

FRIENDS OF FREEDOM

The Vermont Underground Railroad Survey Report

by

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for

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and
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THE VERMONT UNDERGROUND RAILROAD SURVEY REPORT

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study was authorized by the Vermont State Legislature in 1995 to gather, analyze, and evaluate information about the Underground Railroad in Vermont under the auspices of the Vermont Department of State Buildings and the Vermont Division for Historic Preservation. The aim was to identify and substantiate claims made regarding sites, identify any buildings still remaining that could be documented to have been a part of the Underground Railroad, and provide general cost estimates for the preservation of these buildings.

Vermont played a major role in the national movement to abolish slavery in the antebellum era. This study finds well-substantiated incidents of Underground Railroad activities in Vermont from the mid 1830s to the Civil War. A small, undetermined number of Vermonters--Quakers, clergy, free blacks, temperance activists, anti-masons, Liberty party members, and a Secretary of State among them--provided food, shelter, clothing, work, transportation and contacts for fugitives attempting to establish free lives in the Northeastern United States and Canada. In Vermont, in the 1840s, these activities, whether premeditated and planned or 'random acts of kindness,' were popularized as the Underground Railroad. The best known and documented site in the state is Rokeby, the Ferrisburgh farm of the Rowland Thomas Robinson family.

Some 174 nineteenth century individuals and sites from around the state were examined for this survey. Scanty documentation, the illegal nature of the Underground Railroad movement, and the pervasive influence of popular legend, focused what was essentially a site survey towards identification and documentation of the activists as a preliminary stage to locating sites.

This survey concludes that 25 individuals can be documented as acting directly to shelter and aid fugitive slaves. For nine of these, there is compelling evidence of fugitives staying on their premises or in an outbuilding that still stands. There is persuasive evidence of strong connection with Underground Railroad activities for another 32 individuals, families, and structures, including 16 existing historic buildings. Most of the surviving buildings are private residences, though five sites belong to non-profit organizations, a nursing home, and the University of Vermont. Almost all well-substantiated sites are located on the western side of the state, in urban, rural, and some village locations. This study updates and brings together what is known of the Underground Railroad and places Vermont activists within the context of new research by the National Park Service and Heritage Canada.

Vermont's Underground Railroad sites are important in local, state, and national history because of their associations with direct action against the national policy of slavery in the antebellum period. They show that a wide spectrum of Vermonters acted individually and locally, and verify that fugitive slaves found a safe haven here. Taken together the surviving buildings testify to the compassion, moral courage, and commitment to equal rights of Underground Railroad activists, and symbolize Vermont's major contribution to the broad pattern of abolition history.

INTRODUCTION

During the antebellum period, black American slaves, who had no vote in the great national debate on slavery or the constellation of sectional issues bound up in it, continually 'voted' with their feet by running away from their owners. This action was a continual embarrassment and reproof to the those Americans who maintained that blacks benefitted from and, indeed, were content with their lot as slaves.

Some, but by no means all, fugitives came north with the aid of the direct-action abolition movement known as the Underground Railroad. In the years since the end of the Civil War, the reality of the Underground Railroad has receded and a legend has evolved to take its place. The legend is one of false doors, secret panels, dark tunnels and covert movements in the dead of night. The stock characters are terrified fugitives, righteous Yankee yeomen, and implacable slave catchers.

Was there an Underground Railroad in Vermont? If so, how did it function? Are there buildings and abolitionists whose Underground Railroad record can be documented? Is there any truth to the notion of secret tunnels and special rooms where fugitives were hidden? How substantial is Vermont's Underground Railroad heritage? This study was initiated by the State legislature to research all these questions, with the goal of preparing a list of authentic Underground Railroad sites.

A word about terminology: the phrase "Underground Railroad" surfaces in Vermont in the 1840s; brief newspaper accounts note fugitives traveling north alone or in small groups. As far as can be determined, the extended railroad analogy was not in use in the state until after the Civil War, and may date from the 1880s or later. Antebellum newspapers occasionally refer to the Underground Railroad, but correspondence from Vermonters who aided fugitives does not employ special terminology. In the belief that the 'railroad' metaphor may be misleading, this survey avoided these terms where possible, and uses admittedly awkward, but more neutral language, e.g. activist for conductor.

A list of 174 potential sites and Underground activists was assembled from the available documentation, and the long process of research and review began. After gathering information, a decision was made as to a building or person's likelihood of having sheltered and otherwise aided fugitive slaves in Vermont. Finally the buildings, individuals, and sites were divided into five categories, with the A list being those that can be proven to be directly connected with the Underground Railroad.

As with any attempt to survey and categorize using scant evidence and oral tradition, decisions are to a degree subjective, though based on a close reading of the available resources. People and buildings that are "low" on the list await further documentation. New evidence may be uncovered. Also, it is important to note that buildings not found to have firm Underground Railroad connections, are not rendered 'unhistoric,' thereby. The very nature of the popular application of an Underground Railroad tradition to older homes--often by virtue of cubby

holes, hidden rooms, massive chimney spaces, and knee wall areas--assures that these are almost always historic and significant structures, as does the popular association of local abolition figures with the Underground Railroad movement.

Finally, this study suggests that a trade be made in terms of Vermont history: The state's abolition record is clear and Vermonters are justly proud of it. But this tradition is built in part on a legend. It is past time to barter the romantic myth of white paternalism, of false doors, secret panels, dark tunnels and covert movements in the dead of night for another story in which black slaves escaped their masters, crossed to freedom, and employed a variety of survival strategies, including the aid of Vermont abolitionists, to stay free.

CONCLUSIONS

Fugitive slaves escaped from bondage during the Colonial and antebellum periods, and employed a variety of strategies, including use of both spontaneous and premeditated aid to gain safety and security.

Between 1830 and the 1860s, an undetermined, but small number of Vermonters--Quakers, clergy, and free blacks prominent among them-- provided food, shelter, clothing, work, transportation and contacts for fugitives attempting to find safety and to establish free lives in the Northeastern United States and Canada. In Vermont, beginning in the 1840s, these activities, whether premeditated and planned or 'random acts of kindness,' were popularized as the Underground Railroad.

In Vermont, this survey concludes that twenty-five individuals can be documented to have acted directly to shelter and aid fugitive slaves. Twelve sites, located and still standing, can be documented as directly involved with the sheltering of fugitive slaves. For nine of these, there is compelling evidence of fugitives staying on the premises or in an associated outbuilding. For another thirty-two individuals, families and structures, for which sixteen structures have been located and still stand, there is persuasive evidence of association with the Underground Railroad in Vermont.

The Vermont Underground Railroad was not an organized movement. Abolitionists met and planned aid to fugitive slaves in Philadelphia, New York City, and Boston. These 'vigilance committees' gave form and organization to an effort already long in place in their regions. Had traffic or need been greater, this might have occurred in Vermont, but there is no persuasive evidence that it did. Individuals, families, and small groups of friends sheltered runaways, and passed them on to others who would do the same. Fugitives also traveled through Vermont following their own itineraries.

Vermont's main transportation routes--stage roads, steamer routes, and, by the 1850s, railroads, were traveled by fugitives, sometimes accompanied by Vermont activists as guides. Trips longer than several miles typically required horse-drawn transport. Fugitives also

traveled Vermont roadways alone and on foot, sometimes with letters of introduction to sympathetic households along their way.

The notion of trunk and side routes is the work of historian Wilbur H. Siebert, based to a great extent on the unsubstantiated testimony of Joseph Poland of Montpelier. There were, as far as can be determined, no organized "routes" in Vermont. Siebert's use of "routes," "stations," "conductors," and other railroad nomenclature implies a greater degree of organization than existed here. What contemporary sources survive show that Underground Railroad activists did not employ this terminology to refer to themselves and their activities.

Evidence suggests strong involvement of free black Vermonters with the Underground Railroad.

Many fugitives settled in Vermont for good or as a stop along the way to Canada. Contemporary Vermont newspapers might assume any fugitive passing through to have a Canadian destination, but there is firm evidence of many fugitives settling in this state or staying with sympathetic households for extended periods.

Architectural features--false doors, hidden closets, knee-wall areas, attic spaces, chimney accesses, and cellar rooms--do not stand as evidence of Underground Railroad activity. Presently no credible model for assessing physical phenomenon in the context of the Underground Railroad exists. In addition, fugitives appear to have been generally safe and secure at large.

Primary source documents--newspapers, letters, and recollections--support the assertion that Vermont was safe for fugitives and activists. There is scanty evidence of slave catchers or recapture, and but one documented incident of slave recapture in Vermont between 1830 and 1865. Some Underground Railroad activists did act in relative secrecy, but generally they sheltered, rather than hid, fugitives.

The legend and folklore of the Underground Railroad in Vermont is a unique and important social phenomena. It shares, of course, common roots with historic Underground Railroad events, but is significant and worthy of study in its own right.

The actions of Vermont Underground Railroad activists exemplify compassion, moral courage and commitment to equality. However, elements of Underground Railroad activities and ideology are racist by many standards. More importantly, the legend of the Underground Railroad has been used by white Americans since the Civil War to reinforce self-congratulatory attitudes and assumptions about black Americans.

**LIST OF VERMONTERS DOCUMENTED
TO HAVE SHELTERED FUGITIVE SLAVES**

Reverend Kiah Bayley
Hardwick Street, Hardwick, Caledonia County

Professor George W. Benedict
Ferrand-Benedict House
University of Vermont, 31 South Prospect Street, Burlington, Chittenden County

Lucius H. Bigelow
272 Church Street, Burlington, Chittenden County

Simon Bottum
Shaftsbury, Bennington County

Lawrence Brainerd
160 North Main Street, St. Albans, Franklin County

Samuel A. Chalker
Chalker Farm, New Haven, Addison County

John K. Converse
272 Church Street, Burlington, Chittenden County

Zenas C. Ellis
South Main Street, Fair Haven, Rutland County

Erastus & Hervey Higley
Castleton Historical Society Building
Castleton, Rutland County

Nathan C. Hoag
Baldwin Road, Charlotte, Chittenden County

Rowland Thomas Robinson
Rokeby Museum, US Route 7
Ferrisburgh, Addison County

Salmon P. Wires
118 South Willard Street, Burlington, Chittenden County

Reverend Joshua Young
98 South Willard Street, Burlington, Chittenden County

The following people are also documented to have sheltered fugitive slaves but associated buildings either have not been located or are no longer standing:

	Town	County	
Davis, William	St. Albans	Franklin	
Griswold, Howard	Randolph	Orange	
Hicks, Charles	Bennington	Bennington	
Hicks, Henry	Bennington	Bennington	
Johnson, Oliver	Middlebury	Addison	(active at large)
Knapp, Chauncy L.	Montpelier	Washington	
Langley, Loudon S.	Hinesburg	Chittenden	
Miller, Col. Jonathan P.	East Montpelier	Washington	
Stevens, Stephen F.	East Montpelier	Washington	

Secretary of State

THE VERMONT UNDERGROUND RAILROAD: CONNECTIONS WITH BROAD PATTERNS OF NATIONAL UNDERGROUND HISTORY

Vermont played a major role in the national movement to abolish slavery during the antebellum era and an important role in the direct action part of the movement known as the Underground Railroad. Between the 1830s and the Civil War, a small, undetermined number of Vermonters--Quakers, clergy, free blacks, temperance activists, anti-masons, Liberty and Whig party members, and a secretary of state among them--aided fugitive slaves from the southern states. They provided food, shelter, work, transportation and contacts for fugitives attempting to find safety and security and establish free lives in the northeastern United States and Canada.

In Vermont, beginning in the 1840s, these activities, whether premeditated and planned or 'random acts of kindness,' were popularized as the Underground Railroad. For complex and shifting reasons, Vermonters fought the federal fugitive slave laws and national pro-slavery policy with press, pulpit, and ballot from the laws' inception.

But Vermonters such as Rowland T. Robinson of Ferrisburgh, Secretary of State Chauncy L. Knapp and Jonathan P. Miller of Montpelier, Lawrence Brainerd of St. Albans, Steven F. Stevens of East Montpelier, Reverend Kiah Bailey of Hardwick, Howard Griswold of Randolph, Charles Hicks of Bennington, Simon Bottum of Shaftsbury, Zenas C. Ellis of Fair Haven, Nathan C. Hoag of Charlotte, Hervey and Erastus Higley of Castleton, and Salmon P. Wires, Reverend Joshua Young, Lucius H. Bigelow, Reverend John K. Converse, and Professor George W. Benedict, all of Burlington, went still further, protesting slavery by taking fugitives into their homes and lives.

Vermont Underground Railroad activists such as Rowland T. Robinson, Chauncy L. Knapp, Charles Hicks of Shaftsbury, and Oliver Johnson of Peacham had proven connections with direct action abolitionists in New York City, Boston, and eastern New York State. Free black Vermonters were strongly represented: Loudon Langley of Hinesburg, Joseph Cephas Holly and Tony Anthony of Burlington, and William Davis of St. Albans. Langley enlisted in the 54th Massachusetts infantry, along with his two Rutland brothers.

Some twenty-five historic buildings have documented connections with the Vermont Underground Railroad. The state also contains numerous sites and settings evocative of the 1830s-1860s villages, towns, farms and churches where the struggle for freedom, equality, and sectional rights was waged. In the antebellum years, Vermont created itself as a community and America recreated itself as a new nation. The Underground Railroad movement played a vital role in deciding what the ideals of that community, state, and nation would be.

Vermont played a major role in the sectarian political struggle, of which the abolition movement was the deciding factor, leading up to the Civil War. Expatriate Vermonters, such as Horace Greeley, Stephen Douglas, and Thaddeus Stevens, were crucial to the molding of national attitudes towards slavery and the South, and are political figures of national stature and

significance in these decades.

Vermont furnished other leaders. William Lloyd Garrison, whose radical ideas of immediate emancipation gave the abolition movement new impetus, edited the *Journal of These Times* in Bennington in 1828. Rowland T. Robinson and Oliver Johnson were founding members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and correspondents and co-strategists with notable figures in the national movement. They are also documented to have helped fugitive slaves to get to Vermont and Canada.

Rokeby, the Ferrisburgh sheep farm of Robinson, is an almost completely intact Underground Railroad site of local, state, and national significance. It has an historic house and outbuildings, original furnishings dating to the historic period, and well-preserved family papers, including many that provide detailed descriptions of Underground Railroad and other abolition activities. In addition, this site is extremely rich in data and recollections testifying to the experiences and goals of fugitive slaves. Finally, Rokeby has strong and proven Underground Railroad connections, typically the passing of fugitives to other sympathetic households in Montpelier, East Montpelier, Charlotte, and New Haven.

Many important national and regional abolition figures were connected with Vermont by birth or association: Delia Webster of Vergennes acted with Calvin Fairbanks to aid Louis and Harriet Hayden in their flight to freedom in Ohio in 1844. Louis Hayden became a leader in the Boston Underground Railroad and led the rescue of Shadrach and the abortive rescues of Thomas Sims and Anthony Burns. These early 1850s incidents tested the federal government's will to enforce the Fugitive Slave Act, and were defining events in this time period. Shadrach, plucked from a federal Courthouse by Hayden and other abolitionists in 1851, traveled the Vermont Underground Railroad into Canada. Delia Webster's arrest, trial, and imprisonment in the Kentucky State Penitentiary in 1845 for Hayden's escape, helped reshape notions of moral and political responsibility. In a similar way viewing expatriate Vermonter, Hiram Powers' 'abolitionist' statue, "The Greek Slave" on national exhibition made many Americans feel they were witnessing the defining art work of the period.

Solomon Northrup, a free black well known for his being kidnapped into twelve years of slavery, was a speaker on the Vermont abolition circuit. Northrup is said to have worked with "Lame" John Smith of Hartland, moving fugitives from Boston to Vermont on the Underground Railroad. When Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose *Uncle Tom's Cabin* made the horrors of slavery real to northerners, was called upon to furnish her sources, she noted that she had based "Tom" on Northrup's life. By the 1850s, Vermont was so much associated with radical abolitionism in the public mind that Stowe made her New England lady character in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* a Vermonter, and set her fictional winter escape in the state. *Neighbor Jackwood--A Domestic Drama* by John T. Trowbridge, another contemporary novel of the Underground Railroad, is set in Wallingford, and was written as a protest against the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.

After the execution of John Brown, his widow, Mary Brown, stayed over in Rutland on the way

to North Elba, New York, with his coffin in 1859, and Rev. Joshua Young and Lucius Bigelow, two Underground Railroad operators whose Burlington houses survive, attended the small funeral. Reverend Young lost his job at the Unitarian Church at the head of Church Street, in Burlington, for performing the service. At one time or another Frederick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnet, William Lloyd Garrison, Rev. Samuel May, George Thompson, Solomon Northrup, Henry Bibb, Milton Clark, and Louis Hayden visited the state to consult with the Vermont abolition leadership and on lecture tours.

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD INDIVIDUALS AND/OR SITES -- LIST CRITERIA

As with any attempt to categorize using scant evidence and oral tradition, list assignments are subjective, though based on a close reading of the available resources. People and buildings that are "low" on the list await further documentation. New evidence may be uncovered. The judgement is solely of the evidence obtained in this survey or the lack thereof. Also, it is important to note that buildings found not to have firm Underground Railroad connections are not rendered 'unhistoric,' thereby. The very nature of the popular application of an Underground Railroad tradition to older homes--often by virtue of cubby holes, hidden rooms, massive chimney spaces, and knee wall areas--assures that these are almost always historic and significant structures, as does the popular association of local abolition figures with the Underground Railroad movement.

Individuals and/or sites were rated A through E, with A representing those people and sites with excellent documentation and E covering people and sites identified with the Underground Railroad but without evidence or through physical features.

A. People and/or sites on this list are proven to have been involved with the Underground Railroad by direct contemporary sources that give date, locations, and people involved, and can be confirmed by other means, such as credible interviews in Siebert's material at Harvard College.

Thus a letter from Oliver Johnson to Rowland T. Robinson, January 27, 1837 (Rokeby Collection), discussed the possibility of a fugitive-- 'Simon'-- living and working at Rokeby; a letter from Montreal from fugitive James Temple to Thomas Robinson in 1851 (Rokeby Collection) thanks Robinson for his stay at Rokeby, and for various favors. These two items of correspondence prove the Robinson family's and Rokeby's direct involvement in the Underground Railroad. It happens that there is other correspondence, oral and family tradition, contextual support (his other abolition activities), and his son's testimony, but the first two items allow for Robinson's inclusion in this list.

However, this is an unusual example in that there is no other Vermont family for which this much evidence exists. A more typical example is Howard Griswold of Randolph, who is noted in Siebert's work (WSjp) by virtue of Joseph Poland's testimony. This is supported by a detailed letter to the *Green Mountain Freeman*, April 20, 1848, which describes a fugitive's passage from Randolph to Montpelier, names Montpelier activists, and alludes to Joseph Poland. By virtue of this letter, Howard Griswold is on this list. But also included is the Simon Bottum family of Shaftsbury on the basis of testimony from a single letter, June 10, 1843, from Eliza Hicks to her sister, which notes two occasions of fugitives being taken by her family to the Bottum farm.

Impressionistically, the idea here is to have caught person (or site) in the 'act' of helping fugitives. A few people make this list on the basis of clear, credible oral tradition within a family, with the chain of transmission delineated: Abial F. Anthony, the son of Tony Anthony,

was 96 years old in 1936 when he described how his father had sheltered fugitives in Burlington. They were typically young males from the upper South, though occasionally from New Orleans (WSh, Wsv p.84). This testimony matches this study's small sample, as well as the assessment of fugitives done by historians (Gutman 1977; Fogel 1989).

B. Persons and/or sites on this list have clear oral testimony with chain of transmission delineated, and compelling contextual evidence. Diet C. Dail is mentioned only in passing, but by two credible sources related to him: Ann Stevens and Rowland E. Robinson. In Leonard Johnson's case, the direct evidence of helping fugitives is hearsay, but the radical nature of the man's politics and the other activities he is said to have engaged in--ringing a Peacham church bell on the morning of John Brown's execution, leaving or being thrown out of church for anti-slavery argument, having visits from radical abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison--give strong support, and his brother, Oliver, is a proven Underground Railroad activist. Rodney V. Marsh and Titus Hutchinson are listed here due to strong local tradition that appears to predate the 1890s, and a proven and overwhelming commitment to emancipation.

C. Many of the people named by Joseph Poland to Wilbur Siebert in 1897 are on this list if there is no other corroborating evidence. As noted elsewhere, Poland was involved with the Underground Railroad, and while there are questions about his version of its operation, his naming of names is primary testimony. A number of Poland's people have not turned up in the written record, but a few are proven activists and a number are known abolitionists. People and sites that have evidence that is better than hearsay, but vague as to who, what, when, and where, are placed in this section.

To generalize, these are people who were not "caught in the act." They show up in testimony of activists like Poland or Rev. Joshua Young, not as involved in a discreet incident, but are mentioned as generally involved. Other people and sites for which the oral testimony or anecdotal evidence is spare, but detailed, may be listed here. The Old Weeks Tavern, on Burgess Road in Bennington, was said by Pompey Vanderburg to have been a hiding place in his 1816 escape.

D. This is a list of persons or sites for which there is sketchy, hearsay evidence linked to a specific person. Stephen Jacob lived in the 'Gay House' in Windsor and is said to have aided fugitives. In this case, one wonders if Jacob's activism is an inversion of his earlier court involvement for non-support of his slave "Dinah." A vague tradition grew up around senators William Slade and Samuel C. Crafts, probably due to their staunch abolition politics.

E. Here is where most sites not linked to a specific person, and which are associated popularly with the Underground Railroad through physical features, end up. The Hielmann (current owner) house in Manchester was thought by Walter Hard, Jr., to be an Underground Railroad station by virtue of the (meat) smoking closet in its massive chimney. A couple of miles down the road, Margaret Todd Lincoln is the source for a tradition that the 'cave' below the formal garden at Hildene sheltered fugitive slaves.

It would seem to be of little use to include a catalog of these oddities in the survey, but this is not the case: first, evidence may yet turn up to support their place on the Underground Railroad. Secondly, taken together, this sample demonstrates that pre-industrial revolution housing with its 'folk' style, individualistic construction was interpreted by a later generations in particular ways. Stories link misunderstood physical features to prehistoric or Celtic inhabitation, pre-Revolution Indian wars, smuggling activities from the 1820s to Prohibition, War of 1812 powder houses, hidden Masonic meeting places during the 1820s-1830s persecution, and fugitive slave hideouts. With the arrival of dimensional lumber and industrialized methods, knowledge and contact with construction and domestic traditions was altered or broken. To new generations, structures surviving from earlier days appeared arcane, queer, and irrational: along with having fun, perhaps the popular belief in the hidden history of these structures, is an attempt to rationalize what is no longer understood about how old buildings work.

His letters of inquiry were answered by grandchildren of the abolitionists, who were themselves quite advanced in age by this time. Siebert took out ads in local newspapers, and mailed interview letters to every town postmaster in the State. The replies must have been disappointing, even for a historian used to researching as amorphous a subject as purportedly secret abolition activities.

He concentrated on his earlier, 1890s round of investigation, and this brings up the third influential figure in Vermont Underground Railroad historiography: Joseph Poland of Montpelier. Poland was a newspaper editor, printer, insurance man, judge, Liberty party organist, and an abolitionist, as he caustically pointed out to Siebert “back in the days when that meant something” (Siebert Collection, Harvard). Poland wrote two letters to Siebert in 1897, detailing what he remembered of Vermont’s Underground Railroad past. As it turned out, he remembered quite a lot. He became Siebert’s major source of information, contributing some forty names.

With the names of activists, which proceed in almost twenty mile intervals, town by town, Poland traces two trunk lines “one from Bennington up the west side of Vermont to Burlington, and the other from Brattleboro up the east side to Montpelier, whence he says, three branches diverged, which he also traces” (Siebert 68). For Siebert, Poland’s letters were a treasure trove of information. He had already pioneered the notion of “routes” in the other, more well-trafficked northern states, and Poland’s letters testified to a well organized system of safe houses linking New York State and Massachusetts to Upper Canada.

Something about Poland’s information does not seem completely credible. He fails to mention the Robinson family in Ferrisburgh, perhaps the best known activists in the state, and seems very self-promoting, noting the Montpelier ‘station’ as the most prominent and important. Rowland E. Robinson, who also corresponded with Siebert in the 1890s, owned a copy of *The Underground Railroad From Slavery to Freedom*. In the margin next to Joseph Poland’s biography, he penciled two words: “A Fraud” (Siebert 1898; Rokeby Museum).

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Vermont's claim as an important corridor of the Underground Railroad rests on the efforts of three men. The first, Rowland E. Robinson, was the son and nephew of Underground Railroad activists, who could remember fugitives being at his family sheep farm, Rokeby, in Ferrisburgh. An illustrator, historian, and writer, he left his impressions of the Underground Railroad in history and fiction:

A line of the Underground Railroad held its hidden way through Vermont, along which many a dark-skinned passenger secretly traveled, concealed during the day in the quiet stations, at night passing from one to another, helped onward by friendly hands till he reached Canada. . . (in) many of the northern States slave-hunting waxed hot and eager under the national law, but the hunters never attempted to seize their prey in the land of the Green Mountain Boys, though there were fugitive slaves living there, and an occasional passenger still fared along the mysterious course of the Underground Railroad." (*Vermont: A Study of Independence*, 1892, 234-5).

This colorful passage is quoted regularly by scholars, teachers, and reporters, and paints an exciting picture but is low on objective information. The second person significant to the historiography of the Vermont Underground Railroad is Professor Wilbur H. Siebert. He determined to rescue the history of direct action abolition from obscurity after viewing Charles T. Webber's mural, *The Underground Railroad*, at the Columbia Exposition in Chicago in 1894.

In the mid-1890s Siebert began contacting abolitionists and was able to interview many of them or their children. Between 1898 and the 1930s, he published Underground Railroad histories concerning most of the northern states, including Vermont in 1937. Siebert's direct contact with abolitionists active in the period from the 1830s to the Civil War makes his work an indispensable resource, and any investigator of the Underground stands in his debt. However, his work also has some problems.

With the growth of black history and scholarship in the 1960s, Siebert's methodology and conclusions have been called into question (Gara, 1961). Some historians take issue with the basic premise of the Underground Railroad portrayed by Siebert, wherein middle class, white northerners emerge as bearers of a righteous heroism. Black fugitives, who risked their little all and come through the most dangerous part of their passage to freedom many miles and states before Vermont, are reduced to anonymous players in a moral conflict between white Americans (Gara; Bloch 1987).

Siebert did not create this view, but he gave it impetus. Researching and writing his vast history of the Underground, Siebert did some initial work on Vermont in the 1890s, and returned to it in gathering material for *Vermont's Anti-Slavery and Underground Railroad Record* in the 1930s. At this point the trail had grown colder.

RESOURCES

The Underground Railroad presents a special case for research due to the informal nature of its activities. Contemporary documentation and detailed testimony are rare; letters and newspaper articles are still the major direct resources. Reminiscences and anecdotes from Underground Railroad activists themselves, their descendants, and other observers form the basis for Siebert's study and strongly influence this one.

Contextual data--census records, and anecdotes of out-of-state fugitive traffic-- were also important. Dr. Robin W. Winks' book, *The Blacks in Canada: A History*, (1971) is an essential guide to the complicated business of assessing the numbers of fugitives who found their way to Canada and it contains insightful criticisms of Underground Railroad historiography. William Stills' "on the spot" coverage of the Philadelphia Underground in its 1850s heyday, is the essential primary source guide to the period, and one of the first accounts to focus on the fugitives themselves. Unlike almost any other source, Stills' work ([1871] 1970) is rich in the daily details of the Underground, and has proved invaluable for contrast and comparison with the New England scene.

Nineteenth and early twentieth century town and county histories feature glowing biographies of some of the men of affairs associated with the Underground, and much anecdotal information otherwise unavailable. These are the storehouses of a mixed bag of oral history, local tradition, rumor, and regurgitated versions of Wilbur H. Siebert's work. A new generation of postwar town histories sometimes apply social historical methods that bring useful information on the Underground Railroad to light, and many even include subject indexes!

This report is also based on letters in the Rokeby Museum/Sheldon Museum Archives, the Vermont Historical Society collection, Hicks Family Papers, lucky finds of letters by Howard Griswold of Randolph and Loudon Langley of Hinesburg, and numerous brief entries of fugitive slave incidents in regional newspapers. In addition, sermons by the Reverends Kiah Bailey, Joshua Young, and Cyrus Prindle, the U.S. census for Vermont 1850 and 1860, Dominion of Canada census figures and Vermont Anti-Slavery Society annual reports from the 1830s form the whole of the available contemporary documentation employed. The recollections of Rev. Joshua Young and Joseph Poland, abolitionists active in the 1840s and 1850s and written in the 1890s, are available through the Siebert Collection, Harvard College. Siebert was the first scholar to undertake a comprehensive study of the Underground Railroad. He began his research in the 1890s, and was able to reach some few surviving abolitionists and fugitives who had taken part in the events of the 1840s and 1850s. As concerns New England, he undertook a second round of research in the mid 1930s, publishing *Vermont's Anti-Slavery and Underground Railroad Record* in 1937 in which he interviewed descendants of Underground Railroad operators. Siebert's initial research notes 58 Vermont Underground Railroad activists representing eleven counties, and he expands this count to some 95 activists in his 1937 Vermont study. Siebert's material, chiefly consisting of written reminiscences, is priceless. As extant contemporary documents are scarce, his timely work provides one of the only direct connections with Underground Railroad activists in Vermont and anyone researching

the Railroad stands in his debt.

Nonetheless, after careful study of Siebert's published works on the Underground Railroad, and his surviving sources available at Harvard and Dartmouth College libraries, it is clear that he is sometimes inaccurate and misleading in his assumptions. Most of the accounts Siebert received lack dates that allow the placing of a person's activities in context. He asked leading questions and accepted recollections at face value. There also are errors: Siebert accepts Rev. Joshua Young's recollection that for a short time after the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, runaways passed through Burlington nearly every day. This is an important piece of information that could confirm the effect of this law on northern blacks. However, Reverend Young was not called to his Burlington church until 1852.

Siebert seems to inflate Mr. G. W. Sanborn's description of Lawrence Brainard, an important St. Albans Underground Railroad activist. Sanborn remembered Brainard describing his putting fugitives on his steamboats for Canada, (paying their way with his own money, he is careful to remark), and Sanborn also remembers meeting runaways in St. Johns, Lower Canada, who said they had been helped by Brainard. Siebert implies that Sanborn also mentions runaways being kept at the Brainard home, which he did not. This is, perhaps, quibbling, except that a goal of this study is to connect Underground Railroad activity to buildings. All of Siebert's stories recounting Vermont escapes from slave catchers await verification.

Siebert also uses the presence of local anti-slavery societies to substantiate Underground Railroad activity in a community. This does not hold up any more than a Vermont chapter of the Nature Conservancy or Sierra Club confirms the location in a town of 'eco-terrorists' today. Most significantly, Dr. Siebert is a prisoner of his own system. He noted the leg of his "Eastern truck line" from Randolph to Montpelier as being four times as long as is typical. Having envisioned a fairly rigid route, he is forced to bridge the long, blank spots to keep his concept of the Railroad intact. Abolitionists were unconcerned with connecting their efforts to particular sites.

In all, Siebert's Vermont study yields some twenty-eight pages of information on the Underground Railroad. As noted above, the return on his research was slim, but Siebert was able to piece together a sense of Vermont's Underground Railroad more or less based on the information provided him by one man--Joseph Poland of Montpelier. It is through Poland that we know of the two main 'routes,' and various branches of the Railroad. He is also the source for more than forty of the names on Siebert's list. Poland cites some of the most prominent anti-slavery men of his generation as Underground Railroad operators, and notes Montpelier at the main station in the state. He is extremely vague about dates and offers little supporting detail.

Since much of Siebert's Vermont history rests on Poland's account, it would be useful to have better documentation on him. Some of the names he provides Siebert can be corroborated. But many are noted in town histories written after Siebert's Vermont study was published, and it may be that the popular tradition in many Vermont towns was 'contaminated' by it.

Rowland E. Robinson even weighs into the argument, as noted, labeling Poland a fraud.

In all this smoke, there must be some fire. Some of what Poland recounts rings true, and there is circumstantial evidence of his helping fugitives. It is, as discussed above, his conception of routes that does not hold up. Poland's input to Siebert must have been decisive. Siebert disclosed Underground Railroad routes in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois also spreading north from Boston and New Bedford in New England. This study maintains that Siebert found the routes he was seeking in Vermont by a credulous and simplistic application of this system. No other contemporary source notes such routes, though research indicates sections that fit it.

Siebert and some other researchers take a "connect the dots" approach to the Railroad. If a fugitive moved from point A to point B, and another fugitive went from point C to Point D, can a connection from B to C be automatically assumed? It cannot.

HISTORY: INTRODUCTION

The seeds of the Vermont Underground Railroad began with the introduction of chattel slavery by white colonists to the region, and the consequent resistance to slavery by those in bondage. In New England, Massachusetts and Connecticut colonies entered into mutual assistance pacts for the return of fugitive slaves by 1643, and informal escape networks may have operated from the 1600s on (Buckmaster 1941, 11-12). From the American Revolution to 1820, fugitive slaves surfaced in Vermont even as slavery took institutional root in the nation as a whole. Forceful statements ending human servitude in the Vermont Declaration of Rights and the Vermont Constitution and symbolic acts, such as the emancipation of Dinah Mattis in the Revolutionary period, gave way nationally to a process of steady accommodation.

Even as gradual emancipation evolved in the North, slavery became more integrated into the southern social system: the “peculiar institution” came to be viewed as positive for whites and blacks, and an economic necessity. Slavery was abolished in Canada and the Commonwealth by act of the British Parliament in 1833-34. The United States was then a slave holding island surrounded by abolition countries. Canadian abolition inspired a new impulse of escape, which the Underground Railroad came to symbolize in the public imagination. The Parliamentary act went into effect on August 12, 1834; a day thereafter celebrated by American blacks and abolitionists instead of July 4th. Canada was popularized in fugitive slave narratives, and in novels such as Harriet Beecher Stowe’s *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, as a promised land where runaways found safety ‘between the British lion’s paws’ (Winks 192-4).

Runaway slaves in the deep South sought refuge in Mexico, the Caribbean, southern seaports, in the Indian nations, or in ‘maroon’ fugitive communities in their regions. Many seem to have stayed in hiding in their own neighborhoods. Slaves in the upper South sought liberty in the free states and Canada. It is not clear how prevalent knowledge of the Underground Railroad was among slaves, nor to what extent fugitive slaves made use of it. Abolitionists were vilified by southerners for encouraging and abetting escape and even slave insurrection. Radical abolitionists such as Calvin Fairbanks and Harriet Tubman did travel into the slave states to bring slaves North, but escape and insurrection were a symptom of slavery and not of abolition.

The great majority of slaves escaped under their own impetus--alone or with comrades and family members. Once having escaped, they employed a variety of strategies to survive, stay free, and construct new lives. In doing so, many made use of free blacks and sympathetic whites, sometimes in connection with the semi-organized movement that came to be known by the 1840s as the Underground Railroad.

Throughout the colonial period, runaway slaves from the English and Dutch colonies were absorbed into Native American tribes and the French settlements. Oral tradition among the Abenaki at Missisquoi, in what would become Vermont, suggests the presence there of adopted black fugitives, as well as white captives, in the 1700s (Guyette 1992). New England’s Native American peoples were also enslaved by white colonists, and colonial slave codes limited the travel of blacks and natives, slave or free (Zilversmit 1967, 12-20). Treaties between British

colonists and Native Americans during the colonial wars sometimes featured clauses requiring the return of fugitive slaves (Buckmaster, 12).

Like all colonies, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New York passed fugitive slave laws indicative of the problem of runaways in this period (Zilversmit, 12). In 1705, for example, New York enacted a harsh law aimed at dissuading slaves from seeking refuge with the French or Native Americans on the northern frontier; it mandated that slaves caught more than forty miles north of Albany be executed (Zilversmit, 12). A letter from Ebenezer Hinsdale to New Hampshire governor Benning Wentworth, 26 November, 1753, describes the possible murder of two St. Francis Indians by English settlers because "one of them stole a Negro from them" (Calloway 1991, 124-5). The collusion of Native Americans and 'renegade' whites during the colonial wars was greatly reviled by the English colonists, and it seems probable, though the evidence is scanty, that fugitive blacks found refuge in the borderland that became Vermont. If so, this may model the long, well-documented tradition of maroons in the South, in which fugitive blacks, Native Americans, and disenfranchised whites lived this country's first multi-cultural experiment on the margins of colonial society (Aptheker 1991, 11-30). At the close of the American Revolution, as many as 4,000 blacks emancipated in return for aiding the Crown, moved north into Canada with the fleeing white loyalists, providing the nucleus for Canada's black population. These free Canadian blacks and their descendants have been incorrectly assumed to be antebellum era fugitives from the United States (Winks 1971, 234).

HISTORY IN VERMONT: THE COLONIAL PERIOD TO THE 1830S

Generations of school children learn that the Vermont constitution prohibited slavery in 1777, and that Vermont was the first state to do so. Nevertheless, slavery existed here, as pungently remarked in the *Rutland Herald* in 1897:

. . . It might just as well be said that no rum is sold as a beverage in Vermont as that no slaves were ever held here--the law never warranted holding of slaves and does not now warrant selling rum for use as a beverage but the law does not change the facts.

During the settlement period, the frontier society's lack of hard currency and the predominant pattern of small scale agriculture are said to have rendered slavery unprofitable (Ludlum 1939, 134-6; Zilversmit, 1). However, Rhode Island, Eastern Connecticut, and New York State had substantial slave populations in the 1700s, in similar environments to Vermont. The resistance of New York State slave owners to laws for gradual emancipation into the 1800s demonstrate full confidence in the economic viability of slavery in the region. In much of New England and New York State slaves commanded high prices exactly because they did fill a significant role in the northern economy employed in trade and farm labor, and domestic work. With the close of the French and Indian Wars, the Vermont frontier was open to colonists for settlement. Among the colonists who flooded into the New Hampshire Grants were some black freemen, servants, and slaves. While many rural New Englanders had little direct contact with slavery, nonetheless, the colonies from which Vermont settlers came were ones in which slave ownership was common and accepted practice.

From the 1770s to the early 1800s instances of slavery were recorded by local tradition and court records. The emancipation of Dinah Mattis and her infant daughter by Captain Ebenezer Allen on November 28, 1777, is well known. Owned by a British officer, they were taken by Allen in a raid on Ticonderoga, New York, and freed in Bennington. A court case involving another black slave, named Dinah, took place in 1802. The case was essentially an argument over who, her original owner, Stephen Jacob Esq., or the Town of Windsor, should support the elderly woman. Jacob's counsel noted certain people in town had enticed Dinah from his service years earlier "by the siren songs of liberty and equality." Curiously, Stephen Jacob was later associated with the Underground Railroad. In 1812, a male fugitive from New York State was seized by his owner in Vermont. The owner did not have a warrant for him. Nevertheless, the fugitive was ruled to be his property under the fugitive slave clause of the U.S. Constitution and the Act of Congress of 1793 (Siebert, I).

It is in this period (1806) that Judge Theophilus Harrington is said to have held against a slave owner in a fugitive slave case at Middlebury, noting that sufficient proof of ownership had not been furnished and demanding instead "a bill of sale from God Almighty" (*Vermont Anti-Slavery Soc. 2nd annual report*). This confrontation, reported in a Vermont Anti-Slavery Society Report, has been quoted often by historians as indicative of the mood of Vermonters in

the early 1800s as regards slavery. Certainly it indicates how Vermonters wished to see themselves (*St. Albans Messenger*, November. 6, 1850).

A slave society requires secure borders and strict laws for capture and return of fugitives, for such a society to continue. Incidents like these served more and more to trouble southern sleep and northern courts and consciences. In 1816, Pompey Vanderburg escaped his New York State master under the threat of being traded for a "mouse colored horse." He said he was helped by a stage driver, hidden in the Old Weeks Tavern, and found his way to Bennington where he married and raised nine sons (*Bennington Banner*, November 10, 1994).

Horace Greeley's account of the spontaneous rescue of a fugitive on the East Poultney Green sometime in the 1820s (Siebert, 72) awaits confirmation and seems unreliable.

The time from the War of 1812 to the Civil War has been called a period of social ferment in Vermont. Vermonters embraced a variety of social movements, agitated for reform, experienced frenzied religious revivals in the Second Great Awakening of the 1820s and 1830s, and joined in the Temperance crusade, also organizing for school, prison, and debt reform (Ludlum 1939). The organized anti-slavery movement grew out of these calamitous times. Abolitionists such as Chauncy L. Knapp and Joseph Poland of Montpelier, for example, came of age arguing these issues. Both were staunch anti-masonry and temperance men, early members of the abolition movement, and Underground Railroad activists.

ABOLITION POLITICS IN VERMONT

By the 1830s, Vermonters saw themselves as carrying forward a tradition of anti-slavery beginning with the State's Declaration of Rights and the Vermont Constitution. They were proud of their legislative act of October 1786 prohibiting the sale and removal of people of color from the state, which noted, "all subjects of the commonwealth, of whatever color, are equally entitled to the inestimable blessings of freedom. . ." and that "the idea of slavery is expressly and totally exploded from our free government" (Siebert, 46). David Ludlum maintains that "the almost mystic hatred of Slavery prevailing in the pre-Civil War period rested on a solid historical basis. The Green Mountain republic was the first of the American states to banish all forms of human servitude from its borders, and its later abolitionists were outspoken and persistent in pressing the cause of equal rights for all. From her hill country a galaxy of lecturers and legislatures went forth to combat the slave power on a multitude of fronts." This effort has been well documented (Ludlum, 134; Siebert, 46-66; Crockett 1921, 289-415).

In 1805, U.S. Senator Stephen Bradley put forward a bill to stop the import of slaves, supported by Vermonter Gideon Olin in the House. By 1820, Governor Richard Skinner and the Vermont legislature resolved to instruct its congressmen to rigorously contest the admission of Missouri to the Union (as a slave state.) In 1827, Vermont congressmen sought the promotion of laws favorable to colonization along with protective tariffs hotly desired by northern wool growers and manufacturers, but anathema to the southern plantation systems.

Vermont continued to resist the admission of new slave states into the Union and the extension of slavery into the territories. It sought abolition in the nation's capital, which was considered a particular disgrace and in all places of federal jurisdiction. It sought to make all laws upholding chattel slavery and depriving any person of due process of law and a jury trial unconstitutional and void.

In 1836, the state legislature adopted a resolution against the "gag" rule limiting discussion over petitions Vermonters, among others, had been flooding Congress with. Vermont battled the annexation of Louisiana, Florida, and Texas, and slavery in the District of Columbia. Vermont Congressmen were in the heat of the battle to prevent the spread of slavery, fully empowered by a united government at home.

Vermont met federal acts accommodating slavery with its own aggressive laws. The Vermont Fugitive Slave Act of 1840 and the Vermont personal liberty act of 1843 nullified the legality of the National Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 (Acts & Resolves 1843, 11-12). When the federal government attempted to deal with the proliferating and confusing number of state and federal fugitive laws with the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, Vermont's legislature responded with a supplementary act to its 1843 law, which stated its purpose as to "secure freedom to all persons within this state." Thus once again attempting to nullify federal law. This indicates strong anti-slavery, and anti-federal, feelings and support at home. What was the nature of Vermont's anti-slavery mood? "Although there were few radical abolitionists in Vermont during the late thirties, the people as a whole were determined in their influence in checking the further extension of slavery wherever and whenever such action was possible" (Crockett, 289).

While moral opposition to slavery would become more and more powerful, the opposition that fueled the aggressive political actions of Vermonters on all fronts were tied to economics. Vermonters feared the spread of slavery with its direct competition to free labor, both in Midwestern territories to which Vermonters were migrating, and at home in the Green Mountains. The growth and spread of slavery led to the growth in power of the southern states that were opposing many Vermont interests. Vermont wool growers and manufacturers were pro-tariff to protect wool prices, while southern states wanted free trade which favored their exportation of cotton, tobacco, and sugar. With the boom decades of the early 1800s behind them, Vermonters were increasingly sensitive to these factors, and increasingly protectionist: "While a foreigner would sell an able bodied Negro for \$400, the nation charges \$800 and Congress levies the difference on Brazil and Cuba sugar, which northern people consume, to insure gains to the home duty in the flesh and blood, bones and sinews, while it allows the iron master of Pennsylvania and the wool grower of Vermont to sink under the competition of pauper labor abroad" (*St Albans Messenger* 1849). By the mid 1840s, the *Rutland Herald* "estimated that four-fifths of the inhabitants of Vermont were opposed to the continuation of slavery in the United States" (Duffy, 1985, 102). By the 1850s, the major parties--Free Soil, Whig, and Republican--vying for political power in the state were at least nominally abolitionist.

Just as is true with political issues today, support of abolition included an evolving

constellation of moral, economic, family, and political concerns on national, regional, and local levels. Most Vermonters were anti-slavery in a very moderate sense, favoring colonization or a gradual freeing of slaves in the distant future. Men of good will, North and South, saw the union as of primary importance and were enraged by radical abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison who seemed, in their unseemly intent on immediate emancipation, to be pushing the country toward the brink of disunion. Charles Paine, a state governor and railroad magnate, describes the feelings of his grandfather, Elijah Paine, who was a leader in the American Colonization Society, and conveys the tenor of the times:

It must be remembered that my grandfather belonged to a generation which solemnly agreed to the compromise with slavery contained in our constitution and he proposed to live up to it, cost what it would. Accordingly, those vile abolitionists, who called that sacred instrument 'a covenant with death and in league with Hell' were regarded in our family as false to all obligation, deliberate repudiators of contracts, who renounced the vows made for them by their fathers; and I really supposed at this time that there were no baser mortals than they. (Paine n.d.)

ABOLITION HISTORY: COLONIZATION

While some members of the black and Quaker communities had long held for emancipation, when the majority of Vermont whites favored abolition, they meant colonization. In 1819, one of the earliest state colonization societies was started at the state house in Montpelier. The movement pressed for the removal of free and enslaved blacks to the Liberian colony in West Africa. Committed colonizers, like Rev. E. K. Converse, a Burlington minister and educator with Underground Railroad associations, insisted that colonization would rid the nation of poor and despised blacks, encourage slave owners to emancipate their slaves, and provide a nucleus of black clergymen to carry the message of the gospel and Western civilization into the 'Dark' continent. Colonization also allayed the underlying fear of interracial sexual relations--referred to as 'mingling' and miscegenation--that some scholars see as an underlying and extremely pervasive concern (Richards 1970, 30-33).

Over time the colonization movement evolved to focus on free blacks, many of whom denounced it as deportation. The movement was highly successful in promoting colonization by blacks to white Americans: colonization societies proliferated in Vermont and elsewhere, but few blacks were willing to sign on.

In 1854, Loudon S. Langley, a free black abolitionist living in Hinesburg who sheltered an escaped slave in the same year, wrote that no black person in the vicinity of Burlington would go to Liberia. Slaves, he said, were often coerced and only given their freedom if they would immigrate. He appealed to the public to "lend their influence with intent of giving us liberty and equal rights in the land of our Birth" (*GM Freeman*, April 27). However, Siebert writes that in 1844 Jeremiah C. Bongs, a fugitive from South Carolina who had settled in St. Albans for about a year, believed himself recognized by a friend of his former owner and left town hurriedly with a Liberian Colony agent (Siebert, 87).

Symbolic of the split are the Holly brothers, black freemen who owned a boot making shop on Church Street, Burlington in the late 1840s. James T. Holly became a major leader in the movement to plant a black colony in Haiti. His reasons had nothing to do with those of white colonization supporters; rather they indicate the bitter reality of racism as experienced by this free black Burlingtonian, who believed that blacks would never be treated equally in America; whereas in Haiti, he claimed, "far more security for personal liberty. . . than in this bastard democracy." His brother, Joseph C. Holly, was an abolitionist with possible connections to the Underground and was bitterly against colonization. He contributed an anti-colonization poem entitled "This is a Fatherland to Me" to Frederick Douglass's *North Star*. This issue split the Holly family. By 1851, James T. was in Windsor, Canada, co-editing *The Voice of the Fugitive* with Henry Bibbs, the leader of the black fugitive self-help movement in Upper Canada, and by the first year of the Civil War he led 110 black Americans to Haiti. By 1851, Joseph C. had moved to Rochester, New York, a hotbed of the radical abolition movement (Sherman 1992, 146).

Ministers made up about half of the Society's officers, and colonization groups were often sponsored by churches--Congregational Society of Montpelier, Baptist Society of East Bethel, and Methodist Society of Pittsford (Vermont Colonization Society Report 1822, 9-10; 1830, 2; 1857, 6). The colonization society report for 1830 shows contributions from 112 chapters in the state. Members, all of whom became prominent in the abolition movement, include Richard Skinner of Manchester, Joseph Burr of Bennington, and Rev. John K. Converse and John Wheeler of Burlington.

THE VERMONT ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY

Beginning in 1832, William Lloyd Garrison undertook a sustained assault on the colonization movement in *The Liberator*. In April of the next year, Vermont's first Anti-Slavery Society was formed in Jamaica. Another group of eight members formed in Cornwall the same year. By 1837, it would have 108 members. In the same year, Cabot's Anti-Slavery Society boasted 300 members. In May 1, 1834, the Vermont society was formed as a chapter of the American Anti-Slavery Society and was complimented by William Lloyd Garrison as the first state chapter "regularly organized in this country for the immediate extirpation of American slavery" (Vermont Anti-Slavery Society 2nd Report 1835, 13). Its first president was Asa Owen Aldis of St. Albans; the Chairman of the Executive committee was Rowland T. Robinson of Ferrisburgh; and the clerk was Oliver Johnson of Middlebury. Other charter members were Lawrence Brainard of St. Albans, Rodney V. Marsh of Brandon, and Col. Jonathan P. Miller and Joseph Poland of Montpelier. All were prominent men of affairs in the state, and all had associations with the Underground Railroad.

The business of the society was to promote the issue as it saw it, and to raise money to assist in the support of the anti-slavery activities in state and nationally. In 1835, the society funded one agent who circulated anti-slavery material, lectured, and sold subscriptions. Members kept up a rapid fire dialog in newspapers that would print their letters--*The State Journal*, *The Middlebury Free Press*, *The North Star*, *The Voice of Freedom*, and *The Green Mountain Freeman*. The society also maintained depositories in Montpelier, Brandon, Vergennes, and Middlebury where people could read and purchase abolitionist newspapers, pamphlets, and books. The society was also kept busy responding to federal government actions--generally pro-slavery or compromise actions--with letters, petitions, and other calls for action (Vermont Anti-Slavery Society Annual Reports VHS, UVM Special Collections).

Nationally and in its Vermont chapter, the society spent a great deal of effort in attacking the colonization effort. Its first annual report villainized Middlebury graduate Jehudi Ashmun, an agent for the National Colonization Society, who died after falling sick in Liberia. The Vermont Anti-Slavery Society was understood by many Vermonters to be Garrisonian abolitionist in its views in calling for immediate emancipation and, therefore, on the outer edge of the ideological continuum for American whites in the North or South (*Green Mountain Freeman*).

Among its first activities, the society arranged a Vermont lecture tour by Rev. Samuel J. May. At that time, the autumn of 1835, May was an agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and the first Unitarian minister to propose, from the pulpit, immediate emancipation. Reverend May's speaking tour was greeted with mob action in some five towns, including Randolph and Montpelier. Those who kept May from presenting his views in Montpelier were prominent local businessmen with colonization society connections, such as Captain Timothy Hubbard.

When editor Chauncy L. Knapp condemned the affair in the *State Journal*, the *Vermont Patriot & State Gazette* fired back in the best journalistic invective of the period: it held in "contempt & abhorrence the incendiary and chimerical schemes of all meddlers, disunionists, nullifiers and abolitionists," and called the *State Journal* story an "exaggerated, ridiculous, quixotic and false account manufactured by Knapp, or some of his sable compeers. . ." (*Vermont Patriot & State Gazette*, Oct. 27, 1835). When Representative Alvah Sabin of Georgia introduced a resolution condemning the Montpelier riot, it was stonewalled in the general assembly.

Early in the same year, Oliver Johnson wrote Rowland T. Robinson of an attempt by Orson Murray to speak on abolition in Burlington, which was apparently discouraged by threat of "tar and feathers. . . provided by the 'baser sort'" (Rokeby Museum, March 27, 1835).

Frederick Douglass said this of an 1843 speaking tour:

Those who only know the state of Vermont as it is today can hardly understand, and must wonder that there was forty years ago need for anti-slavery effort within its borders. . . the several towns visited showed that Vermont was surprisingly under the influence of the slave power. Her proud boast that within her borders no slave had ever been delivered up to his master, did not hinder her hatred to anti-slavery. . . In Middlebury. . . the opposition to our anti slavery convention was intensely bitter and violent. . . few people attended our meeting, and apparently little was accomplished (Douglass 1994, 671-2).

By 1855, when Solomon Northrup, a kidnapped freeman, spoke at the Montpelier Free Church, abolition speakers excited no such high emotions. The *Green Mountain Freeman*, January 23, sourly noted "there were about 60 persons present--a very fair turn out for cold, dead, frozen, Hunker Montpelier, which can always give a house of three hundred to a Buffoon or juggler." (In the mid 1850s, he published the narrative of his enslavement, lectured on the abolition circuit, and was said by John R. Smith, to have been active on the Massachusetts-Vermont Underground in association with his father 'Lame John' Smith of Hartland (Siebert, 98-100).

In the 1860, Abraham Lincoln swept Vermont with 75.8 percent of the vote, but this figure cut both ways. As historian J. Kevin Graffagnino wrote, Stephen Douglas, John Breckenridge, and John Bell relieved almost a quarter of the vote between them. "Nearly one quarter (10,732) of the votes cast in Vermont for president in 1860 went to candidates who were either openly pro-slavery or unopposed to the expansion of slavery" (*Vermont History* Vol. 45, No. 1, 31-34).

GOALS AND MEANS--DIRECT ACTION STRATEGIES

The objects of the Vermont Anti-Slavery Society were to abolish slavery in the United States and to improve the mental, moral, and political condition of the colored population. However the society would discountenance physical interference with slavery by the free States or the federal government. It would not attempt to incite insurrection among the slaves, but would seek to overthrow the institution by exposing the guilt and danger of holding men as property, by rebuking sin and calling for its immediate relinquishment, by appealing to the understanding and conscience, by employing the power of the pulpit and the press, by petitioning Congress to use its constitutional authority to suspend the American slave trade and abolish slavery in the Territories, by presenting considerations of interest, safety, and economy to those people of the slave States, by exhorting those of the free States, who shared in the sin of the South, to use all lawful and peaceable means to remove the common evil, and by inviting all to join in expressing peaceable and effectual sentiments for its extermination. (Siebert, 32).

Vermont abolitionists agreed with a resolution of the second annual convention of the society, in 1836, that the effective way to battle slavery was by "enlightening the public mind, by free discussion, and by operation of correct public sentiment upon. . . the whole nation." It was not, in other words, by the direct action of helping escaped slaves, or, as it was rumored some radicals were doing, actually encouraging and aiding slaves to escape.

Colonization remained an important objective for white, and some few black, Vermonters. In the North, white abolitionists sought to gradually end slavery by political and moral persuasion, which was part education and part agitation. For some Vermonters this was not enough. Direct action had meant turning out to support and if necessary defend abolitionist speakers, as Col. Jonathan P. Miller, Chauncy Knapp, and a Quaker woman did for Rev. Samuel May in 1835. It meant raising a lot of money: for black self-help efforts in Upper Canada, Liberia and Haiti; for aid to fugitive slaves; and for the purchase of a fugitive's freedom or that of relations still in bondage.

Some activists, such as Oliver Johnson, Rowland T. Robinson, Stephen F. Stevens made arrangements of room and board and perhaps money, in return for farm work and other labor. Before the 1830s, aid of fugitives by whites seems opportunistic and random. As early as the mid 1830s, however, there is evidence of the Underground Railroad proper--a loose, organic network based on family, political, and religious ties, that passed fugitives from activist household to activist household, helping them find refuge in the Northeast and Canada. There is documentation for such a network in the Champlain Valley, branching over to Montpelier.

Anecdotes from contemporary documents demonstrate the scope of the aid. Fugitive James Temple wrote Thomas Robinson in 1851 from Montreal, "I am at work at my trade getting a living looking through the glasses you gave me for which I never shall forget to be thankful." Robinson's wife had passed away not long before, and he had presented her eyeglasses to Temple. Temple went on to write of his desire to reunite with his family, and closed with "Remember me to your colored folks," alluding to other fugitives or freemen in residence at

Rokeby (Robinson Papers).

In 1838, Secretary of State Chauncy L. Knapp drove from Montpelier to Rokeby, picked up a young male fugitive, Charles, and returned with him over the mountains to Montpelier. He wrote to a Saratoga agent that Charles arrived safely and that Knapp was seeking a good Montpelier family to board him, was making plans for schooling and religious instruction, and intended finding the boy a printing apprenticeship, perhaps like the seven year apprenticeship that Knapp himself experienced (*Vermont History* 1973, 7-8).

The Rev. N. R. Johnson made contributions of money and clothing from Topsham to the Philadelphia Vigilance Committee for the aid of fugitive slaves. The Philadelphia Underground handled a large number of runaways. Reverend Johnson asked William Still, a free black Philadelphian and major figure in the Underground Railroad effort and its historiography, for letters recounting the experiences of fugitives, that he could read aloud to the ladies of the Topsham Sewing Circle. In a letter dated 1856, he noted that there is "much opposition, a very few attend" (Still 1871, 613).

Other direct action strategies were at least discussed: boycotting of southern businesses, refusing fellowship with churches that allowed slave owners membership, boycotting products such as cane sugar and cotton cloth produced with slave labor. Legal assistance to fugitives was another facet: as the federal government placed more and more strictures on recapture of fugitives, the Vermont legislature fired back with laws strengthening state, county, and local officials in preventing recapture. Lawyers sympathetic to the cause, at least in an instance in 1844, attempted to halt the removal of a fugitive woman from Windsor County, Vermont, by writ of *habeas corpus*. They were unsuccessful (*Green Mountain Freeman*). By the late 1840s and 1850s, the society responded with a new colonization venture: raising financial aid for families to colonize Kansas for free soil. A number of Vermonters relocated to Kansas, including several Royalton families. Among the first news to reach central Vermont residents of the Osawatimie massacre of free soil farmers by pro-slavery vigilantes was a letter by expatriate Vermonter Pearl P. Warren in the *Green Mountain Freeman*, June 10, 1858. However the best known direct action resistance to the federal government's accommodation of slavery was the Underground Railroad.

THE VERMONT UNDERGROUND RAILROAD: 1830S--1850S

There are some five documented incidents of fugitives passing through the State in the 1830s; some ten in the 1840s; and about fourteen in the 1850s. (See Fugitive Table, appendix). The first documented instances of premeditated aid to fugitives occurred in 1835. A letter from Oliver Johnson to Rowland T. Robinson referred to an attempt to get Chauncy L. Knapp's help in situating a young fugitive, 'William,' in Montpelier. Three letters in 1837 detailed Robinson's mediation between a North Carolina slave owner and the fugitive slave 'Jesse,' who was probably at Rokeby:

Since leaving thy service he has by his industry and economy laid up \$150 and he is willing to give the whole of this sum for his freedom: and the whole of his savings is all that he can offer. . . (Rokeby Museum, May 3, 1837).

Robinson noted that he himself could not offer financial help to Jesse, because his conscience prohibited his taking part in the buying of a human being, even for purposes of liberation. During the same year Robinson received two letters from Oliver Johnson, ever on the move in the Northeast as a promotional agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society, concerning Simon, a fugitive working in Pennsylvania. Johnson wanted to place Simon at Rokeby:

. . . He is very trustworthy, of a kind disposition, and knows how to do almost all kinds of farm work. He is used to teaming, and is very good to manage horses. He says that he could beat any man in the neighborhood where he lived, in Maryland, at mowing, cradling, or pitching. He has intended going to Canada in the spring, but says he would prefer to stay in the U.S., if he could be safe. I have no doubt he would be perfectly safe with you. . . It will be a great way for him to walk, but not worse than going to Canada. He can be furnished with the names of abolitionists on whom to call upon the way, and I think may reach Vermont in safety (Rokeby Museum, January 27, 1837).

Robinson agreed, and received another communication from Johnson, demonstrating how the Underground operated nationally:

I gave him (Simon) such directions as will enable him to reach Philadelphia, where he will put himself under the direction of our friends, who will give him needful information concerning the route to New York, at which last place he will be befriended by the "Committee of Vigilance", or by members of the Executive Committee. . ." (Rokeby Museum, April 3, 1837).

Further letters testify to the Robinson family's aid to fugitives in 1844 and 1851, proving a direct and consistent involvement, which in the case of the Robinsons, seems to have been completely out in the open.

Col. Jonathan P. Miller of Montpelier, was a lawyer and state legislature. He fought in the 1820s War of Independence in Greece, plead the case for Lucretia Mott being 'received' at the 1840 World Abolition Convention in London and defended Rev. Samuel May in the 1835 Montpelier 'riot.' His daughter said of him, "My father did not know what fear was." She directly remembered seeing fugitives at the house in 1837 and arrivals into the 1840s. Rowland E. Robinson corroborated Miller's general Underground Railroad activity (Mrs. Abijah Keith letter, R.E. Robinson letter, Siebert Collection, Harvard).

For the early 1840s, letters testify that the Charles Hicks Family in Bennington received fugitives from Albany and Hoosick Falls, New York, and moved them, sometimes by wagon, to the Shaftsbury sheep farm of Simon Bottum. One existing note to Hicks is a rare example of a letter of introduction--a basic nineteenth century networking device that placed its bearer within the recipient's circle of family, social, or business obligations, and recommended him as worthy and deserving of help:

Dear Sir

Please receive the bearer as a friend who needs your aid and direct him on his way if you cannot give him work. He came to us well recommended, was a slave a few weeks since.

Yours etc.

Abel Brown

Albany 9th June 1842 Cor. Sec'y of Eastern New York Slavery Soc'y.

While used throughout the society, such letters were a particular tool of the Underground Railroad, not only because they were a useful convention, but because most fugitives could not read and write, southern laws prohibiting education of slaves (Vermont Historical Society, mss.; Resch-Levin:1977,37).

Abolition papers like the *Green Mountain Freeman* noted--T. D. Seymour Bassett writes "flaunted"-- fugitive traffic as part of the propaganda war (Bassett 1992, 121): "A young gentleman by the name of Giles, late from New Orleans, spent last night with us, on his way to Canada. He is a remarkably intelligent piece of property, twenty-one years old, and seems to have an irrepressible desire to be a man. . ." After listing Giles' numerous scars from beatings and failed escapes, it records that "He is the son of his master, whose name is Jeffries, who lays claim to 150 more. Hope our friends will cheer him on his way" (October 11, 1844). The *Freeman* scores all kinds of points here: demonstrating that slaves wished to be free and had the faculties to make a choice, while showing southern owners guilty of slave driving, violence and miscegenation.

It is the contention of this study that fugitives were not in danger in Vermont. In 1843, Erastus Fairbanks wrote that "All or nearly all" Vermonters were against slavery ([Fairbanks Papers, VHS] Bassett 120), and state anti-slavery laws kept pace with, and sometimes anticipated federal pro-slavery ones. The Vermont Fugitive Slave Act of 1843 prohibited officers and citizens from aiding in the seizure or detainment of any person claimed as a fugitive. However,

such laws were probably not enacted for blacks, as much as against the southern states.

A young slave woman who ran away from her owner while they were visiting Hartland in 1844, was quickly recaptured. The case was thrown out of court because there was no evidence that the woman had been forcibly taken. She may not have been allowed to testify or perhaps was intimidated into silence. She was taken South by her owner, back to Georgia. Her name is not recorded (*The Green Mountain Freeman*, August 23).

Howard Griswold wrote to *The Green Mountain Freeman* detailing the 1847 journey of fugitive Henry Adams from New Orleans to Vermont. Adams related to Griswold that while in Boston, he had passed through the hands of William Lloyd Garrison, the radical abolition editor who began his career in Bennington in 1828, and Milton Clark, a fugitive and agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society. Adams traveled "along from one abolitionist to another until at last, a good friend of the slave in Brookfield started with him. . ." toward Montpelier. Adams was put on the stagecoach in Northfield Falls, bound for the Capitol city with letters of introduction to four local men. He was not seen again. Griswold heard rumors that he had been kidnapped in the area of Montpelier "but nothing definite could be learned." This story awaits corroboration, but has the ring of truth and may be another rare recapture incident (*The Green Mountain Freeman*, April 20, 1848).

Fugitive John Randolph with his free Mohawk wife and their three children spent four weeks at the Stevens farm in East Montpelier in 1855, and another man, an ex-field slave, summered there around the same year ([Ann Stevens Robinson Recollections] Blackwell and Hill 1983, 116).

'Joe,' a twenty-three year old fugitive passed through Montpelier in November of 1858, and was in Canada two days later, according to the *Green Mountain Freeman* November 18. He had stowed away on a ship at Wilmington, North Carolina, hiding six days before it sailed, living on a few pounds of crackers and cheese. He was discovered and beaten by the captain. Joe swam ashore in Connecticut, but was captured by customs officers. Forcibly freed by local abolitionists, he traveled the Underground through Vermont to Canada.

THE FUGITIVE SLAVE ACT OF 1850

The federal Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 symbolized to abolitionists the loss of a state's right of self government. A fugitive could be identified by a slave owner without need of corroborating proof; he could not give testimony in court and was not allowed a trial by jury. Federal agents who failed to comply in the seizure of a fugitive were subject to fine of up to one thousand dollars; bystanders could be forced to aid in a capture; and Underground Railroad activists risked fines of a thousand dollars or six months imprisonment. The law seemed to open the state to a legion of slave catchers and cooperating federal officials; and to make collaborators of its citizens (Buckmaster, 41).

The act was passionately condemned in the Vermont anti-slavery press and from the anti-slavery pulpit. Methodist Rev. Cyrus Prindle of Shelburne and Congregationalist Rev. Kiah Bayley of Hardwick preached mightily against it. For the text of his sermon, Prindle took Deuteronomy 23:15-16: "Thou shalt not deliver unto his master the servant which has escaped from his master unto thee. He shall dwell with thee, even among you in that place which he shall choose" (Prindle 1850, 1). In Woodstock, Titus Hutchinson kept on a steady flow of letters to the newspapers on the illegality of the act under the U.S. Constitution. Rodney V. Marsh of Brandon chaired a legislative committee that drafted a resolution on the same. In Enosburg, an abolition meeting defiantly resolved ". . . that no act of Congress can make us slave catchers. . . (and) the Fugitive slave shall ever find us ready and willing to assist them in their effort to escape bondage" (*Green Mountain Freeman*, November 14, 1850).

The Vermont legislature supplemented its Act of 1843, by making the state's attorney of each county responsible for protecting any person claimed or arrested as a fugitive slave. It allowed all Vermont courts to dispense a writ of *habeas corpus* and to order trial by jury in fugitive cases. The state also agreed to bear all defense costs that might be charged to an alleged slave (Siebert, 59), though, as Ithamer Smith remarked, "I think we are not liable to be over run with Slaves escaping here in preference to all the rest of the world for the sake of jury trial" (*The Green Mountain Freeman*, March 18, 1858).

Did the Fugitive Slave Act enrage free and fugitive black Vermonters, as it did the black populations of Massachusetts, Michigan and New York State? The Act precipitated an exodus of free blacks to Canada. Rev. Joshua Young wrote Siebert of an increase in Burlington Underground Railroad traffic for a short period after 1850, but he did not reside there until 1852 (Siebert 81-82). The number of documented fugitives in Vermont increases after 1850, but the sample is a small one, some twenty credible incidents. These may include the fugitive Shadrach, who was arrested by U.S. marshals in Boston on February 15, 1851 and forcibly freed by Louis Hayden, a fugitive himself, and some sixty to a hundred other black men. He was taken, hidden in a wagon, to Cambridge, Concord, and Leominster, Massachusetts. He is said to have traveled along the Vermont Underground Railroad to Montreal (*Boston Globe*, April 7, 1889).

The Fugitive Slave Act provided the context and background for the popular and folkloric

concept of the Underground Railroad. Undated anecdotes of Vermont yeoman facing down U.S. marshals to protect fugitives would seem to be set in 1850s. No known Vermonters were convicted by the law. No fugitives were returned South under its auspices. Two incidents of recapture discussed, one legal and one possible kidnapping, took place in the 1840s. Staunchly abolitionist Vermonters were outraged by what the law symbolized. Urban free black communities all over the North demonstrated and swore resistance. But in the meadows and hayfields at Rokeby in Ferrisburgh, the Hoag Farm in Charlotte, and the Stevens Farm in East Montpelier, fugitives worked out in the open, side by side with household members and other hired help at the seasonal chores.

SECRECY, PURSUIT AND RECAPTURE: ISSUES OF POPULAR TRADITION AND PRIMARY RESOURCES

The legend of the Underground Railroad conveys a picture of hotly pursued fugitives, implacable slave catchers, and secretive comings and goings in the dead of night. Brick chimney markings, discretely placed lanterns, and other special signs announced the homes of sympathetic Vermonters to frightened runaways. Others were whisked from safe house to safe house, hidden under loads of hay in farm wagons. Fugitives were hidden in closets, knee walls spaces, chimney meat-smoking holes, attic garrets, tunnels, and caves, where they were momentarily safe. The story is dramatic and shows Vermonters at their best. What were the chances of pursuit? Just how dangerous was it to be a fugitive or Underground Railroad activist in Vermont? Were Underground Railroad activities actually conducted in secret?

There exists a body of orally transmitted stories suggesting the need for secrecy in the hiding of runaways. However, the preponderance of evidence--datable, detailed recollections noting who, what, when, and where--does not support this tradition and suggests that fugitives were secure in Vermont. There are two important caveats to this: first, fugitives were as secure and safe from harm in this state as a black person was liable to be in antebellum America. This was a country in which violence to people of color was carried out with impunity in the North and South, and federal slave laws were entirely biased towards an owner's recovery of his 'property.'

For example, in 1841 Solomon Northrup, a black freeman, lured from his home in Glens Falls, some thirty miles west of Vermont, to Washington, D.C., was kidnapped and sold into slavery. It took him twelve years to regain his freedom. Northrup's free status and his northern location were no protection to him.

Secondly, fugitives may not have felt themselves to be secure. They may be presumed to have kept the habits, attitudes, and strategies that had already served them in slavery and escape.

During the 1840s and 1850s, Boston and New Bedford, Massachusetts, were considered much safer than Western cities like Detroit, Michigan, and Cincinnati, Ohio. This is according to Louis Hayden, who traveled the Underground Railroad to freedom in the Kentucky-Ohio

region, lived in Upper Canada and New York State, and finally settled in Boston, where he played a major part in the Underground Railroad. Hayden's experience suggests that upper New England was safer than Western New York and the Midwest (Runyon 1996, 109).

Town histories record dramatic stories of courageous Vermont yeoman staring down or fooling man hunting posses, but these stories elude confirmation, and some are hardly credible. Popular novels, plays, and other serialized fiction--such as the culminating scene of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in which Liza crosses the ice with slave catchers close behind--may have prompted some local tales. Rowland E. Robinson, who provided Siebert with levelheaded factual testimony of fugitives living openly at his father's Ferrisburgh sheep farm (Siebert Collection, Harvard) nevertheless wrote in *Out of Bondage and Other Stories* (1936) of hair trigger escapes and Yankee daring. Robinson had a clear understanding of how the Underground Railroad operated in Ferrisburgh, if anyone did; he also relished the telling of a good story.

Charles Boardman recalls his father, Stephen C. Boardman, sheltering a family closely followed by bloodhounds in Hartland. Boardman smears the runaways' shoes with camphor to throw the dogs off their trail; he faces down a gun-brandishing posse, and sneaks the family by wagon to the local train depot. A U.S. marshal leads the posse, which would seem to set this story in the 1850s, but the bloodhounds consign it to the imagination (*Boardman Genealogy, 1525-1895*, 509-510).

Another tale of a Yankee trickster pulling the wool over the eyes of a southern slave-catcher, features Nicholas Guidon of Charlotte, who works unconcernedly in his hay mow while his farm is searched, only to have two fugitives emerge from the hay when the frustrated posse departs (Higbee 1991, 107-108). These are the sort of events which anti-slavery newspapers and reports might be expected to record and are silent on.

Siebert notes some eight stories of slave catchers or owners in the state (72-102), none of which have been substantiated. One, the Horace Greeley account of a spontaneous rescue on the East Poultney Green sometime in the late 1820s, is illustrative: Poultney town histories feature considerable eyewitness description of Greeley's residence, but make no mention of the rescue. Other Siebert accounts appear to date from the 1840s and 1850s, but do not show up in any of the abolition newspapers which seem to take a special interest in stories of fugitive recapture.

The *Green Mountain Freeman* and the *Burlington Free Press* make sporadic mention of captured and kidnapped blacks in Ohio, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, upstate New York (Buffalo, Syracuse) and New York City, as well as the well known Boston incidents of Shadrach, Thomas Sims, and Anthony Burns. Coverage of kidnapping and capture, while always sparse, peaks in 1850-53 and 1856-58. The Vermont press was silent regarding instances of capture or slave hunting in state at the same time that it carried news of these events nationally; it seems reasonable to conclude that recapture and slave hunting were very rare in Vermont.

One documented incident for Vermont occurred in Hartford in 1844. A Colonel S. T. Bailey of Georgia visited relatives in Hartford during the summer of the year with a female slave, whom

he left when he went to Canada on business. (On Canadian soil, she would have been free.) Having been informed that she was free under Vermont state law, she escaped to an abolitionist house a few miles away. On Bailey's return, he summoned the help of a Windsor County justice of the peace. Together they located her and, according to a local abolitionist, took her from the house by force. Bailey was arrested, tried, and released due to insufficient evidence that the slave women had been forcibly retaken. He fled southward with her, pursued unsuccessfully by abolitionists who apparently attempted to serve writs of habeas corpus for the states Bailey passed through. This incident is confirmed by Bailey's version of the incident as excerpted from the *Macon Telegraph Extra* (*Green Mountain Freeman*, August 23, December 20).

Bailey was able, with local cooperation, to recapture a recently escaped slave; local abolitionists were seemingly ineffectual before the demand for proof of abduction; Bailey was able to flee South, staying ahead of his pursuers.

Howard Griswold, an Underground Railroad activist in Randolph, believed that a fugitive passing through his area in 1847 had been kidnapped. Henry Adams, originally from New Orleans, traveled the Underground Railroad from Boston, Massachusetts to Roxbury-Northfield (VT) area. He was put on the Northfield Falls stage for Montpelier, some eight miles away, with letters of introduction to four men there. Griswold, who sheltered him for a week in Randolph, suspected foul play, but seems never to have heard from him again (*Green Mountain Freeman*, April 20, 1848).

There are no substantiated incidents of organized slave catching in the state, but there is evidence of slave catching activity in Lower Canada, which could have involved Vermont. A Kentucky bounty hunter was tried and convicted in Montreal in 1854 of "enticement" for attempting to lure a fugitive named Osbourne back to the United States, according to the *Montreal Gazette*. Osbourne was a "first rate horse trainer and jockey," and must have commanded a high price for recapture. The bounty hunter's penalty, at Osbourne's request, was a \$4.00 fine and five minutes in jail to show him that the "law cannot be violated with impunity."

There is also on record a letter written by John H. Pope, Police Officer & Constable, Frederick, Maryland, in January, 1855, to the Montreal Police Chief, in which Pope attempts to bribe him to aid in the recapture of fugitives in Lower Canada.

Vast numbers of slaves escaping from their masters or owners succeed in reaching your provinces and are, therefore, without the pale of the Fugitive Slave Law and can only be restored by cunning together with skill. Large rewards are offered and will be paid for their return and could I find an efficient person to act with me, a great deal of money could be made, as I would equally divide. Many are willing to come after writing to that effect. The only apprehension we have in approaching too far into Canada is the fear of being arrested: and had I a good assistant in your city who would induce

the Negroes to the frontier, I would be there to pay the cash. On your answer, I can furnish names and descriptions of Negroes, which will fully reward the trouble.

To his credit, the Montreal police chief appears to have send the letter to the *Montreal Gazette*, which published it.

FUGITIVE ANALYSIS

Another method of addressing the degree of risk is through quantitative analysis of the fugitives. This analysis suffers from limitation in numbers available and vague or incorrectly reported and interpreted information on fugitive traffic through Vermont. Nevertheless, it provides a general picture of security that is supported by persuasive anecdotal evidence.

This analysis includes fugitives in the three decades before the Civil War. The model involves 47 fugitives (33 males, 5 females, and 9 children) in 29 separate fugitive "incidents" that can generally be dated by year, taken from letters, newspaper accounts, and detailed anecdotes. Twenty-four fugitives have Canada noted as a destination, including one family; two have Boston and New York State as destinations; seventeen (including one family of a wife and three children) are working or involved in seeking work in Vermont. Of those heading for Canada, eight (including a wife and three children) worked in the north including Vermont before heading there, and eight (including a wife and three children) stopped to work in southern New England and had to flee for Canada.

What this sparse sample hints at is a complex picture: some fugitives feel safe enough in lower New England to stop and reestablish their lives, or stop for reasons of money, illness, and family, but later are compelled to flee. Another eight, including a family, stop in Vermont, along the way to Canada, to work or to seek settlement. Another nine, for a total of seventeen altogether, live in Vermont, either working or seeking work. Those fleeing appear to be coming from lower New England or New York State. Of course, fugitives that settled for good before Vermont would not show up here.

This indicates that Vermont is a fairly secure place. Anecdotal evidence concurs: in 1816, Pompey Vanderburg escaped to Bennington, to live there for the rest of his life. Fugitives stayed for months working abroad on the Robinson sheep farm in Ferrisburgh, the Hoag farm in East Charlotte, and Stephen F. Stephens' farm in East Montpelier during the late 1830s to 1850s. In the Montpelier area, Col. Jonathan P. Miller's daughter recalled that stage drivers stopped for blacks in the area and as a matter of course, brought them to the Miller house. Also in Montpelier, Chauncy L. Knapp is documented in the late 1830s to have been involved in finding employment and family placements for two young fugitives. As noted elsewhere, the printing apprenticeship Knapp sought for one would last some seven years. Knapp obviously believed his young men would be secure (Harvard).

Nationally, notable fugitives such as Frederick Douglass, Henry Box Brown, Louis and Harriet Hayden, and William and Ellen Kraft chose to stay in the United States, and there is a large body of circumstantial evidence less known fugitives did the same (Winks). Some fled to Canada or Europe when the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was enacted, but returned later. The "Canada" of the fugitive slave was not the creation of an international boundary; it was the function of opportunity and security as experienced by each fugitive.

For most white abolitionists, the migration of blacks, fugitive and free, to Canada or elsewhere seemed the viable solution to the racial and regional problems threatening the country. With exceptions, it was white abolitionists who were committed to Canada as an end destination for fugitives. Whites who were 'color blind' to blacks in their own communities, also missed those fugitives who chose to settle for good or for a while among them. Thus many fugitives were probably perceived as passing through a town "on the way to Canada," when in fact they halted their flight short of the border (Winks, 233-235; Gara).

Still, the threat of recapture while in the United States was always present. A stock tale has a resettled fugitive in the North working as a waiter or barber and having his master walk into the workplace. This nightmare actually happened to Shadrach, a fugitive living in Boston in 1851, who is said to have fled to Canada through Vermont. Siebert notes anecdotes for this occurring in Vermont (1937). Escaped slaves lived with the psychological and physical fear of recapture anywhere in the United States.

Siebert, through his correspondence with Rowland E. Robinson, corroborates what Peter Still observed in Philadelphia, that some fugitives arrived well armed and determined to defend themselves. Robinson notes that the first fighting knife he ever saw in his Quaker household was carried by a fugitive. He mentions at least one instance of fugitives carrying side arms as well (Still; Siebert).

RISK TO ACTIVISTS

The Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 made it a federal crime to aid escapees. This put Underground Railroad activists at of risk of fine or imprisonment but no known Vermonter was tried under the law, though legal and law enforcement official can be assumed to have often known of fugitives in their communities.

Many abolitionists troubled their local communities, and risked the disapprobation of neighbors, church members and even family. Leonard Johnson was expelled from the Peacham congregation over his refusal to apologize to another church member for harsh words on the slavery issue. After the Civil War, he is said to have signed a written apology drafted by his minister, writing next to his signature that at least he had been proved right about abolition! (*Vermont*, September 1938). Salmon P. Wires is said not to have kept fugitive slaves at 118 South Willard Street in Burlington because his wife and daughter disapproved. Instead he is reported to have sheltered them in an insurance office in the Peck Block on College Street.

Col. Jonathan Miller risked physical violence in defending Reverend Samuel May in the Montpelier 'riot' of 1835. Rev. Joshua Young was driven from his Unitarian church, which still stands at the head of Church Street in Burlington, for preaching the funeral service for John Brown in 1859. However, this was for a public show of sympathy for a radical and a convicted felon, and not for his Underground activities (Harvard).

As noted, unsubstantiated stories tell of Vermonters facing down or outwitting armed possess, but these do not have the ring of truth. Apparently, the only Vermont Underground Railroad activist threatened with violence, fined or imprisoned for aiding fugitive slaves was a young woman--Delia Webster of Vergennes. She was mobbed, threatened, fined, and imprisoned for about two weeks at the Kentucky State Penitentiary for helping Louis Hayden and his family to escape from Kentucky into Ohio in 1844 (Runyon 1996).

Nonetheless, for some Vermont activists, the Underground Railroad was a cloak and dagger affair. This was probably precautionary and not due to direct threat. Bennington County activists were close to the Hudson River valley, a main eastern conduit for escape and pursuit. Some certainly believed they had reason to be careful. A letter from a New York activist to Charles Hicks of Bennington, in 1840, notes slave catchers had been seen in Albany, New York. He said he would no longer sign his name to the letters of introduction he sent fugitives on with: "My hand you will know," he writes (Vermont Historical Society Mss). A letter from Hicks' daughter, Jane, to sister, Eliza, in Manchester, tells of a fugitive family being sheltered and closes: "Please burn this as soon as you read it. . .let no one see it" (Levin & Resch 1977, 37).

There were other dangers and other prices to be paid, but this would come latter: James Ramsey of St. Johnsbury, locally associated with the Underground, lost a son at Savage Station with the Third Vermont Infantry. Loudon Langley, a Hinesburg free black who opposed colonization and is known to have sheltered at least one fugitive, enlisted in the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts. So did both of his brothers.

DEMOGRAPHICS OF THE VERMONT UNDERGROUND RAILROAD: ACTIVISTS AND FUGITIVES

The Vermont Underground Railroad was the creation of Quakers, radical ministers of many denominations, free blacks, ex-temperance and anti-masonry enthusiasts, Whigs, Republicans, Liberty party leaders, and colonizers. Many, for whom there is a record, were politicians, editors, businessmen, and lawyers, in other words, the men of affairs in their communities. Many of abolition's staunch opponents in Vermont--Captain Timothy Hubbard of Montpelier and Episcopal Bishop John Henry Hopkins of Burlington, for example--were equally men of position, property, and standing.

The sample of documented Underground Railroad activists is, of course, biased to the surviving written record of correspondence, newspapers, and recollections, and other Vermonters may, to a greater or lesser extent, have involved themselves with Underground Railroad activities.

Abolitionists noted greater general support in the hill towns (Bassett, 121), but the transportation corridors passed through the valley towns and cities, and the fugitives generally did as well. Rev. N. R. Johnson of Topsham would have wished to shelter fugitives, but he saw none in Topsham (Still, 613).

Incidents for which there is significant detail demonstrate direct action against slavery was often a family affair: the number of activists is enlarged if those who prepared meals, harnessed horses and did chores are included. There is a tradition of fugitives sleeping on the floor of the Higley House, now the Castleton Historical Society, while the Higley women prepared food (Harvard). Older children were involved: in 1843, Charles Hicks' son, because he had already made the trip once that week, Henry grudgingly drove a black family from Bennington to the Bottum Farm in Shaftsbury (Levin & Resch, 37). If any of Charles W. Boardman's story can be accepted, he was thirteen years of age when helping his father hide fugitives at their Norwich farm (Boardman Genealogy, 509-510). Erastus and Hervey Higley of Castleton, Oliver and Leonard Johnson of Peacham, the Shafters of Townsend, and the Dearborns in Chelsea were sets of closely related males, who together and in separate household aided runaways.

Rokeby, in Ferrisburgh, was the hub within in a wheel of family and church connections; Rowland E. Robinson recalled his father sending fugitive slaves to the Hoag and Rodgers Farms in Ferrisburgh and Charlotte, and the Stevens Farm in East Montpelier--all families interrelated by marriage to the Robinsons. The Stevens in turn are believed to have received fugitives from an East Montpelier uncle, Dale C. Deit. The Robinsons, Hoags and Stevens are also connected with the Farnham Meeting Quaker community in Allen's Corner, Quebec, some 25 miles east of Lake Memphremagog. According to a history of the Farnham Meeting, Friends traveled frequently between Ferrisburgh and Allen's Corner (Zielinski 1961). Rowland T. and Rachel Robinson had left the Society of Friends because of its "indifference" to slavery, but kept many connections. It is likely that they knew Aaron and Dinah Rodgers, a Quaker couple living in Rutland who are thought to have been active in the Underground Railroad. A few towns north, the Chalker farm, still standing in New Haven, is said by Rowland E. Robinson to

have passed fugitives the ten miles to the Rokeby (Harvard).

Neighboring played a part as well; Addison Peck of East Montpelier recalled discovering, in his hayloft, a fugitive who had been left there by a neighbor. Nathan Dodge, whose house was cross lots, is also said to have worked for the Underground Railroad. Peck wrote years later that his wife gave the fugitive breakfast, after which he drove him ten miles to another farm (Blackwell & Hill, 116-117).

Ministers such as Orson Murray of Brandon, Kiah Bailey of Hardwick, Cyrus Prindle of Shelburne, and 'Lame John' Smith of Hartland took up the struggle for moral suasion against slavery as they had against alcohol in the Temperance crusade. Rev. Kiah Bailey wrote "I assist the poor fugitive, as my conscience requires:" all these men preached and, perhaps practiced, direct action (Ludlum: *Hazen Road Dispatch*, Summer 1985; Prindle n.d.: Harvard).

Chauncy L. Knapp was Secretary of State and editor of the *State Journal* (until 1836) when he helped fugitives, "William," in 1835 and "Charles" in 1838, to settle in Montpelier. He informed a Saratoga, New York, activist "the lad (Charles) is now sitting in my office in the State House" (*Vermont History* 1973).

Lawrence Brainard of St. Albans used his position as director of the St. Albans Steamboat Company to send fugitives to Canada. G. Sanborn wrote that Brainard put fugitives on his boats in St. Albans for St. Johns, Lower Canada, noting that while doing business in St. Johns, he had opportunity to talk to fugitives who made the trip. Sanborn's flat pronouncement that Brainard "paid for them with his own money" is the kind of detail, rich in nineteenth century New England nuance, that lends credibility to this anecdote. Of all that might be remembered of runaways and the Railroad, what stayed in Sanborn's mind after forty years was Brainard spending his own hard cash (Harvard).

Charles Hicks of Bennington, who seemed to be in the Quaker network if not a Friend, was a stagecoach driver. The Bottum clan, some three families on adjoining land in Shaftsbury, were large-scale, merino sheep farmers, something like the Robinsons in Ferrisburgh (Levin & Resch).

Black Vermonters are an important group, for which scanty documentation exists. Loudon S. Langley lived on a hardscrabble farm on Hinesburg's Lincoln Hill, and could read and write. Joseph C. and James T. Holly owned a boot shop in Burlington. Joseph died, destitute, in Rochester, New York, in 1855. By 1861, James T. had followed his bitter dream of black colonization to Haiti (Sherman, 146: Rayford). Tony Anthony was a cook in Burlington's hotel and steamboat kitchens. In the 1850s, he lived on Church Street, close to where the Holly boot shop was located; both buildings are gone. In St. Albans, William Davis was a barber, a typical trade for black males in Vermont, and lived behind the Tremont Hotel. Solomon Northrup and Taylor Groce were said to have transported escaped slaves in connection with 'Lame John Smith of Hartland (Guyette interview 1996; Harvard).

Did areas with significant black settlement draw fugitives? Were fugitives passed along from one black household or settlement cluster to another? Since a large proportion of the black population noted on the U.S. Census' 1830, 1840, 1850, and 1860, were not property owners and lived and worked in white households, were they involved in the Underground Railroad? Were there two, separate undergrounds in Vermont, as there were to some degree separate abolition movements, white and black in the North? The paucity of black Underground Railroad operators in Siebert's research may indicate a longstanding bias. These issues await further investigation.

The history is clear that free blacks reacted with speed and resolve to protect fugitives all over the North. While in no way authoritative, an eyewitness account of the "Harrington" fugitive case in Middlebury in 1806, notes "I shall never forget the interest shown in half a dozen rows of ebony faces that lined the back of the room during the trial." Here is the barest glimpse of what may be a local black community mobilized to support, bear witness, and protect one of its own (Guyette 1992; Stewart 1976, 125; *St. Albans Messenger*, November 6, 1850).

What of the fugitive slaves themselves? Vermont fugitives, the small sample available to this study, seem to fit what historians of antebellum society find elsewhere. They were typically male, and between the ages of about fifteen and thirty, with few women traveling alone, and some few families and other groups. Historians conclude that young men resisted slavery in overt ways and were less likely to be tied to a family. The majority of fugitives were from the upper slave states, save for a few from Louisiana who stowed away in New Orleans, and came ashore in Boston, to travel the Underground Railroad to Vermont. Many were agricultural laborers, field hands, and some arrived with recommendations from activists for their skills or strength. Some few were house servants. Siebert tells of one former gentleman's servant in St. Albans, who was a Free Mason and had traveled to Vermont sometimes getting help along the way by giving the lodge member's "secret sign." This would seem to be in the 1850s. Ironically, not a few Vermont activists had cut their political teeth during the anti-Masonic furor of a previous decade (Fogel, 238-244; Fugitive Analysis Table; Harvard; Siebert, 87).

The Noah and Nancy Safford family of Springfield is said to have helped a fugitive male who stayed in town as a barber, married another fugitive and raised three children. They were said to have joined the local Congregational Church (Baker 1922, 64-66).

In the Reading area, there was a tradition of the Denisen family on Twenty Mile Stream taking in a lone, fugitive woman whose name was Charlotte Tumble. She was said to have been a healer, herbalist and midwife. After a time, the Denisens gave her a plot of land on which she built a cabin and lived out her life. The husband of a family that stayed four weeks at the Stevens' farm in East Montpelier was said to have had a free, Mohawk wife. Most came nearly destitute, "like the Terrapin," as one fugitive said, with only what they had on their backs (Derby, 67-68; Blackwell & Hill, 116; Winks, 244).

NUMBERS OF FUGITIVES

How well traveled was Vermont's Underground railroad? How many fugitives traveled to Canada through the Green Mountain State? Consider these figures:

By 1840 there were said to be nearly 12,000 fugitives in the two Canadas. . . according to the British & Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, *Third Annual Report*; in 1842 (Winks, 164).

In 1845, Josiah Henson reported 14,700 fugitives at his Upper Canada colony, and noted having welcomed about 1,500 in the past season, but this is probably much inflated (*Green Mountain Freeman*, Jan 3, 1845).

"There are in Canada 35,000 fugitive slaves" (*Burlington Free Press*, March 2, 1854).

In 1859, the American Anti-Slavery Society *28th Annual Report* estimated 1,500 slaves escaped annually from 1810 onward (158). This suggests some 74,000 fugitives at large.

Historian Fred Landon calculated that between 15 and 20 thousand free and fugitive blacks entered Canada between 1830 and 1860 (Winks, 490).

Scholars dispute the number of fugitives to reach Canada, but most suggest between 25,000 and 45,000, between 1830 and 1860. At a micro-level, Reverend John Rankin's farm in Ripley, Ohio, which saw much-documented fugitive traffic, is believed to have sheltered some 2,000 fugitives between 1828 and 1863; Oberlin College, Ohio, another highly trafficked site, is considered to have been a stopping place for some 3,000 fugitives. The *New York Tribune* notes 1,017 fugitives and 1,314 manumitted blacks for the year 1850. The *Syracuse Journal* reports 100 fugitives entering Canada from there in the first five months of 1854, and Syracuse is considered a busy station. All these figures are subject to inflation in a propaganda war in which high figures suited both pro- and anti-slavery camps (Winks, IIX; Sherman; Bloch; Gara).

Taken impressionistically this figures provide a context with which to consider Stephen C. Boardman's count of 600 runaways helped in Norwich, Vermont, which seems high and would make him Vermont's Oscar Schindler. Joseph Poland wrote Siebert in 1895 that "scores and hundreds" of runaways came through Montpelier, which Poland considers the major station in Vermont. Reverend Young reports an increase in traffic after the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act (1850) but he did not actually arrive in Burlington until 1852.

Other anecdotal testimony: as quoted above, Ithamar Smith wrote the *Green Mountain Freeman* in 1858, "I think we are not liable to be over run with slaves escaping here in preference to all the rest of the world for the sake of a jury trial. . ." This was in regard to a Vermont statute to that effect in that year. The implication is that Vermont was not then "over

run." In 1856, the Rev. N. R. Johnson of Topsham, who had visited William Still in Philadelphia a year earlier and witnessed the arrival of fugitives in that city, confessed to him, "You are probably not aware, that fugitives are never seen here. Indeed the half of the people have never seen more than half a dozen colored people." U.S. Census figures for towns some fifteen miles south and east of Topsham show blacks in residence for 1850 and 1860 (Guyette). However, Johnson is a prolific contributor to the newspapers on the anti-slavery issues; his views, one would think, were locally known. He appears to be the kind of person a fugitive would be sent to, but there is his recorded lament that this is not the case.

Final words on fugitive numbers: the National Park Service Underground Railroad Theme study (Tagger) refrains from giving a total. Joseph Poland's "Scores and hundreds" may be the best answer after all (Siebert, 101). One to four thousand fugitives between 1830 and 1860 is a credible working estimate, but any number is open to dispute and difficult to defend .

TRAVEL ON THE UNDERGROUND: CONVEYANCES

Until the 1850s, Vermont's initial (train) railroad network was being built; stage coach, steamboat, canal boat, private farm wagons and carriages, and pedestrian transport were the modes of travel. What was true for Vermonters was also true for fugitives. Oliver Johnson queried Rowland T. Robinson at Ferrisburgh in 1837 concerning "Simon," a fugitive in Pennsylvania, writing ". . . he would be perfectly safe with you. . . It will be a great way for him to walk, but not worse than going to Canada." Henry Hicks of Bennington, Addison Peck of East Montpelier, and Col. Jonathan P. Miller are said to have transported runaways by wagon, typically going about ten miles from home. As discussed, Chauncy L. Knapp traveled from Montpelier over the Green Mountains to Rokeby, some 45 miles, returning with a fugitive. Presumably this trip was by carriage. Lawrence Brainard put fugitives on his steamboats; Lucius Bigelow, Stephen Boardman, and others are said to have used the railroads.

Rev. Joshua Young and Theodora Agnes Peck told Siebert that fugitives were sometimes instructed to detrain before the Burlington Depot, so as to enter the city unobtrusively on foot. Zenas C. Ellis of Fair Haven is said by his son to have taken fugitives from there to Whitehall, New York, where they boarded northbound canal boats (Harvard). Howard Griswold, writing in 1848, describes the varied transportation of fugitive Henry Adams: he stowed away on a boat in New Orleans, arrived in Boston and was sent on his way by Milton Clark and William Lloyd Garrison. Next he was at the Griswold household in Randolph, after which he passed from Brookfield to Roxbury. Complicating this journey was Adam's illness, which necessitated stopovers along the way. From Roxbury he was driven to Northfield. He walked from Northfield to Northfield Falls, where he boarded the stage for Montpelier. He was then lost track of. Griswold noted his ultimate destination as Canada. Long-time Hardwick resident Burt Stone, told Sally Fisher that Kiah Bayley "ran slaves" from Montpelier to Hardwick.

TRAVEL ON THE UNDERGROUND: "ROUTES"

Perhaps, as Joseph Poland noted, "it often proved that the longest way around was the quickest," but there is plenty of anecdotal evidence that fugitives traveled the regular above-ground highways and byways. The use of the word 'route' as, discussed elsewhere, can be misleading. C. F. Thompson of Brattleboro stated matter-of-factly to Siebert that he knew nothing about the Underground Railroad, but a black man did come into his store one time and ask for help. Thompson gave him enough cash for the fare north, possibly to Townsend.

In an 1897 letter to Siebert, Joseph Poland traced two main 'routes': an eastern route ran from Brattleboro north to Montpelier, where it divided into three branches with Burlington-St. Albans, Troy area, and Berkshire-Enosburg-Montgomery area as nominal destinations. He noted another eastern route that followed the Connecticut River, ending in the Franconia, New Hampshire--Lunenburg, Vermont region. In Vermont, the 'routes' followed regular lines of travel. As noted elsewhere, Poland is the only source for the concept of an organized system of routes in Vermont, and Siebert was over-enthusiastic in his acceptance and application of

Poland's information (Siebert 68).

There is some hard evidence of people, sites and roads used repeatedly to transport fugitives. However, unsubstantiated assumptions regarding a network of routes should be avoided. If there were known Underground Railroad activists in Bennington, Manchester, Wallingford, and Rutland, this does not mean that there was a 'route' through these towns. To establish this, direct contemporary evidence of who, what, when, where, and how is needed. To assume a route, some basic facts need to be in line. Accurate dating is almost without exception missing from later accounts of the Underground Railroad. When were the underground sites in a given town active? There is strong documentary evidence of the Hicks' family's activity in Bennington from 1840 to 1843, and nothing after that. It cannot be assumed that this was an active station in the 1850s. Chauncy L. Knapp is 'caught in the act' in Montpelier by two letters from the 1830s, but later moved to Brandon, and had relocated to Lowell, Massachusetts, before 1850.

Thus a 'connect the dots' approach is poor history. This said, sections of the State were repeatedly traveled by fugitives and activists (and anyone else going to and fro), e.g. Hoosick Falls, New York, (from Saratoga and Albany) to Bennington to Shaftsbury. There is strong evidence of repeated passing of fugitives between Ferrisburgh, Montpelier, and East Montpelier. From Rokeby in Ferrisburgh, there is travel to Allen's Corner, Quebec, but fugitive activity is not proven. Rutland-Burlington-St. Albans is another series of nominal destinations. On the eastern side of the state, as noted above, Howard Griswold's letter suggests travel from Boston and documents a series of activists--Randolph to Brookfield, to Roxbury, and finally, Montpelier.

There is another area in which Siebert's 'route' system and popular versions of the Underground Railroad diverge from the evidence: as noted elsewhere, a fugitive destination of Canada cannot be presumed. A number of fugitives, perhaps most, preferred to stay in the United States, if this was possible, in relative safety. Some sought any place which promised security and a living. Many who had Canada as a destination, stopped along the way to work or rest in Ferrisburgh, East Montpelier, Burlington, Springfield, St. Albans, perhaps Reading, and some who did stop put down roots and stayed.

Fugitives traveled along the same highways and byways, canals, and tracks that all Vermonters did. Some may have been hidden, others were in the open; the difference may have been a matter of the nature of the escape, nearness to urban centers, season, time of day and the political mood of the moment. Where blacks rode on public conveyance having graduated rates, there is reason to believe that they rode second or third class. Louis and Harriet Hayden and Henry Highland and Mrs. Garnet were kept from taking their first class accommodations on the Lake Champlain steamer, *Saranac*, while on the way to Vermont. This was said to be much to Lawrence Brainard's embarrassment, as he owned the boat. In 1847, Hayden and his wife were segregated from white passengers on the steamboat trip from Whitehall, New York, to Vergennes, where they intended a reunion with Delia Webster, who had helped them escape to Ohio three years earlier (*Green Mountain Freeman*: Runyon, 117).

COSTS AND REWARDS

From William Still of Philadelphia, one learns that there was much to be done to shelter a fugitive. Still's difficulties in that city, which was a major gravitation point for fugitives, were chronic shortages of money for food, clothing, shoes, postage for letters to loved ones, and medicine, let alone the purchase price to buy emancipation for a fugitive's loved ones. Rowland T. Robinson's correspondence shows that his involvement in the lives of the fugitives he helped extended far beyond room and board: he negotiated emancipation for fugitives, and arranged for work and living situations.

Today, refugees--individual or in a family group--require tremendous support--financial, material and otherwise. It is tempting to guess, and it is only a guess, that activists working together, where it occurred, was not a function of organization, but of the need to spread the cost and effort of support, and also the rewards. When Henry 'Box' Brown mailed himself to William Still's house in Philadelphia, in 1849, Still invited a group of curious, abolitionist well-wishers to greet him when he emerged from the crate. Perhaps something like this scene may have occurred in Vermont (Still, 67-73).

It may be that a good number were anxious to help fugitives and relished the opportunity. Joseph Poland of Montpelier opened his office closet door to show off fugitives to visitors from the hills. This shows a high level of curiosity, and insensitivity by today's standards (Harvard).

For some Vermonters, not the least of the rewards may have been the chance to talk with a fugitive and hear about his life and his escape: a story which by the time a fugitive got to Vermont, he may be presumed to have told many times. Interactions between Vermonters and fugitive slaves were generally across race, regional culture, and class lines. Perhaps such meetings were also an opportunity to validate one's connection with the abolition crusade. Fugitive Henry Adams, who stayed with Howard Griswold in 1848, had been, he said, with William Lloyd Garrison and Milton Clark, just days before, in Boston. For Vermont activists, who might have felt they were fighting an isolated battle way off in Northern New England, fugitive slaves represented what they were fighting for and the oppression they were fighting against, whatever an activist's other local and sectarian reasons.

However, for Henry Hicks and for Rowland T. Robinson's oldest son, George, having fugitives on the homestead was an aggravating experience. Young Hicks had to drive a family from Bennington to Shaftsbury, when he'd already made a trip that week. George, the son of perhaps the most important documented abolition and Underground Railroad figure in Vermont, does not seem to have liked black people (Levin & Resch; Harvard). No doubt there were disappointments on both sides: the Northeastern United States and Canada was not an economic 'Canaan' for fugitives, nor did freedom in the North liberate them from racism. Even Underground Railroad activists were often paternalistic in their views toward fugitives. After the Civil War, the Underground Railroad, which came into being to help fugitives slaves, was metamorphosed into a story of paternalism and white self-congratulations that reinforced racist attitudes.

TRAVEL ON THE UNDERGROUND: SHELTER

It can not always be assumed that fugitives were hidden or sheltered, to use a less loaded word, in the activist's home; Joseph Poland wrote Siebert that he hid runaways in his Montpelier office closet. Salmon P. Wires is said by Rev. Joshua Young to have kept fugitives overnight in his office in Burlington and Chauncy L. Knapp brought a young fugitive to his secretary of state's office in the Vermont Statehouse.

According to Reverend Young, Lucius Bigelow put up fugitives in the unused portion of his large house in Burlington.

Charles Hicks of Bennington seems to have sheltered a family on the run in his house, as did the family of Rev. Timothy Prescott in Weston. The Higley family preserved a tradition of escaped slaves sleeping on the kitchen floor while the women of the house cooked food around them. Both Howard Griswold and Loudon S. Langley write that they put up fugitives, and it seems reasonable to assume that this meant in their homes.

The Robinson family at Rokeby has a tradition of an upstairs back room that is called the "slave room," but this has been called into question recently and seems to be without verification. It is assumed that fugitives were housed like any hired help, which many of them were, on the Homestead.

Zenas Ellis of Fair Haven and Addison Peck of East Montpelier refer to sheltering escaped slaves in their barns and there many references to this. However, for the vast number of activists considered, there is no direct evidence as to where fugitives were put up.

Sites considered primarily on the basis of physical phenomena are almost always linked to the house through an attic, chimney, or cellar hole or closet of some kind. There is also a story, traced back to Margaret Todd Lincoln, of fugitives hiding in the 'cave' by the lookout behind the house at Hildene.

There is much anecdotal evidence of slaves being 'hidden' in barns, houses, and workplaces; there is equal and very persuasive testimony of fugitives working and living at large on country farms at Ferrisburgh and East Montpelier, and in cities such as St. Albans and Burlington.

EPILOGUE

On the second of December, 1859, John Brown was executed after his abortive attempt on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. His last words laid a fearsome judgement upon the nation "that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged away but with blood." It is recorded that Capt. Leonard Johnson, estranged from the Peacham Church, nevertheless tolled the bell to mourn Brown's passing. Elsewhere in Vermont, the response was different. Even the *Green Mountain Freeman* noted "We have no apology for John Brown. Now he has but a traitor's doom" (Buckmaster, 267: November 4, 1859).

Charlotte Quaker Joseph Hoag had been given a vision while working in his field some fifty-four years earlier, of the nation divided over slavery and plunged into violence. Beginning with the opening salvos on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, this vision seemed to reach a terrible apogee in the four bloody years of the American Civil War (Hoag, 862, 871). James Ramsey, a small factory owner in St. Johnsbury and locally associated with the Underground, lost his son, John, at Savage Station with the 3rd Vermont infantry. After the costly battle of Antietam and President Lincoln's release of the Emancipation Proclamation, Loudon S. Langley, a free black activist from Hinesburg, enlisted in the 54th Massachusetts (colored) infantry, Vermont's units being limited to white Vermonters. His two brothers, living in Rutland, followed him into the 54th.

Shifting battlefields created a new impulse of escape and southern slaves by the thousands crossed to Union lines. It is said that Thorton Jackson Kenny, born a slave in Virginia, made friends with a Vermont soldier, John Powers, and returned to Powers' camp. Eventually a Rutland man took him to Vermont, where Keney settled, married, and farmed.

At the same time that southern slaves were slipping north, fugitives from Canada began to move south across the border into the United States. Following emancipation, as many as half of those who fled to Canada, perhaps twenty thousand fugitives, returned. Some went far south, searching for loved ones. Many fugitives who had settled in the North stayed there. Pompey Vanderburg, born a slave in 1792, had escaped from New York State in 1816 and settled in Bennington. He married and raised nine sons. When he passed away in 1883, he was said to have been the oldest male citizen of Bennington (*Bennington Banner*, November 10, 1994).

STATISTICAL SUMMARY

This survey considered 174 people and/or sites for potential association with the Vermont Underground Railroad. These individuals and/or sites were rated and coded 'A' through 'E,' with those on the first (A) list, being ones with overwhelming documentation, and those on the last (F) list noted chiefly due to physical features, which are not alone sufficient to connect a building with the Underground Railroad.

This study finds overwhelming evidence that 25 individuals and/or sites (A list) were directly involved with the aid and/or shelter of fugitive slaves. Of these, twelve buildings (houses) used by fourteen activists have been located; four buildings no longer stand; two people operated at large; and five houses of documented Underground Railroad activists have not been located. (See Criteria.)

Another 32 people and/or sites (B list) were found to have close associations with the Vermont Underground Railroad and more than likely were involved in direct action to help fugitives. Another 63 people and/or sites (C list) are noted as connected with Underground Railroad activities, generally by a single, plausible source, but lack corroboration. Twenty-eight more individuals and/or sites (D list) show some local tradition based on a contemporary person. Finally, 26 individuals and/or sites (E list) are connected to the Underground Railroad generally on the strength of physical features--'hidden' closets, attic and knee-wall areas, cellar rooms and chimney accesses.

As with any attempt to categorize, using scant evidence and oral tradition, list assignments are to a degree subjective, though based on a close reading of the available resources. People and buildings that are "low" on the list await further documentation. New evidence may be uncovered. Also, it is important to note that buildings not found to have firm Underground Railroad connections, are not rendered 'unhistoric,' thereby. The very nature of the popular application of an Underground Railroad tradition to older homes--often by virtue of cubby holes, hidden rooms, massive chimney spaces, and knee wall areas--assures that these are almost always historic and significant structures, as does the popular association of local abolition figures with the Underground Railroad movement.

This investigation is a beginning, building on the research of Professor Wilbur H. Siebert and others, and it is hoped that further research and disclosure of resources will extend knowledge of this important period and social movement.

FURTHER STATISTICAL DETAILS OF SURVEY

This study found 32 individuals and/or buildings (B list) for which a direct involvement with Underground Railroad activities can be demonstrated: this includes sixteen existing structures, nine individuals whose buildings were not located, four individuals who acted at large, and three individuals whose buildings have been lost to fire or demolition.

Sixty-three individuals and/or sites (C list) were found to be connected by a plausible source with Vermont's Underground Railroad: thirteen buildings are found to be standing, 46 people and/or structures unlocated, three no longer standing, and two (people) who operated at large.

Twenty-eight people and/or structures (D list) have some tradition of Underground Railroad activity, typically in connection with a contemporary person: twelve were located, thirteen have not been found, two have been demolished, and one (person) operated at large.

Finally, 26 individuals and/or buildings (E list) are considered, chiefly on the basis of physical features or a person's involvement with the legal abolition movement, which in some cases seems to have created an oral tradition of Underground Railroad involvement: twenty individuals and/or sites were located, four were not located, and two no longer stand.

STATISTICAL TABLE OF INDIVIDUALS AND/OR SITES

Lists:	A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	Totals
Bldgs. located:	14	16	13	12	20	75
Bldgs. located but no longer standing:	4	3	3	1	2	13
Bldgs. and/or persons, unlocated:	5	9	46	13	4	77
Persons at large:	2	4	1	2	0	9
Totals:	25	33	63	28	26	174

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This investigation is a beginning, and builds on the research of Professor Wilbur H. Siebert and others. It is hoped that further research and discovery will extend knowledge of this important period and social movement. Errors of fact or interpretation are mine alone.

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LIST 1 - TOTAL UNDERGROUND RAILROAD ACTIVISTS AND/OR SITES SURVEYED

	Town	County
Aldis, Asa O.	St. Albans	Franklin
Aldrich, Joshua M.	Weathersfield	Windsor
Alexander, Elijah	Charlotte	Chittenden
Allen, Emery	Montpelier	Washington
Anthony, Tony	Burlington	Chittenden
Anti-Slavery Soc.	Rupert	Bennington (at large)
Arms, Dr. D.V.	Waterbury	Washington
Bailey, Rev. Kiah	Hardwick	Caledonia
Baker, Rev. Reuben	Morristown	Lamoille
Barber, E.D.	Middlebury	Addison
Barker, Samuel	Vergennes	Addison
Barnes, Rev. Standish D.	Montpelier	Washington
Barrett, John	Grafton	Windham
Barrett, Edmond	Hartland	Windsor
Barrows, Philbrook Jr.	Wallingford	Rutland
Batcheller, Lyman	Wallingford	Rutland
Benedict, Prof. Geo. W.	Burlington	Chittenden
Bigelow, Lucius H.	Burlington	Chittenden
Boardman, Stephen C.	Norwich	Windsor
Bottum, Simon	Shaftsbury	Bennington
Bowen, B. D.	Reading	Windsor
Boynton, Deacon	N. Springfield	Windsor
Brainard, Lawrence	St. Albans	Franklin
Bridge, Bezeleel	W. Windsor	Windsor
Bridgeman, Dorman	Hardwick	Caledonia
Briggs, William P.	Richmond	Chittenden
Burr, Joseph	Manchester	Bennington
Butler, Deacon	Waterbury	Washington
Byington, Amson	Williston	Chittenden
Caldwell, A.W.	Johnson	Lamoille
Carpenter,	Bennington	Bennington
Chalker, Samuel A.	New Haven	Addison
Clark, John & Mary	Rockingham	Windham
Clement, Joshua	Thetford	Orange
Comings, Andrew	Berkshire	Franklin
Conant, John	Brandon	Rutland
Converse, Rev. John K.	Burlington	Chittenden
Converse, E. H.	Charlotte	Chittenden
Crafts, Sen. Samuel C.	Montpelier	Washington
Crain, Eleazar / Henry F.	Springfield	Windsor
Dail, Deit C.	E. Montpelier	Washington

Davis, Asa	Chester	Windsor	
Davis, William	St. Albans	Franklin	
Dean, Prof. James	Burlington	Chittenden	
Dearborn, Franklin	Chelsea	Orange	
Dearborn, Wilder	Chelsea	Orange	
Denisen Family	Reading	Windsor	
Dodge, Jonathan	Johnson	Lamoille	
Dodge, Nathan	E. Montpelier	Washington	
Edgerton, Lebbeus	Randolph	Orange	
Ellis, Zenas C.	Fair Haven	Rutland	
Felton, Charles	Franklin	Franklin	
Fletcher, Gov. Ryland	Cavendish	Windsor	
French, William H.	Williston	Chittenden	
Frost, Rev. Timothy P.	Weston	Windsor	
Frost, Willard	Brattleboro	Windham	
Fuller, R. D.	Middlebury	Addison	
Gleed, Rev. John	Morristown	Lamoille	
Gordon, Joseph	Middlebury	Addison	
Granger, Sanford	Rockingham	Windham	
Greeley, Horace	Poultney	Rutland	
Green, Rev.	Montgomery	Franklin	
Green, Rev. Beriah	Middlebury	Addison	
Griswold, Howard	Randolph	Orange	
Groce, Taylor	Hartland	Windsor	(at large)
Guindon, Nicholas	Ferrisburgh	Addison	
Hazard	Bennington	Bennington	
Hicks, Charles	Bennington	Bennington	
Hicks, Henry	Bennington	Bennington	
Higley, Erastus	Castleton	Rutland	
Higley, Hervey	Castleton	Rutland	
Hinckley, Dea. Lyman	Thetford	Orange	
Hoag, Nathan C.	Charlotte	Chittenden	
Holly, Joseph C.	Burlington	Chittenden	
Hotchkiss, J.M.	Waterville	Lamoille	
Howard, Arthur	Shaftsbury	Bennington	
Huntington, Samuel	Burlington	Chittenden	
Hutchinson, Hon. Titus	Woodstock	Windsor	
Hutchinson, Ocamel	Chester	Windsor	
Ide, Rev. John	Middlebury	Addison	
Jacob, Judge Stephen	Windsor	Windsor	
Johnson, Col. Leonard	Peacham	Caledonia	
Johnson, Oliver	Middlebury	Addison	(active at large)
Kendall, Col. Samuel	Enosburg	Franklin	
Kimball, F. W.	Barton	Orleans	

Knapp, Chauncy L.	Montpelier	Washington	
Langley, Loudon S.	Hinesburg	Chittenden	
Lee, Dr. L	Troy	Orleans	
Lord, Charles	Woodstock	Windsor	
Marsh, Rodney V.	Brandon	Rutland	
Martin, Jefferson	Montgomery	Franklin	
McNeil, Charles	Charlotte	Chittenden	
Miller, Col. Jonathan P.	E. Montpelier	Washington	
Moore, Dr. L. C.	Troy	Orleans	
Morris, Dea. & Mrs. Sylvester	Norwich	Windsor	
Murray, Orson	Brandon	Rutland	(at large)
Nicholson, D. E.	Wallingford	Rutland	
Northrup, Solomon	Hartland	Windsor	(at large, Glens Falls, NY)
Paddock	Bennington	Bennington	
Parker, Deacon	Waterbury	Washington	
Parmalee, Simeon	Hartland	Windsor	
Peck, Addison	E. Montpelier	Washington	
Peck, Edward	Burlington	Chittenden	
Perkins	Bennington	Bennington	
Pingree, Hon.	Weathersfield	Windsor	
Poland, Joseph A.	Montpelier	Washington	
Powell, Hon. A.G.	Troy	Orleans	
Powers, Col. Thomas	Woodstock	Windsor	
Prindle, Rev. Cyrus	Middlebury	Addison	
Putnam, Rev. George	Albany	Orleans	
Ramsey, Arian T.	Brandon	Rutland	
Ramsey, Capt. James	St. Johnsbury	Caledonia	
Ransom, Richard	Woodstock	Windsor	
Rice, Mark	Burlington	Chittenden	
Richardson, D. E.	Wilmington	Windham	
Roberts, Daniel Jr.	Manchester	Bennington	
Robinson, Rowland T.	Ferrisburgh	Addison	
Rogers, Joseph & Morah	Charlotte	Chittenden	
Rogers, Aaron & Dinah	Rutland	Rutland	
Rowell, Hon. A.J.	Troy	Orleans	
Sabin, Rev. Alvah	Georgia	Franklin	
Safford, Madison	Cambridge	Lamoille	
Safford, Noah & Nancy	Springfield	Windsor	
Seely, Rev. Jacob	Montpelier	Washington	
Shafter, Oscar L.	Townshend	Windham	
Shafter, Hon. William R.	Townshend	Windham	
Skinner, Gov. Richard	Manchester	Bennington	
Slade, Sen. William	Montpelier	Washington	

Smith, 'Lame' John	Hartland	Windsor
Sowles, Hon. William	Swanton	Franklin
Stanbury, E. A.	Richmond	Chittenden
Stevens, Stephen F.	E. Montpelier	Washington
Stranahan Family	St. Albans	Franklin
Thompson, C.F.	Brattleboro	Windham
Thrall, R.R.	Rutland	Rutland
Warren, John	Middlebury	Addison
Webster, Delia	Vergennes	Addison, (at large, active Kentucky Ohio)
Weider, C. W.	Ferrisburgh	Addison
West, John	Morristown	Lamoille
Wheeler, John	Burlington	Chittenden
Wickers, Cyrus W.	Ferrisburgh	Addison
Wilcox, Dr. S	Bennington	Bennington
Willard, John	Hartland	Windsor
Wires, Salmon P.	Burlington	Chittenden
Woodworth, Daniel	Royalton	Windsor
Wright, Rev. Chester	Hardwick	Caledonia
Wright, Fletcher	Cavendish	Windsor
Young, Rev. Joshua	Burlington	Chittenden

Misc. Sites:

Bassett House	E. Montpelier	Washington
Bullard Inn	Swanton	Franklin
Currier House	Berlin	Washington (current owner)
Douglas House	Woodstock	Windsor (current owner)
Ellis-Brown House	Royalton	Windsor
Fessenden-Hanks House	Royalton	Windsor
Goodwillie House	Barnet	Caledonia
Gove Family	Rutland	Rutland
Hathaway House	St. Albans	Franklin
"Haunted House"	Albany	Orleans
Heilman House	Manchester	Bennington (current owner)
Hildene cave site	Manchester	Bennington
Houghton House	St. Albans	Franklin
James Kinney House	Shelburne	Chittenden
Old Weeks Taveran	Bennington	Bennington
Post House	Brandon	Rutland
Solomon Place	Woodstock	Windsor
Stage House	Hardwick	Caledonia
John Strong House	Addison	Addison
Three Pines Farm	Hartland	Windsor
Twenty-three High St.	Brandon	Rutland

Warren Place	Weathersfield	Windsor	
Walker Farm	Hartland	Windsor	
Ward Library	Canaan	Essex	
Whip Inn	Stowe	Lamoille	(current owner)
Zeicher House	Rutland	Rutland	(current owner)

LIST 2 - INDIVIDUALS AND/OR SITES SORTED BY CRITERIA

List A

	Town	County	
Bailey, Rev. Kiah	Hardwick	Caledonia	
Benedict, Prof. Geo. W.	Burlington	Chittenden	
Bigelow, Lucius H.	Burlington	Chittenden	
Bottum, Simon	Shaftsbury	Bennington	
Brainerd, Lawrence	St. Albans	Franklin	
Chalker, Samuel A.	New Haven	Addison	
Converse, Rev. John K.	Burlington	Chittenden	
Davis, William	St. Albans	Franklin	
Ellis, Zenas C.	Fair Haven	Rutland	
Griswold, Howard	Randolph	Orange	
Hicks, Charles	Bennington	Bennington	
Hicks, Henry	Bennington	Bennington	
Higley, Erastus	Castleton	Rutland	
Higley, Hervey	Castleton	Rutland	
Hoag, Nathan C.	Charlotte	Chittenden	
Johnson, Oliver	Middlebury	Addison	(active at large)
Knapp, Chauncy L.	Montpelier	Washington	
Langley, Loudon S.	Hinesburg	Chittenden	
Miller, Col. Jonathan P.	E. Montpelier	Washington	
Robinson, Rowland T.	Ferrisburgh	Addison	
Stevens, Stephen F.	E. Montpelier	Washington	
Wires, Salmon P.	Burlington	Chittenden	
Young, Rev. Joshua	Burlington	Chittenden	

List B

Aldrich, Joshua M.	Weathersfield	Windsor	
Alexander, Elijah	Charlotte	Chittenden	
Anthony, Tony	Burlington	Chittenden	
Baker, Rev. Reuben	Morristown	Lamoille	
Barber, E.D.	Middlebury	Addison	
Barnes, Rev. Standish D.	Montpelier	Washington	
Barrett, John	Grafton	Windham	
Barrett, Edmond	Hartland	Windsor	
Batcheller, Lyman	Wallingford	Rutland	
Dail, Deit C.	E. Montpelier	Washington	
Dean, Prof. James	Burlington	Chittenden	
Dodge, Nathan	E. Montpelier	Washington	
Frost, Rev. Timothy P.	Weston	Windsor	
Fuller, R.D.	Middlebury	Addison	
Groce, Taylor	Hartland	Windsor	(active at large)

Holly, Joseph C.	Burlington	Chittenden	
Huntington, Samuel	Burlington	Chittenden	
Hutchinson, Hon. Titus	Woodstock	Windsor	
Johnson, Col. Leonard	Peacham	Caledonia	
Marsh, Rodney V.	Brandon	Rutland	
McNeil, Charles	Charlotte	Chittenden	
Northrup, Solomon	Hartland	Windsor	(at large, Glens Falls, NY)
Peck, Addison	E. Montpelier	Washington	
Peck, Edward	Burlington	Chittenden	
Poland, Joseph A.	Montpelier	Washington	
Prindle, Rev. Cyrus	Middlebury	Addison	
Rogers, Joseph & Morah	Charlotte	Chittenden	
Rogers, Aaron & Dinah	Rutland	Rutland	
Seely, Rev. Jacob	Montpelier	Washington	
Smith, 'Lame' John	Hartland	Windsor	
Thompson, C.F.	Brattleboro	Windham	
Webster, Delia	Vergennes	Addison	(active Kentucky, Ohio)
Wright, Rev. Chester	Hardwick	Caledonia	(Montpelier)

List C

Aldis, Asa O.	St. Albans	Franklin
Arms, Dr. D.V.	Waterbury	Washington
Barker, Samuel	Vergennes	Addison
Barrows, Philbrook Jr.	Wallingford	Rutland
Boardman, Stephen C.	Norwich	Windsor
Bridge, Bezeleel	W. Windsor	Windsor
Briggs, William P.	Richmond	Chittenden
Butler, Deacon	Waterbury	Washington
Byington, Anson	Williston	Chittenden
Caldwell, A.W.	Johnson	Lamoille
Comings, Andrew	Berkshire	Franklin
Davis, Asa	Chester	Windsor
Dearborn, Franklin	Chelsea	Orange
Dearborn, Wilder	Chelsea	Orange
Denisen Family	Reading	Windsor
Dodge, Jonathan	Johnson	Lamoille
Felton, Charles	Franklin	Franklin
Fletcher, Gov. Ryland	Cavendish	Windsor
French, William H.	Williston	Chittenden
Frost, Willard	Brattleboro	Windham
Gleed, Rev. John	Morristown	Lamoille
Gordon, Joseph	Middlebury	Addison
Granger, Sanford	Rockingham	Windsor
Green, Rev.	Montgomery	Franklin

Hinckley, Dea. Lyman	Thetford	Orange
Hotchkiss, J.M.	Waterville	Lamoille
Hutchinson, Ocamel	Chester	Windsor
Ide, Rev. John	Middlebury	Addison
Kendall, Col. Samuel	Enosburg	Franklin
Kimball, F. W.	Barton	Orleans
Lee, Dr. L	Troy	Orleans
Lord, Charles	Woodstock	Windsor
Martin, Jefferson	Montgomery	Franklin
Moore, Dr. L. C.	Troy	Orleans
Morris, Dea/ Mrs. Sylvester	Norwich	Windsor
Murray, Orson	Brandon	Rutland
Nicholson, D.E.	Wallingford	Rutland
Old Weeks Tavern	Bennington	Bennington
Parker, Deacon	Waterbury	Washington
Parmalee, Simeon	Hartland	Windsor
Pingree, Hon. William	Weathersfield	Windsor
Powell, Hon. A.G.	Troy	Orleans
Powers, Col. Thomas	Woodstock	Windsor
Putnam, Rev. George	Albany	Orleans
Ramsey, Arian T.	Brandon	Rutland
Ramsey, Capt. James	St. Johnsbury	Caledonia
Ransom, Richard	Woodstock	Windsor
Richardson, D.E.	Wilmington	Windham
Roberts, Daniel Jr.	Manchester	Bennington
Rowell, Hon. A.J.	Troy	Orleans
Sabin, Rev. Alvah	Georgia	Franklin
Safford, Madison	Cambridge	Lamoille
Safford, Noah & Nancy	Springfield	Windsor
Shafter, Oscar L.	Townshend	Windham
Shafter, Hon. William R.	Townshend	Windham
Sowles, Hon. William	Swanton	Franklin
Stage House	Hardwick	Caledonia
Stanbury, E.A.	Richmond	Chittenden
Stranahan Family	St. Albans	Franklin
Thrall, R.R.	Rutland	Rutland
Ward Library	Canaan	Essex
Weider, C.W.	Ferrisburgh	Addison
West, John	Morristown	Lamoille
Wickers, Cyrus W.	Ferrisburgh	Addison
Wilcox, Dr. S	Bennington	Bennington
Woodworth, Daniel	Royalton	Windsor
Wright, Fletcher	Cavendish	Windsor

List D

Allen, Emery	Montpelier	Washington
Anti-Slavery Soc.	Rupert	Bennington
Bassett House	E. Montpelier	Washington
Bowen, B. D.	Reading	Windsor
Boynton, Durant J.	N. Springfield	Windsor
Bridgeman, Dorman	Hardwick	Caladonia
Burr, Joseph	Manchester	Bennington
Carpenter, Richard	Bennington	Bennington
Clement, Joshua	Thetford	Orange
Conant, John	Brandon	Rutland
Converse, E.H.	Charlotte	Chittenden
Crafts, Sen. Samuel C.	Montpelier	Washington
Crain, Eleazar / Henry F.	Springfield	Windsor
Fessenden-Hanks House	Royalton	Windsor
Greeley, Horace	Poultney	Rutland
Green, Rev. Beriah	Middlebury	Addison
Guindon, Nicholas	Ferrisburgh	Addison
Hathaway House	St. Albans	Franklin
Houghton House	St. Albans	Franklin
Jacob, Judge Stephen	Windsor	Windsor
James Kinney House	Shelburne	Chittenden
Paddock, Daniel H.	Bennington	Bennington
Rice, Mark	Burlington	Chittenden
Skinner, Gov. Richard	Manchester	Bennington
Slade, Sen. William	Montpelier	Washington
Twenty-three High St.	Brandon	Rutland
Walker Farm	Hartland	Windsor
Warren, John	Middlebury	Addison
Wheeler, John	Burlington	Chittenden
Willard, John	Hartland	Windsor

List E

Bullard Inn	Swanton	Franklin
Clark, John & Mary	Rockingham	Windham
Currier House	Berlin	Washington (current owner)
Douglas House	Hartland	Windsor (current owner)
Edgerton, Lebbeus	Randolph	Orange
Ellis-Brown House	Royalton	Royalton
Goodwillie House	Barnet	Caledonia
Gove Family	Rutland	Rutland
"Haunted House"	Albany	Orleans
Hazard	Bennington	Bennington

Heilman House	Manchester	Bennington	(current owner)
Hildene cave site	Manchester	Bennington	
Howard, Arthur	Shaftsbury	Bennington	
Perkins, William	Bennington	Bennington	
Post House	Brandon	Rutland	
Solomon Place	Woodstock	Windsor	
John Strong House	Addison	Addison	
Three Pines Farm	Hartland	Windsor	
Warren Place	Weathersfield	Windsor	
Whip Inn	Stowe	Lamoille	(current owner)
Zeicher House	Rutland	Rutland	(current owner)

**LIST 3 - VERMONT UNDERGROUND RAILROAD ACTIVISTS
AND/OR SITES SURVEYED
FIELD NOTES - SOURCES AND COMMENTS**

Individuals and sites are arranged with the A section first, and B, C, D, and E sections merged in a second list, alphabetically. All individuals and sites are coded after name as follows:

- L (Located, existing)
- LD (Located, no longer existing)
- NL (Not located)
- AT (individual acting at large).

In addition, B, C, D, & E listing is noted. (NL may mean that a building no longer exists, that the individual's name or location are incomplete or incorrect, or that there is no extent record)

Source Abbreviations:	WSv	Siebert, Dr. Wilbur S., <i>Vermonts Anti-Slavery & Underground Railroad Record</i> .
	WSjp	Joseph Poland letters, Siebert Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard College.
	WSh	Vermont material, Siebert Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard College.
	GMF	<i>Green Mountain Freeman</i> , Montpelier, Vt.
	RR	Robinson Family Papers, Rokeby Museum/ Sheldon Museum Archive.
	BENN	Bennington Museum Library.
	HG	Howard Griswold Letter, <i>Green Mountain Freeman</i> , Montpelier, Vt. April 20, 1848.
	VHS	Vermont Historical Society Library.
	STEVENS	Stevens Family Papers
	RUT	<i>Rutland Daily Herald</i> .
	US	United States Census, Vermont.
	OT	Local oral tradition.
	HARC	<i>The Historic Architecture of Rutland Co.</i> (1988)

List A

Anthony, Tony

A, LD

Church Street (in early 1850s), Burlington, Chittenden County

(Building torn down, 2-3 houses up from corner, on W side, NW of Cherry Street, up from Stanton House, which became the Rowe, then the Sherwood Hotel.)

Free black man, cook in hotels and lake steamers, US (1850). WSv His son (A. F. Anthony, Burlington barber, b.1840) interviewed by Siebert in 1936!, remembered his father's fugitives as being in their 20s and 30s in age, most from Virginia, occasionally New Orleans. This fits the profile (Still: Winks). Also confirms Rev. J. K. Converse' UR activities in Burlington.

Bayley, Rev. Kiah A, L

Kidder House (Kathy Unser & John Hunt), Hardwick Street, Hardwick, Caledonia County
(Before Greensboro, on Bayley-Hazen Road.)

Congregational minister for Greensboro in 1820s, founder of Caledonia Co. Anti-Slavery Soc., OT Burt Stone, longtime Hardwick Resident told Sally Fisher that Bayley & East Hardwick minister, Rev. Chester Wright had "run slaves" from Montpelier by wagon. He noted the Stage House, (next door) as an UR site as well, and next door to that is Bayley's brother's house. "I assist the poor fugitive, as my conscience requires, and am persecuted. . .the Fugitive Slave Law prohibits the free exercise of charity to the poor by pains and penalties." (Rev. Kiah Bayley letter, *Portland Inquirer*, Maine. Feb. 12, 1851.) *The Hazen Road Dispatch: The Journal of the Greensboro H.S.*, vol. 10 Summer, 1985.

This and confirmation of Mr. Stone as a reliable source from Sally Fisher, Greensboro. US (1850, 'Baily'). WSjp Poland's 2nd letter to Siebert notes Bayley. House is a clapboard Federal cape cod, fluted pilasters on front door, c.1825. #3 on National Register Hardwick Street Historic District, June 22, 1979.

Benedict, Prof. Geo. W. A, L

(Farrend-Benedict House), 31 South Prospect Street, Burlington, Chittenden County

UVM math & philosophy prof. , in 1853, co-owner w/ son, George G., of *Burlington Free Press.*, WSh letters from Theodora Agnes Peck, Jan. 28 & March 25, 1936; Theron S. Dean, Feb. 19, 1936 note Benedict's involvement. WSjp April 7, 1897 letter. Not clearly stated that fugitives sheltered in his house.

Bigelow, Lucius H. A, L

272 Church Street, Burlington, Chittenden County

(Lower Church, next to or sharing lot with Rev. John Converse's Ladies Seminary. Reputedly tunnel between them.)

The major Burlington activist according to Rev. Joshua Young via WSh. Apparently he, Young, and Salmon P. Wires worked together. A number of good stories. Young is confirmed by C.E. Edson Manuscript and Theodora Agnes Peck, Jan. 5, 1936. Young notes an incident of fugitives kept in the ell, which was unused at the time. Same lot (building) connected with Rev. John K. Converse (and Bishop Hopkins) below.

Bottum, Simon A, L

(Vincent Hoy House), Shaftsbury, Bennington County

(At fork of Route 7 and Old Route 7, heading N out of village)

Sheep farm, with other family on adjoining farms

Tyler Resch cite, Eliza Hicks Letter, June 10, 1840. A thorough, dramatic & detailed contemporary source that links Mr. Van Housen, Hoosick Falls, to Hicks Family, Bennington, to the Simon Bottum Family. Thank goodness for sibling confidences.

Brainerd, Lawrence A, L
 (Dr. D.B. Mears), 160 North Main Street, St. Albans, Franklin County
 US (1850) WSh, WSjp, WSv. Director, VT & Canada Railroad, St. Albans Steamboat Co., ran 5 times for governor through Liberty (abolition) Party, served in US Senate, led VT delegation to Chicago at 1860 convention. Excellent sources for Brainerd's UR involvement. Also interview: Janet Seymour, St. Albans HS, April, 1996.

Chalker, Samuel A. A, L
 New Haven, Addison County
 (West New Haven, N of intersection of Rt. 17 and road N out of Weybridge)
 (On Addison Co Survey & Co. History)
 WSv, WSh, Mr. Robinson letter, Oct. 28, 1835 cited, also New Haven town clerk, Feb.17, 1936.

Converse, Rev. John K. A, L
 272 Church Street, Burlington, Chittenden County
 (Building lot also associated w/ Lucius Bigelow, rumored to be tunnel between the Burlington Female Seminary run by Converse, and his house. Ironically, this lot also has associations with Burlington's diehard pro-slavery Episcopal bishop Hopkins, who may have lived there c. 1832. Converse moved there about 1844.) Converse was pastor of the 1st Congo. Church, Sec. in Vt. Colonization Soc. Converse cited in WSv, WSh. Also mention of Converse letter in *Gentlemen of Property and Standing* (Richards, 1970).

Davis, William A, LD --
 St. Albans, Franklin County
 (House in rear of the Tremont Hotel.)
 A free black man who worked as a barber at the Tremont; WSv, WSh. His grandson notes that his mother, Sophronia Davis Satchell, repeatedly told him that his father often sheltered fugitive slaves in their home.

Ellis, Zenas C. A, L
 South Main Street, Fair Haven, Rutland County
 (#84, Fair Haven Village Area Map, *Historic Architecture of Rutland Co*, VDHP. Corner of South Main and Academy Streets.)
 WSv Siebert cites RUT Dec. 5, 1935, for Ellis' son giving talk on UR in which he reads from his fathers letters, one of which is quoted. Also noted are thank you letters from fugitives and a handkerchief, a present for Mrs. Ellis. No one, to my knowledge, has seen these. Ellis is said by his son to have sheltered fugitives in the barn before taking them to Whitehall. Barn still standing.

Griswold, Howard A, NL
 Randolph, Orange County
 HG, also WSv, WSjp. In turn, HG seems to verify Joseph Poland. US 1850.

Hicks, Charles A, NL

Hinsdale, Bennington, Bennington County

VHS original letters to Hicks from G. V. Hoosen, Nov. 24, 1840, & Abel Brown, June 9, 1842, very valuable since among the few sources that indicate the day to day working of the Underground. The Abel Brown note is a letter of introduction. Also Eliza Hicks letter, June 10, 1843, Tyler Resch cite.

Also WSv. In *Memorials of a Century*. Isaac Jennings, Boston 1869, p. 315, note Hicks being a long distance stage coach driver.

Hicks, Henry A, NL

Hinsdale, Bennington, Bennington County

Same as above, except not WSv. Eliza Hicks letter, June 10, 1843, Tyler Resch, mentions Henry taking fugitives to the Bottum farm.

Higley, Erastus A, L

Main Street, Castleton, Rutland County

(4A, S side, opposite Mill St. intersection. Noted as G46, Castleton map, *Historic Architecture of Rutland Co.* VDHP)

WSv, WSh Letter from Mary Gerrish Higley, May 5, 1935, (granddaughter) notes her father and aunt spoke of fugitives in house, including "slaves sleeping on the floor while the women of the family (Mrs. Erastus & Mrs Hervey O.) baked up food to equip them for continuing their trip." US (1850)

Higley, Hervey O. A, L

(Same as Above. Both brothers families shared house.)

Main Street, Castleton, Rutland County

(4A, S side, opposite Mill St. intersection. Noted as G46, Castleton map, *Historic Architecture of Rutland Co.* VDHP)

WSv, WSh Letter from Mary Gerrish Higley, May 5, 1935, (granddaughter) notes her father and aunt spoke of fugitives in house, including "slaves sleeping on the floor while the women of the family (Mrs. Erastus & Mrs Hervey O.) baked up food to equip them for continuing their trip." US (1850)

Hoag, Nathan C. A, L

Baldwin Road, Charlotte, Chittenden County

(S of Lewis Creek Rd., W of Roscoe Rd., turn off Lewis Crk. onto Baldwin.)

R.T. Robinson's son-in-law, son of Joseph Hoag, who in 1803 in the field nearby had a vision of the abolitionist struggle and the Civil War to come. WSv, WSh Letter from R.T. Robinson (grandson), Oct 28, 1935, Letter from R.E. Robinson, Aug. 19, 1896. OT Charlotte H.S.

Johnson, Oliver A, AT

Middlebury, Addison County

WSv, WSh, RR letters, worked for H. L. Garrison printing *The Liberator*, managing

editor of H. Greeley's NY Herald Tribune, officer of various county & state anti-slavery organizations, and agent for national anti-slavery soc. Close friend of RT Robinson.

Knapp, Chauncy L. A, NL

Montpelier, Washington County

WSh and WSv. VHS has the transcript of 1838 letter by Knapp to Saratoga activist. RR has letter from Oliver Johnson to RT Robinson seeking Knapp's aid in helping a young fugitive. He drove 45 miles to Rokeby for a young fugitive while Sec. of State, and brought him back to his Statehouse office. Abel Knapp's (father) house gone, cellar hole off Hill Street below Berlin Four Corners, interview: Paul Gillies, December 1996.

Langley, Loudon S. A, LD

Lincoln Hill, Hinesburg, Chittenden County

(Just south of Clark house is the cellar hole.)

Free black man. L. Langley letter, GMF Feb. 8, 1855, notes fugitive staying at his house. Elise Guyette interview on biographic material. Other letters indicate he was very opposed to colonization. Both he and his two brothers enlisted in the 54th Massachusettes Infantry, Don Wickman lecture, October 1996.

Miller, Col. Jonathan P. A, NL

E. Montpelier, Washington County

WSv, WSh, letters from his daughter, Mrs. Abijah Keith, which supply excellent testimony. Lawyer, legislator, Miller is known for his Greek War of Independence exploits & Rev. May mobbing. Daughter notes that stage drivers took non-local blacks to his door as a matter of course; and that 1837 he was keeping fugitives. Also relates his taking a fugitive over to Worcester by wagon.

Robinson, Rowland T. A, L

(Rokeby Museum), Ferrisburgh, Addison County

Full documentation: contemporary letters to and from Rokeby, ample OT, written testimony by RE Robinson in WSv, WSh, and an intact farmstead. All reinforce R. T. Robinson's connections with the national scene and his direct and daily involvement. RR, of course. Underground Railroad activity at Rokeby from 1830s on.

Stevens, Stephen F. A, LD

(House burned c. 1911, E. Montpelier VSSS), East Montpelier, Washington County

Quaker, State Representative, brother of Ann Stevens, R. T. Robinson's wife.

Anne Stevens Robinson, Stevens papers, Rokeby: She notes fugitives staying for weeks at a time, or working the entire summer. Excellent source.

Wires, Salmon P. A, L

118 South Willard Street, Burlington, Chittenden County

WSv, WSjp, WSh, Rev Joshua Young substantiates his serious involvement.

He did not shelter slaves at home, as his wife & daughter were against it, but did use his insurance office in the Peck Block on College Street.

Young, Rev. Joshua A, L

98 South Willard Street, Burlington, Chittenden County

WSv, WSjp, WSh cites letters from Young and others in the 1890s. Young notes his wife's involvement, verifies several Burlington UR activists for Siebert. His preaching the burial service for John Brown lost him his church.

Lists B, C, E, & E

Aldis, Asa O., Jr. C, L

(Vt Federal Bank), 163 N. Main Street, St. Albans, Franklin County

Founding President of VT Anti-Slavery Soc., May 1, 1834. OT (Janet Seymour, St. Albans H.S., 524-4457), WSv (worked politically w/ RT Robinson, Oliver Johnson, L. Brainerd, S.Crafts, Rodney V. Marsh, JP Miller, Joseph Poland. Siebert does not note him on UR.)

Aldrich, Joshua M. B, L

Aldrich Farm, Weathersfield Center Rd., Weathersfield, Windsor County

Town Rep., State Senator, present at Chicago Republican convention for Lincoln nomination. Abolitionist reputation. OT (Grandson 'Augustus' told by son 'Frank' of black men at house. Hunt, Edith Fisher, *A History of Weathersfield for Young People*, Weathersfield Vt. 1989.)

Alexander, Elijah B, L

(Donald Hutchins), RFD Hinesburg Road, Charlotte, Chittenden County

(Gable front, Greek Rev. farm house , c.1848, East Charlotte, N side of Hinesburg Rd., just W of Hinesburg town line.)

Society of Friends member, US (1850), WSv (Also WSh material checked, Letters from Hon. Alfred L. Sherman, 1935, George G. Hinsdale, 1935, state OT, note chimney vault.)

Allen, Emery A. D, NL

Montpelier, Washington County

Co-editor of *The Voice of Freedom*, with Joseph Poland, who would have noted his UR involvement, one would think. Scant information. Listed in WSv as editor.

Anti-Slavery Soc. D, AT

Rupert, Bennington County

WSv (notes UR activity of 'several men' helping runaways from New York direction. Siebert cites Hibbard, George S., *Rupert, Vermont, Historical & Descriptive, 1761-1898.* 1899, p. 37. No doc. found.)

Arms, Dr. D. V. D, NL

Waterbury, Washington County

WSv, WSjp (Dr. Arms is noted by Joseph Poland, who lists him together w/ Deacons Butler and Parker. None of them turn up.) US (1850) lists a 'Daniel Arms in Burlington.

Baker, Rev. Reuben B, NL

Morristown, Lamoille County

Scant doc. WSh (Mr. O Sholes letter to Siebert, April 21, 1896, notes Baker working in concert w/ Rev. John Gleed and Judge John West, and says Rev. Baker "often drove the team", taking fugitives to Johnson. This is less than ten miles north of Morristown)

Barber, Edward S. B, NL

Middlebury, Addison County

US (1850, "Edward S.") WSh (R.E. Robinson letter, Aug. 19, 1896, lists Barber as working with R.D. Fuller & Joseph Gordon, notes Barber is a lawyer & a Democrat. WSjp (Letter to Siebert, April, 12, 1897. lists the three.) Two sources, but no details.

Barker, Samuel C, NL

Vergennes, Addison County

WSh (active in Vergennes according to C.E. Edson's manuscript report to Siebert, 1887-88. Appears to be research done for him, perhaps by graduate student. Fuzzy as to specific sources, notes OT, clear & detailed.) Also noted in R. E. Robinson letter to WS. Also US 1840 in Rutland.

Barnes, Rev. Standish D. B, NL

Montpelier, Washington County

HG Excellent contemporary source, noted as Rev. Barnes. There is also a "Henry G." listed US (1850). Barnes is one of four Montpelier men for home fugitive Henry Adams is given letters of introduction by Howard Griswold. No mention in WSjp though.

Barrett, John B, L

Barrett House, Grafton, Windham County

US (1850) *The History of Reading, Vermont* (1903) notes a John Barrett active in the UR. WSh (2 1/2 story house built c.1785, OT His grandson, John Barrett Jr., writes of having heard from childhood of fugitives staying over and being taken to Chester, April 1935.)

Barrett, Edmond B, L

Hartland, Windsor County

WSh (Walter F. Hatch, postman, wrote Siebert of OT of Barrett helping a fugitive who was his owner's offspring. Notes house at Hartland Four Corners on Road to Woodstock, undated but probably 1935.) Also noted in *Parish & Town: History of West*

Windsor, Vermont, Mary Beardsley Fenn. Taftsville, 1977.

Barrows, Philbrook Jr. C, NL

Wallingford, Rutland County

WSjp (noted in connection with Lyman Batcheller by Poland, April 12, 1897. Siebert writes that Barrows "entertained fugitives in his home," but it isn't clear from Poland's correspondence that this is the case.) US (1850).

Batcheller, Lyman B, L

John Scribner House, 21 Main Street, Wallingford, Rutland County

(Old Stone Store, c.1848, a structure closely associated w/him, still survives. His house, 2nd house down built c.1835 and changed quite a bit by his son in law, John Scribner or replaced. It may be that all or part of it survives as A-77 or A-78, Wallingford village, *Historic Architecture of Rutland Co.*, and #37, Wallingford Main Street Historic District, November 1, 1984.) OT "He was a strong abolitionist, and it is said, his house was one of the stations on the 'Underground Railroad.'" *People of Wallingford*, Birney C. Batcheller, Stephen Daye Press, Brattleboro. 1937. p.230. "He was a staunch abolitionist and his house was often used as a station of the 'Underground Railroad.'" *The History of Wallingford, Vt.*, Walter Thorpe, Rutland. 1911. p.131. US (1850). WSh Siebert's OT source is a letter, Sept. 28, 1935, from Mrs. Laura E. Scribner, (granddaughter?)

Boardman, Stephen C. C, NL

Norwich, Windsor County

WSv cites the *Boardman Genealogy, 1525-1895*, pp. 509-510 for a whopper of a story and the claim of helping 600 fugitives. The story comes from his son, who says he was a participant in the events, at the age of thirteen (Bloodhounds and slavehunters being thrown off trail of slaves by Boardman's use of camphor, etc.) US 1840.

Bowen, B. D. D, NL

Felchville, Reading, Windsor County

US (1850) notes a 'Benjamin.'" WSV, *Folklore of Springfield*, (1922)

Boynton, Deacon Durant J. D, L

1 School Street, Warren Place, N. Springfield, Windsor County

OT

Bridge, Bezeleel C, L

Great Road, Shedsville, W. Windsor, Windsor County

(Georgian plan, massive central chimney)

Noted in *Parish & Town: A History of West Windsor*, Mary Beardsley Fenn, Taftsville, Vt. 1977 on basis of strong local OT. US 1850. Probably #1422-17 VSSS West Windsor.

Bridgeman, Dorman D, NL

Hardwick Caledonia

Sally Fisher, *Hazen Road Dispatch*, Summer 1990. US 1840.

Briggs, William P. C, NL

Richmond, Chittenden County

WSv, WSjp

Burr, Joseph D, L

Manchester, Bennington County

(C.1804, house is two rods S of old courthouse)

UR Committee. Another colonizer. Association with Lemuel Haynes noted by WSv.

Butler, Deacon C, NL

Waterbury, Washington County

WSv, WSjp. 'Ezra P.' or 'Russell' noted US 1840.

Byington, Anson C, NL

Williston, Chittenden County

WSv, WSjp.

Caldwell, A. W. C, NL

Johnson, Lamoille County

'Arannah W.' in US (1850). WSv, WSjp

Carpenter, Richard D, NL

Bennington, Bennington County

Source: Tordis Isselhardt OT. US 1840.

Clark, John & Mary D, L

Rockingham, Windham County

Camp Griffith Gazette, John Anderson, OT. This place may have actually been farmed by John and Mary Griswold, brother and sister, who rented from John Clark. Some confusion. Clark was friends with Sanford Granger through Methodist local leadership.

Clement, Joshua D, NL

Post Mills, Thetford, Orange County

OT

Comings, Andrew C, NL

Berkshire, Franklin County

WSv, WSh, WSjp, ('Cummings') US (1850)

Conant, John D, L

The Town House, Conant Square, Brandon, Rutland County

Noted in *Brandon Vt: A History of the Town 1761-1961* (1962).

Converse, E. H. D, NL

Charlotte, Chittenden County

OT, Charlotte HS, US (1850).

Crafts, Sen. Samuel C. D, NL

Montpelier, Washington County

Rumor, difficult to pin down where from, by probably in relation to his being abolitionist US Senator. WSv but not as operator.

Crain, Eleazar or Henry F. D, NL

Springfield, Windsor County

WSv, Not much. The town librarian wrote Siebert with this information in 1935.

Dail, Deit C. B, NL

E. Montpelier, Washington County

WSv, WSh, Dail was an uncle of Stephen F. Stevens, and R. E. Robinson is Siebert's source. Ann Stevens corroborates his aiding fugitives, perhaps bringing them to Stevens Farm, East Montpelier (Blackwell & Hill).

Davis, Asa C, NL

Chester, Windsor County

WSv, WSh.

Dean, Prof. James B, L

Nicholsen House, UVM, 41 South Prospect Street, Burlington, Chittenden County

WHv, WSh, WSjp.

Dearborn, Franklin C, L

Chelsea, Orange County

WSv, WSh. *A History of Chelsea 1784-1984* (1984)

Dearborn, Wilder C, L

Chelsea, Orange County (1 mile E of Chelsea village)

Father, Franklin is his son. WSv, WSh. *A History of Chelsea 1784-1984* (1984).

Denisen Family C, NL

Twenty Mile Stream Road, Reading, Windsor County

Wonderful OT of a fugitive healer & midwife who stays in the community.

'The Red Rose and Aunt Charlottie Tumble' by Ethel Derby, *Vermont History* Vol. 23, 66-67. "There was hardly a birth or death in the neighborhood that did not find Aunt

Charlotte there. . . ." Awaits confirmation.

Dodge, Jonathan C, NL
Johnson, Lamoille County
WSv, WSjp.

Dodge, Nathan B, L
Sibley Road, E. Montpelier, Washington County (Just before turn on to Center Road.)
Mr. & Mrs. Christopher Brooks, the owners after Dodge, showed Martha Peck Bayley Currie a hiding place and told her blacks had sheltered on the farm, Shirley Kelly Notes, Ellen Hill Papers & *Across the Onion*.

Edgerton, Lebbeus D-, L
Randolph, Orange County
Miriam Herwig recommends him as anti masonry & abolitionist. OT of UR.

Felton, Charles C, NL
Franklin, Franklin County
WSv, WSjp. US (1850).

Fletcher, Ryland C, NL
Cavendish, Windsor County
WSv, WSh. Governor.

French, William H. C, NL
Williston, Chittenden County
WSv, WSjp, US (1850)

Frost, Rev. Timothy P. B, LD
Weston, Windsor County
(The old Fred Graves place, since burned down.)
Waters of the Lonely Way (1982) cites Frost manuscript with childhood story of his family sheltering a sick fugitive until he recovered. The young man told Frost about his experiences, and Frost was so moved that he vowed to devote his live to ending slavery. This was, he writes, not long before the Civil War. The fugitive returned from Canada and met again with his family at some point.

Frost, Willard C, LD
Brattleboro, Windham County (Flat street, 'Frost Mansion' near present Latchis Block)
WSv.

Fuller, Reuben L. B, L
Cross Street, Middlebury, Addison County
(Vermont Division for Historic Preservation, *Historic Arch. of Addison Co.* note A218,

S. side, middle of block) Wsv, WSjp. R.E. Robinson cites him, Aug.19, 1896.

Gleed, Rev. John C, NL
Morristown, Lamoille County
US (1850), Wsv, WSjp.

Gordon, Joseph C, LD
Middlebury, Addison County
An ex-patriot Scot, designed power looms for David Page factory. Wsv, WSjp.

Granger, Sanford C, NL
Westminster Street, Bellows Falls, Rockingham, Windham County
UG Committee, Burlington. Connected with John Clark in Methodist Church activities.
Granger's son spoke of seeing fugitive slaves, who slept in the hay mow. House & barn
somewhere on Westminster Street in town. Haynes' *History of Rockingham*, as quoted
in the *Camp Griffin Gazette*, 1995.

Greeley, Horace D, AT
Poultney, Rutland County
Wsv, Greeley autobiography. Absolutely no mention in extensive Poultney town
histories of fugitive rescue, though many Greeley anecdotes recorded (Ruggles).

Green, Rev. C, NL
Montgomery, Franklin County
Wsv, WSh, WSjp (Cambridge). Same person a 'Beriah' below?

Green, Rev. Beriah D, NL
Middlebury, Addison County
Steven Barth says OT, but could be based on abolitionist politics.

Groce, Taylor B, AT
Hartland, Windsor County
Black man who, whether fugitive or free, somehow contrived to rescue two family
members from bondage. Associated with 'Lame' John Smith, thru Smith's son's letters,
Wsv, WSh. Possible association with Solomon Northrup thru same.

Guindon, Nicholas D, LD
Ferrisburgh, Addison County (Temperance Inn, gone.)
Around the Mountains: Historical Essays of Charlotte, Monkton & Ferris. (1991)
Character tale of Yankee trickster, nasty Southerners, & passive fugitives. Awaits
confirmation.

Hazard E, NL
Bennington, Bennington County

UR Committee, Burlington.

Hinckley, Dea. Lyman C, L

(Eric Glaser), Post Mills, Thetford, Orange County

(House just S of father, Joseph's house. 1st right past the triangle, going W from the lake. 3rd house (brick) on the right by intersection.)

WSv, WSh. Baptist deacon said to have taken fugitives from Post Mills to Chelsea.

Once Upon a Town (1985)

Holly, Joseph C. B, LD

Burlington, Chittenden County

Free black man, brother is the well known 'James T.' His boot shop was on Church Street c.1849, GMF, also contributor to *North Star*. Spoke at meeting with fugitive Milton Clark from Boston in 1851 (Sherman: Rayford & Winston).

Hotchkiss, J. M. C, NL

Waterville, Lamoille County

WSv, WSjp, US (1850).

Howard (house), Arthur E, L

East Street, Shaftsbury, Bennington County

(Behind Cole Hall, reputed tunnel from house to barn, *Ordinary Heroes* (1977?))

Huntington, Samuel B, L

77-79 North Winooski Avenue, Burlington, Chittenden County

US (1850), WSv, WSh noted by Rev. Joshua Young. Bookseller with store on corner of Church & College Streets, now gone.

Hutchinson, Hon. Titus B, L

The Green, Woodstock, Windsor County

State Chief Justice, tireless writer of letters to newspapers against the Fugitive Slave Act, US (1850), WSjp, noted as part of eastern route (Brattleboro to Berkline),

Seems to be strong OT. Local tradition of tunnel, which no longer exists. Source:

Kathy Wendling & Greg Schwartz, Woodstock Historical Society; Michelle Sherburne.

Hutchinson, Ocamel C, NL

Chester, Windsor County

WSv, WSh.

Ide, Rev. John C, NL

Middlebury, Addison County

WSv, President of Vt. Anti-Slavey Soc. 1836.

Jacob, Hon. Stephen D, L

Gay House, State Street (Across from former state prison site), Windsor, Windsor County
He is the owner from whom the slave women 'Dinah' absconded! WSh only for "Dinah" legal case. OT noted in *The Vermont Journal*, April 4, 1935. A curious inversion of one incident involving blacks, into another.

Johnson, Col. Leonard B, L

Danville Road, Peacham, Caledonia County

C. A. Clark in *The Vermonter*, vol. 43 (September 1938) 132, provides the following: brother of Oliver Johnson, note of various abolitionist activities including UR, said to have tolled the local church bell on the morning of John Brown's execution. William Lloyd Garrison & George Thompson said to have visited his house.

Kendall, Col. Samuel C, NL

Enosburg, Franklin County

WSv, WSjp, US (1850).

Kimball, F. W. C, NL

Barton, Orleans County

WSv, WSjp.

Lee, Dr. L. C, NL

Troy, Orleans County

WSv, WSjp, US (1850).

Lord, Charles C, NL

Woodstock, Windsor County

WSv, WSjp, WSh, letter stating that he helped fugitives dated 1896.

Marsh, Rodney V. B, L

11 Pearl Street, Brandon, Rutland County

WSv, WSh, WSjp, RUT and OT, but no solid evidence. The sense of an OT is strong, Marsh's son certainly was convinced, but did not pass on any information that I am aware of. House built about 1851-52 .

Martin, Jefferson C, NL

Montgomery, Franklin County

US (1850), WSv, WSjp.

McNeil, Charles B, L

McNeil's Cove, Ferry Road, Charlotte, Chittenden County

(McNeil Mansion c.1805 & ferry)

McNeil 1782-1860, WSv, WSh R.E. Robinson. Lake traffic--Whitehall to ST. Johns--stopped here. VSSS Charlotte 0403-58

Moore, Dr. L. C. C, NL
Troy, Orleans County
WSv, WSjp.

Morris, Dea. & Mrs. Sylvester C, L
'1820 House', Main Street, Norwich, Windsor County
WSv, WSh.

A tanner and grist mill operater. Elizabeth Cone Gardner, his great-great -granddaughter noted mother's testimony: house "was used for runaway slaves. They stayed as guests," and stories of black women helping with the chores. There is a biography of Morris by Kate Cone Morris, not found yet.

Murray, Orson C, AT
Brandon, Rutland County

Local OT. N.E. Anti-Slavery Soc. agent, also at historic 1st mtg. to create national a bolition platform, Philadelphia, 1833 (Ludlum). R.T. Robinson letter notes Murray just missing getting tarred and feathered in Burlington, late 1830s. No evidence of UR involvement, but strong context.

Nicholson, D.E. C, NL
Wallingford, Rutland County

WSv, WSjp Poland says he was in charge in Wallingford. US (1850).

Northrup, Solomon B, AT
Hartland, Windsor County (res. Glens Falls, NY)

Important national example of the evils of slavery for his kidnapping, and for his story's purported inspiration behind Harriet Beecher Stowe's 'Uncle Tom.' Association with 'Lame' John Smith thru letters WSv, WSh. Also on the abolitionist speaking circuit in Vermont. Spoke in Montpelier in 1850s.

Paddock, Daniel H. D, NL
Bennington, Bennington County
US (1850), UR Comittee, Burlington.

Parker, Deacon C, NL
Waterbury, Washington County
WSjp.

Parmalee, Simeon C, NL
Pittsford, Rutland County
WSv, Methodist minister, supporter of colonization. UR Committee.

Peck, Addison B, L
Center Road, E. Montpelier, Washington County
(Before Peck Family Cem., heading N.)

Across the Onion cites his story in Peck Family papers, of sheltering a fugitive in the barn, covered with Peck's wolfskin sleigh cloak; of his wife providing breakfast; and of carrying the man ten miles by wagon to another farm. Lynn Blackwell interview.

Peck, Edward B, LD
Peck Block, College Street, Burlington, Chittenden County
WSv, WSh Rev. Joshua Young verifies his involvement with him, Wires, and Bigelow after 1852. Clothing from his store used for fugitives. House not involved. Office said to be used. Gone.

Perkins, William E, NL
Bennington, Bennington County
UR Committee, Burlington.

Pingree, Hon. William C, NL
Perkinsville, Weathersfield, Windsor County
WSv, WSh. "The late Louise Covell claimed that William Pingree of Perkinsville provided guidance and transportation for fugitives between N. Springfield & Woodstock, but no records exist to prove the fact." Weathersfield Century One (1975) History of the Town of Springfield, Vt., C.H. Hubbard & Justice Dart (1895) note his involvement. Published before Siebert's first book on UR, so tradition antedates it.

Poland, Joseph A. B, L
27 School Street, Montpelier, Washington County
(4 Cedar Street, Grk. Rev. before 1989 remodeling, may be his earlier, 1840s home.
His office, where he hid fugitives in the closet and let visitors peek at them, was by the Courthouse, about where the Federal post office is. Beers Atlas (1869 reprint).
WSv, WSjp: Perhaps Siebert's major source, certainly the one that allowed him to construct his routes. Editor, Liberty Party politician, probate judge, state senator, insurance company director, abolitionist: a 19th century man of affairs, position, and property. He called Montpelier by far the most important Underground station. Next to his biography in Siebert's 1890s book on the UR, R.E. Robinson has penciled in his copy of the book two words: "A Fraud!." HG letter appears to substantiate Poland's involvement.

Powell, Hon. A.G. C, NL
Troy, Orleans County
WSv, WSjp.

Powers, Col. Thomas C, L

Woodstock, Windsor County

(Now parsonage of Universalist Church, History of Woodstock (1989).

"Many were the charities done in secret," the town history tells us, rather archly. p. 360, also WSv, WSh.

Prindle, Rev. Cyrus B, NL

Middlebury, Addison County

WSv for his anti-Fugitive Slave Act sermons. US 1850 for Ferrisburgh. GMF March 5, 1848 "I am happy to say that by the underground railroad, in which I have some interest, we have been doing the past fall, a large and (?) business."

Putnam, Rev. George C, NL

Albany, Orleans County

WSv, WSjp.

Ramsey, Arian T. B, NL

Brandon, Rutland County

WSv, WSh., editor of local organ. OT as well.

Ramsey, Capt. James C, NL

St. Johnsbury, Caledonia County

Fairbanks history (1912) notes the house is still standing, a low, brick building..a few rods south of the bridge" over the Passumpsic. Probably in vicinity of Ramsey park noted on Beers map (1869), house built c.1835. A small factory owner, rumor of UR activity noted, and that his son John fell at Savage Station with the 3rd Vermont Inf.

Ransom, Richard C, L

(White Cupboard Inn), Woodstock, Windsor County

(On Green, the old Kedron Tavern, then the Colonial Inn.)

WSv, WSh. Notes massive stone chimney.

Rice, Mark D, L

278 Main Street, Burlington, Chittenden County

Bicentennial UR booklet cites him & OT of 2 cellar rooms, which held powder during War of 1812. Rice owned a chair factory.

Richardson, D.E. C, NL

Wilmington, Windham County

WSv, WSjp.

Roberts, Daniel Jr. C, NL

Manchester, Bennington County

WSv, WSjp.

Rogers, Joseph & Morah B, NL

Charlotte, Chittenden County

This Quaker brother & sister noted in WSv, WSh via RT Robinson. Also US (1850) and Addison Co. Beers Atlas, school district 16. R.E. Robinson letter, refers to diary account 1842-46 of fugitive going from Rokeby to Rogers, to McNeils in Charlotte, and on to Canada. William Lloyd Garrison letter to R.T. Robinson, July 11, 1878 refers to Rogers(Rokeby Collection).

Rogers, Aaron & Dinah B, NL

Rutland, Rutland County

WSh, WSv. Quaker family.

Rowell, Hon. A. J. C, NL

Troy, Orleans County

WSv, WSjp.

Sabin, Rev. Alvah C, NL

Georgia, Franklin County

WSv, WSjp.

Safford, Madison C, NL

Cambridge, Lamoille County

WSv, WSjp.

Safford, Noah & Nancy B, NL

Springfield, Windsor County

US (1850). Windsor town history gives plausible account. The History of the Town of Springfield, Vt., by C.H. Hubbard & Justice Dart, Boston (1895) notes involvement as well, and dates from before initial Siebert UR history. Safford manufactured and sold strawcutters in the South, and apparently was very affected by his firsthand knowledge of slavery. His daughter Rebbecca Safford Holmes recalled teams coming and going late at night and food being carried out to barn, 1848 and after. She notes that a fugitive man stayed in town as a barber, married another fugitive, and raised three children, and that they were members of the Congregational Church (*Folklore of Springfield*, by Mary Eva Baker, 1922, 64-66). Another example of fugitives finding "Canada" short of the Canadian border. His 1837 house was half a mile south of the village (WSv).

Seely, Rev. Jacob B, NL

Montpelier, Washington County

HG letter, one of four men to whom fugitive Henry Adams carried letters of intro.

Shafter, Oscar L. C, NL

Townshend, Windham County

WSv, WSh, WSjp.

Shafter, Hon. William R. C, NL
Townshend, Windham County
WSv, WSh, WSjp.

Skinner, Gov. Richard D, L
Manchester, Bennington County
(by 1856, Governor, and owns large estate a few doors S of Equinox House.)
Steven Barth cites OT. Doubtful.

Slade, Sen. William D, L
Montpelier, Washington County
Steven Barth cites OT. Tyler Resch found nothing. Doubtful.

Smith, 'Lame' John B, L
Hartland, Windsor County (Old Parsonage, next to Methodist Church.)
There should be other locations as well, as he took different churches, and appears to have been in Hartland in 1860-1862. WSv, WSh includes letter from his son, John R. Smith, April 25, 1935, who writes that Smith was active with Taylor Groce and Solomon Northrup.

Sowles, Hon. William C, NL
Swanton, Franklin County
WSv, WSjp.

Stanbury, E.A. C, NL
Richmond, Chittenden County
WSv and WSjp.

Stranahan Family C, L
St. Albans, Franklin County
Associated with the L. Brainerd house through marriage, according to Janet Seymour, St. Albans HS. WSv, WSh citation. Janet Seymour. St. Albans HS.

Thompson, C. F. B, NL
Brattleboro, Windham County
WSv, WSh. Helped a fugitive at his store on Main Street.

Thrall, R. R. C, NL
Rutland, Rutland County
Editor, WSv, WSjp.

Warren, John D, NL
Middlebury, Addison County
Sheldon Museum staff note local tradition.

Webster, Delia B, AT

Vergennes, Addison County (active Kentucky, Ohio)

Vergennes home visited by Louis and Harriet Hayden, whom she had helped to safety in Kentucky--Ohio in cahoots with Calvin Fairbanks. Imprisoned for about two years at Kentucky state penitentiary and pardoned. She may have written *Kentucky Jurisprudence: A History of the Trial of Miss Delia Webster*, at Lexington, December 17-21, (Vergennes: E. W. Blaisdell, 1845. VHS), her justification of UR actions and 'impropriety,' at her Vergennes family home. Her father was very much opposed to abolition. She is apparently the one Vermonter to suffer legal penalties and threat of violence for aiding fugitives. She is cataloged in this section, only because she was not active in Vermont. (See Runyon).

Weider, C. W. C, NL

Ferrisburgh, Addison County

Wsjp. Not noted by Robinsons.

West, Hon. John C, NL

Morristown, Lamoille County

Wsv, WSjp, US (1850).

Wheeler, John D, L

Wheeler House, UVM, South Prospect & Main streets, Burlington, Chittenden County

Persistent rumor, perhaps due to his presidency of state colonization soc. in 1859, rather late in the game. Knew and worked with John K. Converse on colonization. Wsv on colonization. A good example of how any person with an affiliation within the broad spectrum of abolition activities might be considered a member of the UR. On the other hand, Converse suggests that some people active in colonization at this late date, did aid fugitives.

Wickers, Cyrus W. C, L

North Ferrisburgh Hollow, Ferrisburgh, Addison County

US (1850) as "Wicher." Wsv, WSh. Wicker Family papers, Special Collections, UVM Bailey-Howe Library, evidence his strong abolitionist stance by 1840s.

Wilcox, Dr. S. C, LD

Bennington, Bennington County

(Gone, replaced by gas station according to Tordis Isselhardt.) WSjp.

Willard, John D, L

Willard House, Hartland, Windsor County

US (1850), Mark Josephson, Hartland area, suggests OT, in letter March, 1996. Apparently a tunnel "under" the cellar, and a closet behind the chimney. Storeowner, state leg. 57, 58, justice of the peace, and Quaker.

Woodward, Daniel (Woodworth)

C, L

Yuran-Sylvester House

Randolph, Windsor County

(VSSS district 17, # 12, b. c.1805, still owned by him in 1855.)

WSv, WSjp Listed by Poland as part of east route. Woodward ran a carriage ironing shop in the 1820s.

Wright, Rev. Chester

B, L

E. Hardwick, Caledonia County

Sally Fisher told by Burt Stone that Wright and Kiah Bayley had worked together on UR. Member of Caledonia Anti-Slavery Soc. Lived in Montpelier 1808-1830s, at 159 State Street, which still stands. It appears that Wright was a rabid anti-mason, as not a few abolitionists were. In 1830, his sermon at the Congregational Church in Montpelier attacked Masons and Jacksonians, and labled two Masons of his congregation as "devils" (Ludlum). He left or was asked to leave, and ended up in East Hardwick for three years, perhaps in late 1830s. Died c.1840.

Wright, Fletcher

C, NL

Cavendish, Windsor County

WSv, WSjp.

Misc. Sites:Bullard Inn

E, L

Swanton, Franklin County

(Fonda Junction, just N of Sunset Rest Motel.)

The massive building's masonry structure contains openings that may be responsible for OT noted in town history.

Currier House

E, L

Bartlett Road, Berlin, Washington County (current owner)

The owner cites the evidence of interior rooms in a massive central chimney, and a pair of 19th century shackles found in the cellar wall. Interview: Kitty Currier, August, 1996.

Ellis-Brown House

E, L

Royalton, Windsor County

Royalton Town History and VHSSS district 9 #1.

House c.1784 burned, rebuilt, barn original, has hidden room for 1820s Masonic meetings according to OT.

Fessenden-Hanks House

E, L

Royalton, Windsor County

Royalton Town History and VHSSS Royalton Village #22, on corner S and opposite

library. OT built c.1800.

Goodwillie House E, L

Barnet, Caledonia Cpimtu

Source: Persistent local rumor which this study suggests is associated with late 18th-early 19th century buildings and other queer structures, having massive stone chimneys, etc. Correspondence from Robert C. Welch, Barre, March, 1996. Letter from Blanche Edwin Guthrie-Miller to VHS, Jan. 18, 1958, suggests house is a UR 'station.' Also *History of Barnet* (1923). The question of course is whether the local tradition is based on an incident or on the physical features. This building waits further data.

Gove Family E, NL

Rutland, Rutland County

OT

Hathaway House E, L

St. Albans, Franklin County

OT Source: Janet Seymour, St. Albans HS.

Hildene cave site E, L

Manchester, Bennington County

Margaret Todd Lincoln is the source for this OT, via Al Germaine, May 1996. She was born after the Civil War, and of course, Hildene is later, but possibly she picked up on local oral tradition. Nonetheless, probably not much hiding in Vermont and the cave seems a poor shelter. This is important, though, in illustrating the interesting types of locations and features that are linked to the UR. A check of the 1830-1860 owners of the site might suggest context.

Houghton House E, L

St. Albans, Franklin County

Janet Seymour, St. Albans HS, notes strong OT.

James Kinney House E, L

Falls Road, Shelburne, Chittenden County

Looking Around Chittenden Co., (1976) is the source for OT.

Old Weeks Tavern C, LD

Burgess Road, Bennington, Bennington County

BENN: Bennington Banner story noted OT of Pompey Vanderburg having hidden here in his 1816 escape from New York State. It is not listed in John C. Wriston Jr.'s *Vt. Inns and Tavern: Pre-Revolution to 1925, An Illustrated and Annotated Checklist*, Rutland: Academy Books, 1991. OT is detailed, with strong contextual support. Informant on OT is Stephen Potter via Tordis Isselhardt Interview: August 1996.

Post House E, L
 Grove Street, Brandon, Rutland County
 OT, burned down in the 1950s.

Solomon Place E, L
 Quechee-Hartland Road, Quechee, Hartford, Windsor County
 OT perhaps due to storage cubby. "Tracking the Underground Railroad," *Upper Valley News*, March/April 1993.

Stage House C, L
 Hardwick Road, Hardwick, Caledonia County

Noted by Sally Fisher, with Burt Stone as her source. It is next to Rev. Kiah Bayley's house, thus a plausible real or imagined connection.

John Strong House E, L
 DAR State Park, Addison, Addison County
 Of the secret spaces this researcher has seen, this is the fanciest, obviously constructed with intention for something. Guides used to note this closet as a hiding place during 'Indian attack' but this is farfetched. Sandra Button notes a newspaper story with a diary account of a 'visitor' sleeping in it, but this has not yet turned up.

Three Pines Farm E, L
 Quechee-Hartland Road, Hartland, Windsor County
 OT perhaps due to storage cubby. "Tracking the Underground Railroad," *Upper Valley News*, March/April 1993.

Warren Place E (D), L
 Weathersfield, Windsor County
 This may be (North Springfield) Boynton place. WSv, WSh.

Walker Farm D, L
 (Robert & Nancy Foote)
 Rice Road, Hartland, Windsor County
 (1 mile S of village off rt. 5 is Rice Road, go 3/4 up.)
 Black slaves or servants Caesar, Flora & children buried nearby where their cabin stood. *In Sight of Ye Great River: Hist & Houses of Hartland* (1991). Perhaps considered due to these past associations, as appears to have happened with Stephen Jacob's 'Gay House' in Windsor.

Ward Library C, L
 Canaan, Essex County
 The Fernando Jacobs family do not show up as abolitionists, and though there is strong

local tradition, it appears to be based on a closed over space on the 2nd floor. This researcher has not found Jacobs or Ward family papers, etc. that would suggest further direction. Stage stop--1845-60--by Jacobs who was a Republican. Interview: Mrs. Beatrice Holmes (Her mother told her that fugitives stayed overnight there. She seems clear about this but there is no other detail to the recollection) August 1996, Joan Cowan, other library staff August, 1996. Ward Library history pamphlet.

Bassett House D, L

East Village, East Montpelier, Washington County

The Bassetts were Quakers, and there is local tradition noted in *Across the Onion*, Lynn Blackwell & Ellen Hill, p.117.

Douglas House E, NL

Taftsville, Windsor County (current owner)

Local real estate person cited local tradition to the owner.

"Haunted House" E, L

Albany, Orleans County

OT

Heilman House E, L

Manchester, Bennington County (current owner)

Walter Hard, Jr., was the previous owner and is the source for an UR connection.

There is a ham smoking closet in the massive stone fireplace.

23 High St. E, L

Brandon, Rutland County

OT

Whip Inn E, L

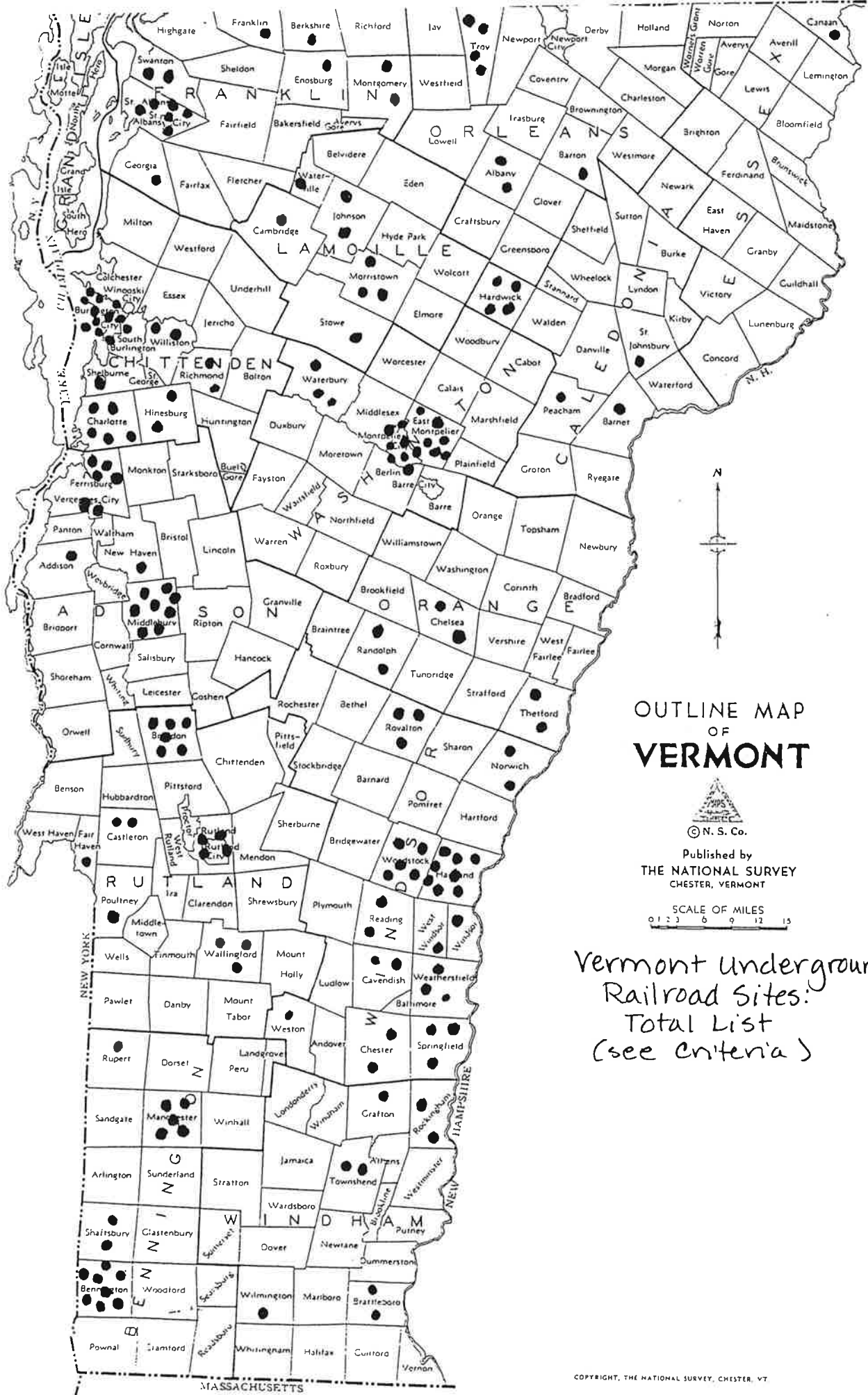
Stowe Village, Stowe, Lamoille County

OT (current owner)

Zeicher House E, L

Rutland, Rutland County

OT (current owner)

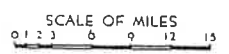


OUTLINE MAP
OF
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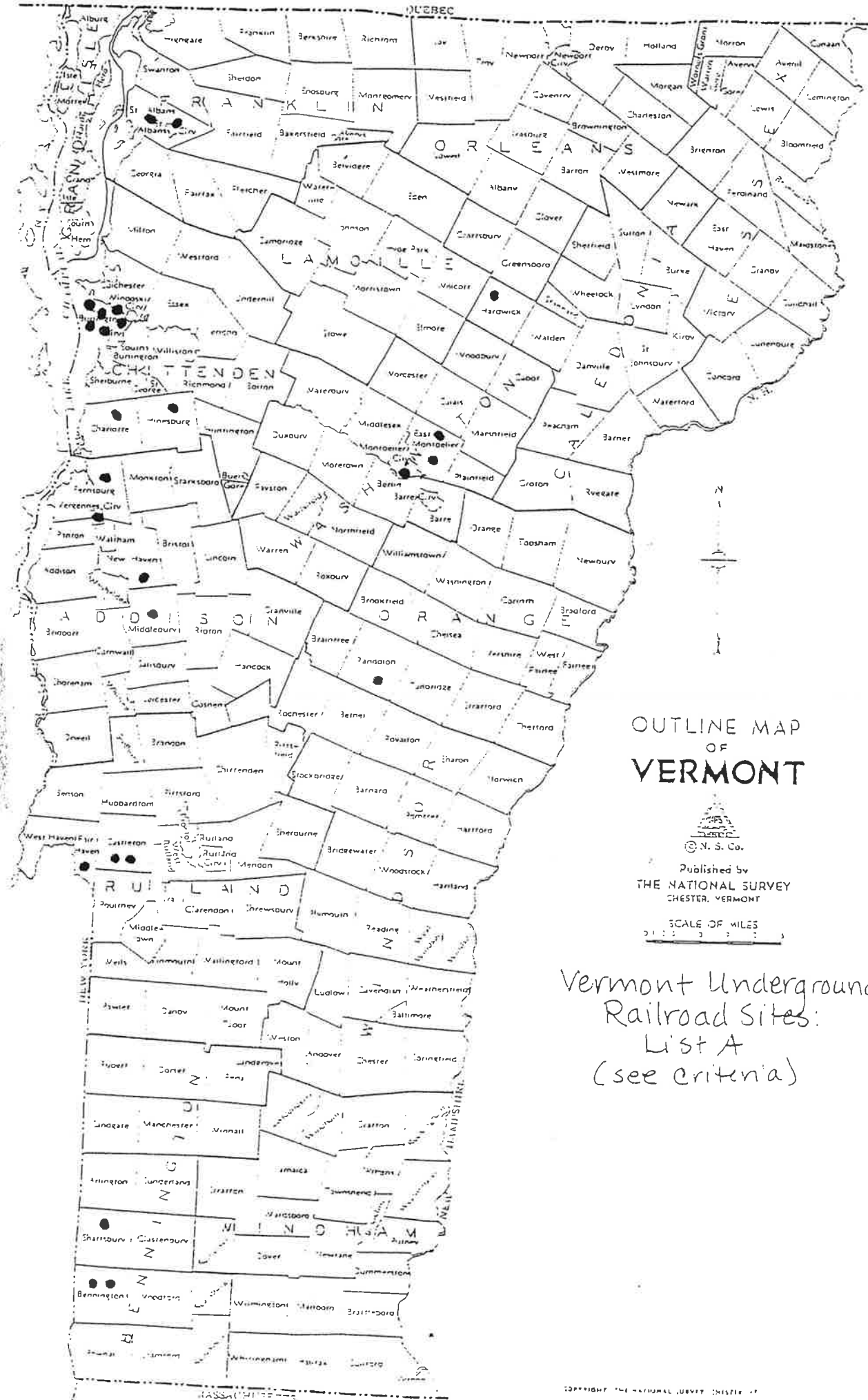


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Vermont Underground
Railroad Sites:
Total List
(see criteria)



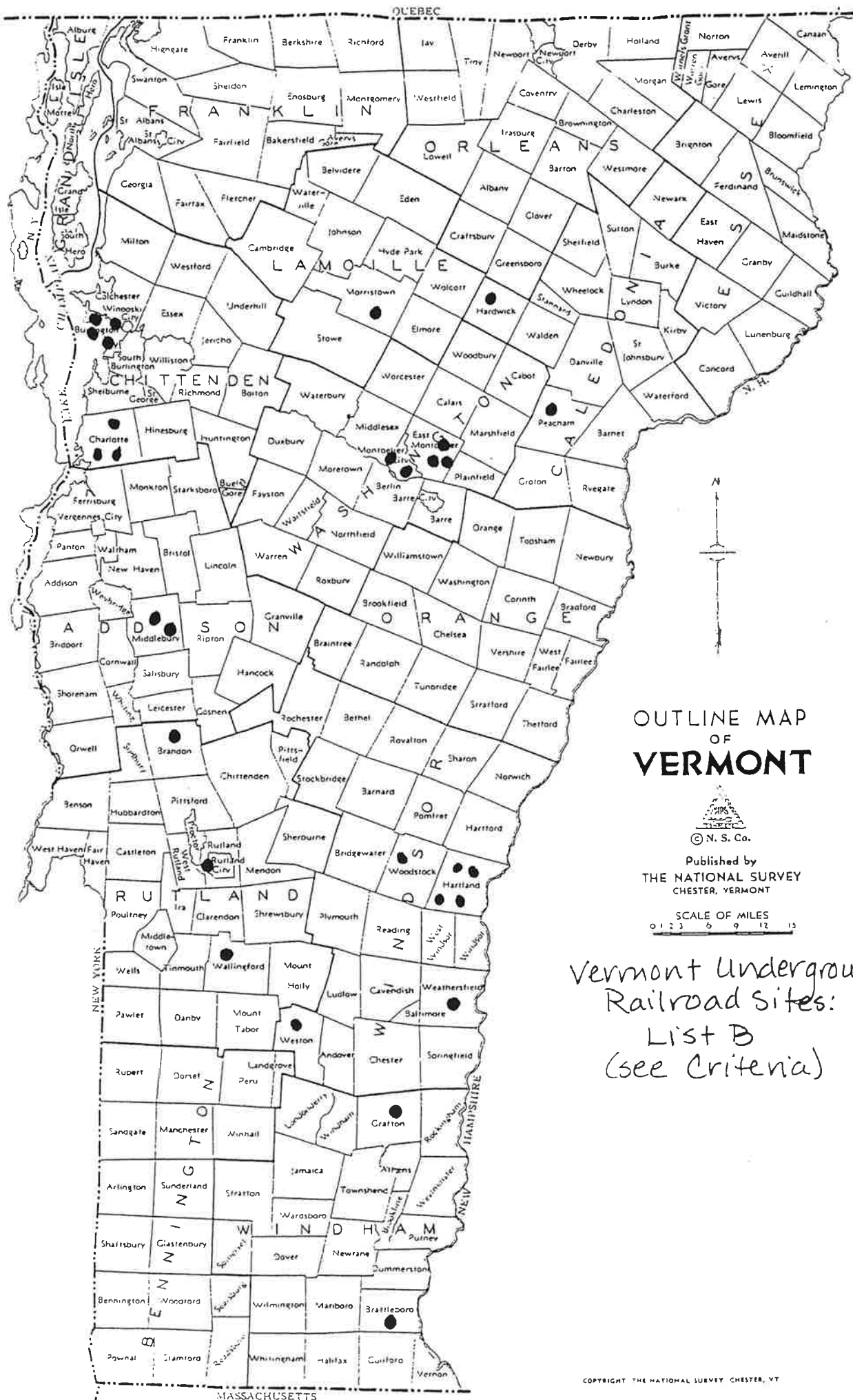
OUTLINE MAP
OF
VERMONT



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SCALE OF MILES
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Vermont Underground
Railroad Sites:
List A
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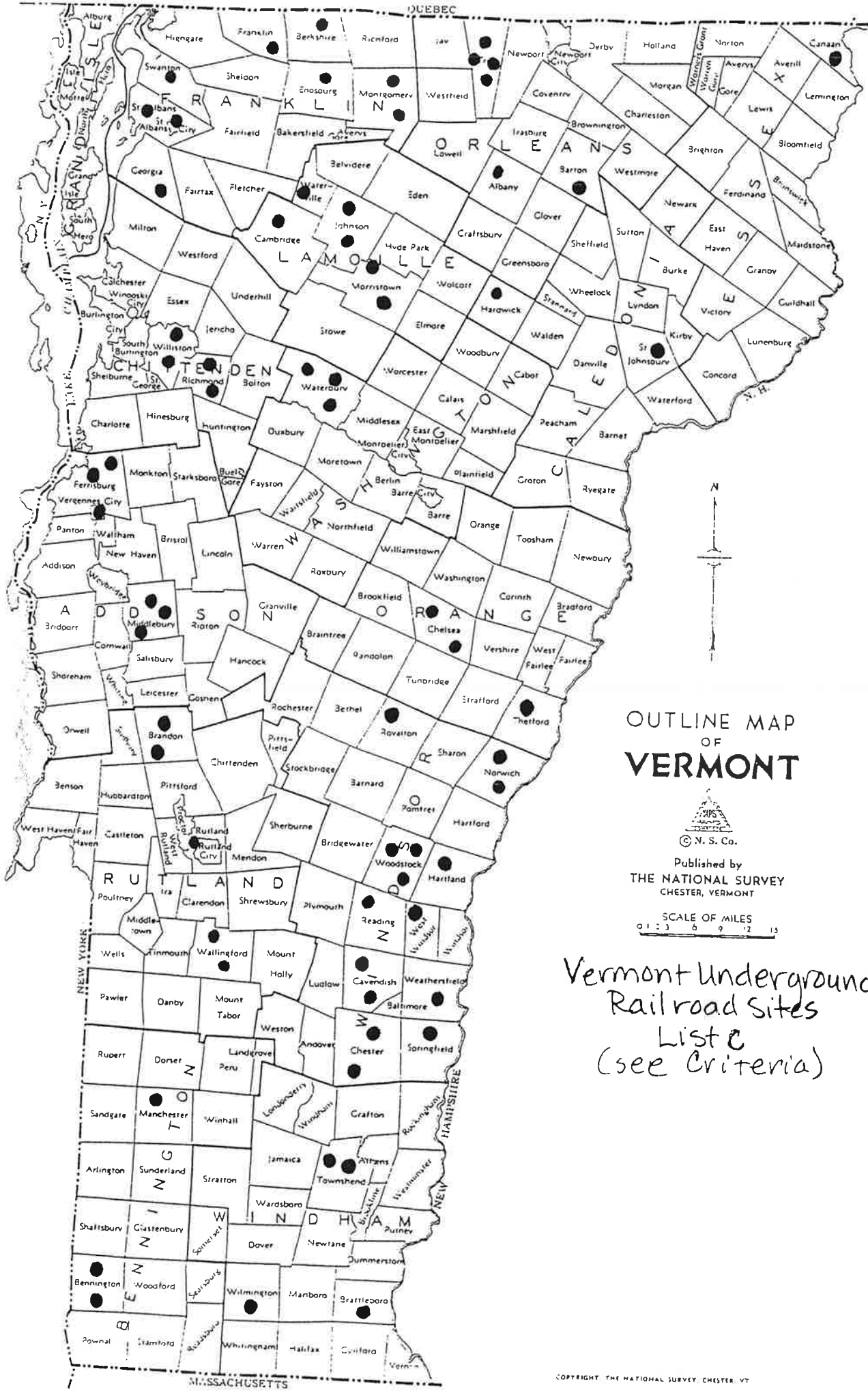
OUTLINE MAP
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Vermont Underground
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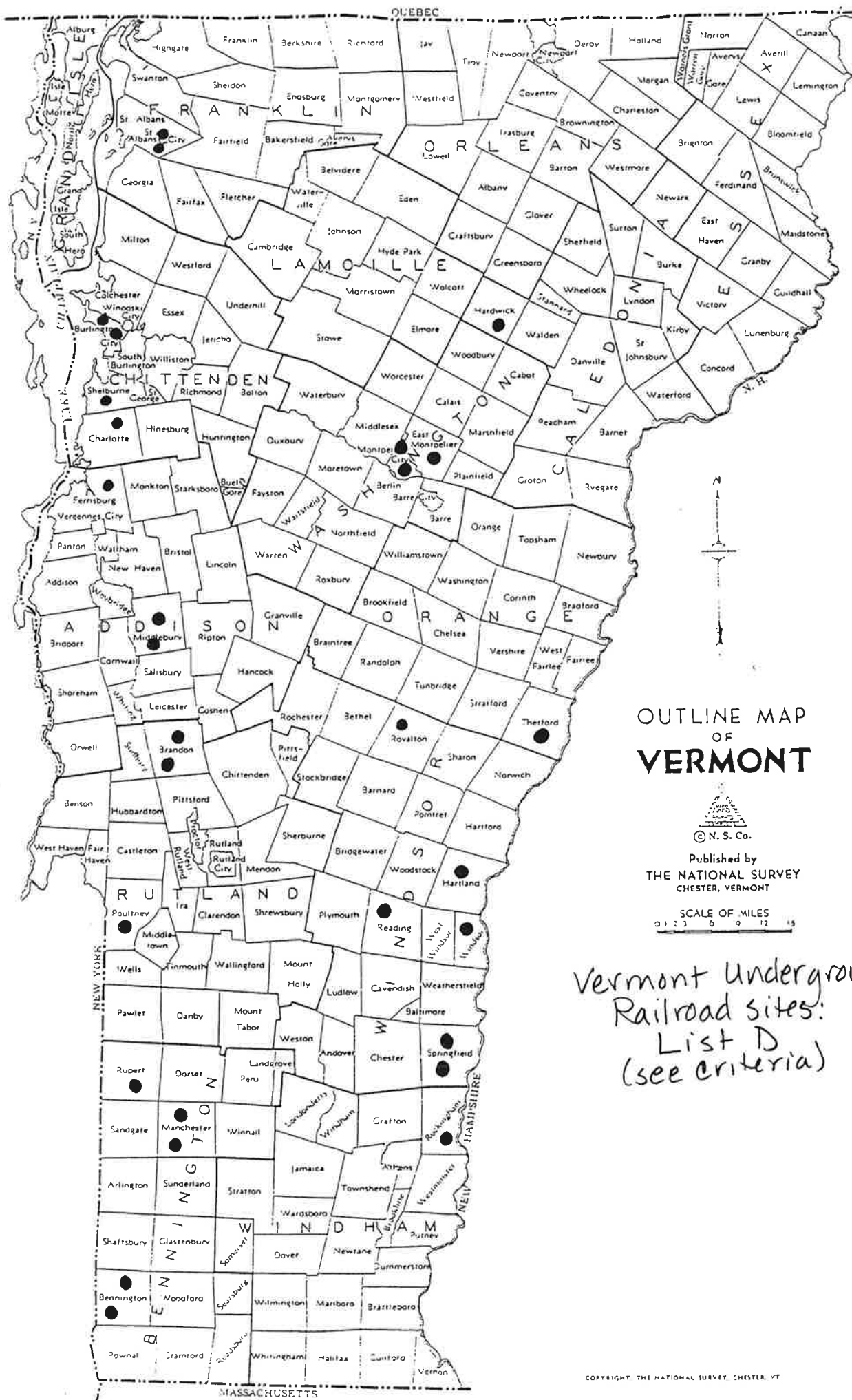
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Vermont Underground
Railroad Sites
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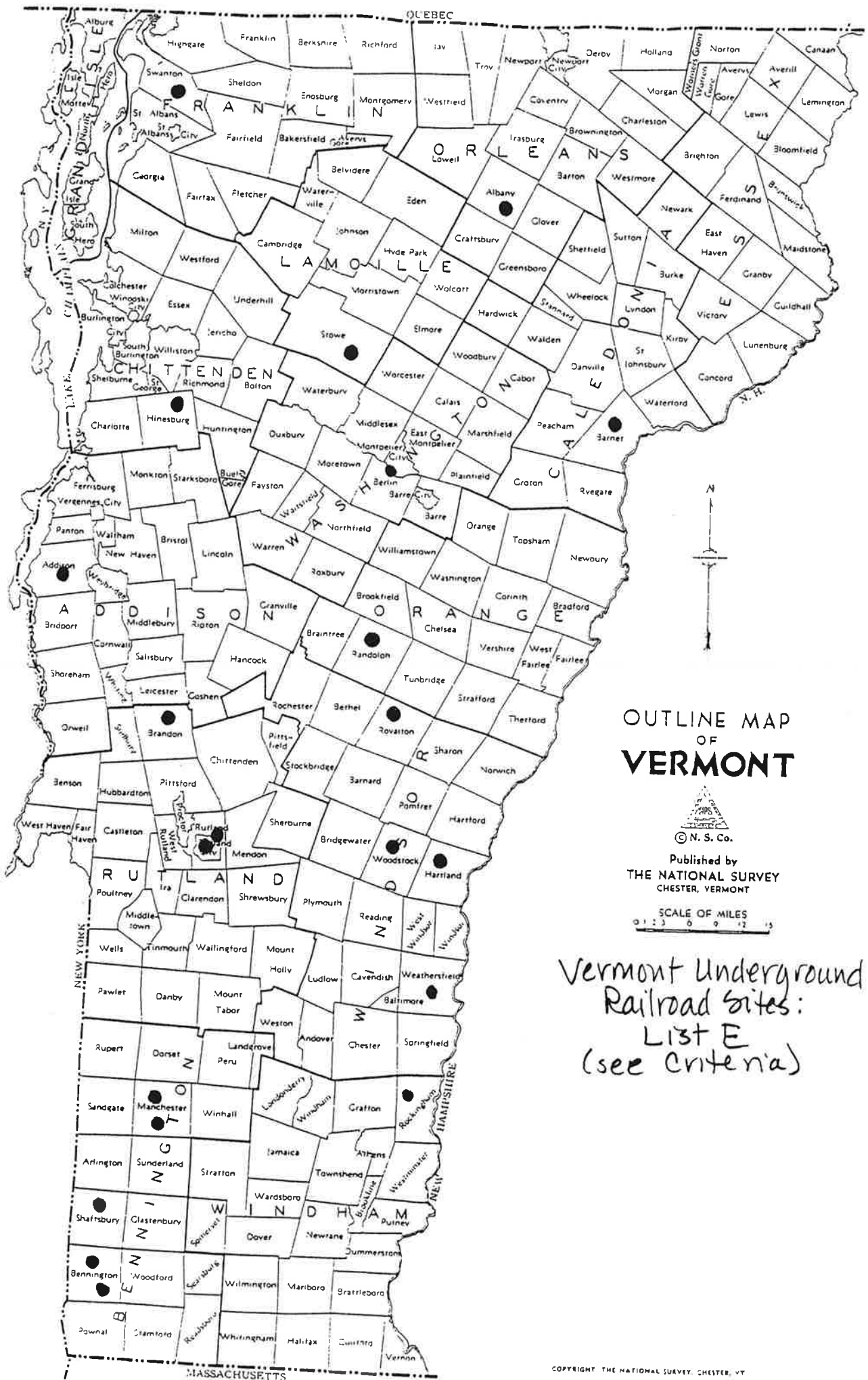
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SCALE OF MILES
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*Vermont Underground
Railroad sites:
List D
(see criteria)*



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Vermont Underground
Railroad Sites:
LIST E
(see Criteria)



Rev. Kiah Bayley House
Hardwick St.
Hardwick, Vermont



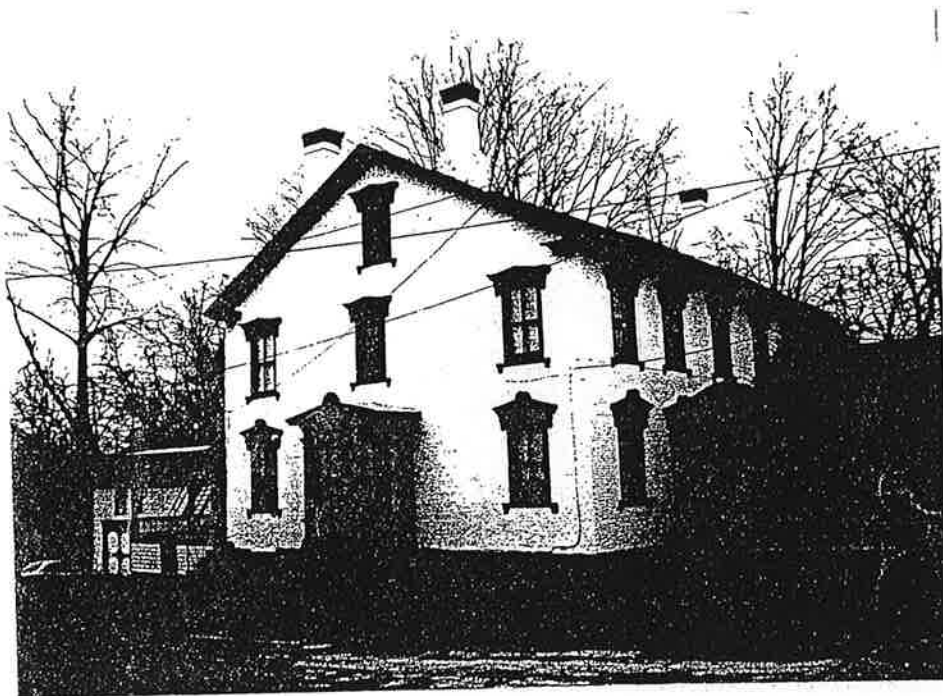
Prof. George Benedict House
31 South Prospect St.
Burlington, Vermont



Lucius Bigelow
John Converse
272 Church St.
Burlington, Vermont



Simon Bottum House
Route 7
Shaftsbury, Vermont



Lawrence Brainerd House
160 North Main St.
St. Albans, Vermont



Samuel Chalker House
New Haven, Vermont



Zenas Ellis House
South Main St.
Fair Haven, Vermont



Erastus & Hervey Higley House
(Castleton Historical Society)
Castleton, Vermont



Nathan Hoag House
Baldwin Road
Charlotte, Vermont



Robinson House
Rokeby Museum
Route 7
Ferrisburgh, Vermont



Salmon Wires House
118 South Willard St.
Burlington, Vermont



Rev. Joshua Young House
98 South Willard St.
Burlington, Vermont