

On the Trail of John Brown:  
*What Mary Brown Saw*

*A Self-Guided Tour*



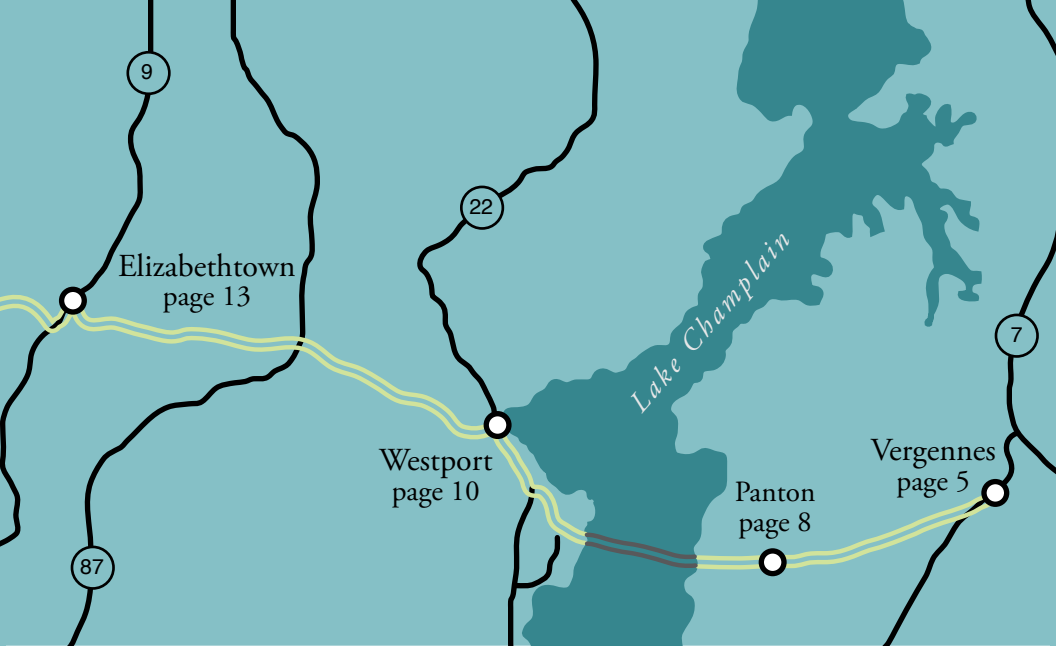


This tour attempts to follow a historic route. Please use a road map to accompany this tour booklet. Modern day travelers cannot cross Lake Champlain at Arnold's Bay and must take the bridge from Addison, Vermont to Crown Point, New York. Take Route 9N/22 ten miles to the Camp Dudley road in Westport to resume the tour.

This tour is based upon what Mary Brown saw as the funeral cortege of John Brown, the abolitionist, traveled from the train depot in Vergennes, Vermont to the family farm in North Elba, New York.

We will look at the buildings that still exist along the route of the funeral cortege and describe the landscapes that they would have passed over. Of particular note are the sites relevant to the life of John Brown, the anti-slavery movement, and/or sites mentioned by members of the funeral cortege in 1859.

It took two days for the cortege to travel this relatively short distance, leaving the train depot early Tuesday morning, December 6, and arriving in North Elba on Wednesday evening, December 7, 1859.



The total mileage from Vergennes to North Elba is approximately 67 miles. Allow at least 3 hours for the complete tour, or spend the day, or several days taking the journey and exploring the Lake Champlain communities of Vermont and New York. The tour ends at Lake Placid, New York.

## *Introduction*

John Brown was born on May 9, 1800 in Torrington, Connecticut, to a Calvinist family and he was certainly influenced by his father, Owen, who believed human bondage to be a sin against God. The family soon moved to Hudson, Ohio, where John followed in his father's footsteps as a tanner and farmer. At the age of twelve, Brown witnessed the severe beating of a Negro youth. This scene, coupled with his strong religious beliefs, influenced his later support and fervor for the anti-slavery movement.



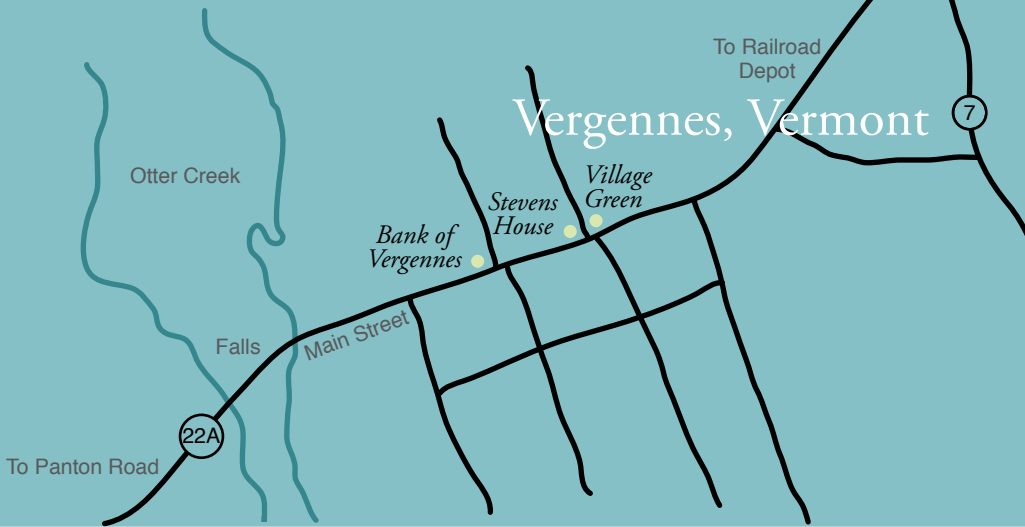
*Mary Ann Day Brown*

Following his marriage to Dianthe Lusk, the family moved to Pennsylvania in 1826 where Brown built a tannery. Brown's wife died following childbirth. He soon married seventeen-year-old Mary Day, who cared for Brown's five children and later had thirteen of their own. Difficult economic times as a farmer in Ohio resulted in bankruptcy for Brown and he lost all but the essentials. In the mid-1840s Brown moved the family to Springfield, Massachusetts where he partnered in a wool brokerage firm, opening a warehouse there.

It was in the late 1840s that John Brown met with philanthropist and abolitionist, Gerrit Smith, at Smith's Peterboro, New York home. Brown learned of Smith's "settlements" for Negroes in eight New York State counties and especially one settlement, known as Timbuctoo, in North Elba. Coming from all walks of life, three thousand Negro grantees had been given over 120,000 acres of land. After visiting the Adirondack settlement, Brown offered to "take up a farm" and help the fledgling farmers. It was in May of 1849 that John and Mary Brown, accompanied by seven of their children, first came to settle in North Elba, New York. In November 1849, Brown and two of his sons purchased 244 acres from Gerrit Smith to build their family home. Brown moved back to Ohio for a time, but returned to North Elba in 1855 to move into his new home built by Henry Thompson, husband of Brown's daughter Ruth. By this time, only ten Negro families from the original "settlement" remained.

Turmoil over slavery erupted in Kansas and Brown traveled there to join his sons in "the cause of freedom." Brown, in an open rebellion against slavery, led armed raids in 1856 at Pottawatomie Creek and Osawatomie, Kansas. Finally, "Free-staters" won control of the legislature in Kansas and Brown moved his rebellion back east. It was on October 16, 1859 that Brown, fourteen white men, and four black men attempted a raid on the arsenal and rifle factory at Harper's Ferry, Virginia. The armed raiders were tried and convicted of "treason, advising and conspiring with slaves and others to rebel and murder in the first degree." Brown was hanged in Charlestown, Virginia on December 2, 1859.

John Brown's journey into the history books thus begins with his widow, Mary Brown, accompanied by the famed orator, Wendall Phillips, taking possession of his body and beginning the long, trying trip home to North Elba.



### *The Railroad Depot and Freight House (VT Route 22A)*

We begin retracing the route of this historic event at the former Rutland and Burlington Railroad depot and freight house, c.1850 Italianate style, located at the north end of the city of Vergennes. It is here that Mary Brown disembarked as she accompanied her husband's body on his final trip home to North Elba. An employee of the Stevens House, Christopher Yattow, met the train carrying the funeral cortege. Driving a two-horse sleigh, Yattow transported the party down Main Street toward the Stevens House where citizens gathered to pay their respects to John Brown.





It is said that the original rail builders bypassed the city center because the local merchants did not help with financing the line. Trains began to run on the rails in 1849, the same year that John Brown arrived in the North Country.

The Vergennes depot and freight house are the oldest known surviving wood-frame buildings in Vermont. Sited to the rear of an active lumberyard, the passenger depot sits empty adjacent to the old freight house. Both structures retain much of their original period details.

### *The Stevens House* (VT Route 22A)

The Stevens House, originally built as a tavern on the green in 1793, was known as Painter's Tavern until it was purchased by C.T. and C.O. Stevens. It was expanded in the Greek Revival style in 1848 and it was here that John Brown stayed on earlier trips to Vergennes. Later additions in the 1870s and subsequent restoration contribute to its appearance today.

On the day of Brown's funeral cortege through Vergennes, there was a large spontaneous upwelling of sympathy for the mourners. Even though Mrs. Brown expressed her desire that no public expressions of sympathy should be held along the route, it was obvious that the public did not agree.



*1911 view of The Stevens House, Vergennes*

Church bells tolled and teams of men at the local stables volunteered their services to carry the party the six miles to the ferry at Arnold's Bay on Lake Champlain. As one writer observed "... John Brown was no longer a man but a cause." Many citizens of Vergennes followed the cortege and formed a procession down the hill and over the bridge at the falls on the Otter Creek. Christopher Yattow was still driving when the team headed for Arnold's Bay.

Leaving the Stevens House, the party passed several of the earliest commercial blocks in Vergennes. The Vergennes Bank was a major financial institution for much of the industrial and farm development throughout the Champlain Valley.

### *The Village Green* (VT Route 22A)

Many of the same stores, houses, public places, and roads surrounding the Village Green and along Main Street seen by the funeral cortege in 1859 still exist. Though altered over the years, many of these buildings have undergone recent restoration. The Court House, churches, post office, and Stevens Hotel formed the center of a bustling town that was built to take advantage of a powerful waterfall at Otter Creek. A Vergennes news note states that John Brown stopped at the store of G.&W.T. Parker and bought seventy-five feet of five ounce manila rope while on one of his early trips through Vergennes.

### *Otter Creek Basin* (VT Route 22A)

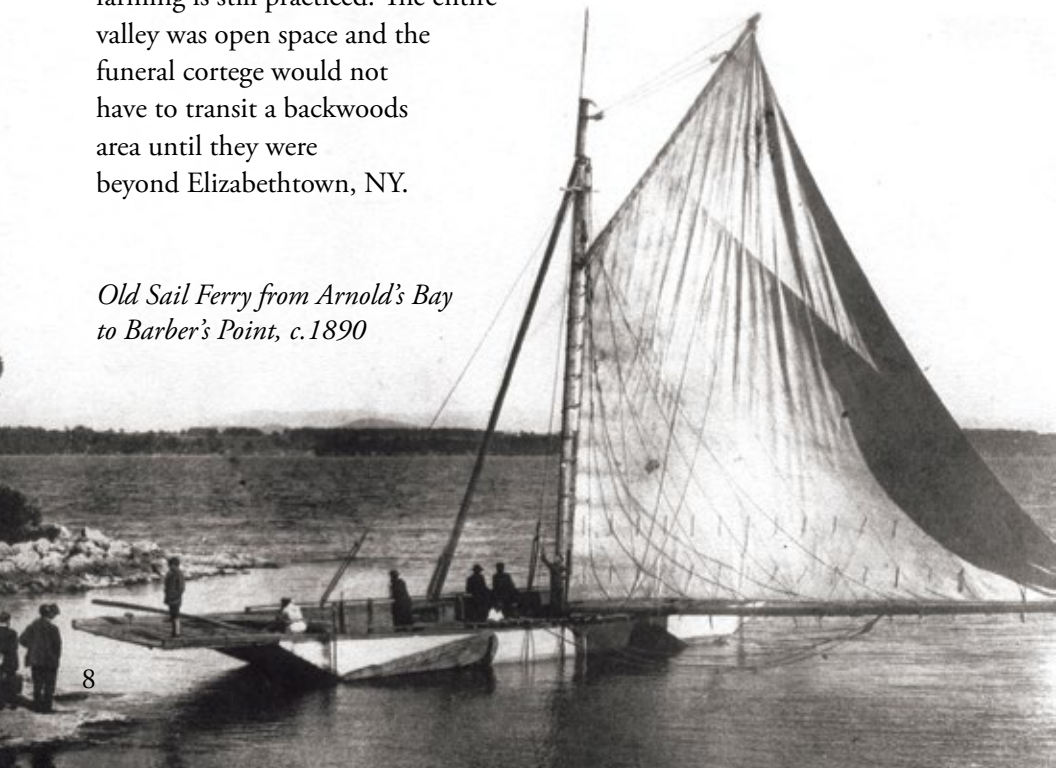
This is where a number of small, local, steam-powered ferry boats left for Westport, New York during the navigation season. John Brown was known to have used one of these ferries called the Nonparil. (On the Westport side, this same ferry was referred to as the Dodger because of its erratic schedules.) James A. Allen, owner of the ferry wharf in Westport remembered receiving the old gravestone of Brown's grandfather and storing it at the landing until someone came from North Elba to retrieve it. Allen remembered speaking with Brown about raising sheep and cattle when he was waiting for the steam ferry. None of the large ferries were running in December 1859, so the funeral party had to use the old scow ferry at Adams Ferry Landing also known as Arnold Bay.



 *The Panton Road* (former Adams Ferry-to-Vergennes turnpike)

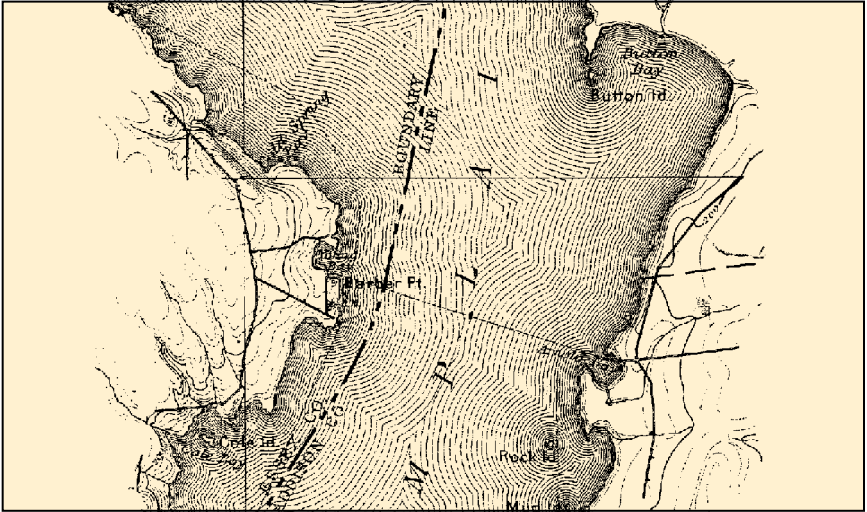
The turnpike from Panton, built in 1818, connected the Lake Champlain transportation corridor to the industrial center at Vergennes. The wetland, halfway to Arnold Bay, often proved an impediment to travel. Today, the open vistas of the wetlands continue to provide one of the best landscape panoramas of the Champlain Valley where farming is still practiced. The entire valley was open space and the funeral cortege would not have to transit a backwoods area until they were beyond Elizabethtown, NY.

*Old Sail Ferry from Arnold's Bay to Barber's Point, c.1890*





With the completion of the Champlain Canal in 1823, the Adams Ferry operations at Panton and Westport served as an early transportation link between the farms in the Adirondacks and the cattle and sheep markets located in Vermont. Panton became a hub of activity and prosperity reaching its height in population around 1840. Panton Village is on the Vermont Register of Historic Places. Many of the structures seen by the funeral cortege exist today, including the prominent 1854 Greek Revival style church and the 1818 stone schoolhouse.



*Crossing Lake Champlain by Ferry (1908 USGS map of Port Henry)*

At the intersection approaching the Arnold Bay ferry landing site stands the c.1790, gambrel roof, former home of Friend Adams. He ran the ferry, first operated by Peter Ferris in 1799, built a nearby store and warehouse, ran a large farm, and provided lodging to travelers. He died in 1839 but the Adams family remained prominent in the area.

On the day the cortege arrived at the old sail ferry, there was a strong wind and sleet storm blowing over the lake. The small bay was protected, but the lake was open to strong winds from the north and south. According to the Town of Panton historical records, Daniel Adams transported the party across Lake Champlain to Westport, New York. The Reverend Joshua Young of Burlington, who was asked to speak at the burial ceremony, missed the ferry's departure and had to cross the next day.

# Westport, New York



## *Barber's Point* (Barber Road)

Barber's Point was the site of Raymond's Mill, the first permanent settlement in the town of Westport. The Barber family arrived soon after the Revolutionary War and their descendants still live on the point. One of the Barber farmhouses is today recognized as a Century Farm.

It is unclear whether the old sail ferry landed on the exposed lake side of Barber's Point or in the more protected bay on the north side of Barber's Point, called Young's Bay. Depending upon the vagaries of the wind, a sail ferry might land a good distance away from its intended port. Young's Bay was where Alexander Young built the sailing ship, *Emperor*, in 1810 at his shipyard on the north shore of this small bay. Before the lighthouse was



built on the point in 1873, an old log cabin occupied the knoll and was occupied at various times by the ferry operator.

On the day of the funeral cortege, a sleigh was sent from Westport to meet the ferry so that no time was lost in transit. It is said that the driver was a Mr. Millholland who drove through the day to reach Elizabethtown.

### ● *1816 Stone Schoolhouse* (Dudley Road)



As the funeral party passed the old stone school on the Camp Dudley Road, the cortege received much attention from the school children. The school was built in 1816 and served Westport as School No. 8 until 1916. The school had a library of 84 books, many of them texts. Miss Elizabeth Stevenson was the teacher with 24 students typically attending class. The

children present on that fateful day would take the memory of that cortege with them for the rest of their lives.

Today, the schoolhouse survives under the care of the Town of Westport. It is a wonderful spot to view the surrounding countryside and the distant Adirondack Mountains. Here you can appreciate the magnitude of the journey facing the small funeral cortege.

### ● *Person's Hotel* (NYS Route 22)

As the funeral cortege arrived in the center of Westport Village, they rested and took lunch at Person's Hotel (later called Lake View House) on what is now the Library Lawn. The innkeeper, Harry J. Person, knew John Brown from several years of association and they had friendly arguments over Brown's political beliefs.

The citizens of Westport were divided and seriously conflicted over the politics surrounding the abolition of slavery in the southern states. As early as 1844, a visiting abolitionist, Reverend Able Brown was harassed by

thugs throwing eggs and hurling insults after an anti-slavery speech. The opponents did not even spare the women. While leaving the church, Mrs. Brown and the other women were hit by eggs. The local Whig and Locofoco Party members were strong and vocal opponents of abolition.



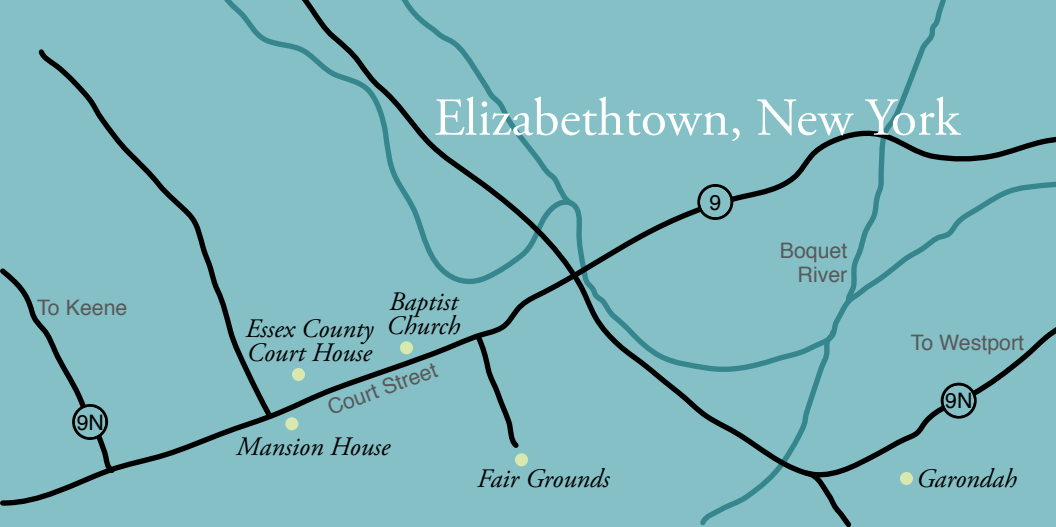
*Lake View House, Westport, before it burned in the fire of 1876*

## *The Northwest Bay Road* (NYS Route 9N)

When sleet turned to rain, the men in Westport changed from sleighs to wagons for the remainder of the trip. Just west of the village, the funeral party entered the old Northwest Bay Road, a turnpike road with miles of ruts and mud, covered at points with planks and stretches of corduroy road.

Just outside of Westport, the Toll Gate house site is now marked with a historical marker. This is a good spot to stop and note how far the funeral party had traveled from Vergennes in a half day.

Although the seven miles to Elizabethtown were on a toll road, there is no record of any public conveyance or hotel charging the Brown cortege for anything during the entire trip. The stretch from Westport to Elizabethtown was certainly not the worst that the funeral cortege would encounter. In fact, most parts were gentle enough to allow a train roadbed to be built over much of the route of the toll road around 1910. The unused rail bed is visible today adjacent to the present state highway.



The landscape and sites from Westport to North Elba were later described in the Quaker periodical, *Friends' Intelligencer*, Vol. 18, 1861-62.

“The land is poor, and little benefited by the careless culture it has received; the houses are old and unpainted, and many fields, which were once enclosed, are now thrown out into commons. We were much struck with the appearance of Juniper in these neglected fields; it grows in circular patches from five to twenty five feet in diameter, and curving gracefully outward from the bottom, presents the appearance of a giant fairy basket.” *Friends' Intelligencer*

Between Westport and Elizabethtown, the funeral cortege passed an old forge site called Brainard's Forge. The stream was narrow but the high banks made it easy to bridge. One can be sure that the farms did not improve in appearance from this spot on into the county seat at Elizabethtown.

“The mountain views, though tame enough to a traveler coming from the mountain region, are full of grandeur to one who enters from the tamer east; chief among these is the ‘Raven’ over 1700 feet high, which towers over all the rest, and is the culminating point in the landscape.”

“We pass through the mountain notch, having Raven on the right hand, and Bald Mountain on our left, and now we are descending into the valley of the Boquet.” *Friends' Intelligencer*



Upon entering Elizabethtown, the old road ran south of its present course. Today, there is a hairpin curve at the bottom of the mountain. In years past, the road ran through the grounds of what became the now demolished, elegant estate, known as Garondah.

“Below the mountain slope the funeral cortege would have passed the old, but then bankrupt, Whallon’s iron works, with its giant, water wheel, fifty feet in diameter, which was erected, some years pre-1859, at great expense, but which, owing to the depression in the iron trade, has never been used, for a single day for any useful purpose; we cross the bridge over the Boquet gladdening our eyes at the sight of its cool dark waters, overarched by thick trees of willow and elm...” *Friends’ Intelligencer*

### *Essex County Fair Grounds*

The old Essex County Fair Grounds were located on the flats east of Elizabethtown along the Boquet River from 1850 until it was moved to Westport in 1865. John Brown is reported to have displayed his choice Devon cattle and his prize sheep here several times. The Essex County Agricultural Society in its 1850 Annual Report noted the introduction of these fine Devon cattle with the following comment. “We have no doubt that this influence upon the character of our stock will be permanent and



decisive.” Brown enjoyed recounting to Essex County farmers how, during a trip to England, he had astounded farmers there by identifying the source of a sample of wool, while blindfolded—just by fingering its texture and checking its smell.

● *The former Baptist Church* (NYS Route 9)

On occasion, John Brown attended services at this church. His last church service in the north country was here, at the Elizabethtown Baptist Church with his friend, Levi DeWitt Brown, in the late fall of 1859 just before he left on his final mission. The pioneer settlers of Pleasant Valley established the church in 1797. The present edifice was erected in 1837. The church was the site of anti-slavery conventions in 1844. The church closed in 1957 and the remaining membership merged with the Congregational Church. The building was sold in 1964 to the town for use as a town hall.



*Baptist Church*

● *The Mansion House Site* (NYS Route 9)

The funeral cortege arrived in Elizabethtown at 6 pm, Tuesday evening, December 6, 1859. They were welcomed to stay at the Mansion House Hotel owned by Essex County Sheriff, Elisha A. Adams. He was the son-in-law of the famed Ruben Sanford of Wilmington whose stand at the Battle of Plattsburgh is one of the treasured memories of the War of 1812. Earlier he had been county clerk, but in 1859 he was the sheriff, which gave him control of the county buildings. It was his honor to open them for the use of such a noteworthy event.



*Stoddard photo of the Mansion House, 1889*

Mrs. Brown, Reverend Wendell Phillips and Mr. McKim stayed in the hotel, while John Brown's body lay in the Court House under the watch of four young men—Richard L. Hand, A.C.H. Livingston, Orlando Kellogg and Henry J. Adams. The local citizens turned out en masse to meet with the pastor, Wendall Phillips, at the hotel. Later the four young men received much local fame and Sheriff E. A. Adams was promoted upward in local government jobs at Dannemora Prison, finally becoming a customs official.

The Mansion House, later owned by General Henry H. Ross of Essex, became the Deer's Head Inn. It is the only extant structure and it is located directly across from the Essex County Courthouse.

### *Essex County Courthouse* (NYS Route 9)

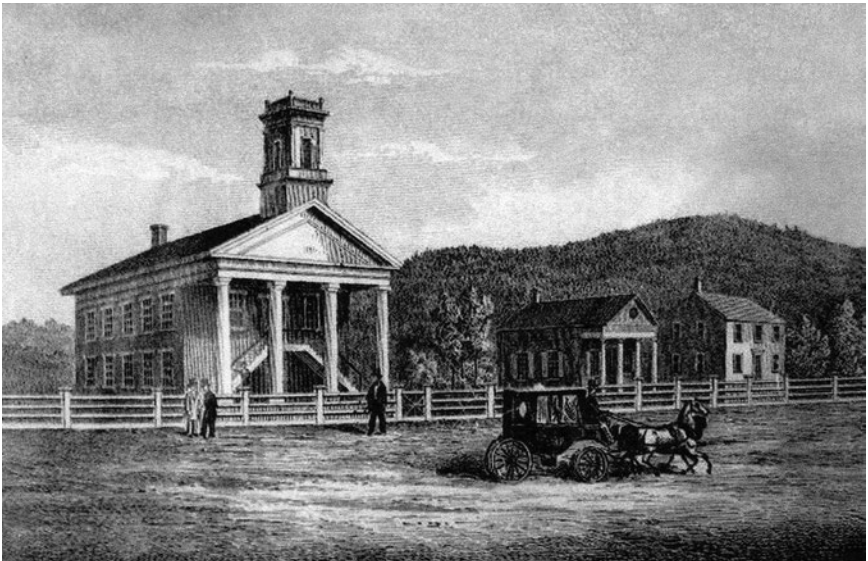
The Essex County Court House is an elegant old building and carries its many later add-ons with extreme grace. The present structure began as a one-story, brick courthouse in 1823, and in 1843, a second story was added and it became the courtroom. In 1880, the second floor was removed, creating an open chamber with interior stairs to the gallery above. The

exterior stairs were removed and new windows replaced the originals. The one-acre park is maintained with a sense of its original open space.

The large, 6 x 9 ft. oil painting by David C. Lithgow inside the courthouse is an artist's interpretation entitled, *John Brown's Trial at Charlestown, Va.* An account of the public unveiling on December 11, 1923 states, "Heretofore it has remained for the state or private philanthropy [sic] little has been done on the way of monumenting and memorializing in a materializing way those things the true American holds sacred."

An early county clerk also framed a quotation from a speech made by John Brown as follows:

"I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done; as I have always freely admitted I have done, in behalf of His despised poor; I did no wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my blood for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say let it be done."



*1858 View of Court House and Clerks Office of Essex County*

Henry J. Adams, son of the Sheriff, left Elizabethtown at 6 a.m. for North Elba to carry the word that the funeral cortege would arrive later that day. He later showed this same zeal by enlisting for service in the Civil War, wherein he was captured and made a P.O.W. at the battle of Fair Oaks at Richmond, Virginia. He was kept at a Confederate prison in Salisbury, North Carolina until 1865 where he was paroled and furloughed. He went to Albany, New York where he was mustered out of the army in June of 1865 as a brevet major of the 118th Infantry, F Company. Colonel John S. Cunningham, who left Essex as a lawyer, commanded the renowned 118th Infantry, F Company, and many of the local boys served in that unit. Cunningham was wounded in the side at a battle at South Anna, Virginia and again in a brave charge on Fort Harrison on September 29, 1862. His exploits are in a book entitled, *Three Years With the Adirondack Regiment*. In the Civil War, the Union Army had almost double the number of troops as serve in the entire US military today.



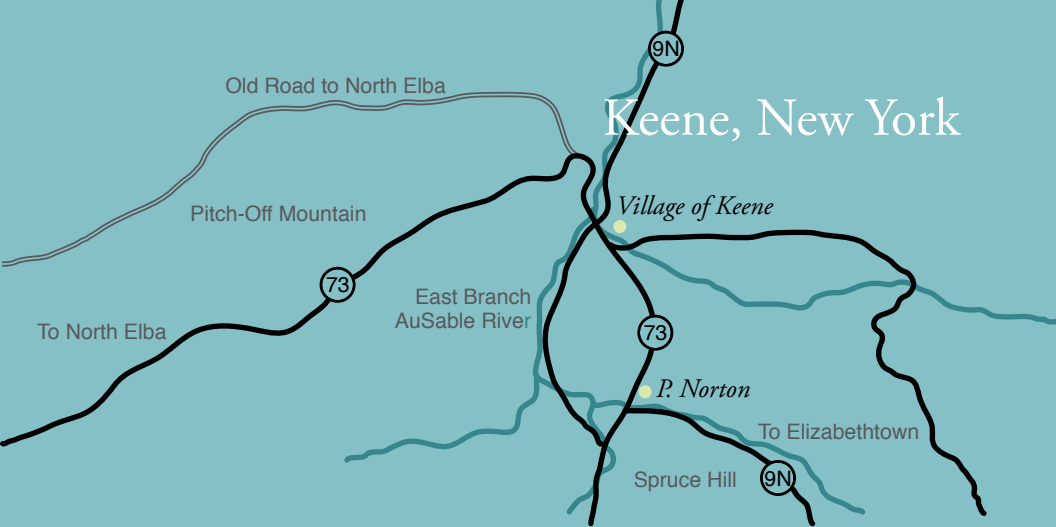
*A.C.H. Livingston*

Another of the young men in the honor guard that night, Augustus Cincinnatus Hand Livingston, known as A.C.H. Livingston, was wounded at the battle of Williamsburg, Virginia and again at Fair Oaks, near Richmond, Virginia. There, he was struck by a musket ball in the left leg, just below the knee.

Another member of the honor guard, Richard L. Hand, became a lawyer and a leader of the bar association in Elizabethtown and Northern NY State.

The longest surviving member of the Honor Guard was Orlando Kellogg, Jr., who died in 1929. He never tired of telling the story of that December night. He certainly had other important events to recount, as he was a US Congressman and an intimate acquaintance of President Abraham Lincoln. He was also the owner of the Elizabethtown Stage Company and several hotels. He is responsible for setting out the wonderful old maple trees around the courthouse and maintaining the appearance of this historic structure.

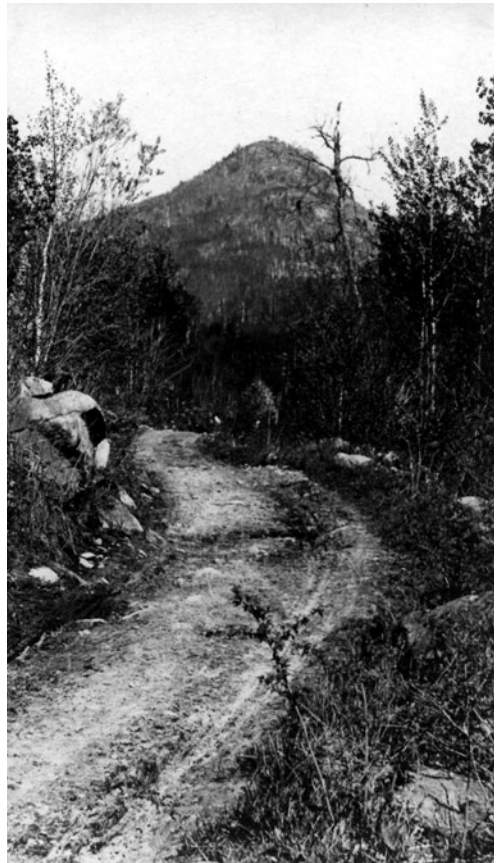




 *Northwest Bay Road over Spruce Hill to Keene*  
(NYS Route 9N)

On leaving Elizabethtown, the cortege would enter the dense Adirondack forest creating a dark canopy overhanging the road in many places. On this day, it must have been especially gloomy for this part of the trip.

The wagon that hauled John Brown's body over Spruce Hill was owned by James Palmer of Whallonsburg. It took two hours for the cortege to clear the eight miles to Keene with its washed out bridges and deep mud. Oxen were used to travel parts of the road and there is a local legend that the casket fell off the wagon at one steep spot. Two years later, this section of road was described as the worst along the route to North Elba.



## *Phineas Norton Home Site* (Old Cemetery Road)

The road down the mountain entering Keene Valley is one of the more spectacular views in the Adirondacks. It seems certain that the old road to Keene was located in a different route in 1859. In maps of the period, it turned north of the present road, passing the cemetery enroute to Keene.

The cortege took a midday meal at the home of Phineas Norton, an old friend of the Brown Family. Norton farmed some of the most productive lands in the valley.

## *Keene* (NYS Route 73)

“Two miles beyond Keene we begin to ascend the mountain in good earnest; ... When we got to the steepest part, mercy to the horses induced us to alight; nor did we reenter the vehicle until we had passed the crest of the mountain. Near the top we came to a lily pond, from whom whose southern border Pitch-Off Mountain raises almost perpendicularly several hundred feet in height; the scenery is here truly majestic, the gorge is narrow, that the really towering mountains on either side seem more overshadowing than they really are.” Wendall Phillips

In 1861, it took the Quaker Friends from 7 am to 4 pm to travel the 22 miles from Elizabethtown to North Elba. Their observations are quoted below:

“...we come to the village of Keene, which is a sad looking place enough; the Methodist meeting-house, the only one in the village, though ornamented with gothic pointed windows, yet had many of its panes broken and several of the clap-boards were hanging by a single nail; it is wholly innocent of paint, and we suspect, from the appearance of the inhabitants, it will remain so. The hotel of the village looks like a habitation for owls and the bats. While the horses were being fed, we asked for a bowl of milk, but the bowl was greasy all over, and smeared with tobacco juice on one side, so we were glad enough to pay for the privilege of leaving it untouched.” *Friends' Intelligencer*

The hotel in Keene was filled to overflowing with mourners enroute to the funeral at the Brown family farm.

# North Elba, New York



## *Flanders House* (NYS Route 73)

The first house occupied by John Brown and his family was called the Cone Flanders house and was located on Route 73, nearly opposite the road junction to Adirondack Loj. A later administrator of the John Brown Historic Site noted that when John Brown rented the farm, between 1849 and 1851, it was owned by Chapin Flanders, father of Cone. Later it was known as the Cyrus Taylor place. It burned well before 1936.

## *The John Brown Farm State Historic Site*

(From NYS Route 73 bear left onto the Old Military Road, and turn immediately left onto the John Brown Road, following it to the end)



It was John Brown's wish to be buried on his North Elba Farm.

The funeral cortege reached North Elba at sunset on December 7, 1859.

“Our path lay along the track that we had traveled upon on the first evening of our arrival...Descending from a steep bank from this point, two hundred feet to the bed of the AuSable, we cross on some narrow boards from boulder to boulder, and climbing an equal altitude on the opposite side, we find ourselves on the outer boundary of John Brown’s clearing.”

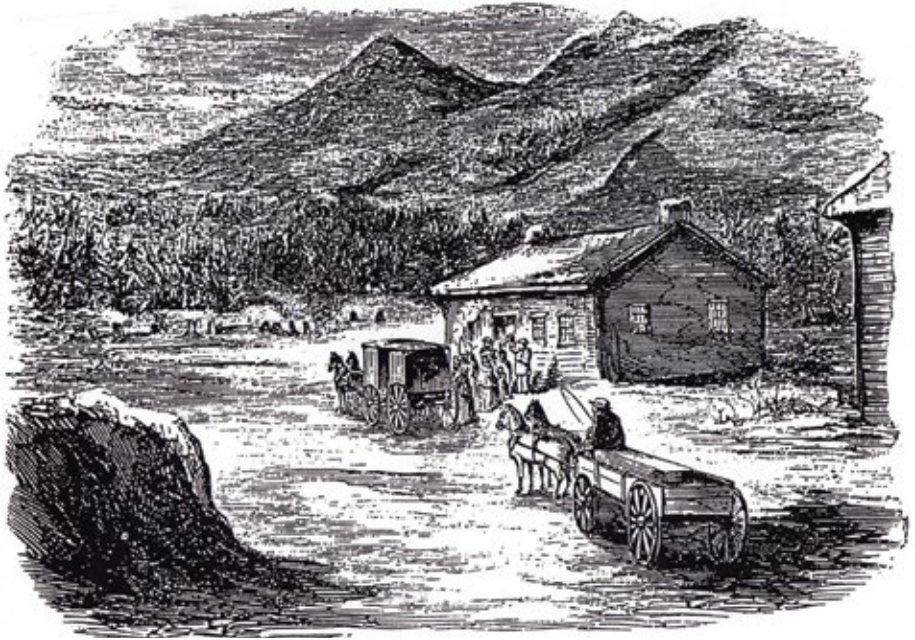
“It consists of a circular patch of about 60 acres, cleared in the midst of a primeval forest, covered over with blackened stumps, and devoted to grass, buckwheat, oats, and potatoes. About one hundred yards west of the point where we entered, was a large labradorite, which was, perhaps, ten feet in diameter, and six or seven feet above the ground. At the western edge of this boulder was John Brown’s grave, placed there by his own direction. The death of his two sons inscribed on it by his own hand. Oliver’s death at Harper’s Ferry, and his own execution, are also inscribed on it.”

“After examining the grave, we went into his cabin, which has recently received the addition of another room, and the logs of the original building have been covered by clap-boards through the liberality of his Boston friends.”

“We were received by the widow very courteously, who exhibited to us many interesting souvenirs of the departed. She is a woman of a massive frame, and appeared energetic and decided. Her son Salmon, and her daughters, Mary and Ellen, are now resided at North Elba.”

“The latter showed us a bible, which her father presented to her, and permitted us to copy the inscription on the fly leaf: ‘This Bible, presented to my dearly beloved daughter Ellen Brown, is not intended for common use, but to be carefully preserved for her, and by her, in remembrance of her father, (of whose care and attention she was deprived in her infancy), he being absent in the territory of Kansas, from the summer of 1855...’

*Friends’ Intelligencer*



Arrival of Brown's body at North Elba. Sketch by Thomas Nash for the *New York Illustrated News*, Dec. 24, 1859.

A group headed by the journalist Kate Field purchased the property from a local farmer in 1870. Their purpose was to preserve the site as a memorial to John Brown. In 1895 the farm was given to New York State as an historic site and is now a National Historic Landmark site.

The John Brown Memorial Association began making pilgrimages to the farm in 1922, commissioning the memorial statue, the work of the New York City sculptor, Joseph Pollia and the Roman Bronze Works, Inc. of Corona, New York. Erected by the Carnes Granite Company of AuSable Forks, New York, it was unveiled on May 9, 1935. The farmhouse was restored by New York State in the 1950's to resemble its appearance during the Brown Family's occupancy. The boundaries of the John Brown Farm State Historic Site enclose the original 244 acres purchased by the Browns in 1849.





A cultural heritage tour developed by the Essex County Historical Society and Adirondack Architectural Heritage.

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Other project partners: Vergennes History Club, Rokeby Museum, John Brown Lives!, Hand House, Essex County, and the John Brown State Historic Site. Special thanks to Nina Bacon, Brendan Mills, Bob Mitchell, Ron Nimblett, Martha Swan, Sandra Weber, and J.W. Wiley.



Photos: Essex County Historical Society, Morris Glenn, Irwin Barber and Ron Nimblett.



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