

HISTORY

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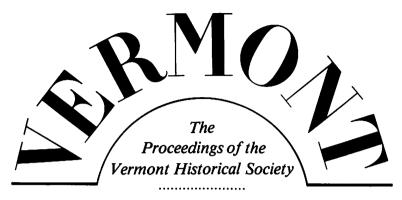
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Not Your Ordinary Sleigh Ride: Two Early-Nineteenth-Century Winter Travelers on Lake Champlain

"Travelling on Lake Champlain, is, at all times, really dangerous; and I would not advise any one to attempt it."

By JENNIE VERSTEEG

oor Hugh Gray. He was heading out from Montreal in the winter of 1808, crossing the icy St. Lawrence on the 9-mile route upstream to La Prairie. As the end point of the stage route and later the rail route to Montreal, La Prairie was in the nineteenth century "the grand thoroughfare of trade between Montreal and St. John's [Saint-Jeansur-Richelieu]" and thus an important link between Vermont and Lower Canada. No sooner had Gray left the city when his driver became lost following the wrong sleigh tracks on the snow-covered river. Perhaps this somewhat frightening experience was good preparation for the Englishman's subsequent experience with travel on frozen Lake Champlain, which he narrated in portions of his Letters from Canada, reproduced here.²

We are fortunate to have Gray's narrative, for although scores of early-nineteenth-century British and American travel accounts give us glimpses of the transportation, local customs, and landscape, very few mention winter travel. As Gray himself observed, "travelling over an uniform surface of ice in very cold weather" is different, and not just because the countryside is hidden by snow. "Curiosity freezes under such circumstances, and the only prospect which arouses attention is the inn, or village, which is to afford the comforts of food and fire." Yet Gray also noted that "with all the inconveniences attending it," winter travel was not uncommon in the Lake Champlain corridor: "the Americans are constantly coming into Canada, particularly to Montreal."

In this article I briefly examine the wintertime Lake Champlain ex-

periences of two early-nineteenth-century English travelers: Gray, who traveled here in 1808, and Lieutenant Francis Hall, who recorded his account in 1818. Of course neither of these gentlemen was on a mere tourist's ramble, but—winter or summer—both observed their surroundings, often in great detail, with an eye to communicating with a British readership. First let us consider Hall's south-to-north trip and then, at greater length, Gray's north-to-south path.

Francis Hall journeyed across Lake Champlain en route from New York City to Lower Canada in March 1816. Hall's narrative, published as *Travels in Canada and the U.S.*, tells us nothing about his exact mission, but we know that he was a lieutenant in the Fourteenth Light Dragoons and was passing through Vermont on his way to Quebec City, where he lived for two years. The length of his stay, no doubt, accounts for the size of his party: "three persons, four servants, and one waggon load of baggage."

Hall had barely arrived in the New World, and after a January–February North Atlantic crossing from Liverpool that had taken forty-four days, the prospect of winter travel through New York State and Vermont may not have seemed very daunting to him. On March 9 Hall's party had left New York City for Albany on a steam packet (with a capacity of 200 to 300 passengers), and he had already had a chance to mingle with Americans, which allayed some of his apprehensions. "Truly, I thought, these republicans are not so very barbarous."

From Albany the group traveled by wagon, leaving the main north road at Granville to go to Whitehall. Hall knew he had entered a different world when the countryside became "more wild and wintry as we proceeded. The snow which had hitherto been partial, now began to impede the progress of our waggon, which had been moving at the rate of three and a half miles per hour. We were frequently obliged to alight, and walk down steep hills, thickly encrusted with ice and snow." After getting to Whitehall and switching to sleighs on a "bright and mild afternoon," the party enjoyed "the pleasing change from our snail-paced waggon to the smooth rapidity of a sleigh, gliding at the rate of nine miles an hour."

Hall's group found "good accommodation" overnight in Shoreham at the tavern he identified as that of "a Mr. Larenburg." Although there may have been such a tavern, it is more likely that Hall stayed at the tavern of John C. Larabee mentioned in John Wriston's *Vermont Inns and Taverns, Pre-Revolution to 1925.* If so, he probably had quite a bit of company. The tavern was conveniently located on the lake and in the early 1800s was a popular winter stopping place where news and information were exchanged. Wriston, quoting from Joseph Goodhue's *History of the Town of Shoreham*, indicates that "seventy teams a night are spoken of as stopping

at the Larabee House . . . by the Lake," presumably not all for an overnight stay.⁷

The Hall party set off before breakfast under less appealing conditions than those of the previous afternoon:

The lake now began to widen, and the shores to sink in the same proportion; the keen blasts of the north, sweeping over its frozen expanse, pierced us with needles of ice; the thermometer was 22° below zero; buffalo hides, bear skins, caps, shawls and handkerchiefs were vainly employed against a degree of cold so much beyond our habits. Our guide, alone of the party, his chin and eye-lashes gemmed and powdered with the drifting snow, boldly set his face and horses in the teeth of the storm.8

Cold though he was, Hall revealed no anxiety about the trip, experiencing pleasure where others might have thought of danger.

Sometimes a crack in the ice would compel us to wait, while [the guide] went forward to explore it with his axe, (without which, the American sleigh-drivers seldom travel,) when, having ascertained its breadth, and the foothold on either side, he would drive his horses at speed, and clear the fissure, with its snow ridge, at a flying leap; a sensation we found agreeable enough, but not so agreeable as a good inn and dinner at Burlington.⁹

After his overnight at the unspecified inn in Burlington, Hall crossed over to Plattsburgh just as summer travelers did, "curious to view the theatre of our misfortunes." After lengthy contemplation and analysis of the Battle of Plattsburgh, Hall continued up the lake to Canada, where "nothing could be more Siberian than the aspect of the Canadian frontier." Hall's 211-mile sleigh ride down the lake from Whitehall may have been cold, but it was essentially a rather uneventful journey.

Hugh Gray's tale of winter travel stands in contrast to Hall's. Published as part of a collection of letters written during his 1806–1808 stay in Canada, it also hints at the tension along the border between Vermont and British North America as the United States and Great Britain drifted toward war in 1812.

We know almost nothing about Gray except that he died in 1833 and had previously toured extensively on the European continent, making trips to less-developed countries such as Spain and Portugal, which he at times compared to North America. Gray did not identify himself as a merchant or a government agent and seems to have been part of the class of gentlemen travelers of apparently limitless leisure, funds, and curiosity. Yet his attentions were more focused than those of many contemporary travelers, and his stay in North America was at least in part related to his concern for the British national interest—specifically, for supplies of naval stores for the British West Indies. Gray assumed that

the flow of American goods through the Lake Champlain corridor would soon cease, and he wondered how to replace U.S. commodities, especially timber. "Any country . . . which could give us the articles we have been in the habit of receiving from [the Americans], becomes doubly interesting," he explained in his preface.¹¹

In 1806 the first timber raft had come down the Ottawa River to the St. Lawrence and on to Quebec City, and by the time Gray was traveling, Canadian timber had already begun to replace Vermont supplies. To ensure future naval stores, Gray argued that it was important for Britain to retain its dominance in the region, even though such sway would "retard [Canadian] progress in population, in arts, and in commerce. Their individual interests ought to yield to those of the mother country, the head of the empire." 12

It may be that Gray published his personal observations to make his voice heard in the emerging debate about Britain's ongoing interests in North America. It is also possible that he emphasized his patriotism and national interest simply as a marketing ploy, to set his story apart from the many other travel accounts published in his day. Gray undertook his journeys very early in the century, when travelers still felt a need to link accounts of their tourist rambles to some serious educational or other purpose; the idea of travel for pure pleasure and interest was just developing. Most of Gray's accounts are, in fact, much like those of scores of slightly later pleasure travelers of the nineteenth century who observed the sublime and beautiful in nature and commented on local attractions and customs.

Yet Gray at times also carefully noted commercial activity and border conditions. For example, in September 1807 he pointed out that Chambly on the Richelieu River was the "only channel acknowledged in law for the commerce of the States with Lower Canada. Hence, at a place called St. John's, on the river, near the lake [Champlain], we have established a custom-house, which takes cognizance of whatever passes to and from the United States." Elsewhere, though, he was realistic enough to write that with the encroaching hostilities, "it is not to be supposed that strict attention will be paid to the law making St. John's the only legal channel." ¹³

With only one clear port of entry and exit to study, Gray was able to enumerate precisely the quantities of various Canadian exports to the United States and to report an 1806 Canadian trade deficit at Saint-Jean of exactly 108,960 pounds sterling, 3 shillings, and 6 pence. Gray noted "this balance the Americans carry out of Canada in cash" but did not see it as a problem, for the "old [mercantilist] notion that it was ruin to a country to allow its specie to be taken from it, is now very generally exploded." 14

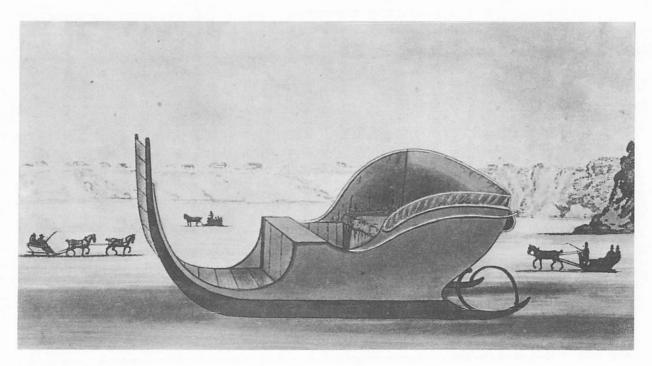
Gray's experience of winter travel on Lake Champlain was quite different from that of Francis Hall. For one thing, he traveled lightly and apparently alone with a driver in a *cariole*. In British North America the *cariole* was a sort of one-horse chaise on sled runners, the counterpart of the summertime calèche, referred to by English-speaking travelers as a calash or calesh. We know that Gray was no fan of Canadian vehicles, and he may have had the same mixed feelings about the *cariole* as he did about the calèche: "A person who had been accustomed to travel only in England, would say, that a Canadian calesh, with its two wheels and single horse, was not fit for a Christian to be put into. . . . But I have seen worse." ¹⁵

Another English traveler in British North America of the same period, John Lambert, left us a clear description of a *cariole:* "The carioles nearly resemble the body of a one-horse-chaise, placed upon two runners, like the irons of a pair of skates. They are painted, varnished, and lined like the better sort of calashes. The driver generally stands up in front, though there is a seat. . . . Between him and the horse, there is a high pannel, which reaches up to his breast, and prevents the splashes from being thrown into the cariole." ¹⁶

Gray's transition from travel in Lower Canada to travel on Lake Champlain had involved switching from a one- to a two-horse *cariole;* Gray and Lambert were just two of many travelers to comment on the contrast—in both summer and winter—between the American custom of using two horses and the Canadian usage of a single horse. Lambert's is again more complete than other narratives, noting some Canadian exceptions to the one-horse norm: "the dashing youths in the army, the government service, or . . . the merchants," who "are fond of displaying their scientific management of the whip in the tandem style." 17

Hall also described winter vehicles but was rather vague, commenting on "the common country sleigh" as a "clumsy, box-shaped machine." He may have been referring to the rural habitants' use of the so-called berlin, which Lambert wrote was "better adapted for long journeys, as the sides are higher, and keep the traveller warmer." One assumes, however, that an English gentleman would not think of setting foot in a berlin. Lambert also described warmer, covered *carioles* but indicated that they were used only for events such as fancy evening balls, "for the pleasure of carioling consists principally in seeing and being seen, and therefore the open one, though it exposes the person to the severest weather, is always preferred." 19

Lambert further remarked that the body of the *cariole* "is sometimes placed on high runners of iron, though in general the low wooden runners are preferred, as they are not so liable to be upset as the others."²⁰ This



"The Canadian Cariole." Illustration by John Lambert. Courtesy Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.

latter feature is fortunate in light of the style of travel Gray described in a letter, part of which is reprinted below. It is unfortunate that we cannot follow Gray all the way up the lake, for though the end of his letter promises further information, Gray's published accounts do not return to the theme of travel in the Lake Champlain region.

HUGH GRAY, EXCERPT FROM LETTERS FROM CANADA

Quebec, 1808

After leaving Laprairie, we very soon got into a primeval forest, through which a road has been cut as far as the American boundary line; and it is continued onwards to Lake Champlain. This is the principal communication in this district, between Canada, and the United States. For many miles the country is very level, and completely covered with large timber, principally pines. I saw no cross roads, so that it is a kind of pass that might be defended with very few men.

The vicinity of Montreal to the United States, encourages the soldiers occasionally to desert, by the road we passed; to prevent which, a few invalids are stationed in the wood; they live in log-houses, not the most comfortably in the world. There is another road by way of St. John's, but the deserters avoid it on account of the garrison or fort. . . . We found near the Lake a kind of public-house, where we stopped during the night.

Next morning we could not proceed, because, during the whole night it had blown very fresh, accompanied with a heavy fall of snow, which continued till near mid-day; and as every track on the Lake was covered, we could not venture to go upon it, our conductor not being well acquainted with the different bearings of the land marks.

The Lake, though 120 miles long, is not broad, seldom above 10 to 15 miles; and there are a great many islands and headlands, which direct the course of the pilot in summer, and the cariole or sleigh driver in winter.

So soon as the weather moderated, we set out on the Lake; and took a guide for some time, till we should fall in with someone going our way, or discover a track in the snow to direct us.

Travelling on Lake Champlain, is, at all times, really dangerous; and I would not advise any one to attempt it, if it can be avoided; which may generally be done by lengthening the route. Instead of going on the Lake to Burlington, or Skeensboro, you may go by way of St. John's, Windmillpoint, and Sandbar, to Burlington, and from thence to Skeensboro.

It is very common, for sleigh, horses, and men, to fall through the ice, where the water is some hundred feet deep; and you have no warning of your danger till the horses drop in, pulling the sleigh after them; luckily the weak places are of no great extent; you extricate yourself from the

sleigh as quickly as possible, and you find the ice generally strong enough to support you, though it would not bear the weight of the horses. You instantly lend your aid in pulling out the horses, and in endeavouring to save them, which is done in a manner perfectly unique, and which will require the greatest stretch of your faith in my veracity, to believe—the horses are strangled, to save their lives.

When the horses fall through the ice (there are almost always two in an American sleigh), the struggles and exertions they make, serve only to injure and sink them; for, that they should get out of themselves, is, from the nature of the thing, perfectly impossible. When horses go on the Lake, they always have, round their necks, a rope with a running noose. I observed that our horses had each of them such a rope; and on inquiry, found out for what purpose it was intended. The moment the ice breaks, and the horses sink into the water, the driver, and those in the sleigh, get out, and catching hold of the ropes, pull them with all their force, which, in a very few seconds, strangles the horses and no sooner does this happen, than they rise in the water, float on one side, are drawn out on strong ice, the noose of the rope is loosened, and respiration recommences; in a few minutes the horses are on their feet, as much alive as ever. This operation has been known to be performed two, or three times a day, on the same horses; for, when the spring advances, the weak places in the Lake, become very numerous; and the people, whose business leads them often on it, frequently meet with accidents. They tell you that horses which are often on the lake; get so accustomed to being hanged, that they think nothing at all of it.

Pray, tell me, do you not think that this is one of the stories that travellers imagine they may tell with impunity, having a license?—Seriously, you are wrong.—Though this manner of saving horses, and getting them out of the water, appears extraordinary, yet, I assure you, the thing is very common, and known to every one who has been accustomed to travel on the lakes and rivers of this country, during winter. The attempt however does not always succeed. It sometimes happens, that both sleigh and horses go to the bottom; and the men too, if they cannot extricate themselves in time. There was an instance of it on Lake Champlain, a few days before I crossed it. . . .

There is another source of danger to the traveller on the lakes, which it is difficult to account for: viz. large cracks or openings, which run from one side of the lake to the other; some of them, six feet broad at least. I had not proceeded many miles on the lake before I met with a crack; but instead of an opening, I found that at this place the ice had shelved up to the height of several feet; and I learned that this was an indication of there being an opening further on. At the distance of eight or ten miles

from this place, I was surprised to observe the driver put his horses to their full speed: I could see no cause for it. In a few minutes, however, I saw the crack or opening, about five feet broad: we were at it in a moment; it was impossible to check the horses, or to stop and consider of the practicability of passing, or of the consequences; the driver, without consulting any one, had made up his mind on the subject, - the horses took the leap, and cleared the opening, carrying the sleigh and its contents with them. The concussion on the opposite side was so great, however, that the runners of the sleigh were broken, and there was a great chance of our being thrown, by the violence of the concussion, out of the sleigh, into the gulf we had crossed: this had very nearly taken place; but I was fortunate enough to regain my seat. By the help of some cords, we repaired our damage, and proceeded on our journey. We met with several other cracks, but as they were not in general above a foot or two in breadth, we passed them, without fear or accident. When the ice is cleared of snow, which was frequently the case, I could see that it was about a foot in thickness; yet it made a crackling noise as we went along, and seemed to give to the weight of the sleigh and horses, as we advanced, which produced sensations not very pleasant.

There are a great many islands in Lake Champlain, which are generally inhabited; you find inns on them, too, where you can get provisions, and beds if necessary. I shall embrace another opportunity of making some observations to you about this Lake and the surrounding country; but for the present, shall, in my next letter, communicate to you some further particulars relative to the Canadian winter.

Notes

"Upper Canada" and "Lower Canada" are the official designations for the two parts of Canada, per the 1791 Constitutional Act. Hence references to "the Canadas."

¹ Gideon M. Davison, The Traveller's Guide Through the Middle and Northern States, and the Provinces of Canada, 7th ed. (Saratoga Springs and New York, N.Y.: G. M. Davison and S. S. & W. Wood, 1837), 334. The Montreal-La Prairie route was covered by ferry in the summer and by sleigh in the winter. Travelers to Vermont and New York took a stage for the 17-mile trip from La Prairie to Saint-Jean on the Richelieu River; in the summer they then embarked on sailing vessels and later steamers to go down Lake Champlain. Though a different route to Montreal by way of Longueuil was considered more scenic and resulted in a shorter river crossing, Longueuil was not served by regular stages. In 1836 the first Canadian railroad, the Champlain and St. Lawrence, was completed, linking La Prairie to Saint-Jean and continuing La Prairie's importance.

² Hugh Gray, Letters from Canada, written during a residence there in the years 1806, 1807, and 1808, shewing the present state of Canada, its productions, trade, commercial importance and political relations, illustrative of the laws, the manners of the people and the peculiarities of the country and climate, exhibiting also the commercial importance of Nova-Scotia, New Brunswick & Cape Breton and their increasing ability, in conjunction with Canada, to furnish the necessary supplies of lumber and provisions to our West-Indian islands (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1809).

³ Ibid., 51-52, 272.

⁴ Francis Hall, *Travels in Canada and the U.S. 1816-17* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), 64.

⁵ Ibid., 21.

6 Ibid., 45, 47.

7 John C. Wriston Jr., Vermont Inns and Taverns, Pre-Revolution to 1925: An Illustrated and Annotated Checklist (Rutland, Vt.: Academy Books, 1991), 499.

8 Hall, Travels, 49.

- 9 Ibid., 49-50.
- 10 Ibid., 50, 60.
- 11 Gray, Letters, 1.

¹² Ibid., 76.
¹³ Ibid., 135, 179. Like most others in the first half of the century, Gray referred to the Richelieu

River as the Sorel (or Sorelle).

14 Gray reported that Americans preferred payment in the form of Spanish dollars, which were then used in the China trade. Alternatives were French, American, and British gold and silver coins, all of which circulated in Lower Canada. Ibid., 182.

¹⁶ John Lambert, Travels Through Lower Canada and the United States of America, vol. 1 (London: Richard Phillips, 1810), 174.

17 Ibid.

- 18 Hall, Travels, 67-68.
- 19 Lambert, Travels, 174-175.

20 Ibid., 174.



Vermont Nativism: William Paul Dillingham and U.S. Immigration Legislation

Dillingham . . . brought Vermont's nativist sentiments into play in the formulation of U.S. immigration policy, establishing a pattern of restrictive laws that endured until 1968.

By John M. Lund

ntagonism, enmity, and opposition toward immigration is a recurring theme in U.S. history, despite treasured images of America as the land of opportunity, a refuge from oppression, and a melting pot that dissolves ethnic and national differences to create a distinctly new cultural identity. Anti-immigrant sentiments have resulted in political programs and policies favoring the interests of native inhabitants over those of recent arrivals. Manifestations of nativism at times fueled visions of Anglo-Saxon superiority and led to the enactment of federal immigration restrictions.

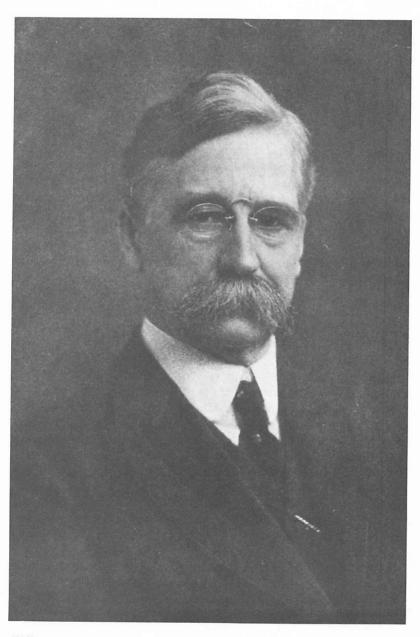
In Vermont an unexamined tradition of nativism existed before social Darwinism lent scientific credibility to anti-immigrant assertions. By national standards the state had neither a substantial immigrant population nor large urban centers. Still, many Vermonters shared the assumption that the rural communities of Anglo-Saxon Protestants embodied a way of life that instilled virtue, whereas cities, with their immigrant proletariat and its mix of religions, dialects, and cultures, bred immorality, disease, poverty, and crime. As Vermont's farming population declined after the mid-nineteenth century and the republic became increasingly

urban, Vermont nativists urged immigration restriction to preserve the policies, attitudes, and ideals that reflected rural life and centered on property rights, morality, and orderly behavior.

The origins of nativism are rooted in religious tensions. Nativists asserted that Catholicism constituted "a form of slavery at odds with American conceptions of liberty, since Catholics were obligated to follow authority rather blindly rather than display the manly independence of Protestants." For the early Protestant settlers of Vermont, Catholic reliance on priests and the pope for divine revelation raised the specter of foreign influence and subverted the central tenet of Protestantism, the priesthood of all believers. The Vermont Constitution of 1777 barred from office those who did not "profess the Protestant religion." Vermonters further guarded their state against foreign influence in an 1828 state constitutional amendment that limited privileges of freemen to those who were native-born or naturalized citizens.

Immigration accelerated dramatically in the late 1840s and triggered a nativist backlash. Vermonters targeted Irish Catholics who had been driven from their homeland by potato famine and had come to the state to construct railroads. When cases of cholera appeared in Burlington in 1849—part of a larger epidemic that struck the East Coast—many pointed to Irish Catholic immigrants as the cause and linked them to an array of social ills. Authorities in Burlington warned that these "immigrants are both paupers, and diseased, and become a charge upon the Town, and a cause of sickness, and a source of danger to the public health." A physician was authorized to inspect those who arrived via Lake Champlain, and a \$100 fine was levied on steamship captains who did not comply with the inspections.

Intense antiforeign, anti-Catholic sentiment in the early 1850s led to the rise of the secretive fraternal Order of the Star-Spangled Banner, more commonly known as Know-Nothings. Founded in New York City in 1850, Know-Nothingism rose from obscurity and united nativist sentiments throughout the nation by forming a new political party, the American Party, in 1854. Members pledged to end the spread of Catholicism, restrict the immigration of paupers and criminals, extend the period required for naturalization from five to twenty-one years, and vote only for American-born Protestants. The order's promotion of temperance struck a chord in Vermont, where prohibition had been enacted in 1853. State prohibition was intended to uphold the virtue rural Vermonters perceived to be threatened by the menacing drunken Irish immigrant, who seemed indifferent to "moral suasion." The secretive order also appealed to Vermont Protestant sensibilities with its vows to oppose the Catholic decree issued at the First Plenary Council in Baltimore in 1852. This



William Paul Dillingham. From Journal of American History, 2d ed., 1912.

edict, which called for the removal of Catholic students from public schools and opposed the use of the Protestant Bible in public schools, struck at the heart of New England values by rejecting the common school system. The council confirmed Vermont nativists' suspicions that Catholicism eroded republican virtue by undermining the Protestant emphasis on literacy.⁷

Fear of Catholic immigrants moved nativists in Vermont to action. The establishment of the Burlington diocese in 1853 generated street preaching and church sermons against Irish and French Canadian Catholics.8 Thousands of Vermonters joined Know-Nothing councils and swore oaths of allegiance to protect the republic "against every form of foreign influence."9 By some estimates more than 100 members of the Vermont House represented Know-Nothingism in 1856. Ryland Fletcher, a Know-Nothing leader, served as Republican lieutenant governor in 1854 and 1855 and as governor from 1856 to 1857. Fletcher believed immigrants brought the "mortal disease [of] monarchy and despotism, of Romanism and heathenism . . . which left unchecked would sweep away our most cherished liberties and dearest institutions."10 In 1855 Know-Nothings in the state organized the American Party of Vermont. The party's principles included a pledge to "secure a modification of the naturalization laws" and end "the deportation, by foreign authorities, of paupers and convicts to our shores."11

Other Vermonters followed the axioms of the Know-Nothings. George Perkins Marsh, a former Vermont congressman, statesman, and natural philosopher, advocated nativism and was "committed . . . to the repeal or at least restriction of the right of naturalization, and resistance to Catholic commandments." Marsh declared that "our liberties are in greater danger from the political principles of Catholicism than from any other cause." But nativism extended beyond disdain for Catholics, as was evident when the Montpelier statehouse burned in 1857 and Burlington was suggested as the new state capital. Speaker of the House George W. Grandey, a former Know-Nothing from Vergennes, berated the proposed site as the "great JEWrusalem of V[ermon]t" whose supposed "greatness and superiority" was not recognized by "the rural districts." 13

By 1856, as the sectional conflict over slavery split the national Know-Nothing organization, former Vermont council members and those with similar sympathies were absorbed into the ranks of the emerging Republican Party. Nativism merged with the Republican principles of protection of domestic markets, labor, and the preservation of the identity, virtue, and status of the old Vermont families who made up the party leadership. The Republican Party's platform of 1860 reiterated the tenets of Know-Nothingism by yowing to resist changes "in our naturalization laws . . .

by which the rights of citizens hitherto accorded to immigrants . . . shall be abridged or impaired." The party championed "full and efficient protection [of] the rights of . . . citizens, whether native or naturalized." ¹⁴

Vermont's Republican U.S. senator Justin Smith Morrill combined nativism with the party policy of protectionism. He introduced successful protective tariff legislation along with bills for establishing agricultural and manufacturing colleges to foster husbandry and domestic production. He also turned his attention to immigration, in 1887 proposing a bill to restrict undesirable immigrants. Morrill warned that the "future character of the American people . . . republican institutions, higher wages. land homesteads, [and] universal education" were threatened by immigrants who settled in "the most inferior and wretched abodes found in cities, and [who] will not accept of health and prosperous homes elsewhere." Applying the doctrine of social Darwinism espoused by Herbert Spencer, Morrill argued that race and ethnicity predetermined the ability to become Americanized. Unlike the "Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and German immigrants [who] have been easily digested and assimilated," the southern and eastern Europeans bore "the mark of Cain" and constituted a class of "outcasts and criminals," imbeciles, idiots, and lunatics, 15

Morrill's successor in the U.S. Senate, William Paul Dillingham, continued to show Vermont's rural biases in questions of national immigration and achieved eminence as a spokesman for restriction. Dillingham's involvement in immigration began during his term as governor of Vermont. Elected in 1888, Dillingham included in his opening address to the legislature an admonition to its members to guard rural Protestant ideals by enforcing legislation to correct social ills associated with immigrants: "The laws for the encouragement of virtue and prevention of vice and immorality ought to be kept constantly in force." High rates of insanity and indigence headed the governor's list of pressing issues. He equated economic failure with moral failure and mental instability with an overall innate inferiority of the new arrivals. Finding the Brattleboro asylum to be inadequate to house such pariahs, Dillingham recommended building an additional facility in Waterbury and oversaw the subsequent construction and completion of the state hospital in 1891. Concern over breaches of the state's prohibition laws led the governor to advocate imprisonment for violators - generally assumed to be members of Vermont's Irish Catholic population. Dillingham also emphasized literacy as the guardian of sound government. Under his directive the Vermont legislature passed a law that required standardized tests of teacher proficiency. 16

The greatest problem facing the governor, however, was rural depopulation, which caused a statewide economic and business slump. Indeed,

Dillingham confronted a decade of acute agricultural decline as rural Vermonters migrated to Burlington and Rutland, to cities of southern New England, and to the West. From 1880 to 1890 the population of the state grew by only 136 people. 17 Dillingham responded by creating a commission to study ways to induce settlement of abandoned hilltown farms. He appointed A. B. Valentine of Bennington to head the inquiry and to ascertain whether "legislative action" should be taken for "the permanent establishment of a [state] bureau or commissioner of immigration." 18 The governor instructed Valentine to collect "statistical material" on the prices of farm property, compare these figures to those of other states, and investigate the methods other states used to encourage immigrants to take up farming. 19 The commissioner sent questionnaires to all Vermont towns to establish the amount and location of the most severely depopulated areas. From the figures he gathered, Valentine reported that 10 percent of Vermont farmland that had once been cultivated lay fallow. 20

The governor also authorized Valentine to travel to the West to observe the characteristics of immigrants who were settling there and determine the most desirable group to repopulate Vermont. The commissioner concluded that "the hard-working, honest Scandinavian" immigrant could answer Vermont's problems. He asserted that geographical similarities between Scandinavia and Vermont made Swedes uniquely suited to Vermont's climate. Upholding the central place of literacy, the Swedes "are well educated, and hasten to have their children attend school where English only is spoken." Moral and virtuous, "they are temperate in their habits and are religiously inclined."²¹ In short, these immigrants from northern Europe fit Dillingham's cultural vision of rural Americanism.

The governor directed that maps of Vermont be sent to Sweden to publicize the opportunities the state offered. This effort persuaded twenty-seven Swedish families to emigrate. Arriving in April 1890, they traveled from New York City to the hilltowns of Wilmington, Weston, and Vershire. Dillingham personally visited the towns to welcome them. Celebrating the new arrivals' Protestantism, he noted approvingly that "like our forefathers, they brought their pastor with them."²²

Dillingham did not act alone in trying to attract northern and western Europeans to Vermont. Redfield Proctor, Vermont marble magnate, secretary of war under President Benjamin Harrison, and later U.S. senator, favored Scandinavian immigrants as workers in his quarries. In the late 1870s and throughout the 1880s, Proctor instructed his agents in New York and Boston to recruit Swedes rather than southern and eastern European or Irish immigrants. Although he employed Protestant northern Italians in Proctor, his belief in the existence of analogous moral norms between northwestern Europeans and Vermonters and the superiority of

Anglo-Saxons led him to hire disproportionate numbers of Swedes as foremen.²³

In his valedictory to the legislature, Dillingham lauded the Swedish newcomers and criticized Catholic seasonal agricultural laborers. The governor declared that a rural proletariat composed of a Catholic "foreignborn population" could not "be depended upon to maintain the number of our farmers," whereas Swedes contributed "a great and lasting benefit to the State."24 Other Vermonters shared Dillingham's disdain for the presence of Catholic seasonal farmworkers in the Yankee kingdom. Vermont writer Rowland Robinson extolled the virtues of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism and asserted that Catholic French Canadians added a corrupt element to the state's social fabric. He believed these newcomers poorly compensated for the state's rural depopulation. Robinson depicted them as an "inferior class" whose religious beliefs stigmatized them as "heretics." Attributing to them an innate criminality, he wrote that they could not help but steal, "for their fingers were as light as their hearts." Alleged to be inherently indigent and lazy, they threatened to dilute Vermont's Anglo-Saxon stock and poison the public health with "litters of filthy brats."25

The late-nineteenth-century exaltation of Anglo-Saxonism carried over into the formation of Vermont hereditary societies. One of these, the Society of Colonial Wars, germinated in New York City in 1892 and spread quickly throughout the Northeast. Dillingham played a key role in establishing the Vermont chapter in 1894. Requiring of members sound "moral character" and proof of direct family lineage to colonists who fought for independence during the American Revolution, the society aimed at "perpetuating the memory" of the colonial past. The organization claimed Protestants as the true founders and guardians of the principles that defined the republic's moral and ethical standards. From 1894 to 1896 Dillingham served as legal counsel to the society without compensation, and later he was its president.26 In the 1890s he joined and served as president of the Vermont Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. Dillingham also traced his own ancestry to the settlers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1630.27 Dillingham's activities in these groups bolstered his cultural vision of Anglo-Saxonism and heightened his perception of the inferiority of immigrants who came from different stock than did his northwestern European forebears.

The death of Senator Morrill in October 1899 propelled Dillingham to the U.S. Senate. Elected by the Vermont legislature to complete Morrill's unexpired term, Dillingham took his seat in the Senate in December 1900. Republican control facilitated his access to the Senate leadership.²⁸ In 1901 Dillingham served on the Committee on Transportation Routes to

the Seaboard, which examined immigration routes from Europe; the following year he was named chairman.²⁹ After fellow Vermont senator Redfield Proctor left the Senate Immigration Committee in January 1902, Dillingham took his place.³⁰ He increasingly focused his energies on immigration restriction.

Dillingham's first speech on the Senate floor in April 1902 initiated debate over the terms of restrictions on Chinese immigration, which had come up for renewal. He declared that even though he had "not come into contact with this class of people," barring the Chinese from entry into the country constituted the best method to "protect American labor." After a protracted debate, the Senate voted with Dillingham for the permanent exclusion of the Chinese "coolie laborer." 31

Reelected to a full term by an overwhelming majority in the Vermont legislature in 1903, Dillingham continued to press for limits on immigration.³² Named chairman of the Senate Immigration Committee in 1903, he promoted the immigration act passed that year. The law mandated a two-dollar head tax on each immigrant to establish an "immigration fund" for the maintenance of ports of arrival. Proof of the increased concern over the economic dimension of immigration, the law transferred immigration responsibilities from the Treasury Department to the newly formed Department of Commerce and Labor.³³

In the following years Dillingham concentrated on securing immigrant farm labor and advocated the creation of an informational display bureau at Ellis Island to describe the opportunities of rural life.³⁴ Dillingham also sought to alleviate overcrowding of immigrant tenement districts. He supported medical and mental examinations of immigrants to prevent the entry of the feebleminded and those who carried disease.³⁵

In keeping with Progressive efforts to build a better society, President Theodore Roosevelt in 1905 appealed to Congress to limit the "wrong" sort of immigrant and to find a method to induce immigrants to settle "the land and keep them away from the congested tenement-house districts of the great cities." This directive spurred Dillingham to attempt a major overhaul of immigration policy, and in 1906 he introduced amendments to that effect. After a series of conference committee meetings under Dillingham's leadership, Congress in 1907 enacted a measure to set up a joint House-Senate commission to study problems in immigration policy and propose solutions. The fell to Dillingham to chair the commission, and because of his subsequent leadership role over the next four years, the investigations were popularly referred to as the Dillingham Commission reports.

Dillingham exercised extensive power over the direction and expenditures of the commission. He authorized the time and place of all com-

mission meetings and all expenditures under \$500. To oversee larger disbursements, he appointed a five-member committee over which he presided. The chairman also selected and served ex officio on more than a dozen subcommittees that undertook investigations.³⁸

Dillingham appointed William Husband, former managing editor of the *Montpelier Daily Journal*, as the commission's chief secretary. An ardent restrictionist and Progressive academic who belonged to the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences and the American Statistical Association, Husband acted as the senator's alter ego. Dillingham relied on Husband's expertise at statistical analysis and knowledge of Progressive science, and Husband advised Dillingham on potential methods of restriction.³⁹

A nine-member bipartisan commission formed and adopted a research plan to consolidate existing immigration statistics and simultaneously collect sociological data on how and where immigrants lived and worked. Commissioners, social scientists, and a host of federal inspectors were to conduct studies throughout Europe and the United States, applying the methods Dillingham used during his gubernatorial immigration investigation. 40 Standardized questionnaires were the primary research tool, and statistics composed the bulk of the commission's data. The research focused on literacy rates, property ownership, and the number of family groups. The Progressive reformers' penchant for employing the methods of the emerging social sciences and the enlistment of academic experts such as Husband to solve societal problems added a pseudoscientific dimension to the entire examination.

The first study surveyed emigration conditions in Europe.⁴¹ For three months Dillingham and other commissioners traveled throughout the Continent and found that illiterate and unskilled southern and eastern Europeans constituted the greatest number of emigrants.⁴² The tour simply reaffirmed Dillingham's belief in the superiority of northern and western Europeans, and he observed that "the proportion of Scandinavian immigrants, who make admirable citizens, is lower than formerly."⁴³

The emphasis on race and ethnicity as the determining factor in the process of assimilation guided the commission's work in compiling a directory of immigrant groups. Upholding contemporary hereditary theories, the directory's system of classification maintained that linguistic and cultural variations signified distinctive racial differences between the people of northwestern Europe and those of southern and eastern Europe. While the directory dismissed southern and eastern Europeans as biologically inferior, it praised Scandinavians as "the purest type"—99 percent Protestant, with the lowest rate of illiteracy—who made "ideal farmers and . . . Americanize more rapidly than other peoples."44

Dillingham's long-standing concern over the decline in rural republican virtue and morality led to probes of prostitution, insanity, and poverty among urban immigrants. Each of these studies predictably supported the notion that southern and eastern Europeans made up the largest group that brought the evils of immorality and impoverishment to the republic. ⁴⁵ The commission cited 1900 census data to show that a majority of northern and western Europeans had taken up farming and concluded it unnecessary to further document their settlement patterns. Pointing to data from agricultural regions devoid of Asians and southern and eastern Europeans, the commission maintained that these were "nonagricultural races." ⁴⁶

The bulk of the studies centered on urban immigrant industrial labor, the antithesis of Vermont's husbandry. Over a million questionnaires were distributed in 200 industrial centers to probe the personal habits and living conditions of the urban immigrant proletariat. From the responses, the commission contended that unskilled, illiterate, single male southern and eastern Europeans composed the majority of the nation's urban labor force. The commission held these newcomers culpable for the most acute social and economic problems in the early twentieth century, including the financial panic of 1907. According to the commission, these new arrivals threatened to unravel and transform rural American civilization.

In 1911, after four years of exhaustive study (the findings of which filled forty-one volumes of Senate reports), Dillingham submitted to Congress a list of potential methods to restrict immigration from southern and eastern Europe. Authenticated by Progressive science and justified "by economic, moral, and social considerations," the commission's list of solutions to the "immigration question" began by proposing literacy tests. ⁴⁷ A second recommendation advocated quotas by national origin to limit "the number of each race arriving each year to a certain percentage." Other suggestions included the exclusion of unskilled workers without wives, an increase in entry fees, and a head tax that would favor men with families.

Consumed by xenophobia in the wake of the commission's findings, Dillingham perceived illiteracy as a contagion and southern and eastern Europeans as its carriers. As president of the board of trustees and chairman of the executive committee of the Montpelier Seminary during the 1910s, Dillingham applied the findings of the commission to the 1911–1912 curriculum by stressing that "no other accomplishment can take the place of the ability to speak and write pure English." In the Senate in 1912 he introduced a bill calling for reading and writing tests as well as increased federal authority to exclude and deport undesirables. Although

Congress passed an amended version of the measure, President William Howard Taft vetoed it, and the House failed to override the veto.⁵⁰

Undeterred by the defeat of his proposal for a literacy test, Dillingham turned to the second recommendation of the commission, racially based national origin quotas. Introduced in June 1913, Dillingham's proposal, the first of its kind in U.S. history, called for limiting immigration to 10 percent of the number of nationals in residence according to the 1910 census. Although the quotas encouraged the immigration of northern and western Europeans, Dillingham predicted that the numbers arriving from southern and eastern Europe would be checked. Congress took no action on the bill.⁵¹

In 1914, after the adoption of the Seventeenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution requiring direct elections of senators, Dillingham's attention was temporarily drawn away from his restriction campaign to his political campaign in Vermont. His political nemesis, interstate commerce commissioner Charles A. Prouty, who had been an unsuccessful senatorial candidate since 1900, emerged as a powerful contender and posed the first serious challenge to Dillingham's Senate seat. In the fall Prouty opened a spirited campaign waged through newspapers and stump speeches around the state. The challenger garnered the support of several newspapers, including the *Burlington Daily Free Press*. This apparent lead early in the campaign was bolstered in October when the Democratic candidate withdrew from the race, leaving Prouty with the combined backing of the Progressive, Prohibition, and Democratic parties.⁵²

Although Prouty attacked Dillingham as an old guard standpatter, he never challenged the incumbent's record on immigration. Prouty shared with Dillingham the assumptions of racial typing and similarly celebrated Anglo-Saxon America. During his campaign Prouty exalted Herbert Spencer, who claimed that America was composed of the greatest hybrid of Anglo-Saxonism; Prouty called Spencer the "greatest speaker who ever expressed himself in the English language." 53

Dillingham offset Prouty's accusations that he was a pawn of Republican leadership by highlighting his record as an advocate of restriction. During his campaign, managed by William Husband and Fred Howland, a vice president of National Life Insurance Company of Montpelier, the incumbent argued that a change in immigration policy was essential to "permit desirable foreigners to make homes in this country and keep out undesirables." As the election drew closer, Dillingham's stance on restriction became his greatest political asset. In November the election results decisively reaffirmed both Dillingham's place in the Senate (with 56 percent of the vote) and the strength of Vermont's nativist sentiments. 55

With his return to the Senate, Dillingham again spearheaded the drive

to enact literacy tests, even though numbers arriving on U.S. shores sharply declined during World War I. President Woodrow Wilson's veto of a 1915 literacy test bill that Dillingham sponsored frustrated the senator, and on the Senate floor he expounded on the danger of a nation of cities populated by immigrants. He disdained southern and eastern European newcomers, who ignored "the inducements held out by the farmers of America, [and] in spite of all the advantages the aliens might enjoy in country districts . . . move in racial groups . . . [to] the centers of industry."56 In 1916 Dillingham declared, "If we adopted the education [literacy] test, it would substantially decrease . . . the races coming here without families . . . [who] will not . . . aid in the agriculture of America."57

In January 1917 Dillingham successfully shepherded through the Senate a House bill calling for literacy tests. Although President Wilson again vetoed the measure, the patriotism intensified by the war aroused sentiment in favor of the test, and Congress overrode the veto. 58 Within three years, however, debates over immigration restriction resumed, as many in Congress perceived that the tests failed sufficiently to limit southern and eastern Europeans. Moreover, fears that an urban nation was rapidly supplanting an agrarian republic were confirmed by the 1920 census, which indicated that for the first time more people in the United States lived in cities than in rural areas. 59

In December 1920 Dillingham resuscitated his proposal for national origin quotas by introducing a bill to limit immigration to 3 percent of the number of each nationality in residence in 1910. Dillingham presented his bill as an alternative to a measure proposed by Republican congressman Albert Johnson of Washington that called for a yearlong suspension of all immigration. Dillingham touted his bill, also a temporary one-year measure, as the means to avoid the return to prewar levels of immigration and to avert the possibility of an oversupply of labor to America's depressed industries. As Dillingham saw it, an immigration emergency "was now at hand."

Dillingham's prominence as a legislative spokesman for restriction led John Spargo to write to the senator in 1921. A former socialist leader who settled in Bennington and would serve as president of the Vermont Historical Society from 1927 to 1939, Spargo expressed a keen interest in thwarting the anti-Semitism that was in ascendance and that he considered to be implicit in Dillingham's bill. Dillingham refused to sign a petition Spargo had sent denouncing anti-Semitism and instead wrote that "the present immigration bill is purely an emergency measure intended to meet the loud demand which comes from every side either for restriction or prohibition." Although he did not sign the petition, he replied to Spargo's inquiries on anti-Semitism by stating that "the prejudice...

against those of Hebrew descent is . . . thoughtless and cruel. . . . [They] constitute an element which should be utilized rather than rejected in the development of our Nation."62

In May 1921 Dillingham's quotas easily passed in Congress. ⁶³ Dillingham lived to see the renewal of his system of quotas in 1922. After his death in 1923, strong nativist tendencies in Congress prompted the quotas to be reduced to 2 percent of the nationality resident in 1890. Dillingham had brought Vermont's nativist sentiments into play in the formulation of U.S. immigration policy, establishing a pattern of restrictive laws that endured until 1968.

Vermont nativists perceived the transformation of the United States from a homogeneous rural Protestant republic to a culturally heterogeneous urban industrial nation as a loss of virtue. Their alarm mounted as the state experienced a decline in rural population and economic stagnation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Scientific theories abetted nativist assertions, seeming to provide credibility to arguments for immigration restriction. Nativists in Vermont ascribed a loss of American ideals, identity, and status to immigrants and took part in national nativist reactions by striking at what they believed to be the sources of rural decay.

Notes

The author gratefully acknowledges Sam Hand's reading of various drafts of this essay.

- ¹ Social Darwinism achieved popularity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and provided a basis for the eugenics movement in the United States. See Mark Haller, Eugenics: Hereditarian Attitudes in American Thought (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1963).
- ² Eric Foner, "The Meaning of Freedom in the Age of Emancipation," *Journal of American History* 81, 2 (September 1994): 446.
 - ³ Vermont Constitution of 1777, art. 1. This provision was dropped in 1786.
 - ⁴ Vermont Constitution, 1828 amendments, art. 1.
- ⁵ Severe cholera epidemics struck the East Coast in 1832, 1849, 1866, and 1892. Alan M. Kraut, Silent Travelers: Germs, Genes and the "Immigrant Menace" (New York: Basic Books, 1994), 32, 35, 37, 43, 59.
- ⁶ Immigration Regulations, 1849, Manuscript Records of the City of Burlington, Wilbur Collection, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.
- ⁷ Tyler Gregory Anbinder, Nativism and Slavery: The Northern Know-Nothings and the Politics of the 1850s (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 43-44, 153.
- ⁸ T. D. Seymour Bassett, "Urban Penetration of Rural Vermont, 1840-1880" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1952), 361.
- ⁹ "Constitution of the Subordinate Councils of Vermont," Formulary of the State Council of the American Party of Vermont (Burlington: Stacy & Jameson, 1855), 11.
- ¹⁰ Ryland Fletcher, "Circular to the Presidents of the Several Councils Within the Jurisdiction of the State of Vermont," scrapbook 88, Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, Vermont. See "Letter from Lieut. Gove. Fletcher," Daily Free Press, 12 July 1855.
 - 11 Ibid.
- ¹² George Perkins Marsh to Erastus Fairbanks, 19 April 1855, doc. box 95, Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier.
- ¹³ George W. Grandey to C. K. Field, 6 February 1857, letter file 857156.1, Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, Vermont.

¹⁴ Donald Bruce Johnson, comp., National Party Platforms, vol. 1, 1840-1956 (Urbana: Univer-

sity of Illinois, 1978), 33.

15 U.S. Congress, Senate Immigration Committee, Immigration Abuses: Remarks of Justin S. Morrill of Vermont in the Senate of the United States December 14, 1887, on His Bill to Regulate Immigration and for Other Purposes (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1887), 4-7.

16 Vermont Senate Journal, 1888, 349-357, 310.

¹⁷ Bureau of the U.S. Census, 1900 Supplement for Vermont, 568.

18 Laws of Vermont: 1888, 122.

19 States throughout the union saw immigrants as the solution to labor shortages. In the South during the late nineteenth century, immigrants were employed in work formerly done by slaves. See Rowland T. Berthoff, "Southern Attitudes Towards Immigrants" Journal of Southern History 17, 3 (August 1951): 328-350.

²⁰ Laws of Vermont: 1888, 121-122, 60. The statute that created the investigation, Act 110, was entitled "An Act Providing for the Creation of a Commission to Investigate the Agricultural and Manu-

facturing Interest of the State, and to Devise Means to Develop the Same."

²¹ A. B. Valentine, Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture and Manufacturing Interest of the State of Vermont (Rutland: Tuttle, 1890), 15.

22 Ibid., 26.

²³ Chester Winston Bowie, "Redfield Proctor: A Biography" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1980), 91-94.

²⁴ Vermont Senate Journal 1890, 309-310.

- ²⁵ Rowland Robinson, Vermont: A Study of Independence (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1892), 301-307, 328-330, 365.
- 26 Society of Colonial Wars, Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Vermont: Officers, Committees, and Members (Burlington: Hobart J. Stanley, 1905), 7.

²⁷ William Paul Dillingham to Charles Dillingham, 29 December 1896, Dillingham Family Papers,

Woodsen Research Center, Fondren Library, Rice University, Houston.

²⁸ When Dillingham assumed his senatorial seat, Republican senators Nelson W. Aldrich of Rhode Island, Orville H. Platt of Connecticut, William B. Allison of Iowa, and John C. Spooner of Wisconsinknown as "the four"-held the reins of power. See Horace Samuel Merrill and Marion Galbraith Merrill, The Republican Command 1897-1913 (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1971).

²⁹ Congressional Directory (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1901), 156.

30 Congressional Record, 57th Cong., 1st sess., 7 January 1902, 35, pt. 1:478.

31 Ibid., 9-16 April 1902, 35 pt. 4:3894-3939, 4252.

32 In the Vermont Senate Dillingham received twenty-four votes, while his challenger, Elisha May, received four. Vermont Senate Journal, 1903, 140. In the House the vote was 179 to 42. Vermont House Journal, 1903, 60-61.

33 "An Act to Regulate Immigration of Aliens into the United States," Statutes at Large 30 (1903): 898-911.

34 U.S. Congress, Senate Immigration Committee, Information and Display Bureau at Ellis Island, report 1170 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1904), 1-2.

35 U.S. Congress, Senate Immigration Committee, Regulating Immigration of Aliens into the United States, report 2134 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1904), 5.

36 Congressional Record, 59th Cong., 3d sess., 5 December 1905, 40, pt. 1:101.

37 Republican representative Charles Henry Grosvenor of Ohio introduced the amendment for a commission. Ibid., 1st sess., 25 June 1906, 40, pt. 10:9166. Roosevelt favored the creation of an immigration commission: "I would want a commission . . . to put before Congress a plan which would amount to a definite solution of this immigration business." Theodore Roosevelt to Joseph Cannon, 12 January 1907, in Elting E. Morison, ed., The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt, vol. 5 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), 550.

38 Minutes of the Meetings of the Immigration Commission, 1907, 18-21, William Walter Hus-

band Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

39 Catherine Cate Coblentz, "William Walter Husband: Second Assistant Secretary of Labor," The Vermonter 30 (1925): 93-94; Prentiss C. Dodge, comp., Encyclopedia Vermont Biography (Burlington: Ullery, 1912), 232-233.

40 Minutes of the Immigration Commission, 1907, 1-5.

⁴¹ William Paul Dillingham to I. D. Dana, 7 May 1907, Manuscripts File, Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.

42 U.S. Congress, Immigration Commission, Emigration Conditions in Europe (Washington, D.C.:

GPO, 1911).

43 "U.S. Senator Dillingham on Tour of Europe," New York Times, 13 August 1907, 13:5.

44 U.S. Congress, Immigration Commission, Dictionary of Race and Peoples (Washington, D.C.:

GPO, 1911), 120.

45 U.S. Congress, Immigration Commission, Importation of Women for Immoral Purposes (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1911); U.S. Congress, Immigration Commission, Immigrants and Insanity (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1911); U.S. Congress, Immigration Commission, Immigrants as Charity Seekers (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1911).

46 U.S. Congress, Immigration Commission, Abstract of the Reports of the Immigration Com-

mission (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1911), 3.

⁴⁷ U.S. Congress, Immigration Commission, Brief Statement of the Conclusions and Recommendations of the Immigration Commission with Views of the Minority (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1911), 48.

48 Ibid., 39. Historian John Higham writes that William Walter Husband "claimed to be the originator of the percentage idea." John Higham, Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism 1860-1925 (New York: Atheneum, 1966), 393-394,

49 Montpelier Seminary Bulletin: Catalogue 1911-1912 1, 2 (May 1911): 30.

50 Congressional Record, 62d Cong., 3d sess., 19 February 1913, 49, pt. 4:3429.

51 See "U.S. Senator William Paul Dillingham Will Introduce Bill for Regulation of Immigration in U.S.," New York Times, 2 June 1913, 2:2. Also see "Plan of Sen. Dillingham, Statistics of Immigration," New York Times, 3 June 1913, 8:4.

52 Burlington Daily Free Press, 6 October 1914.

53 Charles A. Prouty, "Speech Delivered at St. Johnsbury, August 25, 1914," Republican Campaign 1914, Republican Party Memorabilia and Ephemera, box 1 (1860-1938), Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.

54 Burlington Daily Free Press, 8 October 1914.

55 Christie Carter, ed., Vermont Elections, 1789-1989, State Papers of Vermont, vol. 21 (Montpelier: Secretary of State, 1989), 157.

⁵⁶ Congressional Record, 63d Cong., 3d sess., 11 February 1915, 52, pt. 4:4092.

57 Ibid., 64th Cong., 1st sess., 17 August 1916, 53, pt. 13:12769-12777.

58 Henry Platt Fairchild, "The Literacy Test and Its Making," Quarterly Journal of Economics

⁵⁹ A city was defined as a center with a population of 2,500 or more.

60 U.S. Congress, Senate Immigration Committee, Emergency Immigration Legislation, 67th Cong., 1st sess., 1920, S. Rept. 17, serial 17, 6.

61 William Paul Dillingham to John Spargo, 2 May 1921, John Spargo Papers, box 10, Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.

William Paul Dillingham to John Spargo, 16 December 1920, John Spargo Papers, box 10, Spe-

cial Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.

63 In the Senate the measure passed 78 to 1, with 17 not voting, and in the House by 216 to 33, with 120 not voting. Congressional Record, 67th Cong., 1st sess., 3 May 1921, 61, pt 1:68, 1442-1443, 13 May 1921, 61, pt. 1: 1442-1443.

IN THEIR WORDS

Manuscripts in the Vermont Historical Society



This occasional section draws attention to the outstanding manuscript holdings of the Vermont Historical Society by presenting transcribed letters, diary entries, memoirs, and other documents. Editing has been kept to a minimum, but punctuation, capital letters, and paragraphing have been added for clarity. Following the manuscript is information about its physical dimensions, location in the library, and provenance.

On Being a Minister's Wife, 1830-1832

Town and county historians have traditionally paid little attention to women. This is especially true of late-nineteenth-century antiquarians who published in the golden era of local history, when, to quote Carol Kammen, "hardly any writer would have concerned himself with women in a community history, nor would women's lives be mentioned." If a woman is introduced at all, it is usually as someone's wife or daughter, not as a separate person who merits her own biographical sketch.

Among the overlooked are many ministers' wives who often endured physical and emotional hardship as they accompanied their husbands from parish to parish. One such ignored but not silent woman is diarist Paulina (Bascom) Williams (1803–1863), wife of Congregational minister Stephen Williams.

Paulina was the daughter of Zeri and Mabel (Murray) Bascom of the numerous Bascom clan that settled in Monroe County, New York, and Orwell and Benson, Vermont. She was the third of four children, all born in Orwell.

In 1827 in Ogden, New York, she married the Reverend Williams (1798–1875), an itinerant north-country preacher. Educated at Middlebury College, he may have read with a private theological instructor rather than attending seminary. His first Vermont parish was West Haven, followed by Tinmouth, Hubbardton, and Clarendon, none of which he served long, perhaps because of poor health; his lengthiest stay was in Clarendon from 1837 to 1843.³

Paulina had to manage not only children—she bore four between 1828 and 1842—and a household where the husband frequently took to his sickbed but suffered poverty, slander, personal criticism, and loneliness as well. She was an example of the spouse as sacrificer: "Her dream of being a teammate in ministry turned into a nightmare of being only a partner in privation."

Begun when her husband was pastor in Parma, a village on Lake Ontario in Monroe County, Paulina Williams's diary describes her hopes and frustrations as she struggled to be a good Christian and a helpmeet to her husband. The journal, to borrow words from historian Nancy Cott, allowed her to record her religious meditations while expressing her "literacy and rising self-consciousness in a sanctified mode" and aiding her "in monitoring her progress toward salvation." The diary is presented in its entirety with the exception of two entries of religious meditations.

Jan 11, 1830

Parma

Saturday Husband was to have supplied the pulpit in the 1st church but was prevented by ill health. Perhaps the Lord designs our stay here, if so the will of the Lord be done. It is good under divine chastisement to pray that our afflictions may be mitigated & sanctified, & former mercies will be restored; if not in the self same thing, in something that will equal or exceed it. O come, blessed Lord, with thy sanctifying Spirit & reconcile me to my lot. When I suffer, remind me of the much that my Saviour suffered before me.

Feb 20, [1830]

[Parma]

Husband has been confined to his bed those five weeks. I have had a severe task to perform. Done all my work & taken care of my feeble child, 6 & done all the watching with two exceptions. This is one of the trials that await a Missionary.

Nothing but a kitchen & bedroom without fireplaces. A stove in my kitchen & green wood to supply it, of course a poor fire. Suffered materially with the cold: if it was uncovered during the night, was sure to

be extinguished in the morning & indeed we have resorted to every thing to get enough chopped to burn daytime & then had lack! Have usually been up from four to 6 times a night. Resorted to matches to light my candle. Have stood many an hour in the cold a cooking by the blaze of my candle under the dish that contained the food. In the mean time have gone without shoes untill my feet were near frozen to prevent noise, as he has been particularly nervous.

But I have been sustained beyond all comprehension. "Great & marvelous is his name." Neighbours have been kind in sending him little rarities & they have soothed me many a time when I did not know what to resort to next. But I have suffered severely by the delinquency of payment on Salary. I dare not write the half. But I would be still & know that thou art God. The Lord keep me from mention of trials in this place. "Shall the Saw magnify itself against him that shaketh it!" Husband is now in a way of recovery & O the comfort, the unspeakable comfort it gives me!

March 10, [1830]

Parma

Boarding with Mr Stephens, husbands health very slender. No house to be found for the "minister" as yet. Somehow another [sic] I feel that we have left our work, though North Parma could not sustain us to all human appearances. But my heart is there, though I have suffered much with them, I love their Souls.

I have been in the dark ever since our departure. O Lord, "shew me the light of thy countenance." Bless us with regard to the work & place before us; & manifest thy lifegiving power; open the treasures of divine grace. May christians wrestle in holy intercession for the ingathering of perishing souls! O Lord, cause christians to pray for me & thou will hear & show me how vile I am!

March 20, [1830]

Parma

Now boarding with Mr Granger. Feel somewhat at home. How kind the Lord to incline some one to care for us. Mrs. G. has been a Mother to me. The Lord reward her a hundred fold in this life, in the world to come life everlasting.

When I survey my husbands palid countenance, I feel a sinking of Spirit, that most overwhelms me. I feel that I am not willing the Lord should take him from me. I try to obtain faith of his recovery. I wonder that we are thus afflicted! & this torments me much when I know that I deserve to be stript of every blessing that I enjoy, & be sent to endless perdition! & Yet I think that the Lord deals with me [hardly?] & "gathers where he has not [ed]."

O, forgive this <u>once</u> my awful hardness & ingratitude!! I resolve to do so no more. Dear Saviour, intercede. I feel a kind of pensiveness that frightens me! I look out of the windows in my chamber & every thing looks like a dreary maze. There is a vacancy on all I behold. I feel a distrustfulness in every thing; even in the safekeeping of God. It seems as though I should be left to dishonour my husband, my profession, & my God! Though there is nothing that peculiarly besets me now, but there will be very soon & that I am given up to the buffettings of Satan & every body knows it, though I have told no one.

May 3, 1830

Parma

This is an anniversary of our nuptials; I spend it in our own hired house which consists of a kitchen & two bedrooms. I have been filled with gloom & fearful forebodings all the morning. My health is slender & husbands still more so. He is altogether discouraged. Our expectations have not been realised in regard to this people.

I long to be elsewhere. The calumny & slander that is heaped on my predecessors or the ministers families before us makes me tremble in view of the place. Of course I shall soon be "led to the brow of the hill," if they are not suffered to [put?] me down headlong. I enjoy little or no sweet sense of my Saviours presence & I get no relief in prayer. Struggles with deadness, and conflicts with corruption, seem to be measured to me.

I have been exercised sorely with particular things that ought not to have caused a moments anxiety. The wicked have compassed me about. The aged Esquire who is an entire Stranger to me has spent nearly all his breath in invectives & insinuations about me, on the mere assertion of a brother of his who resides in Holly, with whom I never had even a speaking acquaintance, all of it totally false. It is truly surprising that a man of common sense should depend on such information so far brought when I have resided in Ogden five miles distant half of my life. This has been more pressing to me than all the difficulties attending our abode & living. It will be a serious objection to my covenanting with this church. God graciously direct.

June 6, [1830]

[Parma]

I am unhappy. I cannot endure the thought of not being useful to myself or others. Domestical cares engrosses all my time. I cannot think the Lord designs our stay here. Husband continues to decline. Complains of extreme soreness in his throat after preaching, keeps his bed nearly half his time.

Doct Cobb thinks it advisable to go to Vermont where he would enjoy a purer air. The idea is very pleasing to him. I dare not mention it to my parents as they have anticipated our stay so near them. However, I think that I am prepared or willing at least, to follow the leadings of Divine Providence.

My hope respecting the enlargement of Christ's kingdom in this place is constantly decreasing. There seems to be a general apathy spread over them. They have so long contended about the principles of Masonry & Anti Masonry that it seems as though the Holy spirit had been grieved[?] & taken its upward flight & left them to grope in darkness that may be felt.⁷

August 10, [1830]

[Parma]

Husband has called on the Committee & proposed leaving here, with an idea of going to Vermont for the recovery of his health. They in return propose his going with a view to come to them again in the Spring, & so employ a Substitute in his absence. But this course we think not advisable considering the distance of journey, & the precarious state of his health.

The Lord enable us to act wisely & consider it well & with proper refference to the feelings of the church that thy name be not dishonoured.

August 27, [1830]

Our little family are now all on their way to Ver[mon]t. Husband goes with horse & carriage, Self & child by water. And myself so worn out with care & fatigue previous to setting out that I am fearful that I shall not stand the journey. I have now parted with all my Fathers family to be a partner to my sick husband; it was truly trying to bid my aged Father a Farewell & my long cherished Mother adieu. And the darling Brother for whom I have maternal tenderness was not less trying. But those are trials that I measurably realised before I covenanted to be an Evangela. So I hope I bear them with resignation & cheerfulness.

The Capt. has been not only gallant, but kind in assisting Self & child in getting to the Dining Room & meals. The Lord reward him an hundred fold.

Sept 8, [1830]

Orwell

Arrived at Husbands Brothers on Friday the 3rd ult. Felt worn out, discouraged & heartbroken & felt that I needed a great supply of grace to stay in so numerous a family untill Husband should be benefitted by change of climate. In the meantime purposed to spend much of my time with my Uncles & Aunts which are very numerous in town & vicinity. On Saturday the 4 wrought out & Ironed a large washing unassisted by any one & water all to draw from a deep cistern & assisted about the

house. Tired & fatigued to such a degree that I slept little during the night. On Sabbath rode three miles to church. Monday I wrought about the house & washed again in the forenoon.

In the afternoon went to Uncle Culls on foot to see cousin E. who was to return on Tuesday to the North. Had not seen him in fourteen years. Tuesday returned to his [Paulina's husband's] brothers, found things not very pleasant. Took a real lecture on Economy. The want of it in me being assigned as the sole cause of our poverty. A strange thing indeed that we should not get rich on less than \$200 a year. To train me to the yoke, Sarah has taken the responsibility of Overseer upon herself & exercises authority over me, becoming so important a Station. She may find that those who are not accustomed to be servile in childhood are apt to be obstinate in youth. My character is dear to me & ought to be. I am commanded to follow those "things that are of a good report." Tis hard to try to do well, & then be ill spoken of, & have facts misrepresented & motives maligned. I feel that I am suffered in the way of well doing & try to commit my cause to him who jud[g]eth righteously, & will bring to light every secret thing or work of darkness. O Lord, give me a prudent, peaceful spirit.

On Tuesday the 7 in afternoon packed up baggage & went to Uncle D Bascoms. Think seriously of leaving town immediately for Durham. The Lord direct. Wednesday returned to Brother Dowds.

May 1, 1831

Orwell

Have not opened my Diary those eight months. And the trials that I have forded through I shall not even attempt to describe. No language is adequate. Suffice it to say that the <u>Jordans</u> have been deep & many.

May 5, [1831]

[Durham]

Husband, Self & child Sat out for Durham to visit my Widowed Brother¹⁰ in hopes of finding Something to soothe & heal my wounded spirits. Went by Steam & Packette conveyance as far as Troy. From thence by Stage. Arrived there the second day at seven in the evening.

Found them all well, but O, the sad change! No Electa. Her little ones I love with an intensity that I can not describe. Their loss is her infinite gain. She fought the fight & kept the faith—henceforth wears a crown of never fading, & never ending glory. She has taken her exit & left me indebted to her for ten thousand kindnesses & O, that I may be sufficiently grateful for them to bestow something of her spirit on those dear infants that she has left.

I frequent the room where she declined, the bed, where she died, & all is dressed in sable drapery, & her [live?] Spirit seems to hover over

me & say "tread lightly." Instead of feeling that this is a charnel room, I want to realise it a Guest chamber that witnessed her immediate espousals to christ. As a tribute I owe to her memory, I must incert[?] that I never was acquainted with any person in whom grace & virtue reigned so triumphantly. She was a perfect model of cheerfulness, meekness, patience, & godly sobriety.

June 8, [1831] [Orwell]

After having spent several weeks with my Brother, sat out to return to O[rwell]. the 2 of June & arrived the 3rd. Went to Uncle Bascombs to remain untill husband finds a parish. His health is now sufficiently improved to preach on the Sabbath. During our absence Husband had an invitation to labour at Westhaven. Think he will go there in a week or two & see the place & find the prospect of usefulness.

We have visited at West Haven. Husband hired but as there could not be procured a convenient boarding place, Self & child returned to Uncle Bascoms, shall most probably spend the season here.

Am now engaged a spinning. This is a very laborious employment for me as at best I am but little accustomed to it. However, I have far exceeded my own expectation & have completed my task before noon. Usually fill up the rest of the day in knitting, sewing, & getting tea, &c, &c.

In the mean time the Society in W Haven are building a parsonage for us, so that I begin to flatter myself with the prospect of once more having a home. The time set to be completed is in Septembre, so I exert all my faculties to keep up my Spirits in hope of better days.

Left Uncle D Bascoms the last of September. Went from there to Cousin R.[?] Buels to Sew a few weeks. Felt so disheartened when I went that it seemed to me that I had but one desire to live & that was to train up my little Daughter.

Aunt¹¹ was severely injured by a fall previous to my leaving & I found that I should not be able to do the housework in my advanced situation & left in hope of a better employment in my circumstances. I spent the Season as pleasantly as was possible, considering the cares & privations that I must of necessity endure.

Have not attended church for many months for lack of decent clothing for the Sanctuary. Have been nearly wholly destitute of Shoes, of many other articles equally important. It seems hard that with all the industry & economy that I have always exercised & the hardships that I have en-

dured as a Missionary that I must be thus deprived in the rich churches in New England, must Suffer such servitude in the country that gave me birth & in the church of my forefathers. When I mention the cause of our poverty, they quaintly remark, "We pay our Minister" & I never wanted [to] have laboured on the concerns of the body or something pertaining to this fleeting world. To me time seems to[o] precious to be thus spent. But I hope I have learned that Infinite Wisdom never errs.

Nov 12, [1831]

[Orwell?]

How vain & futile are all my murmurings & inordinate cares about the necessary supports of life when I have a Father in heaven that knoweth that I have <u>need</u>, & <u>made</u> me subject to these <u>necessities</u> & therefore will suit[?] out his compassions to them. The most disquieting, perplexing considerations harrass me a great part of the time. I have an inordinate solicitude about <u>a home</u> & [] all on the presumption that I shall soon <u>need</u> one. Dear Saviour, Quicken my Faith, Feed me on Spiritual pleasures & give me the beauties of holiness.

Nov 20, [1831]

[Orwell]

Husband has been several weeks ill of a jaundice & I came to Brother Williams to nurse him. He is now gaining slowly, but the prospect is that his health will be delicate for months to come.

In all this I <u>desire</u> not to murmur but often do in feeling my present advanced state. I am illy prepared for trials of this kind. However, the Lord will do me no harm if I am a follower of that which is good, & though my trials are manifold, both in body & mind, through the goodness of God I shall not be destroyed, though sorely vexed & endangered, [they] will eventually be for my proffit. Dear Saviour, help me to endure the cross, despise riches & honours, & be contented in poverty if that be thy will concerning us.

December 6, [1831]

W. Haven

Moved here Dec. 1. Committee came after us, said the <u>Parsonage</u> was <u>ready</u>. Such a looking place who ever saw! Workbench Tools, boards, Shavins, Mortar, &c, &c. It was extremely cold & wheeling lad did not arrive till eight oclock in the evening. No fire, Lucy froze, myself chilled. Could ride only on a slow walk.

Well enough of this, nothing now to do but make movements for lodgeing. My beding having been packed eighteen months, could not find materials without undoing the whole. This was a great task for which I was wholly unable. However, I succeeded. Husband unable to help, not yet recovered from his late illness.

.....

After eleven oclock got into our couch, but dare not go to sleep! House newly plastered & wet; had to open the windows & doors to prevent suffocation, however lived through all this, & much more. We have no cow & are out of provision of every kind, & now whether it is our duty to stay in such a place after such indignities without cause in provocation is a doubt that remains to be solved. Would the Saviour have tarried with disciples that treated him thus! I trow not. I certainly need a great measure of grace that my mouth may not utter perverseness.

February 25, 1832

[W. Haven]

I am still called to trust in <u>Him</u> whom many despise. The Lord hath graciously sustained me. Let those declarations of his <u>power & goodness</u> fill my heart with confidence & gratitude. Dear Saviour! may I honour thee as the Infinite Object of my Supreme affections. Thou exertest all <u>power & authority</u>, that all may honor thee, even as they honor the Father. May henceforth believe thy testimonies, & come to thee, & learn of thee, & take thy yoke upon me, believing that thou will give rest to my soul. Give me <u>faith & hope</u> in God that I may not come into condemnation.

The 25 of last Month I gave birth to an infant Son!¹² Glory to God, Make him a preacher of Righteousness. The moment that he came in to the light of this world, the question came, "What manner of child shall this be?" Holy to the Lord & honourable should be my ardent desire. Jesus! give me Abrahamick faith to offer this Isaac to thee. May he be circumcised after the inward man & be a Luminary that shall dispell darkness.

March 2, [1832]

[W. Haven]

I am harrassed with temptations! What shall we eat & wherewithall shall we be clothed? All suggestions continually rising in my distrustful heart. I am inclined Andrew like to ask "what are these among so many?" I desire to feel the extreme weakness of my faith. Lord reveal thyself unto me as thou didst unto the [camp?] of Israel in the wilderness & make me realise that I have not only enough of creature comforts, but more than enough! & receive them with thanksgiving. Make me not only peaceful, but cheerful under privations & obedient to encounter difficulties at thy words. And may my faith increase untill I sensibly believe that ever present pleading for my children, & that thou will come to them through every obstacle & terminate all fears & hardships.

March 29, [1832]

[W. Haver.]

O, how much grace I need to reconcile me [to] tarry here. I feel myself

a stranger & pilgrim, far from kindred & acquaintance & naught but the Bible & my own fireside to cheer a lonely hour; & sure I have witnessed many in this place.

But O, may I never forget the blessed Comforter that has hitherto sustained me through all my pillgrimage. I say <u>naught but</u> &c. How prone to undervalue present blessings when reflecting on joys departed. Were I bereft of the two before mentioned privileges, the world beside could not soothe me. I am happy even <u>now</u> in view of them.

June 8, [1832]

Husband has ceased his labours here for lack of support. Now supplies the Pulpit at Orwell. I have a certain peace & serenity in view of leaving that I scarce ever reaalized on a similar occasion. I have been confined at home, & by that means am measurably unacquainted, so that I have no favourite friends to leave & the loneliness of the place forbids local attachment.

I more than ever deeply feel the need for an abundance of Grace to buoy me up under the trials incident to our Station. My faith often staggers at the promises of God & this vexes & grieves my wayward heart. If I am not greatly deceived, I desire to be wholly conformed to his will & trust in him for all that is to come with a full assurance that he will do me good & not evil all the days of my life.

Sept 10, [1832]

Benson

[W. Haven]

Have been here some five or six weeks & spent my time in quietude & peace. Husband still labours for the time being at Orwell. Have no parochial cares to vex my mind & feel soothed at a few weeks release. "O solitude! how sweet are thy charms!" Husband is gone much of the time, other than that I am happy.

Have a very pleasant dwelling, & godly neighbours. Almost covet a little quiet home of my own, rather that [than?] toil in my masters vinyard. So fatigueing to be mooving from place to place with my little ones & feeble husband. Every moove takes much out of my clay Cottage & pushes me along to the Temple above "where they did not pay."

Feeling very little of the Spirit of the ancient churches that contributed to Paul that he might administer to the meek & preach the Gospel to the poor. I have been reading 11 of [2] Corinthians & feel a Spirit of Self-defence that inflamed righteous Pauls bosom & assert that "I have been chargeable to no man" & when I had luck, my own hands have wrought & supplied & in all things have kept myself from being burdensome to them, & moreover "so I will keep myself." Wherefore? because I love you not? God knoweth.

Nov 1, [1832]

[Benson?]

Spent my time very agreeably to Cousin Buels with the exceptions of my own troubles. Went from there to Cousin Cutts. Sewed a week & two there.

Husband sick at Mother Williams, came here a few days since to administer to him. Disappointment & forfeited confidence, together with the fatigue of riding from place to place & other privations not worth the mention have brought him to his bed. He appears to have a sever[e] attack at present of the Jaundice.

O Lord, give me the Sanctifying & consoleing influences of thy Spirit, & the joys & glories of thy kingdom which are offered through the mediation of thy Son. O move this obdurate heart & melt it into submission to thy most righteous will. Kindle this languid love into an celestial ardour, & my Hope that is so beclouded with rubbish do thou brighten until it becomes full of immortality. My circumstances are so meted out in life that nearly all my time of necessity must be exhausted.

January 1, 1833

Tinmouth

Mooved to this place some time [in] Nov. Have been as well pleased [as] could be rationally expected. Parishioners appear kind & affectionate. It is quite rough & mountainous & on the whole looks very novel. I should think that the scenery would be very grand & imposing in Summer. Our house is very open & the weather colder than any thing I ever experience[d] before, & nothing but green wood to supply the fire. I have not been without chills in weeks, but thank God I have reason to consider my health improving; & have dismissed my domestick. Have suffered much of the jaundice since my residence already. I attribute it to the mountain air. In affliction how apt to forget the mercies continued. The Lord help me to be grateful & to spend this N[ew] Year exclusively in his service. O graciously gird me with holy fervour that I may endure hardship like a good Soldier of Christ, that I may come off victorious through him that hath loved me.

MANUSCRIPT

Paulina (Bascom) Williams (1803-1863). Diary, 1833-1833. [27]p.; 21 cm.; sewn notebook with wallpaper covers.

Location

MSS 28 #91

Provenance

Gift of George B. Wright, Orwell, Vermont, February 16, 1939. Accession no. 20456.

Notes

- ¹ Carol Kammen, On Doing Local History: Reflections on What Local Historians Do, Why, and What It Means (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1986), 81.
- ² Edward Doubleday Harris, A Genealogical Record of Thomas Bascomb and His Descendants (Boston: William Parsons Lunt, 1870), 46-47.
- ³ John M. Comstock, The Congregational Churches of Vermont and Their Ministry, 1762-1942: Historical and Statistical (St. Johnsbury, Vt.: Cowles Press, 1942), 53, 78, 128, 142, 231.
- ⁴ Leonard I. Sweet, The Minister's Wife: Her Role in Nineteenth-Century American Evangelicalism (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983), 63, 64.
- ⁵ Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 15, 140.
 - 6 Lucy Williams (1828-1848). Harris, Genealogical Record, 46.
- ⁷ Church women feared "the growth of Freemasonry as a surrogate church that attracted their husbands, sons, and even ministers to occult, masculine rituals conducted in temples . . . where female power could exercise no sway." Sweet, *Minister's Wife*, 214.
 - 8 George-Denison Bascom (b. 1810). Harris, Genealogical Record, 47.
- 9 Artemidorus, or Dorus, Bascom of Orwell, Congregational church deacon and justice of the peace. Ibid. and Doris S. Bishop, A History of the Town of Orwell, Vermont (Orwell, Vt.: Town of Orwell, 1963), 24, 41.
- ¹⁰ Ruel-P. Bascom (b. 1796), Paulina's eldest brother, of Durham, New York, whose wife, Electa, died November 13, 1830, leaving four young children. Harris, *Genealogical Record*, 54.
 - 11 Chloe (Hulburd) Bascom (b. 1778), wife of Artemidorus. Ibid., 47.
 - 12 Stephen Williams (1832-1853), their second child. Ibid., 46.

REIDUN D. NUQUIST

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BOOK REVIEWS



Sweet Maple: Life, Lore, and Recipes from the Sugarbush

By James M. Lawrence and Rux Martin, with photographs by Paul O. Boisvert (Montpelier: Vermont Life, and Shelburne, Vt.: Chapters, 1993, pp. 224, \$29.95).

On the day last fall that Sweet Maple arrived in the mail, my twelveyear-old son and I were blocking and splitting firewood in a hilltop woodlot of maple and beech. Inspecting a still hard chunk of maple from a tree that had succumbed to the stresses of competition and disease, we found a precisely bored taphole well beneath the healed bark. Counting the tight, faint rings, we figured that this dead tree had last yielded up its sap to the sugarmaker some nineteen years ago.

My thoughts then wandered back to 1976 and my own introduction to sugaring. Our Yankee farming neighbor, John Keenan, had cheerfully bartered his considerable folk knowledge of sugaring for the grunt labor of two down-country young men—my brother and me. It was the one time we ever got the better of him! Indeed, we slogged through deep, soggy woodland drifts checking taps and pipeline; we hauled water and cleaned holding tanks; we lugged heavy milk pails loaded with hot syrup; and we kept the arch stoked with slab wood. But we also learned about the language and lore of the sugarhouse: of nitre and aproning, of the relative merits of galvanized buckets and plastic pipeline, of float valves and hydrometers, and of the husbandry of the sugarwoods. John is gone, and it's our place now, but these woods are still dominated by his big maples, and the signs of his years of sugaring remain in the overgrown roads, the rusting buckets scattered around the woods, the crumbling sugarhouse, and those remarkable tapholes.

Though there is no substitute for experience, especially when it produces memories as keen as those of early spring days in the sugarwoods with John Keenan, Sweet Maple evokes the activity of sugaring nearly as pleasingly. This blend of science, history, folklore, recipes, and advice captures the very flavor of maple, and it does so in a style akin to leisurely sugarhouse conversation, where a good story with a practical point gains form, personality, and credence through its telling, retelling, and telling once more. Sweet Maple is an affectionate survey of maple sugaring. A relaxed, armchair reading of its loosely organized text will almost certainly stir the reader to consider "getting into maple" next spring. The words of James M. Lawrence and Rux Martin and the photographs of Paul O. Boisvert distill the spirit and taste and look of sugaring: the communion with the awakening season, the connection to generations of Vermont tradition, the friendly society of a steaming sugarhouse, even the promise of supplemental income, and in particular the miraculous product of this honest, outdoor labor.

Best of all, having fired the reader's enthusiasm, *Sweet Maple* offers practical how-to advice for the first-time sugarmaker and a luscious catalog of recipes of "traditional and contemporary favorites from the private collections of sugarmakers, country inns, and award-winning maple cooks." Armed with *Sweet Maple*, the eager novice will know how to obtain the right sugaring equipment; tap the local shade trees; boil, grade, package, and market syrup; and cook with this exquisite substance.

Even for those without sugaring ambitions, this book offers sweet treats. It begins with a splendid natural history of *Acer saccharum*, the sugar maple, whose saccharine sap, brilliant autumn foliage, hardy resilience, and dense, rock-hard wood fiber make this species the most economically valuable deciduous tree in North America. A rather confusing explanation of what is and isn't known about the biology of the maple sap flow is the only off flavor to this otherwise Grade A discussion. This chapter of the book concludes with advice for the sugarbush steward, suggesting practices that may be all the more vital because of possible environmental stresses on our forests.

Lawrence and Martin give a full airing to the debate about the origins of sugaring, coming down firmly on the side of precontact Eastern Woodland Indians as the discoverers of the nutritional benefits of boiled maple sap. In this debate the anecdotal evidence provided by folks like sugarmaker Don Harlow of Putney is far more compelling than any anthropological scholarship. Sweet Maple's pages on the history of sugaring expose the failed efforts of Jefferson and Washington to transport sugaring to the mild climate of Virginia; expound on maple as the virtuous alternative to cane sugar's slave labor; and document the changes in sugar-

ing technology from the tomahawk-gashed tree trunks of 1600 to contemporary pipelines and evaporators, vacuum pumps, and reverse osmosis.

The authors extend special praise to a number of Vermonters who have contributed to our understanding and appreciation of the sugar maple and the industry that has grown around it: the University of Vermont's Proctor Maple Research Center in Underhill and scholars from C. H. Jones to James Marvin, Mariafranca Morselli, Fred Laing, and Sumner Williams, as well as experienced sugarmakers like George Cook, Bob Howrigan, David Marvin, Marcel LeGrand, and Sam Cutting Sr. Swee: Maple deftly boils down their knowledge, advice, and love of maple and draws off some Fancy Grade reporting. It's no substitute for a few long days and nights in a steaming sugarhouse, but it just may send you there.

CHARLES C. BROWNE

Charles C. Browne is executive director of the Fairbanks Museum and Planetarium in St. Johnsbury and coeditor (with Howard Reed) of the book Visions, Toil, and Promise: Man in Vermont's Forests.

Medicine and Healing

Edited by Peter Benes. The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings 1990 (Boston: Boston University, 1992, pp. 200, paper, \$15.00).

The proceedings of the Dublin Seminar form a fascinating and varied collection of studies of New England life with an emphasis on social history. In recent years topics have ranged from "New England/New France, 1600–1850" (1989) to "House and Home" (1988) to "New England Meeting House and Church, 1630–1850" (1979). Medicine and Healing came out of the 1990 seminar.

The articles in this volume focus on medical traditions, practices, and experiences close to the lives of the common people of New England. Medicine as an academic discipline and learned profession is not traced here, except insofar as much of what transpires in these pages is a vivid counterpoint to scientific medical thinking as we have come to know it. The articles highlight the period from about 1700 to 1850, during which much of what passed even for mainstream medicine would seem unscientific in our century.

The reader interested in Vermont will note in particular Jane C. Beck's

"Traditional Folk Medicine in Vermont." Taking the very small and excusable risk of making it seem that Vermonters never emerged from the prescientific age, Beck explores folk medical traditions experienced by Vermonters whom she could still interview in the past decade or two. From them she learned firsthand about such folk customs as reliance on the healing powers of a seventh son of a seventh son; a well-known man with this distinction remained active until his death in 1967. Beck also turns to letters and diaries for material on nineteenth-century practices.

Early in his career, Samuel Thomson (1769–1843), born in Alstead, New Hampshire, was influenced by Vermont traditions. He in turn played an active role in Vermont's medical history with his herbal remedies and insistence that "every man be his own physician." (His career as it affected Vermont was explored by Joanna Smith Weinstock in "Samuel Thomson's Botanic System: Alternative Medicine in Early Nineteenth Century Vermont," Vermont History 56 [1988]: 5–21.) J. Worth Estes's "Samuel Thomson Rewrites Hippocrates" and Michael G. Kenny's "Democratic Medicine of Dr. Elias Smith" shed new light on Thomson's practices and philosophy as they related to his background, communities, and times. Kenny draws parallels between Thomson's ideas and Jacksonian democratic political trends of the time—not an original line of discussion—and also his links to Universalist religious thinking.

Other authors review such subjects as medicine in Shaker communities, the role of women in colonial New England healing, and itinerant physicians in early New England. The itinerants ranged from decent if raffish healers to outright quacks, even in the context of their day. A directory of people known to have functioned as itinerant healers is included in this volume (pp. 109–112); it may be an interesting place to look for an offbeat ancestor or town citizen.

Laurel Thatcher Ulrich's "Derangement in the Family: The Story of Mary Sewall, 1824–1825" is a grisly account of the illness and death of a young woman whose dementia may have been psychiatric, may have been due to a neurologic disease, or may have come from a medical condition not primarily arising in the brain. In any event, it killed her. Or perhaps just as likely, the horrifying measures poor Mary's family took to treat her hastened her death. No one really knew any better.

It is too easy to be smug about circumstances in which no one knew better back in the bad old days. The conventional "scientific" medical community can hardly claim total enlightenment today, and the general public's understanding of medicine has, to be charitable, certain peculiarities. (Try taking a public opinion poll on the effects of weather conditions on the development of upper respiratory infections. The answers will be confusing but colorful.) Real enlightenment, it seems to me, comes

from understanding not only our hard-won recent scientific gains in medicine but also the colorful past and present of folk understandings of what makes people sick or well. The history of popular medicine in New England is greatly enriched by the many fine articles in this book.

JOHN A. LEPPMAN

John A. Leppman, M.D., is a practicing physician, secretary and past president of the Vermont State Medical Society, and avocationally a student of Vermont history and bibliography.

Algonkians of New England: Past and Present

Edited by Peter Benes. The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings 1991 (Boston: Boston University, 1993, pp. 156, paper, \$12.00).

It is refreshing to read a volume that celebrates what the Algonquians retained and how they did so rather than the more common histories of the calamities that befell them and their supposed extinction. This fascinating, well-integrated collection fixes on the theme of survival. In their approach the authors also demonstrate the viability of the ethnohistoric method: each of these papers offers not only a case study (that is, a historical narrative) but also an analysis, based on sociological principles, of the effects of the events or actions.

This work brings together eleven of the eighteen papers originally presented at the sixteenth annual conference of the Dublin Seminar. The volume is divided into five thematic sections, each concentrating on a different aspect of Algonquian life, and concludes with a useful bibliography meant to update Neal Salisbury's *Indians of New England: A Critical Bibliography* (1982). Both the foreword by Peter Benes and Jane Montague Benes and the introduction by Salisbury are insightful, helpful inaugurations to the essays that follow.

Significant changes to a belief system would surely indicate a rupture with the past, a loss of cultural integrity and identity. The three essays on worldview in the first section demonstrate otherwise for a number of the Algonquians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Ann Marie Plane takes up a fascinating study of an adultery case in the "praying town" of Punkapoag (Massachusetts) to draw out the array of social and political tensions that colonialism generated between the traditional and ac-

culturated Algonquians. At the same time she shows how the Algonquians maintained their social and political control despite the domination of the English. Kathleen J. Bragdon deftly uses the Massachusetts' attainment of vernacular literacy to raise an interesting challenge to the views of Jack Goody and others that literacy leads to changes in the cognitive system. As Bragdon argues, the Massachusetts compartmentalized their ability to write in order to perpetuate their rhetorical style and worldview. The link between the landscape and the spiritual world of the Wampanoag of Cape Cod is the focus of Constance A. Crosby's essay. She describes how even today the Mashpee Wampanoags have been able to maintain their historical consciousness.

The second section looks at subsistence methods with one illuminating paper by Nanepashemet, who combines logic and a rereading of historical documents to dispute the revisionist claim that Europeans originated the practice of fertilizing cornfields with fish.

Not only could the Algonquians apply clever farming techniques, but (historical commentary to the contrary) they could also engage in shrewd political decisionmaking, the theme of the third section. Colin G. Calloway discusses a host of reasons New England Indians sided with the Americans in the Revolutionary War and then reminds us how the U.S. government later betrayed them. In the contribution by Kevin A. McBride, we see that government policies did not always throw Algonquian societies into total disarray. Using archaeological and historical data, McBride distinguishes between material culture and the spatial patterning of the settlements, showing how the latter remained distinctly Pequot.

The fourth section focuses most clearly on this theme of survival and takes us into a later period. Ann McMullen links basketry types with group identity and challenges us to rethink the lines and labels of tribal identity in use. In her view basket making was used as an ethnic marker, distinguishing the Algonquians from the whites. In a complementary way Barry O'Connell artfully draws on the writings of William Apess (1789-1839), a Pequot preacher and autobiographer, to demonstrate the Pequots' adaptive strategies: their economic success and "reappropriation" of Christianity that translated into cultural persistence. The third paper, on the Abenaki seasonal camps at Intervale, New Hampshire, is an engrossing account of transborder, biseasonal living, another adaptive strategy. Gary W. Hume shows how the Abenakis ensured their survival by taking on pan-Indian symbols; what began as a craft market for tourists in the nineteenth century is today a pilgrimage center for Abenakis. (My one complaint is that not enough weight is given to the Canadian Abenaki, who, with their deeper governmental involvement in Indian matters, must have contributed greatly to strengthening their ethnic identity.) The last paper on survival, by Diane Fisk Bray, presents a number of arguments in support of the official federal recognition of the Chaubunagungamaug Nipmuck on the basis of language, their particular syncretic blend of Christian and Nipmuck rituals, and the continuity of people and land.

A last section and paper by Jane Van Norman Turano, who uses photographic portraits from the mid-1800s, gives the reader a visual link, the bridge between the centuries of change. As she notes, the photographs "are a testament to the survival of a people" (p. 143). It is a fitting conclusion to this volume that accentuates change, accommodation, adaptation, but above all cultural persistence and continuity guided in significant measure by the people themselves.

The papers in this collection are comparatively brief—providing interesting, succinct storytelling—and well edited—producing a relatively uniform and pleasing writing style. (The one unforgivable error I detected is the incorrect date of the Dawes Act, p. 109; it should be 1887.) Algonkians of New England will be of great service to all those interested in native peoples and a more balanced history of the region.

TOBY MORANTZ

Toby Morantz, associate professor in the Department of Anthropology at McGi'll University, does ethnohistoric research on Cree-white relations in eastern James Bay in northern Quebec.

The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America

By John Demos (New York: Knopf, 1994, pp. 332, \$25.00).

On the morning of February 29, 1704, a French and Indian war party, which had trekked south from Canada, surprised the sleeping town of Deerfield, Massachusetts, killed forty-eight settlers, burned many of the houses, and carried 112 people into captivity. Some of the captives were killed en route to Canada; some were liberated in later years; others never returned. Among the captives were the town's minister, the Reverend John Williams, his wife, and their five children. John Williams survived the march to Canada, was liberated, and wrote an account of his experiences. His wife, weakened by recent childbirth, was unable to keep up and fell to Indian tomahawks. A son, Stephen, survived Indian captivity and returned home to follow his father's path in the ministry.

But a daughter, Eunice, seven years old when she was captured, converted to Catholicism and married an Indian. Despite recurrent entreaties from her English relatives and occasional visits home, she lived the rest of her life at Kahnawake, or Caughnawaga, a Mohawk community near Montreal.

With the possible exception of Mary Rowlandson's narrative of her experiences during King Philip's War, few stories of Indian captivity in New England are better known than that of John Williams and his family. First published in 1707 and reprinted many times, *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion* has become a classic in captivity literature, exemplifying the Puritan view that Protestant captives, with God's help, struggled to preserve their hearts and minds against the seductions of Catholic French and the torments of "savage" Indians. There is also an extensive secondary literature on Indian captivities, examining, for example, the captivity narrative as a literary genre, captivities as arenas of cultural encounter, and issues of gender and ethnicity raised by captive experiences. The Williams story is so well known among students of captivity narratives and scholars of colonial New England that any author attempting to write a book about it had better offer an exciting new interpretation.

Or so one might think before getting into *The Unredeemed Captive*. As the title suggests, John Demos focuses on the captive daughter who chose not to come home. But his purpose, quite simply and quite refreshingly, is to tell the full story, insofar as it can be told from the often fragmentary evidence available.

Dealing with sources that are more often tantalizing than complete, Demos does systematic detective work, milking the records for every bit of information and every nuance of meaning, and showing his readers how he does it. He relates the familiar events of the Deerfield "massacre" and the march into captivity, reconstructs the various attempts to secure Eunice's release from Indians who "would as soon part with their hearts" (p. 84), and traces the long-distance, on-again-off-again relationship over the years between Eunice and her brother Stephen. In so doing, he does more than flesh out a well-worn tale. He skillfully relates the petite histoire of individuals, families, and local communities, and sets local events against the grande histoire of Anglo-French imperial rivalries in North America and Europe. He attempts to give balanced coverage to the worlds, and worldviews, of Puritan New Englanders, Canadian French, and Kahnawake Mohawks. He identifies individual Indians as well as prominent Puritan families and points to some links between them. He demonstrates how, in the complex context of cultural interactions in northeastern North America - where conflicts among empires, tribes, and religions sometimes mattered less than family ties and changing relationships between individuals—human lives were shattered, rebuilt, and

partially reconnected.

The story is compelling, and Demos does a fine job of telling it, master-fully piecing together the evidence and writing with clarity and imagination (although the recurrent use of nonsentences for dramatic effect can be a tad annoying). Perhaps the book's main contribution lies in the insights it offers into people's lives that so often have seemed just beyond our comprehension and imaginations. *The Unredeemed Captive* illustrates the fruitful avenues that can be explored to provide fuller and more fascinating renditions of early American history when historians free themselves from restricting ties to a single region, ethnicity, or gender.

COLIN G. CALLOWAY

Colin G. Calloway is associate professor of history at the University of Wyoming. He is author of The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600–1800 and the forthcoming American Revolution in Indian Country.

The American Revolution, Garrison Life in French Canada and New York: Journal of an Officer in the Prinz Friedrich Regiment, 1776–1783

Translated by Helga Doblin. Edited and with an introduction by Mary C. Lynn (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993, pp. 192, \$55.00).

Pearly 30,000 German soldiers from six independent principalities served with the British forces in North America during the American Revolution. The British had utilized Germans as auxiliary soldiers for a century and from 1776 to 1783 established mutual defense treaties with German allies to provide a relatively inexpensive alternative to increasing the size of the regular British army. In some areas in America, notably around Manhattan, Germans often made up over half the troops facing colonists on the battlefield. Nonetheless, very little has been done in the United States since the nineteenth century to analyze the Germans' role in the Revolutionary War.

In the 1920s the Library of Congress copied all items in various German archives relating to German troops who served in North America

(this was part of a bigger project of copying items in European archives that related in any way to the United States). The Library of Congress now contains the world's largest microfilm and hard-copy collection of German-related information about the Revolution. This journal of an officer in the Brunswick Prinz Friedrich Regiment is part of that collection; the original in Germany is missing, no doubt a casualty of wartime damage to many German archives.

In spring 1776 the Prinz Friedrich Regiment sailed to Quebec with the first division of troops under the command of Baron Friedrich von Riedesel. In June 1777 the unit made up part of John Burgoyne's invasion and garrisoned both Fort Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. After Burgoyne marched south to Saratoga, the regiment actively participated in the successful defense of these fortifications in September and then retired to Canada when the British finally abandoned Lake Champlain in November. This was the only combat in which the Prinz Friedrich Regiment participated during the entire war; it then maintained garrisons in the Richelieu River valley until 1783 without enemy contact.

Although this journal is an anonymous record, editor Mary C. Lynn makes a convincing case that it was written by Ensign Julius Friedrich von Hille, who was born in Brunswick in 1762, the son of the regiment's Major Friedrich Wilhelm von Hille. The author concentrates on the voyage to Canada and the 1777 campaign, particularly the defense of Mount Independence from Benjamin Lincoln's attacks after September 19, 1777. Also included are accounts of life in the Canadian garrisons in 1776, 1778, and 1779 and the return voyage to Germany. The author made few lengthy entries after 1777 and none between 1779 and 1782. The journal's main value lies in the entries for Burgoyne's campaign.

Lynn provides a valuable introduction to Helga Doblin's translation of the journal, tracing the use of German troops by the British army, the history of the Prinz Friedrich Regiment, and a biography of the probable author. She divides the chapters by year and annotates each with well-researched footnotes. Nicholas Westbrook, director of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum, wrote many of the footnotes for the chapter dealing with Burgoyne's invasion.

American authors have long lambasted the German soldiers who served in the British army as mercenaries, claiming they joined up for personal gain, a free trip to America, or because of unthinking professionalism. After the breakup of the Holy Roman Empire at the end of the Hundred Years' War, each of the numerous petty German states maintained active duty and militia forces that sapped the states' treasuries. In order to pay for these forces in peacetime, the German princes began to hire out their soldiers to larger countries in common with Swiss, Italian, Dutch, and

scores of other small nations and city-states. Yet German ties to Great Britain went beyond mere diplomacy. The Hannoverian kings of England came from Germany. Landgraf Friedrich of Hesse-Kassel had married Mary, daughter of King George II, and thus was uncle to George III. The son and heir of Duke Carl I of Brunswick, Carl Wilhelm, had married Augusta, sister of George III. Each of the six states concluded mutual defense treaties with Great Britain when providing troops to fight in North America. The officers and men were to receive British wages, which were higher than German wages, and the German princes received an initial payment for the troops and an annual payment for each year the troops remained in British service. Some of the treaties provided for British payments for men killed or wounded. The German states had to continue to clothe and equip their forces, whereas the British paid for transportation and food.

Each of the German states had to draft citizens to fill their units to wartime strength, and all impressed foreigners caught within their borders to lessen the burden on the native citizens. The average German unit contained a professional cadre of commissioned and noncommissioned officers, some professional enlisted men, and a leavening of drafted farmers, students, wanderers, and huntsmen. Through brutal discipline the cadre created professional regiments that equaled the best eighteenth-century soldiers.

It should be remembered that each side in the Revolution employed hired Germans. When the Regiment Royal Deux Ponts from Zweibrücken led the French assault in capturing Redoubt Number Nine at Yorktown, they overcame the British defenders from the Hessian Erbprinz Regiment. No better illustration of the effects of the European use of hired troops can be found than this of Germans killing one another in American mud for causes they did not espouse.

Although this edition contains thirteen illustrations taken from the Library of Congress, the dark reproductions add little to the work. Yest overall this well-translated and well-edited journal is a fitting and welcome addition to the history of Lake Champlain and of the German troops who fought along its shores.

ELLIOTT WHEELOCK HOFFMAN

Elliott W. Hoffman teaches in the graduate history program at Northeastern University. His doctoral dissertation at the University of New Hampshire was "The German Soldiers in the American Revolution."

Aspirations and Anxieties: New England Workers and the Mechanized Factory System, 1815–1850

By David A. Zonderman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 357, \$45.00).

In Aspirations and Anxieties David Zonderman looks at how factory operatives responded to the experience of working under a new mode of production in antebellum New England. Although his focus is on worksites located in the Northeast, all historians interested in how workers perceive and experience technological change will welcome this book. It is the first extensive study devoted to capturing the voices, attitudes, and perceptions of New England factory workers in the new mechanized manufacturing environments of textile mills, paper mills, armories, clock factories, ropewalks, and metalworking and machine shops.

Since Zonderman is primarily interested in letting working people speak for themselves, he excavates the thoughts of his "technological pioneers" by examining and analyzing the ideas they expressed in autobiographies, labor newspapers, poems, songs, and letters. In order to be true to the perspective of his subjects, he organizes the book around perceptions factory operatives had of each facet of the factory system. The first part is made up of six chapters devoted to workers' understandings of the physical and socioeconomic aspects of the mechanized factory system; the second part concentrates on workers' struggles to navigate their way through new and uncharted workplaces.

We learn that many workers were concerned lest they become automatons held hostage by machines. To deflect the boredom and drudgery of tending machines, some operatives went to great lengths to make a game out of the task, combining work and play. In other instances women operators utilized "free" moments on the line to memorize passages from the Bible or other texts in order to keep their minds engaged. We see the operatives slowly coming to terms, each in his or her own way, with the technological changes that took place between 1815 and 1850. Sometimes through rationalization and optimism, they held onto aspirations for a better way of life; their anxieties emerged as they questioned the trajectory of the mechanized mode of production.

But ambiguities also appeared, and Zonderman's acknowledgment of the ambivalence is perhaps the greatest strength of his study: he does not insist upon a neat conclusion to explain why some operatives saw the factory system as a place of opportunity, others depicted it as "specter of oppressive discipline and a monotonous division of labor" (p. 6), and still others held contradictory views, shifting position back and forth over time. While Zonderman occasionally tries to give some form and shape to the disparate impressions his sources reveal, his subjects generally have the final say. We are left with a picture of the factory proletariat in the process of becoming. The "constellation of ideas various workers gravitated around" (p. 6) makes for a highly complex portrait of this first generation of New England factory workers. Responses were as diverse as the experiences and expectations they brought to the factory floor from the rural homes the majority had left behind.

Some responses, however, can be accounted for by the gendered nature of the aspirations and anxieties. For example, the protest of Lowell, Massachusetts, and Dover, New Hampshire, "mill girls" grew out of pay inequities based on gender. In the Dover strike the women protesters publicly stated that the reduction of their wages was part of a general plan by management to "reduce Females in their employ to that state of dependence on them in which they openly, as they do now secretly, abuse and insult them by calling them their 'slaves'" (p. 190). Zonderman connects this protest rhetoric with the lived experience of the textile strikers to show how the expectations and experiences of female and male operatives shaped their differing viewpoints. Many of these women called themselves daughters of freemen, identifying with their republican roots. Although disenfranchised, these female operatives carried a strong sense of equal rights as citizens of their community and the nation: "when they took to the streets, they drew on their traditional values of Yankee independence and used them to justify their new strike tactics" (p. 210). Often, even though men participated with women in the strikes, women ran the entire strike operation. Because men were paid on a daily basis, they were generally less affected by wage cuts based on piece-rate reductions. Zonderman explores the gender factor along with other variables such as age, location, and skill level; thus we better understand not just why men and women had different perspectives but also why so many outlooks prevailed among female operatives.

The author has largely succeeded in putting us in touch with the thoughts of New England operatives, particularly female textile workers in the southern New England mills. Because the Green Mountain State supplied many of these workers, this study also offers a glimpse into the range of responses Vermonters had after migrating to new, industrial environs.

BETH T. BATES

Beth T. Bates, a graduate student in American history at Columbia University, worked as a farmer in northern Vermont before migrating to Manhatton Island to study labor history.

Transforming Women's Work: New England Lives in the Industrial Revolution

By Thomas Dublin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994, pp. 342, \$35.00).

Pifteen years after the publication of his award-winning book Women at Work: The Transformation of Work and Community in Lowell, Massachusetts, 1826–1860, Thomas Dublin presents us with another indepth study of women's paid employment in New England in the nineteenth century. This new book, Transforming Women's Work: New England Lives in the Industrial Revolution, is even more ambitious. Rather than exploring one industry in a single setting, Dublin takes a close look at five separate occupations of New England women: work in the textile, shoe, and garment industries; domestic service; and teaching. Close to 70 percent of all working women in the United States were engaged in these occupations by 1870. Dublin also devotes a chapter to the outwork carried on by New England farm women in their homes.

Dublin sets himself two major tasks in his latest work. For one, he tells us he wants to see how women's waged work and family lives were affected by the industrial revolution; second, he wants to rethink the conventional understanding of that revolution in the light of how gender influenced the newly emerging industrial labor force. In order to accomplish these tasks, Dublin weaves back and forth between places of employment and the home—which he describes as a site of productive labor and an institutional arena that shaped women's participation in the paid labor force and was itself eventually reshaped by the changing industrial land-scape in which women found themselves.

It goes without saying that *Transforming Women's Work* fits into and contributes to a growing body of literature that addresses these issues as they are encountered in a wide variety of settings. New to this book—and its major strength—is the degree to which the author traces the lives of women workers. Each of the five substantive chapters is replete with tales of individually identified women: we meet them as young daughters of rural New England families, follow them as they enter the labor force as waged workers, and finally see them as married women in urban settings with husbands whose occupations are far removed from that of their fathers and grandfathers.

This remarkable book both fleshes out what we already know about women's work lives in the nineteenth century and brings totally new in-

sights into the nature of the economic changes characteristic of the period. Of course this is not a perfect book, but its two failings are the product of its enormous successes. First, by amassing so many historical details, Dublin quite frequently tells us almost more than we want to know. For example, in three relatively short paragraphs, we learn what proportion of needle trade workers lived at home with their families of origin; what proportion of these were female-headed households; what kind of jobs employed fathers held; the proportion of parents who were immigrants; the average number of children living in the homes of immigrant parents and Yankee parents and the proportion of these who were earning wages; the amount of property owned by immigrant and native-born fathers and the degree to which these fathers were engaged in skilled and unskilled labor. All of this so that Dublin can conclude that children's wages contributed more to immigrant families than to Yankee families (pp. 180-181) – an important conclusion but one easily missed because of the depth of detail the reader must wade through before reaching it. In short, Dublin's exquisite methodology at times stands in the way of the product of his efforts.

The second problem flowing from the book's virtues is that Dublin's technique forces him to concentrate largely on women from native-born families, when in fact the drama that unfolds and the one in which he is most interested requires a firm grasp of the role immigrants played in reshaping the industrial landscape. It is precisely the linkages between the experiences and opportunities of native women and those of the daughters of foreign-born parents that hold together the sad story of women's employment by the end of the 1800s. But Dublin can only allude to this story because his central technique involves using available censuses to link the lives of women with native-born parents.

None of this, however, should take away from the book's many accomplishments. Let me focus on the two I think are the most important and that are intimately connected. First, Dublin demonstrates that any liberalizing effect waged work might have had for women in the early part of the nineteenth century was quickly eroded. By the beginning of the twentieth century, waged work for the vast majority of women was, in Dublin's words, "reintegrated within a patriarchal family wage economy. . . . The window of independence that had partially opened in the early industrial revolution remained open only briefly" (p. 257). In that connection Dublin's work should put to rest the notion that women's waged work was a matter of individual preference rather than household strategy. While his data may have its limitations, there is little question that different kinds of families utilized women's labor in vastly different ways depending upon the economic circumstances of the household.

The book's second major achievement is that it clearly lays the foundations for reconsidering the nature of women's contemporary work lives. Recent debates over welfare reform both nationally and in Vermont have highlighted the degree to which it is erroneously assumed that women's waged work offers the same sort of financial independence and opportunities as men's—that gender simply no longer matters. As Dublin demonstrates, by the late nineteenth century gender made all the difference in the world, and these differences continue to be encoded in the structure of women's work as we approach the twenty-first century. It is here that his real accomplishment lies: good history, such as that practiced by Tom Dublin, tells us as much about the present as it does about the past.

JOAN SMITH

Joan Smith is professor of sociology and special adviser to the president at the University of Vermont. Her most recent book (with Immanuel Wallerstein) is Creating and Transforming Households: The Constraints of the World Economy.

From Skisport to Skiing: One Hundred Years of an American Sport, 1840–1940

By E. John B. Allen (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993, pp. 240, \$30.00).

Isn't skiing a sport? What's this about skisport as opposed to skiing? E. John B. Allen goes to some lengths to make the distinction by pointing out that the Norwegian word *Idraet* refers to outdoor exercise intended "to perfect the individual soul as well as the body" (p. 11). *Idraet* doesn't translate easily into English, thus the origin of the term *skisport*, which suggests somewhat the same meaning.

Scandinavian immigrants to North America brought with them not only their skis but also the idea that skiing made people "dignified, courageous, skilled, healthy, and moral" (p. 11). Scandinavian fascination with skiing spread slowly across the American snow country, so that by the end of the nineteenth century the sport was well established in American culture. Skiers gradually focused more attention on downhill running rather than cross-country skiing and jumping. Because better systems were needed to transport skiers to the heads of mountain trails, mechanical lifts were developed, making it possible for more and more people to ski on week-

ends and holidays. With more people came the need for improved transportation. At first ski trains brought the enthusiasts from urban areas; then the automobile became the favored means of getting to resorts. More cars on the winter roads required bigger and better snowplows and salt spreaders to keep highways clear. Mechanization was thus the key in bringing the ski industry to the forefront of winter recreation.

Allen has done a fine job researching his subject, and he has an engaging style. His treatment of skiing is well balanced, giving ski areas throughout the country a fair shake. But Vermonters should enjoy in particular his descriptions of how skiing became an integral part of their state's life and economy. Although Vermont lagged considerably behind New Hampshire in ski trail developments, certain centers - such as Brattleboro, with its jumping heritage, and Woodstock, with its early ski towsrose to popularity in the 1930s and continued to attract notable numbers of skiers over subsequent decades. Stowe ("Where there's always snow. you know") was a leader in developing the skiing infrastructure (transportation, accommodations, and so on) and hosted the first U.S. National Alpine Ski Championships in 1938. Mount Mansfield also figures into the creation of the National Ski Patrol System: Charles Minot Dole helped found the volunteer ski patrols after breaking his leg while skiing on the Mount Mansfield toll road in 1936 and being told that "anyone fool enough to hurt himself on this dumb trail deserves to break his leg" (p. 130).

The index, though generally accurate, is quite deficient in identifying a wider range of pertinent people and subjects. For example, Katharine Peckett, "the foremost authority in America on both skiing and ski clothes" (p. 157), doesn't rate an index reference, and neither does Stowe. But the book is copiously illustrated with carefully chosen photographs drawings, posters, and advertisements, many of which come from the renowned collections of the New England Ski Museum in Franconia. New Hampshire.

WILLIAM E. OSGOOD

William E. Osgood is coauthor, with Leslie J. Hurley, of Ski Touring: An Introductory Guide and The Snowshoe Book.

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- *Beach, Allen Penfield, Lake Champlain as Centuries Pass. Basin Harbor, Vt.: Basin Harbor Club and Lake Champlain Maritime Museum, 1994. 115p. List: \$9.95 (paper). Reprint of 1959 edition.
- Citro, Joseph A., *Deus-X.* Sparta, N.J.: Twilight Publishing, 1994. 386p. List: \$24.95. Thriller set in Vermont.
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- *indicates books available through the Vermont Historical Society bookshop.

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY CONDENSED FINANCIAL STATEMENT

as of June 30, 1994 BALANCE SHEET June 30, 1994

ASSETS

Cash	\$ 166,715
Inventory	35,424
Investments, at cost	1,331,664
Due from other funds	17,846
Receivables	2,822
	\$1,554,471

CURRENT LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES

Due to other funds	\$ 17,846
Current liabilities	6,626
	24,472
Fund balances:	
Current Fund	55,884
Endowment Fund	1,177,607
Specific Purpose Fund	262,790
Kent Fund	33,718
	1,529,999
	\$1,554,471

STATEMENT OF INCOME, EXPENSE, AND CHANGE IN FUND BALANCES for the year ended June 30, 1994

CURRENT FUND

		e:

Contributions and grants	\$ 35,114
In-kind space donation	195,375
Interest	1,842
Membership	59,310
Sale of merchandise and services	53,238
State appropriation	181,294
Transfers from other funds	 185,800
	711.973

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Expense:				
Additions to museum, library, and equipment	\$	10,161		
Administrative and operating		32,265		
Cost of museum shop goods sold		37,253		
Development		21,322		
Museum and library		22,534		
Occupancy		195,375		
Personnel		351,091		
Publications		40,875		
Transfers to other funds	_	1,097		
		711,973		
Change in fund balance	_	0		
ENDOWMENT FUND				
Income		103,079		
Expense		98,021		
Increase in fund balance		5,058		
SPECIFIC PURPOSE FUND				
Income		177,792		
Income Expense		175,033		
•	_			
Increase in fund balance	_	2,759		
KENT FUND				
Income		5,106		
Expense		4,058		
Increase in fund balance	_	1,048		
Total increase in funds		8,865		
Total increase in funds		0,000		
Fund balance, July 1, 1993	_1	,521,134		
Fund balance, June 30, 1994	\$1	,529,999		
·	=			

Weston A. Cate Jr. Research Fellowship

The Vermont Historical Society awards a fellowship each year to encourage research in Vermont history. The fellowship, named for Weston A. Cate Jr., director of the Vermont Historical Society from 1975 to 1985, and supported by a bequest from the estate of France Rice, carries a stipend of \$1,200.

The fellowship supports research for one calendar year in any aspect of Vermont history and is open to all individuals. The grantee is expected to complete research and writing on his or her topic within the period of the fellowship. A final product, normally an essay or research article is expected at the conclusion of the fellowship period. An alternate product in a form that might be appropriate for exhibition or viewing could be acceptable. A winning essay or article will be seriously considered for publication in *Vermont History*, although the fellowship does not include a guarantee of publication.

The research project proposed by the applicant must be complete within itself. Because the Society's purpose is to encourage worthwhile, original research in Vermont history that might not otherwise be undertaken, segments of a larger study already in progress—even if they can stand alone—may be at a competitive disadvantage. Insofar as possible, the project should involve the use of the collections of the Vermont Historical Society's library and/or museum. In making the fellowship award, the selection committee will favor applications that address topics designed to fill research gaps in the state's history.

The deadline for filing an application is April 1, 1995. The winner of the fellowship will be announced May 1, 1995.

Address all inquiries and requests for application forms to the Weston A. Cate Jr. Research Fellowship, Vermont Historical Society, 109 State Street, Montpelier, VT 05609-0901.



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