont and Vermonsters as crude and uncivilized, but others saw considerable promise in the ongoing development of the erstwhile New Hampshire Grants. The violence of the pioneer era had largely subsided; the Green Mountain Boys had given up harassing Yorkers and returned to their farms; and throughout Vermont the emphasis was now on the future of family and community rather than the anxieties of Yankee versus Yorker and the war with England.[2]

Vermont's political scene also underwent sweeping changes after 1783. In a continuation of a process that began late in the war, ambitious newcomers challenged the pioneer leaders for position and power. Although in its initial stages this changing of the guard reflected individual ambition more than political philosophy, within a few years it took on the ideological overtones that marked the development of a nascent party structure throughout the United States. Vermont's political hierarchy split into conservative and democratic camps, and new leaders emerged

on both sides. Thomas Chittenden managed to retain the governorship, and Vermont's government remained an oligarchy, with the Governor and Council continuing to dominate state affairs, but now the names and faces were changing. College-educated lawyers such as Nathaniel Chipman of Tinmouth, Stephen Jacob of Windsor, and Ira Allen's adversary, Isaac Tichenor of Bennington, led the conservatives; Matthew Lyon of Fair Haven, Stephen Row Bradley of Westminster, and Israel Smith of Rutland became the chief spokesmen for the democratic faction; and Chittenden avoided party labels while parlaying his image as the champion of the common man into widespread popular support.[3]

As politics grew more volatile in the postwar years, the power and authority of the state government became more secure, with dwindling internal and external challenges to Vermont's independence. When the Yorkers of Windham County tried to assert themselves one last time in December of 1783, Ethan Allen and a westside force of 300 men crossed the mountains and crushed the resistance movement. An efficient state postal system, low taxes and a parsimonious General Assembly, state-minted copper coins as a medium of exchange, and courts that combined concern for equity with respect for the letter of the law satisfied most Ver-

monsters' expectations of their government. George Clinton continued to insist that the Connecticut River was New York's eastern boundary, but the Continental Congress refused to consider using force to support the Empire State's claim. Admission into the American union became less of a priority than it had been during the Revolution, as Vermonters waited to assess the solidity of the national government and the division of responsibility for state and federal war debts. Increasingly confident in its independent status, Vermont now had the luxury of leisurely consideration of its several options.[4]

The changes within Vermont had major implications for Ira Allen and his family. The end of the war, the increasing stability of the state, and the influx of new settlers drastically reduced the Allens' political influence. Perhaps sensing the trend, Ethan withdrew from public affairs and devoted much of his time to writing a "deist Bible," Reason the Only Oracle of Man. [5] Ira held onto his state offices, but with the Champlain Valley open for development his priorities quickly reverted to the old goals of the Onion River Land Company. Although Vermont's population and leadership were still concentrated in the southern half of the state, Allen could not see that an emphasis on northern development might hasten his political

eclipse. By the summer of 1783 he was surveying his lands in Swanton and warning the British forces still occupying the Loyal Block House that Grand Isle, Isle la Motte and the rest of the Champlain islands would soon be full of American settlers. Ira was not alone in his designs on the Champlain Valley. Other entrepreneurs moved ahead with land-development projects, the building of boats for water-borne trade, and quixotic notions of purchasing England's Lake Champlain warships for use as commercial vessels.[6] Allen, however, was not concerned about the competition. The widespread interest simply confirmed his faith in the valley, and he was confident that no combination of rival speculators could upset his plans for what he had long considered "the country my soul delighted in." [7]

As Ethan and Ira had admitted during the Haldimand Negotiations, Canada was the key to Ira's Champlain Valley dreams. If he hoped to capitalize on his northwestern Vermont investments, Ira had to have a friendly government in Canada and free-trade concessions for Green Mountain lumber and agricultural products. He and Ethan had made this clear during their wartime talks with Haldimand's agents; other Vermonters had begun traveling north with beef for sale as early as the summer of 1782; and now the time had come to negotiate in earnest for the commerce that would

supply the cash Ira needed to develop his real-estate holdings.[8] There was no other practical option. With Lake Champlain flowing north and no canals or adequate roads to facilitate moving goods in any other direction, the Champlain Valley's only natural route for large-scale trade was to Quebec City via the Richelieu and St. Lawrence Rivers. Ira realized that the failure of the Haldimand Negotiations had created considerable distrust of Vermont among British officials in Canada, but he was optimistic that the prospect of substantial profits for English and Canadian merchants would tip the balance in his favor.[9]

The fact that Vermont had not joined the United States was a crucial factor in Ira Allen's campaign to secure trade allowances from Frederick Haldimand. Considered as part of the United States, Vermont would have to abide by any Anglo-American trade agreements; but if the Allens could persuade the Governor-General to regard Vermont as a separate, neutral republic, the Green Mountain State might negotiate its own treaties with England. "I assure you that Vermont are determined not to Unite or Confederate with Congress," Ethan Allen had written to Justus Sherwood in April 1783; instead, he promised, Vermont would remain "independent of Independency."[10] Two months later, after both brothers had written to Haldimand asking for contracts to supply beef

to the British army in Canada, Ira traveled to Quebec to present Vermont's case in person. [11] Emphasizing the profits that trade would bring to both sides, Allen also reminded Haldimand that Vermont's leaders had done their best to return the state to the Empire during the war and hinted that even now such a reunion might still be possible. "They make no scruple of telling me that Vermont must either be annexed to Canada or become Mistress of it," Haldimand reported to Lord North, "as it is the only channel by which the produce of their Country can be conveyed to market; but they assured me that they rather wished the former." [12]

Not surprisingly, the British response to Vermont's overtures was guarded. Unwilling to set economic policy without instructions from London, Haldimand initially ordered his St. Johns and Isle aux Noix commanders to send all northbound goods back to Vermont. Haldimand could afford to be patient; Quebec's merchants might welcome Vermont products, but the Governor-General could buy beef, wheat and other supplies for his troops more cheaply elsewhere. As to the Allens' hints of Vermont's eagerness to rejoin the Empire, the authorities in Quebec and London alike were quite dubious. Eventual admittance into the United States seemed to be the first choice of most Vermonters; the state's leaders appeared more interested in

witzerland-like neutrality for the foreseeable future;
 a reassertion of allegiance to the Crown struck most
 British observers as desirable but highly unlikely. For the
 time being, Haldimand chose to wait and see--and to maintain
 Loyal Block House at North Hero, another outpost on the
 York shore at Point au Fer, and the 14-gun schooner
 on the lake as reminders of British control of the
 northern end of the Champlain Valley.[13]

1. Frederick Haldimand's caution in dealing with Ira Allen
 2. is understandable, but on at least one point the Allen
 3. sique's actions were reassuring. In April 1783 Justus
 4. erwood reported that Ethan Allen wanted to fill northern
 Vermont with American loyalists "to bring about a revolution
 favor of Vt. uniting with Canada and becoming a British
 v't." [14] The following summer Ira, writing as "Specta-
 tor," published a letter in the Bennington Vermont Gazette
 that urged Vermonters to consider "the extensive connection
 which must unavoidably take place in commerce" between their
 state and Canada, "be at peace with all men," and allow
 Tories to settle in the state without harassment.[15]
 Aware that the British would soon evacuate New York City,
 Ira also wrote to his commercial contacts there to suggest
 that the city's loyalist merchants apply to Vermont for
 residence. Yet although some Vermont loyalists had

returned peaceably to their homes during the war, many of those who moved to the state in 1783 and 1784 met with insults and violence instead.[16] Ira Allen might well be hospitable to loyalists, "Impartiality" noted in rebutting Ira's "Spectator" letter, since "a considerable number of Tories have offered to pay him 5 or 6000L, in cash for his lands (provided they can be admitted as citizens of the State)," but honest republicans would never welcome such vile creatures into their communities.[17] "Impartiality" apparently spoke for more Vermonters on this issue than did Ira, and despite the Allen brothers' best intentions their plans for peopling the northern wilderness with Tories went nowhere.

Unsuccessful in one project on the home front, Ira redoubled his efforts in Canada. In September of 1784 he went north with a letter from Thomas Chittenden to Frederick Haldimand that suggested "a Free Trade . . . to the reciprocal Advantage of both Governments." Delayed by personal business at Montreal, Ira was unable to travel on to Quebec to see the Governor-General, but an exchange of letters did extract permission for Vermonters to send cattle and grain across the border.[18] Pleased with that concession, in October the Vermont General Assembly passed "An act for the purpose of opening a free trade to and

through the province of Quebec" that authorized negotiations on the state's behalf "concerning matters of trade and commerce." Although Haldimand's departure for England in November 1784 stalled Canadian consideration of Vermont's proposals, the following spring Ira met with Lieutenant-Governor Henry Hamilton in Quebec and secured a temporary arrangement allowing duty-free, two-way trade of all Green Mountain products and all Canadian/British goods except furs. Progress, however slow, was encouraging, and Ira was certain that once London approved a permanent north-south trade agreement, the prosperity of his corner of Vermont would be assured.[19]

And in the mid-1780s Ira's share of that corner was growing steadily. Still taking land instead of cash for his state government services, he also bought Champlain Valley rights whenever they became available at cheap prices. He gave his brother Levi, now back in Vermont and the family's good graces after spending the last years of the Revolution as a loyalist, his power-of-attorney to buy for him, but Ira's characteristic manipulation of Vermont law and the perquisites of his offices accounted for many of his new acquisitions. In October of 1783 the state legislature laid a tax of 10 shillings per 100 acres on 49 northern Vermont towns and authorized the sale of all lands on which the tax

was not paid by January 1, 1784.[20] Recognizing the opportunity that these tax or "vendue" sales represented, beginning in November 1784 Ira obtained dozens of rights for pennies an acre from Abraham Ives, sheriff of Rutland County. While angry owners complained that Allen and Ives had violated both the letter and the spirit of the law, and the controversy over the Ives vendue sales would crop up in some of the many lawsuits filed against Ira in the early 1800s, for the time being Allen had added some of the choicest lands in towns from New Haven to Highgate to a speculative portfolio that now totaled well over 100,000 acres.[21]

Allen also attended to promoting and developing his Champlain Valley empire in the years following the Revolution. He used the Surveyor-General's office to authorize surveys and road-cutting in towns in which he had large holdings and persuaded James Whitelaw of Ryegate, an enterprising Scot who would succeed him as Surveyor-General, to write home to recommend northwestern Vermont to Scottish farmers interested in emigrating to America.[22] Tied to Sunderland by the demands of his state offices and the need for frequent contact with his close ally Thomas Chittenden in Arlington, Ira hired agents to oversee the work he wanted done on his northern properties. This long-distance

development progressed sporadically, with numerous frustrating interruptions, so that Allen was able to complete only a few of the dams, mills, stores, and roads needed to stimulate settlement of his lands. As he had before the war, Ira continued to regard the falls of the Winooski River at Colchester as the center of his domain, and he concentrated his efforts on constructing a busy complex of small mills and shops there and along the waterfront of nearby Burlington Bay. Although there were still more forest lands than farms in northern Vermont, as always Ira Allen could see great potential for the future.[23]

Allen's enthusiasm for this romantic vision of what lay ahead blinded him to his own shortcomings as a builder of frontier prosperity. His demonstrated aptitude for wartime government-by-oligarchy notwithstanding, he was ill-suited for the participation in community institutions, attention to local details, and concern for social stability that would characterize America's successful post-Revolutionary town leaders. Perfunctory membership in the Freemasons, which Ira joined with Thomas Chittenden in June 1782, constituted his only attachment to a group; beyond that, he remained a loner, with few friends and little interest in others. In the heady days of the early 1770s an aptitude for solitary exploration of the northern forests and

youthful dreams of family affluence beside Lake Champlain had been enough; now, however, Ira would need to develop new abilities. Fail to change, remain a solitary, liminal back-country figure, and he would lose the race for dominance of the Champlain Valley's economy.[24]

In 1784, however, Ira still believed that the old Green Mountain Boy tactics of the Yankee versus Yorker years would suffice. On his way to Quebec in late August, he stopped off in Swanton to deal with a rival speculator. Simon Metcalfe, a Yorker surveyor who held a 1771 New York grant to the Swanton area, had arrived at the Missisquoi River two months earlier to renew his claim. The presence of an old French dam, a sawmill, and extensive Abenaki Indian fields at Swanton Falls made Swanton one of Allen's most townships, and he was determined not to allow Metcalfe to stand between him and its profitable development. On August 30 Ira and a party of armed men who included brother Levi and several British soldiers "arrested" Metcalfe on charges of trespassing. In the impromptu "freeman's court" trial that followed, Levi and Ira served as prosecutors, Allen associates John Fassett and Stephen Lawrence presided as judges, and a jury of Vermont settlers and uniformed British army "Refugees" quickly convicted the unfortunate Yorker. After giving up most of his cash to pay the fine levied

against him, Metcalfe abandoned his lands at the falls and moved to a small island at the mouth of the Missisquoi, where he remained until additional harassment by Ira's settlers drove him back to New York.[25]

Swanton's aboriginal inhabitants proved more difficult to dislodge. On Allen's return trip from Quebec, he found that the Abenakis had reclaimed their traditional village site beside the Missisquoi. Alarmed at this development and by the presence of dozens of non-Abenaki Indians who had apparently come from Canada with the blessing of the British authorities, Ira commenced a rapid-fire series of frantic letters to Frederick Haldimand. The Abenakis belonged at the St. Francis village well north of the border, he informed the Governor-General, which meant that England was responsible for their immediate removal. Sending along several depositions that charged the Abenakis with "committing outrages and Insults upon the Peacable Inhabitants," Allen urged Haldimand to act quickly to avoid bloodshed. A Vermont court ruling had invalidated all pre-1775 Indian leases to Champlain Valley property, Ira declared; the Missisquoi Abenakis had forfeited their village by leaving it during the Revolution to fight for the British; and unless Haldimand restrained the Indians the brave farmers of Swanton would have no choice but "the

Disagreeable Necessity of taking Arms to defend themselves." [26]

Eventually Allen's rhetoric had the desired effect. The Abenakis continued their seasonal pattern of returning to the Missisquoi to hunt and fish in the summers, but within a few years they ceased direct confrontation with the whites who settled Swanton under Ira's deeds and leases. When Allen renewed his complaints of Indian threats and depredations in 1788, the Abenakis protested to the British that they had done nothing more than fly a British flag at their encampment as a token of their allegiance to the King; moreover, they claimed, friendly whites among the Swanton settlers had told them that Ira had forged the signatures on the depositions he had sent to Quebec. Yet even though Frederick Haldimand and his successors wisely discounted Allen's one-sided accounts of the Swanton troubles, they did withhold substantive support from the Abenakis in their bid to regain their Vermont lands. Ira's view, that the Indians had forfeited their claim by fighting for the British during the Revolution, became the State of Vermont's official position on the controversy, and after 1800 the Abenakis had to adopt a transient, "invisible" lifestyle to maintain a presence in their Champlain Valley homeland. [27]

To Allen's dismay, some of his other adversaries proved considerably more powerful than Simon Metcalfe and the

Swanton Abenakis. As the most conspicuous of Vermont's multiple-officeholders, Ira was a natural target for the state's rising postwar leaders. In a September 1783 letter to the Vermont Gazette, "Constitutionalist" attacked the Revolutionary oligarchy by criticizing Allen's perennial service as Surveyor-General, Treasurer, Councillor, and agent to Congress. No individual could do justice to so many positions; besides, a young state needed to guard against the threat of tyranny such a concentration of power represented. "I have a respect for the gentleman who has holden the offices, and doubt not he deserves well of the public," Constitutionalist wrote; "yet as a freeman I am unwilling to infringe the sacred rights of the constitution for the sake of adding to the interest, honor and happiness of any individual." The implication was clear. Ira and his colleagues in the Arlington Junto had brought Vermont through the Revolution, but now, at the advanced age of 32, it was time for Allen to step aside for a new group of leaders.[28]

"Constitutionalist" was not Ira's only public critic during these years. In September of 1785 a satirical advertisement in the Vermont Gazette announced a new book, "The pleasant art of Money Catching reduced to Practice, by I.A." [29] The following month the first Council of Censors,

a 13-man body elected to review the state constitution and legislation, recommended the repeal of the 1784 law authorizing trade negotiations with Quebec, "the benefits of which will be partial and confined to a few." The Censors also suggested constitutional limits on multiple offices and annual reelection, along with regular review of state officials' financial records. Individually, many of these criticisms and attacks were insignificant; collectively, they indicated a growing resentment of the power and influence Allen had enjoyed during the Revolution.[30]

Ira's descent from the top of Vermont's political hierarchy occurred gradually rather than abruptly. His first significant electoral defeat came in 1786, when he failed to retain his seat on the 12-man Council. The following year, his long-running battle with the Tichenor faction over his accounts as Treasurer came to a head. In the 1784 and 1785 elections Ira had failed to receive a popular majority and had remained Treasurer only through the joint vote of the House and Council. In July 1786 he began the serial publication of a lengthy "Treasurer's Address" in Vermont's two newspapers as a pre-election refutation of his detractors, but a salvo of hostile articles put him back on the defensive.[31] An anonymous Vermont Gazette correspondent questioned Ira's honesty and criticized his alleged refusal

to meet with the state's auditors; "A Plain Man" predicted that "Mr. Allen's recommendation of himself as a very honest Treasurer will not again deceive the people"; and "Rustick" suggested that Vermont's voters elect Elijah Paine of Williamstown to take Ira's place. "How must we appear to the other States, while a public servant in great trust is filling our newspapers with copies of petitions and remonstrances," Rustick fumed; "Let this single instance of malconduct rouse you, my friends, to a sense of your own importance--let it call forth your patriotism--and exert that patriotism for the good of your country." By 1786 this sort of criticism produced practical results. Ira was unable for the third year in a row to secure a majority, and in October the General Assembly named Samuel Mattocks of Tinmouth to succeed him; another legislative committee began a new audit of his Treasurer's accounts.[32]

By the mid-1780s Allen's hold on the Surveyor-General's office was also becoming shaky. His practice of taking lands in lieu of salary had long been unpopular, especially since his charges struck many as exorbitant. In October 1785 the House passed a bill annulling and discontinuing his surveys, but the Governor and Council forced a joint-session vote that postponed passage of the act.[33] This did not satisfy Ira's enemies, and six months later "A Friend to

Justice" asked, "Where is the justice that the Surveyor General be allowed three times as much for his service in surveying an inhabited country, as the Surveyors appointed by Congress to survey the western wilderness?" When Lieutenant-Governor Paul Spooner responded with a mild defense of Allen's work, "A Friend to Justice" returned to the attack:

It is observed by many, that the Governor and Council are very busy in securing to the Surveyor General the suffrages of the freemen. At the last October session, it was proposed by many of the Legislature that Mr. Whitlaw [James Whitelaw] should supersede Mr. Allen as Surveyor General, at which some of the Council reported to the detriment of Mr. Whitlaw, that he made too free with spiritous liquors. This rumour, altho' entirely groundless, was the means by which they procured Mr. Allen's re-election, although he had for sometime been suspected by most of the good people in the State.

To my great surprize, one of our Council, whose literary abilities are eminent, has, since the adjusting the Surveyor General's exorbitant account, industriously insinuated that it is impossible for the State to exist if the freemen do not continue Mr. Allen in office, because the instant he is neglected, his resentment will be so bitter, and his strength so formidable, that he will overturn the State. . . . Lamentable indeed is our situation, if we must do as Mr. Allen directs, or lose our existence as a State! Are we reduced to the necessity of keeping a person in office lest if we neglect him he becomes an enemy, and so ruins us? If this be our case, miserable indeed is our present situation, and most deplorable our future prospects! [34]

The Surveyor-General controversy entertained the readers of Vermont's two weeklies through the summer and

fall of 1786. In June, Jacob Bayley of Newbury, an influential east-side leader who had mistrusted the Allens since the collapse of the first East Union, declared that only one-third to one-half of Ira's charges for town surveys could be considered legitimate public expense. Could Paul Spooner or any other Allen associate tell him, Bayley asked, "For what the rest of this extraordinary sum is to be paid? Does any gentleman suppose, because the whole state has from its formation been assisting them to make an independent fortune, that they have a right to command the purses and properties of all its subjects? Surely it is time, ye Freemen of Vermont, to convince them of the contrary." [35] Even the venerated Thomas Chittenden could not speak out on Ira's behalf without fear of public repudiation. A Chittenden letter defending the survey work on town lines and noting that Vermont's Revolutionary oligarchs had kept the state alive during the war moved "Lycurgus" and "The Last Struggle" to compare the Governor to a deceitful, selfish harlot. It had taken nearly a decade, but Ira and Chittenden were now suffering the kind of public vitriol they had once directed against Yorkers and other opponents of the Arlington Junto. [36]

Allen joined in the battle over his future as Surveyor-General. While the Treasurer's office was influential but

not especially lucrative, to a land speculator the Surveyor-General's post was quite valuable, and Ira fought to retain it. In September 1786, just before the autumn session of the legislature that would decide his fate, he published a detailed defense of his seven years of service as overseer of Vermont's frontier lands. The General Assembly responded with one more annual appointment, but that was all. In October of 1787, apparently facing removal from office, Ira resigned, and the legislature quickly named James Whitelaw to succeed him. For the first time since the creation of New Connecticut in 1777, Ira Allen no longer held any statewide office. From now on, his personal financial projects and dreams of empire would have to proceed without the public influence he had commanded for the preceding decade in Vermont.[37]

Forced retirement did not end the controversies regarding Ira's service to the state. As successive legislative auditing committees produced balance sheets in his favor, his enemies in the General Assembly appointed new auditors to reexamine the accounts. The acrimonious disputes concerning Allen's finances as both Treasurer and Surveyor-General would drag on into the 1790s, and in his version of the story he was never able to collect on the considerable public sums owed to him.[38] In December of

1788, after the Governor and Council had earmarked some of the proceeds from local taxes and vendue sales to reimburse him for out-of-pocket expenses in surveys conducted between 1784 and 1787, his newspaper critics resumed their campaign against him. "It is true Mr. Allen has been Surveyor General of this state, he has likewise been a counsellor, and has held several important posts of office," one editorialized in the Vermont Gazette; "but by virtue of a former office is a man empowered to advertise & sell what land he pleases? If so, where will be the end of sales, and where the security of landed property?" Vermonters must guard against such corruption, the Gazette's correspondent warned; after all, in Ira's case, "have we not reason to fear, does it not appear probable, that the man who now advertises, has heretofore, in this very way, acquired his boundless, his immense landed property?"[39]

Allen's troubles reflected larger changes in Vermont politics in the late 1780s. By the middle of the decade the state's conservatives, led by Nathaniel Chipman and Isaac Tichenor, had developed into a powerful force in the legislature. Arlington Junto holdovers and longtime Allen allies Matthew Lyon and Thomas Chittenden headed the General Assembly's "democratic" wing; unfortunately for Allen, however, his friendship with the leaders did not produce

rank-and-file loyalty to him or to his single-minded emphasis on the Champlain Valley and its ties to Canada. On broader issues such as legal tender bills, betterment acts to compensate settlers evicted for faulty title from lands they had improved, and the chartering of a state bank to issue paper money, the Lyon-Chittenden group advocated legislation to relieve the financial burdens of Vermont's numerous impecunious farmers and debtors; by contrast, Chipman, Tichenor and their circle worked to limit what they regarded as excessive economic and social democracy. Deep personal animosities developed between the leaders of the opposing factions, with Chittenden alone managing to remain above most of the mud-slinging. As elsewhere in postwar America, neither side was able to maintain consistent control of this debate concerning the true meaning of the Revolution, but the ideological divisions of the late 1780s set the stage in Vermont for the growth of Federalist and Jeffersonian factions in the 1790s.[40]

His political eclipse notwithstanding, Ira's financial goals remained lofty. His Champlain Valley projects had suffered under the absentee direction his state government work had necessitated, and when brother Ethan and Governor Chittenden decided to move north to Burlington and Williston, respectively, in the spring of 1787, Ira was more than

ready to go along. Selling his Sunderland farm, he re-located to the Colchester side of the falls of the Winooski and concentrated his attention on managing his frontier properties. Newspaper advertisements offered "Encouragement for settling at Onion river," where Ira promised that lands were "exceedingly easy to be obtained at present, on very advantageous terms to the industrious farmer." "The obvious advantages of such a situation,--a free trade to and through the province of Quebec, together with the goodness of the soil, as well the upland as the intervale," Allen rhapsodized, "seems to point out Onion River and its vicinity as a place of future grandeur, covered with flourishing and extensive settlements." Knowing that his frontier paradise needed industry and trade as well as agriculture, Ira also advertised for workers to build saw-mills, erect iron furnaces, and man the lumber rafts he planned to send to Quebec each spring. The response was encouraging, and the Champlain Valley soon hummed with Allen entrepreneurial activity.[41]

Even as he began the serious development of his empire, Ira continued adding to it. In an attempt to clear his title to the properties of the Onion River Land Company, in May of 1787 he obtained Ethan's share of the Company in return for a 1,000-acre farm on the Burlington intervale,

sufficient lumber for a house, and an annual allotment of £100 in supplies for the next seven years.[42] A new round of state vendue sales in 1789 allowed him to pick up numerous choice rights in Swanton, Huntington and other northern towns from sheriff Noah Chittenden, Governor Chittenden's son, at very low prices. When a few Champlain Valley residents who had bought their homes from his deceased Onion River partners in the 1770s expressed the fear that Ira's vendue purchases would swallow up their farms, he promised not to dispossess them, but otherwise his acquisitions proceeded unchecked by concern for the residents of lands that interested him.[43] By 1790 his real-estate portfolio had grown to some 120,000 acres, nearly all of it in the northwestern quarter of Vermont[44] Ira's realm was not entirely secure: the validity of his titles was often suspect, since he paid little attention to competing claims; his failure to record his deeds resulted in considerable local record-keeping confusion; and his debts were mounting rapidly, since he preferred to pay with IOUs and promissory notes rather than cash. To Ira, however, these warning signs were insignificant; in his opinion, rising land prices would more than cover all financial obligations and any costs of litigating the ownership of his properties. There was too much of the backwoods visionary

and too little attention to reality in this view of things, but success as a bourgeois, detail-oriented businessman was not what Allen had in mind.

Ira Allen's elaborate plans to manage his growing domain represented a small ripple in the great national surge of land speculation after the Revolution. "The best branch of business in America," Silas Deane wrote to James Wilson in 1783, "is that of adventuring in lands and procuring inhabitants to settle them." [45] Extensive by Green Mountain standards, where the Wentworth and Vermont town charters had discouraged large grants to individuals or companies, Ira's holdings were tiny compared to those of his postwar counterparts. William Bingham, Manasseh Cutler, William Duer, James Greenleaf, Robert Morris, John Nicholson, Oliver Phelps, John Cleves Symmes, and their partnerships--the Ohio Company, the Scioto Company, the Pennsylvania Population Company, the Connecticut Company, the Symmes Purchase--bought and sold millions of acres. Unlike Allen, however, most of the big land speculators of the 1780s were urban entrepreneurs looking for quick resale rather than backwoods leaders with a long-range interest in the frontier. Where few of his counterparts settled, even temporarily, in the back-country, Ira was committed to a personal future in the Champlain Valley, which he remained

convinced would prove world enough for his and succeeding generations of Allens.[46]

Yet although he derived a good deal of satisfaction from the local status his large estate brought him in northern Vermont, Allen was an anomaly among the frontier entrepreneurs who rose from modest beginnings to wealth and power in the postwar decades. Unlike Henry Knox, who built a stately mansion in the Maine wilderness, or William Cooper, who embraced the Federalist party as the best means of keeping upstate New York's rambunctious settlers in their proper, subordinate place, Ira showed little interest in ostentatious display, opulence, or conservative attempts to impose a deferential social order on the back-country. Instead, he built a modest house beside the falls of the Winooski, wore plain clothes, and regarded equality and democracy as the true legacies of the Revolution. Rather than direct his many development projects from a distance, he continued to spend much of his time in the northern forests, working beside his surveyors, millwrights, road crews, and timber cutters. A more hard-headed businessman might have seen the need to move beyond the lifestyle and skills of Ira's youth; Allen, however, chose to remain what he had been all his adult life, a liminal wilderness figure, more like Daniel Boone than Robert Morris, and more at home in the woods than in a shop or counting-house.[47]

As noted earlier, even before he moved north from Sunderland Ira recognized that profitable trade with Canada was essential to his hopes of holding his best lands until prices reached their zenith. With England reported quite eager to buy North American timber, exploitation of northwestern Vermont's extensive forests seemed a logical first step. Working with his brother Levi, who had set up a trading post near the British fort at St. Johns, Ira made plans to begin floating lumber rafts north on the Champlain-Richelieu-St. Lawrence waterway. During the winter of 1785-86 Levi negotiated large contracts in Quebec City, while Ira arranged deals with numerous Vermonters for delivery of uncut trees to his new sawmills on the Winooski, Lamoille, Laplatte, and Missisquoi Rivers.[48] Once Ira's mills had cut the lumber, Levi would shepherd the rafts to Quebec and haggle with the tight-fisted merchants there. If all went as planned, the brothers would have the cash they needed to finance their other projects; Ira could build more Champlain Valley mills, furnaces, and shops; Levi could expand his business at St. Johns and develop his properties around St. Albans Bay; and both Allens could speculate in additional lands in Vermont, Canada or anywhere else opportunities surfaced.[49]

Although lumber was the key to getting started, Ira and Levi had plans for additional trade with Canada as well.

There was some demand in Quebec for other products of the New England frontier--grain, honey, maple sugar, hides, cider, beef, potash--that Ira could send north in large quantities. At Quebec the Allens could buy a wide variety of goods for resale to the Champlain Valley's settlers. Northwestern Vermont was years away from the development of a market economy, manufacturing and industry, and in the interim Ira Allen intended to profit from the importation of fabrics, tools, books, guns, glassware, salt, clothing, and anything else his neighbors wanted but could not make for themselves. "The forgoing Articles being principally intended to Supply a new Settlement, therefore the Cheapest Coarse Strong Articles will suit best," he and Levi informed Quebec merchants Fraser & Young in a large order for kettles, paint, dishes, saddles, tea, raisins, paper, chalk, and trunks in April of 1786. On occasion the Allens also bought small amounts from merchants in Albany, Troy and New York City, but as long as their credit remained good at Quebec they looked north rather than south for the great majority of their purchases.[50]

Because their plans depended on doing business in Canada, persuading the British to allow free trade between Vermont and Quebec remained a high priority for Ira and Levi. Ira made some progress in his talks with the

authorities at Quebec on his infrequent trips to the St. Lawrence, but his Vermont responsibilities, first at Sunderland and then at Colchester, prevented his giving the matter the time it required. Instead Levi, whose Canadian residence and wartime record as a loyalist might give him an advantage in such negotiations, assumed the lead in dealing with Guy Carleton, Lord Dorchester, who succeeded Frederick Haldimand at Quebec. Joseph Fay had resigned as one of Vermont's three trade commissioners, and in October 1786 the Council accepted Ira's suggestion that Levi be appointed to fill the vacancy. Confident that the mutual benefits of two-way commerce would be obvious, Levi initiated a series of memorials and letters asking for the abolition of duties on all Vermont trade with Canada and the British West Indies. If England agreed, Vermont would have the same trade status as a British colony and the Allens would have a tremendous commercial advantage over merchants in the United States.[51]

With the stakes so high, the Allen brothers did their best to convince the British that Vermont no longer had any interest in joining the American union. Trade concessions would keep the Green Mountain State independent, they promised, and in time Vermonters might recognize the advantages of returning to the Empire. American newspapers

began warning as early as November 1786 that Vermont's leaders were conspiring with the British again, but the Allens persisted.[52] When Ethan joined Ira and Levi in courting Dorchester, the assurances of Vermont's long-standing affection for England grew more inflated. "In the time of General Haldimand's command," the eldest Allen declared in July 1788, "could Great Britain have afforded Vermont protection, they would readily have yielded up their independency, and have become a province of Great Britain." That missed opportunity was regrettable, but with the United States disintegrating under "the licentious notions of liberty taught and imbibed in the course of the late revolution," the prospects for a belated reunion remained bright. Make no mistake, Ethan urged Dorchester, "the leading men in Vermont are not sentimentally attached to a republican form of government, yet from political principles are determined to maintain their present mode of it, till they can have a better . . . or till they can on principles of mutual interest and advantage return to the British Government without war, or annoyance, from the United States." [53]

Although by this time the Allen brothers had relinquished their places among "the leading men in Vermont," the British were intrigued by the family's claims. If even

a fraction of what the brothers were saying proved true, trade concessions might help keep Vermont independent of the federal union, and that would promote England's policy of keeping the United States relatively small and weak.

Dorchester in Quebec and his superiors in London realized that self-interest was motivating the Allens, but from a British perspective there seemed little to lose and much to gain by encouraging them. British and Canadian merchants expected sizable profits from the Vermont trade; concessions granted could easily become concessions withdrawn; and an independent Green Mountain republic with strong commercial ties to Canada might be a valuable ally in the event of another North American war. Even though the 1783 Anglo-American peace treaty seemed to prohibit removing trade restrictions on Vermont alone, allowing free inland trade via Lake Champlain would principally benefit Vermont without angering the United States. Accordingly, in April 1787 Dorchester issued a proclamation easing restrictions on Lake Champlain commerce, and a year later an act of the Quebec Council expanded the list of duty-free articles and emphasized that all such inland trade must travel over the Champlain-Richelieu waterway.[54]

Free trade did not bring the riches the Allens had anticipated; by the time it arrived, all three brothers

were deeply in debt. "We are rich poor cursed rascals by God," Ethan moaned in April 1786; "alter our measures or we shall be a hiss, a proverb, and a bye word, and derision upon earth." [55] Levi's vision of the horizon was almost as gloomy. Ira might escape financial ruin, his brother ventured to guess, since "no man in Vermont will dispute Ira Allen in point of property"; for Levi, however, "if something is not done, I will retire to the Green Mountains & defend myself as the brave negroes do in a certain mountainous Island in the West Indies." [56] Ira alone remained characteristically optimistic, and while his brothers wearied of the endless search for financial security, he plunged ahead with new projects sure to make the Allens the wealthiest squires in the Champlain Valley.

Although Ira could not see the trees for the forest, his brothers were right. Floods and spring freshets washed out his Vermont dams and mills, and the fluctuating water levels on the rapids of the Richelieu at Chambly hampered attempts to send rafts to Quebec each spring. When he got his goods to Quebec, Ira faced the dilemma frontiersmen often did elsewhere of having to sell cheap and buy dear in trading with the urban merchants; and since he could not float his lumber and agricultural products back upstream to any other entrepot, he had to accept what the Quebec market

offered. In cash-poor Vermont, Ira's customers paid him in kind and in IOUs, leaving him perpetually short of funds to pay his mounting Quebec debts and Vermont land taxes.[57] Selling some of his acreage might have eased the strain, but cloudy title to his best properties and Ira's stubborn insistence on keeping most of his lands made that an unacceptable option; thus, in a curious turn for a frontier democrat who had attracted supporters on the Grants in the 1770s by reviling New York's landlord-tenant system, he preferred to lease his better lands rather than sell them outright. As Levi said, the result was that while Ira remained rich on paper, "yet what is his Estate in lands &c. be it ever so large, to a man in immediate want of necessaries for himself & Family." [58]

Land-rich and cash-poor, Ira nonetheless had a plan to rescue the family fortunes. If trading with the "sharppers" at Quebec had failed, perhaps eliminating the middlemen and dealing directly with England would succeed. Late in 1788 he and Levi decided that one of them must go to London to negotiate in person for lumber contracts, additional trade agreements for Vermont, and a ship canal to bypass the Chambly rapids that had undone their rafts. The restless Levi was eager to serve as the family ambassador of "the grand plan," and in February 1789 he sailed from Salem,

Massachusetts, on what he clearly viewed as a great adventure. Arriving in London in late April, he whimsically took on the persona of a secret agent and began sending cryptic letters signed "Constantine Alonzo," "Bumper B" and "Americanus D. Alonzo" home to keep Ira informed of his progress in England. There was encouraging news in some of Levi's letters, but such frequent digressions as his threat to "go aprivateering against the turks or plunder the Algareens" must have made his younger brother question whether the right Allen had gone across the Atlantic to represent the family's interests.[59]

In fact, although Levi had an exciting time, including challenging one London acquaintance to a duel that never took place, his two-year stay in England was unproductive. The ship-mast contract he sought went to other suppliers with more access to the decision-makers in the British bureaucracy. His advocacy of a ship canal from Chambly to the St. Lawrence, which would have allowed the Champlain Valley to trade directly with Europe, generated some interest but no private funds and no government approval.[60] Levi's most promising moment came during the spring and summer of 1790, when the Nootka Sound crisis and its threat of war between England and Spain made George Grenville's government receptive to Allen's exaggerated claims of

representing a state eager to rejoin the Empire. With friction between England and the United States over the American frontier lowering prospects of an Anglo-American alliance against Spain, British interest in keeping Vermont and Kentucky from pursuing statehood briefly raised Allen's stock in London. In the end, however, with England's leaders wary of dealing with an unsophisticated backwoods entrepreneur of dubious loyalty, there was little realistic hope for "the grand plan" in London.[61]

While Levi was chasing dreams in England, the Allen family's woes continued in Vermont. On February 12, 1789, Ethan Allen died in Burlington at the age of 51. The loss of his eldest brother, whose physical power, ebullience and vitality had impressed even his enemies, was a tremendous blow to Ira. Although the two had not always agreed on public policy or family priorities, and working in the shadow of Ethan's larger-than-life image had sometimes proved irksome, Ira felt a deep sense of loss in Ethan's death. With his last Onion River Land Company partner gone, Ira's inner circle, which had never been extensive, consisted of only Levi and the steadfast Thomas Chittenden. Ira trusted few of his business and political associates, and now that his public influence was waning he must have longed at times for the return of Ethan, Heman, Heber,

Zimri, and cousin Remember Baker to help him through his troubles.

By 1789 Ira's troubles were formidable. The Canada trade remained unprofitable, as unproductive sawmills, unreliable workers, and continued trouble with the Chamblee rapids combined to cripple the lumber business. Unable to settle his accounts with the Quebec merchants, he watched one after another cut off his credit and demand full payment of long-overdue bills. Attempts to pay his Canadian and American debts with title to some of his least desirable Vermont lands proved fruitless. Allen's slipshod book-keeping and habitual lack of attention to the paperwork in his hundreds of land transactions began to hurt him, as disgruntled buyers and opportunistic rival speculators filed suit against him.[62]

There was one bright spot in the darkness. Empire building, politics, and entrepreneurial ventures had filled Ira's days since he was a teenager, but at the age of 38 he found time for what seems to have been the only romantic attachment of his life. In September of 1789 he married 25-year-old Jerusha Enos of Hartland, Vermont, daughter of Revolutionary veteran, sometime land speculator, and occasional Allen business partner Gen. Roger Enos. Dipping into his stock of undeveloped lands for a wedding present,

Ira gave his bride the northern Vermont town of Irasburg and took her home to Colchester. There was a practical side to Allen's decision to wed: brother Heber's widow Sarah, who had run Ira's household since 1782, had died in 1787, and Ira needed someone to take on the responsibility of raising Heber's children. Jerusha did that and more: she she also dealt with the confusion of Ira's business affairs during his absences, created an impressive garden and orchard beside the Winooski River, and bore three children--Ira Hayden (1790), Zimri Enos (1792), and Maria Julietta (1794)--to inherit the grand estate their father was determined to create. Whatever the reason for Ira's decision to wed, he and Jerusha seem to have developed a quietly amicable relationship during their first decade of marriage. Although she never received the kind of romantic prose and poetry that Levi Allen lavished from afar on his long-suffering wife Nancy, there was genuine affection in Ira's early letters to Jerusha, and in hers to him.[63]

The satisfactions of a new family could not hide the fact that Ira's problems continued to plague him. A final settlement of his Treasurer and Surveyor-General accounts, which by Allen's bookkeeping would provide him with desperately-needed cash, remained elusive. Even though new state audits confirmed that Vermont owed him substantial

sums, Tichenor and his other critics in the legislature blocked payment.[64] With Ira's political role now limited to serving as Colchester's representative in the General Assembly, there was little he could do on his own behalf. In October of 1790 Governor Chittenden secured his appointment as Major-General of the third division of the state militia, but in the absence of any enemy for the troops to fight becoming "General" Allen meant relatively little.[65]

A major blow to Ira's declining public prestige, and one that hurt Thomas Chittenden as well, came in a scandal that broke in the fall of 1789. In October 1786 Chittenden had given the lapsed 1781 charter for a northern town named Woodbridge to Allen as partial payment for his Surveyor-General work.[66] The Governor failed to secure the legislature's approval; neither Chittenden nor Allen recorded the transaction; and a year later Council member Jonathan Hunt of Vernon applied to the legislature for a grant that covered the Woodbridge area. About to lose more than 20,000 acres of potentially valuable land, Ira argued that allowing Hunt to specify which lands he wanted was unfair to previous grantees who had not enjoyed the same privilege; but Ira did not reveal that he now claimed the lands Hunt had requested. Hunt's offer to pay the state's

granting fees in hard cash proved more persuasive than Allen's protest, and the General Assembly voted in favor of the Councillor's petition. With two Vermont charters now in effect for the same land, Chittenden and Allen began to regret the clandestine nature of the 1786 sale.[67]

It took Jonathan Hunt nearly a year to discover the reason for Ira's interest in his grant, but when he did, Hunt complained loudly to the General Assembly. After an ad hoc committee reported to the October 1788 session of the legislature that the Governor "has violated the trust reposed in him . . . converted it to private sinister views," the Assembly quickly annulled Allen's ownership of Woodbridge and ordered him to erase all record of his claim from the Surveyor-General's books.[68] At the height of the Arlington Junto's power that might have been the end of it; now, however, the state's conservative faction seized on the Woodbridge affair as the perfect focus for a newspaper campaign against Chittenden's candidacy for Governor in 1789. "A Vermont Freeman" told Vermonters they must elect an honest, new leader; "A Plain Man" wrote sarcastically that Chittenden's corruption wasn't really so bad, since it cost very little to bribe him; and "Brutus" denounced both the Governor and Ira for their illegal conduct in the Woodbridge matter. Ira tried to defend himself and his old friend, but

the opposition had all the evidence, most of the propagandists, and a majority of the legislature on their side. This last advantage proved crucial when Chittenden finished first in the 1789 election but fell short of a majority; the General Assembly rejected him and selected Moses Robinson of Bennington, who had come in second with barely a quarter of the popular vote, as Governor. For the first time since 1778, Vermont had a new chief executive.[69]

Thomas Chittenden's losing the governorship in the fall of 1789 cleared the way for Isaac Tichenor and Nathaniel Chipman to guide Vermont to formal union with the United States. The New York legislature had indicated its readiness to discuss statehood for Vermont as early as 1787, and Vermont's cool attitude towards Daniel Shays and his defeated supporters when they fled north from Massachusetts with him the same year had favorably impressed government leaders throughout the nation. Encouraged by these developments, Chipman had opened a correspondence with Alexander Hamilton in the summer of 1788 to establish an alliance between Green Mountain and New York conservatives, but Chittenden remained averse to Vermont's relinquishing its autonomy.[70] Moses Robinson, on the other hand, was an enthusiastic supporter of statehood, and his ascension to the governor's office gave the Tichenor-Chipman forces an

important edge that they quickly put to use. As soon as they had inaugurated Robinson and "honored" the 59-year-old Chittenden with a resolution wishing him the best "in your advanced age and retirement from the arduous task of public life," the members of the October 1789 General Assembly passed a bill appointing seven commissioners to meet with their Empire State counterparts and arrange an end to New York's claim to the area of the New Hampshire Grants. Six of the seven Vermont ambassadors--Tichenor, Chipman, Stephen Row Bradley, Israel Smith, Elijah Paine, and Stephen Jacob--were rising stars in Vermont politics, prominent advocates of statehood, and logical choices to negotiate Vermont's entry into the Union; the seventh commissioner, however, was not. Ira Allen fit none of these categories, and his selection by the legislature must have surprised many Vermonters waiting to learn the future of their state.[71]

Whatever the General Assembly's reasons for choosing Ira to help arrange a settlement with New York, in the end he did not participate in Vermont's reconciliation with its western neighbor. Although he wrote to Levi in December 1789, "I expect to attend on sd. business in N. York this winter," when the New York and Vermont commissioners convened in New York City in February of 1790, Ira was absent.[72] He also missed each of the subsequent sessions

in March, July and September-October, but the others proceeded without him, and by early October they had an agreement acceptable to both delegations. Given the vehemence with which New York had maintained its claim to the Grants, the terms were quite generous to Vermont. New York agreed to drop its claim upon payment of \$30,000 as a general fund to indemnify individuals who held title to Vermont lands under New York colonial charters; since the New York charters covered some two million Vermont acres, the Green Mountain investments of James Duane and the other Yorker "princes of land jobbers" had finally paid off at the plebeian rate of 1.5 cents per acre. Meeting at Castleton in late October 1790, the Vermont legislature passed the \$30,000 appropriation by a vote of 92-12 and authorized a convention at Bennington for January of 1791 to "deliberate upon and agree to the constitution of the United States." [73]

Ira Allen did not approve of Vermont's rapid march toward statehood, but he realized that opposing it was useless. Even though Thomas Chittenden had returned from "advanced age and retirement" to oust Robinson from the governorship in the 1789 election, by then it was too late for the dwindling corps of "independent Vermont" men to turn the tide. The federalist faction had done its work well;

the negotiations with New York had produced a much less expensive settlement than anyone had anticipated; and the great majority of Vermonters now believed that joining the United States, with its new Constitution and the national stability that document seemed to promise, was their most attractive option. For their part, America's national leaders saw several reasons to welcome Vermont into the Union: Vermont's population already exceeded those of Rhode Island, Georgia, and Delaware; admitting Vermont would maintain a north-south sectional balance, since Kentucky appeared ready for statehood as well; and Vermont as a state would help secure the northeastern frontier and Lake Champlain military corridor. While Ira, Levi, and Chittenden might still see neutrality and strong commercial ties to Quebec as Vermont's best choice, few Vermonters shared that Champlain Valley entrepreneurial perspective. Ira knew all of this. As early as December of 1789 he wrote to Levi, "For me to attempt to convince the Council of the South and of the state with their Prejudices is not worth the attempt"; and the following October he was one of the 92 legislators who voted for the bill to appropriate \$30,000 to quiet the Yorker titleholders. When the battle was over, the most pragmatic of the Allen brothers knew enough to join the winning side.[74]

If Ira hoped that the January 1791 convention in Bennington would offer one last chance to win the war over Vermont's future, he soon learned better. His Colchester neighbors elected him as their representative, and the convention chose Thomas Chittenden as its president, but it was clear almost from the outset that ratification of the Constitution was inevitable. Only Daniel Buck of Norwich spoke at length against becoming a small cog on the federal wheel, and his arguments had little effect against the combined oratory of federalist spokesmen Nathaniel Chipman, Israel Smith, Stephen Row Bradley, and Samuel Hitchcock. According to the sketchy convention records, Allen and Chittenden were virtually silent. Ira spoke just once, and then only on the final day, to suggest a change in the wording of the convention's acceptance of the Constitution. The final vote was 105 in favor, only 4 against; both Ira and the Governor voted with the majority to "fully and entirely approve of, assent to, and ratify the said Constitution." A week later the General Assembly approved the convention's decision; in February, Congress passed a bill admitting Vermont into the Union; and on March 4, 1791, after 14 years, one month, and 18 days as an independent republic, Vermont officially became the fourteenth member of the United States.[75]

To at least one Allen brother, statehood was a complete disaster. Levi was still in London, where he had spent two years assuring the British government that Vermont wanted to rejoin the Empire. As late as August 1791, Levi continued to tell his English contacts that the rumors of Vermont's absorption by the United States must be false, all the while sending frantic letters to Ira on the subject. "Reports are that Vermont has joined foederal Congress," Levi wrote on August 20, "which neither myself nor any of the Friends of Vermont here credit, as we cannot think you have so much altered from your former fixed opinions, and so contrary to your real Interest." He had finally extracted significant trade concessions from the British, which would ensure their success, "if you only keep clear of Congress; you may depend on it, and you have good security for the same for it is the Interest of this Country so to do. I beg you will Seriously consider this matter, as it is of Infinite consequence to Vermont, & our Family in Particular." [76] Even after confirmation of Vermont's decision reached England, Levi hoped that he could undo the damage. Returning to the United States in October 1791, he hurried to Windsor in time for the autumn session of the legislature, only to find Vermont's inhabitants and new leaders alike firmly committed to statehood. "Attended the General Assembly till the end

thereof 16 days," he wrote gloomily in his memo book, "and all very bad." [77]

Although statehood had not been Ira's choice for Vermont, unlike his stubborn brother he made the best of it. He found some small consolation in the belief that joining the United States would help secure his title to extensive holdings in Vermont towns along the Canadian border. Alburg, which prominent Canadian speculator Henry Caldwell had been claiming (with the legal assistance of Isaac Tichenor) since the mid-1780s, was a particular concern; now, Allen assumed, at least Caldwell's 1743 French seigniorial title would be worthless. [78] In Levi's opinion, Alburg had been the reason for Ira's passivity in the statehood debate: "Ira Allen Esqr.," Levi explained bitterly, "thro' his cursed lucrative Ideas was afraid of losing Lands adjoining Canada line." [79] Yet while Levi grumbled and complained, Ira saw little to be gained from mourning. True, statehood had been a mistake, but clear title to Alburg, Highgate, and other contested border towns was something; better to accept what had happened, find a fresh angle of advantage, and move ahead with new plans.

In fact, by the time Levi returned from England, Ira was already contemplating the challenges that lay ahead. A return to politics seemed unlikely, but perhaps with Thomas

Chittenden back in power as Governor the remaining ties to state government could be strengthened again. Even if his political influence had faded permanently, Ira still held title to more than 120,000 acres, much of which had good potential for development. Ira also remained convinced that trade with Canada might still be profitable, especially if he and Levi could persuade England to let them build their ship canal. Since the British had indicated to Levi that if Vermont joined the Union they would reward Ira, "the uniform steady & political friend of G. Britain," for his assistance in getting the state's Congressmen to favor England's interests, the prospects for continued intrigue with Quebec looked promising.[80] In short, if statehood had closed some options, it might open others; and if Ira Allen's fortunes had worsened during Vermont's last years as an independent republic, he was confident they would improve in the coming adjustment to full membership in the United States.

NOTES

1. For general details on Vermont in the 1780s, see: Michael A. Bellesiles, "Life, Liberty, and Land: Ethan Allen and the Frontier Experience in Revolutionary New England" (Ph.D. diss., University of California-Irvine, 1986), ch. 10; Benjamin H. Hall, History of Eastern Vermont (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1858), ch. 19; Hiland Hall, The History of Vermont, from Its Discovery to Its Admission Into the Union in 1791 (Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell, 1868), chaps. 38-39.
2. Nathan Perkins, A Narrative of a Tour Through the State of Vermont from April 27 to June 12, 1789 (Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1964); Asa Burton, The Life of Asa Burton Written by Himself (Thetford, Vt.: The First Congregational Church, 1973); William J. Gilmore, Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780-1835 (Knoxville, Tn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1989); John C. Page, "The Economic Structure of Society in Revolutionary Bennington," VH, 49, 2 (Spring 1981): 69-84; P. Jeffrey Potash, Vermont's Burned-Over District: Patterns of Community Development and Religious Activity, 1761-1850 (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1991), Part 1; Bernard Bailyn, Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), pp. 604-37; Florence M. Woodard, The Town Proprietors in Vermont: The New England Town Proprietorship in Decline (1936; reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1968).
3. Aleine Austin, Matthew Lyon: "New Man" of the Democratic Revolution, 1749-1822 (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1981), chaps. 4-5; H. N. Muller, III, "Early Vermont State Government: 1778-1815 Oligarchy or Democracy?," in Reginald L. Cook, ed., Growth and Development of Government in Vermont, Vermont Academy of Arts and Sciences Occasional Paper No. 5 (Waitsfield, Vt.: Vermont Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1970), pp. 5-10; Patricia L. Thomas, "A Study in Familial Ties in Early Vermont Government" (M.A. thesis, University of Vermont, 1972).
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5. (Bennington, Vt.: Anthony Haswell, 1784); Michael A. Bellesiles, "Works of Historical Faith: Or, Who Wrote

Reason the Only Oracle of Man?," VH, 57, 2 (Spring 1989): 69-83.

6. George Smyth to Robert Mathews, July 2, 1783, Haldimand Papers (hereafter HP), British Museum, Add. Ms. 21838; H. E. Lutterloh to Joseph Fay, April 11, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21835; John Burnett to Frederick Haldimand, June 19 and July 20, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21802; Thomas Chittenden to Haldimand, April 15, 1784, HP, Add. Ms. 21835; Haldimand to Lord North, May 12, 1784, HP, Add. Ms. 21716; Lord Sydney to Haldimand, Aug. 2, 1784, HP, Add. Ms. 21710; Thomas H. Canfield, "Discovery, Navigation and Navigators of Lake Champlain," in Abby M. Hemenway, ed., The Vermont Historical Gazetteer (v.p., various publishers, 1867-91), 1: 668-70.
7. IA, autobiography, in James B. Wilbur, Ira Allen: Founder of Vermont 1751-1814 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), 1: 53.
8. William Chambers to Haldimand, July 13, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21802; Justus Sherwood to Robert Mathews, Nov. 26, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21837, pt. 2; Sherwood to Mathews, March 14, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21838. On Ira's need for cash, see IA to Sherwood and Luke Knowlton asking for a loan of 100-1,000 guineas, March 24, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21838.
9. [Ethan Allen] to Sherwood and George Smyth, Dec. 20, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21838; Edward Brynn, "Vermont and the British Emporium, 1765-1865," VH, 45, 1 (Winter 1977): 5-30; Donald G. Creighton, The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence 1760-1850 (New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 1937); W. A. Mackintosh, "Canada and Vermont: A Study in Historical Geography," The Canadian Historical Review, 8, 1 (March 1927): 9-30.
10. [Ethan Allen] to Sherwood, April 18, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21838, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 430.
11. IA & Joseph Fay to Haldimand, May 29, 1783, Ethan Allen to Haldimand, May 30, 1783; Robert Mathews to IA and Fay, June 16, 1783; and IA to Haldimand, July 7, 1783, all HP, Add. Ms. 21835.
12. Haldimand to Lord North, Oct. 24, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21716.
13. Robert Mathews to William Chambers, July 22, 1782, and May 15, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21803; Sherwood to IA, Dec.

28, 1782, HP, Add. Ms. 21837; George Smyth to Ethan Allen, June 21, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21835; Mathews to Sherwood, March 22, 1784, HP, Add. Ms. 21723; Lord Sydney to Haldimand, April 8, 1784, HP, Add. Ms. 21710; J. Mackay Hitsman, Safeguarding Canada, 1763-1871 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), ch. 3; J. Leitch Wright, Britain and the American Frontier 1783-1815 (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1975).

14. Sherwood to Robert Mathews, April 27, 1783, HP, Add. Ms. 21838.

15. (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, July 24, 1783.

16. IA to Henry and David Van Scoick, Aug. 25, 1783, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 437-38; James Rogers to Robert Mathews, March 16, 1784, on Rogers' unfavorable reception in Vermont, HP, Add. Ms. 21820; George Smyth to Mathews, Dec. 20, 1783, reporting that Smyth's youngest son will stay in Vermont, "where he will be caressed and taken much notice of by the Governor and Allens and Fays," HP, Add. Ms. 21838; Wallace Brown and Hereward Senior, Victorious in Defeat: The Loyalists in Canada (Toronto: Methuen, 1984); Thomas C. Lampee, "The Missisquoi Loyalists," Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, 6, 2 (June 1938): 81-139.

17. (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Aug. 21, 1783; see also anti-Tory letters by "A Farmer" in the Aug. 21 issue and "A Freeman" in the Aug. 28 issue. In the spring of 1784 the General Assembly passed "An Act Against High Treason and Misprision of Treason" that declared wartime collusion or "treacherous Correspondence" with the enemy a capital crime and set a maximum penalty of 10 years' imprisonment for all other activity "for betraying this State into the hands of any other Power," SPOV, 13: 238.

18. Chittenden to Haldimand, July 12, 1784; Haldimand to IA, Sept. 17, 1784; IA to Haldimand, Sept. 20, 1784, all HP, Add. Ms. 21835; (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Sept. 6, 1784, for Ethan Allen letter defending Vermont leaders and their "Foreign Policy," reprinted in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 453.

19. Text of act, SPOV, 13: 290; IA petition to Hamilton, March 29, 1785, photocopy in AFP, box 7, folder 54; IA report to Vermont legislature, June 8, 1785, G & C, 3: 398-99.

20. IA power-of-attorney to Levi Allen, Aug. 15, 1785, AFP, box 7, folder 78; text of act, SPOV, 13: 206-10;

advertisement by Abraham Ives, (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Dec. 25, 1783.

21. IA and Levi Allen deeds from Ives, November 1784, AP, boxes 6-7; text of March 1784 Vermont law suspending Ives' vendue sales, SPOV, 13: 255; Chittenden County Court, May 1808 lawsuits involving IA's purchases from Ives, Chittenden County Court Papers, UVM, box 1, folder 1.

22. Whitelaw to IA, July 2, 1784, photostat in AFP, box 6, folder 48; William Coit to IA, Aug. 2, 1786, photocopy in AFP, box 8, folder 67; Whitelaw to IA, Aug. 30, 1784, excerpted in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 456.

23. Thomas Butterfield to IA, Jan. 8, April 25, and June 8, 1785, photocopies in AFP, box 7, folders 39, 57, and 66; IA agreement with Isaac Lawrence, Aug. 26, 1785, photocopy in AFP, box 7, folder 85; IA agreement with John Daverson, Jan. 23, 1786, photocopy in AFP, box 8, folder 5; IA agreement with James Hawley, April 13, 1786, photocopy in AFP, box 8, folder 34; Allan S. Everest, "Early Roads and Taverns of the Champlain Valley," VH, 37, 4 (Autumn 1969): 247-55.

24. John Spargo, The Rise and Progress of Freemasonry in Vermont the Green Mountain State 1765-1944 (Burlington, Vt.: Lane Press, 1944), p. 22.

25. Simon Metcalfe, March 6, 1786, deposition detailing his 1784 confrontation with IA, ms. in collection of J. Robert Maguire, Shoreham, Vt., photocopy in AFP, box 30; Thomas C. Lampee, "The Missisquoi Loyalists," Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, 6, 2 (June 1938): 81-139.

26. Ibid. Quotes from IA to Haldimand, Sept. 20 and Sept. 27, 1784; depositions of Lewis Strite, Cyril Reed, John Johnson, Thomas Butterfield, and Jonathan Butterfield, Sept. 21-27; all HP, Add. Ms. 21835. Robert Mathews to IA, Sept. 27 and Oct. 11, 1784, HP, Add. Ms. 21724.

27. The texts of several documents relating to Allen's 1788 charges against the Abenakis are in Hemenway, ed., Vermont Historical Gazetteer, 4:999-1000; Louis Outalagoine, Sept. 11, 1788, deposition, ms. copy in Stevens Family Papers, UVM, box 9, folder 1. For background on the Swanton Abenakis in the late eighteenth century, see: William Haviland and Marjory Power, The Original Vermonters: Native Inhabitants, Past and Present (Hanover, N.H.:

University Press of New England, 1981), pp. 243-47; Timothy P. Redfield, Report on the Claim of the Iroquois Indians upon the State of Vermont for Their "Hunting Ground" (Montpelier, Vt.: E. P. Walton, 1854); and three works by Colin G. Calloway: The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800 (Norman, Ok.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), ch. 12; "Surviving the Dark Ages: Vermont Abenakis During the Contact Period," VH, 58, 2 (Spring 1990); 70-81; Crown and Calumet: British-Indian Relations, 1783-1815 (Norman, Ok.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987).

28. (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Sept. 18 and Sept. 25, 1783. Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 442, identifies "Constitutionalist" as Isaac Tichenor, while Bellesiles, "Life, Liberty, and Land," pp. 937-38, n. 6, identifies him as Nathaniel Chipman; neither Wilbur nor Bellesiles, however, cites any evidence for his attribution.

29. (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Sept. 19, 1785.

30. Paul S. Gillies and D. Gregory Sanford, eds., Records of the Council of Censors of the State of Vermont (Montpelier, Vt.: State of Vermont, 1991), pp. 40, 53-78 and 78; Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 468-71; (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Oct. 18, 1784, Joseph Fay letter defending Vermont's recently-reelected leaders, repub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 454.

31. IA, "Treasurer's Address," in (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, July 24 & 31, 1786, and (Windsor) Vermont Journal, Aug. 14 & 28 and Sept. 4 & 11, 1786, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 473-81; IA ms. 1776-87 expense bill, photocopy in AFP, box 4, folder 65, pp. [197-201].

32. "A Plain Man" and "Rustick" letters, (Windsor) Vermont Journal, Aug. 28, 1786; anon. letter, (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Aug. 7, 1786.

33. Wilbur, Ira Allen, ch. 14; G & C, 3: 95-96; SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 3, pp. 211-12.

34. "A Friend to Justice" letter, (Windsor) Vermont Journal, April 25, 1786; Paul Spooner letter, (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, May 22, 1786; "A Friend to Justice" response, (Windsor) Vermont Journal, June 19, 1786; "Rustick" response to Spooner, (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, July 31, 1786.

35. (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, June 19, 1786.

36. Chittenden letter, (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Aug. 28, 1786; "Lycurgus" and "The Last Struggle" responses, (Bennington) Vermont Gazette special broadside number, Aug. 31, 1786.
37. IA defense, (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Aug. 14, 21 & 28, and Sept. 4, 1786, and (Windsor) Vermont Journal, Sept. 4, 11, 18, & 25, 1786, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 482-89; SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 4, pp. 8, 45, and SPOV, 14: 351. After 1787, Allen's only service in elective office was as Colchester's representative to the General Assembly in 1789-92 and 1794.
38. SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 4, pp. 32-35; Wilbur, Ira Allen, chs. 15-19; (Windsor) Vermont Journal, Dec. 16, 1789, and Feb. 15, 1790.
39. (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Dec. 22, 1788.
40. Austin, Matthew Lyon, chs. 4-5; Samuel B. Hand and P. Jeffrey Potash, "Nathaniel Chipman: Vermont's Forgotten Founder," in Michael Sherman, ed., A More Perfect Union: Vermont Becomes a State, 1777-1816 (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society and Vermont Statehood Bicentennial Commission, 1991), pp. 79-111; Lance Banning, The Jeffersonian Persuasion: Evolution of a Party Ideology (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1978); Andrew R. L. Cayton, The Frontier Republic: Ideology and Politics in the Ohio Country, 1780-1825 (Kent, Oh.: Kent State University Press, 1986); Richard Buel, Jr., Securing the Revolution: Ideology in American Politics, 1789-1815 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972); Paul W. Gates, Landlords and Tenants on the Prairie Frontier: Studies in American Land Policy (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973), ch. 1, is useful on the parallels between the betterment act controversies in 1780s Vermont and 1790s Kentucky.
41. (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, March 19, 1787; (Windsor) Vermont Journal, Jan. 19, 1789, and March 31, 1790; IA mill and land agreements, 1787-89, in Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 7, folders 1-4, and in AFP, boxes 9-11; Ethan Allen to Stephen R. Bradley, Nov. 6, 1787, photocopy in AFP, box 10, folder 25.
42. IA and Ethan Allen ORLC agreement, May 1, 1787, photocopy in AFP, box 9, folder 73; IA bond to Ethan Allen, May 1, 1787, Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 7, folder 1.

43. IA deeds from Noah Chittenden, AFP, box 11, and Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 7, folder 4; IA bond to residents of Essex, Jericho and Shelburne, May 1789, Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 7, folder 4.

44. John Lincklaen, Travels in the Years 1791 and 1792 in Pennsylvania, New York and Vermont (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897), p. 88, estimates Allen's holdings in 1791 at 120,000 acres and Thomas Chittenden's at 30,000 acres.

45. Deane to Wilson, April 1, 1783, quoted in Jack M. Sosin, The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763-1783 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967), p. 24.

46. Kenneth P. Bailey, The Ohio Company of Virginia and the Westward Movement, 1748-1792 (Glendale, Ca.: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1939); M. L. Brown, "William Bingham, Eighteenth-Century Magnate," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 61 (1937): 387-434; Barbara Ann Chernow, Robert Morris: Land Speculator, 1790-1801 (New York: Arno Press, 1978); Paul W. Gates, Landlords and Tenants on the Prairie Frontier: Studies in American Land Policy (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973), ch. 1; George E. Lewis, The Indiana Company, 1763-1798: A Study in Eighteenth Century Frontier Land Speculation and Business Venture (Glendale, Ca.: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1941); Shaw Livermore, Early American Land Companies: Their Influence on Corporate Development (1939; reprint ed., New York: Octagon Books, 1968); Robert D. Mitchell, Commercialism and Frontier: Perspectives on the Early Shenandoah Valley (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1977), pp. 59-92; Aaron M. Sakolski, The Great American Land Bubble (New York: Harper Brothers, 1932), chaps. 1-6; Timothy J. Shannon, "The Ohio Company and the Meaning of Opportunity in the American West, 1786-1795," NEQ, 64, 3 (September 1991): 393-413; Alan Taylor, "'A Kind of Warr': The Contest for Land on the Northeastern Frontier, 1750-1820," WMQ, 3d ser., 46, 1 (January 1989): 3-26; Norman B. Wilkinson, "Land Policy and Speculation in Pennsylvania, 1779-1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1958); Daniel M. Friedenbergh, Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Land: The Plunder of Early America (Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1992), parts 3-5.

47. Alan Taylor, "From Fathers to Friends of the People: Political Personas in the Early Republic," Journal of the Early Republic, 11, 4 (Winter 1991): 465-91. For a

contemporary's respectful account of one postwar incident in Allen's ongoing career as a backwoodsman, see Daniel P. Thompson, "Life, Character and Times of Ira Allen," Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society (1907-08), pp. 113-14.

48. Levi Allen agreement with Shaw & Fraser & Fraser, Dec. 10, 1785, AFP, box 7, folder 100; Allen brothers' 1786 lumber contracts, AFP, box 8; Benny F. Cockerham, "Levi Allen (1746-1801): Opportunism and the Problem of Allegiance" (M.A. thesis, University of Vermont, 1965), chaps. 4-5; Arthur R. M. Lower, Great Britain's Woodyard: British America and the Timber Trade, 1763-1867 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973), ch. 4; Philip L. White, Beekmantown, New York: Forest Frontier to Farm Community (Austin, Tx.: University of Texas Press, 1979), ch. 2; Robert G. Albion, Forests and Sea Power: The Timber Problem of the Royal Navy, 1652-1862 (1926; reprint ed., Hamden, Ct.: Archon Books, 1965), ch. 9.

49. Levi Allen to IA, June 16, 1786, photocopy in AFP, box 8, folder 52; Levi Allen to Lord Dorchester, July 2, 1787, AFP, box 9, folder 94; Levi Allen to [Moses] Hazen, March 23, 1787, AFP, box 9, folder 49; Levi Allen to Henry Motz, May 8, 1788, AFP, box 10, folder 75; IA, two letters to Fraser & Young, April 26, 1786, photocopy in AFP, box 8, folder 40.

50. IA and Levi Allen to Fraser & Young, April 26, 1786, AFP, box 8, folder 39; Allen brothers' 1786-89 commercial docs., AFP, boxes 8-11.

51. G & C, 3: 399; Levi Allen to Dorchester, Nov. 21, 1786, in Levi's 1786-87 memo book, AFP, box 9, folder 12, pp. [4-7]; H. N. Muller III, "The Commercial History of the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River Route 1760-1815" (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1968), chaps. 2-3; Mackintosh, "Vermont and Canada"; Cockerham, "Levi Allen," chaps. 5-6.

52. (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Nov. 20, 1786, reprinting article from a Boston newspaper.

53. Ethan Allen to Dorchester, July 16, 1788, photocopy in AFP, box 10, folder 91, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 509-12; also, Ethan Allen to Dorchester, Jan. 12, 1787, Karpeles Manuscript Library, Santa Barbara, California.

54. G & C, 3: 402-06; Gerald S. Graham, British Policy and Canada 1774-1791; A Study in 18th Century Trade Policy (1930; reprint ed., Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1974), ch. 8; Chilton Williamson, Vermont in Quandary: 1763-1825 (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1949), chaps. 9-10; Arthur R. M. Lower, Great Britain's Woodyard; J. Leitch Wright, Britain and the American Frontier 1783-1815 (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1975); Charles R. Ritcheson, Aftermath of Revolution: British Policy toward the United States, 1783-1815 (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1969).

55. Ethan Allen to IA, Aug. 18, 1786, photocopy in AFP, box 8, folder 80.

56. Levi Allen to Fraser & Young, Aug. 21, 1786, AFP, box 8, folder 83; Levi Allen to IA, July 7, 1787, AFP, box 9, folder 97A. On Dec. 19, 1787, Levi wrote to Ira, "if something considerable is not done I must give up; Hell will answer for me as well as purgatory, have been in the latter long enough (Death before dishonor, Victory next Spring or I must quit the field, a gaol would be a paradise to my present situation)," photocopy in AFP, box 10, folder 43.

57. James Hawley to Levi Allen, March 28, 1787, AFP, box 9, folder 50; Levi Allen to Fraser & Young, May 4, 1787, AFP, box 9, folder 77; Joseph Allen to Samuel Allen, July 1, 1788, AFP, box 10, folder 92; Fraser & Young account with IA and Levi Allen, Aug. 10, 1786, AFP, box 8, folder 71; Levi Allen bond to Fraser & Young, Aug. 14, 1786, AFP, box 8, folder 75. Robert W. Silsby, "Frontier Attitudes and Debt Collection in Western New York," in David M. Ellis, ed., The Frontier in American Development: Essays in Honor of Paul Wallace Gates (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 141-61, is useful on debtor-creditor practices on the post-Revolutionary frontier.

58. Levi Allen to Fraser & Young, Aug. 21, 1786, AFP, box 8, folder 83.

59. Levi Allen to IA, May 1, 1789, photocopy in AFP, box 11, folder 67; other Levi 1789-91 letters to IA and family, AFP, boxes 11-12; Cockerham, "Levi Allen," chaps. 7-8.

60. Levi Allen challenges to Maj. Edward Jessup, Aug. 10-15, 1789, AFP, box 11, folders 98A and 99, and Levi Allen

Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 1, folder 2; Levi Allen to IA, May 24, 1789, photocopy in AFP, box 11, folder 78; Levi Allen to Nancy Allen, Nov. 21, 1789, photocopy in AFP, box 11, folder 114; John G. Simcoe to Evan Nepean, Dec. 3, 1789, pub. in E. A. Cruikshank, ed., The Correspondence of Lieut. Governor John Graves Simcoe (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1923-31), 1: 7-9; Chilton Williamson, ed., "A Document Illustrative of the 'Swiss' Policy of Vermont," VHS Proceedings, 11, 1 (March 1943): 25-33.

61. Samuel F. Bemis, "Relations between the Vermont Separatists and Great Britain, 1789-1791," American Historical Review, 21, 3 (April 1916): 247-60; Reginald C. Stuart, United States Expansionism and British North America, 1775-1871 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), ch. 2; Wright, Britain and the American Frontier, ch. 4.

62. IA to John Young and Henry Cull, June 5, 1789, photocopy in AFP, box 11, folder 84; Stephen Flynn to IA, June 23, 1789, photocopy in AFP, box 11, folder 48; S. & F. De Montmollin to IA, July 11, 1789, photocopy in AFP, box 11, folder 93; Noadiah Bissell to IA, March 6, 1790, photocopy in AFP, box 12, folder 13; Elias Buell v. IA, Rutland County Court, March 1790, photocopy in AFP, box 12, folder 24.

63. Orrin P. Allen, The Allen Memorial (Palmer, Ma.: C. B. Fiske & Co., 1907), pp. 54-55; Jerusha Allen leases on IA's behalf, 1796-1800, Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 9; IA to Levi Allen, December 16, 1789, "I have married my favorrit Miss Enos & Brought her home," photocopy in AFP, box 11, folder 117; June E. Riddell, "Mrs. Ira Allen," The Vermont Alumnus, 20, 5 (February 1941): 111-12, 122-23; John E. Goodrich, The Founder of the University of Vermont: A Centennial Oration on the Life and Public Services of General Ira Allen (no place or printer listed, [1892]), describes Jerusha's large garden as "a paradise of fruits and flowers," p. 28, n. 3.

64. State auditors' report on IA's Treasurer accounts, April 25, 1787, in (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, May 21, 1787; SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 4, pp. 32-35; auditors' report on Treasurer accounts, in (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Feb. 9, 1789; auditors' report on IA's Surveyor-General accounts, Feb. 6, 1790, in (Windsor) Vermont Journal, March 10 & 17, 1790.

65. (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Nov. 8, 1790. In February 1787, Chittenden had named IA one of his three

personal aides-de-camp, with the rank of colonel, (Windsor) Vermont Journal, March 26, 1787.

66. SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 4, p. 112; G & C, 3: 509-10; IA memos, Aug. 1786 and Oct. 8, 1786, photocopy in AFP, box 8, folder 31. In the original 1781 Vermont charter (SPOV, 2: 235-38), the boundaries of Woodbridge overlapped those of Highgate, a 1763 Benning Wentworth grant. When he received the charter from Governor Chittenden in 1786, Ira Allen, who also owned much of Highgate under the New Hampshire grant, seems to have used his authority as Surveyor-General to relocate Woodbridge to an ungranted area that eventually became the Vermont town of Troy (G & C, 4: 428).

67. SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 4, pp. 57-59.

68. Ibid., pp. 112-14. In March 1789, Jonathan Hunt received a new grant, for the town of Huntsburgh, situated between Highgate and Berkshire (SPOV, 2: 97-99).

69. IA ms. draft of defense of conduct in Woodbridge affair, July 10, 1789, photocopy in AFP, box 11, folder 95; IA published account of Woodbridge affair, in (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Aug. 3 & 10 & 17 & 24, 1789, and (Windsor) Vermont Journal, Aug. 12 & 19, 1789; "A Vermont Freeman" and "A Plain Man" letters, (Windsor) Vermont Journal, Aug. 19, 1789; "Brutus" letter, (Windsor) Vermont Journal, Aug. 26, 1789. In the 1789 gubernatorial election, Chittenden received 1,263 votes, Robinson 746, Samuel Safford 478, and all others 378, leaving Chittenden 170 votes short of a majority (SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 4, p. 120).

70. G & C, 3: 375-80, 423-38 and 441-46; Hand and Potash, "Nathaniel Chipman."

71. SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 4, pp. 143-44; G & C, 3: 447-49. On January 14, 1788, The Philosophical Society, a Bennington social and debate club, elected Allen an honorary member and assigned him to argue the negative the following week on the question, "Is it for the Interest of the United States to adopt the new Federal Constitution?"; the Society's records, however, do not indicate whether Allen attended either meeting, nor whether he was present for a subsequent meeting that discussed "Whether it is for the interest of Vermont to seek for admission into the Federal Union of the thirteen States at Present"; Large Bound Manuscript, "Friendly Society, Bennington, Vermont," Special Collections, UVM, pp. 41-43.

72. IA to Levi Allen, Dec. 16, 1789, photocopy in AFP, box 11, folder 117.

73. Correspondence of Vermont and New York commissioners, 1790, in Hall Park McCullough Collection, UVM, #s 385, 389, 393-96, and 398-99; G & C, 3: 451-60; Isaac Tichenor Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 2, folders 11-12; SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 4, pp. 207-08, and 14: 522-23; Hall, History of Vermont, pp. 506-11, for amounts paid to New York claimants and their heirs.

74. IA to Levi Allen, Dec. 16, 1789, photocopy in AFP, box 11, folder 117; John Avery, Jr. to Nathan Dane, May 27, 1788, Hall Park McCullough Collection, UVM, #388; Peter S. Onuf, "Vermont and the Union," in Sherman, ed., A More Perfect Union, pp. 150-69; Hand and Potash, "Nathaniel Chipman".

75. G & C, 3: 466-82.

76. Levi Allen to IA, Aug. 20, 1791, AFP, box 12, folder 125; John G. Simcoe memo concerning Levi Allen and Vermont, [spring 1791?], in Cruikshank, ed., Correspondence, 3: 247-49; Levi Allen to Rev. Samuel Peters, June 8, 1791, AFP, box 12, folder 108; Levi Allen to John G. Simcoe, July 24, 1791, AFP, box 12, folder 114; John G. Simcoe to Henry Dundas, Aug. 2, 1791, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 13-17; Levi Allen to Henry Dundas, Aug. 9, 1791, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 17-20.

77. Levi Allen memo book, Oct. 20, 1791, AFP, box 12, folder 110; Michael A. Bellesiles, "Anticipating America: Levi Allen and the Case for an Independent Vermont," in Sherman, ed., A More Perfect Union, pp. 79-111.

78. Henry Caldwell to Isaac Tichenor, Oct. 6, 1786, Isaac Tichenor Papers, Stevens Collections, VSA, box 1, folder 6.

79. Levi Allen to John G. Simcoe, Nov. 19, 1791, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 21-22; Levi Allen to [Henry Dundas], Nov. 27, 1791, pub. in Bemis, "Relations," pp. 559-60; Levi Allen to Rev. Samuel Peters, Nov. 27, 1791, typescript at VHS, MSS 17, #15; Bellesiles, "Anticipating America," pp. 94-97, discounts Levi's statements and argues that Ira Allen was in favor of Vermont's joining the United States.

80. John G. Simcoe to Henry Dundas, Sept. 22, [1791], photocopy at VHS, MSS 25, #35.

CHAPTER 7

A CRUMBLING EMPIRE

In the fall of 1791 John Lincklaen, a twenty-two-year-old agent of the Holland Land Company, made a tour of Vermont. A native of Amsterdam who had recently given up his commission as an officer in the Dutch navy to emigrate to America, Lincklaen went to the Green Mountain State to investigate land quality, real-estate prices, and the availability of large tracts of a million acres or more. The Holland Land Company was negotiating to buy three million acres in upstate New York from Robert Morris of Philadelphia, and the Company's principal agent, Theophile Cazenove, directed Lincklaen to scout out the prospects for extensive purchases elsewhere on the frontier. Accompanying Lincklaen to Vermont was Gerrit Boon, who was interested in the possibility of developing the North American maple-sugar industry as a free-labor alternative to the cane-sugar slave plantations of the West Indies. Together the two Dutchmen traveled from Bennington to Burlington, then turned southeast, and crossed the mountains to the Connecticut River Valley. Lincklaen kept a journal of their two-week stay in Vermont, in which he noted distances traveled on roads that ranged from "Tolerable good" to "Mud to the horses' belly," reflected on the factors that made frontier lands so attractive to American farmers, and recorded his impressions of the towns and villages he visited.[¹]

Lincklaen and Boon found much to appreciate in Vermont, but it was the Champlain Valley that impressed them the most. The grain distillery that "Mr. Atley" was building at Middlebury, the erudition of "Col. Keys" at Burlington, and the hospitality, understated sagacity, and "sound judgment" of Governor Thomas Chittenden at Williston all received favorable notice in Lincklaen's journal. Even though he realized that the area's relatively high land prices (from ten to twenty dollars an acre, according to his contacts) made it impractical for his employers to try to accumulate the million-acre tracts they could purchase much more cheaply in the Genesee and Ohio regions, Lincklaen recognized the potential of northwestern Vermont. Burlington, "very pleasantly situated on Lake Champlain which makes there a little bay," and its surroundings struck Lincklaen as having an especially bright future:

The soil is very rich, particularly for growing wheat & maize, they harvest of the former so much as 40 bushels, but more generally from 20 to 30 bushels the acre, of maize up to 70 bushels. Their greatest traffic is with Canada, they sometimes supply this province with cattle, & receive in return European products but the English do not permit the importation of anything manufactured.

When a canal shall have been cut between Skeensborough & the North River, which be only 6 miles long, & which they have offered to make for 40,000 Livres, all the exports of Vermont will come to New York, but opinion is that Canada, in order not to lose this branch of commerce, will cut on her side a canal

from St. Johns to Chamblee, which will be 12 miles long, but which is easier to build than the other, since use can be made of Little River which flows into the Sorrel River below the rapids; thus Vermont will find herself between two markets & will derive a great advantage from the activity of her neighbors.[²]

Ira Allen had been anticipating "a great advantage" for Burlington and Colchester for nearly two decades by the time John Lincklaen visited the Champlain Valley. "The largest landowner in the State," according to the young Dutch agent, Ira was sure that rapid growth and prosperity were imminent for the towns along Lake Champlain's eastern shore.[³] Ever the optimist, Ira also believed that he could reverse the downward spiral his own fortunes had suffered since the end of the Revolution. Although success had eluded him, he still had more land, more mills, and more shops than any other entrepreneur in the valley, and he remained convinced that transforming his dreams into reality was still within his grasp.

Certain that he could not fail, Ira made expansive plans for Burlington's future. As early as 1789 he had included a college in his vision of what might become the commercial and intellectual center of Vermont. Although at the time there was no college in Vermont and only four-- Harvard, Yale, Brown, and Dartmouth--in all of New England, Allen was determined to secure a charter for a new insti-

tution on the shore of Lake Champlain. His timing was bad in 1789; then and for the next two years the debate over statehood had pushed other issues aside. Now, with Vermont officially accepted into the Union, the legislature and local promoters throughout the state were ready to consider the subject of higher education for young Green Mountain republicans. Interest was sufficiently high to make it seem likely that the General Assembly would approve a charter for a state university within the next year or two; for his part, Allen intended to ensure that Burlington won any competition over which community should become home to the new school.

Ira Allen was not the first Vermonter to envision a college in the northern New England wilderness. Section 40 of Vermont's 1777 constitution had declared, "One grammar school in each county, and one University in this State ought to be established by direction of the General Assembly," but nothing had come of that good intention. Instead, the legislature had unofficially adopted Dartmouth as Vermont's college, granting the 23,000-acre township of Wheelock to the Connecticut River school in 1785. While John Wheelock, Dartmouth's president, pressed the General Assembly for additional gifts, some Vermont leaders moved to redirect the state's educational generosity. Four months

after the Wheelock grant, one of Ira's central Vermont counterparts, Elijah Paine of Williamstown, Vermont, promised to donate £2,000 towards the creation of a university if the legislature would order it built in his town. Although the legislature appointed a committee to study Paine's proposal, the eventual consensus was that Paine's offer alone was insufficient to support a new college. Nonetheless, the notion that Vermont might be ready for its own university was now a subject for serious discussion, and Ira decided to make certain that when the General Assembly did charter one it would be located in the Champlain Valley.[⁴]

Allen launched his campaign for a university at Burlington in September 1789. Drawing up a subscription form that declared education to be "Necessary for the promottion of virtue and for the happiness of civil society," he circulated it among his friends and associates in Chittenden County. Thomas Chittenden was first on the list of fifty-three subscribers, with a pledge of £300, but it was Ira's pledge of £4,000 that pushed the total to an impressive figure of £5,655. To accompany the list, Ira prepared a petition that praised Burlington's advantages over all other Vermont towns the legislature might consider for the school. Burlington had excellent soil, good water,

and ample raw materials to construct good roads; at one hundred miles from Dartmouth and close to college-less Quebec and upstate New York, it would draw many students from the northern frontier; and by virtue of its location on a busy water trade route, it would surely grow into a major commercial center. Not surprisingly, the arguments sounded quite similar to Ira's land-speculation spiels about the Champlain Valley; with a quarter-century of faith in the region's future behind him, Allen found it easy to adapt his rhetoric for this new and worthy cause.^[5]

Ira had help in the drive to obtain a University for Burlington in 1789. Returned to the governor's chair after a one-year absence, Thomas Chittenden helped prime the October session of the legislature to consider the question. The Reverend Samuel Williams of Rutland, a noted American scientist who had taught at Harvard before fleeing to Vermont ahead of a forgery charge in 1788 and who now hoped to build a fresh career in the Green Mountains, was another principal ally. "My whole aim now," Williams wrote his wife, "is to influence and persuade the persons of note here to found a College."^[6] In addition to giving Ira much valuable advice on promoting the college plan, the Harvard exile turned propagandist to advance the cause. In September 1789, under the pseudonym "Respublica," Williams pub-

lished "Observations on the establishment of an University in the state of Vermont" in the Windsor and Bennington newspapers. Vermont would realize many benefits by cultivating the arts and sciences through a university, Respublica asserted; as far as location went, a healthy competition among the interested communities would identify the best town.[⁷]

In large part because of the statehood debate, it took the General Assembly two years to make a decision on chartering a university. Ira's October 15, 1789, presentation before his fellow legislators resulted only in the appointment of two committees to study the issue and report back to the September 1790 session. Allen gathered more pledges from Chittenden County towns early in September of 1790 to bolster his case, but the legislature took no action on his renewed petition. The January 1791 General Assembly was too busy with the details of Vermont's admission into the Union to pay much attention when Samuel Williams, writing as "Candidus" and "Impartiality," described Burlington as an ideal college town. The best that Ira could get was a promise that the autumn 1791 session would consider his proposal. A dozen years earlier, Vermont's Revolutionary oligarchs might have moved along more rapidly; now, Allen found that his declining political influence slowed the

progress of his plan for "the promottion of virtue and for the happiness of civil society."^[8]

Undaunted by the snail's pace of his university scheme, Ira put the time between the January and October 1791 legislatures to good use. Samuel Williams continued to feed him confidential advice from Rutland on rounding up subscriptions and securing sufficient votes for a majority in the General Assembly. Leaders in several towns had decided to challenge Burlington for the honor of becoming home to the state university, and Allen worked hard to counter their promotional claims. No doubt in large part because his £4,000 pledge remained by far the largest offer on the table, Ira's efforts were successful. The legislature voted on October 24 to charter a college; a committee reported the following day that eighty-nine of the 116 members polled favored Burlington for the school's location; and the act creating the University of Vermont for "the Education of Youth" and "the advancement of morality, virtue and happiness" became official on November 2, 1791. At last Ira Allen and Burlington had their university, the twenty-fifth and northernmost college in the United States.^[9]

Obtaining a charter, however, was only the first step. Ira had hoped that the General Assembly would pass an appropriation to put the school on its financial feet, but

the fall 1791 legislature was content to charter the school, appoint a thirteen-man board of trustees, and move on to other concerns.^[10] The trustees, who included Ira, Governor Chittenden, other Vermont political leaders, and clergymen from several denominations, soon found that raising money for the University was a difficult task. Most of the individual pledges of 1789-90, including Allen's, remained unpaid once the charter had been secured. Allen wrote to the government of New York in January 1792 for a grant of land on the grounds that residents of the north-eastern counties of the Empire State would cross Lake Champlain to attend the University, but New York's leaders took no action.^[11] The only early progress came in June 1792, when the trustees met in Burlington to select fifty acres of Ira's land at the top of the hill overlooking the lake as the site of the college, which Ira considered as equivalent to one-quarter of his original pledge.^[12] Allen's school now had a campus-to-be, but the only things on it were pine trees; there was no money in the treasury; there were no faculty or students; and the prospects for addressing any of these shortcomings were somewhat dim.

Ira's fellow trustees thought they knew how to get the University moving. What was really needed, they said with increasing vehemence, was for Allen to make good on his 1789

pledge. In addition to giving the college the start-up funds to erect buildings, buy books and equipment, and hire faculty, a major gift would encourage other prospective donors to open their purses. Ira insisted that he meant to honor his promise and presented a number of plans to rent some of his least-valuable lands for the University's benefit. "I hereby promise and agree that I will not take any advantage to evade giving the four thousand pounds," he declared in June 1792, "and hereby obligate and bind myself, my heirs, Executors and administrators to pay the said sum to the trustees that are now appointed."¹³ The rhetoric was reassuring, but the words were empty. No Allen rent monies actually went to the University, and the treasury remained empty.

Ira's failure to follow through on his commitment to the University stemmed in part from his inability to put his many other interests on a profitable footing. He sincerely wanted to help the college, but development of the Champlain Valley remained his top priority, and much of his time in 1791 and 1792 went to efforts designed to benefit from the ongoing growth of the region. New forges in Burlington, a bigger sawmill beside the falls of the Lamoille River in Milton, an anchor shop in Colchester, an improved dam at Swanton, a tavern in Burlington, and similar projects up and

down the valley occupied Allen's energy and limited capital. Meeting the costs of construction required considerable ingenuity, and he often had to pay his builders by granting them shares in the new mills and forges. Finding capable, dependable workers was still a problem, as the ready availability of cheap land throughout northern Vermont made working for wages a less attractive option for most settlers than farming their own land. With the great majority of his customers paying in notes or in kind rather than cash, even though Ira's mills and shops were busy his cash-flow problems persisted.[¹⁴]

In trade and commerce Ira continued to look to Quebec. His mills sawed more timber for lumber rafts; his stores accumulated potash, grain, and other products for shipment north; and Ira investigated the feasibility of growing new crops such as hemp for sale to the British Navy. When England split Canada into two provinces in 1791, Ira and brother Levi returned to the tactic of discussing a possible reunion between Vermont and the Empire. John Graves Simcoe, the newly-appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, had befriended Levi when he was in London in 1789-91; now Levi hoped to capitalize on their acquaintance. Simcoe was interested, if only to the extent of manipulating the Allens and their circle "to support a British interest in Vermont,"

but some of his Canadian advisors who knew the brothers better were more wary.^[15] "Col. A [Ira] is a man of abilities. I heard him frequently named as such when I was in the State," British officer Charles Stevenson warned the new Lieutenant-Governor: "but [he is] in no great repute for his integrity. They say he is always making money off the State." Stevenson's view of Levi was more brief and less kind: Ira's erratic sibling, he wrote, "is not so clever."^[16]

Stevenson was certainly correct about Ira Allen's reputation in the Green Mountain State, and Ira's attempt to win a cash settlement of his public accounts failed because of the widespread conviction that he was "always making money off the State." By now, his efforts had fallen into a frustrating pattern: he petitioned the General Assembly for compensation of unpaid expenses as Treasurer and Surveyor-General; legislative committees reviewed his claims and found them valid; and the Assembly responded by rejecting the committee reports and appointing new auditors to start the process over again. On occasion, Ira received a token payment against the large sums he felt were due to him; more often, he got nothing at all. As in the past, Isaac Tichenor was Ira's principal nemesis, leading the conservative faction's attacks on his integrity and his account-

ing methods. At the autumn 1792 legislative session, Tichenor reported that according to his review Allen actually owed Vermont £1,446, "which ought to be improved by this State, against any equitable demand he may bring forward in his new account." Ira's fellow legislators concluded "that said Ira Allen had no demand against this State, either in law or equity"; he retaliated by suing the state for £14,000; and the Assembly authorized a counter-suit for £300 against the member from Colchester. Within a few months the courts dismissed Ira's suit, the state dropped its counter-suit, and the controversy over Allen's claims remained unresolved.[¹⁷]

Plagued by his public accounts, Ira watched his private finances worsen as well. Individuals holding his notes pressed him for payment, and his attempts to renegotiate, delay, or pay in lumber and grain bought time without solving his problems.[¹⁸] In addition to a growing number of American creditors, Allen also had to deal with an impatient cadre of Quebec merchants who had claims against him. When he could, Ira paid Vermont officials to help him avoid his Canadian obligations, a tactic at which he apparently became quite adept. In September of 1792 S. and F. De Montmollin, Quebec merchants who had been chasing Allen through the Green Mountain legal system for three

years, published a broadside to publicize his collaboration with sheriff Stephen Pearl of Burlington to evade "the payment of a just debt." Ira "may well be rich," the De Montmollins groused, given his dishonest practices; but based on their experience, they didn't believe "he would ever pay a debt of his own accord." Although Allen managed to avoid paying the De Montmollins and many of his other creditors, his position became increasingly precarious with each new lawsuit and past-due promissory note.[¹⁹]

Unable to manage his Champlain Valley finances or his Green Mountain political fortunes in the years following statehood, Ira had more success in an attempt to dictate his place in the popular history of Vermont. In 1792 Samuel Williams, Ira's ally in the fight to obtain a university for Burlington, began work on a natural and political history of the state and solicited his assistance.[²⁰] In particular, Williams wrote, he was interested in Allen's papers on the Haldimand Negotiations, "if it was proper" for him to see them. Thomas Chittenden and John Fassett, Jr., two of the other surviving Vermont veterans of the Haldimand affair, refused to meet with Williams, but Ira recognized that guiding the Reverend through the thicket of Vermont's early years might be the wiser choice. Granting Williams access to his papers and advising him on the controversies of the

Yankee versus Yorker period and the Revolution, Allen worked to ensure that his family would emerge as heroes in the pages of Williams' book. Ira did his job well, and the results were gratifying. As Williams wrote to him just before sending the manuscript to the printer:

I could do no more than to correct it agreeable to the ideas I had got, and the notes I had made, immediately after you left my house. I have inserted everything that you mentioned to me and I believe it [the Haldimand affair] now stands in a light that cannot be construed unfavorable to any person who was concerned in it or by the British in Canada or elsewhere I have not the vanity to suppose that I have been free from mistakes in relating the transactions of the leading men of Vermont; but I am certain that none of them will find that I have given an unfavorable view of their proceedings or in any instance abused the information they have given, or the confidence they have placed in me.[²¹]

Williams' adherence to the Allen view of Vermont's early years was clear throughout his history. On the Grants controversy, he grouped the Yorkers together as "adventurers, and speculators," while their Yankee adversaries were "brave, hardy, intrepid, but uncultivated men." Ethan Allen had been "bold, enterprising, ambitious, with great confidence in his own abilities," a towering figure who "carefully avoided bloodshed, and protested against everything that had the appearance of meanness, injustice, cruelty, or abuse, to those who fell into his power." In

discussing the critical issue of the Haldimand Negotiations, Williams praised the Vermont participants as unswerving patriots risking all to save their state and the American nation: "through the whole of this correspondence, they gave the most decisive proofs, that they could not be bought, or bribed [bribed], by any offers of wealth or honour." While the British had imagined they "were deceiving, corrupting, and seducing the people of Vermont," Williams rhapsodized, "the wiser policy of eight honest farmers, in the most uncultivated part of America, disarmed their northern troops, kept them quiet and inoffensive during three campaigns, assisted in subduing Cornwallis, protected the northern frontiers, and finally saved a state." [22]

Although not all the Haldimand conspirators were pleased with Williams' book--Joseph Fay, for one, would write, "I was always sorry that business was published in the History of Vermont,"--Ira believed that Williams' account of the wartime negotiations with the British might do something to improve his tarnished image. [23] Williams had cast the Arlington Junto as Revolutionary stalwarts, and with the national trend towards deification of the leaders of the Revolution under way, Vermonters were beginning to single out brother Ethan and cousin Baker as the brightest

stars in the state's galaxy of pioneer heroes. It must have occurred to Ira that perhaps some of that family lustre would reflect his way. At the same time, since Williams had followed Ira's editorial suggestions to avoid giving offense to "the British in Canada or elsewhere," what might help Ira at home would not hurt him in Quebec or London. Although later events would prove that the British view of the Haldimand affair was considerably less benign than Ira imagined, in the early 1790s he hoped that Williams' book would somehow contribute to the realization of his long-standing plan for a canal linking Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence River.

His success with Williams' history was one of the few Ira enjoyed during these years. The need to regain control of his finances took him away from Colchester for extended periods with negligible monetary return. Jerusha accepted his frequent absences, but young Ira and Zimri missed their father; as Jerusha wrote during one of her husband's trips to New York City, "Ira says his Papa has run away."^[24] A more serious family rift developed with brother Levi, who placed some of the blame for his own ongoing troubles on his younger brother. During the Revolution, Levi grumbled in 1792, "I suffered much, and my Brother Ira made a fortune, but thank God I am not Poor in spirit or Fortune."^[25]

Since his return from England, Levi wrote Ira, he had seen "nothing of Ira Allen remaining therefore suppose your name ought to be Ira Enos." The six Allen brothers had once been a team, Levi recalled; now, "after insatiable death hath devoured four, the remaining two have become Strangers, and all without the least direct charge on either Side."^[26] Levi's fondness for dramatic exaggeration notwithstanding, it was clear that by 1793 the Allen family ties had become frayed.

Ira was often too busy with his crumbling empire to concern himself with family matters. Still hoping to keep his real-estate portfolio intact, he tried to use his lands as collateral for loans in Boston and New York. Unsuccessful on his own, to lend credibility to his negotiations with prospective lenders he persuaded Thomas Chittenden and Samuel Hitchcock to sign an open letter he drafted listing his properties, estimating their value at £100,000 and noting that Ira sought funds only for the charitable purposes of paying his pledge to the University and settling the estates of "his deceast friends." Despite his assurances of providing "satisfactory mortgages on receiving the money," however, no urban lenders came forward with the large sums Ira needed.^[27] Allen's lands were insufficient security, one Boston prospect told a Vermont associate who

had written on Ira's behalf; any loan to him would certainly require a co-signer to ensure repayment. The response from New York was the same: no large loans would be forthcoming if the only security was a cloudy title to frontier lands or the even more dubious guarantee of Ira Allen's word.[²⁸]

Like it or not, Ira had little choice but to place some of his Vermont lands on the market. He knew that urban investors would have no use for the individual lots and single rights he was peddling to Champlain Valley settlers; to interest metropolitan speculators it would be necessary to offer large tracts or entire townships. Unfortunately, as Ira soon discovered, the combination of uncertain title, the relatively small and scattered nature of his Vermont holdings, and a slumping market for northern New England lands adversely affected his prospects. In addition, Allen's reputation and his slippery business tactics hurt him as well. Stubbornly, irrationally determined to raise cash and keep his best lands, he held back his most valuable lands and tried to sell the least desirable and most heavily-contested. The results were predictable: when Ira tried to sell his title to 19,000 acres in Alburg at \$3.50 per acre, his assurances of the limitless potential of Alburg real estate were not enough to offset the fact that he was still fighting with Quebec claimant Henry Caldwell

for control of the border town.^[29] A 1794 sale of 5,900 acres in Colchester that brought in \$13,000 face value of sharply-discounted three-percent stock was one of the few bright spots; for the most part, Ira found few buyers and little return for his efforts.^[30] He could not see it, but inflexibly keeping title to all his choicest properties was beginning to look like a sure way to lose his entire Champlain Valley empire.

Dogged by financial worries, Allen was in no position to make good on his pledge to the University of Vermont. In the fall of 1792 his arguments with the University's trustees concerning his obligation spread into the legislature, which debated intervening against Ira but eventually decided that the trustees had "full and ample power to proceed against him."^[31] The unpleasantness with his fellow trustees notwithstanding, Ira continued to solicit donations for the University, with special emphasis on obtaining a grant of land from the State of New York.^[32] Although the Empire State's leaders remained cold to the notion of nurturing a college outside its borders, Allen and the UVM board finally reached an agreement in October 1793. Ira signed a bond for £6,000, double what remained unpaid on his original 1789 pledge, and promised to give at least 10,000 acres in Middlesex and St. Andrews Gore (present-day

Plainfield) to the University. Estimating that the lands would eventually bring in £180 in annual rents, he also agreed in the meantime to donate that amount every year in wheat, beef, pork, butter, or cheese. Furthermore, if the £180 ever went unpaid, Ira would pay UVM the full £3,000 in cash.^[33] No doubt his fellow trustees were skeptical of this generous new promise; on the other hand, if Allen lived up to it, the University might actually get under way at last.

Ira had a purpose in signing his new pledge to the University. Two days after executing the document, he presented a memorial to the General Assembly that asked the legislature to change the name of the school to Allen's University. He would add another £1,000 to his original pledge, he told the legislators, by donating 1,500 acres in north-central Vermont. Long-term leases on these lands would bring in ten cents per acre, or the equivalent of a six-percent return on £1,000. The Assembly was interested but cautious. After several days of considering Ira's request and the text of the act he had prepared to accomplish his design, the legislature voted to postpone its decision. Given how badly his other affairs had gone recently, Allen must have been pleased by the thought that Vermont's lone university, albeit one that existed on paper only, might soon bear his name.^[34]

Encouraged by the legislature's consideration of his proposal, Ira prepared another memorial for the autumn 1794 General Assembly. Evoking memories of his own background as a fatherless youth unable to afford a formal education, he explained that his college would help nurture the democratic principles in which Vermont had been founded:

My Object in Establishing the University of Vermont is not only for the Benefit of the Present but for future ages[,] and that it may be Usefull to society in an Extensive View I am tenacious to Procure Property for sd[.] University sufficient to Put on Land security to raise an Annual Interest Equal to the Support of the Authority of College to Erect & support the Necessary Building[,] Operatins[,] Library &c to the End that Tuition may be free[.] it is not the Rich that I am Calculating so much to assist as the Poor[.] the Rich can send their sons to What College they Choose[,] But the poore have it not in their Power[.] yet they may have the most Promising Posterity[,] & if they can obtain Good Education may be in turn Rullers of the Land[.] . . . we may transmit to Posterity the Blessings of a free Government & on this Principle we must Principally Depend to Perpetuate those Liberties Obtained by the Loss of much Blood & Treasure.[³⁵]

Ira employed more than rhetoric to demonstrate his sincere interest in the University's welfare. When Benning Wentworth drew up his New Hampshire charters for towns west of the Connecticut River, he had included one free right of land for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the missionary arm of the Anglican Church, in each township he created. At 350 acres per right, and with

127 Wentworth towns in Vermont, the Society's Green Mountain holdings prior to the Revolution had totaled more than 40,000 acres. Since in the eyes of most Vermonters the war had voided the Society's claim, after 1783 various groups and individuals, including John Wheelock of Dartmouth College, Nathaniel Chipman, Matthew Lyon, and Levi Allen, expressed interest in some or all of the lands. The situation remained unresolved, however, and early in 1794 Allen and his fellow UVM trustees decided to try to obtain the SPGFP lands for the University. When the General Assembly reconvened the following October, Ira, who was serving his final term as Colchester's representative, made passage of a statute transferring the SPGFP rights to UVM a top priority.^[36]

Ira's campaign to annul the Society's extensive Vermont claim was only partially successful. At his urging, the legislature did confiscate the lands; however, rather than turning them over to the University, the General Assembly voted to give them to the individual towns for the benefit of local schools.^[37] Even though Allen had failed to achieve his goal, at least one Episcopalian who saw the legislature's action as an attack on the true church blamed him for what had happened. "His object was to enhance the value of the settlement of Burlington on Lake Champlain, of

which he is chief proprietor," the Reverend John Cosens Ogden of Dartmouth College complained to fellow Anglican George Washington, "by building a seat of learning and providing a revenue for it from this property of the Society." Samuel Williams had helped Ira, Ogden added, because Williams was angry with Vermont's Episcopalians for refusing to make him their bishop (an unlikely charge, since Williams was a Congregational minister). Ogden viewed Ira's attack on the SPGFP as "part of an uniform system, from the first settlement of America, to destroy the church," but most of Vermont's Anglicans apparently took a less gloomy and conspiratorial view of things, since there was no other public criticism of Allen and his supposed confederates. [38]

Undeterred by his failure to obtain the Society's lands for UVM, Ira continued to pursue the goal of changing the school's name to Allen's University. Unfortunately for his plans, the autumn 1794 legislature failed to act on the matter, and when the General Assembly resumed consideration of his request a year later, Allen was no longer Colchester's representative. Unable to participate, Ira could only watch as the debate turned against him. Lieutenant-Governor Jonathan Hunt, his adversary during the Woodbridge scandal, presented a committee report that criticized Allen's failure to fulfill his numerous promises to the University. Ira

had paid part of his 1789 pledge, Hunt and his colleagues admitted, "but the remainder we consider may be attended with uncertainty, and no way equal to what said Allen would have represented by this act for altering the name of said university." The other legislators agreed: fine words, however sincere, about equality of opportunity and educating Green Mountain republicans were not enough. Until the Assembly saw cash or firm title to income-producing lands from Ira, there would be no Allen's University in the state of Vermont.[³⁹]

There were other signs of Ira's declining reputation and influence in the state he had helped create. His battle with the state over his public accounts brought more disappointment in the fall of 1793. Desperate for cash, Allen made another attempt to persuade the legislature to approve his version of his Treasurer and Surveyor-General accounts. He traveled to Windsor to look for allies at the General Assembly's session, and when that failed he tried to rally public support by publishing two broadsides on his own behalf. Unprincipled men had prevented an equitable settlement of his accounts, Ira declared, by bringing false, malicious charges against him, and he demanded review by a court of "disinterested men from the neighboring States" to restore his good name.[⁴⁰] But this time the

power of the press deserted Allen, as the legislature refused his request. To make matters worse, his reputation became an object of public ridicule in a popular Federalist song poking fun at Vermont's notables: "And to Ira our Treasurer,/ Eke our land measurer,/ God soon send him leisure more/ To settle his accounts." [41]

Frustrated and humiliated, Ira thought he knew who to blame. Isaac Tichenor had been Allen's enemy for a dozen years, during which time his political stock had risen while Ira's fell. The Princeton-educated Tichenor, nicknamed The Jersey Slick for his smooth manners and courtly style, had first made a name for himself in Vermont by attacking Allen. Since 1787 he had succeeded in blocking several previous agreements between Ira and the state's auditors; and now Ira became convinced that Tichenor was behind this latest defeat as well. Accordingly, on October 31, 1793, in a remarkably uncharacteristic move for the least combative of the Allen brothers, he challenged his longtime adversary to a duel. Although duelling was virtually unheard of in Vermont, Tichenor met the rhetorical conventions of the occasion by replying, "You can take no measures, Sir, that one Gentleman ought to adopt in governing himself toward another that will be disagreeable to me. I am detained here only to wait your Command." [42] What happened next is unknown, but no deadly

confrontation resulted. Instead, Ira resumed the futile exercise of pressing his claims against the state, while Tichenor continued to strengthen his position among Vermont's ruling elite.^[43]

Allen's problems with the legislature in the years following statehood occurred within the context of ongoing political change in Vermont. Acceptance into the Union in 1791 and the increased concern with national issues and debates that accompanied it accelerated the trend towards political factionalization that had begun after the Revolution. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison visited Vermont in 1791 on a "botanical" expedition that happened to put them in touch with Vermont's liberal leaders; Alexander Hamilton capitalized on his role in extinguishing New York's claim to the Grants by encouraging conservative activity within the state; and by the mid-1790s the battles between Jeffersonians and Federalists dominated Vermont's political scene. Many of the top names were the same as in the last years of the Green Mountain republic: Matthew Lyon, Stephen Row Bradley, Moses and Jonathan Robinson, and Israel Smith for the Jeffersonians, with Thomas Chittenden an unlabeled but relatively consistent ally; and Tichenor, Nathaniel Chipman, and Elijah Paine for the Federalists. The competition was keen. The Federalists controlled the

General Assembly, the Council, and the top federal posts available from George Washington's administration; Chittenden held the governor's chair, albeit by small majorities; and Congressional contests produced heated campaigns and frequent turnovers. In Ira's heyday, there had been more offices than candidates; now, the glut of ambitious politicians resulted in intense intraparty battles for choice positions.[⁴⁴]

At a time when he could have benefitted greatly from a fraction of the influence he'd once enjoyed, Ira Allen found himself shut out from Vermont's upper echelon of political power. His ideological sympathies, fluid though they were, clearly lay with the Jeffersonians rather with Tichenor and his "aristocratic" Federalists, but the state's democratic leaders showed little inclination to make room for him as an unelected member of their ranks. His loner's style and widespread reputation for venality made Ira an unlikely candidate for popular election to a statewide office. In addition, as Allen came to realize, with the competition between parties relatively close, even when they wanted to help him, such old friends as Chittenden, Lyon and Bradley could no longer accomplish a great deal on his behalf. The Federalists had the votes in the Assembly to block any legislative measures designed to favor Ira--his tribulations over the Treasurer's accounts had certainly proved that.

While Ira was struggling, the rest of Vermont was thriving. The state's population continued to rise rapidly, and the process of social and economic development kept pace. The steady influx of newcomers pushed settlement north to the Canadian border, as new villages sprang up in townships that had been almost empty during the 1780s. Rapid growth and change were especially evident in the Champlain Valley, where hard-working farmers impressed John Lincklaen and other travelers with the fruits of their labors. Real-estate prices went up quickly, and the asking price on improved valley farmland reached as high as twenty dollars an acre. The expanding population created local markets for some of the region's agricultural and forest production, and energetic businessmen eager to supplant Ira Allen as the valley's leading entrepreneur tried their hands at sending the rest elsewhere--north by water to Quebec, south and east by land and water to Albany, New York or Boston--for sale. The boom that Ira had long envisioned on the eastern shore of Lake Champlain was just beginning, but the promise of a rich tomorrow was exciting imaginations throughout "the country my soul delighted in."^[45]

Ira worked feverishly to seize a share of that bright future. Still looking for reliable managers for his sawmills, he negotiated generous leases and agreements each

year with an everchanging cast of employees in an attempt to guarantee a steady lumber production. New mills--a gristmill in Milton, fulling mills in Shelburne and Colchester, a sawmill in Georgia--went up on Allen properties along rivers and streams flowing into the lake. Eager to stimulate migration to his towns around Lake Memphremagog, where settlement was lagging, Ira offered farms there with no rent for the first four years of possession. Notices in the Bennington and Windsor newspapers continued to proclaim the advantages of the soil, water, industry, and potential of Allen-owned towns in north-central and northwestern Vermont. Intervale lands on the Winooski and Missisquoi produced forty to sixty bushels of Indian corn and two to three tons of hay per acre, one of Ira's advertisements declared, while the "city" rising up at Burlington, the college established there, and the commercial traffic on the lake made the Champlain Valley a most attractive destination for farmers and mechanics. His goal was simply to help the region develop, Ira told prospective settlers, so that all could share in the realization of his dreams. "The facts are there are not people enough in the Country to improve the lands and work the forges and mills," he explained: "I am therefore induced to make several proposals in order that different classes of good people may be accommodated." [46]

Just in case altruism and hard work were not enough, Allen also made sure he kept his options open. Renewing his relationship with Justus Sherwood, his old Green Mountain Boy companion and Tory counterpart in the Haldimand affair, he suggested nurturing closer ties between Vermont and Canada as a first step to keeping the Green Mountain State neutral in any Anglo-American war. When William Jarvis, a Connecticut loyalist who had settled in Quebec, traveled south to the Champlain Valley in January of 1794, Thomas Chittenden, Joseph Fay, Matthew Lyon, and Ira all assured their Canadian visitor that they still hoped to return Vermont to the British Empire. Levi Allen chimed in with promises to promote England's interests in Vermont if he received a large grant of Canadian wilderness land as compensation for his losses in the Revolution. The common theme was that Vermonters were not happy with statehood, and if London offered them a better deal the reunion aborted by Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown might become reality fifteen years later.^[47]

Unfortunately for Ira, he and his Vermont friends had taken the British down that twisting road too often in the past. A few loyalists, Canadian speculators, and other somewhat shady contacts of the Allen brothers expressed interest, but there was no enthusiasm among British

administrators for reopening clandestine negotiations again. In fact, British officials in Quebec were more concerned about the rumors of Green Mountain adventurers with designs "injurious to the King's Interests" that were beginning to circulate throughout Canada.^[48] To Ira's dismay, some of England's suspicions involved brother Levi, whose erratic behavior and financial improprieties had caused problems at Quebec in the past. Ira could deal with disgruntled Canadians who called his brother "as d----d [a] blackleg as ever lived" and "that worthless fellow Levi Allen"; that was to be expected when business deals turned sour, and many of Ira's American and Canadian business associates felt the same way about him.^[49] On the other hand, when reports "in Every Publick Company" in Quebec blamed Levi for "the Incorriddgment that is Said you are Guilty of in Giving out to the troops that they can Easly take Quebec and make their Escape to the Stats and they wood be Protected," the implications for Ira's attempts to gain an advantage in Canada were far more serious.^[50] The Allens had always assumed that Levi's loyalist past and residence at St. Johns would further their northern interests, but now it seemed that the family's black sheep was more hindrance than help.

And by the mid-1790s Ira needed all the help he could get. A New York City associate absconded with a storeful of

Allen merchandise early in 1794; "Broom, Blogg, Platt, Kelley & all others I am Indebt to in N. York" rejected a plan to pay them in land rather than cash; and his Quebec creditors continued to file suit against him in Vermont courts.^[51] To make matters worse, Ira's relatives, living and deceased, drained his dwindling resources as well. Bills against Ethan's estate landed at his door for payment. Levi, sinking under the weight of his own worries, squabbled with his younger brother over competing claims to the town of St. Albans, Levi's last substantial property in Vermont.^[52] When nephew Joseph, Heber's son, wound up in debtor's prison in Albany, he looked to the uncle who had raised him for a way out of his troubles.^[53] The funds to send Heman, Heber's other son, to Dartmouth College also came out of Ira's purse. Finally, and most ominously, in April of 1795 niece Lucinda, Heman's daughter, and her husband Moses Catlin obtained a court order attaching Ira's Winooski River shops and mills in Colchester and Burlington as compensation for Lucinda's share of her father's estate.^[54] Ira managed to thwart his niece's attempt to seize his most valuable properties, but her lawsuit and the further disintegration of the family were hard blows to suffer on top of his many other problems.

Even with his Champlain Valley domain awash in red ink, Ira Allen dreamed of a larger empire. During the winter of

1794-95, he sent cousin Ebenezer Allen to western New York and the shores of Lake Michigan in search of more land. Ebenezer was mightily impressed with what he saw on his trip. The Genesee country was "the finest Country I Ever Saw," an earthly "Garden of Providence" waiting for development. "It is not in my Power to Paint the goodness of the Country," he wrote back home, "but in a word thousands and tens of thousands of acres we have been throw as good as your [Swanton] Indian fields." Further west enormous tracts "Sofishent for a State" were available near Detroit for a pittance from the area's Indians; all that was needed was a little cash to close the deal. Ira's heart would leap for joy at the quality of the land, his cousin assured him, and within a year they could "ten times Dobbil" their investment. Ira must act quickly, however, or other speculators would beat them to it. Ebenezer would stall the sellers as long as he could; meanwhile, Ira must send the money as soon as possible to guarantee their success in "the Gratest Prospect of Dowing Bisness in the land Way I Ever Saw."^[55]

But by 1795 Ira had no money to send, even to buy "the Garden of Providence." Brought to the verge of bankruptcy in Vermont by his own mistakes and his stubborn refusal to scale back his dreams, he could not participate in the great national rush to invest in the western frontier. Instead,

in a last desperate attempt to preserve his Champlain Valley empire, he looked east rather than west for salvation. There was still a chance to put his affairs in order, Allen thought, if he could persuade England to let him build a ship canal between the Richelieu and the St. Lawrence. The family's earlier attempts to interest the British in the project--his and Ethan's overtures to Frederick Haldimand just after the Revolution, Levi's work in London in 1789-91 --had failed, but Ira was convinced he could secure approval of the idea if he made the trip across the Atlantic to present his case in person. A canal would circumvent the Richelieu rapids that had hampered the shipment of Vermont lumber and agricultural products to Quebec; furthermore, Ira believed, once the British realized the mutual advantages of trade with the Champlain Valley, they would allow Vermonters to bypass the Quebec City middlemen and trade with English merchants. Within a few years, Lake Champlain would become an inland sea and Burlington a major port capable of sending 100-ton ships directly to England. A man better attuned to the new postwar environment might have realized that the Canada option which the Allens had pursued for so long, was a mirage; Ira the dreamer, however, was confident that his imaginative scheme would bring widespread prosperity to the northern frontier.

Ira's preparations for his first trip abroad began in the autumn of 1795. Expecting to be gone seven or eight months, he arranged one-year leases on his shops and mills, signed new notes to his major creditors, and put his tangled affairs in some semblance of order.^[56] To soothe Jerusha, who warned her husband that she and 16-year-old Heman, just graduated from Dartmouth, could not manage Ira's properties if his absence stretched beyond a year, Ira assured her he would be back in plenty of time to stave off financial disaster. He renewed his bond to make good on his pledge to the University of Vermont, and agreed to deliver an additional £1,000 worth of books and equipment to the school. As help with the second half of the promise, Thomas Chittenden gave Allen a commission to solicit gifts in Europe for UVM; the Governor also authorized him in his capacity as a major-general of the state militia to buy "arms and other implements of War" for the poorly-equipped men in his command.^[57] When he left Colchester for Boston in late November, Ira had a long list of goals in mind.

On his arrival in Boston, Allen attended to the last and most important step, obtaining the cash to finance his travels. In a deal that reflected how completely his future relied on the success of his voyage, Ira reluctantly mortgaged 46,000 acres of his best Champlain Valley lands to

General William Hull of Newton, Massachusetts. In return for £2,500 sterling in gold and £1,500 sterling in sight drafts on British commercial firms, Allen relinquished title to his most valuable properties in Colchester, Burlington, Shelburne, Georgia, and Essex.^[58] Making arrangements with several Boston merchants to receive goods from Europe, he packed most of Hull's gold away in a false-bottomed sea trunk, wrote a last round of letters home, and booked passage for England aboard the Minerva. When the ship taking him away from America left Boston on December 11, Ira's spirits were high. "I feel myself beyond the Reach of my Enemies, Poor D--n--d S-----s," he had written to one friend just before sailing: "[A]ny Statements they can Send will appear like Envy[,] & Calm Deliberation will yet Govern me." Now, with cash in hand, his creditors and adversaries behind him, and a plan for reviving his fortunes, Ira was positive that when he returned in triumph to Vermont, "it will be in my Power to Rejoice with my Friends and laugh at my Enemies."^[59]

NOTES

1. John Lincklaen, Travels in the Years 1791 and 1792 in Pennsylvania, New York and Vermont (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897), pp. 77-94.

2. Ibid., pp. 86-87.

3. Ibid., p. 88. Lincklaen estimated Thomas Chittenden's holdings at 30-40,000 acres.

4. G & C, 1: 102; on Wheelock and Dartmouth, SPOV, 2:215-18, and vol. 3, pt. 3, pp. 138, 141, 235, 245, 291, 311-13; on Paine, SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 3, pp. 184, 206-07, 211. For the national context of college-founding in the late eighteenth century: James Axtell, The School Upon the Hill: Education and Society in Colonial New England (New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 1974); Lawrence A. Cremin, American Education: The National Experience 1783-1876 (New York: Harper & Row, 1980); Jurgen Herbst, From Crisis to Crisis: American College Government (Cambridge, Ma.: Harvard University Press, 1982), ch. 12; David W. Robson, Educating Republicans: The College in the Era of the American Revolution, 1750-1800 (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1985).

5. Ms. drafts in AFP, box 11, folders 109 and 111; published in Julian I. Lindsay, Tradition Looks Forward: The University of Vermont: A History 1791-1904 (Burlington: University of Vermont, 1954), pp. 18-20.

6. Samuel Williams to Jane Williams, June 22, 1789, VHS, MSS 7, #789372. On Sept. 16, 1789, Williams wrote to Sir Joseph Banks, "Since I wrote to you last I have been invited to assist in establishing a University in this State. With this view I have removed to this State," Samuel Williams Papers, UVM, box 2, folder 28.

7. (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Sept. 7, 1789; (Windsor) Vermont Journal, Sept. 23, 1789. On Williams, see: Ralph N. Miller, "Samuel Williams 'History of Vermont,'" NEQ, 22, 1 (March 1949): 73-84; Robert F. Rothschild, "Samuel Williams: His Science, His Newspaper, His Rutland," Vermont Sunday Magazine (Rutland Herald/Barre-Montpelier Times-Argus), Oct. 18, 1987, pp. 4-5, 13-15.

8. Mss. of Sept. 1, 1790, pledge lists in AFP, box 11, folder 109, and box 12, folder 59A; text of Williams essay in Lindsay, Tradition, pp. 23-28; SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 4, p. 265.

9. Williams to IA, May 13, 1791, Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, [both Lindsay, Tradition, pp. 16-18, and James B. Wilbur, Ira Allen: Founder of Vermont 1751-1714 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), 1: 542-43, print Williams' letter under the incorrect date of May 1, 1789]; SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 5, pp. 34, 38-39, 78-79, and 15: 32-35.

10. The members of the first University of Vermont (UVM) board of trustees were: Thomas Chittenden, ex-officio as Governor; Ira Allen; Gideon Olin, Shaftsbury, ex-officio as Speaker of the General Assembly; Rev. Caleb Blood, pastor of the Third Baptist Church, Shaftsbury; Rev. Bethuel Chittenden, Protestant Episcopal clergyman, Shelburne, and the Governor's brother; Rev. Asa Burton, Congregational minister, Thetford; Jonathan Arnold, physician and town father, St. Johnsbury; Samuel Hitchcock, Burlington, Vermont Attorney-General; Enoch Woodbridge, Vergennes, attorney/judge; Jonathan Hunt, Vernon, member of the Governor's Council; Charles Platt, town father, Plattsburgh, N.Y.; and George Bowne, merchant, New York City. The New Yorkers, Platt and Bowne, seem to have ignored their appointments. The thirteenth seat, reserved ex-officio for the University's president, remained vacant until Daniel Clarke Sanders was appointed president in 1801.

11. IA to State of New York, Jan. 27, 1792, AFP, box 13, folder 31; Thomas Chittenden to George Clinton, March 17, 1792, photocopy in AFP, box 13, folder 69.

12. John Wheeler, A Historical Discourse (Burlington: Free Press Print, 1854), p. 9, for the story of Allen's donating the land for the campus; however, AFP, box 14, folder 29A, is an unsigned 1792 draft of a deed from Allen to the University, selling the fifty acres to the school for £150.

13. Photocopy in AFP, box 11, folder 111. For an overview of Allen's involvement with the University, see J. Kevin Graffagnino, "A Hard Founding Father to Love: Ira Allen and the University of Vermont," in Robert V. Daniels, ed., The University of Vermont: The First Two Hundred Years (Burlington, Vt.: University of Vermont, 1991), ch. 1.

14. Mss. concerning Allen's 1791-92 Champlain Valley development projects are in AFP, boxes 12-13, and in Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 8, folder 2.

15. Simcoe to Henry Dundas, Sept. 22, [1791], photocopy at VHS, MSS 25, #35.

16. Stevenson to Simcoe, Jan. 3, 1792, pub. in E. A. Cruikshank, ed., The Correspondence of Lieut. John Graves Simcoe (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1923-31), 1: 96; Edward Brynn, "Vermont and the British Emporium, 1765-1865," VH, 45, 1 (Winter 1977): 5-30; Donald G. Creighton, The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence 1760-1850 (New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 1937); Arthur R. M. Lower, Great Britain's Woodyard: British America and the Timber Trade, 1763-1867 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1973), ch. 4; W. A. Mackintosh, "Canada and Vermont: A Study in Historical Geography," The Canadian Historical Review, 8, 1 (March 1927): 9-30; Chilton Williamson, Vermont in Quandary: 1763-1825 (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1949), ch. 14.

17. "Extracts from the Journals and Proceedings of the General Assembly, in Grand Committee, at Rutland, October 1792" ([Rutland, Vt.: A. Haswell, 1792?]); SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 5, pp. 110, 192, 195; Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 31-39.

18. John Kelly to IA, Jan. 28 and May 6, 1791, photocopies in AFP, box 12, folders 85 and 103; William Burling to IA, Feb. 17, 1792, printed in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 26; IA agreement with John Thorp, April 3, 1792, photocopy in AFP, box 13, folder 71.

19. F. De Montmollin to IA, Feb. 13, 1792, photocopy in AFP, box 13, folder 58; S. and F. De Montmollin, "To the Public . . . Middlebury, September 26, 1792" ([Bennington: A. Haswell, 1792?]); Stephen Pearl, "To the Candid Public . . . Rutland, October 15, 1792" ([Windsor: Alden Spooner, 1792?]); (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Nov. 30, 1792. On debtor attitudes in the late-eighteenth-century frontier, see Robert W. Silsby, "Frontier Attitudes and Debt Collection in Western New York," in David M. Ellis, ed., The Frontier in American Development: Essays in Honor of Paul Wallace Gates (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 141-61.

20. Williams to IA, July 11, 1792, photocopy in AFP, box 13, folder 107.

21. Williams to IA, July 28, 1794, Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 2, folder 5.

22. Williams, The Natural and Civil History of Vermont (Walpole, N.H.: Isaiah Thomas & David Carlisle, Jr., 1794), pp. 219-20, 272 and 273. The first 209 pages in the 416-

page 1794 first edition of Williams' book are on natural history and the American Indian; the section on Vermont's political history is pp. 210-310. A two-volume second edition (Burlington: Samuel Mills, 1809) carried the political narrative forward to 1807, with only a few minor revisions to the early history in the 1794 edition. J. Kevin Graffagnino, "The Vermont 'Story': Continuity and Change in Vermont Historiography," VH, 46, 2 (Spring 1978): 77-99.

23. Joseph Fay to John Fay, July 30, 1797, John Fay Papers, UVM.

24. Jerusha to IA, Feb. 17, [1793], published in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 43. In the same letter, Jerusha wrote, "I will thank you Sir to go to the best limner in New York and have your miniature taken and set in sollid Gould." A miniature portrait of Allen, apparently the result of this request, is reproduced as a color frontispiece in Volume One of Wilbur's biography; the original painting is now in the Robert Hull Fleming Museum, University of Vermont.

25. Levi to John G. Simcoe, May 29, 1792, AFP, box 13, folder 87.

26. Levi to IA, June 28, 1793, VHS, MSS 7 79 3378.

27. Chittenden and Hitchcock, "To Whom it doth or may Concern," Nov. 8, 1793, AFP, box 14, folder 75, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 53.

28. John Taylor to William Wallace, April 15, 1794, photocopy in AFP, box 14, folder 105; William Wallace and James Whitelaw, "To whom it may concern," Feb. 10, 1794, photocopy in AFP, box 14, folder 92; James Savage to IA, Feb. 2, 1792, photocopy in AFP, box 13, folder 40. For documents on one abortive agreement, a March 1794 \$7,500 loan against some of Allen's Colchester lands that was revoked a month later, see Colchester Proprietors' Records, UVM, 2: 5-6 and 3: 330.

29. IA to Udney Hay, March 16, 1794, AFP, box 14, folder 99; John Kelly to IA, [Feb. 8, 1792], photocopy in AFP, box 13, folder 42; Udney Hay to IA, June 23, 1792, photocopy in AFP, box 13, folder 97.

30. Colchester Proprietors' Records, UVM, 2: 7. On American land speculation in the 1790s: Barbara Ann Chernow, Robert Morris: Land Speculator, 1790-1801 (New York: Arno Press, 1978); Aaron Sakolski, The Great American Land Bubble

(New York: Harper Brothers, 1932), ch. 6; Norman B. Wilkinson, "Land Policy and Speculation in Pennsylvania, 1779-1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1958).

31. SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 5, p. 154.

32. IA to Jerusha Allen, Jan. 24, 1793, ms. at VHS, * X MS B AL535; Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 203.

33. IA agreement with Daniel Buck, agent for the University, Oct. 23, 1793, photocopy in AFP, box 14, folder 70; IA newspaper advertisement offering Middlesex and St. Andrews Gore lands on UVM's behalf, (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Jan. 3, 1794, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 56.

34. IA memorial, Oct. 25, 1793, photocopy in AFP, box 14, folder 69; SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 6, pp. 78-79, 90, 111.

35. Ms. rough draft of undated IA memorial, photocopy in AFP, box 14, folder 81-A.

36. Walter T. Bogart, Vermont Lease Lands (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1950), ch. 7; L. D. Clarke, "Vermont Lands of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel," NEQ, 3, 2, (April 1930): 279-96; Levi Allen to IA, May 25, 1789, photocopy in AFP, box 11, folder 79; IA to Levi, Dec. 18, 1789, photocopy in AFP, box 11, folder 118.

37. SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 6, p. 49, fn. 2, and 15: 333-34; The Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Vermont (New York: Pott & Amery, 1870), pp. 46-54.

38. Ogden to Washington, Dec. 22, 1794, pub. in Ogden, A Short History of Late Ecclesiastical Oppressions in New-England and Vermont (Richmond, Va.: James Lyon, 1799), p. 10. Ogden to Samuel Peters, May 25, 1796, briefly mentions Allen's role in the confiscation of the SPGFP lands; excerpted in Kenneth W. Cameron, The Papers of Loyalist Samuel Peters (Hartford, Ct.: Transcendental Books, 1978), p. 109.

39. SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 7, pp. 145-49, quote from p. 147.

40. "To His Excellency the Governor, the Hon. Council and House of Representatives of the State of Vermont, convened in Windsor . . . Ira Allen. Windsor, October 24th, 1793" ([Windsor: A. Spooner, 1793?]); "General Allen's Address. To the Hon. the Legislature of the State of Vermont, convened in Windsor . . . Ira Allen. Windsor, October 30th, 1793" ([Windsor: A. Spooner, 1793?]).

41. Royall Tyler, "Convivial Song for General Morris," in Marius B. Peladeau, ed., The Verse of Royall Tyler (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1968), p. 21; SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 6, pp. 81, 97, 105, 107, 111-12.

42. Tichenor to IA, Oct. 31, 1793, photocopy in AFP, box 14, folder 71. Allen's challenge to Tichenor is the subject of an intriguing bibliographic "ghost." In 1794, twelve-year-old William Czar Bradley, son of early Vermont leader Stephen Row Bradley, published a little pamphlet, The Rights of Youth (Westminster, Vt.: John Goold, 1794). The title-page refers to young Bradley as "Author of the Poem on Allen's and Tichenor's Duel," but no copy of the poem has ever been located.

43. IA broadside, "General Allen's Memorial, Vouchers, and Statement . . . Ira Allen. Rutland, October 27th, 1764 [1794]" (Rutland: Printed at the Office of J. Lyon, [1794]); SPOV, vol. 3, pt. 6, pp. 245-46, 282, and vol. 3, pt. 7, pp. 80, 94-95, 152-54, and 10: 159, 272-74.

44. Austin, Matthew Lyon, chs. 6-7; Samuel B. Hand and P. Jeffrey Potash, "Nathaniel Chipman: Vermont's Forgotten Founder," in Michael Sherman, ed., A More Perfect Union: Vermont Becomes a State, 1777-1816 (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society and Vermont Statehood Bicentennial Commission, 1991), pp. 79-111. For national context, see: Joyce Appleby, Capitalism and a New Social Order: The Republican Vision of the 1790s (New York: New York University Press, 1984); Richard Buel, Jr., Securing the Revolution: Ideology in American Politics, 1789-1815 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1972); Andrew R. L. Cayton, The Frontier Republic: Ideology and Politics in the Ohio Country, 1780-1825 (Kent, Oh.: Kent State University Press, 1986).

45. IA autobiography, in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 53; Lincklaen, Travels, pp. 84-88; Thomas H. Canfield, "Discovery, Navigation and Navigators of Lake Champlain," in Abby M. Hemenway, ed., The Vermont Historical Gazetteer (v.p., 1867-91), 1: 668-70; Allan S. Everest, "Early Roads and Taverns of the Champlain Valley," VH, 37, 4 (Autumn 1969): 247-55; H. N. Muller, III, "The Commercial History of the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River Route 1760-1815" (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1968), ch. 3.

46. (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Jan. 3, 1794, excerpted in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 56. Leases, agreements and other mss. concerning Allen's 1793-95 development projects are in AFP, boxes 14-15, and Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 8.

47. Sherwood to IA, Feb. 26, 1794, in IA, Gen. Allen's Statement, Respecting a Large Cargo of Cannon and Arms Purchased in France, for the Use of the Militia in Vermont ([Philadelphia, 1804?]), pp. 10-11; Jarvis to John G. Simcoe, in Cruikshank, ed., Correspondence, 2: 288; Levi Allen, memo book on petitions for Canadian lands, AFP, box 13, folder 51; Levi Allen to Lord Dorchester, Aug. 5, 1795, and no date [1795], AFP, box 16, folders 5, 30; Benny Cockerham, "Levi Allen (1746-1801): Opportunism and the Problem of Allegiance" (M.A. thesis, University of Vermont, 1965), chaps. 9-10.
48. John G. Simcoe to George Beckwith, May 19, 1794, in Cruikshank, ed., Correspondence, 4: 359; Frank M. Greenwood, "The Development of a Garrison Mentality Among the English in Lower Canada 1793-1811" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1970), chaps. 1-2; J. Mackay Hitsman, Safeguarding Canada, 1763-1871 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), chaps. 3-4; Reginald C. Stuart, United States Expansionism and British North America, 1775-1871 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), ch. 2; J. Leitch Wright, Britain and the American Frontier 1783-1815 (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1975).
49. William Jarvis to Rev. Samuel Peters, Nov. 23, 1793, and July 14, 1795, both quoted in Cameron, Papers, p. 176 and 180.
50. Azariah Pritchard to Levi Allen, Feb. 16, 1793, AFP, box 14, folder 35.
51. Broome, Platt & Co. to IA, Jan. 8, 1794, photocopy in AFP, box 14, folder 87; IA to "Broom, Blogg, Platt, Kelley & all others I am Indebt to in N. York," Feb. 6, 1794, AFP, box 14, folder 90; K. K. van Rensselaer to IA, Jan. 2, Feb. 7, and March 2, 1795, photocopies in AFP, box 15, folders 47, 55, 64.
52. Samuel Huntington to IA, Dec. 20, 1794, photocopy in AFP, box 15, folder 43; William and Betsy Coit to Samuel and Anna Allen, Dec. 9, 1794, AFP, box 15, folder 38; William Coit to Levi Allen, March 4, 1795, AFP, box 15, folder 65; Levi Allen to Nancy Allen, March 28, 1795, AFP, box 15, folder 77; J. Pennoyer to Silas Hathaway, Oct. 19, 1795, Silas Hathaway Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 1, folder 2.
53. William Palmer to IA, Nov. 29, 1794, photocopy in AFP, box 15, folder 35; Joseph Allen to IA, [Nov. 1794?], and March 30, 1795, photocopies in AFP, box 15, folders 36,

79; IA to Roger Enos, Jr., [Nov. 1794?], photocopy in AFP, box 15, folder 37.

54. Walter H. Crockett, "Ira Allen and Colchester," Vermont Antiquarian Society Proceedings and Papers, 1, 1 (1897-1900): 25-27; Colchester Proprietors' Records, UVM.

55. Ebenezer Allen to IA, Feb. 14, March 29, and April 25, 1795, photocopies in AFP, box 15, folders 56, 78, 88; also, Ebenezer Allen to IA, November 1795, photocopy in AFP, box 16, folder 25. Cruikshank, ed., Correspondence, 4: 99, 211, notes Ebenezer Allen's subsequent involvement in a scheme to bribe members of Congress to vote for confirmation of an Indian deed to some 20 million acres in Michigan and Ohio. Ira Allen's longtime ally and fellow Vermont entrepreneur Matthew Lyon was interested in western lands in 1795 as well; see Austin, Matthew Lyon, p. 44. On interest in western New York and the Ohio country, see: Paul D. Evans, The Holland Land Company (Buffalo: Buffalo Historical Society, 1924); Edith M. Fox, Land Speculation in the Mohawk Country (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1949); Malcolm J. Rohrbough, The Land Office Business: The Settlement and Administration of American Public Lands, 1789-1837 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), ch. 1; Timothy J. Shannon, "The Ohio Company and the Meaning of Opportunity in the American West, 1786-1795," NEQ, 64, 3 (September 1991): 393-413; William H. Siles, "A Vision of Wealth: Speculators and Settlers in the Genesee Country of New York, 1788-1800" (Ph.D. diss., University of Massachusetts, 1978); William Wyckoff, The Developer's Frontier: The Making of the Western New York Landscape (New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 1988).

56. Photocopies of Allen's autumn 1795 leases and financial agreements are in AFP, box 16.

57. IA bond to University of Vermont, October 1795, photocopy in AFP, box 16, folder 17; Thomas Chittenden, appointment of IA as UVM financial agent, Oct. 27, 1795, photocopy in AFP, box 16, folder 17; Thomas Chittenden, letter of introduction for IA, Oct. 27, 1795, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 76-77.

58. IA contract with Hull, Dec. 5, 1795, ms. copy in Colchester Proprietors' Records, UVM, 2: 35-37; summarized in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 79-80.

59. IA to Stephen Pearl, Dec. 7, 1795, photocopy in AFP, box 16, folder 26.

CHAPTER 8

TWENTY THOUSAND MUSKETS!!!

Ira enjoyed his first ocean voyage. The Minerva made excellent time across the northern Atlantic; "Capt. Scott furnished an Excellent Table Every day with a Plenty of Wine[,] Brandy &c."; and Ira's fellow passengers proved a congenial lot.[¹] One of the Minerva's passengers was John Andrew Graham, a shrewd young Vermont attorney, militia aide-de-camp to Thomas Chittenden, and sometime Allen associate who had recently obtained a 35-year monopoly from the General Assembly on the smelting of all gold, silver, copper, and lead ore found in the state. Graham was on his way to England in search of capital for his mining company; he also hoped to persuade the Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate Graham's cousin, the Reverend Samuel Peters, as Episcopal Bishop of Vermont. Ira and Graham had decided to travel together to England, where they planned to work in concert to promote their speculative Green Mountain projects. In the months ahead Allen would learn that selecting Graham as collaborator and confidant was a bad mistake; for the moment, however, he was pleased to have a travelling companion and partner who had been to England and who shared his entrepreneurial interest in Vermont.[²]

The Minerva docked at Falmouth, England, on January 2, 1796. From the harbor Ira could see Pendennis Castle, where

Ethan had been imprisoned during the Revolution, but there was no time to visit the scene of his brother's sufferings. Instead, Allen and Graham hired a post-chaise and set out for London. Graham's ostentatious display of a purse full of gold attracted considerable attention along the way, and Ira believed that only his own watchfulness saved them from being robbed by a ring of thieves that included their driver, an elderly innkeeper, and a mysterious highwayman who followed their coach for several miles. Arriving in London on January 9, Allen spent 10 days with Graham making the rounds of the capital to meet with merchants interested in trade with Vermont and Canada, talk to prospective backers of the Vermont mining scheme, and test the value of William Hull's sight drafts on British firms. With those initial contacts established, and with a new suit of clothes to bring his outward appearance in line with the latest European fashions, Ira was ready to approach the British authorities with his plan for a Richelieu-St. Lawrence canal.^[3]

Allen was optimistic about his chances for success with William Pitt's government. Early in 1796, relations between Great Britain and the United States were on the upswing. Ratification of the Jay Treaty in 1795 eased tensions that had brought the two nations close to war in 1794. Anglo-

American trade was rising; Britons were funding American projects; and the Washington administration's dim view of revolutionary France favored closer ties between the United States and England. For Allen, English interest in frontier American lands, a speculative boom that would last into 1797, was especially propitious. He also found encouragement in the Jay Treaty's provisions for evacuation of British forts south of the Canadian border, which meant that Vermonters would finally be free of what they regarded as an illegal British military presence on Lake Champlain.^[4] For a Yankee entrepreneur with Ira's priorities, the timing was right for attempting to forge a private Anglo-American commercial alliance.^[5]

To achieve his goal, Allen had to win the support of William H. C. Bentinck, third duke of Portland and home secretary in the Pitt government. Accordingly, on January 19 Ira delivered a memorandum to Portland's office that proposed construction of a 16-mile ship canal from St. Johns to the St. Lawrence River just north of Montreal. In the memorandum, at a January 24 meeting with Portland, and in a series of letters over the next three months, Allen detailed the advantages of his plan. The Champlain Valley, teeming with settlers and rich in valuable forest and agricultural products, needed the canal to establish profitable two-way

trade with British Canada. The canal would make Lake Champlain an inland sea and Burlington a major port capable of sending 100-ton ships directly to England. British manufacturers would realize more than £300,000 annually from the goods they could sell in northwestern Vermont and northeastern New York. England could build the canal or authorize Allen to do it; in either case, Ira assured Portland, the economic benefits to England and Canada would be incalculable.[⁶]

Great Britain would secure political advantages as well, Allen promised. Once dependent upon the Canada trade, Vermonters would join the pro-British bloc in Congress; moreover, with the canal dominating Vermont's economy, the Green Mountain State would undoubtedly remain neutral in the unlikely event of another Anglo-American war. However, England must act quickly to guarantee a northward orientation for the Champlain Valley's trade. Merchants and speculators in New York City and Albany had been scheming for several years to build a southern canal connecting Lake Champlain to the Hudson River, and Philip Schuyler's Western and Northern Inland Lock Navigation Companies had actually broken ground on the first section at Whitehall in 1793. A shortage of funds had halted work on the channel, but Schuyler and such influential Vermont supporters as

Nathaniel Chipman had continued to promote the southern canal plan as the best means of stimulating the north-country economy. A well-financed Richelieu-St. Lawrence canal would preempt the Champlain-Hudson project and make Vermont and northern New York faithful servants of England's interests.[⁷]

Stripped of its rhetoric, there was not much that was new in Allen's canal idea. Ira and his brothers had sought Frederick Haldimand's support for such a project as early as 1783, and Haldimand's engineers had reported favorably on its feasibility. In 1786 Silas Deane had advised the British government that a canal would ensure English control of all Champlain Valley commerce.[⁸] When his attempts to negotiate timber contracts and trade concessions for Vermont faltered in 1789, Levi Allen had tried his luck in London with the canal proposal. Working with John Graves Simcoe and Samuel Peters, Levi had been enthusiastic about his chances. "I can get an act of parliament for cutting a canal from St. John's in the most convenient place," he wrote to Ira in June 1789, "and am pretty certain government will lend eight or ten thousand pounds to forward the business."[⁹] But nothing came of this or subsequent attempts to persuade the British to approve the canal project. For Ira to succeed in 1796, he would have to make

a more convincing argument than any other Richelieu-St. Lawrence canal promoter had yet offered.

Ira did his best. As Levi had done seven years earlier, he recruited Samuel Peters to help him find supporters for the canal idea. Peters, an ex-Connecticut loyalist and Episcopal clergyman who claimed to have bestowed the name "Verdmont" on the New Hampshire Grants during a 1763 northern missionary tour, had lived in London on a small government pension since the end of the Revolution, but he dreamed of a triumphant return to New England. He had given Levi his enthusiastic support in 1789; in the early 1790s he favored the British government with much unsolicited advice on the best means of cultivating Vermont; and now, with Ira and John A. Graham dangling a bishopric in front of him, Peters' interest in canal promotion resurfaced. To feed the good Reverend's considerable ego and strengthen his commitment to the cause, Ira offered to make him president of the University of Vermont as well.^[10] Excited by the prospect of two exalted positions, the impecunious Peters became Allen's most enthusiastic supporter in London, lending his bombastic style and flair for exaggeration to the canal-plan publicity campaign.^[11]

Ira attracted other allies as well. John A. Graham, busy with his own speculative projects, drifted in and out

of Allen's London circle. Dr. Isaac Moseley, a Glastonbury, Connecticut, loyalist who had lived in Arlington, Vermont, after the Revolution before moving to London, signed on in response to Ira's promises of property and power in Vermont. Stephen Thorn, an acquaintance as a Washington County, New York, militia officer in the early 1790s, added a strong affinity for revolutionary France to Allen's group. As he had with Peters, Ira manipulated the greed and self-interest of his new confederates to ensure their loyalty to him. During Allen's Vermont heyday this strategy had worked well when applied judiciously; now, however, as his only remaining weapon in the more desperate circumstances that had driven him to England, it frequently failed him. As Ira discovered time and again during his European travels, when it suited their purposes men like Peters and Graham would readily abandon him to serve his opponents. Allen gave no indication of recognizing the similarity between his new friends and himself; instead, leaving self-examination to others, he complained bitterly about the villainy of all his enemies, old and new alike.^[12]

Early in 1796 Ira and Peters threw themselves into promoting the canal plan. "To gain the influence of Merchants &c.," Allen publicized his idea throughout London's commercial community, using his rhetorical skills

to describe a project that had no risks, no drawbacks, and no future but total success. In peacetime, British and Canadian merchants would reap considerable profits from trading with the Champlain Valley; whenever England went to war, they could use "their agents Residing in the State of Vermont" to place their cargoes on neutral vessels and thus avoid the "Danger of Capture, High Insurance or Expence of convoy."^[13] In addition to circulating letters and memos extolling the canal plan's benefits, Ira also met with many of London's financial and political leaders in February and March of 1796. Together he and Peters stirred up some interest, but no investors came forward. London's merchants were prepared to offer moral and verbal support; the money would have to come from the government or the wealthy American backers Allen claimed to have enlisted.

The Pitt government was unenthusiastic. Aware that some Americans considered Canada ripe for the taking, the Home Office worried about a canal's wartime use if Anglo-American relations soured again. Portland and his aides recognized the canal's value to the Allens; they were less certain of its advantages for anyone else. Ira's assurances about his American investors may have been counterproductive; the government did not want a foreign-owned canal in a British colony. Since Allen's estimates of the project's

cost seemed low, crown expenses in the absence of private British investment might prove prohibitive. Finally, Ira's unsavory reputation and his uncultivated appearance also worked against him. The Home Office was not candid with Allen about these misgivings: for nearly four months Portland received his proposals and memorials without giving an answer. As Levi had in 1789, Ira was learning that Great Britain's bureaucracy moved very slowly when it chose to move at all.

By mid-May Allen's patience was exhausted. Realizing that the canal plan might fail, he moved to an alternative idea. Ethan and Ira had helped invade Canada in 1775; Vermonters had talked in the 1780s about doing it again; Levi's bitterness over his treatment by England had become so apparent by the early 1790s that rumors had him planning an expedition to pillage Quebec; and now Ira decided that removing the British from Canada was the only way to ensure his family's economic survival.^[14] The risks would be greater than anything he had attempted since the Revolution, but 15 years of playing the odds had brought him to the edge of bankruptcy. Leaving London in late May, he went to Deal, crossed the Channel to Le Havre, and set out for Paris. Perhaps the English would decide on the canal during his absence; in the meantime, he would go to France to set another scheme in motion.

On his arrival in Paris in June 1796, Ira stepped into a situation markedly different from the one he had left behind. In place of England's relative calm and stability, he found the French economy in ruins, plots and factions fermenting, and the country at war with half of Europe. The upheaval of the Revolution and the subsequent violent changes of government had left deep scars on the nation. The Directory, in place since the preceding November, was attempting to deal with France's problems without resorting to the political centralization and totalitarianism its Jacobin predecessors had employed, but the results after seven months were discouraging. Progress in some areas was offset by public perceptions of official corruption and venality, by factionalism, and by a growing realization that no government could rule effectively under the constitution of 1795.[¹⁵]

Franco-American relations in the summer of 1796 presented further complications for Ira Allen. In the early 1790s Alexander Hamilton's pro-British sympathies, Gouverneur Morris's participation in royalist plots while serving as United States minister to France, and the Washington administration's refusal to support France against England had angered the French. For their part, Federalist leaders in the United States had deplored French

ambassador Edmond Charles Genet's 1793-94 American intrigues. The efforts of Genet's successor, Pierre Auguste Adet, to prevent United States' ratification of the Jay Treaty in 1795 produced an outburst of American franco-phobia, while France regarded passage of the treaty as final proof of Federalist subservience to England. At the time of Allen's arrival in Paris, Adet was under orders from the Directory to ensure that Thomas Jefferson rather than John Adams would follow Washington as president. Americans were unpopular in Paris in 1796; to succeed in his mission Allen would have to convince the Directory that he was a staunch republican, an enemy of England, and a friend to France. [16]

As Ira soon discovered, trying to interest the Directory in overseas revolutions was a popular game in June of 1796. Irish rebel Theobald Wolfe Tone was in Paris seeking help for a United Irishmen uprising. Also on the scene, and living at the Hotel Boston where Allen found lodgings, was William Tate, an Irish-American whose insurrectionary experience included service in a South Carolina regiment during the American Revolution and participation in Genet's plot to take Louisiana from Spain. Tate also supported a French-backed invasion of Ireland; his main goal, however, was to lead an expedition directly

against England.[¹⁷] As with Tone and Tate before him, the keys to Allen's access to the top were Director Lazare-Nicolas-Marguerite Carnot and one of Carnot's principal aides, Henri-Jacques-Guillaume Clarke. A 31-year-old Frenchman of Irish descent who would become minister of war and duke of Feltre under Napoleon, as well as an enthusiastic advocate of military action against England and its colonies, Clarke introduced Allen to Carnot and served as interpreter at their meetings. Carnot--military intellectual, regicide, and the "Organizer of Victory" in France's 1793 military crisis--took a keen interest in the foreign intrigues of men like Tone, Tate and Allen. Given Carnot's power as a member of the Directory, the Clarke-Carnot connection was essential to Ira's hopes.[¹⁸]

Having opened the door to the Directory, in late June and early July Allen laid out his thoughts on an insurrection in British Canada. Over a period of two weeks he met several times with Clarke and Carnot, and the other directors received his proposals in written form. In a series of memos and letters, Ira blended revolutionary ideology, military strategy, reflections on American and European history, and answers to the directors' questions into a grandiose plan. He was both flexible and speedy; at the slightest hint of an objection to any part of the

scheme, he immediately made changes and supplied revised outlines. Getting the British out of Canada was Allen's only objective; in his eyes, the rest was mere decoration that he could adjust to suit Carnot and his colleagues. If France would give him the guns, men and money he needed, he had little concern for the finer points of the arrangement.[¹⁹]

The plan that emerged was imaginative and audacious. In the autumn of 1796 France would supply 20,000 muskets for clandestine distribution in the United States and Canada. In August 1797 a French fleet carrying 3,000 soldiers and enough arms for 4,000 more would attack Quebec. A smaller French force would subdue New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Some 300 English-speaking French army officers would disembark at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, early in 1797, make their way through New Hampshire and Vermont to Missisquoi Bay, and lead companies of American adventurers and French-Canadian rebels north when the main army appeared off Quebec. With a late-summer attack ensuring that no help could come from England before the spring of 1798, the small British garrisons in Canada would have to surrender.[²⁰]

Once the invasion had succeeded, the army of liberation would arrange a popular convention at Montreal to draw up a

constitution for a new democratic republic--United Columbia. The new nation would end feudalism, distribute the property of the Jesuits and the British crown among the poor, and reimburse France for its contributions to the rebellion. The United States would extend diplomatic recognition to United Columbia, cancel the Jay Treaty, and form a strong alliance with France. Losing Canada would throw Great Britain into turmoil, leading both the England and the Irish to rebel and create separate republics. In an interesting twist on Ira's canal-plan promises to England, United Columbia and the Champlain Valley would send agricultural products, timber and iron to France in return for manufactured goods. In short, France would gain, England would lose, and the cost to France would be inconsequential.

"Sur une experience de vingt-six annees en revolution et en affaires politiques," Allen sketched out a major role for himself in freeing Canada.^[21] In October 1795 Thomas Chittenden had commissioned him to buy arms in Europe for the Vermont militia; now that commission would serve as the perfect cover for taking 20,000 French muskets to his American and French-Canadian contacts. Once back in America, he would send information to the French ambassador at Philadelphia that would help guide the attack on the Maritimes. Putting his familiarity with Canada to good

advantage, he would set up a secret network of revolutionaries in each parish to promote popular resistance to the British. Closer to home, Ira also offered to recruit for the army of invasion and work toward Vermont's eventual secession from the United States and attachment to United Columbia. In return for £20,000 in French gold for expenses, Allen promised to put up an equal amount of his own cash and supplies for the revolution and to guarantee United Columbia's repayment of France's costs in the entire affair.

In addition to detailing the practical advantages of his plan, Ira emphasized to the Directory its correct revolutionary philosophy. France had a duty to remove the heel of British tyranny from the necks of oppressed French-Canadians. United Columbia would extend the democratic principles of the French Revolution and promote friendship between Old World and New World republics. As a visual symbol of republican unity, Allen sent the Directory a small silk model of a United Columbia flag with five horizontal stripes--dark blue, white, dark green, white, and red--representing the colors of France, the United States and Vermont. Philosophes did not require patriotic inspiration, he wrote, but such gimmicks might influence the impressionable masses.[²²]

The Directory responded favorably. England had backed a royalist invasion at Quiberon in the summer of 1795; now came a chance to respond. Hurting Great Britain, extending the revolution to northern America, and expanding trade were all worthwhile goals. Genet and Adet had reported that French-Canadians would revolt against England if properly encouraged, so there was room for optimism on that score. With captured foreign arms filling French warehouses, providing Allen with muskets and cannon would cost nothing. The notes and bills France had forced the fledgling Batavian Republic to print would serve as payment of Allen's expenses. Paul-Jean-Francois-Nicolas, vicomte de Barras, perhaps the most venal director, opposed paying a cash advance "to a stranger who offers no guarantees," but Carnot's enthusiasm for Ira's scheme proved more persuasive. By early July, the government approved French participation in the Canadian rebellion.[²³]

Allen and the Directory constructed an elaborate facade for his plan. On July 15, Ira sent Vermont newspapers an advertisement addressed "To the Militia Officers of Vermont," announcing that he would soon return with thousands of French muskets in accordance with his commission from Governor Chittenden.[²⁴] To provide cover in case England or the United States learned of the plot, the Directory

drafted contracts in both English and French to document Allen's purchase of 20,000 muskets and bayonets, 24 brass four-pound cannon, six cannon carriages, and six cannon wagons. Dated July 11, 1796, the contracts stated that the arms were for the Vermont militia and that Allen had paid one-fifth of the total price in cash, with the rest to follow at five percent annual interest over seven years. There was no mention of Canada, of course. Only the Directory's private minutes recorded that detail, the transfer of the Batavian notes to Ira, and the fact that he had not paid a sou in cash for the arms. France had provided Allen with the paperwork for a legitimate business transaction; it was up to him to maintain the illusion long enough to bring the enterprise to a successful conclusion.^[25]

Fictitious contracts in hand, Ira left Paris for Amsterdam, where he converted some of his Batavian paper into pounds sterling and bills of exchange payable in London. After a quick trip to the Hague in search of more cash for the Batavian notes, he went to London in mid-August to wrap up his affairs there.^[26] He met with the duke of Portland's secretary about the canal idea, only to hear that the Home Office did not consider him "a Man of Sufficient Property or any way Equal to Undertake So Great Business."

If Allen had any doubts about proceeding with the United Columbia plan, that haughty rejection, after being kept "a Dancing attendance 5 or 6 Months," dispelled them.[²⁷]

Using Stephen Thorn as middleman, Allen arranged in early September to charter a 164-ton American ship, Olive Branch, for a voyage from Ostend to New York.[²⁸] By the end of the month he was back in France, waiting for the Olive Branch to cross the Channel to load its unpeaceable cargo.

Getting his muskets and cannon aboard the Olive Branch and out of Ostend took far more time than Ira had expected. Problems in the French bureaucracy delayed shipment of the arms to Ostend. When the guns finally arrived, a hostile local official refused to issue a loading permit until Allen obtained additional authorization from Paris. The first mate of the Olive Branch bungled the loading, and after reloading it was found that the ship would only hold 15,000 muskets and 21 cannon. Just as Ira was ready to sail, France imposed a 30-day blockade on all harbors, forcing him to go to Paris again to get an exemption. Finally, on November 11, 1796, several weeks later than planned, the Olive Branch headed out to sea.[²⁹]

Unfortunately for Ira, the British navy was waiting for him and his gun-running vessel. By November 1796, the Home Office's network of informants had probably caught the

scent, since Samuel Peters and Allen's other London contacts had been indiscreet.[³⁰] Moreover, during one of Allen's October absences in Paris several members of the Olive Branch's eight-man crew had rowed to England in hopes of a reward for information about the ship's clandestine cargo.[³¹] Ira managed to sneak past England's Channel fleet by repainting the Olive Branch's sides as soon as she cleared port, but his luck ran out just as he reached the apparent safety of the open Atlantic. On November 20, the 74-gun warship HMS Audacious, Capt. Davidge Gould in command, stopped the Olive Branch 80 leagues west of the Scilly Islands. Unimpressed by Allen's French contracts, Governor Chittenden's commission, or Ira's citation of the Jay Treaty's article concerning neutral vessels and military cargos, Gould took the Olive Branch to Portsmouth. The plan to liberate British Canada had hit a rather large snag.[³²]

For Ira Allen, the seizure of the Olive Branch began an 18-month legal battle. Refuting the government's initial charge--that he had procured the arms for a rebellion in Ireland--was easy enough: Ira simply pointed out that the vessel had been well clear of Ireland and heading away from it when detained. When the British authorities accused him of plotting against Canada, however, Allen was in trouble. He could not rely on the absence of admissible legal

evidence of his guilt: the Admiralty courts would place the burden on his shoulders, requiring him to prove his innocence. When the Olive Branch reached Portsmouth, Ira called for an immediate decision of his case, but the courts did not oblige: the earliest trial date he could secure was mid-June 1797. In the meantime, he could only gather depositions, prepare his case, and hope that the delay would not scuttle the entire United Columbia project.[³³]

Waiting for trial, Allen discovered that he had few friends and a growing list of enemies both in England and in the United States. Rufus King, United States minister to England, was sympathetic at first, but as tales about the United Columbia plot piled up he became less receptive to Ira's frequent requests for help.[³⁴] Allen's prospects of obtaining support from his own country faded when Secretary of State Timothy Pickering began to investigate. By early April 1797, Pickering was certain that the guns were bound for Canada; moreover, he informed King, he had gathered ample evidence that Ira was not to be trusted. "A gentleman of known veracity" reported that Allen had swindled a group of New York City investors out of \$10,000 cash in one fraudulent land sale, and Pickering had heard of "many other instances of General A's dishonesty." "Infamous for his villainies," Ira was clearly not the sort of American who

deserved the assistance of the United States government.[³⁵]

Allen's personal and political ties in Vermont also hurt him with Pickering. Rumors had identified Allen associates Isaac Clark, Matthew Lyon, John A. Graham, and Stephen Pearl as participants in Genet's plans for a rebellion in British Canada. The leaders of the Associated Democratic Society of the County of Chittenden, organized at Colchester in March 1794 and suspected by Vermont's Federalists of complicity in various French plots, included Udney Hay, who acted as Ira's land agent in New York City. William Coit, another Democratic Society officer, was a land surveyor who had frequently worked for Ira during the latter's tenure as Surveyor-General, a boarder at Ira's Colchester home in the early 1790s, and Levi Allen's brother-in-law.[³⁶] There was no solid evidence implicating Allen in any illegal conspiracies prior to his departure for England, but Pickering had no doubts that he was a dangerous francophile. "You doubtless know," the Secretary told King, that while in Paris Ira "was noted for his violent zeal in the cause of the French Revolution." That was enough for Pickering: having proclaimed his friendship for France, Ira could expect little help from a Federalist government.[³⁷]

Allen did what he could from London to effect a change in the Adams administration's attitude. At Ira's request,

old friend Thomas Chittenden used his influence as governor to prod Vermont's other political powers into action on Allen's behalf. Members of the state's Congressional delegation visited the British ambassador in Philadelphia to ask for the release of the Olive Branch arms. Matthew Lyon wrote to Pickering, and Chittenden even persuaded Isaac Tichenor to do the same; however, Ira's longtime adversary put more emphasis on the public-relations problems England's seizure of the Olive Branch might cause the Federalist party than on the injustice of Allen's predicament.^[38] Chittenden's efforts had some effect in Philadelphia, as Pickering gradually softened his insistence on Ira's guilt.^[39] Unfortunately for Allen, the flow of Green Mountain support ended abruptly on August 25, 1797, with Chittenden's death. Thereafter, although Allen continued to solicit their help, Vermont's authorities did nothing for him, and the State Department resumed its hands-off attitude toward his troubles with the British government and its legal system.^[40]

Waiting for help that never came from the United States, Ira was also hurt by a defection within his London circle of opportunists. In January 1797, John A. Graham, who knew many of Allen's Olive Branch secrets, turned informant against him. Sensing that the tide had turned

against Ira, Graham went to the duke of Portland and assured him that Allen had been planning a rebellion in Canada for several years. Although the Home Office soon realized that Ira's erstwhile ally would swear to any story to curry government favor, Graham seasoned his tales of blood-thirsty Green Mountain designs on British Canada with enough truth about the United Columbia scheme to do serious harm to Allen's reputation with the authorities in London.[⁴¹] In September of 1797 Graham went public with his attack on Ira, publishing an anonymous article in the London Post that charged Allen with complicity in a string of frontier revolutionary plots stretching from Canada to Louisiana. Samuel Peters and Stephen Thorn came to Ira's defense against Graham, whom they nicknamed "Stiff Knees" for his fawning obsequiance to England's aristocracy, but their low standing with the Home Office made their efforts worthless to Allen. Instead, Graham's charges undermined Ira's remaining credibility in England and strengthened the government's determination to keep the Olive Branch's cargo away from Canada.[⁴²]

The news reaching England from Quebec in 1797 added to Allen's problems. The British authorities had been aware of the rumors linking Adet, Genet, and Ira's Vermont associates, and stories of renewed plots against Lower Canada

heightened their concern in 1795-96. By the time the Olive Branch docked at Portsmouth, officials in Canada were writing to London about Ira's involvement in Canadian intrigue. British fears of American support for a French-Canadian uprising grew rapidly in the early months of 1797, culminating in the arrest of David McLane, a Rhode Island merchant, at Quebec on May 10. Informers testified that there were Vermonters among McLane's associates in a plan to attack Quebec. Silas Hathaway, a St. Albans, Vermont, land speculator implicated in the conspiracy, tried to clear himself by claiming possession of documents linking McLane, Adet, France, and numerous Green Mountain adventurers. The evidence against McLane was shaky, but a jury convicted him, and in July the government used his reputed Scottish birth to justify having him hanged, drawn and quartered for treason.[⁴³]

Ira Allen's name came up frequently in American and Canadian discussions of McLane's supposed conspiracy. "I have been informed by undoubted authority that the arms taken with Allen were intended for McLane's expedition," one Canadian official wrote from the northern end of Lake Champlain in August 1797: "that is not barely conjecture alone, for among the papers which McLane left near this place, there is a letter . . . informing Adet that the

Directory had shipped those arms for the purpose of sending them into the Province of Lower Canada to arm the Canadians who were disaffected towards the British Government."^[44] Unable to reach Ira, the authorities in Quebec concentrated their suspicion on brother Levi instead. Levi had spent the first months of 1797 in Quebec promoting his own version of the Richelieu-St. Lawrence canal plan; and when he returned the following summer during the height of the McLane turmoil the British arrested him.^[45] Unable to explain his contact with several of McLane's alleged confederates, Levi spent two months in jail before obtaining his release in return for a promise to leave Lower Canada at once.^[46] Although Ira assured the Pitt government that he had no knowledge of his brother's actions and in fact had only seen him once since 1792, Levi's close call with McLane's awful fate was indicative of British distrust of the Allen family by the time the Olive Branch case came to trial.^[47]

The Adams administration's hostility, Graham's defection, the news from Canada--these were damaging setbacks, but the worst blow to Ira's hopes of victory in a British court came from France. In mid-December of 1796, just after the Audacious and its prize reached Portsmouth, a French expedition under General Lazare Hoche sailed against Ireland. A bad storm split the invasion fleet and cost

Hoche the honor of establishing a new Irish republic, but the Directory was not discouraged. Three months later William Tate, Allen's neighbor at the Hotel Boston in the summer of 1796, landed at Fishguard in Wales with a force of 1,400 French convicts and adventurers. The Legion Noire, as it was called, made little progress and attracted no local recruits, and Tate surrendered at the first sign of military opposition. Yet although neither invasion came close to success, the two French attacks exacerbated raised British francophobia. Among other ramifications in 1797, the reminder of the Directory's determination to injure England lengthened the odds against an American adventurer accused of carrying French guns to a rebellion in Canada.[⁴⁸]

Against such a backdrop, it was inevitable that Ira would lose in court. When the trial opened on June 13, 1797, Admiralty judge Sir James Marriott reviewed Allen's voluminous paperwork, spent 15 minutes "by the watch" insulting him and the people of Vermont, and ordered him to produce more substantive proof of his claim to the muskets.[⁴⁹] Vermont had no need of 20,000 guns, Marriott declared vehemently: "No such thing, four or five hundred would be enough for them; why, they are a young, sucking state, the people were a banditti, transported for crimes from France and England; not well settled in government."

As for Allen, the judge could see that he "was like Romulus and Remus, who sucked the wolf, full of fight and revolution; that he knew he was a military man by his step on the floor, that his name (Ira) denoted rage, revenge and madness."^[50] The British government would force Marriott into retirement at the end of 1798 after receiving numerous complaints about his incompetence, but that came too late to help Ira; for the next six months his attorneys--John Nicholl, Robert Slade, and J. H. Arnold--fought an uphill battle against the judge's open hostility. "I find the court of admiralty the most litigious I ever met with," a frustrated Allen wrote in July. "Nearly eight months have elapsed, and not the least proof has or ever will appear against the cargo I claim. But 'Pharoah wont let the people go.'"^[51]

Ira and his lawyers did what they could. Affidavits, depositions and letters from Vermont, France, and the United States attested to Allen's spotless character, the state militia's shortage of arms, and the unimpeachable terms of the purchase of the guns from the Directory. "Was there ever a case so clearly and fully proved in a Court of Admiralty since Julius Seasor landed in Great Britain?" Ira asked; but Marriott continued to deny all requests for a judgment in his favor.^[52] Unable to move the judge, Ira

tried to circumvent him by striking a separate deal with the British government or moving the case to a civil court. When all his efforts failed, Allen pushed the case to a conclusion and wore his "continental regimentals" into court on December 12, 1797, to "shew he was not frightened" of the inevitable outcome. He could not win, Nicholl told him beforehand, for "make what fence he pleased, Sir James would leap over it all." "Well, all I ask is that you make it as high as you can," Ira replied, and filed an appeal immediately after Marriott's final ruling against him.[⁵³]

Allen did not let the slow pace or the direction of his litigation discourage him. "I am Ira Allen yet," he reminded old friend Matthew Lyon in July of 1797, and he remained confident and active throughout the long legal battle.[⁵⁴] The Olive Branch case was a temporary setback; eventually he would return to share in the growth and prosperity of northwestern Vermont. The canal idea remained viable, in Ira's opinion; in fact, if Vermont's Congressmen could persuade New York to cede its northeastern counties to Vermont, England would undoubtedly allow construction to begin, which "would, in effect, make Lake Champlain a sea port." [⁵⁵] Assuring London's mercantile community that he still planned to institute a profitable two-way trade between Burlington and England, Allen looked for merchants

willing to ship goods to America for him on credit. A prosperous Champlain Valley would need a thriving college, and as time allowed Ira also searched for English donors to the University of Vermont.

In need of funds to pay his own mounting expenses, Allen dabbled in land speculation in 1797-98 as well. He claimed to have netted £6,000 from one sale in Paris in June of 1796, and now he began to offer selected Vermont lands to English investors.^[56] William Tatham, a native of England who had recently returned to London after a checkered American career that included ties to various southern backwoods speculations and conspiracies, agreed to help in return for three percent of the take.^[57] When Ira first arrived in London early in 1796, British interest in frontier lands had been quite high, but by the time Allen's funds ran low in 1797 the boom had ended. The Bank of England's suspension of specie payments burst the American land bubble, narrowing Ira's field of prospective speculators considerably. But even in a depressed market that Rufus King described as so clogged with the offerings of unscrupulous Yankee land salesmen that "all the world are upon their guard and full of Suspi[cion]," Ira and Tatham found a few buyers willing to pay high prices for Vermont tracts.^[58] Although the returns were unspectacular, they

did help with Allen's legal bills and the high cost of maintaining a respectable appearance in London's financial and social circles.[⁵⁹]

Some of Ira's land-sale proceeds went to pay printing bills. Hoping to influence his Olive Branch case, he turned to a familiar weapon to tell his side of the story. The printed word had served him well in the past; now perhaps it could do so again. Beginning with Twenty Thousand Muskets!!! Particulars of the Capture of the Ship Olive Branch, in November 1796, he published more than 1,100 pages of repetitious propaganda between November 1797 and June 1798. Mixing legal transcripts, depositions from Vermont and France, and correspondence, Ira painted a picture of himself as an innocent businessman falsely accused. He had bought the French guns in good faith, he told his readers, and his only intention was to sell them at an honest profit to the American state militias. Never one to miss an opportunity to promote two causes at once, he also provided details of his canal plan and the financial benefits its construction would bring to English and Canadian merchants. His enemies and rivals were trying to ruin him, Allen declared, but any impartial reading of the facts would surely produce a verdict in his favor.[⁶⁰]

Ira also found time to write another book while waiting for a final ruling in his case. Written quickly in the

summer of 1798 and published early in 1798, The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont, One of the United States of America concentrated on the battle for the Grants and the creation of an independent Vermont "against the intrigues and claims of New York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts." Allen included sections on Vermont geography, geology and natural history, much of which he borrowed from Samuel Williams' 1794 state history, but his emphasis was on the heroism of the Yankee faction's defiance of New York, "that colony the most detestable of any on earth." Ira's main subtext was the role his family had played in protecting freedom and democracy, and he took great care to portray himself and his brothers in the best possible light. As Ira recalled Vermont's formative decades, truth, honor and selfless dedication to liberty had motivated the family at every turn; the Haldimand affair had been a necessary, patriotic strategy to preserve a beleaguered state; and all opponents of the Arlington Junto had been greedy Yorkers, dastardly loyalists, or both. Clearly, Vermont's survival against overwhelming odds had been due in large part to the sacrifices and brave leadership of the Allen clan.[⁶¹]

Ira was certain the History would bolster his sagging reputation on both sides of the Atlantic, but his few

friends in London disagreed. "He concludes his Style is superior to that of Demostenes, or Robespierre," Stephen Thorn wrote to Samuel Peters about Allen's refusal to make changes in the manuscript of the book: "do not put him out of that Conceite, and let the history be what it will, a ---
-----." "I suppose any thing not exactly conformable to Vermont Ideas & Family Egotism will be rejected," Peters replied sympathetically: "If the general supposes he Shall gain honor by a publication, he must depart from 1,000 things in his manuscript or be damned." In the would-be bishop's opinion, Ira's stories were pointless and repetitious, his command of English grammar was uncertain at best, and the work lacked the proper documentation and quotations; more to the point, however, publishing now would be harmful to the United Columbia scheme. "I wish you to burn all I have done after you have gutted it," a discouraged Peters ordered Thorn, "for if the Genl. will print according to his own plan, I wish never to See it." [62]

Thorn and Peters were right. The History and Ira's Olive Branch books were badly written and unconvincing; more importantly, both worked against Ira's purposes because they used old-fashioned revolutionary rhetoric that was out of touch with the thinking of the present leaders of England and the United States. The Adams administration continued

to withhold its assistance; in fact, Pickering suggested to Rufus King, the best course for the United States would be to wait until Ira's appeal had failed and then buy the muskets at auction for distribution to the army and the individual state militias.^[63] Events on the southern American frontier exacerbated government concerns over backwoods instability. William Blount, a Tennessee land speculator, ex-Governor, and current U.S. Senator whose dual career as entrepreneur and politician in some respects resembled Ira's, had become involved in a conspiracy to take Florida and Louisiana from Spain, and news of the plot leaked out in the summer of 1797. After Blount's colleagues in the Senate expelled him by a 25-1 vote, rumors of an interconnected network of frontier conspirators started up again. No evidence surfaced of ties between Allen and his Tennessee counterpart, but the publicity surrounding the Blount case further hampered Ira's trans-Atlantic campaign for official support.^[64]

Allen's bad press in the United States during this period extended beyond rumors of his collaboration with Blount. John Cosens Ogden, who had criticized Ira in 1794 for his role in Vermont's confiscation of the lands of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, now came forward with additional accusations. American

conservatives were concerned about stories linking New England clergymen influenced by the French Revolution to the Illuminati, a European cult opposed to government and organized religion, and Ogden charged Allen with participation in this move towards anarchy. "General Allen and the principal agents in that seizure of the glebes, were born and educated among the Illuminati and Edwardean divines," Ogden noted, "in Litchfield County, in the state of Connecticut--that seat and centre of priestcraft and spiritual tyranny."^[65] A Federalist contributor to The Western Star, a Stockbridge, Massachusetts, weekly, put forth a less sweeping indictment that characterized the Olive Branch affair as a telling indication of Ira's character: "General Allen's leading trait is low cunning, a secret conducting of his business, and an artful endeavor to draw others into his measures by an apparent indifference as to the issue, or disposition to further the favorite wish of his neighbor."^[66] By 1797 this view of Ira was widespread, and the obvious self-promotion of his London publications did him no good in the United States.

Nor did they help Allen's cause on the other side of the Atlantic. The British authorities rejected the revolutionary rhetoric that had worked so well in Vermont in the 1770s and in France in 1796. A suggestion by William

Tatham, Ira's land agent in London, that the government recruit Ira as a secret agent to work for British interests in North America attracted little interest.^[67] The Foreign Office briefly considered Tatham's idea, but quite reasonably concluded that Allen's past performance indicated that he was too unreliable to make such a gamble advisable. With no hope of intervention by the Pitt government, Ira fought an uphill battle in his Olive Branch litigation. A small victory came in March 1798, when the appeals court ruled that he could get his guns back by posting a substantial bail; to secure a final decision in his favor, however, he would have to produce convincing proof that he had paid for the arms.^[68]

Seeing no option and certain that he could persuade the Directory to provide him with documentation that would satisfy the British, Allen decided to return to France. He arranged for the London firm of Bird, Savage & Bird to post bail on the confiscated muskets, then crossed the Channel in mid-May 1798.^[69] On his arrival, Ira found conditions in France considerably changed since the autumn of 1796. The coup of 18 Fructidor had forced Carnot, his principal ally in the government, out of office. As Minister of Foreign Affairs, Talleyrand was pressing a hard line towards the United States. Beginning in October 1797, the XYZ Affair

had badly damaged Franco-American relations. The quasi-war of French and American shipping interests threatened to turn into a full-fledged conflict. In sum, May 1798 was a bad time for an American with an unsavory reputation to travel from England to France, a fact that Ira appreciated too late to avoid disaster.[⁷⁰]

Things went badly from the start. Despite daily pleas to the Directory, it took Allen two frustrating months to get permission to travel from Gravelines to Paris.[⁷¹] When he reached the capital in early August, he made little progress with the government. Clarke, his sole remaining friend in the administration, was unable to procure the necessary documents. Attempts to use Talleyrand's interest in American frontier lands to gain access to the Directory made little headway. Talleyrand did compile a confidential report on the 1796 Olive Branch negotiations that suggested the government help Ira and consider whether the long-delayed Canadian rebellion was still feasible, but that guarded endorsement proved worthless.[⁷²] On September 1, 1798, one day after Talleyrand forwarded the report to the Ministry of Finance and on the morning of Ira's appointment to pick up the documents he needed, the Directory had Allen arrested and taken to Temple Prison.[⁷³]

Ira remained in prison for more than three months. Although the police filed no charges against him, his letters

to United States Consul General Fulwar Skipwith and the Directory demanding release had no effect.^[74] "I assure you that there are Documents of mine in possession of the minister of Police that will Show it to be my opinion that Revolutions will be further Extended to the Advantage of France," he wrote to Thomas Paine, but neither Paine nor any of the other Americans in Paris to whom he appealed could help him.^[75] Life in the Temple, which had housed the family of Louis XVI for 13 months in 1792-93, was relatively easy by the standards of most eighteenth-century European prisons, but Allen could not afford to remain in Paris under any conditions. Aware that his Champlain Valley affairs were deteriorating during his long absence and anxious to settle his troubles in England, he chafed to no avail. His luck seemed to change for the better in early December, when the minister of police suddenly set him free; three weeks later, however, on December 30, 1798, Ira was back in jail, again without explanation or charges. This time he remained there for more than nine months.^[76]

Allen's second incarceration was much more severe than the first. Instead of the Temple, he wound up in Sainte-Pelagie, one of the worst prisons in Paris. Short of funds to buy food or bedding, he became ill. Occasional handouts from Skipwith, Joel and Ruth Barlow, and other Americans

barely kept him from starving. Joel Barlow, in Paris as the agent for William Duer's Scioto Company, tried to sell some of Ira's Green Mountain properties, but the market had fallen since Allen's first visit to France, and Barlow had to report, "I do not suppose that all the lands in Vermont would raise one louis in Paris at this moment."^[77] A barrage of Allen memos to the Directory declaring his allegiance to France ("I am one of the oldest Republicans on Earth . . . [I] Challenge the Universe to Produce one Single Act of my Life Counter to a firm Geneuin Tryed and approved Republican or against the Republic of France") elicited neither response nor relief from a government on the verge of collapse.^[78] Most of his letters and memoranda to friends and family in Vermont went unanswered. At times, the weight of his troubles was too much even for Ira's considerable optimism. "If Life is not a Burthen," he wrote gloomily in March 1799, "it is not worth Enjoying in Existing Circumstances."^[79]

Developments in his Olive Branch litigation did little to raise Allen's spirits. Bird, Savage & Bird had sent the guns to New York in late September 1798, but the Lords of Appeal refused to rule in Ira's favor until he sent additional proof of a legitimate purchase from the Directory. The documents Allen was able to collect from

prison and forward to London did not help, and his attorneys struggled to arrange continuances of the case. Throughout his incarceration Ira's contact with England was sporadic, since the French Minister of Police confiscated many of the letters he sent across the Channel. The letters he received from London told of lawsuits filed by angry British creditors, detailed additional treachery by John A. Graham, and predicted disaster in the Olive Branch trial. "Your absence for almost a year and your silence for five months have been very distressing to your friends and detrimental to your interest respecting your arms," one lugubrious Samuel Peters epistle informed him in April 1799: "reports say you have been dead for some months." [80]

The news from home deepened Allen's despair during his stay in Sainte-Pelagie. Although he had known that Thomas Chittenden, his longtime friend and most powerful Vermont ally, had died in August 1797, it distressed him to learn that Isaac Tichenor was now governor. Jerusha and young nephew Heman had tried to maintain control of Ira's mills, lands and various business interests, but their efforts were only partially successful. Rival speculators had nibbled away at the edges of the Allen empire; the Batavian notes Ira had sent home were unsalable; unpaid taxes threatened the family's hold on tens of thousands of acres; and

numerous creditors were going to court to collect on old Allen debts. Worst of all, several of Ira's nieces and nephews were suing him for their shares of his deceased brothers' Onion River Land Company holdings. Although the details varied in the few letters that reached Allen from Vermont, the message was always the same: return home immediately or risk losing everything. "Hell is to pay in every quarter," brother Levi wrote succinctly: "If you don't come Soon, You had better not return."^[81]

Unable to win his freedom, Ira languished in prison through the spring and summer of 1799. To fill some of the long hours, he resumed work on his autobiography, a project he had begun during his first trip to Paris three years earlier. Recalling the adventures and excitement of his youth brought some relief, but the rigors of prison gradually undermined Allen's physical and mental health. The prison authorities ignored his frequent complaints about his fellow prisoners and conditions in his crowded cell. He suffered from night sweats, fever and numbness in his legs and longed for a return to the relative comfort of the Temple. When the generosity of his American benefactors diminished, Ira went without medical attention and lived on one meal of "Soupe, Bulley Bread & Veal" per day.^[82] By the time of his release on September 14, 1799, he had almost given up hope of ever seeing Vermont again.

Freedom was a welcome surprise, but when it came, Ira was too sick and dispirited to do more than hole up in the Hotel Boston to nurse himself back to health. Two months after his release, however, events in France turned his way and improved his outlook. The dissolution of the Directory on November 9, 1799, followed by Bonaparte's establishment of a three-man ruling COUNSULATE, gave Allen a new government with which to deal. Taking advantage of Clarke's status as one of Bonaparte's favorites, Ira renewed his contact with Talleyrand, Napoleon's minister of foreign affairs. By the end of December 1799, he was submitting revisions of the 1796 United Columbia plan to Talleyrand for the Consulate's consideration. Like some Green Mountain phoenix, Allen's vision of a democratic republic north of the Champlain Valley had risen from the ashes.

The "Proposed Plan to Revolutionize British America" that Ira presented to Talleyrand mixed old and new ideas on the Canadian rebellion theme. Once the United States and France had settled their differences, Allen asserted, it would be easy to move ahead with the United Columbia scheme. France would send 4,000 French troops to land at Quebec on September 1, 1800, with 20,000 muskets for Canadian recruits. The army would march to the Plains of Abraham, make scaling ladders from a raft of specially-cut Champlain

Valley lumber Ira would place at Wolfe's Cove, and mount a nighttime attack on the citadel. Montreal, Chambly, and the other small British outposts would fall soon after Quebec, and the invasion fleet could then sail to New Brunswick and the Maritimes to proclaim the revolution. The United States would recognize United Columbia; the new nation would sell "New land and other property of the Republic" to pay off France; and England would lose its North American trade.[⁸³]

Despite this enticing picture, Napoleon's government showed little interest. When the Consulate also refused to send Ira to the United States to rouse support for conquering Canada without French help, he retreated to the pretext on which he had originally returned to France in May 1798.[⁸⁴] Aware that his Olive Branch case remained unresolved, he spent several months creating additional false documents to send to the British courts. The French bureaucracy's response to Allen's requests for assistance was frustratingly slow, but eventually he secured the papers he needed. Alarmed by a letter from Jerusha that warned, "I can only say what I have often told you would be the situation of your family if you should not live or be here to take care of your property, and settle your estate, will soon be proved true," Ira wrote home to urge his family to protect his interests until he could return. Any relatives

who failed to help, he added, "will be forever disowned by me in s'd relation or as friends of mine; nay if my own sons were old enough I would disinherit them if they did not immediately carry these matters into effect."^[85]

By the summer of 1800, Ira was ready to return home. He sent Ruth Barlow a chimney clock "In Greatfull Remembrance of your Kind attention to me in Prison," hosted a dinner at Gravelines for his friends there, and asked the Consulate for a passport to leave France. When a last round of bureaucratic red tape delayed his departure, he used the free time to write articles for the Paris newspapers on ways to improve relations between France and the United States.^[86] Still troubled by the lingering effects of his Sainte-Pelagie ordeal, Allen arranged passage from Bordeaux aboard the Neptune and had a small private cabin built near the middle of the ship to protect his health during the ocean voyage. Finally, on November 23, 1800, he sailed from Bordeaux, bound for Philadelphia. Five years after it began, the grand European adventure Ira had expected to take seven or eight months and to restore him to his former power and glory in the Champlain Valley was coming to a close.^[87]

NOTES

1. IA ms. journal, Dec. 11, 1795-Aug. 19, 1796, AFP, box 16, folder 28. Allen's 42-page journal, which provides sketchy details of his experiences in England, is published in The Vermonter, 10, 7 (February 1905): 207-12 and 10, 8 (March 1905): 239-43; the first 10 pages are also published in James B. Wilbur, Ira Allen: Founder of Vermont 1751-1814 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), 2: 83-86.
2. On Graham, see: Noel Perrin, "'So Good Bye, You Jackall': An Annotated Copy of John Andrew Graham's Descriptive Sketch of the Present State of Vermont (1797)," Vermont History, 43, 2 (Spring 1975): 95-102; idem, "Introduction," in Graham, A Descriptive Sketch of the Present State of Vermont (1797; reprint ed., Bennington, Vt.: Vermont Heritage Press, 1987), pp. vii-xxv.
3. IA journal, in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 85-86. In April 1796, Daniel Parker of London, who had earlier paid L500 of Hull's note to Allen, refused to honor the remaining L1,000; IA, Narrative of the Transactions Relative to the Capture of the American Ship, Olive Branch ([Philadelphia, 1804?]), pp. 322-23..
4. On Vermont resentment of the British presence on Lake Champlain after 1783, see: Thomas Chittenden to Stephen R. Bradley, Feb. 18, 1794, Cat. Ms. File, UVM; Chittenden to Edmund Randolph, July 1794, in SPOV, 17: 809-11.
5. Bradford Perkins, The First Rapprochement: England and the United States, 1795-1805 (1955; reprint ed., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967); Jerald A. Combs, The Jay Treaty: Political Battleground of the Founding Fathers (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970); Charles R. Ritcheson, Aftermath of Revolution: British Policy Toward the United States, 1783-1795 (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1969); John B. Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle: The Interplay of Canada, the United States, and Great Britain (1945; reprint ed., Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966), chaps. 4-5; J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Britain and the American Frontier, 1783-1815 (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1975).
6. IA journal, in The Vermonter, 212, 239-42. Loose copies of several of Allen's 1796 memorials and letters to the duke of Portland are in AFP, box 16, and in the J. F. W. Des Barres Papers, NAC, MG 23, F1, ser. 5, 13: 2532-45.

7. On the southern canal plan of the 1790s, see: (Bennington) Vermont Gazette, Sept. 6, 1790; G & C, 4: 446-53; Daniel Chipman, The Life of Hon. Nathaniel Chipman (Boston: Little and Brown, 1846), p. 103; John Lincklaen, Travels in the Years 1791 and 1792 in Pennsylvania, New York and Vermont (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1897), pp. 86-87; John E. O'Hara, "Erie's Junior Partner: The Economic and Social Effect of the Champlain Canal Upon the Champlain Valley" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1951), chaps. 1-2. The Champlain Canal opened in 1823.

8. IA, The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 137-39: Henry Hamilton to Lord Sydney, April 7, 1785, on Allen and the canal, see NAC, Q, 24, pt. 2, p. 282; items concerning Deane and the canal idea may be found in NAC, Q, 28: 160, and Q, 43, pt. 3, p. 681.

9. Levi Allen to IA, June 25, 1789, quoted in Abby M. Hemenway, ed., The Vermont Historical Gazetteer (v.p., 1867-91), 1: 572; IA to Levi, Jan. 4, 1790, photocopy in AFP, box 12, folder 3; Benny F. Cockerham, "Levi Allen (1746-1801): Opportunism and the Problem of Allegiance" (M.A. thesis, University of Vermont, 1965), pp. 143, 161-62; Charles F. O'Brien, "The Champlain Waterway, 1783-1897," NEQ, 61, 2 (June 1988): 163-82.

10. Peters to John Vaire, Sept. 14, 1796, and Vaire to IA, Sept. 15, 1796, both in Julian I. Lindsay, Tradition Looks Forward: The University of Vermont: A History 1791-1904 (Burlington, Vt.: University of Vermont, 1954), pp. 39-34; both Peters and Vaire expected to be president of UVM. Allen later offered the presidency to Joel Barlow as well; IA to Barlow, Jan. 10, 1799, photocopy in AFP, box 19, folder 72; IA to Fulwar Skipwith, Feb. 20, 1799, photocopy in AFP, box 19, folder 99.

11. Samuel Peters, A History of the Rev. Hugh Peters, A.M. (New York: Printed for the Author, 1807), p. 94; Chilton Williamson, ed., "A Document Illustrative of the 'Swiss' Policy of Vermont," VHS Proceedings, 11, 1 (March 1943): 25-33; "Evan Paul" [Samuel Peters], memo on Vermont, March 18, 1794, photocopy in VHS, MS D 974.3 P442; J. F. W. DesBarres and Peters, report on Vermont, July 1794, in DesBarres Papers, NAC, MG 23, F1, ser. 5, vol. 13; Kenneth W. Cameron, The Papers of Loyalist Samuel Peters (Hartford, Ct.: Transcendental Books, 1978), pp. 107, 117, 121.

12. Williamson, ed., "A Document," p. 29, fn. 6; photocopies of Thorn correspondence, AFP, box 17.

13. IA memo to merchants of London, Feb. 5, 1796, photocopy in AFP, box 16, folder 40; IA memo to T. Bowerbank, March 12, 1796, in IA journal, The Vermonter, 241-42; IA to Bowerbank, March 14, 1796, photocopy in AFP, box 16, folder 49; Peters to Phynn & Co., Feb. 8, 1796, photocopy in AFP, box 16, folder 42.
14. A. Pritchard to Levi Allen, Feb. 12, 1793, on "the Reports of the Incorridgement that is Said you are Guilty of in Giving out to the troops that they Can Easly take Quebec and make thair Escape to the Stats and they wood be Protected," AFP, box 14, folder 35.
15. Martyn Lyons, France Under the Directory (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975); Denis Woronoff, The Thermidorean Regime and the Directory 1794-1799, trans. Julian Jackson (London: Cambridge University Press, 1984); D. M. G. Sutherland, France 1789-1815: Revolution and Counterrevolution (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); M. J. Sydenham, The First French Republic: 1792-1804 (London: University of California Press, 1973).
16. Alexander DeConde, The Quasi-War: The Politics and Diplomacy of the Undeclared War with France 1797-1801 (New York: Scribner, 1966); Albert H. Bowman, The Struggle for Neutrality: Franco-American Diplomacy During the Federalist Era (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1974); Harry Ammon, The Genet Mission (New York: Norton, 1973); E. Wilson Lyon, "The Directory and the United States," American Historical Review, 43, 3 (April 1938): 514-32.
17. Theobald Wolfe Tone, The Autobiography of Theobald Wolfe Tone, ed. R. Barry O'Brien (London: T. F. Unwin, 1893), 1: 224-321 and 2: 1-177; Edwin H. S. Jones, The Last Invasion of Britain (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1950), pp. 46-61.
18. For background on Carnot, see: S. J. Watson, Carnot (London: The Bodley Head, 1954); Marcel Reinhard, Le Grand Carnot (Paris: Hachette, 1950-52); and Huntley Dupre, Lazare Carnot: Republican Patriot (Oxford, Oh.: Mississippi Valley Press, 1940). None of these mentions Ira Allen or the plan for a rebellion in Canada.
19. IA's 1796 ms. plans for the Canadian rebellion are in the Archives de France, Paris, series AF III, 186b, dossiers 859 and 860; photocopies of all of these mss. are in AFP, box 30 (hereafter AF/AFP). For an overview, see J. Kevin Graffagnino, "'Twenty Thousand Muskets!!!': Ira Allen and the Olive Branch Affair, 1796-1800," WMQ, 3d ser., 48, 3 (July 1991): 409-31. Charles A. Converse, "The Olive

Branch," The Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Vermont 1918 (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Printing Co., 1918), pp. 31-54, is of some historiographical interest.

20. Ibid.; Jeanne A. Ojala, "Ira Allen and the French Directory, 1796: Plans for the Creation of the Republic of United Columbia," WMQ, 3d ser., 36, 3 (July 1979): 436-48, provides an English translation of the most detailed of Allen's 1796 proposals.

21. French-language draft of Allen's 24-page proposal, AF/AFP; translated into English in Ojala, "Ira Allen," pp. 442-48. At the end of this document, Allen asks the Directory to make a cash payment to him if France decides not to back the Canadian project, as a token of esteem for his long career as a friend to liberty.

22. "Ceci peut paraitre inutile a un philosophe mais doit avoir beaucoup d'influence sur la multitude"; the flag and a French-language draft of Allen's accompanying note are in AF/AFP.

23. In his memoirs, written in the 1820s, Barras recalled the debate over Allen's plan as a minor example of the Directory's day-to-day deliberations:

27th Messidor, Year IV.--An Anglo-American, by name Halem, proposes to the French Government to withdraw Canada from English domination. Carnot considers this a sound and advantageous idea. The authors of plans rarely give their services gratuitously; the present one asks, for the preliminaries, an advance of 250,000 francs in coin. The Minister of Finance asks us to empower him to hand over the sum. I consider that this would be risking too considerable an amount, when intrusting it to a stranger who offers no guarantees. The next day Halem receives 200,000 francs in letters of credit on Holland. The Minister hands them to General Clark[e] in the ambassador's reception-room. Events have proved that the Directorate was on this occasion the dupe of a shameless swindle.

Barras, Memoirs of Barras, ed. George Duruy, trans. C. E. Roche, 4 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1895-96), 2: 188-89.

24. Allen advertisement, Rutland Herald, Nov. 7, 14, 1796; Burlington Mercury, Nov. 25, Dec. 1, 1796; Bennington Gazette, Nov. 18, 25, 1796.

25. AF/AFP; mss. of the July 11, 1796, contracts in English are in AFP, box 16, folders 75, 75-A.
26. [IA], Narrative, pp. 323, 335-36; IA to Sylvanus Bourne, July 20, July 24, 1796, AFP, box 16, folders 76, 78.
27. IA journal, Aug. 19, 1796, The Vermonter, p. 243.
28. Olive Branch contract, Sept. 8, 1796, photocopy in AFP, box 17, folder 1, pub. in [IA], Narrative, pp. 16-17.
29. IA's Sept.-Oct. 1796 letters to the Directory, AF/AFP.
30. See, e.g., Samuel Peters to IA, Sept. 17, 1796, discussing Burlington as "the Capital of united Columbia, independent of all Europe & in Strict alliance with the united States of America," photocopy in AFP, box 17, folder 4. On England's internal and external espionage concerning France in the 1790s, see: Ronald R. Nelson, The Home Office, 1782-1801 (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1969), chaps. 5, 10; Alfred Cobban, "British Secret Service in France, 1784-1792," English Historical Review, 69, 271 (April 1954): 226-61; Jacques Godechot, "Le Directoire vu de Londres," Annales historiques de la Revolution francaise, 21 (1949): 311-36; Roger Wells, Insurrection: The British Experience, 1795-1803 (Gloucester, Eng.: Alan Sutton, 1983), chap. 2; Maurice Hutt, "Spies in France, 1793-1808," History Today, 12, 3 (March 1962): 158-67; C. Emsley, "The Home Office and Its Sources of Information and Investigation," English Historical Review, 94, 372 (July 1979): 532-61; and Harvey Mitchell, The Underground War Against Revolutionary France: The Missions of William Wickham, 1794-1800 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965).
31. IA, Extracts from the First Volume of the Particulars of the Capture of the Ship Olive Branch (Burlington, Vt.: John K. Baker, 1802), p. 142; Talleyrand report on Olive Branch affair, Aug. 30, 1798, AF/AFP, trans. and pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 191-99.
32. IA to Capt. Gould, Nov. 21, 1796, asking that the Audacious escort the Olive Branch to New York, photocopy in AFP, box 17, folder 13, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 102-03.
33. IA, A Continuation of the Cause, Respecting the Cargo of the Ship Olive Branch (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 2: 161-74.
34. Photocopies of IA's 1796-97 letters to King are in AFP, box 17.

35. Pickering to King, April 6, 1797, photocopy in AFP, box 17, folder 61, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 119.
36. Eugene P. Link, Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790-1800 (1942; rpt. ed., New York: Octagon Books, 1965), pp. 142-44; Philip S. Foner, ed., The Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790-1800: A Documentary Sourcebook of Constitutions, Declarations, Addresses, Resolutions, and Toasts (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1976), ch. 7; Judah Adelson, "The Vermont Press and the French Revolution" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1961); Abby M. Hemenway, ed., The Vermont Historical Gazetteer (various places, 1867-91), 1: 496, 509-10, 590, 942-43. Coit also pledged £200, the third-largest amount after Ira Allen and Thomas Chittenden, towards the establishment of the University of Vermont at Burlington; IA pledge list, Sept. 12, 1789, AFP, box 11, folder 109.
37. Pickering to King, April 6, 1797, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 119.
38. Tichenor to Pickering, April 21, 1797, pub. in IA, Narrative, pp. 359-60; Chittenden to Elijah Paine, Isaac Tichenor, and Matthew Lyon, April 29, 1797, pub. in IA, Gen. Allen's Statement, Respecting a Large Cargo of Cannon and Arms Purchased in France, for the Use of the Militia in Vermont ([1804]), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 186-87; Lyon to Pickering, May 24, 1797, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 123-25.
39. Pickering to Rufus King, June 16, 1797, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 125-26.
40. IA to Elijah Paine et al., Sept. 30 and Oct. 3, 1797, both pub. in IA, Particulars of the Capture of the Ship Olive Branch, Laden with a Cargo of Arms, &c. (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 2: 201-02, 295-97.
41. Duke of Portland to Robert Prescott, Jan. 20, 1797, in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 109-11.
42. [Graham] newspaper article and [Peters] rebuttal, both in ibid., 2: 152-54; photostat of ms. draft of [Peters] rebuttal, AFP, box 18, folder 19; several Stephen Thorn letters criticizing Graham, 1797, in Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 3, folders 4-6.
43. [Jonathan Sewall] to Robert Prescott, Dec. 19, 1796, enclosed in Prescott to duke of Portland, in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 111; John Gove to Nathan Coffin, Aug. 4, 1797, and Silas Hathaway to [?], Sept. 26, 1797, both in Silas Hathaway Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 1, folder 3;

Isaac Tichenor to Isaac Ogden, Nov. 9, [1798], Isaac Tichenor Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 3, folder 1; Frank M. Greenwood, "The Development of a Garrison Mentality Among the English in Lower Canada 1793-1811" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1970), chap. 2; J. Mackay Hitsman, Safeguarding Canada, 1763-1871 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), chap. 4.

44. T.[John?] Pennoyer to Thomas Dunn, Aug. 25, 1797, in William R. Manning, ed., Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Canadian Relations 1784-1860, vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1940), pp. 498-99; Robert Prescott to duke of Portland, Sept. 6, 1797, in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 147-48. "I am affraid that Brother Ira will fall a sacraf[ice]," Joseph Fay, a participant in the Haldimand negotiations wrote to his nephew John Fay, July 30, 1797, "should unfavourable evidence appear against him in Canada respecting the design of his arms, the old Canada negociation will appear hard against him, I was always sorry that business was published in the History of Vermont"; John Fay Papers, UVM.

45. Levi Allen letters and proposals on canal plan, Jan.-Feb. 1797, AFP, box 17, folders 42, 45, 49; mss. on Levi's imprisonment, June-July 1797, AFP, box 17, folders 98, 99, 101, 102; Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 144-45, 149; Cockerham, "Levi Allen," chap. 10.

46. While in prison, which he called "the Castle of St. Limbo," Levi wrote another of his satirical poems about Ira:

What a cleaver fellow that great I[ra]! has grown
 he makes fiew mistakes, and them never own
 Not his fault at all, but natures mistake
 for placing both eyes in front of his Pate
 If one had been Stationed in the poles rear
 there to observe the course great I[ra] should steer
 And while the front observed the world at Large
 the rear might inspect great I[ra]'s private charge

AFP, box 28, folder 43.

47. IA to John G. Simcoe, Oct. 16, 1797, in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 146-47.

48. Jones, Last Invasion. In the spring of 1798 France backed a final, unsuccessful attack on Ireland. Wolfe Tone participated in the invasion and committed suicide after being captured by the British.

49. IA, Narrative, p. 59.
50. IA, Narrative, p. 59, 260; IA, Continuation (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 2: 201-02.
51. IA to [?], July 1, 1797, pub. in Rutland Herald, Oct. 30, 1797, and in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 131. On the many complaints about Marriott as a judge in maritime seizure cases, see: Perkins, First Rapprochement, p. 86, and Ernst, Rufus King, pp. 243-44.
52. IA to Slade, Arnold, and Nicholl, July 13, 1797, photocopy in AFP, box 17, folder 106, printed in IA, Particulars (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 2: 151-53; IA to Elijah Paine et al., Dec. 19, 1797, criticizing Marriott, "whose age, infirmities, &c. make him a fit subject to be laid on the shelf," idem, 2: 203.
53. Charles C. Binney, The Life of Horace Binney, with Selections from his Letters (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1903), pp. 157-58; the quote is from Horace Binney's journal entry about his April 20, 1837, dinner with Nicholl and Nicholl's recollections of the Olive Branch case.
54. IA to Lyon, July 22, 1797, AFP, box 17, folder 112, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 138-39.
55. Quote from IA to Elijah Paine et al., Nov. 4, 1797, in IA, Continuation (1798), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 2: 297-99; IA to John G. Simcoe, Aug. 29 and Oct. 16, 1797, both pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 143-44, 146-47.
56. [IA], Narrative, p. 323, noting the June 1796 sale of unspecified Vermont lands to Peter Capa of Paris.
57. IA agreement with Tatham, Sept. 16, 1797, photocopy in AFP, box 18, folder 17; on Tatham's career, see G. Melvin Herndon, William Tatham and the Culture of Tobacco (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1969), pp. 346-98.
58. King to John Laurance, Feb. 26, 1798, in Perkins, First Rapprochement, p. 11. Books published during this period to promote American land sales in England include: Jacques-Pierre Brissot de Warville, New Travels in the United States of America (London: Printed for J. S. Jordan, 1792); Tench Coxe, A View of the United States (Philadelphia: Wm. Hall and Wrigley & Berriman, 1794), with London and Dublin editions in 1795; John Dewhurst, Observations on the Present Situation of American Landed Property (London: John Dewhurst, 1794); Robert G. Harper, Observations on the North-American Land-Company (London: H. L. Galabin, 1796);

Gilbert Imlay, A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America (1792; 3rd ed., London: Printed for J. Debrett, 1797).

59. IA receipts to Robert Slade, for payment on March 1, 1797, land sale, photocopies in AFP, box 18, folders 38, 46; IA deed to Samuel Bayard, March 3, 1798, AFP, box 18, folder 39; various IA bills for London expenses, 1797-98, photocopies in AFP, boxes 17, 18; Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 154, 160, notes that Allen was jailed briefly in June and September 1797 for nonpayment of two London debts.

60. See Appendix A for bibliographic details of IA's Olive Branch publications, eight of which are reprinted in EA/IA: CW vols. 2-3. The lengthy court transcripts included in Allen's Olive Branch works are valuable sources on his 1797-98 litigation, as no manuscripts pertaining to the case have come to light in British archives.

61. (1798; reprint ed., Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1969); quotes from pp. 9-10, 53. IA to Stephen Thorn, May 24, June 14, June 20, and July 24, 1797, and Thorn to IA, May 24, 1797, photocopies in AFP, box 17, folders 82, 83, 92, 95, 113. H. N. Muller, III, "Ira Allen's Vermont," in Lawrence H. Leder, ed., The Colonial Legacy, vol. 4 of Early Nationalist Historians (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), pp. 213-40.

62. Quotes from Thorn to Peters, June 8, 1797, photocopy in AFP, box 17, folder 89, and Peters to Thorn, June 9, 1798, photocopy in AFP, box 17, folder 90, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 129-30; see also, Peters to Thorn, June 1, 1797, photocopy in AFP, box 17, folder 84.

63. Pickering to King, April 2, 1798, pub. in Manning, ed., Diplomatic Correspondence, 1: 138.

64. William H. Masterson, William Blount (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1954); (Boston) Columbian Centinel, Aug. 9, 1797, declaring that the Olive Branch had been bound for New Orleans, in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 140-41; [John A. Graham], London Post article, Sept. 19, 1797, linking the Allen and Blount conspiracies, in idem, 2: 152.

65. [Ogden], A View of the New England Illuminati: Who are Indefatigably Engaged in Destroying the Religion and Government of the United States (Philadelphia: James Carey, 1799), p. 13; idem, A Short History of Late Ecclesiastical Oppressions in New-England and Vermont (Richmond, Va.: Printed by James Lyon, 1799), pp. 8-10, 13; Alan V. Brice-land, "John C. Ogden: Messenger and Propagandist for

Matthew Lyon, 1798-1799," VH, 43, 2 (Spring 1975): 103-21; Vernon Stauffer, New England and the Bavarian Illuminati (1918; rpt. ed., New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), pp. 348-54.

66. "The Vermont 'Land-Jobber,'" (Stockbridge, Ma.) The Western Star, Nov. 27, 1797, repub. in Henry B. Dawson's The Historical Magazine, 2d ser., 7, 1 (January 1870): 54-55.

67. Tatham to John King, April 19, 1798, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 169-70.

68. [IA], Narrative, pp. 159-254.

69. Partial ms. of IA agreement with Bird, Savage & Bird, [May 1798], photocopy in AFP, box 18, folder 63; IA, Narrative, p. 255.

70. Bowman, Struggle for Neutrality; William Stinchcombe, The XYZ Affair (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1980); DeConde, Quasi-War; Peter P. Hill, William Vans Murray, Federalist Diplomat: The Shaping of Peace with France, 1797-1801 (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1971).

71. IA mss., May-July 1798, photocopies in AFP, box 18; on IA at Gravelines, see [IA], Narrative, pp. 264-68.

72. Talleyrand, Aug. 30, 1798, report on the Olive Branch affair. Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 199-202, insists that this report is a deliberate lie, intended to discredit his hero with the French government. On Talleyrand's interest in American land speculation, see Hans Huth and William J. Pugh, translators & eds., Talleyrand in America as a Financial Promoter 1794-96, vol. 2 of American Historical Association Annual Report (1941).

73. [IA], Narrative, pp. 269-70; IA to Fulwar Skipwith and to the Minister of Police, Sept. 1, 1798, photocopies in AFP, box 19, folders 1, 3.

74. IA's 1798 letters from prison, photocopies in AFP, box 19; some are pub. in [IA], Narrative.

75. IA to Paine, Oct. 9, 1798, photocopy in AFP, box 19, folder 17.

76. IA to Jerusha Allen, Oct. 25, 1798, describing Temple Prison, photocopy in AFP, box 19, folder 28; [IA], Narrative, pp. 281-82, 291-92; IA to [?] Duval, Dec. 30,

1798, photocopy in AFP, box 19, folder 65.

77. Barlow to IA, July 6, 1799, photocopy in AFP, box 20, folder 56; IA prison mss., Dec. 1798-Sept. 1799, AFP, boxes 19, 20.

78. IA to Minister of Police, March 16, 1799, photocopy in AFP, box 19, folder 107, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 237.

79. IA to Fulwar Skipwith, March 2, 1799, photocopy in AFP, box 19, folder 103, pub. in *ibid.*, 2: 236

80. Peters to IA, April 24, 1799, photocopy in AFP, box 20, folder 17, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 253-54; Peters to IA, March 22, 1799, photocopy in AFP, box 19, folder 115; Isaac Moseley to IA, Sept. 28 and Dec. 10, 1798, photocopies in AFP, box 19, folders 13, 60; [IA], Narrative, pp. 305-07, 312-14; Wilbur, Ira Allen, ch. 27, prints much of Allen's 1798-99 prison correspondence.

81. Levi Allen to IA, no date, photocopy in AFP, box 18, folder 31; other letters from Vermont associates and family to IA 1797-99, mss. and photocopies in AFP, boxes 18, 19, 20.

82. IA to Sainte-Pelagie concierge, May 3, 1799, photocopy in AFP, box 20, folder 27; IA prison mss., March-September 1799, origs. and photocopies in AFP, boxes 19, 20, and Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 9, folders 6-9. The surviving portion of Allen's autobiography is printed in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: 1-59.

83. The mss. of Allen's 1799-1800 United Columbia plans are in the Archives, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Paris, vol. 51; photocopies (hereafter AMFA/AFP) are in AFP, box 30. Thomas S. Webster, "Ira Allen in Paris, 1800, Planning a Canadian Revolution," Canadian Historical Association, Annual Meeting Report (1963), pp. 74-80, and "Napoleon and Canada" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1962), describe some of these documents. Wilbur and Ojala were apparently unaware of these 1800 Allen plans; for his part, Webster seems not to have known of the 1796 United Columbia manuscripts that Ojala examined. Jean P. Wallot, Intrigues Francaises et Americaines au Canada 1800-1802 (Montreal: Editions Lemeac, 1965), is useful for background and a Canadian perspective.

84. IA, "Observations Confidentieles," AMFA/AFP.

85. Jerusha to IA, Nov. 11, 1799, photocopy in AFP, box 20, folder 108, pub. under date of Sept. 11 in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 279; IA to family, April 19, 1800, photocopy in AFP, box 21, folder 43, pub. in idem, 2: 287; originals and photocopies of Allen 1800 mss. on obtaining Olive Branch documents, AFP, box 21.

86. IA to Ruth Barlow, June 16, 1800, photocopy in AFP, box 21, folder 66; [IA], Narrative, pp. 298-304; IA, "Diplomacy," Aug. 6, 1800, photocopy of ms. in AFP, box 21, folder 84, with a translation of a similar piece in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 517-19.

87. Henry Dandelot, receipt to IA, \$56 for trans-Atlantic fare, Nov. 22, 1800, photocopy in AFP, box 21, folder 127; IA to F. Swediaur, March 9, 1801, photocopy in AFP, box 22, folder 30.

CHAPTER 9

EXILE AND ECLIPSE

The Neptune anchored off Philadelphia on January 2, 1801, after a "Pleasant Passage" of 39 days. Despite the precautions he had taken in having a private cabin built on the ship, Ira's "old fashioned Paris sweatts" recurred during the voyage, and he returned to the United States in fragile health.[¹] When the weather turned colder in Philadelphia soon after his arrival, Allen went to Washington in search of warmer temperatures and government support for his Olive Branch claims. The initial results were promising on both fronts: his health improved in the mild climate along the Potomac; and Thomas Jefferson's inauguration as president gave Ira hope that the hostility he had encountered from Timothy Pickering and the Adams administration was a thing of the Federalist past. For the first time in several years, Ira was optimistic. "My Proceedings will be Solemn, Steady & Persevering," he wrote to Jerusha soon after reaching the nation's capital, "which will do me Honour & Justice." [²]

Ira worked hard in Washington. He contacted old friend Joseph Fay, now a resident of New York City, to determine the condition of the Olive Branch muskets that Bird, Savage & Bird had shipped from Portsmouth in 1798, and also used Fay as a middleman to avoid interception of his letters to

and from Vermont.[³] Desperate for news from Vermont, Ira arranged to bring nephew Heman, who had grown into a young man of considerable ability, to Washington to fill him in on the situation back home. Unsuccessful efforts to sell the Dutch notes still on hand from the 1796 negotiations with the Directory took a good deal of Ira's time. He visited officials in the Jefferson administration to ask for help in demanding payment from England for his Olive Branch losses and even managed to arrange a personal interview with the new president. Casting about for a buyer for the muskets, Allen decided that white southern anxiety following Gabriel Prosser's abortive rebellion outside Richmond in 1800 might make the Virginia state militia interested in his wares. He wrote to Virginia governor James Monroe in February, then followed up in March with a trip to Richmond, where he persuaded Monroe to send an agent to New York to inspect the guns.[⁴]

Unable to raise cash by selling the Batavian Republic notes, Ira turned back to land speculation as a source of funds. During his extended stay in Paris he had met a number of Yankee land salesmen and French investors interested in American lands; now he wrote to them to offer his services as transAtlantic agent. He was the right man for the job, he assured his prospective new partners, since

his timely advice to Thomas Jefferson had been the key to the Senate's recent ratification of the treaty with France, which before Ira's arrival had "not a father to protect it." The time was right for large-scale investment in frontier lands, and if they acted quickly, success and profits would surely follow. The French speculators need only send the money; Ira would do the rest. "If you will do your Part," he promised, "I will attend to it in the United States when Necessary." That should be sufficient guarantee for any man; after all, Allen reminded his associates, "I have Long been a fourtunate Speculator in Lands." [5]

But by 1801, "a fourtunate Speculator in Lands" was not a description many observers would have applied to Ira Allen. The French partnership went nowhere, and Ira returned to the long-distance management of his Champlain Valley affairs. Facing troublesome lawsuits by creditors, rival speculators, and the heirs of his deceased partners in the Onion River Land Company, he wrote to the state and county courts in Vermont to ask for continuances of all cases against him. Although he had hoped that he would be safe from his Green Mountain and Canadian enemies during his stay in Washington, he learned to his dismay that some of them had the resources to harass him there. Arrested in early April on a bad-debt complaint by Quebec merchant Henry

Cull, Ira found a use for the Batavian notes by putting them up as security to procure bail.[⁶] After that, realizing that the nation's capital was not the safe haven he had imagined, he set out for Vermont. When he arrived in Colchester on May 1, his fiftieth birthday, it was the first time Ira had seen his family and home in five and a half years.[⁷]

Vermont had changed a great deal during Allen's long absence. In politics, Isaac Tichenor was governor and the Federalists controlled the General Assembly and the state's two seats in the United States Senate. Matthew Lyon, a powerful Jeffersonian and one of Ira's few remaining influential friends, had just left Vermont for a new start in Kentucky. The patterns of demographic and economic growth begun in the 1780s had continued: Vermont's population had risen to 154,465, an increase of 80 per cent since 1791; and there had been considerable progress from subsistence agriculture towards the market economy Ira had long anticipated. Turnpike companies were building new roads, and stagecoach routes provided regular service between such thriving villages as Bennington, Windsor, Rutland, and Brattleboro. A series of Congregational revivals in 1800-01 was bringing new converts to churches on both sides of the Green Mountains. Throughout the state,

debates over republicanism intensified, as Vermonters struggled with the "democratic dilemma" of how to reconcile the American Revolution's individual freedoms with the communal sense of a need for social stability and order.[⁸]

As Ira soon discovered, the Champlain Valley had changed markedly as well. The population of Chittenden and Franklin counties was up to 9,397, more than double the 1791 count; Burlington now had 816 inhabitants and Colchester 657. Traffic on the lake had increased rapidly, with local entrepreneurs Gideon King, Samuel Hickock and the Catlin brothers sending goods north and south. Timber, potash and wheat remained the principal cash crops; there were small bog-iron refineries from Highgate to Fair Haven; and several distilleries provided a way to turn northwestern Vermont grain and corn into liquid assets. Local land prices were still rising, a trend that would continue through the War of 1812. When Ira left for England in December 1795, there had been no printers north of Rutland; now there were three, at Middlebury, Vergennes and Burlington, and two local weekly newspapers to keep residents of the valley well-informed. The prosperous future Allen had envisioned for "the country my soul delighted in" had arrived.[⁹]

Yet prosperity for the Champlain Valley did not mean prosperity for Ira Allen and his personal empire. As

Jerusha had predicted in 1795, she and Heman had been unable to maintain control of Ira's business affairs during his protracted absence. Some of Ira's lands had been lost to local taxes; there were competing claims to many of his best holdings; and he faced a daunting assortment of debts and lawsuits. Ira's biggest headache was Silas Hathaway, the St. Albans speculator who had purchased William Hull's \$30,000 note against Ira in 1799. With the Hull mortgage in hand, Hathaway now claimed ownership of 46,000 acres of Allen's best lands; in addition, he also bought some of Ira's old IOUs to Henry Cull and produced documents purporting to show that he had bought Swanton and Highgate from Stephen Thorn, Ira's erstwhile associate in the Olive Branch intrigue. Ira believed that he could defeat Hathaway, Cull and his other enemies, but even he had to admit that everywhere he looked his affairs were in danger of imminent collapse.^[10]

There were problems within the Allen family as well. After five and a half years, rebuilding a relationship with Jerusha and the children, who barely remembered their father, was difficult at best. Of more pressing concern to Ira the businessman were the lawsuits his brothers' children had filed against him while he was in Europe. In 1798 Moses and Lucinda Allen Catlin had obtained a court order for

seizure of Ira's Winooski River dam and mills; and now the land and buildings were the subject of a convoluted arrangement between the Catlins and Silas Hathaway. The month after Ira returned to Colchester, the Rutland County Superior Court issued a ruling in favor of Remember Baker's children that ordered Ira to supply the Onion River Land Company's records to determine whether Baker's heirs were entitled to compensation for their father's share of the Company. Although Ira protested that he had more than used up his deceased partners' estates in caring for his nieces and nephews, his appeals to family solidarity had little effect. The courts were not impressed; his relatives remained obdurate; and the intrafamily challenges to his control of his remaining holdings continued.^[11]

Ira had hoped for support from brother Levi, but he found that five years' separation had not healed the rift that had developed between them in the mid-1790s. Ira had tried for a reconciliation before leaving for England, and while he was in Europe, he had written to remind his brother of the family ties that had once bound them.^[12] "Why should we Differ about trifles[?]" he asked in one letter: "have we not a Sufficiencie to make fair Settlements with all Mankind[?] the time has been that we were Connected with a Numerus Enterprising & Affectionate famaly[.] we are

the only Survivors & how long the Supreme Arbitrator of Rights may continue us is Uncertain."^[13] Levi, however, remained angry with Ira, and his anger had grown as his own financial situation worsened in the late 1790s. Unable to secure a land grant in Canada, and unsuccessful in the Canada trade, Levi had retreated to an unhappy, alcoholic existence in Vermont. After losing St. Albans, his last remaining substantial piece of property, to Silas Hathaway, Levi eked out a meager living in the Burlington area. By the time Ira returned to Colchester in the spring of 1801, Levi was a frequent guest at the Burlington jail (which he called "the Castle of St. Limbo"), powerless either to help or hinder his little brother's quest for financial security.^[14]

At first glance, the only bright spot in Ira Allen's world in 1801 was the university he had helped secure for Burlington a decade earlier. When Ira left for England, the University of Vermont existed only on paper, but during his absence the school's development had made sporadic progress. Late in 1798 the UVM trustees managed to raise enough money to erect one small house on the college "green." That effort exhausted the board's resources, and the house sat empty for a year while the trustees grappled with the old problems of unredeemed pledges and non-existent income. Finally, in November 1799, the Reverend Daniel C. Sanders, a

liberal Congregational minister from Vergennes, agreed to move to Burlington, occupy the local pulpit, and use the UVM building as a residence and school for young boys. When the General Assembly granted a charter to Middlebury College the following year, the University's trustees quickened their pace to avoid losing ground in the race for in-state patronage and legislative support. In the spring of 1801, just before Allen's return, the UVM board authorized construction of a large, three-story brick building on the east side of the green. Although the result did not produce the thriving center of knowledge Ira had described to his friends in England and France, a decade after receiving its charter the University of Vermont was finally in operation.[¹⁵]

Despite the severity of his own problems, Allen quickly became involved in UVM's affairs. He apparently did not hold it against the trustees that during his absence they had secured a writ of attachment on his title to the town of Plainfield to try to exact payment of his original £4,000 pledge; perhaps he realized that the several challenges to his ownership of the town would make it difficult for the University to collect. Ira was still a member of the UVM board, and two weeks after reaching Colchester he wrote a letter to the Vermont Centinel warning local speculators

about to build near the college green that he had set those lands aside for UVM's future expansion.[¹⁶] Two months later he informed the agent for the trustees that he approved of the start of the college building and that he would donate £1,000 worth of English manufactured goods towards the cost of construction.[¹⁷] As in the past, however, Ira remained strong on making promises to UVM and weak on fulfilling them. The shipment from England never reached Burlington; he failed to devise an alternate means of making good on his obligation; and without redemption of the pledge that had located the school at Burlington the University continued to struggle financially.

Unable to help UVM, Ira fought frantically to help himself. Burlington's newspaper gave him a handy public-relations tool, and he published several letters and advertisements denouncing the "swindling, duplicity, falsehood etc." that Silas Hathaway had practiced during Allen's absence. "I shall perseveringly support my legal and equitable right," Ira proclaimed, and he warned readers not to purchase any Champlain Valley lands from his St. Albans rival.[¹⁸] Hathaway and his allies, however, also proved adept at using the press to make their case, and throughout the summer of 1801 northern Vermont readers enjoyed the printed charges and counter-charges the two

sides hurled at each other. Out of the public eye, Ira proposed a truce to Hathaway, but the two speculators were unable to come to terms over the choice of referees, and their dispute continued.[¹⁹] Still the object of creditors' lawsuits, Allen achieved a more substantial result in October, when the General Assembly granted him a year's immunity from arrest on civil complaints. He had petitioned for a two-year grace period, but settled for a single year when it became clear that many in the legislature were inclined to deny him any relief at all.[²⁰]

Even though immunity from civil arrest for one year was a welcome victory, it did not solve Ira's problems. An old source of trouble surfaced anew in the summer of 1801 when a fresh round of rumors about rebellion in Lower Canada alarmed the British authorities in Quebec. Allen still had hopes of securing England's approval for his ship-canal project; instead, he found himself implicated in another conspiracy to expel the British from North America. John Andrew Graham, Ira's treacherous Olive Branch associate, had returned to the United States, and in July of 1801 he traveled north in search of payment for his tales of Green Mountain plots against Canada. The "Jacobins" in Vermont were on the verge of mounting an invasion, Graham told Canadian officials in Montreal and Quebec, and Ira was

behind it, along with Stephen Thorn, Silas Hathaway, William Hull, and other north-country speculators. Although the British were skeptical of Graham's motives, the memory of David McLane and the summer of 1797 was strong enough to make his stories seem credible. Graham talked too much and might well be unreliable, Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada Robert S. Milnes admitted; nonetheless, his testimony had been helpful to the Home Office in the Olive Branch affair, and it was undeniable that Ira Allen and his associates were capable of anything.[²¹]

As British fears of losing Canada intensified in the fall of 1801, so too did suspicion of Ira. A Montreal schoolteacher named Rogers was said to be planning a rebellion, and the British became convinced that Allen was involved. Informants told of new recruiting efforts by Ira, of France's support for his schemes, and of the imminent danger of Green Mountain Boy assaults on Montreal and Quebec. According to the stories, Ira had concocted the invasion plan the previous winter and now stood ready to send 400-500 bloodthirsty Vermont adventurers northward. Even though there was no hard evidence for any of these rumors, the British took no chances: in October 1801 the authorities armed one-eighth of the Lower Canada militia in preparation for repelling the upcoming attack. Encouraged

by the French-Canadian peasantry's favorable response to the call to arms, the government then arrested several of Allen's supposed confederates and scattered the rest, dashing whatever hopes he might have had of forcibly removing the British roadblock to his canal and free-trade dreams. [22]

Whatever the truth of Ira's relationship to these plots, we know that much of his time in the fall and winter of 1801 was devoted to the less revolutionary matter of his tangled Olive Branch affairs, with discouraging results. Attempts to pressure the New York office of Bird, Savage & Bird for payment of the £7,000 he claimed was owed to him for his 15,000 muskets brought only an admission of debt rather than much-needed cash. Allen thought he could persuade the General Assembly to help him bring the remaining 5,000 guns from Ostend to Vermont for the state militia, but the legislature dismissed a committee report that supported his petition. In February 1802, "Fellow Citizens of Vermont," a new Allen newspaper piece recapping his sufferings in Europe and the sabotaging of his good intentions, produced no support. Still hoping for a favorable decision from the British courts, Ira gathered fresh sets of documents to send to London; unfortunately for his plans, that effort went awry when Francis Childs, a John

Jay protegee whom Ira had hired to take depositions, went over to the Silas Hathaway camp and took many of Allen's Olive Branch papers with him. Childs returned the purloined manuscripts after Ira had him arrested, but the incident was indicative of Ira's increasingly bad luck in the struggle to regain his former stature in the Champlain Valley.[²³]

Francis Childs was only the newest of Ira's many Vermont problems by the end of 1801. The lawsuits of the Onion River Land Company heirs continued, and he was hard-pressed to obtain continuances and delays in court. In December, local entrepreneurs Benjamin Boardman, Thaddeus Tuttle and James Watson informed Ira that they, his "most Loving Friends," had bought his Colchester residence and mills from the Catlins, "Wherefore you are hereby required to quit the possession of said premises." [²⁴] Finally recognizing that he had to sell some land to raise funds, Allen disposed of his holdings around Lake Memphremagog, but at this late stage the few thousand dollars he realized from those sales were not nearly enough. A promising opportunity that opened up when Henry Caldwell, the Quebec speculator who had battled Allen for control of the border town of Alburg in the 1790s, offered to sell his claim "for very little trouble," soon disappeared as negotiations foundered

over how much cash equalled very little trouble.[²⁵]

Finally, the ongoing battles with Silas Hathaway drained Ira's energy and limited resources, as he and his rival probed each other's defenses to obtain secure title to the most valuable lands in Allen's somewhat battered portfolio. While Ira continued to maintain that he would soon regain all that he had lost, in reality he was hard-pressed to avoid following brother Levi to a debtor's cell in "the Castle of St. Limbo."^[26]

As Ira struggled to remain afloat, Levi went under. His finances continued to deteriorate after Ira's return from Europe, and an ill-conceived investment in a mineral-springs bathing house near the Burlington waterfront did nothing to alleviate his troubles. Levi retained his sense of humor ("The scripture says 'adversity makes a man wise:'," he wrote in an August 1801 newspaper notice: "Then what a profusion of Wisdom, he [Levi] is in a fair way of accumulating!"), but that was virtually all he had left.^[27] When he died, on December 16, 1801, after a bout of heavy drinking, no friend or relative was willing to risk assumption of his debts by claiming his body. Estimating the value of Levi's putative assets at \$33,582.56, the probate court declared his estate insolvent due to disputed land titles and a mountain of creditors' claims against him.

Always the optimist, Levi had included generous bequests in his last will and testament, with one exception: "I give to my brother Ira Allen five Shillings and no more because he hath enough already."^[28]

By 1802 most of Ira's relatives agreed with Levi's assessment, and they continued their efforts to separate him from his supposed wealth. Jabez Penniman, husband of Ethan's widow Fanny, sent Ethan's sons Hannibal and Ethan to Ira and announced that he expected Ira to assume the cost of caring for the boys and sending them to the University of Vermont. Ira protested that he would not be financially responsible for his nephews as long as Penniman insisted on serving as their legal guardian; Penniman responded that having Ira as administrator of Ethan's estate and himself as guardian of Ethan's sons constituted a good republican set of checks and balances; and while that argument proceeded, Penniman filed suit on his stepsons' behalf for recovery of their share of Ethan's land holdings.^[29] The ever-present Silas Hathaway entered the family dispute with accusations that Ira had neglected his nephews and offers to pay for their upbringing until the family reached a final settlement of Ethan's estate. This was a clever move by Hathaway, since the support of Ethan's heirs might help clear his claim to Ira's lands, and even though he failed in

the end to ingratiate himself to Ira's relatives, the fact that they considered his offer was additional evidence that the much-vaunted Allen family solidarity of the 1770s no longer existed.[³⁰]

By 1802 Ira could have used his family's help. When he attended his first UVM trustees' meeting in six years, the rest of the board badgered him about his unpaid pledge. Colchester town officials demanded that he submit his land records to them for review. Ira considered trying to do something with his brothers' old Susquehannah Company shares, but there was no time and no money to put into shaky claims to western Pennsylvania real estate.[³¹] With each passing month, the number of lawsuits against him grew larger, and time was running short on his one-year immunity from civil arrest. Unable to dislodge him from his home, "now in the pretended possession of IRA ALLEN," his rivals began publishing newspaper advertisements offering his Colchester properties for sale, with promises of "Good and unexceptionable Title" to any buyer. A rare success came during the summer of 1802, when Ira began leasing 110-acre sections of the Irasburg lands he had given to Jerusha as a wedding present in 1789 (and which he now carefully described as "in the right of Jerusha Allen" to preclude attachment by his creditors); however, since he and Jerusha

had to waive the first five years' rent to attract settlers to the northern wilderness town, there was more long-term potential than immediate cash in those transactions.[³²]

Of all Allen's many troubles, Silas Hathaway's challenges based on the 1795 William Hull mortgage remained the most pressing. Ira battled Hathaway in court, solicited loans of as much as \$20,000 to help him "put my Enemies at Defiance," and tried to make a separate peace with Hull that would undermine Hathaway's claims.[³³] Hathaway proved equally resourceful, negotiating simultaneously with Allen and Hull, and forging alliances with Ira's other rivals. Burlington merchant Thaddeus Tuttle, who hoped to secure title to Ira's Burlington and Colchester properties, advised Hathaway on ways to construct legal roadblocks in Allen's path, while other would-be Champlain Valley entrepreneurs lent their support to break up the Allen empire. Ira was a slippery quarry, and he managed to avoid Hathaway's attempts to have him arrested for debt, but there was little cause for rejoicing. The Allen-Hathaway feud dragged on in 1802, as both sides continued their war of words in the local press.[³⁴]

Losing ground rapidly at home, Allen redoubled his Olive Branch efforts. More letters and documents went to England, but the news from London was not encouraging. The

appeals court would probably rule against him, Samuel Peters reported gloomily; moreover, "something more . . . than words" was necessary to pay Ira's London debts and keep his reputation from sinking as low as John A. Graham's.^[35] An unexpected Olive Branch setback came in September 1802, when the State of Virginia sued Allen for reneging on his promise to pay the costs of sending an agent to New York in 1801 to inspect the muskets, and Ira eventually had to pay \$300 to settle the suit. High hopes for a new Olive Branch book ran aground when Burlington printer John K. Baker stopped work in mid-sentence and asked for payment in cash before continuing. Instead of using the book to promote his cause, Allen had to leave the half-finished work in Baker's shop for a year and a half while he searched for the funds to satisfy the wary printer's demands.^[36]

Things got worse. In October 1802, by a 94-56 vote, the General Assembly rejected Ira's petition for another year's immunity from arrest on civil complaints. This was a disaster for Allen. In the days of an independent Green Mountain republic the popular frontier attitude that old debts need not be paid had helped Ira in some of his business affairs and hurt him in others; now, with his creditors holding dozens of notes against him, Vermont's development towards a society that respected the letter of

the law on financial obligations placed him in a very bad position.[³⁷] There was no hope of borrowing additional funds; as Stephen Thorn wrote in response to one Allen query, "your enemies are making every possible Exertion to thwart you in all your measures." When the town of Colchester instituted a series of vendue tax sales, Ira's rivals bought many rights he regarded as his property, further cutting into his holdings.[³⁸]

The worst blow came in December 1802, when a court-appointed trio of referees ruled on the lawsuit Ethan's daughters Lucy and Pamela had filed to recover their father's share of the Onion River Land Company's assets. Unable to convince the court that he had used up his partners' estates in raising his nieces and nephews, Ira resorted to desperate last-minute tactics. "We have fairly convicted him of forging in the presence of all of them," Lucy's husband wrote just before the referees' decision: "It is unnecessary for me to be particular as it respects his villainy--Suffice it to say that nothing but the fear of detection and punishment restrains him from the foulest of crimes."[³⁹] Discounting Ira's claims of generosity to all of his deceased brothers' children, the referees declared that he owed Ethan's heirs \$69,823.31 for Ethan's share of the 60,829 acres the Company had owned at the start of the

American Revolution. The report was a crushing defeat for Ira. He had no money to pay Lucy and Pamela; the real-estate portfolio he once might have used to compensate them was encumbered by rival claims and debts; and the lawsuits that the heirs of Ira's other Onion River partners had instituted seemed likely to end in judgments against him as well.[⁴⁰]

Alone, beset on every side, Ira was out of time and hope by 1803. The final blow came in February, when Bird, Savage & Bird went bankrupt, ending any chance of profit from the sale of the Olive Branch muskets. Jailed for debt in early spring, Ira managed after some delay to arrange bail; now that his immunity from civil arrest had ended, however, he knew that his enemies would soon take advantage of the Vermont statute allowing each individual creditor to send him back to prison.[⁴¹] Realizing it was time to leave, Ira took steps to put his Vermont affairs in some semblance of order. After reaching an uneasy truce with Silas Hathaway, on April 8 he agreed to give up his claim to the lands listed in the 1795 William Hull mortgage in return for a promise of \$20,000, then authorized nephew Heman to act as his agent in working with Hathaway towards an even division in the unlikely event of recovering funds from Hull, the Catlins, or their other mutual adversaries. In a

more substantive move made the same day Ira also transferred to Heman all his rights to any lands in Irasburg to protect Jerusha's interests there against attachment by her husband's creditors. Shortly thereafter, on a quiet Sunday evening, Ira gave his watchful rivals the slip and stole away to a boat waiting for him on the shore of Lake Champlain. Sailing to Lake George, he disembarked there, bought a horse, and hurried south, away from the wreckage of his Champlain Valley dreams.[42]

In an ironic turn of events, not long after Ira's flight from Vermont an article highlighting his accomplishments came off the press. In simultaneous London and Baltimore editions of a biographical compendium entitled Public Characters, the anonymous author of "Major General Ira Allen, of Vermont" described Ira as a "singular and extraordinary man" who had carved out a remarkable career on the northern frontier. Apparently working principally from Allen's 1798 history of Vermont and some of the Olive Branch titles, Ira's biographer sketched his role in the struggle for the Grants, the emergence of Vermont, the Haldimand negotiations, the canal plan, and the Olive Branch affair. "Cheerful, good tempered and benevolent," Ira had achieved much, the author wrote, and his misfortunes since 1796 were regrettable. In fact, Allen's story resembled a Greek

tragedy: Vermont, which he had helped create, defend and nurture, was now "an important state in the American union;" while Ira, "by a cruel reversal of fortune, equally sudden and unexpected, after endowing a university, and acting as a legislator and a general, has been subjected in one foreign country to all the rigours of imprisonment, and in another to all the miseries attendant on confiscation."^[43]

Tragic hero or merely a down-on-his-luck frontier entrepreneur, Ira had no intention of remaining at the bottom of fortune's wheel following his escape from Vermont. By September of 1803 he was in Kentucky, where he persuaded old friend Matthew Lyon to help him implement the first step of his plan. Even though Lyon had only been in Kentucky for two years, he had just been elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, and he had the local connections Ira needed to achieve his goal. Section 51 of the 1800 federal pauper law, which allowed debtors to discharge their debts if their creditors initiated bankruptcy proceedings, seemed to offer a way for Allen to erase the red ink from his books and start fresh. Robert Morris and other big speculators-gone-bust had taken advantage of the letter of the law by having friends pose as "creditors," and now Ira cast Lyon in the same role. After Allen drafted a statement asserting that

he had sold all his Vermont lands to Heman and that his only assets were one horse, a saddle and six dollars in cash, Lyon went before the district bankruptcy commissioners at Lexington, described himself as the only individual with a claim of more than fifty dollars against Ira, and agreed not to contest a decree of bankruptcy. The commissioners gave their approval, and on September 30 judge Harry Innes declared "Ira Allen, of the Town of Eddysville [Lyon's residence] in the County of Livingston" officially bankrupt. The decree came just in time: less than two months later, in response to public outcry against speculators' misuse of the law, Congress overwhelmingly repealed the 1800 statute and closed the loophole through which Ira had slipped with his horse, saddle and fistful of dollars.[⁴⁴]

Hopeful that his new status would protect him from civil arrest anywhere in the United States, Allen left Kentucky in late autumn 1803. He went first to Washington, where he conferred with Secretary of State James Madison about his Olive Branch claims against England, then headed back to Vermont for the January 1804 session of the General Assembly at Windsor.[⁴⁵] Already armed with the bankruptcy decree but taking no chances, on reaching Vermont he added four pistols and a leaded whip to his wardrobe. Contrary to his expectations, however, neither the federal pauper law

nor Ira's arsenal intimidated his Green Mountain adversaries. As soon as they learned of his presence within the state's borders, Allen's enemies sought out cooperative local judges and had new warrants issued for his arrest. Forced to flee a second time, he rode south again, this time to Philadelphia. The widow of his nephew John A. Finch, sister Lydia's son, was living in Philadelphia in a small house Ira had rented for her in 1801, and now Allen turned to her for temporary refuge. By mid-February he had reached the City of Brotherly Love, which would become his home for the remaining 10 years of his life.[⁴⁶]

Once settled in Philadelphia, Ira resumed work on the Olive Branch case. Since 1802 an Anglo-American arbitration board had awarded six million dollars to United States shipowners for damages resulting from British seizures of merchant vessels, and at first he was optimistic about his chances for obtaining a share of the proceeds. Although that hope proved unfounded, in the early spring of 1804 Allen learned that the after nearly six years of deliberation the British appeals court had finally ruled in his favor.[⁴⁷] This was a hollow victory, with any potential profit from the muskets long since lost in the failure of Bird, Savage & Bird, and Ira decided to risk returning to Vermont one more time in pursuit of a more substantial

reward. Traveling to Rutland for the autumn session of the legislature, he met defeat on every front. The University of Vermont trustees forced him to resign from the board; the courts rejected his appeals in the Silas Hathaway and Onion River Land Company cases; and the General Assembly's only response to his petitions was a facetious resolution authorizing him to hire "Gun-boat No. 1 of the American navy" to retrieve the long-awaited arms for the state militia. With his creditors closing in again, Ira left Rutland on a borrowed horse in the middle of the night and made his unhappy way back to Philadelphia.[⁴⁸]

The autumn 1804 rejection by the General Assembly set the tone for the Green Mountain State's subsequent responses to Allen's requests for assistance. Although Ira would never see Vermont again after October 1804, he continued to send petitions and letters to the state's changing cast of leaders. He tried a variety of arguments--the ship canal was still a viable idea; the muskets at Ostend would be perfect for equipping the militia; he deserved compensation for his years of selfless devotion to Vermont--but nothing worked.[⁴⁹] The legislature denied any responsibility for the authorization Ira insisted Thomas Chittenden had given him to buy the muskets, and the appeals for consideration as a heroic founding father evoked no filiopietistic sympathy.

The edge Ira thought he had gained when Jonas Galusha, Chittenden's Jeffersonian son-in-law, defeated Isaac Tichenor for the governorship in 1809, proved illusory. Galusha and the General Assembly paid little attention to Allen's stepped-up long-distance efforts, and he dared not risk another trip to Vermont. Having suffered in French and British prisons, Ira wrote to sister-in-law Fanny Allen Penniman, he would never again "expose my person to a Vermont Bastile."^[50]

Ignored by Vermont's leaders, Ira found himself cut off by his family as well. During the early stages of his exile he expected Jerusha and the children to join him in Philadelphia, and he wrote cheerfully about the fine lodgings he had arranged for the family and the "old French priest" he would hire to teach his sons and daughter.^[51] Jerusha, however, apparently chose not to leave her Vermont friends and relatives to follow her wayward husband, and the happy reunion Ira had anticipated did not materialize. Nephew Heman continued to work for his uncle in the Vermont courts, and occasionally sent him money when the battles with Hathaway, Hull, Tuttle, and Ira's other nemeses took favorable turns, but as time went on Heman's first priority became to safeguard his own and Jerusha's interests rather than Ira's. By 1808 Heman was heading odd combinations of

Allen friends, enemies and relatives in legal actions to untangle the thicket of overlapping deeds and claims resulting from Ira's slipshod real-estate bookkeeping.[⁵²]

Having decided not to leave Vermont, Jerusha made a life for herself and her children, as she had learned to do during Ira's six-year Olive Branch absence. Left with only her Irasburg lands, which Heman helped her retain and manage, and occasional assistance from her Enos relatives, she stayed in Colchester despite a chronic shortage of funds. Ira insisted from Philadelphia that the children receive good educations, and Jerusha did what she could, sending Ira Hayden and Zimri Enos off to Middlebury College in the spring of 1805. Ira Hayden showed some promise as a student, but poor health hampered Zimri's progress, and the money ran out before they could proceed very far in their studies. After Ira Hayden tried his hand as a store clerk in Swanton, both sons enrolled at the University of Vermont; once again, however, Jerusha lacked the means to see either through to graduation. Young Julia Marietta attended a girls' school in St. Albans, where she learned music, painting, needlework, and the other polite arts considered appropriate for young ladies of her generation. Zimri wrote to his father once, in September 1808; beyond that, Ira's children had little or no contact with their father during the early years of his exile in Philadelphia.[⁵³]

As the years passed and his family paid less attention to his demands and instructions, Ira's letters home became increasingly strident. Declaring that his sons and nephews must visit him to map out a joint strategy for regaining the family's lost wealth and power, he denounced the relatives who ignored his demands. "Is it further from Vermont to Philadelphia, that from Philadelphia to Vermont?," he asked when his letters went unanswered; four months later, still waiting for a response, he added bitterly, "It is a waste of time, pen, ink, and paper to write to the dead or to the living, that will not answer."^[54] Ira's tone varied from sarcastic to pleading, and he mixed dark warnings about conspiracies against his interests with soothing pleas for family unity and frequent requests for money. Subject to wide swings in mood, Ira displayed but one constant in his letters, an unwavering determination to return in triumph to Vermont. "I shall rise like the phoenix from its ashes, and in due time be in the midst of you," he promised: "I have seen the rise and fall of nations, and power changed to different hands: I consider the great cloud, that for a time seemed to overshadow me, is vanishing before truth, like fog before the beams of the rising sun."^[55]

With his spirit unbroken by adversity, Ira fought on. Between 1804 and 1809 he published another nine Olive Branch

books and pamphlets. Ranging in length from six to 551 pages, these new titles were highly repetitive, and their most convincing message was that Allen had become obsessive and unreasonable in pursuit of an unreachable goal.^[56] Ira also continued to badger the United States government for help, but his frequent pleas to Secretary of State James Madison and other officials in the Jefferson administration brought only inconsequential expressions of sympathy for his plight. When the British embassy responded politely to his demands for compensation from England, Allen mistook diplomacy for sincere interest and bombarded English officials on both sides of the Atlantic with letters, petitions and copies of his publications. England had an undeniable obligation to pay him £200,000 for his Olive Branch losses, he informed the Lord Chancellor, the Speaker of the House of Commons, the governors of Upper and Lower Canada, and various British cabinet ministers; once that was taken care of, the Colonial Office and Ira could reopen discussion of the canal idea. It was all quite logical, at least in Allen's eyes, and he seemed confident that he was making real progress after so many false starts.^[57]

But Ira was deluding himself. With Anglo-American relations deteriorating rapidly by 1807, any realistic hope of winning compensation from England had disappeared. As

American resentment of England's position on maritime commerce, impressment, and the rights of neutral nations to trade with both sides in the Napoleonic Wars intensified, England and the United States moved close to war and Allen's prospects worsened. The Chesapeake incident in June 1807; the passage of the Embargo Act six months later; and the Nonintercourse Act of March 1809 indicated that the diplomatic climate had turned against a cause like Allen's. Even though the Jefferson administration gradually increased its support of Ira's claim against England, most notably in the form of a favorable written opinion by Attorney-General Caesar A. Rodney on the legal merits of his case, that approval came too late to be of much good. As he had a decade earlier, Allen found to his dismay that growing tension among the North Atlantic nations had unfavorable implications for his personal plans and goals.^[58]

Ira's last years in Philadelphia were unproductive and unhappy. Observing the Green Mountain State from afar, he saw the Champlain Valley defy Jefferson's embargo by maintaining an active smuggling trade via the Champlain-Richelieu waterway, but there was little satisfaction in that confirmation of northwestern Vermont's natural ties to Canada. Redrafted petitions and memorials to the General Assembly went unanswered, and fear of vengeful creditors

kept him from traveling north to lobby the legislature in person.[⁵⁹] A final round of Olive Branch pamphlets in 1810-11 attracted few readers and no supporters. Sinking deeper into poverty, Ira had to change residences frequently in Philadelphia, each time moving to cheaper lodgings. His health grew worse, which he blamed on the after-effects of his imprisonment in Paris; whatever the cause, by the time he reached his sixtieth birthday in May 1811, it was clear that he was declining both physically and mentally.[⁶⁰]

Ira endured the dark twilight of his life alone, with little help from his family. Although an April 1810 visit by Heman brought a little money and some encouragement, the rest of the Allens continued to disappoint Ira. Ethan's sons refused to resign their Army commissions to implement his plan for the family's financial resurgence; Zimri's only trip to Philadelphia, in March 1811, was at the behest of one of Ira's creditors; and Jerusha ignored most of her husband's many letters. "Be assured that the Events I have long waited for have so far Progressed that by your assistance the Insuing Summer will be a rich Harvest to us," Ira wrote, but there was no response.[⁶¹] Yet even though he was estranged from his relatives, Ira suffered when he learned of the deaths of two of his three children. Sadly,

the letters informing him of the deaths of Maria Julietta in 1811 and Zimri in 1813 were among the few communications Ira received from Vermont during the last years of his life.[⁶²]

Allen did find one gleam of hope in the night. His dreams of a northern revolution had long since faded, but in 1812 a southern alternative came his way. Spurred by Simon Bolivar's emergence as a major figure in South American politics, United States interest in the prospect of independence for Spain's western hemisphere colonies grew rapidly in the early 1810s. Public enthusiasm for spreading democracy throughout Central and South America ran high, as American newspapers kept their readers up-to-date on plans to liberate Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, and Chile.[⁶³]

Early in 1812 three Spanish-American revolutionaries joined forces in Philadelphia to solicit funds and enlist supporters for a revolution in Mexico. Jose Bernardo Maximiliano Gutierrez de Lara, self-appointed head of the army of invasion, had served in Miguel Higuero y Costilla's ill-fated 1810-11 Mexican uprising; Juan Mariano Bautista de Picornell y Gomila was a veteran of failed revolutionary movements in Spain, Venezuela and Trinidad; and Don Jose Alvarez de Toledo, who disputed Gutierrez' leadership, was a Cuban whose democratic demands while serving as Santo Domingo's representative to the Spanish Cortes in 1811 had

briefly landed him in a Cadiz jail. By an interesting twist of fate, in 1812 Toledo established lodgings in the same Philadelphia boarding-house as Ira Allen, and when the Gutierrez-Picornell-Toledo triumvirate began to promote their cause, Ira was one of the first Americans to respond.[⁶⁴]

Allen seized on the Gutierrez-Picornell-Toledo expedition as his last chance for a return to power and wealth. Assuring Toledo and his associates that he had an extensive background in planning and executing revolutions, Ira showered them with free advice on how to accomplish the conquest of Mexico. The most important ingredient in any insurrection, he told them, was a printing press, and when Toledo left Philadelphia in the fall of 1812 to join Gutierrez and the rag-tag force he and Augustus W. Magee had led into Texas, Allen recruit Aaron Mower and his press went along to print the invasion army's propaganda.[⁶⁵] Taking it upon himself to serve as the presumptive new Mexican government's principal agent in the United States, Ira resumed his correspondence with James Monroe and sent regular letters south to report on the Madison administration's reaction to the invasion, ask for the funds necessary to maintain his diplomatic position, and dispense additional revolutionary wisdom. Anticipating great

rewards from this new venture, Allen waxed rhapsodic in assuring his new comrades of his commitment to the cause. The liberation of Mexico "is an object I have wished for Ever since the Independence of the U.S. was Confirmed," he informed Gutierrez in one letter, "& some years have Elapsed since I have Contributed my might to Effect an object so Interesting to Present and Rising Generations." [66]

Ira's enthusiasm was misplaced, but he did not live to see the Gutierrez invasion collapse early in 1814. For some time he had been increasingly ill and frail, without the funds to pay for doctors or medicine. Falling into an "extremely debilitated" condition in early January, Allen died on January 15 at the age of 62, "without a groan and apparently without pain." In his entry in the city's vital records, physician George F. Alberti listed the cause of death as "retrocedent gout." There was no money for a funeral, and no friends or family to take charge of Ira's remains. Instead, the body of the man who had once ruled the largest landed empire in Vermont went to a pauper's grave in Philadelphia's Free Quaker Cemetery. [67]

NOTES

1. IA to Dr. Francis Swediaur, March 9, 1801, photocopy in AFP, box 22, folder 30.
2. IA to Jerusha Allen, Jan. 19, 1801, VHS, * Folio MS B AL535LM; photocopy in AFP, box 22, folder 8.
3. IA to Joseph Fay, Jan. 27, Jan. 30, Feb. 2, Feb. 10, 1801, photocopies in AFP, box 22, folders 10, 11, 13, 29; IA to Fay, Feb. 9, 1801, VHS, * X MS B AL535; Fay to IA, Feb. 4, VHS, * Folio MS B AL535LM. Although Fay helped Allen, he was wary of him: see Fay's letter to his nephew, John Fay, June 10, 1801, "I note your observations relating to General Ira. I was in hopes you would have made Interest with him, & gained his business, by proper management you might have secured your Demand agt. him, & made him subservient to your cause, it is not too Late yet. think of my advice & you will find I am right. You can not use that kind of address that will bring him into your Int. but you must adopt my old Plan with him to gain your pay, that is to stop property, convert it to your own purpose & Draw on him to discount your bill. I have done that repeatedly otherwise I should have been cheated out of my money," John Fay Papers, UVM.
4. Photocopies of IA correspondence, Jan.-April 1801, in AFP, box 22; Heman Allen to IA, Feb. 4, 1801, VHS, * Folio MS B AL535LM; IA to Thomas Jefferson, April 4, 1801, Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 5, folder 5.
5. IA to "Gentn.," March 9, 1801, photocopy in AFP, box 22, folder 31. On French interest in American frontier lands, see: Shaw Livermore, Early American Land Companies: Their Influence on Corporate Development (1939; reprint ed., New York: Octagon Books, 1968), pp. 171-74, 209-14; Aaron M. Sakolski, The Great American Land Bubble (New York: Harper Brothers, 1932), pp. 87-93.
6. IA to Noah Smith, Enoch Woodbridge and Lot Hall, Feb. 8, 1801, photocopy in AFP, box 22, folder 17; IA to judges of Chittenden County Court, Feb. 10, 1801, photocopy in AFP, box 22, folder 20; IA bail agreement with Richard Dinsmore, April 9, [1801], Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 9, folder 4; Samuel Fitch to sheriff, Georgetown, Maryland, April 10, 1801, photocopy in AFP, box 22, folder 41; IA to John Marshall Gantt[?], June 4, 1801, Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 5, folder 6.

7. "We are happy to announce the arrival, on Friday last, of Maj. Gen. IRA ALLEN, at his seat in Colchester," (Burlington) Vermont Centinel, May 7, 1801.

8. Randolph A. Roth, The Democratic Dilemma: Religion, Reform, and the Social Order in the Connecticut River Valley of Vermont, 1791-1850 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), chaps. 1-2; P. Jeffrey Potash, Vermont's Burned-Over District: Patterns of Community Development and Religious Activity, 1761-1850 (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishing, 1991), parts 2-3; Aleine Austin, Matthew Lyon: "New Man" of the Democratic Revolution, 1749-1822 (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1981), chaps. 10-11; William J. Gilmore, Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780-1835 (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989).

9. Thomas H. Canfield, "Discovery, Navigation and Navigators of Lake Champlain," in Abby M. Hemenway, ed., The Vermont Historical Gazetteer (various places, 1867-91), 1: 669-71; Alan S. Everest, "Early Roads and Taverns of the Champlain Valley," VH, 37, 4 (Autumn 1969): 247-55; Chilton A. Williamson, Vermont in Quandary: 1763-1825 (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1949), ch. 16.

10. Solomon Miller, Chittenden County Court clerk, order to seize Allen's property to satisfy Elnathan Keyes, Sept. 18, 1799, AFP, box 20, folder 94A; Hull deed to Hathaway, Feb. 16, 1799, photocopy in AFP, box 19, folder 97; Isaac Bishop to Silas Hathaway, May 14, 1799, Silas Hathaway Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 1, folder 5; Henry Cull to Hathaway, May 21, 1801, "I am sorry to hear that Allen gave you the slip at New York, or in the Jockey phrase the 'go by,' but I believe he is in good hands & I sincerely hope he will be obliged to pay you every farthing of the just debt which you bought of me," Hathaway Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 1, folder 7.

11. Walter Hill Crockett, "Ira Allen and Colchester," Vermont Antiquarian Society Proceedings and Papers, 1, 1 (1897-1900): 27-29; James Sullivan to William Hull, Jan. 15, 1799, photocopy in AFP, box 19, folder 78; Moses Catlin bond to Silas Hathaway, June 6, 1799, photocopy in AFP, box 20, folder 40, pub. in James B. Wilbur, Ira Allen: Founder of Vermont 1751-1814 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), 2: 261-62; Rutland County Court order, June 1801, VHS * MS B AL535. In a poem written in the summer of 1797, Levi Allen criticized Ira's conduct as executor of his siblings' estates: "Ira always came in when life was done/ to see what worldly goods remain/ to which my feelings ne'er could bend/ Ira-- the executor to what remained"; Levi ms. autobiography, Levi Allen Papers, VSA.

12. IA to Levi, Dec. 4, 1795, "Life is short at best, let us therefore make the best of it; our family have been too ambitious, for domestic repose, we have property, why shall we not then settle all matters and make the best of our stay on earth. For myself I am unwilling to believe that we can't," in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 80-81.
13. IA to Levi, May 7, 1796, AFP, box 16, folder 57.
14. Enoch Woodbridge, Nov. 10, 1798, affidavit on Levi's sale of St. Albans to Silas Hathaway, AFP, box 19, folder 43; Levi Allen, Feb. 14, 1801, facetious pass admitting Daniel Hurlbut into Burlington, AFP, box 22, folder 22; Levi Allen, March 3, 1801, petitions for permission to build a horse-racing track in Burlington, AFP, box 22, folders 27, 28.
15. J. Kevin Graffagnino, "A Hard Founding Father to Love: Ira Allen and the University of Vermont," in Robert V. Daniels, ed., The University of Vermont: The First Two Hundred Years (Burlington, Vt.: University of Vermont, 1991), ch. 1; P. Jeffrey Potash, "Years of Trial: Religion, Money, War, Fire, and the Competition with Middlebury," in idem, ch. 2; David M. Stameshkin, The Town's College: Middlebury College, 1800-1815 (Middlebury, Vt.: Middlebury College Press, 1985), ch. 1.
16. IA to "Messrs. Nichols, Barnard &c.," May 18, 1801, in (Burlington) Northern Centinel, June 4, repub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 316; on the disputes over Allen's claim to Plainfield, see Hemenway, ed., Vermont Historical Gazetteer, 4: 714-15.
17. IA to David Russell, July 15, 1801, AFP, box 22, folder 59, in *ibid.*, 2: 333-34.
18. IA, "To the Citizens of the United States &c.," (Burlington) Northern Centinel, July 9, 1801, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 316-18; IA advertisement, (Burlington) Northern Centinel, June 4, 1801. Both pieces also appeared in other Vermont newspapers as well.
19. William C. Harrington attack on Allen, (Burlington) Vermont Centinel, Aug. 6, 1801; IA rebuttal, Northern Centinel, Aug. 27, 1801; IA draft agreement with Hathaway, Sept. 9, 1801, VHS * X MS B AL535.
20. IA petition, Oct. 16, 1801, photocopy in AFP, box 22, folder 81; another version at VHS, MS * folio B AL535LM; IA to Amos Marsh, Speaker of the General Assembly, Nov. 3-5, 1801, pub. in "Two Documents Relating to Ira Allen," Pro-

ceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, 4, 4 (December 1936): 252-53; G & C, 4: 320-21; Acts and Laws . . . State of Vermont . . . October, 1801 (Windsor, Vt.: Alden Spooner, 1801), pp. 108-10; Journals of the General Assembly of the State of Vermont . . . October, A.D. One Thousand Eight Hundred and One (Windsor, Vt.: Alden Spooner, 1802), pp. 238, 266-67; Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 337-38.

21. Milnes to General Burton, July 19, 1801, in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 320-21; see idem, 2: 318-25, for the texts of several July 1801 letters and depositions concerning Graham's allegations.

22. Jonathan Sewell to Robert S. Milnes, Oct. 23, 1801, and Milnes to duke of Portland, Oct. 28, 1801, in *ibid.*, 2: 327-32; Jean Pierre Wallot, Intrigues Francaises et Americaines au Canada 1800-1802 (Montreal: Editions Lemeac, 1965), pp. 46-86 *passim*; J. Mackay Hitsman, Safeguarding Canada, 1763-1871 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), ch. 4; Frank Murray Greenwood, "The Development of a Garrison Mentality Among the English in Lower Canada 1793-1811" (Ph.D. diss., University of British Columbia, 1970), pp. 153-55.

23. Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 338-39; (Burlington) Vermont Centinel, Feb. 4, 1802; IA, Narrative of the Transactions Relative to the Capture of the American Ship, Olive Branch ([Philadelphia, 1804?]), pp. 322-50. Childs remained an enemy of Ira's for some time after 1801; see Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 425-26 for his 1811 advertisement offering Allen's Colchester house and lands for sale, and Allen's angry response.

24. Chauncey Langdon to IA, Oct. 21, 1801, photocopy in AFP, box 22, folder 84; Benjamin Boardman et al. to IA, Dec. 4, 1801, photocopy in AFP, box 22, folder 93.

25. IA deed to Jabez G. Fitch, Dec. 14, 1801, AFP, box 22, folder 94; Henry Caldwell to IA, Dec. 28, 1801, photocopy in AFP, box 22, folder 97; IA to Caldwell, Feb. 2, 1802, photocopy in AFP, box 23, folder 6.

26. IA to Hathaway, Jan. 21 and Jan. 25, 1802, and Hathaway to IA, Jan. 28, 1802, photocopies in AFP, box 23, folders 2, 3, 4.

27. Levi Allen bathing-house advertisement, (Burlington) Vermont Centinel, July 2, 1801; Levi Allen, "To the World," idem, Aug. 13, 1801.

28. Levi Allen will, Jan. 11, 1796, and estate papers, Chittenden County probate records; Samuel Hitchcock to Lucy Hitchcock, Dec. 16, 1801, Hitchcock Family Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.; (Burlington) Vermont Centinel, Dec. 17, 1801; Benny F. Cockerham, "Levi Allen (1746-1801): Opportunism and the Problem of Allegiance" (M.A. thesis, University of Vermont, 1965), p. 253.
29. Jabez Penniman to IA, Feb. 16 and July 12, 1802, photocopies in AFP, box 23, folders 9, 24; IA to Fanny Penniman and to Jabez Penniman, both June 12, 1812, photocopies in AFP, box 23, folders 19, 20; Matthew Cole, deposition concerning IA's administration of Ethan Allen's estate, Feb. 20, 1802, VHS, Udney Hay Papers.
30. Silas Hathaway, offer to raise Ethan Allen's sons, Nov. 5, 1802, VHS, Udney Hay Papers.
31. Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 346; Crockett, "Ira Allen and Colchester," p. 34; John Jenkins to IA, June 24, 1802, and IA to Jenkins, June 27, 1802, photocopies in AFP, box 23, folders 22, 23.
32. (Burlington) Vermont Centinel, Aug. 5, 1802; IA and Jerusha Allen leases to Irasburg lands, August 1802, AFP, box 23.
33. IA to Pierpont Edwards, May 8, 1802, photocopy in AFP, box 23, folder 17; William Hull to IA, July 24, 1802, photocopy in AFP, box 23, folder 27; IA to Silas Hathaway, Aug. 19, 1802, photocopy in AFP, box 23, folder 37.
34. William Hull to Hathaway, July 24, 1802, Silas Hathaway Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 1, folder 7; A. Crane, for Thaddeus Tuttle, to Hathaway, Oct. 5, 1802, idem; "Woolcoot" to Hathaway, April 20, 1802, idem; Gamaliel Painter to IA, Dec. 24, 1802, VHS, * X MS B AL535; (Burlington) Vermont Centinel, Feb. 18, Feb. 22, Aug. 5, Aug. 12, 1802; [IA], State of Vermont. To the honorable the Court of Chancery to be holden at Middlebury in and for the County of Addison by adjournment on the Tuesday being the 29th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1802 ([1803?]), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 147-73.
35. IA to Isaac Scott, July 23, 1802, VHS, * X MS B AL535; Peters to IA, Sept. 10, 1802, photocopy in AFP, box 23, folder 41.
36. State of Virginia summons, Sept. 9, 1802, photocopy in AFP, box 23, folder 42; Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 351-52. Although the title-page of Extracts from the First

Volume of the Particulars of the Capture of the Ship Olive Branch (Burlington: John K. Baker, 1802) gives the date of publication as August 1802, Allen did not retrieve the printed copies, which end abruptly on page 160, from Baker until 1804. See (Burlington) Vermont Centinel, Sept. 2, 1802, for a notice that the book would be ready for sale "in a few weeks."

37. IA, "To the Citizens of Vermont," (Burlington) Vermont Centinel, Aug. 12, 1802; Robert W. Silsby, "Frontier Attitudes and Debt Collection in Western New York," in David M. Ellis, ed., The Frontier in American Development: Essays in Honor of Paul Wallace Gates (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1969), pp. 141-61; Peter J. Coleman, Debtors and Creditors in America: Insolvency, Imprisonment for Debt, and Bankruptcy, 1607-1900 (Madison, Wisc.: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1974), pp. 18-20, 65-71; H. J. Conant, "Imprisonment for Debt in Vermont: A History," Vermont Quarterly, 19, 2 (April 1951): 67-80.

38. Stephen Thorn to IA, Oct. 31, 1802, photocopy in AFP, box 23, folder 62; Colchester Proprietors' Records, UVM, 2: 351-69 (the biggest buyers at these December 1802 vendue sales were Benjamin Boardman, Thaddeus Tuttle and Francis Childs).

39. Quote from Samuel Hitchcock to Lucy Allen Hitchcock, Dec. 8, 1802, Hitchcock Family Papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.; writing just before Thanksgiving, Hitchcock added, "when we get through with this man we shall be, I hope, better prepared to be thankful." See also: Samuel Hitchcock to Lucy Allen Hitchcock, Nov. 3, 1802, idem; IA to Nathaniel Chipman, Daniel Chipman and Noah Chittenden, "masters in Chancery," Dec. 5, 1802, Ira Allen Papers, Stevens Collection, VSA, box 5, folder 8, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 356-57.

40. Referees' report, Dec. 11, 1802, photocopy in AFP, box 23, folder 67, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 521-25; the 13-page report is the most detailed account available of the Onion River Land Company's murky financial history. On the efforts of other Allen heirs to join in the Onion River suits against IA, see Jabez and Fanny Allen Penniman petition to the Rutland County Court, Dec. 11, 1802, Udney Hay Papers, VHS.

41. Bird, Savage & Bird circular, Feb. 7, 1803, photocopy in AFP, box 23, folder 68; Coleman, Debtors and Creditors, pp. 65-68; Conant, "Imprisonment for Debt in Vermont."

42. IA agreement with Hathaway, April 8, 1803, Colchester Proprietors' Records, UVM, 2: 349; Heman Allen agreement with Hathaway, April 8, 1803, in [Heman Allen] Allen's Exposition of the Controversy Subsisting Between Silas Hathaway and Himself ([Montpelier, Vt., 1822]); IA deed to Heman Allen, April 8, 1803, AFP, box 23, folder 69.
43. Quotes from Public Characters of 1802-03 (London: printed for Richard Phillips, 1803), pp. 225-38; same text in Public Characters, or Contemporary Biography (Baltimore: printed by Bonsall and Niles, 1803), pp. 436-47.
44. IA statement to bankruptcy commissioners, Sept. 21, 1803, VHS, * X MS B AL535; bankruptcy commissioners' ruling, Sept. 23, 1803, VHS, MSS 26 #16; Coleman, Debtors and Creditors, pp. 18-20; Charles Warren, Bankruptcy in United States History (1935; reprint ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), pp. 17-21.
45. IA, Gen. Allen's Statement, Respecting a Large Cargo of Cannon and Arms Purchased in France, for the Use of the Militia in Vermont ([1804?]), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 174; James Madison to James Monroe, Dec. 13, 1803, in IA, Particulars of the Capture of the Ship Olive Branch, Laden with a Cargo of Arms and Cannon (Philadelphia: printed for the author, 1805), pp. 375-76.
46. IA, Statements Applicable to the Cause of the Olive Branch (1807), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 235; John P. Ripley to IA about Elizabeth Finch's need for money, Aug. 20 and Sept. 7, 1802, photocopies in AFP, box 23, folders 38, 39.
47. Bradford Perkins, The First Rapprochement: England and the United States 1795-1805 (1955; reprint ed., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp. 141-43; IA, Particulars, pp. 447-52. Although it ruled for Allen, the appeals court ordered him to pay the captors' legal expenses of nearly £1,000; this, coupled with his own attorneys' fees and the cost of shipping the muskets from Portsmouth to New York in 1798, added a total of £3,394.1.0 to Ira's Olive Branch debts.
48. IA, Particulars, pp. 381-86; IA, Statements Applicable (1807), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 236-37; Journals of the General Assembly of the State of Vermont . . . October 11, 1804 (Windsor: Printed by Alden Spooner, 1804), pp. 141-42, 335; Wilbur, Ira Allen, pp. 371-74; Heman Allen to Jerusha Allen, Nov. 1, 1804, VHS, * Folio MS B AL535LM.

49. IA, A Concise Summary of the Second Volume of the Olive Branch (1807), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 206-09; Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 390-91; IA, Extracts from Volumes 5th, 1st, & 4th of Select Speeches Lately Published in Philadelphia, Which with Remarks Subjoined, are Applicable to the Cause of the Olive Branch, and Consequences Resulting Therefrom ([1809?]), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 282-83; IA, Copies of Letters to the Governor of Vermont, and Address to the Legislature Thereof, Respecting a Conspiracy Against the Author; and Respecting a Ship Canal from Lake Champlain to the River St. Lawrence ([1811]), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 284-90; IA to Samuel Williams, Aug. 18, 1809, AFP, box 24, folder 17.

50. IA to Fanny Allen Penniman, Oct. 9, 1809, in IA, Copies of Letters ([1811]), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 314; other IA October 1809 letters and petitions, in idem, 3: 285-89, 315-18.

51. IA to Jerusha, Jan. 16, 1805, VHS, MSS 7 805116, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 379-80.

52. Heman Allen to Abraham Van Vechten on Ira's lawsuits, Jan. 1805 to Aug. 1807, photocopies in AFP, box 24, folders 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10, 13; [Heman Allen], Allen's Exposition, pp. 8-9; Chittenden County Court Papers, UVM, box 1, folder 1.

53. IA to Gamaliel Painter, April 11, 1805, VHS, * X MS B AL535; Ira H. Allen and Zimri E. Allen correspondence with Jerusha E. Allen, 1805-10, mss. at VHS; Ira Hayden Allen UVM student compositions, 1808-10, VHS, X MS B AL537; Zimri E. Allen to IA, September 1808, VHS, MSS 7 805540.

54. Quotes from IA to Samuel Hitchcock and Allen family, June 28, 1809, and IA to Heman Allen, Oct. 16, 1809, in IA, Copies of Letters ([1811]), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 305-05, 318. Other IA letters to family, 1809, idem, 3: 300-02, 306-17. IA to Jerusha E. Allen, Feb. 9, 1809, VHS, * Folio MS B AL535LM, pub. in Wilbur, Ira Allen, 2: 410-11.

55. IA to Heman Allen and Allen family, Oct. 13, 1809, in IA, Copies of Letters ([1811]), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 315-16.

56. See Appendix A for bibliographic details of Allen's 1804-09 Olive Branch publications, several of which are reprinted in EA/IA: CW, vol. 3.

57. IA printed circular to U.S. governors, July 4, 1806, AFP, box 24, folder 9. Allen's 1805-07 letters to American and British government officials are printed in his Olive Branch titles; see A Concise Summary (1807), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 201-05, 211-17; Ira Allen's Address to the Freemen of Vermont, and Legislature Thereof, Respecting a Cargo of Military Stores, Captured by the British (1808), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 274-76; Statements Applicable to the Cause of the Olive Branch (1807), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 240-41; Particulars, pp. 408-14.

58. IA 1808-09 correspondence with the Jefferson and Madison administrations, in IA, Copies of Letters ([1811]), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 290-93, 305-06; Rodney's review of Allen's Olive Branch case, idem, 3: 293-99; J. C. A. Stagg, Mr. Madison's War: Politics, Diplomacy, and Warfare in the Early American Republic, 1783-1830 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983).

59. H. N. Muller, III, "Smuggling Into Canada: How the Champlain Valley Defied Jefferson's Embargo," VH, 38, 1 (Winter 1970): 5-21; Williamson, Vermont in Quandary, ch. 17; Allan S. Everest, The War of 1812 in the Champlain Valley (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1981), ch. 2; IA memorial to Vermont legislature, July 2, 1810, VHS, * Folio MS B AL535LM, pub. in (Windsor) Spencer's Vermont Journal, Aug. 20, 1810; IA, Copies of Letters ([1811]), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 328-34, 350-52.

60. See Appendix A for bibliographic details of Allen's 1810-11 Olive Branch pamphlets.

61. Quote from IA to Ira H. Allen and Zimri E. Allen, April 24, 1812, VHS, * Folio MS B AL535LM; other IA letters to family, 1810-12, idem; IA to Moses Catlin, July 1, 1811, AFP, box 24, folder 22; Zimri E. Allen to IA, July 27, 1811, VHS, MSS 7 811427; IA, Copies of Letters ([1811]), rpt. in EA/IA: CW, 3: 319-26, 345-49, 352-55.

62. Obituary of Maria Julietta Allen, (Burlington) Northern Centinel, Aug. 29, 1811; Heman Allen to Jerusha E. Allen, July 16, 1812, VHS, * Folio MS B AL535LM; IA to Mrs. Don Jose Alvarez de Toledo, Oct. 7, 1813, photocopy in AFP, box 24, folder 38.

63. Charles C. Griffin, The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822 (1937; reprint ed., New York: Octagon Books, 1968); Arthur P. Whitaker, The United States and the Independence of Latin America, 1800-1830 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1941); Peggy K. Liss, Atlantic Empires: The Network of Trade and Revolution,

1713-1826 (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), ch. 9.

64. Elizabeth H. West, trans., "Diary of Jose Bernardo Gutierrez de Lara, 1811-1812," The American Historical Review, 34 (1928-29): 55-77, 281-94; Harris G. Warren, The Sword Was Their Passport: A History of American Filibustering in the American Revolution (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1943), pp. 5-16, 87-88; idem, "Jose Alvarez de Toledo's Initiation as a Filibuster, 1811-1813," Hispanic American Historical Review, 20, 1 (February 1940): 56-82; idem, "The Early Revolutionary Career of Juan Mariano Picornell," Hispanic American Historical Review, 22, 1 (February 1942): 57-81.

65. IA to James Monroe, Nov. 19, 1812, photocopy in AFP, box 24, folder 26. The originals of Allen's 1812-13 letters concerning the Mexico expedition are in "U.S. Department of State Collection," Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, MMC 1089; photocopies in AFP; several cited or quoted in Isaac J. Cox, "Monroe and the Early Mexican Revolutionary Agents," American Historical Association Report (1911): 199-215. Kathryn Garrett, "The First Newspaper of Texas: Gazeta de Texas," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 40 (1936-37): 200-15; [Henry Adams Bullard], book review, North American Review, 43 (1836): 238, describes Mower ["Moore"] as "a man of singular versatility of talent, possessing a vast amount of practical knowledge, and at the same time brave, enthusiastic, and enterprising;" Walter L. Mower, Mower Family History: A Genealogical Record of the Maine Branch of This Family (Portland, Me.: The Southworth Press, 1923), p. 27, provides only Mower's parents' names and his birth and death dates (Sept. 11, 1790-Oct. 12, 1831).

66. IA to Gutierrez, Sept. 14, 1813, photocopy in AFP, box 24, folder 33.

67. John P. Ripley to Heman Allen, Jan. 22, 1814, VHS, * Folio MS B AL535LM; Francis Olcott Allen, "Earliest Records of the Burials in Phila. from the Board of Health," Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, 1, 4 (December 1898): 225.

EPILOGUE

Ira Allen's sad end resembled the fate of many of Revolutionary America's biggest land speculators and frontier entrepreneurs. Ira's leading counterparts--William Duer, James Greenleaf, Robert Morris, Henry Knox, John Nicholson, Oliver Phelps, John Cleves Symmes--also died bankrupt or nearly so, with their land companies dismantled and their grand development plans unrealized. While speculation could be a profitable business in the late-eighteenth century, the men with the most ambitious agendas and the most optimistic visions of the frontier's future often found success beyond their grasp. In most cases, it was the next generation of entrepreneurs, the successors to the great pioneer speculators, who picked up the pieces and made fortunes from the wreckage of their dreams. The thriving villages, bustling industries, and prosperous entrepots that the Allens, Duers and Nicholsons anticipated would come to pass, but not in time for the early speculators to reap the rewards.

Developments in the Champlain Valley ran true to this national pattern after 1814. Burlington became a busy port, and trade on Lake Champlain increased rapidly. The population along the eastern shore of the lake rose steadily, topping 70,000 by mid-century. Most of the men who seized Ira's lands and hounded him out of Vermont prospered. Thaddeus Tuttle, Benjamin Boardman and Gideon King became

leaders of Burlington's commercial activity--King, eventually dominating the sailing traffic on the lake, being dubbed "The Admiral of Lake Champlain." Moses and Lucinda Allen Catlin used the Winooski River mills they received in the Onion River Land Company litigation as the foundation for one of the region's largest fortunes. Although nothing had worked out as he planned, Ira's dream for northwestern Vermont had come true.[¹]

The Champlain Valley's relationship with Canada, the dominant focus of Allen's entrepreneurial career, changed gradually in the decades following his death. In the 1820s, completion of the Champlain Canal gave the valley a southern connection to the Hudson River, ending the region's reliance on trade with Canada. Twenty years later, the opening of the Chamblee Canal finally accomplished the link between the Richelieu and the St. Lawrence that Ira had proposed in 1796. Beginning in the 1820s, increasing numbers of French-Canadian workers migrated south to jobs in Vermont factories, lumber camps and stone quarries. Vermonters still disapproved on occasion of British control of Canada: in the 1830s there was much Green Mountain support for the patriote rebellion's drive to oust the British, and after the Civil War the Fenians found a base in Vermont for planning their abortive raids across the border. Long after Ira's

prediction to Frederick Haldimand that Vermont "must either be annexed to Canada, or become Mistress of it" had been forgotten, the ties between the Green Mountain State and Quebec remained strong and complex.[²]

The individual fortunes of Ira's principal associates and enemies varied after 1814. Isaac Tichenor, Ira's most persistent and powerful adversary in Vermont state government in the 1780s and 1790s, capped his political career with election to the United States Senate in 1815 and died in Bennington, full of years and honors, in 1838. John A. Graham, whose testimony concerning the United Columbia plot had sabotaged the Olive Branch scheme, flourished as an attorney in New York City until his death at 77 in 1841. Unable to maintain his claim to the Champlain Valley lands over which he and Ira fought, Silas Hathaway fell into debt, hard times, and disrepute. From an Allen perspective, there was poetic justice in Hathaway's fall, especially since it was Heman Allen, the nephew Ira raised and nurtured, who forced Hathaway into debtors prison in the late 1810s. Heman's more substantive achievements--University of Vermont trustee, election to the U.S. House of Representatives, U.S. Minister to Chile from 1823 to 1828, president of the Burlington branch of the Bank of the United States--made him the most accomplished of his family's second Vermont generation.[³]

The lives of Ira's widow and only surviving son provided a note of irony to the aftermath of his story. When Ira's world fell apart after 1795, Jerusha Enos Allen was left with only one property she could hold safe from the claims of her husband's creditors--her wedding gift, the town of Irasburg. With Heman's help, she managed to hang onto most of the town during the lean years of Ira's exile in Philadelphia, and after his death she moved to Irasburg with Ira Hayden Allen and began to develop her interests there. Working together to promote settlement and improvements in the town by leasing their best lots and selling off the rest, mother and son gradually built Irasburg into a moderately prosperous community. Ira Hayden Allen continued to foster this growth after Jerusha's death in 1838, and by the time he died in 1866 at the age of 75, his neighbors agreed that he was one of the wealthiest men in Orleans County. His life included none of the excitement, danger and grandiose empire-building that had characterized the careers of his father and uncles, but his careful approach secured at least a small measure of the riches that had eluded them all.[⁴]

The success of his son and nephew did little to keep Ira Allen from slipping into the shadows of history by the middle of the nineteenth century. He and the Olive Branch

affair reemerged briefly in 1829, when Ira Hayden and Heman unsuccessfully petitioned England to pay the family's old claims, but after that Ira's reputation quickly faded.[⁵] By 1838, Ira Hayden Allen had to write to Elijah Paine (whose attempt to establish a college at Williamstown in the mid-1780s had set the stage for Ira's more successful effort) to verify that his father had in fact played a prominent role in founding the University of Vermont.[⁶] With Victorian Vermonters embracing a historical identity that revolved around Ethan Allen, the Green Mountain Boys, and the stirring saga of brave Yankees battling avaricious Yorkers for control of the New Hampshire Grants, Ira's commercial plans, his self-serving wheeling-and-dealing, and his political scheming fell outside the parameters of the popular heroic tradition. Successive generations of Green Mountain historians proudly compared Ethan Allen to Daniel Boone and Thomas Chittenden to George Washington, but Ira attracted few accolades. Ironically, even as the version of the Yankee versus Yorker controversy that Ira had put forth in his own writings became the standard Vermont account of the state's beginnings, Ira's troubled career and unsavory personal style limited him to a minor role in the story.[⁷]

While Ira's memory settled into obscurity, so too did his final resting place. In 1839 Ira Hayden Allen erected a

small monument at Irasburg in his father's honor, but no attempt was made to move Ira's remains from Philadelphia.[⁸] In 1897 Vermont antiquarian Lucius E. Chittenden, great-grandson of the state's first governor, financed a search for Allen's grave. The men Chittenden sent to Philadelphia reported that although the Free Quaker Cemetery contained some 500 graves, the site had not been maintained for nearly 30 years. In the wasteland of illegible and broken headstones, weeds, and rubbish the cemetery had become, they found no clue to the location of Ira's remains. Eight years later, the Religious Society of Free Quakers disinterred all the bones in the cemetery and moved them to a mass grave at Fatland Farm in Audubon, Pennsylvania, where they lie today under a simple stone marker.[⁹]

A century after Ira's death, an admirer named James Benjamin Wilbur took up the challenge of rehabilitating his historical reputation. Wilbur, a wealthy Chicago businessman who retired to an impressive country estate in Manchester, Vermont, in 1909, became an enthusiastic Vermont antiquarian and book collector. He developed a particular fascination for Allen and decided that it was "a sacred duty to undertake the writing of his life." Ira Allen: Founder of Vermont 1751-1814, the two-volume, 1,114-page result, was closer to hagiography than biography. Determined to place

Ira firmly upon the pedestal reserved for "Vermont's noblest son," Wilbur faithfully recorded the mass of evidence he uncovered and doggedly interpreted every piece of it in Ira's favor. This often involved tortuous arguments and convoluted reasoning, but every possible criticism of Ira's actions, character and motives was dutifully met and struck down. In the end, Wilbur accomplished half of his goal: his work amply documented Ira's significance in Revolutionary Vermont, but the attempt to portray him as a selfless hero convinced few readers in Vermont and virtually none outside the state.[¹⁰]

Ira's restoration to a prominent place in early Vermont history came just as the solidarity of the state's long-standing filiopietistic traditions began to crumble. As Green Mountain scholars adopted the revisionist interpretations of their national counterparts after 1930, unquestioning acceptance of the Allen version of Vermont's formative decades became the exception rather than the rule. In its place appeared more objective and critical evaluations of the struggle for the Grants, the Arlington Junto, the Haldimand affair, and the financial goals of the Allens and their allies. Amateur antiquarians and popular writers maintained the tradition of heroic Green Mountain Boys fighting for freedom, but professional historians reworked

the story of early Vermont to emphasize economic self-interest, land speculation, flexible political alliances, and regional geographic influences on trade and commerce in the state's eighteenth-century development.[¹¹] In recent years, as non-Vermont scholars have trained their sights on the Allen brothers and their Green Mountain contemporaries, a better-rounded picture of the northern Revolutionary frontier and its place in national history has emerged.[¹²]

Yet although his place and time have attracted a good deal of attention in the past quarter-century, Ira Allen remains a little-known, ill-defined figure in recent popular and scholarly historical literature alike. This is unfortunate, since there is much of interest about Ira's checkered career; although he ended in failure, his dreams were as grand as any contemplated in his day. As founder of the Onion River Land Company and a visionary entrepreneur, he represents a type whose activities influenced the development of the early frontier from Maine to the Carolinas. His role in creating and defending independent Vermont illuminates the distinctive Green Mountain variation on the national themes of "revolution within the Revolution" and "who should rule at home." Allen's faith in the University of Vermont as a bastion of democracy and a source of educational opportunity for the common man reflects

America's late-eighteenth-century debate over republicanism and the true meaning of the Revolution. The Olive Branch affair and Ira's European misadventures intersect the international triangle between the United States, Great Britain and France in the final decade of the eighteenth century. On these and other subjects--the press and politics on the Revolutionary frontier; the Haldimand negotiations; commerce and trade in the early republic; United States filibusters in the Spanish-American revolutions--Ira Allen left his mark on the 1750-1815 chapter of the American experience.

NOTES

1. Thomas H. Canfield, "Discovery, Navigation and Navigators of Lake Champlain," in Abby M. Hemenway, ed., The Vermont Historical Gazetteer (Various places and printers, 1867-91), 1: 656-707.

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4. Heman Allen deed to Jerusha Allen, April 12, 1814, AFP, box 24, folder 41; Jerusha Allen advertisement, April 14, 1815, Burlington Gazette; Jerusha and Ira Hayden Allen land and financial mss., 1814-66, AFP, boxes 24-27; Thomas Bayne, A Sermon Delivered at the Congregational Church, Irasburg, Vermont, May 2, 1866, on Occasion of the Death of Hon. Ira Hayden Allen (Montpelier, Vt.: E. P. Walton, 1866); Marjorie A. Orcutt & Edward S. Alexander, A History of Irasburg, Vermont (Rutland, Vt.: Academy Books, 1989), pp. 19-28.

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6. Ira Hayden Allen to Elijah Paine, June 12, 1838, AFP, box 25, folder 20. On UVM's nineteenth-century view of Ira Allen, see: John Wheeler, A Historical Discourse (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Print, 1854), pp. 10-11; John E. Goodrich, The Founder of the University of Vermont: A Centennial Oration on the Life and Public Services of General Ira Allen (No place, printer or date listed; Burlington, Vt., 1892)]; J. Kevin Graffagnino, "A Hard Founding Father to Love: Ira Allen and the University of Vermont," in Robert V. Daniels, ed., The University of Vermont: The First Two Hundred Years (Burlington, Vt.: University of Vermont, 1991), pp. 32-33.

7. J. Kevin Graffagnino, "The Vermont 'Story': Continuity and Change in Vermont Historiography," VH, 46, 2 (Spring 1978): 77-99; "Why Are We Still Vermonters? Vermont's Identity Crisis and the Founding of the Vermont Historical Society," VH, 59, 4 (Fall 1991): 197-211; P. Jeffrey Potash, "Deficiencies in Our Past," VH, 59, 4 (Fall 1991): 212-26; John McWilliams, "The Faces of Ethan Allen, 1760-1860," NEQ, 49, 2 (June 1976): 257-82. The only biographical studies of Allen published prior to 1920 are: Daniel P. Thompson, "Life, Character and Times of Ira Allen," published in 15 parts in the (Brandon) Vermont Record in August-December 1864, and repub. in VHS Proceedings (1907-08), pp. 89-172; Charles A. Converse, "The Olive Branch," in The Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Vermont 1918 (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Printing Co., 1918), pp. 31-54.

8. The inscription on the Irasburg monument reads, "Genl. Ira Allen of Colchester, the foremost of the founders of the University of Vermont and one of that band of worthies who by their exertions secured the independence of this and the United States. Died at Philadelphia, in the year 1814 aged 64 years"; Ira Hayden Allen to Joseph Cubley, March 13, 1839, AFP, box 25, folder 22.

9. Burlington Free Press, Nov. 30, 1898, p. 4; Francis O. Allen, "Earliest Records of the Burials in Phila. from the Board of Health," Publications of the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, 1, 4 (December 1898): 225; James B. Wilbur, Ira Allen: Founder of Vermont 1751-1814 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928), 2: 446-48. The photo file at Special Collections, UVM, contains a set of photographs made

in 1898 of the headstones in the Free Quaker Cemetery. In October 1992, a group of University of Vermont alumni placed a granite tablet and a historic sites plaque at the Audubon cemetery to mark Allen's final resting place.

10. Quotes from Wilbur, Ira Allen, 1: vi, 2: 448. On July 3, 1928, Vermont historian Henry Steele Wardner wrote to John Spargo, president of the Vermont Historical Society: "I have received and examined Mr. Wilbur's two volumes. They are astonishing. . . . The one great omission seems to me to be the neglect on Mr. Wilbur's part to plead insanity on behalf of his client and so temper the criticisms of those who will otherwise, on Mr. Wilbur's maladroitness, write down the unlucky Ira as having turned into little more than a humbug and panhandler by the time he reached middle age"; John Spargo Papers, UVM. For a favorable Vermont reaction to Wilbur's work, see Arthur Wallace Peach, "Ira Allen and Vermont," The Vermonter, 33, 12 (December 1928): 191-94.

11. Among the more popular twentieth-century versions of the traditional view of early Vermont are: Frederic F. Van de Water, The Reluctant Republic: Vermont 1724-1791 (1941; reprint ed., Taftsville, Vt.: The Countryman Press, 1974); Ralph N. Hill, Contrary Country: A Chronicle of Vermont (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1950); Dorothy C. Fisher, Vermont Tradition: The Biography of an Outlook on Life (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1953). Post-1920 popular biographical titles on the Allen brothers include: Stewart Holbrook, Ethan Allen (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940); Edwin P. Hoyt, The Damndest Yankees: Ethan Allen & His Clan (Brattleboro, Vt.: The Stephen Greene Press, 1974); William F. Rickenbacker, "Ethan's Brother," Modern Age, 23, 1 (Winter 1979): 79-83; Myra F. Taplin, "Ira Allen," The Vermonter, 43, 4 (April 1938): 89-92; Eugene H. Clowse, "Vermont and Ira Allen," Vermont Alumni Weekly, 9, 25 (April 30, 1930): 389, 393-95; Mason S. Stone, "Ira Allen--State Builder," Vermont Alumni Weekly, 10, 27 (May 13, 1931): 421, 426-29; Leonard Twynham, "Ira Allen," The Vermonter, 36, 3 (March 1931): [68].

12. Graffagnino, "The Vermont 'Story'". The influential scholarly studies of early Vermont published between 1930 and 1970 included: Matt B. Jones, Vermont in the Making: 1750-1777 (1939; reprint ed., New York: Archon Books, 1968); Williamson, Vermont in Quandary; Charles A. Jellison, Ethan Allen: Frontier Rebel (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1969). Among the more recent scholarly reevaluations are: Aleine Austin, Matthew Lyon: "New Man" of the Democratic Revolution, 1749-1822 (University Park, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State University

Press, 1981); Bernard Bailyn, Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), pp. 604-37; Michael A. Bellesiles, "Life, Liberty, and Land: Ethan Allen and the Frontier Experience in Revolutionary New England" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Irvine, 1986); Peter S. Onuf, The Origins of the Federal Republic: Jurisdictional Controversies in the United States 1775-1783 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), chaps. 5-6; Michael Sherman, ed., A More Perfect Union: Vermont Becomes a State, 1777-1816 (Montpelier, Vt.: VHS and Vermont Statehood Bicentennial Commission, 1991); Donald A. Smith, "Legacy of Dissent: Religion and Politics in Revolutionary Vermont, 1749 to 1784" (Ph.D. diss., Clark University, 1980).

APPENDIX A

THE PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF ETHAN AND IRA ALLEN:

AN ANNOTATED CHECKLIST

The following is a chronological listing of the first editions of the published books, pamphlets, and broadsides of Ethan and Ira Allen.

1774 --

Ethan Allen, A Brief Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of New York, Relative to Their Obtaining the Jurisdiction of That Large District of Land, to the Westward from Connecticut River (Hartford: Eben Watson, 1774).

18cm., 211 pages. Dated at end, September 23, 1774; apparently distributed in January 1775. Evans 13102.

1777 --

Ira Allen, Some Miscellaneous Remarks, and Short Arguments, on a Small Pamphlet, Dated in the Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York, October 2, 1776, and from Said Convention to the County of Cumberland, and Some Reasons Given, Why the District of the New Hampshire Grants Had Best Be a State (Hartford: Ebenezer Watson,

1777). 21cm., 26 pages. Apparently published in May 1777.

Evans 15234.

Ira Allen, Miscellaneous Remarks, on the Proceedings of

the state of New-York, Against the State of Vermont, &c.

(Hartford: Hannah Watson, 1777). 21cm., 13 pages. Dated at end, October 30, 1777. Evans 15235.

1778 --

Ethan Allen, An Animadversory Address to the Inhabitants of the State of Vermont (Hartford: Eben Watson, 1778). 22cm., 24 pages. Dated Bennington, August 9, 1778. Evans 15719.

Ira Allen, "To the Inhabitants of the State of Vermont . . . Dresden, November 27, 1778" ([Dresden: J. P. & A. Spooner, 1778]). 32cm., [3] pages. McCorison 1. Evans 15720.

1779 --

Ira Allen, A Vindication of the Conduct of the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, Against Allegations and Remarks of the Protesting Members; with Observations on Their Proceedings at a Convention Held at Cornish on the 9th Day of December, 1778 (Dresden: Alden Spooner, 1779). 17cm., 48 pages. McCorison 12. Evans 16184.

Ira Allen, "To the Inhabitants of the State of Vermont. Friends and Fellow-Countrymen . . . Norwich, April 19, 1779" ([Dresden: J. P. & A. Spooner, 1779]). 32.5cm., broadsheet. McCorison 11.

Ethan Allen, A Vindication of the Opposition of the Inhabitants of Vermont to the Government of New York, and of Their Right to Form an Independent Government (Dresden: Alden Spooner, 1779). 19.5cm., 172 pages. McCorison 9. Evans 16183.

Ira Allen, "To the Inhabitants of the State of Vermont. Friends and Fellow Citizens . . . Norwich, July 13, 1779" ([Dresden: J. P. & A. Spooner, 1779]). 37.5cm., broadsheet. McCorison 10.

Ethan Allen, A Narrative of Colonel Ethan Allen's Captivity (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1779). 20cm., 46 pages. Evans 16180.

1780 --

Ethan Allen & Jonas Fay, A Concise Refutation of the Claims of New Hampshire and Massachusetts Bay to the Territory of Vermont (Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, [1780]). 19cm., 29 pages.

Dated January 1, 1780. Evans 16693.

1782 --

[Ethan Allen], The Present State of the Controversy Between the States of New York and New Hampshire, on the One Part, and the State of Vermont on the Other (Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, 1782). 18cm., 16 pages. Evans 17452.

Ira Allen, The Treasurer's Address to the Legislature, in June Last, Relative to Public Accounts (Westminster: Judah Spooner, 1782). 19.5cm., 12 pages. McCorison 58.

1783 --

[Ira Allen & Thomas Tolman], A Copy of a Remonstrance of the Council of the State of Vermont, Against the Resolutions of Congress of the 5th of December Last, Which Interfere with Their Internal Police (Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, 1783). 19cm., 20 pages. Prepared by Allen and Tolman for the Governor and Council of Vermont, signed by Governor Thomas Chittenden. Dated Bennington, January 9, 1783. Evans 18278.

Ira Allen, "The Treasurer takes this method to inform the public . . . Treasurer's Office, Sunderland, May 27, 1783" ([Windsor: Hough & Spooner, 1783?]). 30.5cm., broadside. McCorison 68.

1784 --

Ethan Allen, Reason the Only Oracle of Man, or A Compenduous System of Natural Religion (Bennington: Haswell & Russell, 1784). 21cm., 477 pages. McCorison 69. Evans 18322.

1786 --

Ethan Allen, John Franklin & John Jenkins, "An Address from the Inhabitants of Wyoming . . . to the People at large of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania . . . Wyoming, September 12, 1786" (Hudson: Ashbel Stoddard, [1786]). 48cm., broadside. Presents case of Susquehannah Company's New England settlers in Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley. Evans 20164.

1793 --

Ira Allen, "To His Excellency the Governor . . . of the State of Vermont . . . Windsor, October 24, 1793" ([Windsor: A. Spooner, 1793?]). 27cm., broadside. On Allen's tangled accounts as State Treasurer. McCorison 247. Evans 25089.

Ira Allen, "General Allen's Address . . . Windsor, October 30th, 1793" ([Windsor: A. Spooner, 1793?]). 24.5cm., broadside. On Allen's accounts as State Treasurer. McCorison 246.

1794 --

Ira Allen, "General Allen's Memorial, Vouchers, and Statement . . . Rutland, October 27th, 1764[sic]" (Rutland: J. Lyon, [1794]). 41.5cm., broadside. On Allen's accounts as State Treasurer. McCorison 288. Evans 26549.

1797 --

Ira Allen, Twenty Thousand Muskets!!! Particulars of the Capture of the Ship Olive Branch, in November, 1796 (London: printed for J. Parsons, 1797). 21cm., 106 pages. Usually bound with A Continuation (1798); together they form the 1798 Particulars.

1798 --

Ira Allen, A Continuation of the Cause, Respecting the Cargo of the Ship Olive Branch (London: [printed for J. Parsons?], January 3, 1798). 21cm., pages 111-405. Usually bound with Twenty Thousand Muskets (1797), although with separate half-title, to form 1798 Particulars.

Ira Allen, Particulars of the Capture of the Ship Olive Branch, Laden with a Cargo of Arms, &c. (London: J. W. Myers, 1798). 21cm., 405 pages. Combined contents of Twenty Thousand Muskets (1798) and A Continuation (1798) in one volume.

Ira Allen, The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont, One of the United States of America (London: J. W. Myers, 1798). 21cm., 300 pages, folding frontispiece map.

1802 --

Ira Allen, Extracts from the First Volume of the Particulars of the Capture of the Ship Olive Branch (Burlington: John K. Baker, August, 1802). 24cm., 160 pages. Ends abruptly, break occasioned by Allen's sudden departure from Vermont and printer's subsequent failure to finish the work; text consists of selections from 1798 Particulars. McCorison 632. Shaw/Shoemaker 1743.

1803 --

Ira Allen, State of Vermont. To the Honorable the Court of Chancery to be Holden at Middlebury . . . the 29th Day of June, . . . 1802 ([Middlebury: Huntington & Fitch, 1803?]). 23cm., 16 pages. Concerns Allen's lawsuit against rival speculator Silas Hathaway; last page prints January 1803 court order. McCorison 633.

1804 --

Ira Allen, Gen. Allen's Statement, Respecting a Large Cargo of Cannon and Arms Purchased in France, for the Use of the Militia in Vermont ([Philadelphia, 1804?]). 20cm., 15 pages. Above "title" on first page, "The Following Extract of a Statement, was Presented to the Hon. James Madison, Esquire, Secretary of the United States, in December, 1803."

Ira Allen, Narrative of the Transactions Relative to the Capture of the American Ship, Olive Branch ([Philadelphia, 1804?]). 22cm., 368 pages. No title-page; begins with "To the Reader," explaining that Allen will deliver printed front matter, more text, and index at October 1804 session of Vermont legislature. Shaw/Shoemaker 5684.

1805 --

Ira Allen, Particulars of the Capture of the Ship Olive Branch, Laden with a Cargo of Cannon and Arms (Philadelphia: printed for the author, 1805). 21cm., 551 pages. "Volume II" on title-page, referring back to 1798 Particulars, but text is principally reprints from previous Olive Branch titles. Shaw/Shoemaker 7852.

1806 --

Ira Allen, Ira Allen's Memorial to the Government of the United States ([Washington, D.C., 1806?]). 21cm., [7] pages. From U.S. Senate documents, Ninth Congress, First Session; Allen memorial, February 22, 1805, and James Madison report, April 11, 1806.

Ira Allen, A Concise Summary of the Second Volume of the Olive Branch (Philadelphia: Thomas S. Stiles & Solomon Wieatt, [1806]). 20cm., 15 pages. Apparently published

autumn 1806; 1807 edition has same title, adds another nine pages of text. Shaw/Shoemaker 9821.

1807 --

Ira Allen, A Concise Summary of the Second Volume of the Olive Branch (Philadelphia: printed for the author, April 1807). 22cm., 24 pages. Adds nine pages to 1806 printing of same title. Shaw/Shoemaker 11965.

Ira Allen, Statements Applicable to the Cause of the Olive Branch (Philadelphia: printed for the author, July 1807). 21cm., 16 pages. Shaw/Shoemaker 11966.

1808 --

Ira Allen, Ira Allen's Address to the Freemen of Vermont, and Legislature Thereof, Respecting a Cargo of Military Stores, Captured by the British (Philadelphia: printed for the author, August 1808). 21cm., 27 pages. Shaw/Shoemaker 14326.

1809 --

Ira Allen, Extracts from Volumes 5th, 1st, & 4th of Select Speeches Lately Published in Philadelphia, Which with Remarks Subjoined, are Applicable to the Cause of the Olive Branch, and Consequences Resulting Therefrom ([Philadelphia,

1809?). 21cm., 6 pages. Apparently published ca. June 1809.

1810 --

Ira Allen, Copies of Letters to the Governor of Vermont, and Address to the Legislature Thereof, Respecting a Conspiracy Against the Author; and Respecting a Ship Canal from Lake Champlain to the River St. Lawrence (Philadelphia: printed for the author, January 1810). 20cm., 28 pages. Shaw/Shoemaker 19336.

Ira Allen, Copies of Letters to the Governor of Vermont, and Address to the Legislature Thereof, Respecting a Conspiracy Against the Author; and Respecting a Ship Canal from Lake Champlain to the River St. Lawrence (Philadelphia: printed for the author, January 1810). 23cm., 32 pages. Actually issued May 1810; adds four pages to the January 1810 edition.

1811 --

Ira Allen, Copies of Letters to the Governor of Vermont, and Address to the Legislature Thereof, Respecting a Conspiracy Against the Author; and Respecting a Ship Canal from Lake Champlain to the River St. Lawrence (Philadelphia: printed by John Binns -- for the author, [1811]). 21cm., 61

pages. Apparently published in summer 1811; adds approximately 40 pages to May 1810 edition of same title.

Shaw/Shoemaker 22175.

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APPENDIX B

[IRA ALLEN MEMORANDUM, OBJECTIVES IN FOUNDING THE
UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, 1794]

My Object in Establishing the University of Vermont is not only for the Benefit of the Present but for future ages[,] and that it may be Usefull to society in an Extensive View I am tenacious to Procure Property for sd University sufficient to Put on Land security to Raise an Annual Interest Equal to the Support of the Authority of College to Erect & support the Necessary Building[,] Opperatins[,] Library &c to the End that Tuition may be free[.] it is not the Rich that I am Calculating so much to assist as the Poor[.] the Rich can send their sons to What College they Choose[,] But the poore have it not in their Power[.] yet they may have the most Promising Posterity[,] & if they can obtain Good Education may be in turn Rullers of the Land[.] When we Contemplate the Schools & Academis in this & the Neighbouring States Established on Liberal Principles & Sufficient Instruction Given in them to Enter College[,] then the young Schollar Ariving to the University having nothing more to Pay than to Board & Cloath himself[,] Double the Number will be Educated to What there would be if thirty Dollars a year was to be Paid in tuition & Periusites to the Authority of College[,] & this Last half are those I wish to Benefit by Extending Knowledge & Sience to all

Classes of People[.] we may transmit to Posterity the Blessings of a free Government & on this Principle we must Principally Depend to Perpetuate those Liberties Obtained by the Loss of much Blood & Treasures[.] and on a Retrospective View of these scene[s] & the Loss of so many worthy Citizens [we] Believe that the Good People of this Vicinity will Cherfully Contribute According to their Abilities for the Establishment of funds to sd University[.] that this object might be Effected I offered to the Legislature one thousand Pounds in Addition to fore Thousand Pounds Previously Given to sd University[,] which thousand Pounds was to be in a Tract of Land that would Leave for the Interest of one thousand Pounds at six Persent on Conditions of Changing the Name of sd University[,] which Act is Referred to the Next session of the Legislature[.] --

--- I am more Pressing for Donations in favour of sd University at this Time in consequence of an Advantage to aproprate Property to the Use of sd University[.] by Buying new Lands & Leasing them on long Leases[,] fifteen Persent Interest may be Secured on any sum that can be appropriated[.] that way[,] for an Anual fund[,] Donations in new Lands may Answer the Aforesaid Interesting Purpose[.] ----- Most men that have Children have an Anuity to Accumilate Property for Posterity[.] Perhaps my

Acquaintance will said I am early on that List[.] But Let us Trace Humain nature[:] the Rise of famalies['] fourtunes & their decline continue as Lo[n]g as Humain Nature Exists[.]

[When] an Enterpresing Jeneaus arises from a Poor & I[n]jident famaly he is innured to the fatigues & Hardships of Life in Early existance[.] he forses his way into the World by Exertion & in time becomes a Man of Property & is Respected by his neighbours[.] then [he] feels his Importance & mixes in Company with others of Equal fourtune [and] of course his famaly Dresses & Lives in a Manner sutible to his Circumstances[.] yet he instructs his famaly in the Rudiments of Business & at his Death Leaves a Learge fortune & Six Heirs[.] the Property is Divided in Six Parts [and] Each heir Sets out to Life in the Same Stile their father did[,] but has only a Sixth Part of the Property to Support it[.] but that Spirit of Industry inculcated in Early life induses him to Support his famaly & Perhaps add to his fourtune[,] yet he has not the real Knowledge of the Rise of Property[.] nor doth he Instruct his famaly in economy but they Live a Life of Pleasure & Ease[.] the Parents die [and] the Estate is Divided into Six Parts[,] which Perhaps in Little different from a thirtysix Part of the original Estate[.] this young famaly has been Educated

in tender[,] affectionate manner & not Instructed in
Business but Set out in High Life Knot [k]nowing from whence
Property Came or how to support it [and thus] Insensibly
became bankrupts & are Reduced to a Level with their
Ansesters Situation[.] Perhaps one Exception to a Hundred
to the above Rules[.] [end of text]

[Transcribed from original in AFP, box 14, folder 81A]

APPENDIX C

[IRA ALLEN'S OLIVE BRANCH MUSKETS CONTRACT, JULY 1796]

Private Contract

By the present act passed between the Minister of War, duly authorised to it by an arrete of the Executive Directory of the date hereof, and major-general Ira Allen of Colchester in the county of Chittenden in the State of Vermont in the United States of America, it is stipulated that the French Republic sells to Said Ira Allen the quantity of twenty thousand muskets, foreign make, furnished with their Bayonets, which will be delivered along with their Boxes at the Seaport of Ostend before the first of Fructidor of the present year, answering to the 18th of August one thousand Seven hundred and ninety Six (old Stile) at the Price and Rate of twenty Livres in cash, French money, in gold or Silver, per Musket, with the condition that if it was not possible to deliver Bayonets in equal Number with the Muskets the Sum of four Livres also in Cash shall be deducted for every Bayonet.

And in Case those arms should not be in a proper State for use or should want repair a proces verbal or report of these Repairs shall be made in Presence of both Parties, between an agent of the French Republic appointed by the Minister at War to deliver Said arms at Ostend, and the Person furnished with Power by major-general Allen, in order

that the amount of Said estimate Should be Deducted from the general Price of the Whole of the arms, as above mentioned.

And for the Execution of the Clauses and condition of the present contract general Allen binds himself his present and future Estates and goods, his heirs, Executors and administrators promising to pay the Sums as Stipulated in the present contract, in Seven years from the Date of the Same, with interest at five per cent, Yearly, to be computed, from the time of the Delivery of the Muskets and Bayonets, promising also that the Payment Shall be made at paris at the time above mentioned.

For the Security of the Respective Clauses and conditions of the present contract Duplicates have been made in french and English and signed by both contracting Parties.

Done at Paris on the twenty third messidor in the fourth year of the french Republic, answering to the Eleventh of July one thousand Seven hundred and ninety six (old Stile).

Major General

The Minister at

War

Ira Allen [signature]

Petiet [signature]

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