

William Marsh, ‘a rather shadowy figure,’ crossed boundaries both national and political

Vermont holds a unique but little-known place in eighteenth-century American and Canadian history. During the 1770s William Marsh and many others who had migrated from Connecticut and Massachusetts to take up lands granted by New Hampshire Governor Benning Wentworth, faced severe challenges to their land titles because New York also claimed the area between the Connecticut and Hudson rivers, known as “the New Hampshire Grants.” New York’s aggressive pursuit of its claims generated strong political tensions and animosity. When the American Revolution began, the settlers on the Grants joined the patriot cause, expecting that a new national regime would counter New York and recognize their titles.

During the war the American Continental Congress declined to deal with the New Hampshire settlers’ claims. When the Grants settlers then proposed to become a state separate from New York, the Congress denied them separate status. As a consequence, the New Hampshire grantees declared independence in 1777 and in 1778 constituted themselves as an independent republic named Vermont, which existed until 1791 when it became the 14th state in the American Union.

Most of the creators of Vermont played out their roles, and their lives ended in obscurity. Americans remember Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys and their military actions early in the Revolution. But Allen was a British captive during the critical years of Vermont’s formation, 1775-1778. A few others, some of them later Loyalists, laid the foundations for Vermont’s recognition and stability. One of those was William Marsh (1738-1816).

Marsh crossed boundaries both national and political. His first loyalty was to the communities on the New Hampshire Grants. As a militia colonel in Manchester, Vermont, he supported the Green Mountain Boys as they repulsed the New York sheriffs and agents who were trying to dispossess the New Hampshire settlers and enforce New York claims and control. When the Revolution broke out, many Vermonters quickly supported it; “the boys” seized Fort Ticonderoga in May 1775 and joined the American attack on Quebec, expecting that their actions would lead to Continental Congress support. On the political front, Marsh and a few other Vermont leaders mobilized energetically the towns on the Grants to unite and declare themselves a state in the new union. But the Continental Congress rejected them, and as General John Burgoyne advanced along Lake Champlain and the upper Hudson, Marsh found Vermont’s prospects with

the Americans dismal. Seeing the British as Vermont's best hope, he changed sides in July of 1777.

In 1780, the strains with the Continental Congress reached a peak, and the British proposed to the Vermonters that they become a separate colony in British Canada, with land rights guaranteed. Cornwallis's defeat at Yorktown in the fall of 1781 canceled that option. Meantime, Marsh and a good many other Vermonters had given up on American recognition of their titles and cast their lot with the British.

Marsh was captured with Burgoyne at Saratoga in October 1777 and forced into exile. He then worked as an intelligence agent for the British, played a key role in aiding communications and negotiations with Vermont's leaders in the final years of the war, and later helped with prisoner exchanges and resettlement of Loyalist refugees from Vermont and eastern New York. While he never held a British military rank, the British rewarded his valued services with substantial land grants to him and his children in the Bay of Quinte area on Lake Ontario. After a few years, however, he returned to Dorset, Vermont, the home community to which he remained closely attached.

Jennifer S.H. Brown and Wilson B. Brown

William Marsh was described as “a rather shadowy figure” by Gavin Watt, writing about the British army in Canada during the American Revolution.¹ The phrase is apt. Marsh is scarcely mentioned in Vermont or other regional writings about the American Revolution.² Ian Pemberton's biography of Justus Sherwood and Willard S. Randall's recent biography of Ethan Allen mention Marsh only briefly as a Green Mountain Boy who became a loyalist.³ Kevin Graffagnino, in his research on Ira and Ethan Allen's papers, found no mention there of Marsh's role as an agent and communications link with Vermont, yet ample evidence survives of his being in periodic contact with Ethan Allen and other Vermonters whom he had known for years, in regard to bringing Vermont over to the British side.

Marsh's work in both Vermont and Canada advanced political and diplomatic negotiations and the search for solutions on behalf of Vermont and in support of the loyalists in the 1780s; he never made history on public platforms or as hero or villain in military or paramilitary actions before or during the war. His transborder story also does not fit easily into nation-based historical narratives. On a practical side, the Frederick Haldimand correspondence, which has proved essential for uncovering his story, was so difficult to access before its microfilming in the 1960s that much of its content lay undiscovered.

Marsh and those with whom he dealt in the 1780s necessarily hid many of their activities. Their attempts to get Vermont to defect to the British came so close to success that the British did not want to advertise the proposition, while the Americans involved could not risk exposing their patriotism to suspicion. Marsh himself, perhaps like his grandfather Marsh with his Royalist ties, was unlikely to reveal much to Vermont neighbors who would not have appreciated his work with the British in Canada. Nor would his Canadian associates have approved of his earlier role in abetting the American Revolution. Now it is possible to cast some light into the shadows, even if much remains subject to conjecture.

With the British: What Marsh Said He Did

Marsh's service with the British is reasonably well documented from August of 1780 onward, but his activities during his first years of exile from late 1777 to 1780 are unknown. Classed as an officer at the Saratoga surrender, he was forbidden by the terms of his parole to join a military force engaged in hostilities against the United States. In compliance with the convention signed at Saratoga, General Haldimand specified in January of 1778 that his regiments should include no one who had surrendered under its terms.⁴ Marsh could not serve in combat (which did not appear much to his taste in any case), but significantly, the British eventually compensated him for his services at the levels of first a lieutenant (1780-82), and later a captain despite his non-regimental status.

In 1786, when Marsh applied for compensation for his losses in Vermont and to reward his service to the Crown, he listed the following activities to support his case.⁵

1. Was taken prisoner with Burgoyne at Battle of Saratoga. "Had under the Convention leave to go to Canada and accordingly he went."
2. Has resided in Canada chiefly since.⁶
3. Was frequently employed by Gen. Haldimand.
4. Was placed on the Subsistence List, for which he recd. Lieutenants pay [and later captain's pay. Marsh did not, however, explain why he received it.]
5. Assisted Sir John Johnson, Superintendent of the Loyalists, in distributing pay to the Loyalists.

Although he could not reveal his specific activities, senior officers who were privy to his work and that of other agents such as Justus Sherwood and George Smyth could well have told the commissioners that he and his colleagues had performed valuable service.

Frederick Haldimand and Secret Service in Canada

During the years of Marsh's service with the British, Sir Frederick Haldimand (1718-1791), a Swiss-born general whose military and diplomatic skills had earned him a high rank despite his foreign origins, had command of the British forces in the north. Haldimand's first language was French. He had learned German while serving in Germany, and was comfortable in English. He was a good fit for someone headquartered in Quebec with English and German-speaking officers under his command. Haldimand arrived at Quebec in the spring of 1778, a few months after Saratoga, to take up his royal appointment as governor of "our Province of Quebec in America" and commander-in-chief of the northern forces including the loyalist units.⁷

Under Haldimand's direction, John Johnson, the English-educated son of Sir William Johnson (d. 1774), British superintendent of Indian affairs for the region, had command of several loyalist military units. Sir William had held a large estate in northern New York and was closely tied to the Mohawks in the region. After his death, his son took over his position, and also commanded the King's Royal Regiment of New York. After the battles of Bennington and Saratoga, what was left of two other loyalist regiments also came under Johnson's command. These were John Peters's Queen's Loyal Rangers and Ebenezer and Edward Jessup's King's Loyal Americans.⁸ Johnson, like Haldimand, was an important figure in William Marsh's life in the 1780s.

Haldimand's principal concern was to defend Quebec against the threat of American and French invasion along the coast and by means of the St. Lawrence River. His secondary duties were to weaken the American forces and divert their activities away from the New York City area, Pennsylvania, and the American South. Tactics included launching aggressive raids to destroy crops and livestock that would otherwise supply rebel forces. The raids, directed mainly into northern New York, forced the Americans along the border to use their precious resources to prevent attacks, or more often to pursue the invaders, draining their treasuries, and demoralizing their soldiers and residents. Throughout the summer of 1781 in particular, Haldimand sent raiding parties into the Mohawk Valley and even the Susquehanna Valley, burning, looting, kidnapping, killing, and taking prisoners. The New York militia could not respond effectively. Their base at Fort Stanwix, which St. Leger had failed to capture in 1777 (keeping him from joining Burgoyne at Saratoga), was isolated, became short on supplies, and fell into poor condition. When it suffered a severe fire in May 1781 the Americans abandoned it, leaving no troops stationed on the upper Mohawk.⁹ Even the

towns close to the Hudson River, such as Poughkeepsie and Schenectady, felt threatened.

Unknown to the Americans, Haldimand never had the troops, supplies, or instructions to launch a major attack.¹⁰ When his raiding parties attacked, American troops would pursue them. The raiders would strategically withdraw, and the Americans would claim victory or British cowardice, for which Haldimand was sometimes criticized. But he had to protect Quebec from attack and could not tie up a large force in New York or northern New England. Britain had already lost one army at Saratoga, and Haldimand was not prepared to risk the loss of another.

The Secret Service under Haldimand provided military intelligence about defenses and possible attacks, but it also tried to gauge the attitudes of the Americans – their willingness to take up arms and their views of their leaders. The British were also interested in knowing which American leaders might support compromise, or might even defect. Marsh, with his knowledge of Vermont politics, was well placed to assess conditions through interviews of refugees, clandestine or officially sanctioned meetings with Vermonters, and careful observation.

Marsh served under his fellow Vermont loyalist, Justus Sherwood. At first, Sherwood's superior was Major John Peters, commander of the Queen's Loyal Rangers, and later Edward Jessup whose units absorbed the Rangers, but in practice Sherwood generally reported directly to headquarters, writing either to Major Robert Mathews, General Haldimand's trusted secretary,¹¹ or to Haldimand himself. Mathews had a major role in drafting the general's correspondence. Letters from Haldimand were usually in Mathews's hand. Haldimand signed some of them while Mathews signed others on the general's behalf.

Sherwood's experience as a scout and his intelligence skills led to his being placed in charge of the Secret Service scouts and agents. "Scouts" served not only to watch military movements, but also to "scout" political activities and analyze them – in short, they gathered intelligence.¹² In the first years of the revolution the Secret Service was principally interested in military intelligence, but as the war dragged on, political information became increasingly important.

Robert Mathews described Sherwood's role in a letter of January 1, 1781, informing a colleague that Haldimand had sent Sherwood to reside at St. John's (now St-Jean sur Richelieu, a few miles north of Lake Champlain) to look after the affairs of the loyalists who had fled there, and "to provide from the several Corps of Loyalists intelligent and fit men for Scouts." Sherwood, he added, was "Well acquainted with [the] abilities & Sentiments of those People."¹³ He did not say when Sherwood was appointed to

this position. But Ian Pemberton, Sherwood's biographer, placed him at St. John's as early as 1777. By the summer of 1778, Sherwood "was involved in collecting and evaluating intelligence reports at St. Johns . . . [and] concerned with finding reliable couriers who could go safely back and forth to Albany and the Connecticut Valley, and with establishing contacts behind the rebel lines with bona fide 'friends of government'."¹⁴ William Marsh had begun his service with Sherwood by 1780 and quite likely earlier. In June of 1781, Sherwood got a second officer to assist him: Doctor George Smyth, of whom more later.

At first, British efforts to probe New York and Vermont were based at St. John's and at Isle aux Noix near the outlet of the lake. Since ships coming up the Richelieu River were stopped by the shallows near St. John's and had to unload their cargoes there for transport farther upriver, it was a natural defensive site. From the summer of 1781 on, Sherwood's base was mainly at Dutchman's Point on Long Isle (now North Hero Island) on Lake Champlain between today's St. Albans, Vermont, and Plattsburgh, New York. There, the British built a fort that they named "the Loyal Blockhouse."¹⁵ Throughout the war, the British controlled most of Lake Champlain, being perfectly secure as far down as Crown Point. They had largely abandoned Fort Ticonderoga in favor of smaller, more modern forts and maintained the area around the Loyal Blockhouse as safe territory.¹⁶

Marsh, Vermont, and the Haldimand Affair

Tracking Marsh's early activities is difficult. On February 15, 1782, Marsh wrote to Haldimand that he had been at St. John's for nineteen months, which puts his arrival there in July of 1780.¹⁷ But some of his duties started earlier. Late in 1779 or early in 1780, he and two others, on behalf of Haldimand, carried a letter from Brigadier Henry Watson Powell to the governor of New York at Albany concerning an exchange of prisoners. Colonel Goose Van Schaick, officer at Albany and an ardent supporter of the revolution,¹⁸ accepted the letter and passed it on, but he took a dim view of Marsh and his two companions, William Moffat and a man named Tuttle, and considered detaining them. Writing to Powell, Van Schaick complained of his visitors:

Mr. Tuttle, Mr. Moffet, and Mr. Marsh who I am informed were intrusted with your dispatches are persons in such a predicament as do not intitle them to the benefit of that Law of Nations which they might otherwise claim as the bearers of your letter and nothing but the dictates of humanity can justify me with my superiors for not de-

taining them. You will therefore please on any such future occasions not to Employ persons of their complexion.¹⁹

During 1779-1780 it appears likely that Marsh was quietly based at St. John's, assisting Justus Sherwood and sharing his knowledge and observations. Lacking both fame and notoriety, he may have made himself useful as Haldimand and his officers and their colleague, General Henry Clinton in New York City, explored means of opening negotiations with Ethan Allen and the new Vermont government through secret and sometimes failed communications. The intricacies of the Haldimand affair, or conspiracy as some called it, lie beyond William Marsh's story and may be followed in such works as Jellison's and Randall's biographies of Ethan Allen. One set of incidents, however, serves to give the flavor of the whole.

As Jellison recounts, one day in late July 1780, while Ethan Allen was walking in Arlington, Vermont, "he was approached by a British courier, dressed in the clothing of a frontier farmer" who handed him a letter from Beverley Robinson, a New York landowner previously involved in land disputes on the Oblong and elsewhere. Robinson had become a loyalist and was instrumental in Benedict Arnold's "conversion" to the British cause. The letter's delivery was belated. On March 30, Robinson had written to Allen that he had "often been informed" that Allen and most other Vermonters were "opposed to ye wild & chimerical Skeme of ye Americans" to separate from Great Britain, and that Allen "would willingly assist in uniting America again to Great Britain." If Vermont joined the British "in favor of the crown of England," Robinson held out the promise that "you may obtain a separate Government under the King & Constitution of England."²⁰

Ethan Allen showed this and another Robinson letter and one from General Clinton in New York to trusted associates – his brother Ira, Vermont Governor Thomas Chittenden, and a few others. Over the next year, they entered into a series of secret negotiations. Biographer Charles Jellison argued that in this undertaking, which could indeed be called treasonous, Allen was moved "mainly by a genuine concern for the future of Vermont." While he surely had other motives as well, not all so exalted, "the welfare of the Republic appeared uppermost in his mind. Pressured from all sides and harassed by enemies within, Vermont seemed headed for disaster, and a détente with the British appeared to offer a chance to ward off the worst of it – possibly the only chance."²¹

General Haldimand was skeptical about Allen, and wrote to General Henry Clinton on August 13, 1780, that he thought no dependence could be placed on Allen's word, yet he remained open to possibilities.²² By the end of the summer, new approaches were being made. Governor Chitten-

den proposed to Haldimand a truce to facilitate the exchange of prisoners; the proposal, actually written by Allen, would open the way for discussion of other matters of substance.²³ Coincidentally, Haldimand received that letter at almost the same time as he received a letter from William Marsh written from St. John's on October 10 or 11, 1780—the first Marsh letter that is preserved in the Haldimand papers. On his own, Marsh offered an outline of Vermont's recent history and suggested that he could help in pursuing contacts.

Marsh at the time was acting in Sherwood's stead in his superior's absence. His letter reveals considerable familiarity with secret service activity, an indication that he had been there for some time. He clearly knew about the British-Vermont negotiation efforts — and their difficulties. Marsh proposed “a Way to open a Correspondence” with key Vermont leaders, “as they are of my acquaintance.”²⁴ (He may already have gone to Vermont as well as Albany, as noted earlier — and in fact, the next month he conveyed a letter to Ethan Allen.²⁵ Records show that he was in the American-controlled areas of Vermont, and sometimes New York, in every year from 1780 to 1784.)

Marsh's letter enclosed some “Intelligence” he had just received, reviewed the conflicts that had led to the creation of Vermont, and made some proposals for fostering contacts and possibly winning the allegiance of its people (his spelling is retained here):

May it Plese your Excellency yesterdai arived Hear a Number of Familys – 73 Pearsons, Mostly Women and Children Whose Husbands are Chiefly in his Majesties Searvis amoungst Whome is the Revernd Mr. John Bryan a Clergyman and Mr. Sammuel Wright By Whome I have the Inclosed Inteligence.

Your Exellency Will Be Plesed to observe that this Inhabitant [i.e. political entity] Called the State of Vermont alis: [alias] the New Hampshire Grants has had a Long and Spirited Contest With the Province of New York Relative to the Title of Lands as Well as Jurisdiction Which has ocationed a Great Animosity Between the Two Inhabitants. I Shall not Enter into a Long Detail of the Cause of Thire Dispute your Excellency Having a Previous Knowledge of The Same. Thire Case in Short is this. When the Congress Declared the Colonys Independent This Inhabitant Declared Themselves an In-dependant State also Chose Themselves a Governor and Counsell &c and Set up Government. Whereupon the Members of Congriss for the Province of New York Represented in Congress That this Inhabitent Ware Disobedent Fractious Rioutous and Rebellious To the United States of America: and Did obtain an order in Congress:

Directing Them to Dessist in the administration of thire Govern-
ment Which Gave Grate Umbrage to these Inhabitance of this New
State upon Which they Petitioned Congress for a Rehearing Which
the Congress has Put of[f] from time to Time all Which has Greatly
Disaffected these Inhabitance Towards Congress. I have Great reason
to Believe That This Pople may be Brought to Thire Allegince in
Case your Excellency Should be Plesed to Promis them a Seperate
Colony & Promote Some of Thire Leaders: Should your Excellency
Think this Worthy of your Notis I Can Propose a Way to open a
Correspondence With thire General Allen and thire Governor Chit-
tenden With Safty as they are of my acquaintance.

I Inclose the Naritive of the Reverrend Mr. John Bryan in Whome
I Place the Greatest Confidence also Mr. Samuel Wright Declares the
Same to Be the Truth.

I was Directed by Captn Sherwood in Case that any Information
of this Nature Should Come to my Knowledge in his absence to
Transmit the Same To your Excellency at the same Time Enjoynd
Secrecy. I Shall Wait your Excellencys farther Direction and am With
all Due Respect your Excellencys Most Obedient and Humble Ser-
vant.

William Marsh²⁶

I enclosed The Narrative of The Returners
Mr. John Bryan in Whome I Place the
Greatest Confidence also Mr. Samuel Wright
Declares the Same To Be the Truth —
I Was Directed by Captn. Sherwood in Case
that any Information of This Nature Should
Come to my Knowledge in his absence To Trans-
mit the Same To your Excellency at the same
Time Enjoynd Secrecy: I Shall Wait your
Excellencys farther Direction and am With
all Due respect your Excellency, Most obedient
and Humble Servant.

William Marsh

This letter from William Marsh to General Halidman obsequiously offers a bit of gossip.

Haldimand replied from Quebec almost right away, on October 16, 1780:

I have received your Letter of the 11th Inst. enclosing Intelligence brought by the Reverend Mr Bryan, the Subject of these being of Moment as well to the Interests of Government, in the present Contest, as to the happiness of so great a Branch of the deluded Community, it demands reflection, and requires that whatever Steps are undertaken to effect the desired purpose should be done with Caution, the greatest Secrecy and a good Prospect of Success. I shall therefore consider the matter until the Return of Captain Sherwood . . . communicate to him my determination, in the mean Time as Mr. Sherwood has in his Absence committed to your Management whatever might occur in the affair, You will of course procure for him every Information relative to it you can possibly collect and make such necessary Preparations towards Negotiating, as your knowledge of the People & other Circumstances may suggest to You, in order that no Time may be lost after Captain Sherwood's Arrival whose injunctions to Secrecy you will punctually observe.²⁷

Haldimand's instructions to Marsh assigned him an important role. In order to make the "Preparation towards Negotiating," Marsh was to compile information that would serve Sherwood in meeting with the Allens, collaborating with him to help devise concrete proposals that would be attractive to the Vermonters. Sherwood could not have been far away because Haldimand immediately appointed him to handle the delicate task of opening negotiations with the Vermont government. Haldimand thought highly of Sherwood and his negotiating skills, and remained supportive even when circumstances later made it impossible to carry out the plan. Sherwood, doubtless with Marsh's help, quickly arranged to meet with the Vermonters at the end of October in Castleton, a town in Vermont-controlled territory well inland from the south end of Lake Champlain, where Ethan Allen and his council had their headquarters. There, Sherwood met with Ethan and Ira Allen, Joseph Fay, and others.²⁸ William Marsh was not present. But soon thereafter, following upon Sherwood's trip, he himself traveled south as an emissary.

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1. Gavin Watt, *A dirty, trifling, piece of business*, vol. 1, *The Revolutionary War as Waged from Canada in 1781* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2009), 111.
 2. Matt Bushnell Jones, while he emphasized Marsh's importance in the founding of Vermont, did not follow his trail once he went into exile (Jones's study did not go beyond the founding of Vermont).
 3. Pemberton, "Justus Sherwood," 22-23; Randall, *Ethan Allen*, 353.
 4. Wilbur H. Siebert, "The American Loyalists in the Eastern Seigniories and Townships of the Prov-

- ince of Quebec” (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, third series, 1913, vol. 7), 12.
5. See appendix 1.
 6. Marsh made visits to Dorset, Vermont in 1782-84 with Haldimand’s permission and resided there after his work with the British ended. He was there in 1786 when he traveled to Halifax, Nova Scotia, to apply for loyalist compensation.
 7. Stuart R.J. Sutherland, Pierre Tousignant, and Madeleine Dionne-Tousignant. “Haldimand, Sir Frederick.” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5 (1983), 400-401.
 8. P. Arthur Bowler, “Jessup, Edward.” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5 (1983), 454-55.
 9. Watt, *A dirty trifling*, 126, tells of the fire, and the same chapter recounts the morale and supply problems facing the New York forces.
 10. Watt in *A dirty trifling*, 29-37 and 410n describes Haldimand’s situation.
 11. Mathews served as military secretary to Haldimand during most of his governorship. Stuart R.J. Sutherland described his duties: “He was to receive all incoming correspondence dealing with military matters inside the province, advise the governor on concerns that required his response, prepare letters for his signature...and deal with business that did not require Haldimand’s attention. Haldimand soon gave Mathews increasing responsibility, evidence of the rapport that developed between the two men. . . . An uncomplaining and intensely loyal subordinate, Mathews was among the few close friends of the normally reserved governor.” Mathews left Canada with Haldimand in 1785, then returned to serve Sir Guy Carleton as aide-de-camp. He continued his military career in Britain and died in 1814. Sutherland, “Mathews, Robert” (*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 5, 1983), 585-86.
 12. Thanks to Gavin Watt for help in explaining this term as used at the time.
 13. Haldimand Papers, Batch 163, SN 163056, 70, Robert Mathews to Major John Nairne, 1 January 1781. (See preface re citation format for the Haldimand Papers. For an index to the papers see <http://haldimand-collection.ca/> -- a site still under development by Mario Lemoine.)
 14. Pemberton, *Justus Sherwood*, 62-63. Sherwood was away in the early winter of 1780 and returned in late December, as indicated in the Mathews letters noted above.
 15. Watt, *A dirty trifling*, map, 63; 225, 433n21. In 2005 we looked for the Loyal Blockhouse on North Hero Island and found a “Blockhouse Road” and “Blockhouse Point,” but no blockhouse or marker appeared at the end of the road, just a pleasant view of the lake. The island lies about thirty-five miles south of St. John’s. See “America’s Historic Lakes: The Lake Champlain and Lake George Historical Site” for its location: <http://www.historiclakes.org/explore/Exploring.html>, accessed 30 March 2012.
 16. Pemberton, *Justus Sherwood*, 76.
 17. Haldimand Papers, Batch 161, SN 161190, 400, Marsh to Haldimand, 15 February 1782.
 18. The nickname of “Goose” derived from the Anglicization of his name, Goosen. The double o in Dutch is properly pronounced as in “oh”, but “Goose” stuck in the records of the time. Van Schaick (1736-1789) had considerable military experience in the French and Indian War. Stefan Bielinski, *New York Biographies*, <http://www.nysm.nysed.gov/albany/bios/vs/gvs.html>, accessed 28 February 2012.
 19. Haldimand Papers, Batch 175, SN 175003, 4, 23 February 1780, Van Schaick to Powell. Loyalist lists show only one Moffat (William), but Tuttles are too numerous to identify. On Powell, see Watt, *A dirty trifling*, 422.
 20. Watt, *A dirty trifling*, 38-39.
 21. Jellison, *Ethan Allen*, 245-51; his quoted text is on 251.
 22. Haldimand feared the arming of troops from an untrustworthy “ally” who might then use them for his own purposes. Haldimand Papers, Batch 147, SN 147083, 221. See also Thompson, *Independent Vermont*, 420-21.
 23. Jellison, *Ethan Allen*, 254.
 24. Marsh to Haldimand, 10 or 11 October 1780 (the letter date is indexed as the 10th but the writing is unclear and its cover gives the date as the 11th). Haldimand Papers, Letters from Officers of the Loyalists, 1776-1782, Batch 161, SN 161073, 150.
 25. Haldimand Papers, Batch 133, SN 133172, 288, 15 November 1780: “Marsh has been sent off with a letter to Brig. Allen.”

26. Haldimand Papers, Letters from Officers of the Loyalists, 1776-1782, Batch 161, SN 161073, 150. (John Bryan was the husband of Glorianna French, a sister of Marsh's wife, so Marsh did indeed know him.)
27. Haldimand Papers, Batch 163, SN 163036, 48.
28. Watt, *A dirty, trifling*, 49-50.

Bibliographic note

Because this article on William Marsh is a chapter from a forthcoming book, several footnotes refer to sources that are only explained in the book itself. Here are books not otherwise fully cited in the footnotes:

Matt Bushnell Jones, *Vermont in the Making 1750-1777*. (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1939.)

Ian C. Pemberton, *Justus Sherwood, Vermont Loyalist, 1747-1798*. (Ph.D thesis, London, Ontario, Canada, University of Western Ontario, 1972.)

Willard Sterne Randall, *Ethan Allen: His Life and Times*. (New York and London, W.W. Norton & Company, 2011.)

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