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CONTENTS

EARLY ROADS NORTH

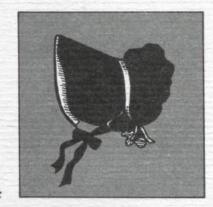
by Koert Burnham



1

THE QUAKER UNION

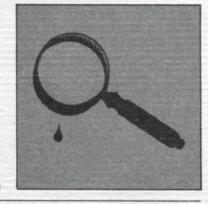
by Virginia Burdick and Neal Burdick



4

THE TABOR-CHAPLEAU MURDER

by Altina Waller



12

WHERE HAVE ALL THE SOLDIERS GONE?

by Richard Gregoire



Cover Photograph: Mrs. Elizabeth Earle Hoag, 1843. Portrait by Aaron Dean Fletcher. Collection of George Arnold, Keeseville, New York.

P.O. Box 332 Plattsburgh, New York 12901

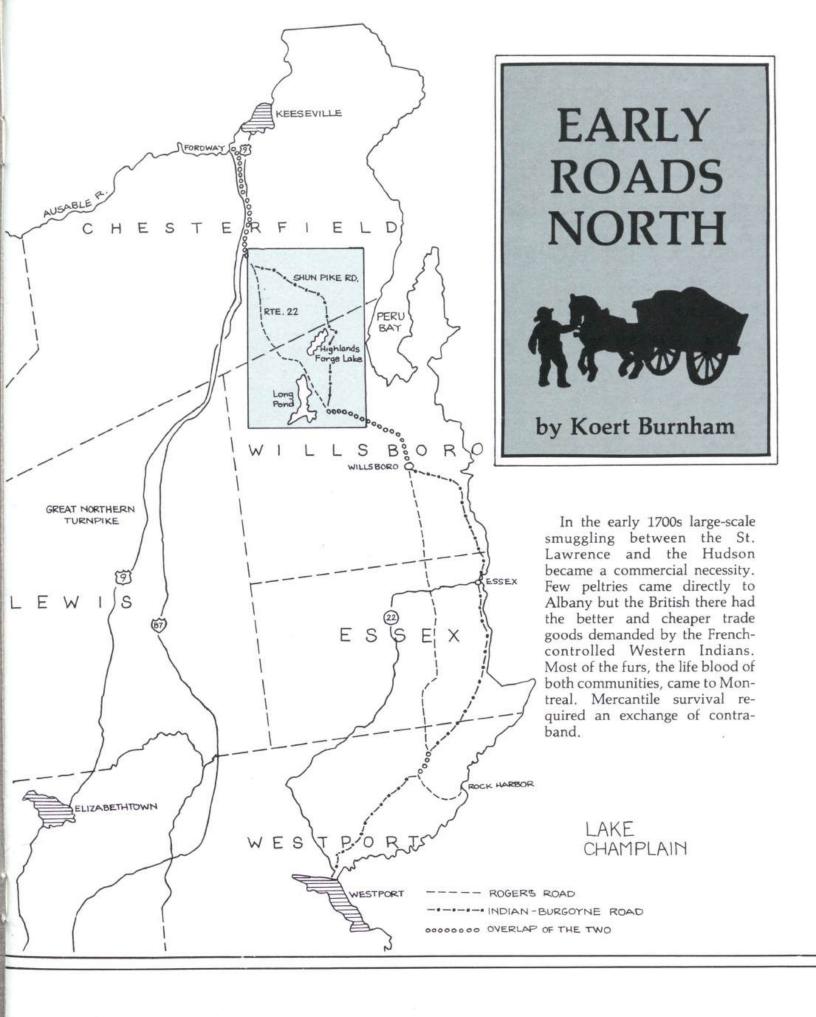
CLINTON COUNTY HISTORICAL MUSEUM Helen Allan, Director/Curator

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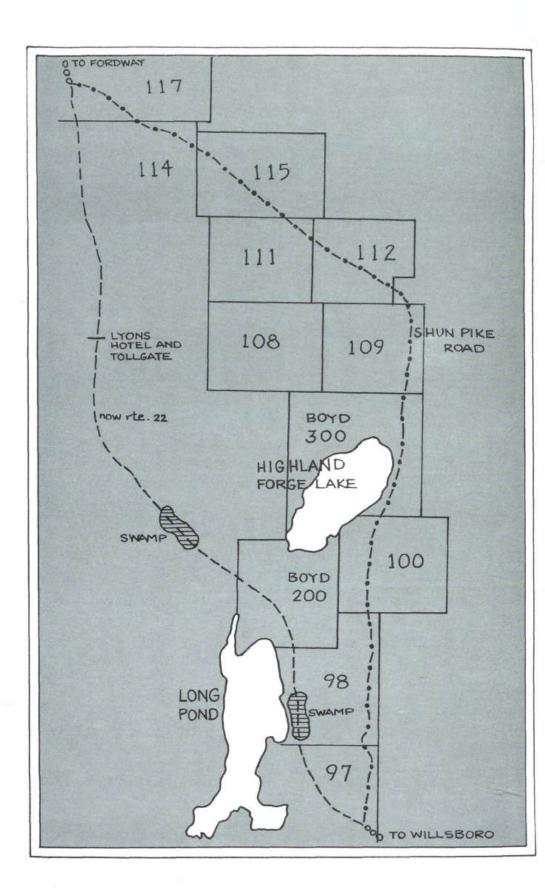
19



The predominantly Mohawk settlement Caughnawaga was ideally situated to become a bootleg import-export center. Before reaching customs Montreal merchants sent all the packs of furs they dared to that depot. In groups as large as 200 people, the Caughnawagas conveyed the peltries to Albany. During the months when canoes could not travel the waterways, back-packing was used. Several mountain chains plunge precipitously into Lake Champlain, so the centuriesold trails had to be well inland on firm ground. It is a matter of record that these were worn knee-deep by smugglers' moccasins. The authorities at both ends knew of the illicit trade but had to permit it to exist, despite British-French enmity and rivalry. Occasional crackdowns held the traffic to a tolerable volume.

For many years the Indian trail was the natural route of north-south travel. In 1756 General Montcalm's engineer called it the Boileau Road, but it was only the smugglers' path. Twenty years later it was a real highway, the Military Road, that formed an important supply link for Burgoyne's army. Never completely abandoned, it now approximates parts of State Route 22 and County Route 22I south of Willsboro, and includes the present Shun Pike Road in the town of Chesterfield.

In 1790 master road builder Platt Rogers established a ferry from his home at Basin Harbor to Rock Harbor just north of Westport (Northwest) Bay. A short road was opened to intersect the established route of northsouth travel, the



Enlarged detail. See inset on map, page 1.

Indian-Burgoyne Road. From that intersection Rogers probably cut a new road straight north to Willsboro, approximately following today's County Route 22M. One of Rogers' several contracts was to bridge the Boquet near the Willsboro fording place and open the shortest and best road to the Peru line. The bridge was satisfactory. The road was not.

A century ago Theodore Sheldon published Reminiscences of Essex County and the Champlain Valley in Olden Times. It is a blend of fact and fiction. Because he was a member of a family of historians it has befuddled later writers. He wrote that Rogers' road crew got nearly drunk at Moore's Tavern about three miles north of Willsboro. A keg of brandy was placed in their tool cart to be consumed when needed. Leaving the Military Road, the inebriated axemen hacked out a new one to Bosworth's Tavern, which stands at the intersection of U.S. 9, N.Y. 22 and the Mace-Chasm roads. However, a little-known 1811 census of settlers and improvements was made during the survey of unappropriated land that was named the Peru Bay Tract (Willsboro Bay). It proves that neither tavern existed until years later.

In at least one respect the Sheldon work was accurate. In order to fulfill his contract for the shortest route north, Rogers departed from the old Military Road about three miles north of Willsboro. Now, with changes of only a few feet, it is a seven-mile section of State Route 22. However, it could not be used for more than twenty years because it ran through two impassable swamps. Thus from the Revolution until after the War of 1812 the operative road leading north from Willsboro was named the Military Road in land transfers. It climbed along the flank of Ames' Mountain until it dipped into the valley beyond Pat Whalen's house. After a small rise its course was almost level southwesterly of Little Huckleberry, Huckleberry, Rattlesnake and Pinnacle Mountains.

Evidence of the early non-use of a segment of Rogers' Road is found in two early surveys. On July 12, 1811 Asa Adgate, supervisor of Chesterfield, filed his survey of the township's borders with Willsboro and Jay. The line started at Lake Champlain at the southeast corner of the Matthew Adgate eighty-acre patent of 1791. At 120 chains it crossed the road "then leading from Basin Harbor to Plattsburgh." This could not have been other than the eons-old Indian trail used by the Montreal-Albany smugglers that Burgoyne's men turned into a road. Four chains further it crossed the outlet of Warm Pond (Highlands Forge Lake).

Anthony J. Blanchard of Salem, New York then owned the Boyd patents controlling Warm and Long Ponds as well as a mill one chain 15 links down the brook. Blanchard was the greatgrandfather of Mrs. Mary G. Ross Townsend, the present owner of Hickory Hill mansion at Essex. Adgate had been ordered to indicate "anything worthy of notice." The road and mill were the only signs of civilization seen until at 410 chains the line crossed the "State Road or Great Northern Turnpike." Had the 1790 Rogers road been discernible. even as a blazed trail, Adgate would have recorded crossing it. The field notes of George Webster's 1811 survey of the Peru Bay Tract carry the main road of his day further north, almost to Exit 33 of U.S. Route 87. It crossed lots 109, 112, 115 and 114 and is still known as the Shun Pike Road.

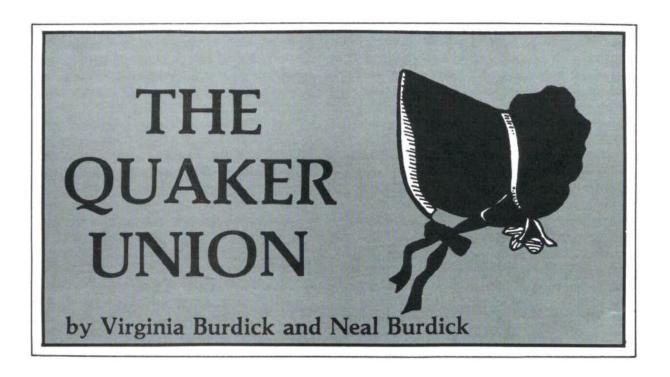
The two swamps on Rogers' intended route were eventually corduroyed at an unknown date. One was near Long, or Rattlesnake, Pond. Both it and the nearby mountain were named for the ugly-looking water snakes mistakenly believed to be poisonous. Farther north the larger swamp is now called Coughlin's. This shorter route north was opened well before 1858, when the J.H. French map showed a Lyons Hotel at the height of land between Willsboro and Keeseville. There exhausted stagecoach horses were exchanged for fresh ones. Local settlers continued to bypass the hotel tollgate by using that part of the old Military or Burgoyne's Road still known as the Shun Pike.

The Rogers Road continued east of Augur Lake through the John Williams Patent and beyond to the fordway near the Adirondack Northway bridge over the Ausable River. Brigadier John Williams (1752-1806), a former British surgeon's mate, was a member of the four Provincial Congresses of New York. His daughter, Maria, was the wife of Anthony J. Blanchard and hence a progenitor of the Rosses of Essex.

The writer has not attempted to carry the road to Plattsburgh. It is relatively safe to believe it kept to firm land through the forests and open savannahs noted earlier by William Gilliland in his journal. By 1777 the physical features of eastern Clinton County were well known.

(Wanted: someone to trace these roads across Clinton County, Ed.)

Koert D. Burnham, a native of Essex, New York, is a mining engineer. His articles on history, genealogy, forestry and minerology have been published in a number of journals. He is a partner of Highland Forests, whose 5,000 acres will remain undeveloped for the foreseeable future.



On the Union Road two and a half miles south of Peru village, an old Quaker burying ground overlooks the peaceful, fertile valley of the Little Ausable River. Across the road stands a plain frame dwelling, a former meetinghouse of Quaker pioneers, members of the Religious Society of Friends. Two miles farther south, on Hallock Hill, the Quakers' academy, now a private residence, looks down on the valley. These converted buildings, the burying ground and a few artifacts are the last vestiges of the rise and decline of the Ouaker Union, the first settlement in the town of Peru.

At the close of the War of Independence, the Champlain Valley of northeastern New York was virtually uninhabited by white men. However, all that changed in 1784 when Zephaniah Platt of Poughkeepsie and his associates purchased 30,000 acres of land bordering Lake Champlain and made plans for a settlement at the mouth of the Saranac River. In 1788 Platt hired William and John Keese. Quaker brothers from Dutchess County, to survey lots of 425 acres in his tract of land fifteen miles south of Plattsburgh, and offered the brothers the opportunity to buy lots of their choice.

William Keese took advantage of the offer and purchased 637 acres one mile east of the Little Ausable River for 318 pounds. The opportunity presented by virgin soil, the impetus of the postwar boom, and the beauty of the wooded Champlain Valley brought about a steady migration of

families from lower New York and the New England states. As these families traveled through the wilderness of northeastern New York, they encountered the hazards and privations of frontier life such as Charles Platt, who arrived in Plattsburgh 'March 12 at night, Snow deep and nothing for my horse," described three years earlier.

Like Platt, William Keese journeyed north in March and must have encountered similar hardships. A descendant, Stephen Keese Smith, wrote an account of William's first trip to select a lot, his second to build a log house, and his third, in 1790 after his marriage, accompanied by his four brothers, two sisters and their parents, the first Quaker settlers in the town of Plattsburgh, later Peru. The Keeses had not long to wait before the sound of human voices and the thud of axe on wood announced the arrival of more people, both Quakers and non-Quakers. The Union, as they called their settlement, began to grow.

Captain Edward Everett, one of Platt's surveyors, had built the first log house in 1787 at the foot of Hallock Hill. Until Richard Keese settled nearby, Everett's only neighbors were "a lodge of Indians who were friendly." According to their gravestones in the Quaker burying ground, Edward and his son George, a drummer boy, fought in the Revolutionary War in 1776. Edward was elected the first supervisor of the new town of Peru when it was taken off the town of Plattsburgh in 1792.

The Hallock family for whom the hill was named were Ouakers before they settled at the Union. Their progenitor, Peter Hallock, came from England in 1640. His descendants migrated from Dutchess County to Ferrisburg, Vermont, and from there to the Union in 1796. Isaac Hallock's descendants now live on the Richard Stafford farm on the Union Road.

Isaac Arnold shared the Atlantic voyage with Peter Hallock in 1640. Dyer Arnold settled on Hallock Hill in 1810. His nephews Eleazar and Laban followed in 1819. The family homestead, a large stone house on Hallock Hill, is still occupied by descendants. About 1800, birthright Quakers David and Daniel Harkness migrated from Adams, Massachusetts and settled near the Arnolds. Daniel's grandson, J. Warren Harkness, was a prosperous farmer and a well-known historian and author. His articles about the Quaker Union were published in serial form about 1890 and reprinted in 1966.

About 1802, David Hoag and his wife, Elizabeth Earle, migrated from Starksboro, Vermont to Hallock Hill. His brother Joseph and Joseph's wife, Hulda, were noted Quaker ministers at Friends meetings in the eastern states and Canada. Two Friends, Daniel Jackson and Peter Hallock II, bought land west of the Union along the Little Ausable River. Daniel's great-grandson, William Henry Jackson, is noted as one of the first to photograph the western states.

Benjamin and Elizabeth Keese Smith settled west of the Union at the foot of Huckleberry Mountain. Benjamin furnished beef to the American forces during the War of 1812, but he was never paid and remained heavily in debt. In 1837 his son, Stephen Keese Smith, built a stone house on his father's

farm. It is still there in Smithdale.

The southeast corner of the Union was settled in 1788 by four Arthur brothers-Reuben, Augustine, Joshua and Thomas-from Long Island. At Peru's first town meeting Reuben was elected constable and collector. Although the Arthurs were not Quakers, they attended Friends' meetings and are buried in the Union burying ground. The road on which they lived was the only trail to Lake Champlain, a distance of five miles. The Quaker family of Abednego Ricketson lived on a farm west of the Arthurs. Their children married members of the Keese, Hallock and Arnold families.

The five Keese brothers and their parents owned adjacent farms along the Rogers Road. Joseph Lapham, a birthright Friend from Danby, Vermont, lived on land adjoining Oliver Keese's farm.



Stephen Keese Smith. Photograph from the collection of Virginia Burdick

In 1808 he married Anna, daughter of Richard Keese. Lapham's Mills was founded by their descendant, Nathan Lapham.

Other settlers at the Union were the families of Baker, Barker, Benedict, Bowron, Davis, Earle, Fish, Greene, Griffith, Hackstaff, Hanson, Heyworth, Irish, Knowles, Macomber, Nichols, Peasley, Rogers, Sherman, Southwick, Thew, Underhill, Watson, White, and Wood,

The first settlers at the Union found that survival was the all-absorbing occupation. Food had to be worked from the soil, and water carried from the river or coaxed from a well. The shelter of a log house was a prime necessity, particularly during the long, harsh winters. In his autobiography, Stephen Keese Smith noted the suffering of families and their livestock owing to the scarcity of food in the spring of 1790:

> The live stock in log pens were often taken by savage beasts of prey...Wild grapes, maple sugar, fish, wild fruit, nuts, roots, greens were gathered by the children ... A snow storm late in the spring obliged the settlers to feed their straw beds to the cattle to save their lives...Edward Everett was obliged to dig up a portion of his seed potatoes to eat.

Fortunately, in times of sickness and childbirth Union families could depend on Stephen Smith's grandmother, Ruth Hull Keese, and his mother, Elizabeth Keese Smith. Their experiences as nurse and midwife Stephen described to Dr. David Kellogg in 1887:

Both of them practiced midwifery all over that part of the country as long as they were able. We had to put a stop to my mother's practicing in her old age...I remember her telling me of going through the woods at night with a torch of birch bark in one hand and medicine she had concocted from herbs and roots in the other hand, on roads marked by blazed trees, while wolves were howling around her. They did not touch her because of the light.

The focal point in the lives of Quakers was the Protestant religion as preached by George Fox, the founder of Friends in England in the midseventeenth century. They believed that God's spirit, the "inner light," is in every human being to be used for the good of humanity. Fox asked his followers to worship together without a hired minister in silent and direct communication with God. Friends believed that all men and women were equal, and that they should live without war, class distinctions and human bondage. They used "thee" and "thou" to all persons, not just "inferior" people, as was the custom of the times. Fox disliked the heathen names for the months and days; thus Friends used numbers. Sunday was know as "First Day." Friends believed they could not follow Christ's teaching and use violence. Therefore they refused to go to war, for which they were persecuted. They wore plain, drab clothes rather than spend money on luxuries while the poor lacked necessities. The Quaker's opposition to "vain amusements" and "places of diversion" was similar to, but not as uncompromising as, the Puritans' dislike of pleasure or enjoyment.

In 1792, Friends at the Union had their first recorded visit from a traveling Quaker minister, Hulda Hoag of Charlotte, Vermont. Lay ministers and elders were the guardians of the flock; their visits were the means of strengthening ties among groups of Friends and of bringing new members into the Society. Mrs. Hoag made a perilous canoe trip across Lake Champlain:

After arriving at the lake about a

mile from her home with an infant in her arms, she with a man and a woman took a small boat...In a short time they were overtaken by a storm of wind and rain...They succeeded in landing on...one of the Four Brothers Islands...Next morning they proceeded on their journey, having about ten miles to go by water and five by land. This last distance they performed on foot, arrived just in time to attend the meeting.

Hulda Hoag's meeting with the Peru Quakers at the Union was "the first Friends' appointed meeting ever held on the west side of Lake Champlain."

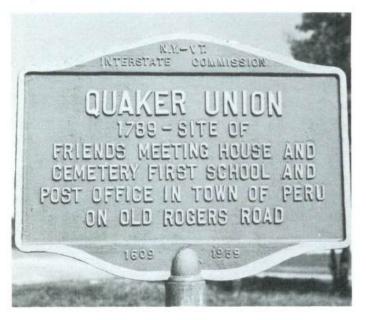
Three years after Mrs. Hoag's visit, Henry Hull, a Quaker minister from Westchester County, had an equally hazardous journey to reach the Union. Since the meeting for worship was the most important regular event in the life of George Fox's followers, the Peru Quakers had held services twice a week in their homes or barns until 1796. Shortly after this date Peter Hallock built the Friends' first church, or "meetinghouse," on the southeast corner of the intersection of the Davern and Rogers (Union) Road. It was built of split logs and was probably the first religious structure erected in Clinton County.

Since it was the only church building in the area, non-Quakers as well as Quakers attended services here. During the week the building was used for a school. Benjamin Earle was the first teacher. Later, Benjamin Sherman taught the area's children. Eventually the Peru Quakers fulfilled the requirements to become a Friends Meeting, or congregation. On July 4, 1799, they were recognized by New York Yearly Meeting.

At the meeting of August 1, 1799, the Meeting Clerk, Benjamin Sherman, reported the first answer to the Queries, which were questions concerning Quaker discipline, religious and otherwise; frequent consideration, or self-examination, was required of all Meetings and the results sent to Yearly Meetings for their records. The answers showed that the members believed they adhered to plain speech, behavior and apparel; read the Scriptures and avoided pernicious books; believed in school learning for their children; paid their just debts, and dealt with offenders in the spirit of meekness.

During the business meeting in October of 1799. Stephen Keese and Wesson Macomber were appointed Overseers of the Poor. It was their duty to visit Quaker families to report and aid the indigent

members. According to the New York Yearly Meeting *Discipline of 1810*, overseers should "not only relieve their immediate necessities, but assist the poor in such employment as they may be capable of."



After their first monthly meeting in 1799, the Peru Friends began to plan for a meetinghouse and a burying ground. After much discussion they voted to buy three acres of land from Henry Green for about seventy-five dollars. By 1802 construction had begun and in 1803 New York Yearly Meeting recorded "One meeting house built in Peru." The lot on which it stood was located at the southeast corner of the intersection of the Brown and Rogers Roads. It occupied the west end of the three acres, while the burying ground was located in the eastern portion. The building cost about 440 pounds.

Sometime in 1802 or 1803 the Peru Friends held their first meetings for worship and business in their new meetinghouse. Each First and Fifth day (Sunday and Thursday) the Quakers and their neighbors gathered at 11 a.m. Their service was unprogrammed, a quiet time for meditation and communion with the Holy Spirit without a hired clergyman and without music. After the first moments of silence, or "centering down," a member so moved by the Holy Spirit might speak to an issue of mutual concern. Selections from the Bible might be read or a prayer offered.

To worship in silence was a rigorous discipline. The Book of Discipline of 1810 advised Friends to avoid "wandering thoughts...and a drowsy state." The children, the elderly and the tired farmer and his wife must have found the wooden benches

rather uncomfortable during a long silent meeting. On a hot summer day young Samuel Smith invariably went to sleep and fell off the bench, only to be picked up by his parents and quietly deposited back on the wooden seat.

One Fifth Day each month the Quakers remained after worship for the monthly business meeting. At this time the partitions, always open for worship, were drawn shut since the sexes met in separate groups. Applications for membership and questions about members' conduct were considered. These deliberations often involved matters of morals, and it was deemed wise to hold separate meetings. After due consideration, each situation was acted upon by the entire group.

Women were treated with equal respect among Friends long before this practice was in general use. Two women were well-known preachers and educators at the Union for many years. For more than forty years Elizabeth Keese Irish was a recognized minister, traveling to distant states and Canada to speak at Friends' meetings. In the 1850s Catherine R. Keese had a school in her home at the Union, and frequently preached to the inmates at Clinton Prison.

Styles of dress were an indication of the Quakers' unpretentious, frugal way of life. The men wore plain dark suits and broad-brimmed black hats at meeting, removing the hats only while in prayer. Women wore large black bonnets or simple white caps. A snow-white kerchief and perhaps a plain shawl were the only accessories for the drab-colored dresses.

Weddings were an important religious and social event at the Union. The Friends' marriage ceremony was simple and silent except for the exchange of vows. However, events leading up to the wedding were more involved. These began with the couple's proposal of intent to the local meeting. A committee was appointed to investigate the suitability of the union. The couple reported to the next Monthly Meeting to receive the committee's decision. Providing both partners were Quakers, the next Fifth Day was set aside for the ceremony.

The first marriage in the new meetinghouse was that of Benjamin Smith from Dartmouth, Massachusetts, and Elizabeth Keese, daughter of Stephen and Ruth Hull Keese, on September 8, 1803. After the guests settled down to a few moments of silence, the couple stood before them and, taking each other by the right hand, said their yows

Thomas Watson, a lawyer who lived in the Delord house near the meetinghouse and was familiar with Quaker customs, wrote that "a

regular marriage contract drawn up with all the formality of a legal document was subscribed by the bride and bridegroom and all the witnesses." After all their friends signed the certificate, they departed for the bride's home (now Northern Orchard) to enjoy the simple wedding festivities.

The funeral (or, as Friends preferred, memorial service) for a deceased Quaker was also without ostentation. The Book of Discipline of 1810 advised Friends to "avoid the vain custom of wearing mourning habits and all extravagant expenses about the interment." In 1832 George Hallock placed on his grandmother's grave at the Union a red fieldstone sixteen by twelve by six inches, the size recommended by Friends' custom. The initials and date he scratched on the rough stone, "A.H. aged 99 years," are still remarkably legible. After the mid-1800s the gravestones were larger and more elaborate.

The serious-minded, industrious and thrifty Quakers were a hospitable people. They enjoyed social gatherings in their homes and visits from traveling ministers. Members of Peru and Grand Isle meetings kept in touch with each other by canoeing across Lake Champlain. A highlight in the life of Peru Friends was the annual journey, usually to New York City, for Yearly Meeting. It was a month-long expedition, with visits to Quaker families along the way. For several years Elizabeth Earle Hoag, mother of eleven children, rode horseback to yearly meetings carrying her latest baby in her arms. In 1843 Aaron Dean Fletcher, a folk artist of Keeseville, painted a portrait of Mrs. Hoag when she was 73 years old. In the painting she sits very straight, holding a Bible in her hands. She wears the typical plain white cap and kerchief. Fortunately for future historians, Elizabeth Hoag, a distant cousin of the Colonial artist Ralph Earle, ignored the Quaker belief that portraiture was a sure sign of vanity and that it should be avoided.

In May of 1859 Elizabeth Keese Irish and Jemima Hallock Ricketson journeyed to New York as delegates from Peru and Ferrisburg to New York Yearly Meeting. The women Friends met separately most of the week, occasionally with the men. The women's minutes recorded committee reports and answers to queries concerning members' deviation from Friends' doctrines. The men reported a few cases of their members using distilled liquors and marrying non-Quakers, for which they were disowned.

Like the Yearly Meeting minutes of 1859, the early minutes of Peru Friends reveal misconduct on the part of some members. In August, 1806, Peru



Mrs. Elizabeth Earle Hoag, 1843. Portrait by Aaron Dean Flethcer. Collection of George Arnold, Keeseville, New York.

Women Friends recorded testification against Mary Smith Keese for "having been so inattentive to our principle and the Divine witness in her own heart as to commit the sin of unchastity as it appears by her having a child too soon after marriage and denied the same to council." Mary's husband, John Hull Keese, was also censured. But on Christmas Day (ignored by Quakers as a pagan custom) men Friends received and accepted John's apology. He was "received again under the care" of Peru Meeting.

The Peru Friends' minutes of November 23, 1815, record the complaints of the male members against the Hallock brothers, Joshua, 20 and John, 17, "for attending places of diversion." Apparently the fun-loving, recalcitrant brothers refused to reform, for the following year the Meeting disowned them. However, Daniel Jackson and Robert White were appointed to inform them of their right to appeal.

Most of the disownments were the result of Quakers marrying non-Quakers. Daniel Harkness was a birthright Quaker, but when he married Abigail Cochran, a Methodist, in 1803 he was disowned by Peru Monthly Meeting.

By 1810 the Union was a thriving farm community of approximately forty families with Peru's post office, two stores, a tavern, blacksmith shops, a school, and the church. On the main road just north of Henry Delord's store and post office, the Quakers built a two-story academy. Here Chauncey Stoddard and Mary Rogers instructed the boys and girls in reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar and geography. Tuition was two dollars per quarter, or fifty cents more if the pupil studied grammar. According to an advertisement in the *Plattsburgh Republican* of April 24, 1812, boarding cost \$1.20 a week "in respectable families where every attention will be paid to the health and morals of the pupils."

South of the meetinghouse on the east side of the Rogers Road, Robert Battey operated a store and bar. This merchant and tavern keeper did a brisk business with thirsty travelers, farmers and loggers. The land abounded in giant white pines, which teamsters hauled to Lake Champlain. There the logs were rafted to Quebec for masts on British ships. Some of the logs were taken to Stephen Keese's sawmill on the river at Goshen (now Burrell's Orchards). Here Stephen and his son John also operated a grist mill.

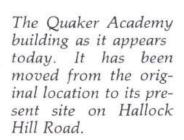
As time passed the Peru Quakers lived in unity and contentment in their peaceful, isolated valley. But by the 1820s influences outside and within the Religious Society of Friends began to seep into the Union, precipitating its decline and eventual death. Families such as the Osborns, Benedicts and John Keese, the surveyor, joined the westward migration, settling in Ohio where they organized a Friends Meeting near Cardington. Other families moved to Peru when that village replaced the Union as the commercial center of the region.

Some of the younger Friends moved to the cities in search of wealth, education and perhaps a milder climate.

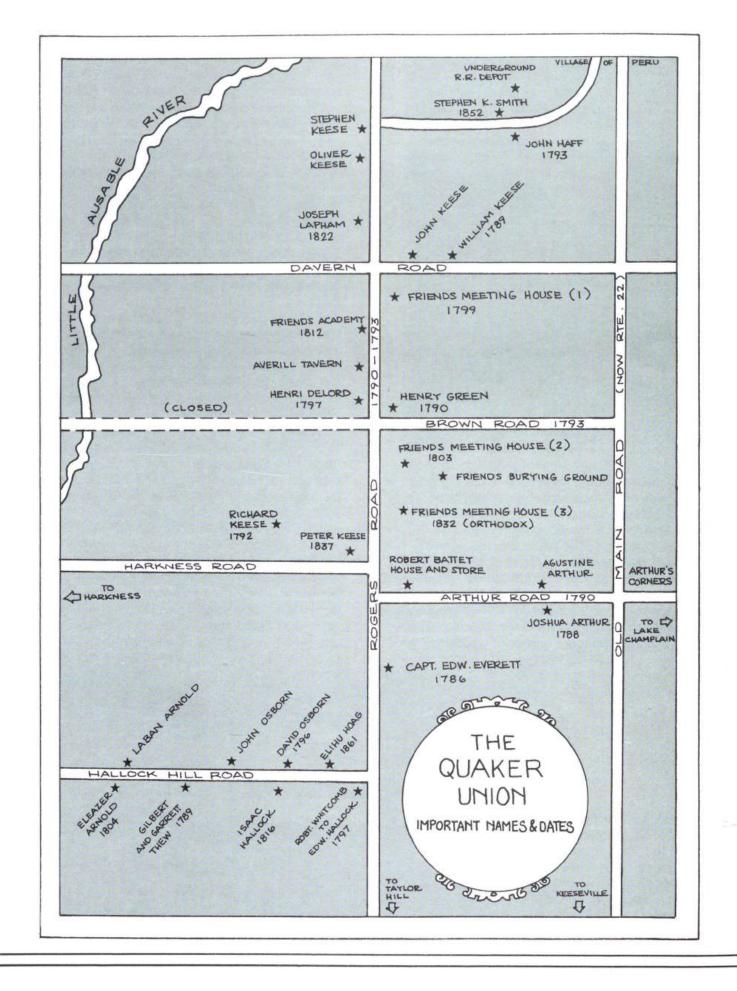
However, a separation within the Friends Society in the United States in 1828 was the most significant cause of the demise of the Quaker Union. The schism was the result of the preaching of Elias Hicks, a sincere Quaker reformer from Long Island who, as is so often the case, never wished to split the Society or give his name to such a movement. He saw Ouakerism as weakened by lack of attention to its own discipline, false formality in its organization, hypocrisy concerning social doctrines, and failure to prevent young people from leaving. His followers, the Hicksite Quakers, were more traditional in their religious views but more liberal in their social attitudes than the "old Ouakers" who came to be known as the Orthodox members. The Hicksites stressed the concept of living one's religion, always diligent in their consciousness of universal equality. In worship they were strictly devotional, not speculative, and they considered the Scriptures inspirational but not infallible.

Elias Hicks himself may have had some influence upon the thinking of the Union Quakers. In the course of his extensive travels to explain his ideas, he visited Nine Partners in Dutchess County, original home of many Union families, and was in northern New York and Quebec in 1803.

The general schism occurred in 1828; the breakup of the Union Friends began the same year, with cataclysmic effects on the Union. The Orthodox accused the Hicksites of causing discord and disowned several between 1828 and 1832; in 1832 they built their own meetinghouse on the southern end of the lot, the Hicksites retaining the







1803 meetinghouse. About ten years ago A. Day Bradley, a Quaker historian from New York City, compiled a post-1828 census of the Union which indicates that the Orthodox had 171 adherents (90 adults and 81 minors) and the Hicksites 84 (52 adults and 32 minors). The census also shows that the families were sometimes split: more Keeses were Hicksites than Orthodox, while the Smiths aligned about equally. This separation among the Peru Friends had a shattering effect, for such disunity in a small, localized religious community could not help but court disaster.

Almost as devastating as the separation were the disownments of Quakers who violated the teachings in the Book of Discipline. The first volume of minutes of Peru Monthly Meeting reveals that 64 members were disowned in less than 22 years, 1799 to 1821. Almost half of the disownments involved misconduct concerning marriage. Other disownments were brought about by dancing, wearing ornate clothes, and joining the militia. Harkness notes that "no one was ever disowned without being visited by a committee" which tried to persuade the disobedient Quaker to repent and remain in the Society.

New members were few after the first decade of the 1800s. The minutes indicate that only six people not birthright Friends were accepted for membership from 1799 to 1820. The Peru Monthly Meeting was still active in 1850, but only as a vestige of its former self. By that time the Union had ceased to be a vital factor in the history of Peru

and Clinton County.

A Friend who carried on the spirit of the Quaker Union was Stephen Keese Smith. He was born when the Union was at its zenith and watched it vanish as he grew old. As a lad of eight, he wrote later in his life, he could hear "cannon shattering the First Day" and "see billowing clouds of smoke" over Plattsburgh during the battle of Plattsburgh, September 11, 1814. In his memoirs he described his marriage in 1839 to his second cousin, Jane Keese, as the last to be performed in the old meetinghouse.

For their honeymoon Stephen took his bride and his two sisters in a two-seated wagon to an antislavery convention in Utica, organized by Gerritt Smith. By the mid-1800s slavery had become a growing concern in Clinton County. As elsewhere, the Union Quakers were in the forefront of the drive to abolish slavery. The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 made it illegal to aid runaway slaves, but the law was ignored by the Quakers of Clinton County. Samuel Keese hid travelers on the Underground Railroad in his house, helping them on the final leg



Underground railroad depot. The Stephen Keese Smith barn used to house runaway slaves. Presently owned by Richard Stafford.

of the the journey to Canada under cover of night. As an old man, Stephen Smith recalled hiding slaves in his barn, now owned by Richard Stafford. If Stephen's pro-slavery, spying neighbors had reported his clandestine activities, he could have been fined a thousand dollars and imprisoned for six months.

After the 1850s the decline of the Union accelerated. The final recorded meeting was held in 1879. The 1803 meetinghouse was moved to Peru for use as a barn and eventually burned. A few of its benches and the lock and key survived. The 1832 meetinghouse was moved across the road to the site once occupied by Henry Delord, and was remodeled as a private residence.

For many years following the demise of the Union the burying ground was neglected. However, in 1950 descendants and friends of the Peru Quakers formed a society to restore it and research the history of the Union. The broken stones were mended, the grass cut, and a new fence erected. Pauline and Mildred Keese spent many hours copying inscriptions, some barely decipherable, on more than two hundred gravestones. Although the Union's existence was brief, it has not been forgotten.

This article in an extended form was the winner of the McMasters prize for 1986. It was jointly written by mother and son. Virginia Burdick has published in Antiques Magazine and other journals. Her book-length "Love and Duty," the women of the Kent-Delord house told in their own words, is being prepared for publication. Neal Burdick is Editor of Publications at his alma mater, St. Lawrence University. He is editor of Adirondac, the journal of the Adirondack Mountain Club, and frequent contributor of articles and book reviews to Adirondack Life.



A Roadside Tragedy in Plattsburgh.

A Well Known Citizen Mauled to Death with a Bludgeon.

Joseph Chapleau Kills Lrvin E. Tabor.

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PLATT-BURGH. 80 papils Lwi at th vo-seated Another Plaistorgh Morder Highly Esteemed Cillary and a, he Farmer Chibbed to Death on WES the baplic Hapwaz; FIRMT REPORTS. R and farmer, residing on Ab he p house home at about three met three Joseph Oh poor murdered man, Irrin E. Tabor, Burnered Man Hain Towner of Towner of who lives desine to the Hate about welve years Ro, having charge of the Peru cheese lac-O' having charke of the was a the ab.

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TABOR MURDER by Altina Waller

In the late nineteenth century, Plattsburgh, New York had a reputation as a quiet, even "lethargic" town. But one late January afternoon in the year 1889 there occurred a brutal murder which shocked the community into an awareness that violence and hatred were not far from its very heart. This crime could not be explained away as the work of outsiders or chronic violators of the law; both its victim and its perpetrator were respected citizens who had never been involved in the mildest unlawful

"lattsburgh's Second Terrible Crime Within a Year,

FARMER'S SAD FATE.

aughtered With a Sledge Stake by a Neighbor.

ORY OF THE CRIME

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activity. Analysis of the crime reveals much more than a personal quarrel between neighbors which became so bitter that it resulted in murder; it illuminates broad patterns of social interaction between distinct cultural groups within the community. Two aspects of this interaction--conflict and accommodation--become apparent in examining the causes and consequences of this murder. Both these are essential to understanding the functioning of any community, especially one where class and ethnic divisions were sharp. Such a community, like many others in late nineteenth century America, was Plattsburgh. These patterns are often subtle and hidden from the historian, but a dramatic event can reveal these normally shadowed relationships. It is as if a bolt of lightning illuminates a fascinating if frustratingly brief view of the social and cultural landscape. Such a bolt of lightning is the Chapleau-Tabor murder case.

The story is as unexpected as it is shocking. About four o'clock on January 28, 1889, Erwin Tabor started out as usual to pick up his two daughters from school downtown in the village of Plattsburgh. Kissing his invalid wife goodbye, he clothed his bulky form in a heavy coat, hat and gloves for protection against a typical north country winter day. Settled in his two-seated sleigh and covered with a buffalo robe, Tabor turned eastward on Tom Miller Road. It was about three and a half miles to the village where the girls' school was located. For Erwin Tabor, it was the end of an ordinary day. But this was not to be an ordinary day. At the same time as Tabor urged his horses toward the village, Joseph Chapleau, who lived directly across the road, was on his way home from Plattsburgh. Chapleau, along with his neighbors John and Nelson Brown, had spent the day hauling slabs of wood from Cadyville to a lumber yard in Plattsburgh. Each man drove his own sleigh in a caravan westward along Tom Miller Road.

About three miles west of Plattsburgh, Chapleau, whose rig was leading the caravan, and Tabor approached each other from opposite directions. It was to be a fatal encounter. Apparently as the two passed each other, hostile remarks were exchanged which ended in physical violence. Although Chapleau was a small man of only five feet three inches and 125 pounds, while Tabor stood six feet and weighed 200 pounds, Chapleau beat him about the head with a four-foot sled stake, leaving him lying on the road in a pool of blood. John and Nelson Brown, who had been following Chapleau, ran to a nearby farm for help. Chapleau, arrested within minutes of the crime,

admitted he had hit Tabor but argued that it was in self-defense, with no intent to kill.

The remarkable fact about Joseph Chapleau's behavior is that it was entirely alien to what is known of his personal history and character. He was a French-Canadian immigrant and thus part of an ethnic group which was regarded by most Yankees with suspicion and prejudice. But Chapleau seemed to be an exception; he was known in Plattsburgh as a poor but hard-working farmer--a devoted husband and father who never drank, gambled or got into fights, hardly the person anyone could guess would kill his neighbor. This reputation is confirmed by the little information available about his personal history. Born in 1850 to a family that was well known and respected in Quebec, Chapleau had graduated from college in Montreal. At the age of 20, he left Canada. Although he was part of a pattern of Quebec emigration to the north country which had been flourishing since the 1840s, he was not typical of most of the immigrants, who tended to have rural backgrounds. By 1870, when Chapleau entered the United States, the French Canadians

"Chapleau has a reputation of being a quiet, peaceable citizen, not given to fighting or drinking."

...Plattsburgh Morning Telegram

constituted almost fifty percent of Plattsburgh's population. They were well established, with their own church which had been in existence since the 1850s. However, most French-Canadian families, even after 20 years in the country, remained poor and illiterate, either renting their farms or working as unskilled laborers in village manufactures or the nearby iron mines. They remained a separate group with a culture based on the French language and heritage.

Chapleau, however, had a background which gave him a different set of expectations. His command of English and a college education allowed him to integrate more easily with the Yankee population. He joined the United States Army and served for five years at the Plattsburgh Barracks. During this period it is likely that he made acquaintances in Plattsburgh, among them a prosperous farmer, William R. Jones, who had a domestic servant, a young Irishwoman named Eliza Cassidy. In 1876, shortly after Chapleau was discharged from the Army, he and Eliza were married. It was soon clear that Chapleau did not intend to join the ranks of propertyless unskilled laborers in Plattsburgh;

he took out a mortgage on an acre of land and a small house in the village. Although the mortgage was to run for five years, Chapleau managed to pay it off in one year and obtain clear title to the property. It is unknown just what he was doing to make his living but it apparently was not very successful; by 1880 he had moved his family outside the village to Tom Miller Road, where he became a tenant on a farm belonging to William Jones, a move downward in social and economic status which must have distressed him. This was the farm that was directly across the road from Erwin Tabor.

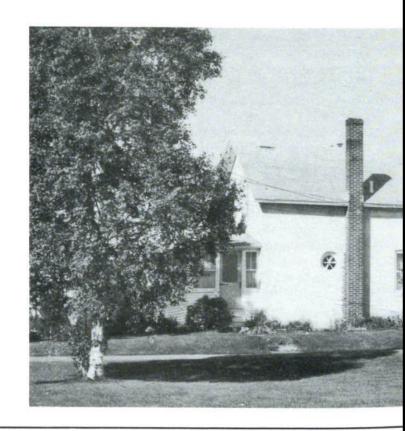
The nine years between Chapleau's move and the murder of Tabor was a time of struggle to make ends meet and to improve his family's situation. Besides farming the Jones land, he cut and hauled timber for Hartwell's lumber yard, where he earned a reputation for honesty and dependability. By 1887 he had saved enough money to make a down payment on forty acres just to the west of the Jones farm. Clearly, Chapleau was hoping to end his days as a tenant. In the year and a half before the murder, Chapleau was struggling to work the Jones farm as well as his own, haul timber, and pay off the mortgage on his own land. When two of his cows died unexpectedly in the summer of 1888, his distress was understandable. But when he accused his neighbor, Erwin Tabor, of poisoning the cows, some people thought he was being completely unreasonable. One neighbor reported that he had helped Chapleau perform a crude autopsy on a cow and discovered rusty nails in her stomach; still Chapleau did not desist in his belief that Tabor had deliberately poisoned her. Acquaintances of Tabor insisted that it would have been outrageously out of character, and a Plattsburgh newspaper rhetorically asked "why would a rich man want to poison a poor man's cow?"

Chapleau asserted that the two had argued over the way Tabor treated his servants. One instance he mentioned was that Tabor had hired a young woman as a domestic servant and had kept her on in the absence of his wife. Chapleau said that he informed the girl's father, who then removed her from Tabor's household. Although Chapleau himself did not mention it, there were also hints in the newspapers that Tabor had made sexual demands on servant women and perhaps even on Chapleau's own wife, a former servant. If true, this helps explain Chapleau's seemingly inexplicable and intense hatred of Tabor. At any rate tensions continued to mount.

It is impossible to determine the truth of the incidents relating to hired help and poisoned cows,

but the existence of rumors begins to reveal the social context for animosity between the two men. Although they lived in close physical proximity. their social worlds were far apart. Joseph Chapleau was a poor, struggling French-Canadian farmer while Erwin Tabor was a wealthy Yankee. Although Chapleau was more educated than most French-Canadians, he found his social identity in that group rather than Plattsburgh's Yankee community. His closest friends appear to have been the Brown family--French Canadian despite the English name--who resided farther west on Tom Miller Road. It was a typically large family whose members, despite three generations in Plattsburgh, were not assimilated. They were hard-working farmers who did not send their children to school, and spoke only French. It was at the Brown farmhouse that Chapleau felt enough at ease to discuss his hatred of Erwin Tabor. Peter Brown, the patriarch of the family, testified that Chapleau had talked of killing Tabor. When Mrs. Brown remonstrated that such an act was hardly worth the death penalty which would surely follow,

The Tabor farmhouse on the today. The house has been brick stuccoed.



Chapleau insisted that "everyone" would be so glad to be rid of Tabor he would not be punished. Whether Chapleau's French neighbors agreed is not known, but it seems obvious that Tabor was not closely involved with his French neighbors. Just as they were outsiders in the Plattsburgh community, Tabor was an outsider in the Tom Miller Road neighborhood—one regarded at best with awe and at worst with suspicion and fear.

But how had Erwin Tabor come to live in a neighborhood which was alien to him in both class and ethnic terms? Tabor was a Yankee from Danby, Vermont, a town south of Rutland. His father, Gideon Tabor, originally from Massachusetts, was a prosperous farmer. In the mid-nineteenth century he, like other Vermont farmers, was struggling with the hostile, rocky soil that made up so much of Vermont and having a particularly difficult time providing for a large family. Erwin was the youngest son and therefore had the fewest prospects of inheriting the family farm, so after the Civil War, at the age of 23, he left home. By 1870 he was managing a cheese factory in Peru, New

Tom Miller Road as it appears enlarged and the original red



York. His pattern of migration from Vermont to Plattsburgh was about as common as the one from Quebec except that many of the migrants from Vermont became Plattsburgh's leading citizens-Dr. David Kellogg, William Jones, and W.W. Hartwell are examples--while the French-Canadian migrants tended to remain poor farmers, artisans and laborers.

However, his Yankee background did not make things easy for Tabor. Possessing little advantage other than his wits and willingness to work hard, he was lucky enough to work for one of Clinton County's most prosperous citizens, Stephen K. Smith of Peru. In 1877 Tabor married Smith's daughter Elizabeth. After the wedding the two moved back to Danby for a couple of years, where one of their daughters was born. Perhaps Tabor was hoping to settle in his home town and obtain help from his father. Whatever his hopes, they did not work out. In April of 1880 the couple moved back to Plattsburgh. Clinton County Land Records show that Tabor's wife bought the farm on Tom Miller Road. It was the same year that Chapleaus moved into their house across the road, and newspapers later contrasted the two residences. Tabor's was large, solidly built, neatly painted and in good repair; Chapleau's was small, unkempt, with sagging beams and holes in the roof. The difference is symbolic of the uneven results achieved by the two men in their struggles to recover the social status and economic stability they had lost. Despite hard work and determination, Chapleau was still a poor tenant farmer while Tabor owned his own farm and lived comfortably.

Not only was Tabor's house the best on the road but he and his wife did not mix socially with the French-Canadian and Irish farmers who populated the area. They continued to maintain their social life in Peru with Elizabeth's family and friends. On the whole, life had been kind to Erwin Tabor, unlike many Vermont migrants of this era. With a combination of determination and luck, he had found his niche very successfully in Clinton County.

But Tabor had paid a price for salvaging his status. First, he had been forced to leave the family farm in Danby, where he was part of an old and respected family. Secondly, although from Tabor's perspective it was fortunate that Elizabeth's family could provide some help in obtaining farm land, it was necessary to purchase the land in a low-cost area on the outskirts of Plattsburgh, an area populated by Irish and French-Canadian immigrants whom Tabor, like most New Englanders, considered of inferior social standing. Finally, it

may have embarrassed Tabor that the entire community was aware that he owed his status to his wife's family. When the tax collector assessed the Tabor land he referred to it casually as the "Smith Girl's Farm." Just possibly Tabor may have been bitter about both his dependence on the Smiths and his exile to such a neighborhood, and that bitterness may have extended to exploiting servant women and poisoning cows.

What is more certain, however, is that Tabor exhibited an attitude of superiority toward his neighbors. On the day of his murder, before Tabor met Chapleau, he passed the sled driven by Nelson Brown, one of those neighbors. Brown testified that Tabor bowed to him and then "laughed," mocking his own gesture of respect. While this alone does not confirm a condescending attitude, there is ample evidence to document such behavior on the part of most Yankees toward Plattsburgh's French population. If his contempt was only slightly sharper than most, this was owing to his own struggle to preserve his social status. Still, one would not expect murder to be the outcome, nor did Tabor "deserve" such a fate. Ironically, what may have sealed Tabor's fate was almost an accident of social geography; he and his wife bought that particular piece of land along Tom Miller Road directly opposite Joseph Chapleau, a French Canadian with unusual sensitivity to insulting treatment.

That Chapleau was different from another nearby French family, the Browns, is easily demonstrated. Nelson Brown referred to Tabor as "a splendid man" and had nothing negative to say about his behavior. Although not disagreeing with Chapleau that Tabor deserved death, the Browns were not nearly as disturbed by his behavior as was Chapleau. The Browns, in short, were accustomed to their role as second-class citizens and accepted the superior status of wealthier Yankees in their neighborhood and community. Chapleau, however, was not willing to accept such treatmenthis education and background had apparently given him expectations of being treated with greater respect. It was not necessarily that Tabor was more prejudiced than most Plattsburgh Yankees, but that he was the Yankee who lived across the road from Joseph Chapleau. From all accounts Chapleau did not have a violent temperament, but something had been building up in him, simmering for many months, perhaps years. If on that fatal snowy January day Tabor had indeed greeted Chapleau with a "vile remark," that may have been all that was needed to trigger the violent

rage which had been suppressed so long. Tabor was the victim, not so much of a single murderous temperament, but of the social and cultural conflict simmering beneath Plattsburgh's outwardly calm surface.

Yet if the murder reveals the hostility between the two ethnic groups, the investigation and trial point to some very different dynamics, which suggest interaction and accommodation. When Chapleau was first guestioned about the murder. he admitted his guilt and further said that his two companions, John and Nelson Brown, had been witnesses. However, when the two boys (they were 16 and 23) were brought in the next day for guestioning, both denied having seen or heard anything. Neither of them could speak English and they were very frightened, insisting that they had never been in trouble before. They and their family had decided that the best course for their own safety and for the protection of their friend Chapleau was to plead ignorance. This was not satisfactory to the village leaders, however. Plattsburgh officials promptly jailed the boys until they admitted witnessing Tabor's murder. But how were the boys to be persuaded to abandon the story agreed upon by their family? The problem was solved by calling in Plattsburgh's most respected French-Canadian citizen, Dr. Joseph H. LaRocque.

Dr. LaRocque was in an ideal position to mediate between the French-Canadian and Yankee communities in Plattsburgh. It might be said that he had a foot in each world. Like Chapleau, he had been born in Montreal and was at least distantly related to an influential family. After obtaining a medical degree, LaRocque left Montreal to practice in Nova Scotia and Massachusetts. By 1878 he had settled in Plattsburgh and opened both a drug store and a medical practice. During the 1880s he came to be accepted by Plattsburgh's elite, even becoming a Village Trustee. He was one of only six to ten percent of French Canadian immigrants to achieve such status in the mid-nineteenth century. However, he did not abandon his French identity; he was one of the most visible members of St. Peter's Church and a founder of St. John the Baptist Society, an organization devoted to relieving poverty among local Catholics. Although LaRocque in his medical practice treated French Canadians, his social and political life revolved around the leading Yankee members of the community.

When the two terrified brothers refused to implicate themselves or Chapleau, it was natural for Plattsburgh's leaders to turn to Dr. LaRocque, who had on occasion treated some of the family and could speak their language. The Brown family also



Dr. Joseph H. LaRoque. From The Souvenir Industrial Edition of Plattsburgh. W. Lansing and Son, 1897.

apparently agreed to Dr. LaRocque's intervention when Peter, the older brother, accompanied the Doctor on his visit to John and Nelson in jail; indeed, the family was probably relieved to have someone mediate whom they respected and trusted.

But Dr. LaRocque's task was still a difficult one. He had to convince the boys to testify that they had seen their close family friend commit a crime which would certainly result in his death. Moreover, they were obviously convinced that if they admitted anything they themselves would be subject to prosecution-the Sheriff had already hinted that if they refused to "tell the truth" they could be kept in jail indefinitely. As Nelson Brown admitted later in the trial, he had refused to talk because he "had never been in the law before--didn't know what the law was." Despite apparent ignorance, the Brown boys had a very realistic perception of their own powerlessness in the community. Indeed, the depth of fear they experienced became tragically clear six months later when the younger witness, John, hanged himself. His family reported that he had been nervous and depressed since his incarceration and interrogation, but most of all, he was fearful of the upcoming trial, when he would be required to testify.

Did it occur to Dr. LaRocque that jailing witnesses and browbeating them, however gently, was a travesty of the legal system? Did he consider getting the boys a lawyer or arguing that their rights were being violated? Whether he had these thoughts or not, he decided to persuade the

Browns to cooperate by telling everything they had witnessed. This is entirely understandable in the light of Dr. LaRocque's position in the social hierarchy. His French identity was very important to him--he proudly displayed his background and his loyalty to the French Catholic Church. At the same time, he thrived on his acceptance into the leading social and political classes in Plattsburgh. To counsel resistance would be to intensify conflict, a course which would undermine his own hard-won position.

But if the Doctor thought he had been put on the spot, he gave no indication of it. Indeed, it is likely that he saw no conflict between his loyalty to his class and to his ethnic group. For him, peace in the community was paramount, and it would be easy to conclude that it was in the Browns' own interest to cooperate. For the French Canadians in general it was imperative that tensions between themselves and the Yankees be minimized as much as possible. Friendly if wary coexistence was preferable to overt hostility. Since the French were already regarded by Yankees as more undisciplined and violent than themselves, a crime like Chapleau's needed punishment immediately, with the approval of leading French citizens like Dr. LaRocque. He visited the boys in their jail cell and persuaded them to cooperate. The next day at the second inquest, Nelson calmly related to the jury how Joseph Chapleau had bludgeoned Erwin Tabor to death.

If the murder had laid bare simmering conflicts between ethnic groups, and the handling of the investigation demonstrated the patronizing social control exerted over lower-class French Canadians in Plattsburgh, the formal trial, on the other hand, revealed accommodation and temporizing. Most people, both French and Yankees, seemed to assume that Chapleau was indeed guilty and would be found guilty. His appointed lawyer, James Averill of Rouses Point, did not mount a very vigorous defense. He did not, for example, fully exploit Nelson Brown's changing stories or his fright and confusion in the courtroom. Instead he concentrated on Chapleau's impeccable background by calling several leading citizens to testify to his good character. The result was almost a reversal of the scenario one might have expected--French Canadians defending Chapleau while Yankees inveighed against him. Just the reverse was true. French Canadians who testified damaged his case while his character witnesses were all Yankees, who affirmed his honesty, dependability and sobriety.

What is more remarkable is that both sides remained strangely silent concerning Tabor's behavior. No one explored why such a model citizen as Chapleau could have been so obsessed with hatred for Tabor. In the trial, the issues of cow poisoning and the exploiting of servant women were dismissed or ignored. Nelson Brown, in his testimony, called Tabor "a fine, splendid man." No one was willing to make any statements that Tabor might have, even remotely, provoked resentment and animosity. Chapleau declined to testify in his own behalf, abandoning his earlier statements about the reasons for his quarrel with Tabor. Strangely enough, the Yankees in Plattsburgh, the group which held the power, were surprisingly "soft" on Chapleau, even though he had brutally murdered one of their own. Not that anyone expected acquittal, for Chapleau's guilt was assumed--but, of what? Premeditated first degree murder, or the lesser second degree for which the sentence would not necessarily be death? The French-Canadian community feared, even assumed, the worst, and John and Nelson Brown were terrified about the consequences of even witnessing such an act. Why, then, did the Yankees temporize? Why not push for the first degree ver-

"A blow struck in the heat of passion oft times brings with it a lifetime of sorrow."

...Plattsburgh Morning Telegram

dict? This restraint only makes sense if one assumes they understood that Tabor probably did act provocatively and further, that it would take considerable provocation for Joseph Chapleau to resort to violence. The crime couldn't be forgiven, but it could be understood. Both Tabor and Chapleau had violated parameters of social behavior and the community tacitly resolved the issue in a way that would not further aggravate the conflicts briefly unveiled by the murder.

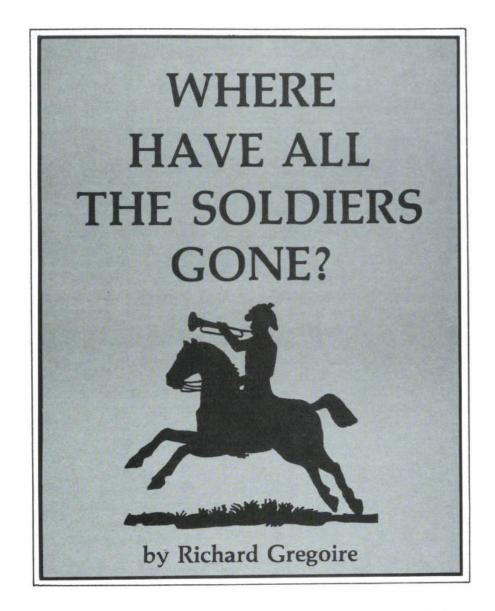
The difficulty in bringing about the result implicity agreed upon by both the defense and the prosecution became apparent as soon as the Judge began his charge to the jury. Previous good character, he instructed its members, should not enter into the verdict. The crime alone and the evidence of Chapleau's earlier statements about getting rid of Tabor should be the jury's sole guide. With this kind of instruction, the jury promptly came in with a verdict of first degree murder and the Judge sentenced Chapleau to be the first person to be executed in New York State's new electric chair.

Both sides were stunned! Apparently the error had occurred because both the Judge and jury were not from Plattsburgh. The Judge had been brought in from outside, and all of the jurors were Yankee farmers from rural Clinton County towns. Pretrial questioning revealed that many of them didn't know people in Plattsburgh or read the village newspapers. They were intent on deciding the case from a purely objective point of view and to them, Chapleau's statements prior to the murder, that he wanted to kill Tabor, seemed enough to prove premeditation.

Once the verdict was in, it was not long before the Judge and jurors got an education in what they should have done. In the next few months, Chapleau's formal appeal was denied but citizens of Plattsburgh were determined to set the matter right. The actual process is lost in obscurity, but all the members of the jury eventually petitioned the Governor of New York, stating that their firstdegree-murder verdict was not appropriate and that they had since discovered information which changed their minds. Supporting this document was another signed by all the county officials, informing the Governor that while Chapleau had undoubtedly committed the crime, "the extent of his responsibility" was not so certain. In other words, the death sentence was much too harsh. By June of 1890 the Governor had been persuaded. He granted clemency, concluding that the jury had been wrong in bringing in a first-degree verdict. Chapleau would not die in the electric chair but rather would be imprisoned for life.

Chapleau lived at Dannemora until he was more than sixty years old. Local newspapers noted that he was extraordinarily well treated, being allowed two adjacent cells which were carpeted and well furnished. He dressed, not in a prison uniform, but in his civilian clothes, played in the prison band, and was known as the "professor." Perhaps it is significant that the French-Canadian community did not object to his being in prison, and the Yankee community did not object to his preferential treatment. It was the kind of accommodation necessary for the future of Plattsburgh's ethnic relationships.

Altina L. Waller has been associate professor of history at SUNY Plattsburgh since 1983. She earned the PhD. at the University of Massachusetts/Amherst in 1980 and has taught at West Virginia University and Rhodes College in Memphis, Tenessee. She is the author of Rev. Beecher and Mrs. Tilton and a forthcoming book on the Hatfields and McCoys.



THE PUZZLE OF PIKE'S CANTONMENT

They came on foot, by boat and on horseback from Beekmantown and Ticonderoga; from Troy and the hamlets of Vermont; from Crown Point and the villages of Essex County. Leaving homes and families behind, they converged on the thriving community of Plattsburgh, resolute and united in a common cause: to repel the invading British regulars who were devastating their homeland during the War of 1812.

Many of them constructed winter quarters in 1812 on the south bank of the Saranac River at a wooded area variously known as Pike's Cantonment, after the commander, Zebulon Pike, famous explorer, or Camp Saranack and other spellings of the word. They were forced to endure extreme hardships including freezing temperatures,

malnutrition, and constant exposure to wind and rain.

Lacking adequate protection from the elements, deprived of proper medical care, hundreds of nameless men weakened and died at the encampment. They were buried in unmarked graves which gradually disappeared from the memory of man, partly because the deserted log barracks were burned during Murray's raid on Plattsburgh on July 31, 1813. Therein lies one of the great unsolved mysteries of our North Country: where have all the solders gone?

Many attempts have been made over the years to locate the actual site. Dr. Kellogg, once a prominent Plattsburgh physician and noted local historian, was unsuccessful in 1886. Members of

the Clinton County Historical Association and others have similarly had their efforts unrewarded.

Our area is rich in history and we are understandably proud of this fact. Benedict Arnold helped assure American independence at the nearby battle of Valcour in 1776. After the Revolution other notable events occurred locally, particularly during the War of 1812. These have been appropriately commemorated by plaques and markers at Fort Brown, Culver Hill, the "lower bridge" on Bridge Street, the present law office at 48 Court Street, and elsewhere. Rightly so, but why have we not taken action to venerate in the same manner the military at the Cantonment who gave their lives for the cause they believed in?

Pike's men are equally deserving of the respect and homage paid to their comrades who fell in the same war, and who are commemorated by a monument on Crab Island. No one can positively state that a particular tract of land contains the remains of those who succumbed while performing military duty at the Cantonment. It would seem, however, that a qualified person, or a panel with expert qualifications, could thoroughly examine the information available to us and make an educated guess, concluding that the elusive outpost once stood "right about there."

Our ancestors passed down bits of information to succeeding generations that, when pieced together, should enable us to narrow down the encampment's location to the smallest possible plot of land. It is the writer's intention to recall these facts, place them in perspective and, hopefully, make a convincing argument that Camp Saranac was indeed situated as described in the paragraphs that follow.

Rivers follow well-defined channels, meandering, sometimes forming bends and oxbows, and discharging their flow day after day at the same emptying point into a larger body of water downstream. It is an axion of limnologists (scientists of water bodies) that a river is not geologically old until thousands of years have elapsed. Without massive intervention by man with his bulldozers and huge earth-moving machines, many centuries must go by before the constant gouging and erosion eventually straighten the banks containing the stream, thereby eliminating bends and oxbows that once served as familiar landmarks. Innovations such as dams and power plants would have no drastic effect on the river's natural course.

The Saranac has not become an old river since 1812. The topographical features extant at the time of the battle of Plattsburgh remain today. This allows for ready comparison by reference to appropriate maps and charts prepared over the intervening years. Accordingly, we can verify that no relevant changes occurred in the interim. There has been no addition or loss of tributaries, no drastic altering of shoreline or contours, or of prominent land features.

Similarly, the history of road and highway development in Clinton County can be instrumental in our quest. We know that the early pioneers carved footpaths and trails out of the wilderness. We, their descendants, were content to make subsequent improvements by simply widening, turning them into "plank roads," or paving. There was no need to construct entire new systems or to change their directions.

As a rule, the points of origin and termination of today's traffic routes closely resemble those instituted by our forefathers. There is no mistaking major avenues of travel such as Routes 9 and 22, Rugar Street, and others, whether depicted on a 1986 map, or one prepared in the 19th century.

The village of Plattsburgh during the first few years of its settlement was situated on the north side of the Saranac. Marjorie Lansing Porter reveals that only four roads of any import existed at the time of the siege: the Beekmantown Road, the Lake Shore Road to Cumberland Head, the present route along Rugar Street (then called the "back road to Chateaugay"), and the Peru Road on the south side of the Saranac leading to the mouth of the Salmon River.

At least two of these, very probably three, can be eliminated for our purposes, by weeding out those major access routes not likely to have been utilized by our military when traveling to and from their stations. The Lake Shore and Beekmantown Roads primarily ran northerly, away from the camp's suspected location. The Peru Road at one time probably passed fairly close to the outpost and is a possibility, albeit not as likely a candidate as the remaining prospect.

Rugar Street for many years was a principal thoroughfare for Plattsburgh travelers. It was the closest to the Saranac of our primary streets in existence at the time of the war. The defending forces and/or the attacking British would almost certainly have had to utilize it to arrive at the Cantonment. The only other possible approach would have been a walk upstream from the upper bridge to the post. Evidently the historian, Benson Lossing, used this route fifty years later: two miles upriver from the South Catherine Street bridge to reach the "low grassy plain" upon which he believed the Cantonment was located.

Camp Saranac has been "located" by various in-

dividuals, including Lossing and Dr. Kellogg. We probably should accept the contemporary placement of the camp at "the ford," which in turn is reputed to be "two to three miles above the mouth of the river, at the foot of the rapids, near Fredenburgh Falls." Distances vary slightly according to different authors, but the general descriptions are nearly the same. A ford is a place in a stream that can be crossed in a vehicle, or by wading. Local folklore has kept alive the legend that our men repeatedly travelled back and forth by literally walking along the river's bottom to reach the other side.

There were two or three thousand men stationed at the outpost, depending on whose statistics one accepts. Either figure suggests mass movement over an extended time period, particularly when considering the huge volume of food and supplies required to meet the camp's daily needs.

It is common knowledge that two British soldiers were taken prisoner inside the John Rugar home. This is an indication of military activity not far from the river inasmuch as we know the exact location of the old Rugar homesite. Gideon Rugar told Dr. Kellogg that many of the enemy came to his residence by way of Hammond Lane before continuing on their way down to the Saranac (presumably heading for the ford?).

Gideon's father apparently walked from his house to the camp on different occasions. This author recently determined that the exact distance from the Turnpike Extension-Rugar Street junction to the opposite side of the river is 1.2 miles. An arc of the same length drawn on a map, with the focal point at the Rugar homestead, would almost certainly encompass Camp Saranac. This is still not a workable distance for us, and ways must be found to give us an even smaller radius.

Theories submitted heretofore admittedly are based on conjecture plus logic. A proposal will now be offered, the acceptance or rejection of which will determine the validity of our entire thesis; it should prove to be incontrovertible.

"The Battle of Plattsburgh—What Historians Say About It" is a booklet published in 1914 commemorating the centennial of the war. Included in the pamphlet is a "Sketch of the Battle of Plattsburgh Prepared by Major De Russy U.S.A. Accompanying Gen. Alex. Macomb's official report dated Sept. 18, 1814." It locates certain events of the war and may offer the crucial clue that will finally solve the enigma of Pike's Cantonment. Aware that his creation was destined to become a part of the nation's archives and quite likely to reach the hands of President Madison, De Russy must have been meticulous in its preparation. Ac-



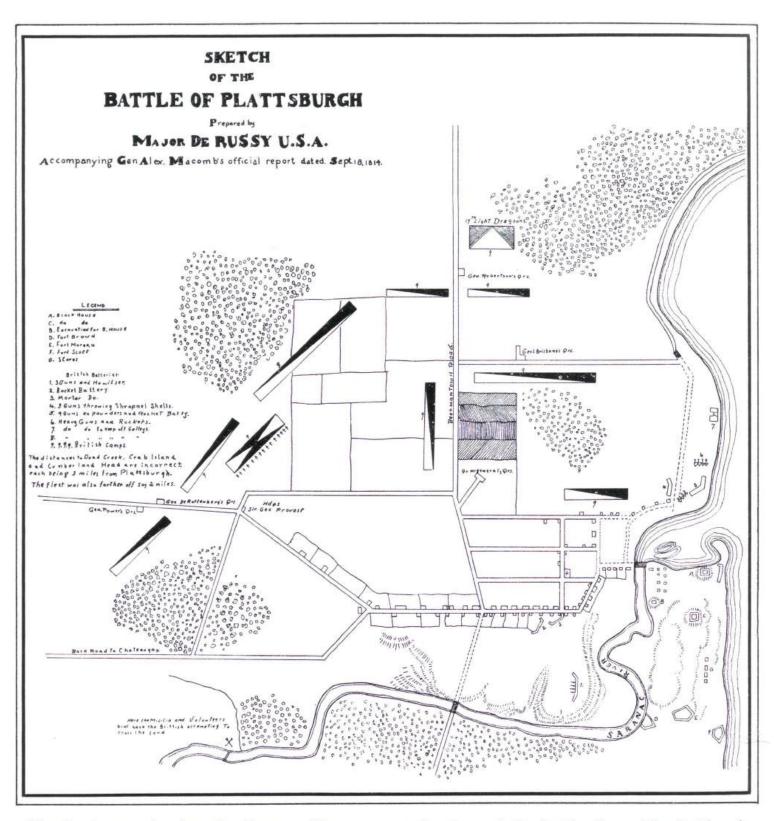
THE SARANAC AT PIKE'S CANTONMENT.

curacy being of primary importance, the Major took great pains to explain in the map's Legend that certain distances shown on the map are incorrect, making the necessary correction.

At the bottom of the chart, marked by a crossed-swords symbol, is the statement, "Here the militia and volunteers beat back the British attempting to cross the ford." Note should be made of the wavy line on the north side of the river, running between the crossed swords and the woods on the right. This was not intended as a mere embellishment to add esthetic appeal to the drawing, or to enhance De Russy's artistic talent. No, the Major is telling posterity, inadvertently or otherwise, "The door to the Cantonment may be locked but I'm leaving the key behind for you to open it."

The line is a brook showing the point of discharge into the Saranac. It is the key to the entire mystery inasmuch as it gives us an absolute reference marker in relation to the nearby ford and the camp on the other side. It daily empties its water in a never-ending cycle, very nearly at the same spot in 1986 as it did circa 1812. Accordingly, we have narrowed down the location of Pike's Cantonment to a reasonably small area, probably in units of rods, instead of the former miles.

The brooklet does not appear on Beer's Clinton County Atlas of 1869, nor in Hurd's 1880 Plan of Clinton County. It does show up on Averill's 1885 Geography and History of Clinton County; on a United States Geological Survey map published in 1906, and in subsequent editions. It can be found on the Adirondack map prepared independently by the state Forest, Fish and Game Commission in 1908. Readers may wish to refer to the map of the City of Plattsburgh presently being distributed by



Detail of map showing the Saranac River area at the time of the battle. From The Battle of Plattsburgh...What Historians Say About It. J. B. Lyons Company, Albany, New York, 1914.

the local Chamber of Commerce. The remarkable similarity between the Saranac's course as it appears therein and on De Russy's chart will quickly become apparent. One could almost superimpose each bend and twist of the river from De Russy's

work on to today's version.

The little stream flows behind the field house at the State University, emptying into the river at the foot of Adirondack Lane. There is little possiblility of mistaking it for another streamlet; there simply are not others in the immediate vicinity. The nearest to it and the only other one that could possibly be De Russy's brook, is the rivulet emptying approximately 500 feet below the bridge at Treadwell's Mills. Fortunately, our 1814 chart eliminates that remote chance. The diagonal road connecting the site of Prevost's headquarters on Cornelia Street with Rugar Street should give positive assurance that the combatants crossed the river well below Treadwell's Mills. Conclusion: the brook, as it enters the Saranac, points to the Imperial Paper Mill on the opposite side. The only remaining question is how far in either direction did the camp extend?

Pike's Cantonment was not erected haphazardly at a remote spot in the wilderness, not without a sound basis for its very existence. The main reason evidently was its strategic location guarding the approaches to Plattsburgh. It constituted a prize of great military importance to attacker and defender alike. The ford provided ready access and egress, but the river also made a formidable defense for the

camp.

The army's penchant for orderly rows and straight lines almost dictates that the camp was set up in the well-known military manner. The likely shape was either a square or rectangle, compactly built for protection and the ease of moving supplies. Reiterating, a minimum of two thousand soldiers probably occupied the post. They were housed in two hundred barracks (the estimate varies), which would take up a considerable amount of space.

Assuming a square, and opting for the stated population, we can visualize an encampment consisting of fourteen rows of fourteen huts. This equates to ten souls per living unit. The size of the buildings and the amount of space between each is subject to debate; nevertheless, the dimensions of the outpost almost certainly exceeded the size of two football fields placed side by side (360 by 320

feet).

The barracks probably fronted the river, the first row set up on high ground fairly close to the bank, for it seems logical that our militia would wish to

be near their source of water for bathing, washing cooking utensils, doing their laundry, or floating supplies to and from Plattsburgh. Such an alignment would also be the best defensive position against an enemy who more than likely would be approaching from across the river.

Archaeologists occasionally excavate ancient ruins and report finding human remains in a remarkable state of preservation after thousands of years. Realistically, the men at the Cantonment must have disintegrated into dust a long time ago. It is conceivable that trained search teams, utilizing modern technology and alert for signs such as telltale depressions in the ground, could identify the burial ground with near certainty. If not, we probably should accept as inevitable the fact that

the graves are lost forever.

The first man to die at the camp must have been taken to the village for burial, or perhaps was interred at an isolated location away from the mainstream of activity, possibly in a marked grave. The frequency with which deaths occurred thereafter, particularly in the month of December, when 100 men are supposed to have died, soon precluded the luxury of even contemplating removal to a public cemetery. A possible exception would be a local volunteer whose body might have been claimed by relatives for burial in the family plot. Benjamin Mooers recorded that "ten to twelve men are daily buried. Dysentery and diarrhea are the principal diseases." Mass interment in unconventional trenches and multiple graves apparently became standard practice. The exact number will never be known. Dr. Kellogg offered a figure between two and three hundred.

The likelihood of finding the actual graves is obviously very remote. There is a significant factor to keep in mind, however, that may be helpful in locating the camp itself. Thousands of soldiers reguired large quantities of food and other supplies. They probably disposed of them at a central location similar to our present day landfill/dump. Camp Saranac's "dump" likely still exists, overgrown by trees and other vegetation. Much of the land has been disturbed by almost two centuries of lumbering operations and other practices of successive entrepreneurs. Someone may have already found it and failed to report the fact, not being aware of its historical importance. The possibility remains that a concentrated, organized search will turn it up. Food preservation, using bottles and glass containers, was widespread in this country by 1810 (tin cans came on the scene a decade later). Any collector worth his salt could quickly date a bottle by a brief glance, readily confirming a link with the period of the War of 1812.

The author corresponded with a former classmate who is now a history professor at the United States Naval Academy, and who has direct access to our military archives. He was gracious enough to assign an assistant to research our project; unfortunately, the only results obtained were excerpts from Lossing, already available to us.

Letters were then directed to The Royal Military College and The Canadian Military Staff College, both at Kingston, Ontario. As might be expected, another dead end ensued. The final effort involved correspondence with The Department of War Studies at The Royal Military Academy Sandhurst, Camberley, England. Officials there were understanding and sympathetic but could only refer us to their National Army Museum. The matter was dropped at that point.

The writer conducted periodic searches with a metal detector beginning in 1968. The search area, of necessity, was limited to unposted land between the Northway and the Imperial Paper boundary (near the junction of Underwood Avenue and Main Mill Street). Understandably, all vestiges of the giant white pines alluded to by various authors long ago disappeared. In the interest of brevity, suffice it to say that no tree stumps were found that might have provided a landmark; nor was anything of significance unearthed.

On May 25, 1985, stimulated by the awakening of spring, our first expedition of the year was conducted. Several odd-shaped pieces of rock (mistakenly believed to be Indian relics) were found approximately 500 feet upstream from the corner of Main Mill and Underwood. Eager to find more "artifacts," we walked a few paces farther up the river and saw a metal object nestled among stones close to the water's edge. Examination proved it to be an 1807 United States large cent. Inconclusive, but a definite indication of human activity, and the first encouraging sign after so many

years of frustration!

Summarizing, one should not expect the sudden emergence of written documentation, 172 years after the fact, which would verify the site of Pike's Cantonment. Lossing was not even born when the war broke out. His writings and his visit to Plattsburgh came many years afterward. Hurd arrived on the scene even later. Both gentlemen and all who followed were forced to operate on hearsay evidence. Major De Russy appears to be our last

Where have all the soldiers gone? They sleep



Artist's rendering of 1807 United States large cent found by the author.

along the banks of the Saranac, moldering away into oblivion. It is ironic that Downie and his fallen British comrades were buried in Riverside Cemetery with such great pomp and ceremony while Plattsburgh's own defenders have remained undiscovered and unhonored since Abraham Lincoln was only four years old.

There may eventually be a consensus establishing the location of the Cantonment. When that moment arrives, we will be able to say of the men buried there, as has been said of their brethren at the Tomb of the Unknowns in Arlington National Cemetery, "Here Rest in Honored Glory American Soldiers Known But to God."

Richard Gregoire of Cadyville is a graduate of the University of Connecticut, an Air Force veteran of the Korean War, and a retiree from the state civil service at Dannemora. Mr. Gregoire has a strong interest in local history.

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WHERE HAVE ALL THE SOLDIERS GONE?

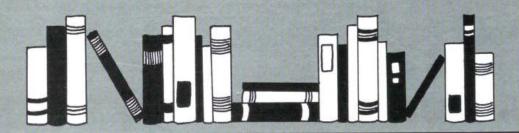
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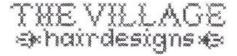
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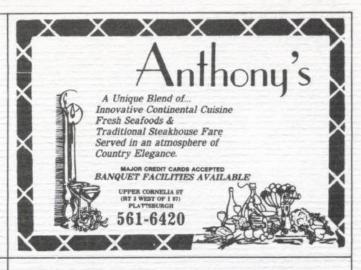
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