VERMONT HISTORY

THE VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY • VOL. 65, NOS. 3&4 • SUMMER/FALL 1997

IN THIS ISSUE

Format designed by The Laughing Bear Associates

VERMONT HISTORY

The Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society

SUMMER/FALL 1997

VOL. 65, NOS. 3&4

Membership in the Vermont Historical Society is open to all. Dues are $30.00 per year; $25.00 for senior citizens. Dues-paying members receive two copies of *Vermont History* each year in addition to four copies of *In Context.* Members also receive a 10 percent discount on books and gifts purchased from the Society's museum store. Address inquiries to Membership Secretary, Vermont Historical Society, 109 State Street, Montpelier, VT 05609-0901. Tel.: (802) 828-2291. FAX: (802) 828-3638; e-mail: vhs@vhs.state.vt.us.

•

VERMONT HISTORY

(ISSN 0042-4161)

Articles appearing in this journal are abstracted and indexed in *Historical Abstracts* and *America: History and Life.*

•

Vermont History: The Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, published two times a year by the Vermont Historical Society, whose offices, library, and museum are located in the Pavilion Building, Montpelier, Vermont. Second-class postage paid at Montpelier, Vermont.

We invite submission of articles about the history of Vermont. Send two copies to the Editor, *Vermont History*, Vermont Historical Society, 109 State Street, Montpelier, VT 05609-0901. For styling rules, see *The Chicago Manual of Style* (University of Chicago Press). Text, excerpts, and notes must be double spaced. We encourage the inclusion of a 3½" Macintosh or MS-DOS diskette with both an ASCII (text only) and fully formatted version of the document. Please note on the disk label the word-processing program you used.

IN THIS ISSUE

About The Contributors

Dona Brown is assistant professor of history at the University of Vermont, where she teaches Vermont, New England, and American history. She is the author of *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (1995).

•

Hal Goldman is a doctoral candidate in U.S. history at the University of Massachusetts–Amherst. He is the author of "James Taylor's Progressive Vision: The Green Mountain Parkway," which appeared in *Vermont History* in 1995. He has also published work in the *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* and the *Encyclopedia of New England Culture* (forthcoming). He lives in Burlington and is a member of the Green Mountain Club.

•

Ida H. Washington is professor emerita from the University of Massachusetts at Dartmouth. She is the author of numerous books and articles on literary and historical topics, including *Dorothy Canfield Fisher, a Biography* (1982). She lives in Weybridge, Vermont.

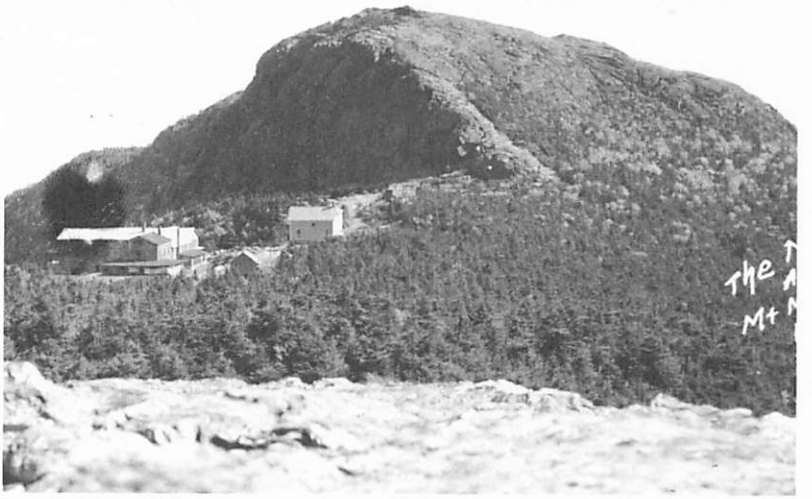
Accidental Tourists: Visitors to the Mount Mansfield Summit House in the Late Nineteenth Century

The registers of the Summit House recorded precisely the urban, prosperous clientele whose preferences shaped the development of all of New England's summer resorts. But there were some people up on the mountain who have not yet been counted.

By DONA BROWN

Not long ago, the history of tourism was treated as local history. Information about tourists was recorded chiefly in the form of anecdotes about famous visitors who had passed through town. A history of Stowe, Vermont, might record that Ralph Waldo Emerson had once stayed the night at the Summit House atop Mount Mansfield, or that visitors had come from as far away as Paris (France!) to see that same view, but it would not ordinarily pause to consider the network that had brought such visitors so far. In the past decade or so, however, historians have turned to a more systematic study of the tourist industry. In these studies, tourism has been revealed to be a vital national industry, a force that inspired great innovations in technology, marketing, and production, and helped to shape a national middle-class culture. But local studies still provide a useful lens through which to view the effects of that industry, and still raise challenging new questions for historians of tourism.[1]

The tourist industry came to the small town of Stowe, Vermont, in the middle of the nineteenth century. Like their counterparts in the White Mountains of New Hampshire and all over the northeast, from Newport, Rhode Island, to Niagara Falls, Stowe's speculators discovered new potential in local scenery. Here, the attraction was Mount Mansfield.



"The Nose and Mt. Mansfield Hotel," Stafford Photo, no date. Postcard collection, Vermont Historical Society.

In 1850, a local entrepreneur named Stillman Churchill built the first resort hotel in Stowe and began the work of making the ascent of the mountain possible for traveling ladies and gentlemen. Like many other early entrepreneurs, Churchill went bankrupt, but his mortgage holder, a local lawyer named William Henry Harrison Bingham, took over the hotel in town and continued to develop the mountain. In 1858 Bingham built a hotel at the top of Mount Mansfield. It was called the Summit House, or sometimes the Tip-Top House.

Bingham did not have a monopoly on the name, or the concept. By the late 1850s, there were Summit and Tip-Top houses springing up on many New England mountain peaks. Mount Washington boasted the highest and most famous Summit House, but there were many others. By mid-century, there were already hotels on Mount Wachusett, Mount Holyoke, and Greylock Mountain in Massachusetts. In Vermont, the late nineteenth century saw the appearance of "summit houses" atop Camel's Hump, Equinox, Killington, Lincoln, and Ascutney, as well as Mansfield.

By the mid-1860s, the tourist industry was beginning to have an impact on the town of Stowe. A new Mount Mansfield Hotel Company was formed by investors from Boston, New York, and Montreal. In 1864, their elegant and expensive new hotel, the Mansfield House, opened in the middle of town. Bingham sold the Summit House to the company that same year. At the same time, the town of Stowe responded to the

pressure for development by building two roads for tourists, one to the top of Mount Mansfield and the other to Smuggler's Notch, a narrow passage through the mountains that was becoming popular with visitors.[2]

In the same years, Mount Mansfield and the Mansfield House made it onto the grid of nationally-recognized tourist attractions, edging their way into the national guidebooks. As early as 1862, *Appleton's Companion Hand-Book of Travel,* a guidebook series published yearly in New York, allotted Mount Mansfield a paragraph out of the two pages given to Vermont. By comparison, New Hampshire—at that time the preeminent resort region in the Northeast—received eight pages of description, mostly devoted to White Mountain attractions. The guidebook's editor appeared apologetic about the lack of information on Vermont, beginning the section by pointing out that "[t]he thousand points of interest in the Green Hills of Vermont have not yet received their due meed of favor from tourists, but their claims to especial homage are now being fully admitted."[3]

Over the next decade, Appleton's editions registered a modest growth of interest in Mount Mansfield. The 1867 guidebook devoted a slightly larger paragraph to Mount Mansfield, and gave better directions about how to get there: "Mt. Mansfield, the loftiest (4,469 feet) of the Green Hills, is 15 miles from Waterbury Station." The statistics were followed by a description of the Central Vermont Railway's route and connections. That year, too, Appleton's formally recognized the existence of hotels in Stowe: "The Mansfield House and the Summit House, both owned by the Mansfield Hotel Company, are well-kept houses. Price, $3.50 per day."[4] The relative significance of Mount Mansfield was still slight. Its single paragraph still competed with the thirteen pages of loving detail showered on the White Mountains. And the new editor kept the old editor's apology word for word: "The thousand points of interest in the Green Hills of Vermont have not yet received their due meed. . . ." But this single paragraph revealed that Stowe was now "on the map" of the tourist's geography; it had the railroad connections, the corporate capital, and now the New York publishing company to advertise its attractions.

In spite of the good press, the Mount Mansfield Hotel Company had its ups and downs. In a pattern typical of resort corporations in the late nineteenth century, it was sold and resold, changed management several times, went through both good and catastrophic seasons, and ended in failure when, in 1889, the downtown hotel burned to the ground.[5] Such corporate resort enterprises frequently did end in fire, bankruptcy, or some combination of the two. Often, the fires were extremely well-timed, like the one that struck the Mansfield House on the very day the water was turned off at the end of the season. But by the 1870s, the national

network was in place to make sure the tourists would keep coming anyway. The Central Vermont Railroad, making stops in neighboring Waterbury, connected with every major railroad network in the Northeast: the Boston and Maine Railroad at White River Junction, the New London Northern Railroad at Brattleboro, the New York Central at Rutland, and the Fitchburg Railroad at Bellows Falls. The 1874 Central Vermont excursion guide suggested as "Excursion 204" a trip from Boston to Stowe and back, using three railroad lines and a stagecoach, for fifteen dollars.[6]

Railroads had brought Stowe into a geographical network; guidebooks put the local attractions "on the map." By the 1870s, specialized regional guidebooks were taking on a frankly promotional role. *New England: A Handbook for Travellers* called Stowe the "Saratoga of Vermont," a designation that evoked images of a handsome, crowded, and above all fashionable resort. This *Handbook* claimed that Stowe was "unrivalled in the beauty, picturesqueness, and luxuriant magnificence of its mountain scenery."[7] *Keyes' Hand-book of Northern Pleasure Travel* promised more tangible joys, praising the grand hotel in Stowe as "spacious and commodious in all its arrangements and appointments and the stables and alleys connected are on a liberal scale. The proprietors are not to be outdone in their attentions to guests."

Keyes' handbook acknowledged that the main attraction in Stowe was the ascent of Mount Mansfield, and paid particular attention to the famous Mount Mansfield "profile," with its "Nose" and "Chin": "The bold summits of this noble eminence are thought to represent in their peculiar outline the features of the human face, looking upward forever from the firm base of the everlasting hills."[8] Experienced tourists were well-versed in that kind of anthropomorphism. They had probably already visited the "Old Man of the Mountains" in the Franconia Notch of the White Mountains, and perhaps even some of the nearby "spin-offs" of that attraction: the "Old Maid of the Mountains," the "Imp," or the "Young Man of the Mountains." Guidebooks promised similar attractions atop Mount Mansfield, modeled on those found in the White Mountains. In addition to the "Nose" and the "Chin," tourists could see the "Rock of Terror," the Lake of the Clouds, or even the "Old Woman of the Mountains."

By the 1870s, these kinds of scenic attractions had been around for awhile. That was, after all, the reason for the existence of all those mountaintop houses. Summit houses like the one on Mount Mansfield were born of tourists' fascination with views and scenery. As early as the 1830s, adventurous tourists had sought out waterfalls, jagged cliffs, and dramatic mountaintop views as expressions of nature untrammeled. The term of choice for such scenery was "sublime." Mountains were said to inspire one with thoughts of one's own mortality, the grandeur of nature,

the vastness of God's creation—hence the pious, heavenward gaze of Mount Mansfield's "face." In the 1840s and 1850s, fashionable tourists climbed mountains with some very specific activities in mind. When they got to the top, they sketched views, discussed their emotional responses to the scenery, and recited poetry, especially Byron, the patron saint of scenic romanticism. By the 1860s, the whole thing had been fashioned into a science. For the price of a guidebook, tourists could learn everything they needed to know about scenery, from the proper order for viewing attractions to the proper language for discussing them.

By the 1870s, the language of scenery was so widely used that it had become hackneyed. But scenic connoisseurship still provided an opportunity for tourists to stake a claim to gentility, social status, and cosmopolitanism. Appreciation of scenery was an enterprise heavily freighted with class consciousness, as the author of an influential *Harper's Magazine* article was very well aware. "For loftiness, grandeur and majesty, Mount Mansfield is, of course, inferior to Mount Washington," the author admitted. Mount Mansfield's charms "are of a more modest nature," he acknowledged, but those charms "will not escape the eye of discerning visitors." In fact, he argued, truly "discerning visitors" might even prefer Mount Mansfield to Mount Washington, and not entirely because of the view. Atop Mount Mansfield, the author claimed, scenic connoisseurs were "exempt . . . from the intrusion of unsympathetic Philistines." One would not find there, as on Mount Washington, "the shoddyite, the cockney, and the snob," the fashionable people, or "that still lower class who pursue and imitate fashionable people." Instead, one would find people who knew how to respond to fine scenery, who were "serious, thoughtful, and appreciative."[9] In the language of late nineteenth-century tourist promotions, that was a clear claim to the patronage of educated, genteel, largely urban tourists who saw appreciation of scenery as a badge of identity.

There were plenty of such tourists on Mount Mansfield in the 1870s and 1880s. One sure sign of the presence of well-to-do city people was the presence of the press, covering their summer peregrinations. In August 1872, a reporter from the Washington (D.C.) *Herald* signed the register of the Summit House, and a year later a reporter from the Pawtucket *Gazette* did the same. In 1872, the first year for which a Summit House guest register survives, nearly 700 people signed it. The banner year was 1876, proudly noted by the clerk as "Centennial Year." That summer, 976 people came up the mountain. After that, the registers are missing for five summers, and the 1882 book records a catastrophic drop in numbers, with only 302 registered visitors. In the 1880s, numbers for each summer typically hovered between 200 and 400 visitors.[10]

These vacationers came from cities all over the country, and occasionally beyond: from New York, Boston, Baltimore, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Montreal. In 1875, the clerk proudly noted that the governor of Rhode Island, Henry Lippitt, "and family" were visiting. Not all of these urban vacationers signed in with names as distinguished as the Roosevelts and Van Rensselaers who showed up in 1872, but many of them *were* staying down below in the Mansfield House at $3.50 a night, a price that placed the hotel at the high end of luxury hotels.

Nearly one quarter of the visitors were from New York and Boston. An average of 14 percent of the tourists signing in were from New York City—the single largest out-of-state origin—and 9 percent were from Boston. Out-of-staters were usually in the majority on the mountaintop in August, ranging from a high of 72 percent in 1872 to a low of 49 percent in 1876, and averaging just under 60 percent.

In short, Mount Mansfield's out-of-state visitors were not radically different from the vacationers one would have encountered at other New England resorts. One such typical tourist, a Boston-based landscape painter named Winckworth Allan Gay, described the company he met in Stowe in 1864, the year the great hotel opened. He wrote that the Mansfield House was filled with "every description of people from New York fashionables . . . to the quiet seekers of fresh air from Boston . . . dashed with the sentimental young women un peu passe [sic], old frequenters of N. Conway."[11] (The snide French phrase "un peu passé" suggests that these sentimental young women were no longer so young, and that they had already passed several summers in the artists' resort of North Conway, in the White Mountains.)

Recent research on other New England resorts confirms Gay's firsthand description. Peter Bulkley's groundbreaking study of White Mountain tourists analyzed the 1853 and 1854 registers from Mount Washington's Summit House. Bulkley found that Boston made up 13.4 percent of the trade, and New York City, 9.5 percent, a nearly exact reversal of the percentages for Mount Mansfield that reflects in part the different travel routes to the two different regions.[12] My own study of the August 1879 register of the Sherburne Hotel on Nantucket, an entirely different kind of tourist destination, reveals similar numbers: 10 percent of their trade was from Boston, while 12 percent was from New York City.[13] These are very different statistical banks from different times and circumstances. Taken together, they suggest that Boston and New York—the two great metropolitan areas of the northeast—were home to about one quarter of New England's vacationers. Mount Mansfield, then, attracted the visitors its promoters might have expected, and also the sorts of vacationers historians would expect to find there.

So far, there are few surprises. The registers of the Summit House recorded precisely the urban, prosperous clientele whose preferences shaped the development of all of New England's summer resorts. But there were some people up on the mountain who have not yet been counted. Looking at the numbers again from a slightly different angle, a different clientele suddenly becomes visible. On average, 45 percent of the visitors to Mount Mansfield came, not from the great urban centers, but from Vermont itself. Of that 45 percent, the great majority were from nearby northern towns, from urban Burlington and Winooski, to be sure, but also from tiny rural towns like Eden and Elmore. Many were not travelers at all. On average, nearly 14 percent of the people on the mountaintop in July and August were from the three towns of Stowe, Morristown, and Waterbury, within a few hours' drive of Mount Mansfield.[14]

In other words, a certain number of the people at the Summit House on any given day were local folks. That may not seem a very startling fact, but it is a fact that has hitherto escaped the notice of historians of tourism. Hotel registers all over New England have recorded the visits of those local people, but historians have not yet paid much attention to them. In an earlier study, for example, I reported that Nantucket's Sherburne Hotel housed many visitors from distant cities. I was correct, but I did not notice at the time that 14 percent of the visitors there were from New Bedford, just across the Sound.[15] Similarly, Peter Bulkley acknowledged the presence of local visitors on Mount Washington, but he did so by quite literally marginalizing them in a footnote, where he explained that he had removed from his analysis the 43 local residents, 8 percent of the total, in order to study the travel patterns of tourists from farther away.

Local tourists have been almost invisible to researchers, partly because they did not, in fact, consume the "goods" the tourist industry sold. They did not travel hundreds of miles, or (usually) stay in hotels, or buy guidebooks. They were not the targets of the industry's marketing strategies, and there was no reason to feature them in its promotional literature. Reading the accounts of nineteenth-century journalists and letter writers will not usually reveal their presence either, since most travelers themselves had a stake in describing their fellow travelers as stylish and urban. Occasionally, of course, a fashionable traveler might register a complaint. Ralph Waldo Emerson, for example, wrote in a letter to his brother in 1868 that he and his daughter had been unable to sleep during the night they spent at the Mount Mansfield Summit House because of a "party of amateur players" who kept them awake with their "violent fun."[16] Guidebooks, novels, and travel literature from the nineteenth century depicted scenic travel as the exclusive preserve of the wealthy, the fashionable,

the urban, and the educated. The Summit House registers, along with Emerson's complaints, suggest otherwise.

Who were those visitors from nearby? A few of the visitors from Stowe were clearly part of the local gentry, people who might have shared the literary gentility and scenic sensibility of those Bostonians and New Yorkers. Asa Camp, for example, was a forty-seven year old "retired merchant" when he went up the mountain in 1872 with his daughter, a twenty-year-old school teacher. He and the local physicians and ministers who made the trip probably had a lot in common with some of those out-of-state tourists. Their parlors, wardrobes, and bookshelves may have featured the same scenic sketches, pianos, and travel books that signalled full-scale participation in the brave new world of consumer culture.

But almost exactly half of the Summit House visitors from Stowe were "farmers," "farm laborers"—which usually meant farmers' sons—or members of farmers' families. Others deviated even more from the nineteenth-century image of a fashionable traveler: Herman Storey was listed as a stone mason, Dan Moulton as a shoemaker, in the 1870 census. It is not easy to draw clear class distinctions in a rural community like Stowe. There were rich farmers and marginal farmers, and a man listed as "shoemaker" in the 1870 census might have become a "shoe manufacturer" by the 1880 census. But money itself was not the only issue. The parlor pianos, elegant clothes, and travel books of genteel city-dwellers were not always welcome in the households of rural and small-town New Englanders, even in those that could afford them. For precisely the same reasons, vacations and many other new leisure activities were often suspect. Such activities often represented a kind of cutting-edge consumerism that was profoundly subversive of the habits of self-denial, hard work, and frugality that were still carefully engrained in many rural households. That is one reason we might not expect to find a great many Vermont farm families traveling for pleasure, even without considering the problems of money and time.

Yet there were many hard-working, self-denying, frugal Stowe farmers and their families up on the mountaintop each summer. What were they doing up there? We cannot simply assume that they were pursuing the same goals that had brought college students from Yale and society ladies from New York to the top of the mountain. For one thing, many of the local folks who signed the registers were not exactly vacationers. They were, in part at least, purveyors to the vacation trade. Tourist workers have been almost invisible both in nineteenth-century accounts of tourists and in historical analysis of the industry, but the Summit House registers bring these workers vividly to life. Lewis Demois, for example, was a clerk at the Mansfield House down in Stowe. Later he was the

manager of the Summit House, but in 1876 he signed the Summit House register as a guest. William F. Harris was the night watchman at the Mansfield House; Cora George was a "table girl"—a waitress, probably also at the Mansfield House. Their names both appeared on the register of the Summit House.

What did signing the register mean? The Summit House register was not exactly like the register of a hotel in town like the Mansfield House. Many, perhaps most, of the visitors who signed in at the Summit House did not stay overnight. Some came up the mountain for lunch or dinner. Many more probably brought their own supplies, and simply signed the register to indicate their presence on the mountain. (The registers record—sometimes—whether a guest ate lunch or dinner, hired a horse, or took a room for the night.)

Clearly, not everyone signed in. For one thing, there were routes up the mountain other than the toll road constructed by the town of Stowe, old hiking trails up from Underhill, from Smuggler's Notch, and from Stowe itself. Clerks at the Summit House frequently noted that there were people on the mountain who had not signed the register. In August 1876, for example, the clerk noted that parties were appearing on the mountain without signing in, and presumably without paying the toll for the road. At one point, the clerk specified that "fifteen people from Morrisville" (did he know them? or ask where they were from?) had evaded the guest register. In the late 1880s, the clerk appeared to have partly abandoned the effort to keep track of local people on the mountain, substituting for a list of signatures the simple notation of a "party of 15 from Morristown." Perhaps some local visitors refused to sign, or simply did not bother. Their existence suggests that those who did sign the register did so consciously and for a purpose.

The other exception to the rule may shed some light on what the registers meant to their signers. The men who worked on the carriage road that carried visitors up Mount Mansfield never signed the registers. Their presence on the mountain was obvious to everyone, but they were not part of the social world of mountaintop visitors, either those from New York or those from Stowe. Their names appear instead, clearly set apart from the rest of Stowe, on the census schedules, marked in the margins as "Mountain Road workers." The census also records that almost all the men were Irish or Canadian by birth.

People who did sign the registers indicated by their signatures that they were part of a social network, either the network of urban tourists, meeting one another on mountaintops all over the Northeast, or the social network of respectable families in Stowe and nearby towns. Even if they were on the mountain as workers, local residents staked a claim

to the recognition that came from sharing the page, and perhaps the dinner table, with visitors from Beacon Hill and Brooklyn Heights. On the pages of the Summit House registers, the bold and dashing signature of young Charles Burt the teamster, the shaky signature of the farmer from Elmore, who seemed not to have held a pen for some time, and the elegant signatures of young men from Yale and Harvard, share a common space.

In fact, the difference between local workers and local vacationers may not have been as clear as we might imagine. An anecdote making the rounds in the 1880s highlighted the potential for confusion. As Herbert Tuttle recounted the tale in his 1882 *Harper's* article, a group of vacationers were en route from the Waterbury railroad depot to Stowe and Mount Mansfield. When they stopped to water their horses, they encountered a gaunt Yankee who asked them if they were going to Stowe. They said they were, and he replied that "our girls about these parts they've all gone to the White Mountains." "Indeed!" replied the tourists. "That's surprising. There's such fine scenery right here at home, why do they go to the White Mountains?" The native replied, "Wa'al, they go there because they git three dollars a week."[17] This story was intended to poke fun at the Stowe Yankee's rural simplicity, and also at the tourists' naiveté. But it ends up implying something different. A story that was intended to highlight class differences between rural workers and urban vacationers in fact pointed out how difficult it might be to distinguish them from one another by sight.

Just as it might have been difficult for an observer to distinguish workers from vacationers in the 1870s, it is often difficult to determine from the registers whether local visitors were at work or at play. The signatures of Charles Burt and Charles and Lyman Churchill appeared more than once on the registers, for example, and that was not surprising. Charles Burt was a teamster who sometimes drove visitors up to the Summit House; Charles Churchill was a butcher who probably supplied the Summit House with meat; and Lyman Churchill was a hostler who might have taken care of the Summit House's horses. From one angle, the appearance of such visitors on the mountain simply confirms the fact that the Summit House, and Stowe with it, were integrated into the national tourist industry's grid. These visitors provided the local infrastructure for the industry, the services for the real tourists at the top.

From another angle, though, things are not so clear. When Charles Burt signed the register of the Summit House in 1872, the word "driver" usually appeared next to his name. Even if he brought his wife with him, as he did on September 21, he was probably working. W. A. Cobb, who signed in several times in 1875 and 1876, was also identified as "driver."

But Cobb always had dinner and took a room for the night, a practice that was not universal at the Summit House. When did work become play for Cobb?

William Smith was listed as a photographer in the 1870 census. Was he on vacation when he went up to the Summit House, or taking pictures for his portfolio, or was he on the mountain to sell souvenirs? Daniel Isham, the manager of the Mill Village hotel in Stowe, came up the mountain in August 1876 with his ten-year-old daughter Lillian. Was he on official business, or was he celebrating the centennial? When J. E. Miles came up the mountain from Morristown, did he come to look at the view, or to deliver some of the maple sugar, butter, cheese, and eggs advertised on the card he left glued into the facing page of the register? Perhaps we might consider such local visitors as "accidental tourists," taking an opportunity to see the sights or have a picnic in the course of a normal workday.

The Summit House registers offer an insight to students of tourism: the distinction between work and play is not always clear. They also provide evidence that another well-worn distinction may not be as clear as we imagine it to be. "Locals" and "tourists" were not always separated by an unbridgeable gulf. Apparently, they shared common ground atop Mount Mansfield. One Stowe farmer, Eliakim Bigelow, appeared in the Summit House registers several times. So did his brother, Newell Bigelow. The two brothers were almost archetypal Vermont citizen farmers, moderately prosperous small-scale mixed agriculturalists, and staunch supporters of their community through the neighborhood church, the Grange, and local politics.[18] Newell Bigelow signed the Summit House register for himself "and six children" on July 1, 1875. On August 16, 1876, he had dinner at the Summit House, this time apparently without the six children, but in the company of Walter Bigelow and his wife, who were from Salem, Massachusetts. Eliakim Bigelow went up to the Summit House with thirteen other people in August, 1881; he went to Smuggler's Notch that same month for a picnic. In July 1895 he and Newell went up the mountain again; in August 1899, Eliakim went with thirty people to Smuggler's Notch.[19]

The Bigelows had been traveling to the mountaintop and to Smuggler's Notch long before New Yorkers and Bostonians had been attracted there. One local historian (another Bigelow!) reported in his 1934 history that as a child he had heard the older men of Stowe describing a grueling trek the boys and young men of Stowe had used as a kind of coming-of-age ritual in the 1850s.[20] In fact, it was Newell Bigelow himself who reported having made that fifteen-mile hike. At the age of twelve he had walked up Mount Mansfield, down the other side into Smuggler's Notch,

and back to Stowe. As an adult, Newell Bigelow continued to ascend Mount Mansfield and travel to the Notch with his friends and relations, but immense changes had overtaken these places by then. In the place of a rather rough-and-tumble rural trek he would have taken a carriage ride, perhaps had a genteel supper, and rubbed shoulders with elegant visitors discussing scenery, poetry, and landscape art.

The registers suggest that it was a common practice to travel to the top of Mount Mansfield with family members from out of town, as Newell Bigelow did in 1876. In July 1872, for example, a party of eight signed in at the Summit House: J. Bass and Willie Bass from Underhill signed in, followed by James Bass of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, and his wife; next were E. S. Whitcomb of Underhill and a Mr. Henderson of Underhill, followed by Mr. L. C. Bass of Boston, and Miss Nellie Bass of West Randolph, Vermont. Basses from Underhill accompanied Basses from West Randolph, Boston, and Wisconsin to the summit.

Other examples suggest the same sort of pattern. In August 1889, W. C. Buchanan from Jeffersonville, Vermont, accompanied Agnes Buchanan from West Glover, Vermont, and F. W. Buchanan from Philadelphia up the mountain. In 1882, Frank N. Smith from Waterbury went up the mountain with Fred Smith of Minnesota. At a time when the high levels of emigration from rural Vermont were the subject of constant discussion and lamentation, it is certainly not surprising that for families divided by geography in this way, the trip to the summit may have become an established part of a summer's visit home to Vermont.

Mount Mansfield seems to have functioned locally as a kind of glorified picnic ground, a place to meet family and friends for the afternoon. On some occasions, the mountaintop served as the region's most prominent public space. In August 1859, for example, a Universalist convention in Stowe held a meeting atop the mountain that was reported to have attracted over a thousand people.[21] In September 1884 two people from Morrisville made a similar use of the mountain as celebratory, perhaps even sacred, public space: they were married at the Summit House.

The Morrisville bride and groom may have chosen the Summit House because they had good memories of family trips there, or because they associated it with the romantic scenery of parlor literature and paintings, or both. Newell Bigelow may have seen his picnics in the Notch and atop Mount Mansfield as part of a continuing tradition with his boyhood hikes or he may have felt he had gotten into a whole new world of experience. The Summit House registers cannot reveal the internal realities of these visitors.

Few documents, in fact, give us any insights into the responses of local citizens to the growth of tourism in their neighborhood, or to the ex-

panded leisure choices it brought them. One Stowe resident who did write on this subject, instead of celebrating the advent of the vacation industry, voiced a complaint that has become nearly universal among Vermonters over the years. In 1869, Stowe historian Maria N. Wilkins wrote that tourism had altered the appearance of her town, and not for the better: "The appearance of the Center Village, with respect to its buildings alone, is thought to be not improved by the erection of the large hotel. It is so much larger than all the private dwellings that it gives them a low and inferior look." Already in 1869, Stowe was dwarfed by the tourist industry.

More important, though, Wilkins worried about the moral impact of the industry, about the impact of "so large a class of persons, however virtuous, whose main business . . . seems to be to 'fare sumptuously,' ride in fine carriages and display themselves in fine and expensive apparel." Wilkins's criticism would have sounded reasonable to many rural New Englanders (and perhaps not completely unreasonable to many modern Stowe residents). The values of consumerism so accurately described by Wilkins, the "fine carriages," "sumptuous fare," "expensive apparel," and the single-minded and open devotion to their enjoyment, were often in conflict with older values espoused by rural and working people all over the country.

But even Wilkins, whose criticism of out-of-state tourists was based on a well-founded skepticism about the social effects of rampant consumerism, found herself caught up in the experience of scenic tourism. She boasted that "[t]he view from these mountains . . . has been pronounced by tourists, who have spent years in traveling in this and other countries, and made the visiting of mountains a specialty, as equal to anything they have seen." If only for the sake of regional pride, Wilkins couldn't resist a dig at the old arch-rival, claiming that tourists who had seen both pronounced the view from Mount Mansfield "quite superior to that from the White Mountains, in New Hampshire, to which there has been so much resort for many years."[22] Wilkins was skeptical of the values brought by scenic tourists from great urban centers, but she also embraced the opportunity to praise her native scenery, and she must also have been tempted to go up the mountain and see the view that had brought Stowe so much attention.

Perhaps the Stowe farmers and artisans who traveled to the Summit House shared some of Wilkins's mixed responses to the new view from the mountain. The registers of the Summit House allow us to begin to look at rural Vermonters not only as victims of or workers in the tourist industry, but also as participants in the tourist industry in their own right. We cannot be quite sure how the view from Mount Mansfield looked

to Newell Bigelow or how Charles Burt spent his leisure time. What the registers do point out, though, is that rural and small town people participated in what might be called the "tourist experience" to a greater degree than has been apparent. Perhaps it is time now for historians of tourism to look more seriously at these local "accidental tourists."

Notes

[1] I would like to thank Rosalind Cuomo for her help in compiling and analyzing the information on which this essay is based.

[2] The most complete account of this process is in Walter J. Bigelow, *History of Stowe, Vermont* (1934, reprint; Stowe, Vermont: Stowe Historical Society, 1988). See also Robert L. Hagerman, *Mansfield: The Story of Vermont's Loftiest Mountain* (Essex Junction, Vermont: Essex Publishing Company, 1971).

[3] T. Addison Richards, *Appleton's Companion Hand-Book of Travel* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1862), 72.

[4] Edward Hall, *Appleton's Hand-Book of American Travel: The Northern Tour* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1867), 115.

[5] Walter J. Bigelow, *History of Stowe*, 133.

[6] *The Summer Excursionist of the Central Vermont Railroad* (Boston: Central Vermont Railroad, 1874), 85.

[7] [Moses F. Sweetser], *New England: A Handbook for Travellers*, (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1880), 202. Perhaps Moses Sweetser had seen all that scenery, or perhaps not. In typical guidebook writer's fashion, he had borrowed the description. The phrase is actually taken from a local writer, Maria N. Wilkins, who wrote the description in [Mrs. M. N. Wilkins], *History of Stowe to 1869* (Stowe: Stowe Historical Society, 1987). Originally published in Abby Maria Hemenway, *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer* (Burlington: A. M. Hemenway, 1871), 2: 695–768.

[8] *Keyes' Hand-Book of Northern Pleasure Travel, to the White and Franconia Mountains, Green Mountains, Northern Lakes, Montreal and Quebec* (Boston: George L. Keyes, 1873), 143–144.

[9] Herbert Tuttle, "A Vacation in Vermont," *New England: A Collection from Harper's Magazine* (New York: Gallery Books, 1990), 8. Originally published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 47, Nov. 1883.

[10] The Summit House registers are located in Special Collections at the Bailey Howe Library, University of Vermont. The numbers used here are not, and cannot be, quite exact, because of the ways different people dealt with the problem of virtual representation: some men signed in for their wives and children without any notation, some by adding "and wife," "and child," "and nurse," while a few wives and children had their names recorded individually. I have counted people by signature only, somewhat underrepresenting the total. I counted totals for each year between 1872 and 1890 for which complete registers exist, and recorded more detailed information for four sample years: 1872, 1876, 1882, and 1889.

[11] Marcia Mathews, editor, "An Artist Describes His Visit to Mount Mansfield in 1864," *Vermont History* 39, no. 1 (1971), 53.

[12] Peter D. Bulkley, "Identifying the White Mountain Tourist, 1853–1854: Origin, Occupation, and Wealth as a Definition of the Early Hotel Trade," *Historical New Hampshire* 35, no. 2 (1980), 109.

[13] The Sherburne Hotel registers for the years 1879–1881 are found in the Peter Foulger Museum and Library of the Nantucket Historical Association, Nantucket, Massachusetts.

[14] August was invariably the most popular month for ascending mountains, but it was also the month when the greatest proportion of out-of-staters showed up. Counting signatures over the entire season reveals a larger presence of local visitors, but the June and September records are usually sporadic and unreliable. I have analyzed the July and August records.

[15] In fact, I cannot now retrieve a reliable figure for *local* tourists in Nantucket, simply because I did not devise such a category at the time.

[16] Ralph H. Orth, "Emerson Lectures in Vermont," *Vermont History* 33, no. 3 (July 1965), 396.

[17] Tuttle, "Vacation in Vermont,"

[18] Edwin L. Bigelow, "Eliakim Bigelow: A Stowe Farmer," in *Vermont History* 31, no. 4 (Oct. 1963), 253–271.

[19] Ibid., 265.

[20] Walter J. Bigelow, *History of Stowe*, 142.

[21] Ibid., 139.

[22] [Wilkins], *History of Stowe to 1869* 2: 695–768.

"A Desirable Class of People": The Leadership of the Green Mountain Club and Social Exclusivity, 1920–1936

The trustees sought to attract people like themselves without encouraging participation by others whose growing wealth, increased leisure time, and access to automobiles opened up new opportunities to visit Vermont and explore the Long Trail.

By HAL GOLDMAN

Between 1910 and 1930, Vermont's Green Mountain Club expanded from twenty-one members to over one thousand. Its reason for being, the Long Trail, had grown from dream to reality. By 1930 the trail stretched 270 miles from Massachusetts to Canada, having been cleared and blazed almost entirely by volunteers.[1] As the project neared completion the club's leadership turned its attention to maintaining both the trail and the club in the future. To the GMC's leadership and others, this task involved more than simply finding a way to attract new members and revenue.[2] Demographic change and increased automobile travel meant that different kinds of people now had access to the trail and the club's facilities. In the minds of club leaders, future growth had to take into account the challenge these developments posed to the social ambiance they believed was key to their members' enjoyment of the trail and its facilities. As a result, the trustees sought to attract people like themselves without encouraging participation by others whose growing wealth, increased leisure time, and access to automobiles opened up new opportunities to visit Vermont and explore the Long Trail. Though their discourse primarily referenced class and culture, there is evidence that ethnicity also played a role in some members' thinking. The conflict between necessary economic growth on the one hand, and maintenance

of social standards on the other, came to a head with a 1933 proposal to build a limited access parkway that would run parallel to the trail. The private tensions and biases that had heretofore characterized the debate within the club burst into the open as a result of the parkway controversy and brought into much sharper focus the desire for social exclusivity which informed the thinking of many among the club's early leadership. This social concern was not confined solely to the Green Mountain Club. As we shall see, progressive thinkers such as those making up the membership of the Vermont Commission on Country Life also debated similar issues at this time.

This phenomenon did not take place in a vacuum, but was informed by developments in American society and culture which were affecting the entire nation. The period during and after World War I was a time of reaction, repression, and organized intolerance in the United States. The deaths of Americans at the hands of German U-Boats and on the fields of France led to growing hostility toward the nation's enormous ethnic German population. In the aftermath of the war and the Bolshevik revolution in Russia, the federal government rounded up and summarily deported immigrants suspected of having Communist sympathies. Ethnically exclusionary immigration laws were passed and the Ku Klux Klan exploded in popularity not just in the South, but throughout the rural North as well. All of these developments had manifestations in Vermont.[3]

At the same time, elite Protestant society was confronted by the growing diversity of America. The children of immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe began to seek entry into middle-class institutions. Of all these groups, American Jews were most active in seeking admission to universities, neighborhoods, corporations, clubs, and recreation areas which had heretofore been the exclusive province of Protestant America. In response, many of these areas of American life were limited or closed to Jews. Quotas were imposed by ivy league universities like Harvard. Corporations and law firms would not hire candidates with Jewish-sounding names. Certain apartment buildings and neighborhoods were off limits. Social clubs restricted membership and tourist facilities prohibited stays by Jewish guests. Even where Jews managed to gain admission to elite institutions, they might well meet with open bigotry or ostracism from non-Jewish members.[4] Again, Vermont society was not immune from these attitudes and practices.[5]

Members of America's Protestant establishment may well have felt besieged and threatened by what they perceived as the foreign politics, culture, values, and religion of immigrants who packed the cities of the east coast. These immigrants (along with many other Americans of older stock) had in the past been excluded from the mainstream of American life be-

cause of barriers caused by language, culture, religion, or resources. With growing assimilation, prosperity, and the advent of the automobile, they increasingly had the means to join in the middle-class pursuits of tourism and recreation. In assessing the attitudes and values expressed by members of the Green Mountain Club and others in Vermont during the 1920s and 1930s we should keep these national trends in mind.

The Green Mountain Club

During the 1920s, the GMC membership came to represent an extraordinarily influential group of Vermonters. The club's membership included professors, politicians, writers, doctors and lawyers. It was a Who's Who of Vermont political, social, and intellectual leadership and included names like Proctor, Webb, Field, Perkins, Flanders, and Fisher.[6]

The GMC had then, as it does now, two forms of membership: "at-large," which is statewide, and "sectional," which pertains to geographic areas either within or without the state. One can be a member of a section without being a member-at-large of the GMC and vice versa. During the 1920s, at-large membership required sponsorship by two club members—a not unusual arrangement for the time.[7] Each section, however, was allowed to regulate its own membership. During the 1920s and 1930s the sections represented between two-thirds and three-quarters of the club's 1,500 members.[8] The three largest sections were the New York section with over 300 members, Killington (Rutland) with 300, and Burlington with approximately 100.[9]

Despite these numbers, the club's leadership constantly tried to increase membership during the 1920s and 30s. The problem was how to do so without attracting undesirables. In a 1927 report of the club's membership committee, George Story advocated personal contacts as a way of generating new members rather than through mass advertising, noting that: "if each member would take the trouble to solicit his friends, we could in a very short time double our list and still maintain the high standard which now exists."[10] As a result of the membership committee's recommendation, the GMC officially adopted what it called the "every member get a member" strategy for building its numbers.[11] The intent of the club's policies was clear: increasing growth without sacrificing the "high standard" of its membership.

Nonetheless, the club continued to struggle with the membership issue throughout the 1920s and 1930s as the GMC sought to preserve its perceived social ambiance while still keeping its head above water financially. This struggle manifested itself in several different ways: restriction of Jewish membership in the New York Section and at-large; differentiation between the social ramifications of section and at-large

membership in general; and maintainance of the profitability of the club's Long Trail Lodge at Sherburne Pass without sacrificing its social ambiance.

In his annual report of 1922, Will Monroe, president of the New York Section, noted that membership had seen little increase during the past year. Despite this, Monroe commented that the section maintained an increasingly restrictive membership policy. "I am convinced . . . that there is a very much greater scrutiny of the social qualification of candidates than in the early days of our section. We seem to be going more and more into a social club and with this development, the exclusion of all save the socially desirable (or what our officers deem the socially desirable) seems to have become a settled policy in the election of new members."[12]

One year later, however, Monroe seemed more reconciled to the increasingly exclusionary policies of the New York section. In his 1923 report, he wrote that the section could no longer choose its membership based merely on those interested in walking and hiking, but had to take into account "personal and social qualities that harmonize with our established precedents." Noting the growth in the number of hiking clubs in the New York area, Monroe wrote that "clubs like ours must necessarily stress selective factors in additions to our membership. And this has become an established policy of our section."[13]

In April, 1924, Isidor Greenwald, a charter member of the New York Section, wrote to its secretary, Laura Woodward. He had been told by one of the trustees of the New York Section that Jews were no longer welcome. He tendered his resignation, asking to remain as a member-at-large of the club. Woodward wrote back, informing Greenwald that it was the unanimous wish of the section's trustees that he remain, and that membership in the section was "first and foremost, upon the basis of personal qualifications, such as you yourself have displayed to an unusual degree since your enrollment as a charter member." Greenwald replied that the letter failed to address his initial question: had the section decided to exclude other Jews from future membership? Because the trustee in question had since confirmed to Greenwald his earlier statement that Jews were not welcome, Greenwald again sought an assurance that the section had not changed its policy with regard to Jews, and if it had, he wished to resign. Four months later he had his answer. In a one-sentence letter, Woodward informed him that his resignation had been accepted by motion of the section's trustees.

Greenwald pursued the matter with the club's trustees in January, 1927. While stating that he had no intention of returning to the New York Section, he asked that the GMC take action similar to that of the Adirondack Mountain Club, which had come out strongly against religious restrictions on membership in its sections.

In a letter from Willis M. Ross to J. Ashton Allis (both GMC trustees), Ross suggested that Allis respond to Greenwald, because he feared that he would "put it too strong." Ross reminded Allis that they had talked about Greenwald when Ross had been in New York the year before. Greenwald had asked to be kept in the club as an at-large member and "that is just what we did do." Ross reiterated to Allis what Allis already knew: it was very hard for a Jew to get into the New York Section. "And every application of a Jew for member-at-large is looked up more carefully than if he were not a Jew. And if he comes from New York or near there, we would have him scrutinized more thoroughly than if he resided elsewhere."[14] Given the section's stagnant membership figures, it was clear that the decision had been made that growth would not be sacrificed to "quality."[15] Beyond that, the comments of the club's trustees indicate at least their understanding that application by Jews even for at-large membership would be more heavily scrutinized than application by others deemed more socially fit.

I want to be clear about what this episode does and does not tell us about the Green Mountain Club in the 1920s. It is impossible to know what the attitude of the club's membership was towards Jews. Presumably its members held a broad spectrum of opinions and attitudes on the issue. The evidence cited above is not sufficient to make a blanket condemnation of the club as "antisemitic," and, in any case, that particular issue is collateral to the thesis of this article. What the episode does show is that antisemitic attitudes informed the thinking of those at the highest levels of the club's leadership and that those attitudes were recognized and tolerated by at least some club trustees acting in official capacities (the comments of Ross appeared on club stationary and were maintained in the club's records). I use the episode as just one example of how official club decisions often reflected a particular social vision—a vision which resulted in the exclusion of some who wished to partake of the club's offerings. These exclusionary attitudes resulted in actions unrelated to (and sometimes at odds with) the club's constitutional mandates, which included making the mountains of Vermont play a larger part in the life of the people. This indicates the complexity of the club's motives and actions during this period. The club was never solely motivated by the promotion of hiking or the conservation of the Vermont woods.

Throughout the 1920s and early 1930s, the trustees attempted to deal with the tension between fiscal and constitutional responsibilities (which required a steady stream of hikers) and their desire to preserve the "values" of the membership. The result was a somewhat contradictory policy. On the one hand they were relentless in publicizing the trail. Noted figures

wrote syndicated articles on the trail that ran in hundreds of newspapers.[16] The *Long Trail News* maintained a running commentary on which national publication or figure mentioned the trail. When an outdoor stunter named Irving Appleby made several nationally celebrated end-to-end trips, the club basked in the publicity. At the same time, however, it was troubled by the fear that the trail was in danger of becoming commercialized, particularly after Appleby began trying to cash in on his feats by seeking commercial endorsements in Boston.[17] As a result, the trustees passed two resolutions in March, 1928. The first stated that the trail's main purpose was for "release and relief from the hurry and confusion prevalent in modern life" and that the club welcomed "especially all who come with the purpose of seeking out quietly and discerningly the beauties of Vermont's great wilderness." The second resolution stated that the club was not interested in speed records on the trail.[18] In the next issue of the *News,* the editor discussed the resolutions, noting that he hoped they would arrest the tendency to use the trail for self-advertising and commercial purposes for freak stunts and speed records. While such activities were good publicity, the editor wrote that they brought the trail into "disrepute" with real mountain lovers, for whom it was designed. Should such trends continue, the editor envisioned a trail where "hot dog stands would spring up at short intervals to accommodate the crowds. Landing fields might be established for the benefit of those who preferred to come by air and avoid the trouble of walking. And the genuine nature lover, for whom the Trail was intended, would be crowded out of the cabins and off the Trail entirely."[19]

Nevertheless, the club needed new members in order to finance its activities. By the early 1930s it solved the problem by simply acknowledging the distinction that already existed between the at-large members and those of the sections. As a result, at-large membership became the cash cow that funded patrolling, clearing, and maintaining the large portions of the trail not under the care of the individual sections. While the editor of the *News* encouraged at-large members to take an interest "in building up your list of fellow-members with the sort of folks you prefer to meet in the lodges," this form of membership was recognized by the trustees as being second best.[20] The club "sorely needed" more at-large members. However, as club president Herbert W. Congdon pointed out, "this class of membership has nothing to offer to the possible candidate save the tepid glow of having aided a worthy cause. The member at large has no contacts with the club nor with the other members of his class."[21] Social activities remained focused around the sections. The fact that Isidor Greenwald was now an at-large member of the GMC as opposed

to a member of its New York Section was not a mere technicality; it had real social ramifications.

Another example of the trustees' attempts to walk a line between fiscal responsibility and the preservation of the club's social characteristics revolved around the management of the Long Trail Lodge. Located on the trail where it passed through Sherburne Pass, this gift by future governor Mortimer Proctor and his mother was also the GMC's club house. The trail actually passed though the front door and out the back, a literal merging of the club's hiking and socializing functions. In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Lodge went through a series of short-term managers, and at a September, 1932, meeting the Board of Trustees concluded that the current hostess was not working out. The hostess, a Mrs. Bates, had been too ardent in protecting the lodge from undesirable visitors. The trustees noted her "chilly reception of persons who should be welcomed but do not seem to her of the social rank to which she feels the use of the lodge should be limited." What was needed according to the trustees was a woman capable of maintaining standards without at the same time leaving the lodge bereft of customers. They believed "that a more discriminating hostess might greatly increase the trade without deterioration to the grade of house atmosphere." They also suggested that a booth be built on the road with an attendant "of the right sort" as a "steersman" whose job it would be to screen people whom the lodge might wish to welcome.[22] Shortly after the September meeting, the trustees finally gave up and turned operations over to a professional management firm. Thereafter, the lodge began to operate in the black.[23]

The increasing diversity of people interested in the trail and its facilities during the 1920s and early 1930s was a symptom of a much larger force at work in Vermont and the nation—the impact of automobile tourism. Between 1917 and 1926, automobile registrations in the United States quadrupled, from 4.6 million to 19.2 million. While many owners were middle class, many others were more economically marginal. But even as the Depression wore on, automobile travel continued to grow while other recreational activities declined.[24] Vermont had been selling itself to tourists for years, but the availability of the automobile meant that tens of millions of people were now within a day's journey of Vermont's rural spaces. Vermont's progressive intelligentsia soon realized that, for better or worse, the automobile had the potential to alter dramatically the appearance of Vermont's rural places and the lives of its people. And, like the Green Mountain Club, these thinkers recognized the potential conflict between the economic benefits of the increased use of Vermont's countryside and the impact such activity would have on Vermont's community values and social cohesion.

The most obvious example of this concern appears in the 1931 report of the Vermont Commission on Country Life. An offshoot of University of Vermont Professor Henry F. Perkins's eugenics survey, the commission undertook its study "to see if anything could be done to better the living conditions in which so large a part of our population is born and grow up." The commission was headed by Henry C. Taylor, an agricultural economist from Northwestern University. Its membership was initially made up of three hundred self-described "progressive citizens of the state." Eventually, two hundred of them formed into committees and sub-committees, each charged with investigating a particular aspect of rural Vermont life.[25] Two groups dealt expressly with tourism and the automobile. The Committee on Summer Residents and Tourists detailed the growth of tourism in Vermont, examined the economic and social significance of the various kinds of tourists (the "transient" tourist, the "vacationist," and "the property owner") and provided suggestions for improving tourism which addressed the needs of all three types of tourists. For example, the committee noted that the "farmer, the wage earner, and the business man operating on a limited scale, are taking vacations where a few years ago only the more prosperous business and professional men enjoyed an annual outing." These tourists of lesser means were increasingly able to take advantage of inexpensive lodgings in the homes of farm and village families.[26] In order to accommodate them, the committee proposed state regulation of these accommodations to assure the comfort and safety of guests. It also proposed improving roads, acquiring mountain top property, and forming a state police force to protect the homes of summer residents from criminal activity when their owners were absent.[27] In its recommendations, the committee noted that the summer home movement was "the most promising feature of recreational development in Vermont" (so long as it did not displace agriculture) and it warned against "cheap and vulgar displays along the roadside."[28] But these were only two of sixteen diverse recommendations. In short, the Committee on Summer Residents and Tourism accepted the eclectic nature of Vermont tourism, pointed out the pros and cons of each type of tourist activity, and refused to take a condemnatory position on any of them.

The other committee to examine the issue of tourism, however, took a different approach. The Committee on the Conservation of Vermont Traditions and Ideals, by virtue of its mandate, was deeply concerned with the impact automobile tourism could have on the social fabric of the rural community.

The make-up of the committee's membership was extraordinary in several respects. Five members were poets, two were professional writers, two were professors of English, one was an editor, lecturer, and histo-

rian, and one was a minister. Six of the eleven were women. Of the ten whose birthplaces could be determined, six had been born outside Vermont. Three of them lived in and around the summer home enclave of Manchester.[29] Three of the eleven were Green Mountain Club members (Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Helen Hartness Flanders, and Frederick Tupper).[30]

Because of its mandate to conserve Vermont traditions and ideals, it is instructive to examine what the committee deemed were threats to these values. It was heavily oriented towards the summer home owner and away from the transient automobile tourist. Unlike the Committee on Summer Residents and Tourists, it was clear that Traditions and Ideals wanted no part of the transient tourist trade. Instead it noted that the state "offers a pleasant environment for authors, artists, college teachers, and others in the same general classification. . . . It would be fortunate for the state and its people if more and more men and women of this desirable type sought Vermont for summer or permanent homes. They are far more valuable to Vermont as summer residents or as habitual dwellers in the state than other classes that might be mentioned."[31] It was quite clear who those other "classes" were. They were "the farmer, wage earner and business man operating on a limited scale" whose comfort and safety the Committee on Summer Residents and Tourists had acknowledged and sought to protect through a system of tourist home regulations.

Traditions and Ideals explicitly linked the class of tourists visiting Vermont and the preservation of Vermont's traditions and ideals. But it also did so implicitly. Following its discussion of the desirability of the intellectual second home owner, the committee called for the conservation of the state's beauty as a vital component of any attempt to protect Vermont's traditions and ideals. While the Committee on Summer Residents and Tourists had noted the importance of "wise and consistent policies of protection of our scenic assets," the Committee on Traditions and Ideals adopted far more militant language. The state had to "maintain an unbroken front against the forces which more and more will be destructive of Vermont's peace and beauty unless held at bay."[32]

What were these forces that so threatened Vermont? They were the tasteless nouveaux riches and the low class automobile tourist. Author Dorothy Canfield Fisher, a member of both the Committee on the Conservation of Vermont Traditions and Ideals and the Green Mountain Club, elaborated on both in pieces she published the next year.

In an expensively produced pamphlet issued by the state Publicity Bureau in 1932, Fisher described the middle-class professionals she was interested in attracting to Vermont as second home owners. These people were attractive, not because of their wealth, but because of their values.

"I think it well to specify those who are concerned by this screed about summer homes in Vermont—those men and women teaching in schools, colleges and universities; those who are doctors, lawyers, musicians, artists—in a word those who earn a living preferably by the trained use of their brains. And in addition—note this—those others not technically of that class but who enjoy the kind of life usually created by professional people." These people, Fisher wrote, had much in common with Vermonters and were distinct from those Americans "of the same sort who manufacture, or buy and sell material objects or handle money." Fisher's people sought to "train your children not to be dependent on manufactured mechanical recreation-for-sale, but to make their own fun, most of it out of doors and in the day time, rather than race off to roadhouses and dance halls." Fisher closed the brochure, richly illustrated with pictures of restored farmhouses (identified by their out-of-state owners' names and hometowns), by warning prospective home buyers to be careful while searching for a second home in Vermont. Advice and information should only be sought from "people of your own kind."[33]

Like the Greenwald correspondence, Fisher's comments must be assessed carefully. Fisher dedicated much of her professional life to combating intolerance, bigotry, and authoritarianism.[34] Despite this (or perhaps because of it) her text is revealing for the ease with which it categorizes people and makes clear that some are *not* welcome. That the comments appear in a publication paid for and produced by the state's Publicity Bureau indicates the extent to which theories of typing and exclusion dominated the thinking of Vermont's elite classes and were accepted by it.

In the same year that *Vermont Summer Homes* came out, Fisher published her well-known play *Tourists Accommodated*, a farce about a poor Vermont farm family who decide to jump on the bandwagon and cater to automobile tourists, those members of the "other classes" Fisher's committee could not even bring itself to mention by name in its report. In her introduction, Fisher explained that the play was based on the stories she had gleaned from her neighbors and friends who had themselves accommodated such tourists in Manchester.[35]

Early in the play, young Lucy, her mother, Sophie, and their Aunt Nancy Jane discuss with some trepidation the benefits and dangers of welcoming strangers into one's home. Sophie worries that the guests will steal from them, while Aunt Nancy Jane argues that it is good to meet strangers "and try to figger out from just looking at them what they're like." Though she must admit that "sure, yes, they do steal things."[36] Still, Sophie is not convinced and vents her concern in lines symbolizing the economic, social, and ethnic challenges an influx of automobile tourists will bring to the state.

> Why, seems as though it would give me heart failure to have a lot of strangers come and me try to make 'em pay for sleeping in our beds. How would I know how much to ask 'em for anything? Suppose they didn't pay me the morning after? Suppose they up and said some of us stole something from 'em? Suppose some French Canucks come along that don't speak English? Suppose a couple come—why how can you tell whether they're even married or not, nowadays with no morals to speak of?[37]

In the end, the family earns enough to pay the taxes and send Lucy to teacher's college, but not before it has had to agonize over the potential problems, and not before experiencing various misadventures as strangers take over their home. Sophie's discourse about what could have been is telling. Just like the roadhouses and dance halls of Fisher's summer homes pamphlet, the dialogue in *Tourists Accommodated* is a none too subtle code Vermonters must have understood. With automobile tourism comes the risk of crime, ethnic discord, sexual deviance, and the introduction of a foreign economy into the rural landscape. Though in the end, if financial conditions made it necessary and if they were clever, Vermonters could profit from this kind of tourism without losing their souls. Given the themes of *Tourists Accommodated,* it is no surprise that the Committee on the Conservation of Vermont Traditions and Ideals adopted the popular play and disseminated it to theater groups throughout rural Vermont—the proceeds going to advance the work of the committee.[38]

The Green Mountain Club and the Parkway Proposal

By the early 1930s, the potential impact of automobile tourism on Vermont had been discussed extensively among the state's close-knit intelligentsia and experienced first-hand by some rural Vermonters. But the issue did not really come to the fore for the public or the trustees of the Green Mountain Club until 1933 when William J. Wilgus proposed construction of a "Green Mountain Parkway" which would roughly parallel the Long Trail and cross it repeatedly. Wilgus, a nationally renowned civil engineer, proposed the road as the only Vermont project the federal government would be willing to spend New Deal money on as part of its National Industrial Recovery Act. He estimated that Vermont could qualify for seven to ten million dollars, and that the project would create thousands of jobs.[39] The proposal forced the club, like others in the state before it, to contemplate the impact of the automobile on its operations and brought the issue of who was welcome in Vermont out of the sequestered meetings of the GMC board and the Country Life Commission and into public discussion.

At a special meeting held on June 24, 1933, the GMC's Board of Trustees unanimously adopted a resolution opposing the project. The road

would be "a detriment to the best good of the State of Vermont;" it would "impose an impossible financial burden on the people of the State of Vermont for future upkeep;" and, most importantly from the GMC's perspective, "it would mean the abandonment of the Long Trail of the Green Mountain Club and would commercialize a section of the State that has so far been unspoiled but has been opened up by the Green Mountain Club's Trails to lovers of the outdoors in its natural state." The GMC resolved that it was "unalterably opposed" to the construction of such a highway and that a copy of the resolution be presented to the governor with the plea of the club that "he use every effort in his power to prevent the construction of such a highway."[40]

Wilgus was aware of the GMC's opposition and understood the potential mischief the club could do to his efforts given the political, intellectual, and social influence of its membership. Future governor Mortimer Proctor was by now the club president. Members Henry Field Sr. and his son were the publishers of the *Rutland Herald,* the state's most influential newspaper, which reviled the project from the start, and worked very hard to defeat it.[41]

As a result of this opposition, Wilgus worked closely with James P. Taylor, secretary of the Vermont Chamber of Commerce and founder of the Green Mountain Club, in the production of a pamphlet entitled, "Vermont's Opportunity," which sought to allay many of the fears expressed by the GMC leadership. The pamphlet's focus and language confirm the extent to which the men understood the GMC's concerns to be as much social as environmental.

To those who objected that the parkway would bring a "flood of undesirable visitors" to the state, Wilgus implied that those who even suggested such an objection were deserving of censure. "As if we wished to remain a 'hermit kingdom' for all time," he wrote, "just because an occasional visitor via the parkway may not be all that is to be desired." Wilgus attacked the related concern that the parkway would bring another type of invasion in the form of "signs, hot-dog stands, filling stations and hovels" that would "spoil the State." He asserted that "all of such objectionable features will be barred" on land within the federal right-of-way.

Wilgus squarely addressed the objections of the Green Mountain Club concerning "the invasion of the fastnesses of their Long Trail by motor parkway, bringing with it the noise and smell of civilization, and an influx of people where few now go." He responded to these concerns by noting that the parkway "will be skillfully located by landscape engineers, or the trail relocated . . . all with a view to the preservation of the trail in its primitive beauty." Wilgus downplayed the concerns of those he de-

scribed as "trail devotees" who complained that the parkway "will take from them the psychological sense of complete solitude and remoteness from the haunts of man, even though far out of range of the noise of the motor."

In the end, Wilgus maintained that, even if all the concerns of the Green Mountain Club could not be assuaged:

> a balance must be struck between the slight disadvantage that the hikers, few in number, will suffer on the trail, and the enormous advantages that will be reaped by the country at large in the spiritual satisfaction that will be brought to the many using the parkway, the material reward that will come to the business interests, farmers, property owners, and taxpayers in general in the State, and the restoration of morale that will be brought to workers through self-respecting employment, and finally, the benefits that will go to the members of the Green Mountain Club itself, in the protection of forest and wild life on the Long Trail. Judged by the criterion of the greatest good to the greatest number, the park project should have the unanimous support of the citizens of the State.[42]

In other words, in "troublous times" as he described them, the needs of the many had to outweigh those of the few—a plea for a democratic approach. But privately, Wilgus was more blunt. Those who opposed the parkway on socially exclusionary grounds were "snobs who sneer at the vulgar populace to whom the parkway will be a boon above price."[43]

While many people both inside and outside the club opposed the parkway on grounds that it would harm the wilderness and associated values, for the leadership of the GMC the focus remained squarely on the parkway's threat to the existence of the club itself as currently constituted. That threat centered not only on the quantity of people who it was feared would now have access to the trail, but also on their quality. E. S. Marsh, the editor of the *Long Trail News*, explained the fear of the trustees following a special meeting with Wilgus. "The trustees think that the result would be that the Trail would lose its interest for those who have tramped it in the past and others like them, that it would gradually be abandoned, and that the Club, having lost its raison d'etre, would disintegrate. It is their duty to seek to preserve the Trail and the Club, and to oppose anything which tends to destroy them."[44] Marsh's comments require careful reading. It was not that the trail would be abandoned by people, but that it would be abandoned by "those who have tramped it in the past and others like them." Thus, if many members were afraid of the parkway's effect on the woods, they were concerned as well by the numbers and kinds of people it would bring to Vermont and the Long Trail.

Wilgus repeatedly supported his proposal by pointing out the millions

of nearby urban dwellers who could benefit from the Vermont countryside. These people, argued Wilgus, heretofore unable to reach the Long Trail, would now be able to drive to it. Even those who were not sufficiently fit to experience the trail as it was currently constituted could walk on it.[45] In general, given Vermonters' ambivalent attitude towards the city, such an argument was problematic. Many rural Vermonters increasingly relied on the city for their livelihoods, whether as dairy farmers or as tourist hosts. But "the city" had a long history of luring away Vermont's children and dictating the prices paid for Green Mountain agricultural products. Thus, appeals to Vermont that the parkway would bring a flood of city people to the state did not always win supporters.

From the point of view of the GMC's trustees, the notion of a flood of city people on the trail was particularly troubling. Given the attitudes held by its leadership, Wilgus's arguments that the parkway would inundate the Long Trail with hordes of New York and Boston visitors hardly seemed calculated to reassure. Many were horrified at the thought of the trail, *their* trail, being invaded by socially unacceptable autoborne tourist "hikers." According to acting club President Congdon, if these people were too feeble to hike and wanted a mountain view, then let them ride up Mansfield or Mount Philo, which had already been defiled by carriage roads.[46]

Nevertheless, the leadership of the GMC did face a rift in its ranks over the parkway similar to the one that had been more generally articulated in the report of the Vermont Commission on Country Life. Should Vermont accept autoborne tourism, which would attract a larger and inherently more diverse population? Or should it focus on attracting a "higher-class" tourist?

The membership, both in-state and out-of-state, was divided. In a survey on the parkway taken in 1934, in-state members who responded opposed the project 129 to 117. The out-of-state members who responded to the survey opposed it by a much wider margin—143 to 79.[47] In addition, several important GMC figures favored the parkway. Judge Clarence P. Cowles, an early club leader and the major force behind early trail building, favored the parkway for many of the reasons James Taylor did. In a letter to Governor Stanley Wilson, Cowles pointed out that the GMC's object was to build trails and roads and to make the mountains play a larger part in the life of the people. Certainly the parkway would do that.[48] Future U.S. Senator Ralph E. Flanders published an open letter to the club in the *Rutland Herald* threatening to quit if it continued to spend money and effort opposing the parkway—resources he felt would be better spent on maintaining trails and shelters. He thought the parkway would be good for the state. Surprisingly, by 1936, Dorothy

Canfield Fisher was also supporting the project. This drew an angry rebuke from the *Rutland Herald* which accused her of hypocrisy, given earlier statements by her on the Long Trail as an antidote to civilization.[49] Throughout the debate, however, the GMC trustees were a consistent voice against it, opposing it unanimously throughout 1933 and 1934.[50] It was their voice that represented the club's position and it was their voice that the GMC publicized via the *Long Trail News.*

The comments of *News* editor E. S. Marsh and the comments of those he quoted reflected a consistent fear of the kind of people the parkway would bring to Vermont. These people would simultaneously ruin the experience of the Long Trail and drive away the kind of people Vermont should be attracting, people very much like those members who wrote letters to the *News.*

Zephine Humphrey Fahnestock (a member of the Committee for the Conservation of Vermont Traditions and Ideals) was quoted in the *Long Trail News* as asking "what do our summer friends want of us? They say that they want healing and quietness, simplicity, release." Bertha Oppenheim (also a member of Traditions and Ideals) panned the parkway in the *News.* "The very name 'Skyline Parkway' is a desecration of all we stand for, of all that our tradition, our ideals, our hopes mean to us."[51] Mortimer Proctor, club president (on leave of absence), wrote that in addition to destroying the charm of the trail's solitude and natural wildness, the parkway "would attract unknown thousands, thereby creating a situation which would, to a great degree at least, destroy the finest charms of this great natural sanctuary." He went on to discuss other problems, including the "influx of undesirable elements." Herbert W. Congdon, the club's acting president, stated the difficult problem of bridging the "deep gulf that lies between some of us in the matter of taste. To those of us who love the forests through which our Trail passes, the idea of having hordes of people, convenient hot dog stands and the like, is abhorrent. Yet there is a very large number of people who think these factors are the only things lacking to make our mountains perfect."[52]

In its June 1934 issue the *News* published Llew Evans's poem, "Over the Parkway."

> You're crazy, guy. You told me how you'd climb.
> Deep in the forest, sidling 'round a rock,
> To see the broadening vista, and unlock
> The very heart of Nature. "Grand—Sublime!"
> You said. I'll say you're crazy. It's a crime
> How me and Bill, my side-kick, and two janes
> Burned up that parkway that the state maintains
> along the mountain. Boy, did we make time?
> We loaded up with frankfurts, beer and gas;

Took Killington and Camel's Hump in high;
Just shifted once on Mansfield—couldn't pass
a line of cars. But what an alibi
this Nature pulled. We never saw the lass
From Dome to Journey's End. You're crazy, guy.

Marsh wrote in the same issue that many lovers of the mountains and the wilderness will not cease to regret "this great gash . . . bringing hordes of people, some of whom may be genuine nature lovers who will appreciate the scenery, but a majority of whom, they fear, will be like those described in Llew Evan's sonnet."[53] These people—beer swilling, hot dog chomping, autoborne tourists, accompanied by their vulgar "Janes"—were not the sort many club members wanted to meet on the trail.

If the *News* received any letters favoring the parkway, it did not print them. The paper, controlled by the trustees, printed only letters critical of the parkway. A large portion of this correspondence focused not on harm to the natural environment, but to the human environment of the trail in particular and Vermont in general. For these club members, the parkway emphasized "quantity rather than quality." Girls' camps would no longer be able to send their campers on the trail unchaperoned by men for fear of kidnapping. The road would provide "just another picture postcard for empty headed sightseers." Another reader argued that the plan was being promoted by a "certain element in the state, moved by its prospects of commercial or other economic advantages." In any case, the motor traveler would bring some "subtle, disturbing thing hard to reduce to figures or concrete facts, but which tends to change and practically to ruin that which it touches." Vermont had so far been spared exploitation and commercialization by "public attractions and noisy cheap amusements that always attract a like class of people." The future of Vermont lay not with these types, a reader wrote, but with people "of more background, cultivation and vision" who were opposed to the parkway.[54]

Often, the rhetoric was tied directly to the effect the parkway would have on the state's attempts to attract summer residents—the kind of people Dorothy Canfield Fisher had sought to attract and who, presumably, would be very similar to the kinds of people in the GMC. As early as 1929, the *News* had featured a group of Long Island hikers who had returned to Vermont, eventually purchasing over 1,000 acres of land. Soon their friends had purchased summer homes as well, forming a small summer colony.[55] Club members often made reference to these summer people in their opposition. "I know of a goodly number of desirable people now looking for summer homes in Vermont just because the isolated charm appeals to them, and if this charm is destroyed they are no longer interested." "Vermont has a great future as a residence region . . . I mean a

place of residence for high-grade well-to-do people. . . . There is no other place for them in this part of the world. The White Mountains and the Adirondacks have both been vulgarized and spoiled." A summer resident threatened that, if the parkway were built, "our interest in this part of the country will be lost . . . and our thoughts will have to turn toward finding a substitute somewhere else." The same writer who had complained of "noisy cheap amusements" pointed out that Vermont had become the summer home of hundreds of "refined" families who had been attracted to it because Vermont was "beautiful, natural, clean, quiet and unspoiled." Another reader wrote that the parkway would attract "just the class of people who do the state no good, and drive away the kind that Vermont wants and needs—quiet, cultivated people who want to get away from just those things that the parkway would bring in its wake."[56]

In September 1934, the GMC board discussed reconsidering its position on the parkway on the motion of member and popular writer Walter O'Kane. However, the motion to reconsider was unanimously defeated. In addition, the trustees appointed a committee to keep alive their opposition and to formulate further "counter proposals for spending any national appropriation or state assistance especially on influencing and circularizing the coming legislature."[57]

Herbert Congdon feared that the club was out-gunned by the Wilgus parkway juggernaut and called the contest "a fight in the dark against illusive giants."[58] Despite these fears about the GMC's disadvantages, there is much circumstantial evidence that the club effectively lobbied against the parkway. First of all, the mere fact that the club publicly opposed the project served as propaganda for other opponents because of the club's influential membership. As we have seen, the club's opinions were important enough that Wilgus felt obliged to devote a good portion of his "Opportunity" to addressing its concerns. And James Taylor felt the strong minority support for the parkway demonstrated by the GMC's survey of its members was so significant that he called it to the attention of the governor.[59] In addition, the club actively lobbied against the proposal in the General Assembly.[60]

In September 1934, Mortimer Proctor proposed an alternative parkway plan to the GMC trustees. Although the *News* refused to reveal the plan at the time, Marsh described it as one that would not "desecrate the mountains, . . . bring in a horde of sightseers in speeding automobiles, . . . spoil the scenery" nor "interfere with the Long Trail," but he predicted, "it is expected that it will open up attractive locations now inaccessible, and attract a desirable class of people to become summer or permanent residents."[61]

At the club's annual meeting in January 1935 the trustees officially revealed the plan. Labeled "Vermont for Vermonters," and the "All-Vermont Plan," Proctor's proposal would improve trunk and secondary roads with an eye toward opening up beautiful but less accessible hill country to second-home development. The *News* reported that nine arguments had been made in favor of the plan. The *News* chose to focus on only the two "which will appeal particularly to members of the Green Mountain Club," the others being economic and practical arguments appealing to Vermonters generally. The first of the two arguments focussed on conservation. No "super highways" would invade and desecrate the "hidden fastness" of the Green Mountains. The second argument was listed under the title, "An unspoiled Vermont." This plan "would preserve, not destroy, Vermont's justly famous friendly charm and simplicity. It would encourage the leisurely tourist who really appreciates what Vermont has to offer. It would not attract the speedster, the stunters, the unprofitable through tourists, who contribute little or nothing to the communities through which they rush." The *News* then quoted from the report's conclusion that the GMC stood ready to save Vermont from the "mistaken attempts of exploitative experimentalists" and preserve Vermont so that "weary city dwellers" could be brought to the peace of the woods, the mountains, and the lakes, "far from the jazz-mad atmosphere of the cities."[62] Wallace Fay submitted the plan to the House of Representatives which printed it in its entirety in the *House Journal.*[63]

Soon after the "Vermont for Vermonters" plan was proposed, Proctor suggested yet another possibility. This plan would place a parkway along the Taconic Mountains west of the main Green Mountain range. It would proceed north through Hazen's Notch to Lake Willoughby, then turn south heading for Brattleboro, then west over the Green Mountains to Bennington. The trustees approved the plan and voted to appropriate $100 for a survey to be used in its promotion.[64]

What is significant about both plans is what they reveal about the priorities of the GMC leadership. Either alternative would have disrupted an enormous amount of forest land. Apparently, the GMC trustees were less concerned with the parkway's effect on wilderness in general than they were with its effect on *their* wilderness in particular. Nonetheless, neither alternative was implemented because the entire parkway proposal was overwhelmingly defeated in a March 1936 referendum.

Conclusion

Historians have studied the parkway episode in depth because the controversy illuminates many of the hidden faultlines in Vermont society in the 1930s. Among those faultlines were the challenges posed to a

state increasingly committed to selling itself to people who lived in the surging cities of the east coast. The idea of the autoborne tourist frightened many people since it meant that almost anyone of any social or ethnic background could now enjoy the state's offerings. Many people feared the impact of these tourists on the state and promoted second home ownership as a solution that promised economic development while limiting the threat of social disruption. To the people who worried about them, motor tourists represented a "subtle, disturbing thing" representative of the massive social, economic, and cultural changes taking place in America. Vermont was supposed to be a refuge from these changes—a refuge many people thought worth saving even if it meant keeping others out.

The actions of the Green Mountain Club leadership during the parkway conflict reflect attitudes and practices already in place by the early 1930s, within the club, the state, and the nation. The club's leaders understood their mission as preserving not only the Long Trail, but also a kind of social experience for club members. It was a young organization struggling to define and maintain itself in a nation experiencing both demographic and transportation revolutions. Many people in America felt deeply threatened by the implications of these changes, and reaction to them came from all levels of society—from private clubs to Congress. These reactions were sometimes ugly—both by the standards of the day and by the standards of our own time.

Today the Green Mountain Club is a pluralistic organization with a diverse membership. Its work makes the Vermont woods available to all people who would enjoy them on nature's terms. It has preserved a large chunk of wilderness in the heart of Vermont and has fought throughout the years to protect it from incursion. The groundwork responsible for these achievements was laid by many of the people featured in this article. But this article has also shown the extent to which their attitudes and practices were motivated by the conviction that certain people were welcome in Vermont and certain people were not. A commitment to hiking or a love of the outdoors was not always enough. Membership in a particular class or adherence to certain social or religious values was an important consideration. These judgments influenced the leadership's attitudes and actions in the 1920s and 30s. Historical accuracy demands that any assessment of the club and its actions during this period take this into account. My purpose here is not to judge the Green Mountain Club and its leaders—only to point out their attitudes and actions and try to explain them in the context of their times. I leave it to the reader to grapple with the ambiguous legacy that history has left for us.

NOTES

The author thanks Michael Sherman and Tom Bassett for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

[1] Laura Waterman and Guy Waterman, *Forest and Crag* (Boston: Appalachian Mountain Club, 1989), 353–357; Jane Curtis, Will Curtis and Frank Lieberman, *Green Mountain Adventure: Vermont's Long Trail* (Montpelier: Green Mountain Club, 1985), 12, 59, 64, 89.

[2] I use the term "leadership" broadly in this article. It includes not only the club's officers and trustees, but also the officers and trustees of the club's individual sections, as well as others active in the club's affairs.

[3] Robert Vincent Daniels, *The University of Vermont: The First Two Hundred Years* (Hanover, N.H.: University of Vermont, 1991), 201, 210 (hostility toward a German faculty member); Gene Sessions, "Espionage in Windsor: Clarence H. Waldron and Patriotism in World War I," *Vermont History* 61 (1993): 133–155 (federal criminal trial of minister accused of opposing the war); David Williams, "'Sowing the Wind': The Deportation Raids of 1920," *Historical New Hampshire* 34 (1979): 1–31 (deportations of suspected Communists in neighboring New Hampshire); John M. Lund, "Vermont Nativism: William Paul Dillingham and U.S. Immigration Legislation," *Vermont History* 63 (1995): 15–29; Maudean Neill, *Fiery Crosses in the Green Mountains: The Story of the Ku Klux Klan in Vermont* (Randolph Center, Vt.: Greenhills Books, 1989).

[4] Leonard Dinnerstein, *Antisemitism in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 78–105.

[5] David M. Stameshkin, *The Strength of the Hills: Middlebury College, 1915–1990* (Hanover, N.H.: Middlebury College, 1996), 208 (on the discomfort of being Jewish at Middlebury in the 1920s and 30s); Daniels, 329–330 (antisemitism, and resistance to it, at the University of Vermont's College of Medicine); Elin Anderson, *We Americans: A Study of Cleavage in an American City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937), 41–42, 108–109, 262 (Burlington's Jews excluded from neighborhoods, shunned in high school clubs and activities, and denied admission to the local nursery school). Many Vermont resorts were off limits to Jews in the 1920s and 1930s. See footnote 34. Restrictive covenants on Vermont summer home properties around Caspian Lake were common. This practice came back to haunt now Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist when it was revealed as part of his Senate confirmation hearings that the deed to his summer home in Greensboro, Vermont, prohibited conveying the property to members of the "Hebrew race." The restrictive language was added in 1933. "Justice Knew of Deed in '74," *New York Times*, 8 June 1986, A 13; "Unenforceable Covenants Are in Many Deeds," *New York Times*, 1 August 1986, A 9.

[6] *Revised By-laws of the Green Mountain Club, Inc. and List of Members* (Rutland, Vt.: A. J. Novak, 1930). Copy in the Green Mountain Club Papers, Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont, Doc. 182, folder 25 and Special Collections, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.

[7] For example, the Vermont Historical Society required sponsorship by one member and election by a majority of those present at the Society's annual meeting. However in its new constitution and by-laws passed in 1930 the sponsorship requirement was removed and membership required only election by a majority of members. *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society* (Bellows Falls: Vermont Historical Society, 1926); *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1930), 21–26. Interestingly, the Green Mountain Club also changed its membership procedure at this time. Its 1922 by-laws permitted admission to anyone making application and receiving approval by any club officer or section officer. By 1930, the club's by-laws required that "each applicant be vouched for by two members of the club or furnish two references" before being admitted. It is unclear whether this new procedure made it easier or harder to gain admission to the club. *Revised By-laws of the Green Mountain Club* (1930); *Revised By-laws of the Green Mountain Club* (1922). Copies in Special Collections, University of Vermont.

[8] Report of the Membership Committee, 1926, typescript (hereafter, ts), Green Mountain Club Papers, Doc. 182, folder 17; Report of the Membership Committee, 1927, ts, Green Mountain Club Papers, Doc. 182, folder 18.

[9] *Long Trail News* (April 1926), 1; *Long Trail News* (April 1927), 1. Copies available at Special Collections, University of Vermont and at the Vermont Historical Society.

[10] Report of the Membership Committee, 1927, ts, Green Mountain Club Papers, Doc. 182, folder 18.

[11] Lula Tye, letter to all GMC members, 20 April 1927, ts, Green Mountain Club Papers, Doc. 182, folder 18.

[12] Report of the New York Section, 1922, ts, Green Mountain Club Papers, Doc. 185, folder 10. The parenthetical portions of Monroe's words were added by him in pencil to the typed text.

[13] Report of the New York Section, 1923, ts, Green Mountain Club Papers, Doc. 185, folder 10.

[14] Correspondence, Green Mountain Club Papers, Doc. 182, folder 19.

[15] The New York Section had earlier also refused to give up its rule on "sex balance" despite the fact that there was a waiting list of females desiring membership. This is another indication of

the section's deep concern with maintaining a desired social structure at the expense of membership revenues. Report of the New York Section, 1922, ts, Green Mountain Club Papers, Doc. 185, folder 10.

[16] *Long Trail News* (July 1927), 1.

[17] *Long Trail News* (December 1927), 3; *Long Trail News* (April 1928), 3.

[18] *Long Trail News* (April 1928), 1.

[19] *Long Trail News* (June 1928), 3.

[20] *Long Trail News* (April 1930), 3.

[21] Report of the President, 1933, ts, Green Mountain Club Papers, Doc. 182, folder 32.

[22] Report of the Meeting of the Board of Trustees, Green Mountain Club Papers, Doc. 182, folder 29.

[23] *Long Trail News* (November 1933), 3; (February 1934), 2.

[24] Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910–1945* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1979), 106, 142–143.

[25] Henry F. Perkins, "The Vermont Commission on Country Life," *Vermont History* 23 (1955): 335–340; Kevin Dann, "From Degeneration to Regeneration: The Eugenics Survey of Vermont, 1925–1936, *Vermont History* 59 (1991): 5–29. For the most recent work on Perkins, the eugenics survey, and the Vermont Commission on Country Life, see Nancy L. Gallagher's thorough treatment in "Henry Farnham Perkins and the Eugenics Survey of Vermont" (M.A. thesis, University of Vermont, 1996), particularly Chapter Four.

[26] *Rural Vermont: A Program for the Future* (Burlington, Vt.: Vermont Commission on Country Life, 1931), 124.

[27] *Rural Vermont*, 129–133.

[28] *Rural Vermont*, 130, 133.

[29] The membership of the committee was as follows: Arthur Peach, chairman (professor of English, Norwich University), Sarah Cleghorn (poet, Manchester), Walter J. Coates (poet, editor of the literary journal *Driftwind*, East Montpelier), Walter H. Crockett (editor, UVM lecturer and historian, Colchester), Zephine Humphrey Fahnestock (poet, Dorset), Dorothy Canfield Fisher (author, Arlington), Helen Hartness Flanders (poet, Springfield), Bertha Oppenheim (poet, Ferrisburgh), J. D. Shannon (minister, Bennington), Mary Spargo (writer, *Bridgeport [Ct.] Post*, Bennington), Frederick Tupper (professor of English, UVM, Burlington).

[30] *Revised By-laws of the Green Mountain Club, Inc. and List of Members* (Rutland, Vt.: A. J. Novak, 1930). Copy in the Green Mountain Club Papers, Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont, Doc. 182, folder 25 and in Special Collections, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.

[31] *Rural Vermont*, 380.

[32] *Rural Vermont*, 382.

[33] Dorothy Canfield, *Vermont Summer Homes* (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Bureau of Publicity, 1932), copy in Special Collections, University of Vermont.

[34] For example, her 1939 novel, *Seasoned Timber*, recounts the story of a Vermont town forced to grapple with policies of exclusion when a wealthy citizen dies and leaves a large bequest to the local academy subject to its excluding Jews and girls. His bequest also demands that the school seek to attract wealthy boarding students at the expense of local students of modest means. Four years later, Fisher wrote to Governor William Wills carefully broaching the subject of opening Vermont's restricted tourist facilities to Jews. She suggested a very discreet committee be formed to look into the matter. The committee would be composed of "some of the very best Vermonters to be found, head of the Vermont Chamber of Commerce maybe, President of one or another of the colleges and two or more intelligent Jews of high standing and good will, who are already summer Vermonters." Dorothy Canfield Fisher, letter to Governor William Wills, 25 October 1943. Dorothy Canfield Fisher Papers, Box 22, folder 19, Special Collections, University of Vermont. My thanks to Barney Bloom at the Vermont Historical Society for the *Seasoned Timber* reference.

[35] Dorothy Canfield Fisher, *Tourists Accommodated: Scenes from Present-Day Summer Life in Vermont* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1932, 1934), 1–2.

[36] Fisher, *Tourists Accommodated*, 19–20.

[37] Fisher, *Tourists Accommodated*, 21.

[38] Fisher, *Tourists Accommodated*, 9–10.

[39] For a thorough treatment of the parkway controversy, see Hannah Silverstein, "No Parking: Vermont Rejects the Green Mountain Parkway," *Vermont History* 63 (1995): 133–157; Hal Goldman, "James Taylor's Progressive Vision: The Green Mountain Parkway," *Vermont History* 63 (1995): 158–179; Hal Goldman, "'Vermont's Opportunity': Responses to the Green Mountain Parkway" (M.A. thesis, University of Vermont, 1995).

[40] Resolution of the Trustees of the Green Mountain Club, Inc., June 24, 1933, ts, Green Mountain Club Papers, Doc. 182, folder 31.

[41] Goldman, "James Taylor's Progressive Vision," 171–174; Goldman, "Vermont's Opportunity," 75–92; Frank M. Bryan, *Yankee Politics in Rural Vermont* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1974), 224, 228–229.

[42] William J. Wilgus, "Vermont's Opportunity," 4, Green Mountain Parkway File, Special Collections, University of Vermont.

[43] Wilgus to James P. Taylor, 30 September 1934, James P. Taylor Papers, Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vermont.

[44] *Long Trail News* (September 1933), 3–4.

[45] "Presentation by William J. Wilgus to the Board of Trustees of the Green Mountain Club," August 13, 1933, as reported in the *Long Trail News* (September 1933), 1–2.

[46] Curtis, Curtis, and Lieberman, *Green Mountain Adventure*, 64.

[47] *Long Trail News* (September 1934), 2.

[48] Cowles to Governor Wilson, 26 August 1933, Taylor Papers.

[49] *Rutland Daily Herald*, 28 February 1936, 12; 29 February 1936, 8. Fisher responded to the criticism by arguing that as long as the road was protected from commercial development, she had no objections to it. *Rutland Daily Herald*, 3 March 1936, 8.

[50] *Long Trail News* (September 1934), 1.

[51] *Long Trail News* (November 1933), 2.

[52] *Long Trail News* (September 1933), 2; (November 1933), 2.

[53] *Long Trail News* (June 1934), 4.

[54] *Long Trail News* (September 1934), 3–4.

[55] *Long Trail News* (August 1929), 2.

[56] *Long Trail News* (September 1934), 3–4.

[57] Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Trustees, 8 September 1934, ts, Green Mountain Club Papers, Doc. 182, folder 34. The committee was comprised of Proctor, Wallace M. Fay and L. B. Puffer.

[58] Report of the President, 1933, ts, Green Mountain Club Papers, Doc. 182, folder 32.

[59] Taylor to Governor Wilson, 28 August 1934, Taylor Papers.

[60] See for example the printing of the "All Vermont Plan" in the House journal. *Journal of the House of Representatives*, biennial sess., 1935, 232–234; see also *Long Trail News* (April 1935), 2.

[61] *Long Trail News* (September 1934), 1.

[62] *Long Trail News* (January 1935), 2–3.

[63] *Journal of the House of Representatives*, biennial sess., 1935, 232–234.

[64] Meeting of the Board of Trustees, June 15, 1935, ts, Green Mountain Club Papers, Doc. 182, folder, 35.

Dorothy Canfield Fisher's *Tourists Accommodated* and Her Other Promotions of Vermont

When Fisher promoted tourism in Vermont, it was with the hope that this new industry might provide help to educational and social needs.

By IDA H. WASHINGTON

"There's a stream of gold running right past the door all summer long. All you've got to do is to have gimp enough to dip your spoons in and take out your share," says Aunt Nancy Ann in *Tourists Accommodated,*[1] as she introduces the idea of taking in tourists to raise money for the educational expenses of her niece.

Tourists Accommodated is one of many plays that author Dorothy Canfield Fisher wrote for the local community stage in Arlington, Vermont, but the only one ever published for general distribution. According to her own account, it grew out of a discussion among neighbors about their experiences in taking in overnight the tourists that flowed up and down Vermont's Route 7 in increasing numbers. The play was enormously popular in Arlington, where the players were "obliged to keep repeating it till we were worn out."[2] To the astonishment of the rural originators, requests for copies of the play soon began to arrive from other Vermont towns, and then from communities farther away. As the author reports, "Just as our typewritten copies were wearing out entirely, there appeared on the scene the group of Vermonters known as 'The Committee for the Conservation of Vermont Traditions and Ideals'"[3] asking to have *Tourists Accommodated* published under their auspices by Harcourt Brace and Company.

The author's original copyright is dated 1932, and the published edition appeared in 1934, in the depth of the great depression. Conditions were hard in Vermont as they were in the rest of America. Prices for

farm produce were down, other work was scarce, and money for education or other special needs was difficult to find. To add to a meager cash income, those Vermonters who lived along well-traveled routes began to offer meals or overnight lodging to automobile travelers. As the author observes, "This was a strange, revolutionary venture for reticent, solitary-minded New England mountain people,"[4] and for these first "bed and breakfast" hosts the tourist trade turned out to be, as it has been ever since, a mixed blessing. *Tourists Accommodated* shows in dramatic detail the ambivalence felt by Vermonters then and still today toward the tourist industry, a business which drives the economy and supports many basic state programs, but at the same time exacts a considerable toll from its participants.

In the planning of the play, Fisher and her friends first gave their attention to "the ridiculous absurdities of the city-folks,"[5] but the fair-minded planners went on to include a "nice city family . . . as nice as folks can be."[6] Finally, with the realization that "we're just as ridiculous as anybody,"[7] the planners insisted that local peculiarities be included as well. With these plans complete, Fisher took the raw material and created scenes and dialogue.

The play opens with a gloomy scene of realization that the finances of the Lyman family cannot support college expenses for Lucy who wants to become a teacher. Impatiently she exclaims,

> I can't *bear* to give it up. 'Tisn't as if I wanted something for myself—like a fur coat or a lot of good clothes. When all you want is a chance, it isn't really for yourself you want it—It's so you can amount to more, get hold of what's inside you and bring it out where it'll do somebody some good. *That's* what education does for you, seems to me.[8]

To this outburst her mother can only answer, "It's not for lack of *wanting* to help you, Lucy."[9]

The solution is found when Aunt Nancy bursts in and suggests that they earn the needed funds by taking in tourists, as many of their neighbors are already doing. The family can sleep upstairs in the barn and give up their four bedrooms to overnight guests. With some misgivings they decide to try this, and the bed and breakfast business begins.

The tourists are given type names, Man, Woman, Boy, Silly Tourist, Pretentious Tourist, etc., and the first ones exhibit all the worst traits of travelers away from home. They make unreasonable requests, try to get extra food for nothing, and bargain to buy the old furniture in the kitchen, constantly treating the family as ignorant social inferiors. These difficult visitors are followed, however, by nice people who strike up a real friendship with their farm hosts.

Dorothy Canfield Fisher, no date. Vermont Historical Society.

A particularly objectionable character is the Pretentious Tourist, who observes with artificial good will, "I suppose we ought to make more of an effort to talk to these rustics. I know well enough their contact with city people in the summer is the only civilizing influence in their narrow lives."[10]

One tourist is especially eager to improve the lot of the poor Vermonters. After telling the family just how they ought to run their farm, he remarks impatiently, "Every farmer I've asked has told me he expects to give about a fortnight to his sugaring and no more. Now if they'd *keep at it!* Make sugar all the year around, they'd *get* somewhere."[11] Another visitor argues in favor of raising southern crops like sweet potatoes to improve the economy in Vermont.

While the absurdities of the tourists get primary attention in the play, local comic interest is supplied by deaf old Aunt Jane. She sits at one side of the stage throughout the action with her ear to the telephone and interrupts other characters from time to time to report what she is hearing on the party line.

At the end of the play, the Lyman family has earned enough money

to cover Lucy's college costs, while new furniture and a short wave radio for Aunt Jane show a general rise in the family's prosperity. The "Tourists Accommodated" sign is carried off to the attic, and in the general relief that their home is again theirs alone, Lucy's father remarks, "Well, I didn't get any year of book l'arning out of the summer. But I tell you, I know a hull lot more about human nater."[12]

Tourists Accommodated was not the first writing by Dorothy Canfield Fisher on the subject of Vermont tourism. Some years before the performance of the play a small pamphlet appeared with the title "An Open Letter to the Auto Tourists Stopping in the North District of Arlington." It was authored by Dorothy Canfield Fisher in her capacity as President of the Battenkill Woman's Club. Its premise is stated in the first sentence: "If you are not from New England, and especially if you are from the west or from a big city, you may be interested to know something about the sort of life led in this tiny corner of Vermont."[13] The "letter" goes on to explain that "North District" refers to the school district north of the "Baker Bridge" with a picture of the old school building and the school as it is today. The interest this community might hold for tourists is that it is "typical of an old-time country district which has lived on with little change either of habits or inhabitants."[14]

A brief descriptive history tells of the events that have shaped the people of this valley. Then comes an interesting statement of a recent change in attitude of local people toward out-of-state visitors:

> Up to a few years ago, most of us in this typical, remote farming community had had no contact at all with outsiders. The sight of a "stranger going by" brought us all to the front windows to stare and speculate about who it could be. We are bravely all over that! Strangers go by at the rate of about one a minute, all day long, every day of the season. At first we were alarmed by this, as we had read in the newspapers the most lurid accounts of how objectionable auto tourists were, how they robbed the farmer's fields and orchards, broke down his fences, set fire to his woods, and made fun of his wife's clothes. We didn't like the sound of all that, and prepared to draw into our shells, and lock them up tightly, a process that Yankees are good at.[15]

Admitting, however, that experience has proved these fears groundless, Fisher asserts, "The facts are that our experience of auto tourists has been entirely enjoyable and very profitable. . . . Life is pleasanter and more varied for us rooted-to-the-soil country women since auto travellers have begun to stop at our doors, and we are able to do more for our children's education and for the comfort of our homes with the extra money made in this way."[16]

The pamphlet concludes with a "personally conducted tour" and intro-

duction to the farms along the highway, and the statement that "we do not try to offer you more than the sort of clean, simple, decent country hospitality which is the natural outgrowth of our clean, simple decent country life." A postscript suggests to these potential tourists that "if you happen to have with you a book or two which you don't wish to keep, we will be glad to have you leave them as additions to our school library."[17]

When Fisher promoted tourism in Vermont, it was with the hope that this new industry might provide help to educational and social needs. Most of this help would not be as direct as the books to be donated to the Arlington school library. Rather it would, as Aunt Nancy suggests in *Tourists Accommodated,* be a chance for Vermonters to dip into the "stream of gold" running past their doors to supply funds for a variety of personal and community needs.

A deep knowledge of history informed Fisher's realization that one major source of Vermont cash income after another had withered and died over the centuries, only to be replaced by another and then another, and that the state might in the twentieth century be in just one more period of difficult transition. Tourism thus seemed to her an opportunity for the future.

Her promotion of Vermont tourism took three paths: direct invitations to an out-of-state audience, appeals to Vermonters, and the indirect promotion provided by her literary opus and many speaking engagements throughout America.

By the 1920s and 1930s Dorothy Canfield Fisher was a nationally known best-selling author of articles, short stories, and many books of both fiction and non-fiction. This reputation gave her an unusual opportunity to turn her considerable writing skills to the service of her home state.

An early direct contribution to bringing out-of-state people to Vermont is a pamphlet, published first in 1932, reprinted in 1934 and 1937, and reissued in a new format in 1941, entitled "Vermont Summer Homes," and finally included as an article in *Vermont Life* in 1949.[18] The little brochure was aimed, not so much at the briefly vacationing tourist, but at those who might wish to establish a summer home in Vermont. Fisher here takes the visitor on a tour of a number of pictured Vermont houses to show how comfortable and attractive life in Vermont can be. It is a clear pitch also for the kind of neighbor she would like most to have in Vermont, and it is not at all surprising that her appeal is to professional people, who might buy a summer home to which they would later retire and become year-round residents. She was herself a scholar (Ph.D. in French from Columbia University) in addition to being a very suc-

cessful author. Within a few miles of the Fisher home in Arlington lived writers Robert Frost, Sarah Cleghorn, and Zephine Humphrey, and artist Norman Rockwell. Publishers Alfred Harcourt and Robert Haas had nearby summer homes. Other scholars, writers, and artists joined the community at various times, especially as refugees came from Europe in the period preceding and during the second world war. Many of these were directly sponsored by the Fishers.

In her recruitment of potential additions to this group of active-minded neighbors, Fisher could suggest that Vermont had an ideal "climate" for the pursuit of creative work. There is also a clear indication that this same "climate" is hostile to those who seek sophisticated or superficial sensual stimulation. The concern, so evident in *Tourists Accommodated,* that the tourists stopping briefly at Vermont farmhouses be "nice folks" extends with even greater specificity to those who might become permanent residents and neighbors.

In 1937 the Federal Writers Project of the Works Progress Administration for the State of Vermont published a volume on Vermont as part of the American Guide Series. This book was sponsored by the Vermont Planning Board. In addition to suggested tours of various parts of the state, it included an introductory section containing a number of essays. These cover topics ranging from geographical features through historical information to educational and recreational opportunities.

The first essay in this section is "Vermonters" by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. It begins with the following assumption and question:

> A guide-book exists only, of course, for people who do not live in the region described. Presumably nobody who reads this book knows Vermonters. Are there, we wonder, as the volume goes to press, any general remarks about Vermont which might help visitors to understand, and hence better to enjoy their stay in our midst?[19]

After exploring the nature of Vermonters with a variety of anecdotes, the author suggests (with many reservations) the generalization that to those from more industrialized states a visit to Vermont is a trip into the American past. She stresses in her description the qualities that grow out of small political units and of a need for thrift, among them a habit of thinking of people in individual rather than mass terms, and the kind of good times that require neighborliness rather than wealth.

She warns visitors, however, that Vermonters will probably object to her generalization in every particular instance. While she is giving outsiders "a sort of master key to Vermont,"[20] it will be better "if you don't say too much to us about it."[21] She does insist, nevertheless, that her "key" that Vermont still retains many practices and principles from an

earlier time will help visitors to Vermont to interpret correctly what they find there.

The essay was evidently not the only contribution made by its author to the volume, for in the preface by Dana Doten, State Director, Federal Writers' Project, we find this statement:

> The share which Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher . . . has had in the Guide is only partially indicated by her own essay, "Vermonters." She has taken an active interest in the work through all its stages, has been a steady friend and perceptive critic.[22]

Two other essays by Mrs. Fisher also deserve mention because of their wide circulation. The first, with the title "Vermont: Our Rich Little Poor State," appeared on May 31, 1922, in *The Nation*. It was the fourth in a series entitled "These United States," whose aim was to "furnish an enlightening perspective of the America of today in the somewhat arbitrary terms of politico-geographic boundaries, and . . . be a valuable contribution to the new literature of national self-analysis."[23] The first three articles in the series were on Kansas by William Allen White, on Maryland by H. L. Mencken, and on Mississippi by Beulah Amidon Ratliff.

More than thirty years later, in 1956, Fisher appended this note to a revised copy of the essay as she gave it to the University of Vermont:

> This essay was written many years ago and was, I think, the first statement I ever made about the color of life in Vermont. It has been used in several anthologies and now, March 1956, was revised at the request of the Liveright Publishing Co.[24]

She begins her essay with a whimsical personification of the characteristics of various states, identifying New York as "a glowing queenly creature, with a gold crown on her head and a flowing purple velvet cloak." Louisiana's face is "dark eyed, fascinating, temperamental," while "Massachusetts is a man, a serious, middle-aged man, with a hard conscientious intelligent face, and hair thinned by intellectual application."[25] Turning to Vermont, she says:

> The little group of mountaineers who know the physiognomy of Vermont from having grown up with it have the most crabbed, obstinate affection and respect for their State, which they see as a tall, powerful man, with thick gray hair, rough out-door clothes, a sinewy ax-man's hand and arm, a humorous, candid, shrewd mouth and a weather-beaten face from which look out the most quietly fearless eyes ever set in any man's head. They know there is little money in the pockets of that woodman's coat, but there is strength in the long, corded arm, an unhurried sense of fun lies behind the ironic glint in the eyes, and the life animating all the quaint, strong, unspoiled personality is tinctured

> to its last fiber by an unenvious satisfaction with plain ways which is quite literally worth a million dollars to any possessor. Not to envy other people is an inheritance rich enough; but Vermont adds to that treasure the greater one of not being afraid.[26]

Fisher goes on to elaborate on the Vermonter's lack of fear. "What are some of the things that other people fear?" she asks. Her list begins with the fear of being poor, something the Vermonter does not fear "because he is already poor and has been for a hundred and fifty years." Next comes the fear of not keeping one's place on the social ladder, irrelevant in a state that deliberately chooses not to recognize purely social distinctions. The fear of hard times also holds no terrors for the Vermonter, who is insulated by long experience in coping with difficult living conditions. The worry about what to do with accumulated wealth is also of little importance to those who have sufficient but not extra possessions. The list ends with politics, "perhaps what Vermont is least afraid of, and what other people fear and hate most."[27] The reason that Vermonters do not fear politics is because they are part of it. They do their own governing and make their own decisions in town meetings. They are not part of a great mob, controlled by a few distant decision-making representatives.

Fisher sees the strength of Vermonters in her day as a direct inheritance from their Vermont ancestors, and so she puts in a brief account of historical events in the struggle between Vermont and New York and the part played in that struggle by Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys. This heritage, she asserts, has shaped the residents of Vermont of today, and is one on which they can rest with pride. Their ancestors "stood steady in a whirling, shifting world, and proved to their own satisfaction that to stand steady is not an impossible task."[28] With the support of this tradition, the early Vermonters' cultural descendants can "with a tranquil heart read the news of the modern world and the frightened guessing of other folks at what is coming next!"[29]

The other article, which appeared in *Holiday Magazine* in November 1949, was written for the tourist who might be coming to Vermont for the first time. What will the visitor see? The first thing is the scenery, a resemblance to scenic areas in other parts of the world, perhaps the Lake Country of England or the Vosges in France. Another is a pervasive orderliness, called by Mencken the "old-maidish neatness" of Vermont villages and the small number of mansions so large that it requires a staff of servants to maintain them.[30]

Against this background stand the people, experienced by some as "sharp-spoken, unaccommodating, with a remarkably well-developed gift for being disagreeable," by others as "Americans with time to be kind, to be aware in the old neighborly way of the existence of other human

beings in the same world with them."[31] As in her other essays on Vermont and Vermonters, Fisher here again bases her explanation of the character of present day Vermonters on their historical heritage. The fact that indentured servants were unknown in Vermont, that people did their own work with the help of hired people they treated as social equals, contributes to the reluctance of Vermonters of today to be treated by wealthy outsiders as servants. A tradition of neighborliness, however, means that the typical Vermonter today will help a stranded traveler and refuse payment for his assistance, often with the standard phrase, "Might have happened to me."[32]

"Silent acquiescence of the inevitability of change"[33] is another Vermont quality that Fisher believes has been developed through historical experience. Political changes, territorial expansion, and new technologies have made the former cash sources of potash, wool, and textile production leave Vermont. Now farming is a threatened occupation, and tourism could be the immediate economic relief of the future.

To the potential tourists who will be the readers of her article in a nationally circulated travel magazine like *Holiday,* she issues this warning: "If you assume the manner of those who think the people who make beds and fry eggs are not as good as you, they'll heartily hope you will move on, and a good long way, too." Instead visitors need to remember that "everybody in sight is as human as you are, and recognizes you for being as human as he is."[34] Then a warm welcome in Vermont will be assured.

While Dorothy Canfield Fisher wrote from Arlington, Vermont, for the many who lived outside the state and might someday visit it, at home she urged fellow Vermonters to use more effectively their potential for attracting tourists. In an interview reported in a Burlington *Free Press* clipping from 1937[35] Fisher suggests that Vermonters look to Switzerland as the model of a well organized tourist industry. On the premise that in Vermont, as in Switzerland, scenery is one of the most marketable assets, she sees a need to use it to bring needed economic relief to the state. Without an intelligent use of such resources she sees a danger that the standard of living and social and educational services will slip backward, especially in isolated rural areas.

Her own life prepared Dorothy Canfield Fisher to combine the insider and outsider views of Vermont. While growing up she spent winters in places as diverse as Kansas, Nebraska, Ohio, New York City, and Paris. Summers, however, found her almost always in Vermont, visiting grandparents and other relatives in Arlington. Though not literally a native, she always thought of herself as a Vermonter, and was locally regarded as one because of her family connections and participation in local affairs.

In the outside world, however, the length of her sojourns in various places allowed her to get to know people well and to understand their values and interests. Thus she had a foot planted firmly both inside and outside Vermont and was unusually well qualified to speak for her chosen home to the world outside. In fictional as well as directly promotional works a comparison of Vermont ways with those of other parts of the world runs through many of her writings.

Her first collection of short stories, *Hillsboro People* (1915), is set in an imaginary Vermont village. The introduction to this volume is an explanation and defense of the relocation of Dorothy and her husband John Fisher from New York City to Arlington, Vermont, a move that had stirred a chorus of protest from their sophisticated urban friends. In her own defense Fisher explains the dramatic tension inherent in local events when the observer has full knowledge of the characters and circumstances involved. She sees her "Hillsboro" as a microcosm representing a much more general human scene, and her Vermonter a modern day "everyman." The short stories of the collection are examples of basic human problems as they occur in a Vermont setting.

Only her last novels, *Bonfire* (1933) and *Seasoned Timber* (1939), are set entirely in Vermont, and the picture they give of life in a small Vermont village is a realistic mixture of good and bad human qualities. Four earlier books begin outside the state and conclude in a Vermont village. To this group belong the novels *The Bent Twig* (1915), *Understood Betsy* (1917), *The Brimming Cup* (1921), and *Rough-Hewn* (1922). The novels with such a dual setting show rural Vermont as an ideal place in comparison with midwest cities, Europe, or eastern American suburbs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher is generally regarded as a Vermont author, but five of her eleven full-length novels are set entirely outside Vermont, one in Europe, one in both France and upstate New York, and three in midwest America.

There are just two Vermont books among the many non-fictional volumes written and published by Dorothy Canfield Fisher. *Memories of Arlington, Vermont* (1957) is a collection of sketches of people and events from the past and present. In charming detail we meet characters of historical significance and ordinary and extraordinary private citizens who in some way have contributed to the community. A number of the vignettes were first published in 1955 by the local historical society as *Memories of My Home Town.* This book sold out almost immediately, but was issued in an expanded edition in 1957 by Duell, Sloan and Pearce as part of their series of home town memories from around the country, and was given the new title *Memories of Arlington, Vermont.*

Vermont Tradition, The Biography of an Outlook on Life began in 1938

with a request from the publisher Little, Brown and Company for a book about Vermont. However, many other matters intervened, and it was 1953 when this last major work by Mrs. Fisher appeared. The writing of it was costly in time and energy, but the mature wisdom of the author, then past seventy, combined with serious research and the skill of the novelist produced a remarkable book. It is indeed, as the subtitle suggests, a detailed study of the history of Vermont as a tool for explaining how present day Vermonters look at life.

In many of the directly promotional articles in support of Vermont tourism, Fisher had touched on parts of Vermont history that explain peculiarities of contemporary Vermonters. *Vermont Tradition* expands the same theme into a full and detailed report and analysis. The result is a hybrid, a history that reads like a novel—so much so that even the author feared that readers would think her narrative a product of her imagination and included a factual reference section at the end of the book. Just how many tourists were attracted to Vermont by *Vermont Tradition* it is impossible to know. This is, however, one of the most important books written about Vermont and one that no one interested in the history or the character of the state can afford to ignore.

Did Fisher present an unrealistic, idealized Vermont in her writings, as some critics would suggest? No doubt she stressed the positive aspects of the state in her directly promotional writings, as she tried to bring visitors to Vermont to support its economic needs. This was only to be expected from a loyal Vermonter. A more balanced picture of the Vermont scene appears, however, in her serious writing, fiction and non-fiction. Her novels *Bonfire* and *Seasoned Timber* and a number of her shorter narratives show a clear-eyed realization that the Vermont village is sometimes narrow and repressive, especially to artistic personalities. In *Vermont Tradition* she again expresses her conviction that Vermont is not the best place for everyone, not the right social climate for the growth of some personalities. In *Vermont Tradition* she quotes the folk phrase, "Peaches and pomegranates do not, you see, grow on apple trees, but apples do."[36]

In sum, Dorothy Canfield Fisher promoted Vermont tourism directly through appeals to travelers and exhortations directed to her fellow Vermonters. She also showed Vermont in her fiction and non-fiction. But there was one more way that she introduced Vermont to a wide audience, and that was through herself. Wherever she went (she traveled widely), and whenever she mounted a platform to give an address (she was a much sought-after speaker), she brought Vermont with her. Dorothy Canfield Fisher loved and promoted Vermont because its history was her heritage, its standards were her rule of life, and its outlook was her own.

NOTES

[1] Dorothy Canfield Fisher, *Tourists Accommodated, A Play* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1934), 17.
[2] Ibid., 9.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., 1.
[5] Ibid., 3.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid., 4.
[8] Ibid., 16.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., 41.
[11] Ibid., 64.
[12] Ibid., 89–90.
[13] Dorothy Canfield Fisher, *An Open Letter to the Auto Tourist Stopping in the North District of Arlington*, in Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library, University of Vermont.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Dorothy Canfield Fisher, *Vermont Summer Homes*, in the archives of the Martha Canfield Library, Arlington, Vermont.
[19] Dorothy Canfield Fisher, "Vermonters," *Vermont: A Guide to the Green Mountain State* (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1937), 3.
[20] Ibid., 9.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid., x.
[23] Dorothy Canfield Fisher, "Vermont: Our Rich Little Poor State," *The Nation* (May 31, 1922): 643.
[24] Dorothy Canfield Fisher, "Vermont," in Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library, University of Vermont.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Dorothy Canfield Fisher, "Vermont," *Holiday* (November 1949), typescript in Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library, University of Vermont.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] In the archives of the Martha Canfield Library, Arlington, Vermont.
[36] Dorothy Canfield Fisher, *Vermont Tradition* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953), 392.

VERMONT ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS

This occasional section alerts researchers to the rich resources acquired regularly by Vermont's historical repositories. News of accessions and openings of processed collections, as well as longer evaluative descriptions of research collections, will be welcome. Please send submissions to the Editor, Vermont History.

Tourism in Vermont

Vermont Historical Society Postcard Collection

Vermont Historical Society Library, Montpelier

Particularly fruitful ground for research on the history of Vermont tourism is the Vermont Historical Society's postcard collection. Comprising over 11,000 pieces, it is a subgroup of the larger picture collection, which includes photographs of varying sizes, stereoviews, and pictures extracted from published sources. The postcards are housed in twenty card-file drawers in the library's reading room.

Like all of the other photographs in the library's collections, the postcards are organized by subject. The images are not individually cataloged and there has been no attempt to inventory them. Rather, the postcards are filed in categories such as "agriculture," "churches," "exhibitions," and "sports." These categories often have subdivisions such as "barns and silos," "dairying," and "rural life" under the agriculture heading. Many categories such as "churches" and "bridges" are subdivided by town. There are also headings for each town, although the more particular categories (such as churches and bridges) take precedence. The town categories contain

general pictures of the town as well as of subjects for which there is no established category (such as "town halls"). A list of all of the subject headings in use is available and library staff can provide assistance.

Several subject headings are useful for researching the history of tourism in Vermont through postcards. "Hotels" might be the most important. In this category are over 900 postcards of hotels, motels, and tourist cabins arranged by town. This is the section of the collection that most clearly illustrates the actual accommodation of tourists. Other useful categories are "camps," "lakes," "mountains," "museums," "parks," "rivers," "roads," and "sports." The postcard collection also has the categories "fall foliage" and "scenery."

The images in the postcard collection span a period of 100 years, from the 1890s to the present. Some of the most interesting and revealing images are so-called "real photo" postcards from the beginning of the century through the 1930s. These black-and-white cards were printed on postcard stock in a darkroom by individuals or very small-scale publishers. The pictures are very clear because each is an actual photographic print rather than a half-tone or some other reproduction of a photograph. The subjects are often more specific and personal than postcards of town views from large publishers. Not produced in large numbers, these images are relatively scarce and much sought-after by collectors and historians.

The backs of the postcards in the VHS collection also provide occasional glimpses into Vermont's tourist past. As their messages are sec-

Lincoln Inn, Essex Jct., Vermont, no date. "Real-photo" postcard, Vermont Historical Society.

ondary to the visual information on the front, however, there is no way to find particular written information other than by serendipitous discovery. Of course, not all messages are about touring or tourism; some postcards were an inexpensive way to communicate a brief message about daily life. But those that do originate from vacationers provide a fragmentary look at perceptions and attitudes.[1]

An example of the messages includes one on the back of a card showing a family sitting on the "piazza" of a house in Windham. The family was evidently taking a rural vacation away from the nearby "city" of Brattleboro. The writer says simply "We sit here & wish our Brattleboro friends could all come. The latch string is always out for you & yours."[2]

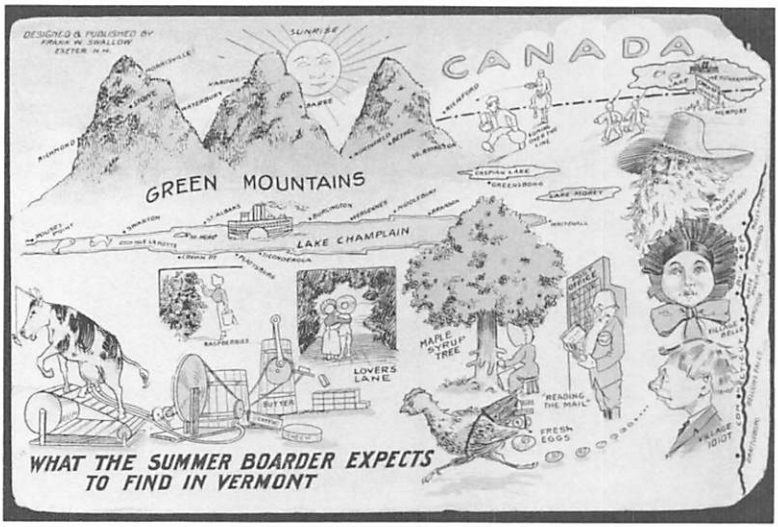
Most vacationers, of course, describe their itinerary, and the food, health, scenery, weather, and accommodations. On the back of a picture of a cabin at the Mt. Philo Inn one visitor writes, "This is a very beautiful garden and has Mrs. Allen's beaten all to pieces. Feel very much more rested, but don't like to think of work quite yet."[3]

Many visitors were attracted by the opportunity to experience rural life. On a postcard of a farmhouse with a sign on the porch roof reading "Fairmont" one explains, "This is a view of the farmhouse at South Londonderry, Vt., where I spent three delightful weeks the past summer. The bungalows at the right are part of the farm property, but my room was in the main building facing the west. The view is magnificent."[4] Another reports, "yesterday we [went] down to East Hill – the day before we climbed Barter (?) and picked quite a lot of blueberries. I am drinking milk & cream – results not yet visible."[5]

Vermont's industry received some tourists' notice, although perhaps more from Vermonters than visitors. A card of the Equinox House in Manchester sent to South Shaftsbury states, in part, "I went thru the chair factory with Geo. Safford yesterday, no today – this A.M., I mean. We are in the buggy so this is pretty scratchy."[6]

Tourism in Vermont has also generated its share of humorous postcards. One colored postcard, ca. 1947, bears the heading "What the summer boarder expects to find in Vermont," and shows a woman picking raspberries the size of grapefruit, a cow on a treadmill producing butter and cheese all by herself (and motivated by a carrot dangled in front of her), a woman in a bonnet "milking" a "maple syrup tree," and the local post master reading the day's mail,[7] perhaps explaining why the messages on the back of postcards contain very few critical comments.

The library of the Vermont Historical Society has many other collections that can be used to document the history of Vermont tourism. Broadsides, sheet music, maps, manuscripts, pamphlets, photographs, and guide books all contain items of information and images which, when assembled,



"What the Summer Boarder Expects to Find in Vermont," Frank W. Swallow, ca. 1947. Postcard collection, Vermont Historical Society.

form a picture of Vermont as a destination for travelers in times past. Among these collections the post cards stand out, however, as offering historians the particular insights that come from exploration of the very specific and personal.

PAUL A. CARNAHAN

Paul A. Carnahan is librarian of the Vermont Historical Society.

The Beckoning Archives: Tourism Records at the Vermont State Archives

Vermont State Archives, Montpelier

Since the late nineteenth century Vermont state government has helped promote tourism and recreation. These efforts have embraced many activities: marketing and publications to attract visitors; environmental initiatives to support a pristine countryside; wildlife management to bolster hunting and fishing; and growth management to support initiatives from

billboard bans to Act 250. The state has also maintained a park system and supported winter recreation, from building access roads to snow plowing to amelioration of insurance liability laws. The intertwining of so many efforts has exacerbated tensions between interest groups with differing visions of economic development, and between natives and tourists. There is dissension even among sportsmen (the controversy concerning the impact of snowmaking on fish populations, for example). Consequently state government records provide an incredible variety of information on tourism and recreation.

Governors' Records

Over the years governors have accepted a variety of roles in promoting Vermont. One role all twentieth-century governors have embraced is chief spokesperson for Vermont as a tourist and recreation mecca.

In the years following the 1927 flood, Governor John E. Weeks gave radio talks on the attractions of Vermont for summer dwellers and tourists. In 1935, Governor Charles Smith reacted swiftly to the tarnishing of Vermont's image. The New York *Sun* reported that a Vermont "cop" put up a fake detour sign which he allowed tourists to pass through for five dollars. Smith questioned the veracity of the article and wrote, "it seems strange that the *Sun* would be a party to it when our Publicity Department is paying them to advertise our good qualities."[8] In 1946, the New York *Herald Tribune* received a stern response from Governor Mortimer Proctor's publicity director when the *Tribune* implied that everything north of Rutland was a wasteland that produced "little more than ski tows and hawkweed."[9]

On one occasion a governor's efforts as spokesperson for Vermont, the perfect vacationland, backfired. In the summer of 1989, Lake Dunmore in Addison County had a serious mosquito problem. A CBS television interview with Governor Madeleine Kunin at the lake led some to believe that all of Vermont was thick with mosquitoes. One Vermonter wrote the governor, "On the subject of mosquitoes: If you wish to air Vermont's dirty laundry, you should do it on your own time (!) rather than at the expense of Vermont citizens and business owners."[10] Governor Kunin's correspondence reveals that she was stung by such criticism. She quickly moved to salve the tourist industry.

Governors have shaped marketing policies, from Carroll Page's 1890 suggestions that towns plant trees along roads to attract tourists to the more sophisticated marketing techniques of recent governors. Gubernatorial administrations have tied the marketing of Vermont to a number of other government initiatives, from an adequate road network to environmental cleanup. Governors have also had to deal with the conse-

quences of tourism, as evidenced by Governor Thomas Salmon's 1973 inaugural remarks: "Vermont is not for sale!! . . . For years we have been promoting Vermont as the beckoning country . . . Many Vermonters are forced to live in substandard housing, while a proliferation of chalets and condominiums are being built to satisfy the needs of visitors seeking second homes."

Legislative Records

Tourism related issues appear in legislative records at the State Archives. The Billboard law, Act 250, the room and meals tax, Green-Up Day, Act 200, and the current land use debate all relate to maintaining a quality of life that lures tourists.

In 1955, a Vermont businessman warned Representative Samuel Parsons of Hubbardton about a proposed Outdoor Advertising bill: "local business absolutely depends upon this type of advertising to reach the tourist trade . . . be careful! You might kill the goose that lays the uranium egg."[11] The legislative records show both sides of the billboard issue—you cannot attract tourists without advertising and tourists will not come if the scenery is littered with signs.

One legislator's response to a 1957 bill (H.47, Act 127), which proposed controlling the speed of motor boats, was "such a statute could well ruin summer business in many places in Vermont." There are also debates within the 1957 committee minutes about whether the state should focus on bringing in more industry or more tourists.[12] Porcupines were also a prickly issue in 1957. A bill was proposed (H.213, Act 254) to provide a bounty for killing porcupines, which were damaging property and causing loss in timber value. In a public hearing on the problem, someone commented "we do have summer people who have camps and homes in rural areas, and the hedgehogs even go in there and eat up on the porches and posts and houses."[13] The porcupines also damaged ski industry buildings and chairlift mechanisms.

Special Committees and Commissions

The opening of the Lake Champlain Bridge in 1929 provided a new avenue for tourists to cross into Vermont. The Lake Champlain Bridge Commission records (1920–1987) at the Archives express the hope that easy access to Vermont would promote tourism. They also reveal how the Bridge Commission helped advertise Vermont. Records such as those of the Vermont Bicentennial Commission (1969–1979) and the Vermont Statehood Bicentennial Commission (1986–1992) display Vermont's outreach to tourists.

Lake Champlain Bridge opening, Chimney Point, Vermont, August 1929. Lake Champlain Bridge Commission papers, Vermont State Archives.

Fish and Game

Fish and Game records reveal that the tourist who fishes and hunts is an important source of state revenue. The impact of pollution on tourism was considered as early as 1902, when the *Sixteenth Biennial Report of the Commissioners of Fisheries and Game* discussed the destruction of fish by polluting industries, particularly the lumber industry. Fish Commissioners also defined tourism as part of their mission.

Tourism and Marketing Department

The Archives hold thirty five cubic feet of Travel Division/Development Department/Publicity Bureau photographs and negatives, dating from the 1920s to 1993. These photographs promote Vermont's positive vistas and traits; rural poverty, environmental problems, and congested traffic on Williston Road do not appear. The photographs were for out-of-state periodicals, tourists, and *Vermont Life Magazine.*

In the 1930s and 1940s the state contracted with Mack Derick, an Orleans photographer, to take its publicity photographs. The Derick photos at the State Archives include black and white scenes of lakes, farms, mountains, and people cooking out, fishing, and maple sugaring. There are numerous skiing pictures, including cross country skiing in the 1930s.

From the 1950s until 1993, the Vermont Development Department produced its own photos. There are countless scenic shots of summer, fall, winter, and spring taken all over Vermont: ski areas, historic sites, farms, fairs, state parks, and granite quarries; bridges, barns, information booths, playhouses and dog sleds; hunting, fishing white water racing, horse racing, lumberjack roundups and sugar-on-snow parties.

There are also some tourism related photographs in other collections at the Archives. For instance, there are panoramic photographs of Jewish summer camps taken in Bradford (1935).

The State Archives has approximately eighty films and videos from the Tourism and Marketing Department and its predecessors. Dating from the 1930s to the 1990s, the films are primarily color sound films. Most of the films are promotional pieces created to sell Vermont. (Some stretch the truth a bit—one film states that Vermont roads are always clear in the winter.) A few of the films are summarized below.

One of our earlier films, *Vermont Around the Calendar,* was created by Mack Derick ca. 1938. It includes cross country ski and rope tow scenes, horses pulling sap to a sugar house, haying with horses, fall foliage, hikers on the Long Trail, and bird hunting by boat.

Play Vermont (c. 1953) was produced by Bay State Film Productions and narrated by Lowell Thomas. There are scenes of Vermont's leading tourist attractions: Stowe in winter and summer; horseback riding; state parks; Norman Rockwell chatting about Vermont; and the Trapp family singing. In one sequence a tourist family's car breaks down, and a friendly Vermont policeman rescues them and brings them to a local house to eat while their car is fixed.

Another early 1950s film, *Background for Living,* focuses on attracting the potential summer home buyer, as well as the tourist. The film is about a Vermonter, Mr. Channing, interviewing an out-of-state family as possible buyers of a house in South Newfane. Channing wants to be sure the family will fit in before making the sale. Apparently they do and the family is shown taking advantage of Vermont's recreational opportunities.

Since the Publicity Service (a function of the State Board of Agriculture) released its first promotional booklet in 1892, *Resources and Attractions of Vermont,* books, brochures, and maps have been an important means of reaching the tourist. The State Archives holds many of these publications from 1892 to the present. The promotional publications present an appealing view of Vermont. *Picturesque Vermont, The Switzerland of America* describes Vermont as "exempt from mosquitoes and other insect pests, and what is still more remarkable there are no fogs."

Lake Willoughby. Photo by Derick Studio, Orleans, Vermont, no date. Courtesy Vermont State Archives.

Some out-of-staters were dubious. One wrote the Publicity Bureau that he had "heard a great many stories about Vermont, that the winters are very long and very cold and eight feet of snow is nothing unusual. The land is very mountainous and roads are very bad. When children go to school, bears walk across the road and it is an everyday occurrence."[14]

There are echoes of the eugenics movement in Dorothy Canfield Fisher's 1934 *Vermont Summer Homes,* in which she tries to lure just the right sort of people and explains that though there are many Vermonters of "your own kind," there are some that are not.

The most common complaint in response to a state questionnaire sent to people who requested literature from the Publicity Service in 1935 was the need for improved road signage. One tourist commented, "small boys had reversed road arrows at isolated forks in road and results were we drove miles out of our way in sparsely settled districts. Suggest immovable signs."[15]

CHRISTIE CARTER

Christie Carter is assistant state archivist at the Vermont State Archives.

Ticonderoga *Collection, 1905–1990*

Shelburne Museum, Shelburne

As the last steamboat that operated on Lake Champlain, the *Ticonderoga* has played several roles in Vermont tourism. Built in 1905–1906 at the Shelburne Shipyards for the Champlain Transportation Company (CTCo), a subsidiary of the Delaware & Hudson Railroad, she was a link in the network of steamboats and railroads that connected New York, Montreal, and summer colonies along the lake. Her regular ferry routes and excursions served locals and tourists along both sides of the lake until the late 1940s, by which time the use of the automobile had made her obsolete.

In 1950, the Burlington Junior Chamber of Commerce, led by Ralph Nading Hill Jr., mounted a campaign to "Save the *Ti*" by raising funds for a loan to the Fisher Steamboat Co., which was on the verge of scrapping the boat, and by promoting excursions and charters for tourists and

Steamship Ticonderoga, *no date. Courtesy Shelburne Museum.*

local organizations. The following year Fisher sold the boat to a subsidiary of the fledgling Shelburne Museum, which continued to operate her through 1953, when her age, the price of coal, and the scarcity of personnel capable of operating a steamboat forced her into retirement.

After research and deliberation, the museum decided that the best way to preserve the *Ti* was on dry land and made plans to move her to the museum. The museum thoroughly documented the two-mile trip overland from Shelburne Bay to the museum grounds during the winter of 1954–1955, and the operation received nationwide publicity. As the last vertical beam, sidewheel passenger steamboat in the country, the *Ticonderoga* continues to attract tourists.

The museum has approximately twenty-five linear feet of records relating to the *Ti*. These include building plans; business records; timetables, broadsides, and advertisements; photographs; scrapbooks; and oral history interviews. Although most of the Champlain Transportation Company records are in Special Collections at the Bailey/Howe Library of the University of Vermont, a few, including logbooks of the *Ti* from 1921–1923, 1928–1929, and 1932, are at the museum. These include trip times, maintenance, weather encountered, fares collected, miscellaneous events on board, and passenger counts from each port. The records of the Fisher Steamboat Co., 1949–1950, are mainly ephemera and financial and maintenance records. The most comprehensive documentation of the *Ti* in operation is provided by the records of the Shelburne Steamboat Co. These include daily schedules, along with financial and legal records, correspondence, minutes, and ephemera. Most of the photographs of the *Ti* on the water date from its last few years, but there are some from earlier in the century, when it was operated by the Champlain Transportation Co. The Junior Chamber of Commerce records include the "Save the *Ti*" campaign materials, which emphasize the importance of tourism to the region and the value of the *Ti* as an attraction. The museum-generated records document the moving of the *Ti* and its subsequent preservation through photographs, moving images, and documents. They also include interviews with people who worked on the *Ti*, including the captain, engineer, first mate, and concessionaire. The museum continues to collect oral histories, written reminiscences, and photographs of the *Ticonderoga*.

POLLY DARNELL

Polly Darnell is archivist of the Shelburne Museum.

Selected Collections on Tourism

University of Vermont Special Collections, Burlington

Special Collections contains published and manuscript collections covering all aspects of tourism in Vermont, from the development of the transportation and accommodation infrastructure, through the development of attractions and activities, to the publicity that spread the word. The following descriptions represent only a few.

Development of the Transportation and Accommodation Infrastructure

Champlain Transportation Company. Founded in 1826, the CTC was one of several ferry and steamboat companies on Lake Champlain, most of which it absorbed over time. In 1858, the company was bought by the Delaware and Hudson Railroad, which used it to promote summer excursions from southern New England and New York. The collection covers 1824–1937 in eighteen linear feet and thirteen bound volumes holding company financial and operation records, passenger lists, broadsides, advertising, and photographs.

Summit House, Mount Mansfield. The Summit House Hotel was built on Mount Mansfield in 1858 by W. H. H. Bingham and operated as a summer tourist resort until 1958. The collection covers 1869–1958 in six linear feet of hotel registers and guest lists, a scrapbook, ledgers and other financial records and business correspondence.

Queen City Park Association, Burlington, Vt. The association was formed in 1881 as a private park in Burlington and was used for spiritualist camp meetings, picnics, and as a summer resort. The Central Vermont Railroad built a spur to the park to accommodate visitors arriving via rail from Montreal and New York. The collection covers 1881–1950 in one linear foot of organization minutes, treasurer's reports, stock books, correspondence and photographs. Copies of the annual spiritualist assembly reports (1890–1922) are in Special Collections stacks.

Development of Attractions and Activities

Herbert W. Congdon Papers. Herbert Wheaton Congdon, architect, photographer, and pioneer Vermont historic preservationist, was an active member and trustee of the Green Mountain Club, which built and maintains the Long Trail through Vermont's Green Mountains. The collection covers 1914–1965 in six linear feet of papers, photos, maps, and 478 glass lantern slides, many of them tinted.

Theron Dean Papers. Theron Dean was an extraordinarily active member of the Green Mountain Club. He participated in the construction and maintenance of hiking trails in the Green Mountains, and worked with Club president William S. Monroe to create the Monroe Skyline Hiking Trail. The collection covers 1877–1946 in three linear feet of early papers of the Green Mountain Club, correspondence from Monroe, negatives, and approximately 700 glass lantern slides.

Albert Gottlieb Papers. In 1933 Albert Gottlieb led the Civilian Conservation Corps' work in Waterbury, where a crew of young men worked in the Mount Mansfield State Forest. Gottlieb was the Assistant State Forester from 1935–1955 and State Forester from 1956–1970. The collection covers 1920–1962 in seven cartons, including photos of the Civilian Conservation Corps working on recreation and forestry projects as well as construction of state parks and ski areas.

Attractions and Activities

Many people first visited Vermont as children at one of the numerous summer camps in this state. There are three collections of summer camp records in Special Collections: Camp Quinibeck, Lake Fairlee, Ely, 1925–1971, two linear feet; Camp Najerog (for boys), Wilmington, 1931–present, five linear feet; Ecole Champlain (a girls' and boys' French language camp), Vergennes, 1924–1974, one carton. Typically the collections contain financial records, counselor reports, activities' materials and records, and camper accounts. Some contain newsletters and photographs.

Bread and Puppet Theater. Founded in New York City in 1962, The Bread and Puppet Theater moved to its Glover home in 1974. Since its start, Bread & Puppet has been a small, non-commercial theater specializing in folk traditions, medieval morality plays, Punch and Judy, Sicilian and Balinese puppetry, and Japanese Bunraku that display life in simple, ritualistic terms using larger-than-life puppets and huge masks with expressive faces. The collection covers 1964–1985 in three cartons of correspondence, business documents, and publicity materials.

Alan Carter, and the Vermont State Symphony Orchestra. Musician Alan Carter founded the Vermont State Symphony Orchestra (VSSO) in 1934, the first orchestra to receive state funding. He joined the music faculty of Middlebury College and eventually chaired the department for ten years. While there he founded and presided over the Middlebury College Composers Conference and Chamber Music Center (CMC/CC), which later moved to Bennington College and then Johnson State College. After several years as a trustee, he served as president of the Vermont Council of the Arts in 1966–67. The collection covers 1904–1975

in seventeen cartons of VSSO and CMC/CC correspondence, music, manuscripts and related materials.

Publicity That Spread the Word

Ephemera. The ephemera collections, including postcards, broadsides, stereo views, and advertising of all sorts, offer researchers a wealth of materials on tourism from early nineteenth-century promotions to modern vacation and travel information. They include publications from private campgrounds, resorts, ski areas, and other organizations promoting recreational activities.

Special Collections houses the papers of a number of Vermont writers and poets, all of whom have contributed to increasing tourism. A few of those whose writings have been more focused on the state as a destination and a place to live include the following:

Walter Rice Hard Papers. Vermont's most popular native-born poet, Walter Hard, began his career as a writer in the early 1920s with columns in the Manchester *Journal* and the Rutland *Herald,* closing each with a free verse poem on a Vermont theme. His books capture the attractive rural quality of Vermont. The collection covers 1894–1967 in four linear feet of correspondence, newspaper columns, and manuscripts of poems.

Ralph Nading Hill Papers. Burlington-born Ralph Nading Hill authored a flood of books and articles about Vermont with a particular emphasis on Lake Champlain. In the early 1950s he became involved in the preservation of the *Ticonderoga.* The preservation of the *Ti* involved him with the Webb family and the Shelburne Museum, and these activities are richly

Equinox Golf Club, 1897 (left); Rutland Railroad Company, no date. Ephemera collection, Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.

documented in his papers. He touted Vermont as a senior editor at *Vermont Life,* and almost single-handedly rescued the Ethan Allen Homestead in Burlington, making it a popular attraction for Vermonters and tourists alike. The collection covers 1882–1987 in forty-four linear feet of personal and business correspondence, family papers, manuscripts of books and articles, and materials relating to the organizations with which he was connected over a lifetime.

Murray Hoyt Papers. After graduating from Middlebury College in 1926, Hoyt wrote numerous articles and stories for pulp magazines before returning to Vermont in the 1930s to create an adult vacation camp on Lake Champlain. He edited *Vermont Life* magazine and co-authored *Vermont: A Special World* (1969). The collection covers 1936–1974 in one linear foot of correspondence, typescripts of articles and stories, clippings, reviews, notes and other materials.

INGRID S. BOWER, SYLVIA BUGBEE, KAREN S. CAMPBELL,
ELIZABETH H. DOW, AND CONNELL B. GALLAGHER

The authors are on the staff of Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.

NOTES

[1] Manuscript collections at the Vermont Historical Society, University of Vermont Department of Special Collections, Sheldon Museum, and other repositories may provide a more unified view of particular tourists' perceptions. Postcards in these collections are kept for their message value, not for their image value. The VHS postcard collection, by its very nature as a graphic resource, contains only fragmentary manuscript information.

[2] P-TO-Windham. The correspondent used the term "piazza" in another postcard. A third postcard in the group is dated 1908.

[3] P-HO-Ferrisburg. Message is dated 1930.

[4] P-HO-Londonderry. Message is dated 1920.

[5] P-HO-Dorset; no date.

[6] P-HO-Manchester. Postmark is 1912.

[7] P-Humor. Card is not dated but was purchased by the VHS from Bushnell's Museum for five cents in 1947.

[8] Publicity Department, microfilm no. S-3195, Records of Governor Charles Smith, Vermont State Archives.

[9] Development Commission-Publicity Service, microfilm no. S-3214, Records of Governor Mortimer Proctor, Vermont State Archives.

[10] Department of Agriculture, box 22, folder 17, Records of Governor Madeleine Kunin, Vermont State Archives.

[11] House Conservation and Development Committee minutes, 1955, box 17, folder 59, Legislative Committee Records, Vermont State Archives.

[12] Senate Conservation and Development Committee minutes, 1957, box 20, folder 22, Legislative Committee Records, Vermont State Archives.

[13] Ibid.

[14] D. Gregory Sanford, "Redstone Reflections," September 1986.

[15] Publicity Department, microfilm no. S-3195, Records of Governor Charles Smith, Vermont State Archives.

BOOK REVIEWS

Vermont Place-Names: Footprints of History

By Esther Munroe Swift (Brattleboro: Stephen Greene Press, 1977 Camden, Maine: Picton Press, and Montpelier, Vermont: Vermont Historical Society, 1996, pp. 727, $45.00)

It is truly a pleasure to report that Esther M. Swift's outstanding work on Vermont place-names is again in print. This second printing by the Picton Press and the Vermont Historical Society is identical to the original, first published in 1977 by the Stephen Greene Press, except that it includes an expanded preface and acknowledgments, an introduction by Professor Samuel B. Hand, and, at the end of the book, the author's biography.

In my review of the first printing in *Vermont History,* 1977 (pp. 252–4), I wrote that this book is "about as complete and authoritative a study of [Vermont's] place-names as is likely to be seen in one volume." Professor Hand, an eminent scholar of Vermont history, supports that assertion in his introduction to the second printing. Unquestionably, this continues to be the best and most complete book on Vermont's place-names that was ever written.

In the earlier review I also wrote that this book "belongs in every town library in Vermont." Certainly any library that missed this volume when it was first available, or that needs a replacement, should take advantage of the opportunity presented by the reprinting. Recently, a librarian told me that she had just ordered three copies: one for reference, one to circulate, and one to put away for the day when a replacement would be needed.

Organizationally the book is divided into three parts. The first part, "Early Footprints: Before Statehood," consisting of twenty-three pages, provides an overview of the influence of the Indians, the French, and the English on Vermont place-names to 1791. The second part, "Names by Counties: Yesterday and Today," with 542 pages, is the heart of the book. Organized into fourteen sections, one for each county, the book here discusses the place-names of every town, city, and gore alphabetically by its respective county. The third part, "Appendices for Further Reference," with forty-six pages, contains lists of the New Hampshire Grants, the New York Patents and "paper towns," and the Vermont Charters. Their respective locations are shown on accompanying maps, and dates of each grant, patent, and charter are given. This third part is followed by a selected bibliography and an index.

There are several attributes that make this book a real pleasure to use. First, it is well written; second, it is informative; and third, it is so well organized. Since it is arranged alphabetically by county and by town, city, or gore within each county, most readers will quickly be able to find any town and the discussion of the town's name as well as the named features within the town. For any reader who may be geographically challenged with regard to Vermont's spatial organization, there is an eighty page index that lists every proper name in the book and thus the majority of established place-names in Vermont.

In general, the author has been careful to qualify her comments where factual explanations of place-names are uncertain. However, it is not surprising to find a few errors in a work of such considerable scope. For example, contrary to the assertion on page 290 that Sterling Pond "lies high on Mount Mansfield," the pond is a mile east of Smugglers Notch between Spruce and Madonna Peaks; Berlin town, named by Wentworth in 1763, derives its name solely from the city in Germany since the name was not used in Massachusetts, the suggested alternate source (p. 435), until 1784. Also, anyone interested in further reading on Vermont place-names will find that there are some interesting articles in periodicals, such as *Vermont History,* in addition to the sources listed in the six-page "Selected Bibliography." Nevertheless Esther Swift's book is a very impressive work and an outstanding contribution to the literature on American place-names.

H. GARDINER BARNUM

H. Gardiner Barnum is professor of geography at the University of Vermont and regularly teaches a course on place names.

Born in the Country: A History of Rural America

By David D. Danbom (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, pp. 306, $42.50, paper, $14.95).

This compact synthesis of recent work on the history of farming in America—and its rural life—can serve readers in several ways. It is an example on a large scale (from native Americans to the present) of the best writing in the "new social history" mode. It is an introduction to the study of a largely dynamic sector of the economy, the nation's farmers—an overwhelming, valued majority—at the beginning of the republic but now virtually the last minority. It can serve as a textbook to enrich the understanding of history teachers at all levels who must deal with the subject.

For many years agricultural historians, whose earliest leaders built the first specialized subject organization of scholars, looked in vain for a text they could use to survey the major changes in farming. These changes range from the Indian contributions and colonial settlements to the travails of pioneering and the vast, complex commercial and technological changes that have kept most of us well fed at low cost but have driven off more and more rural people. The few publications that cover these topics since Joseph Schafer's *The Social History of American Agriculture* (1936) have been either too brief and too technical, such as John Schlebecker's *Whereby We Thrive* (1975), or too detailed, too lengthy, and written from the point of view of disciplines other than history, such as Willard Cochrane's *Development of American Agriculture* (1979) and Walter Ebling *The Fruited Plain* (1979). Only Douglas Hurt's *American Agriculture: A Brief History* (1994) comes close to serving the same kind of audience, though it largely ignores much of the available recent interdisciplinary work.

The great strength of Danbom's book is that it incorporates the best scholarship of the last two or three decades into a synthesis of social history while also providing an unusually clear and well written narrative and analysis of the basic political and economic story. This is no mean achievement. New Englanders will appreciate the extent to which works by Joan M. Jensen, William Cronon, and Hal S. Barron have enriched our knowledge about the changing roles of women, immigrants, and lumbermen, and their impact on their region's landscape. Much of it is here, in twelve chapters, that begin with Europe's rural traditions and pre-Columbian America, and continue with a review of the English colonies that gained independence and the hard-won liberal policies that beckoned ambitious settlers. They describe the disruption of the Civil

War and its legacy in the rural South, then tackle the last push of settlement across the continent. About half of the book is devoted to the twentieth century, which is Danbom's era of expertise. Oddly enough, though, he does little with California's astounding record of production, made possible by private and public investment in irrigation which was so enormous that the value of California's farm production has been twice as great as that of any other state.

No book, to be sure, can do proper justice to every aspect of this long record of building and despoiling, heroism and greed, and generosity and hostility to newcomers. But the people who came to work and live on the land, like Danbom's recent forebears and mine, found most of the opportunities for a better life they sought. In return, they played critical roles in making the nation stronger and better. Danbom's book should help any reader better understand the transformations that farming and farmers confronted in almost every period and region of our national experience, and the uncertainties that lie ahead. We are in his debt.

MORTON ROTHSTEIN

Morton Rothstein is Professor Emeritus of History at the University of California, Davis and former Editor of Agricultural History.

Village in the Hills: A History of Danville, Vermont, 1786–1995

By Susannah Clifford (West Kennebunk, Maine: Phoenix Publishing, 1995, pp. 288, $35.00).

New England town histories have varied origins. A few, produced by trained academics, cover a portion of the period from founding to the present, linking local developments to both national trends and theories of community development. They are based on the kinds of exhaustive research people seeking Ph.D.'s must master. Other town histories stem from an untrained but enthusiastic amateur's love of community: the bulk of the hundreds published between 1880 and World War I fall into this category. In the last half century town histories generated by communally appointed committees have become commonplace. Their production is frequently stimulated by an upcoming centennial and/or the founding or revitalization of a local historical society.

The form and content of local histories vary as much as the origins. Academics generally write for other academics and focus attention on abstract subjects like family structure, generational passage, and social

mobility. The devoted amateurs of a century ago concentrated on town origins, the military service of inhabitants, town institutional development, and geneaology. Their books also reflected the ethnocentrism of their WASPish authors. It is difficult to generalize about the post-World War II committee-sponsored histories. The several that I've read have in common the updating of categories of information (except genealogy) in any earlier town history and reflect a commitment to treating as separate historical entities almost all of the town's legends, famous happenings, and organizations. Committee-generated histories, in general, make few gestures toward academic abstraction. Unless a single individual, either within the committee or hired by the committee, does all the writing, book organization will normally be topical, not narrative. Town histories written since the heady anti-establishment days of the 1960s and 70s are much more ethnically and religiously inclusive than their predecessors.

Village in the Hills: A History of Danville, Vermont, 1786–1995, benefits from all three major local history writing traditions. The bulk of the writing has been done by a trained academic, Susannah Clifford, who has a B.A. in history and an M.A. in historic preservation. Her academic training is most evident in the first eight chapters. Each is well crafted, reflects detailed primary research, and links Danville's history to that of Vermont and the nation as a whole. They trace the town through founding, prosperity as the shiretown of Caledonia County, a reform era when Danville became the regional center of Antimasonry, adjustment to both the Civil War and the loss of shiretown status to St. Johnsbury, and a period of industrial growth that kept the town population relatively steady even as agriculture declined. These chapters take up roughly half of *Village in the Hills.*

The influences of the devoted amateur tradition are many. Clifford attempts no genealogy, but she's thorough on town origins, the military service of Danville citizens, and institutional development. The appendices list founding families, soldiers, pastors, doctors, and other professionals. There are dozens of sections on local institutions, ranging from the Congregational Church to the American Society of Dowsers. Clifford's *Village in the Hills* is the first full history of Danville to be written. It should please those fond of the turn-of-the-century volumes describing the past of so many individual New England towns.

Village in the Hills, in its basic origins and in some of its form and content, also typifies the modern community-generated histories. It is published for the Danville History Committee, a group chosen by the town selectmen in conjunction with a town bicentennial. Like many other New England examples in this genre, this one is published by Phoenix

Publishing. Even though the committee hired Clifford to do most of the writing, it decided to include as appendices four articles about Danville written by others. Clifford herself, especially in chapters nine and ten, which deal with the period immediately following World War II, abandons her attempt to write integrated essays on some particular stages in community development. She simply presents information on such varied topics as America's National Bicentennial, the Danville Recreation Committee, and computers. In her acknowledgments she describes how local histories "to some degree, defy structure" (p.ix). Unevenness in what academics call structure marks most committee-generated local history. I should add, however, that because of Clifford, *Village in the Hills* is far more effectively organized than most local histories written in conjunction with modern historical celebrations.

One final set of comments. There are nearly 1400 New England towns, each with its own historical peculiarities. If appreciation of the unique is your cup of tea, you might want to obtain a copy of *Village in the Hills*, read it, take notes on what you find interesting that can still be viewed, and plan a visit. I've driven through Danville several times but never seen much. Next visit I plan to explore.

JERE DANIELL

Jere Daniell is a professor of history at Dartmouth College. He teaches a course entitled "The New England Town," and gives numerous public lectures on the history of individual communities.

The Strength of the Hills: Middlebury College, 1915–1990

By David M. Stameshkin (Middlebury, Vt.: Middlebury College Press/Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1996, pp. 448, $24.95).

Congratulations, Middlebury College, on completing and publishing your history to 1990, through the persistence and comprehensive scholarship of David Stameshkin. Sixty years after W. Storrs Lee's human interest story, *Father Went To College,* here is a new look. Middlebury's latest 75 years seem more complicated than the first 115, which Stameshkin wrote about as *The Town's College* in 1985. The numbers are larger, the sources bulkier and more scattered, and the activities of each element in the complex, from trustees to townsfolk, more varied. Actually

the degree of difficulty is constant, but the perspective has changed and the complexities are different.

The two volumes break at 1915 because it marked the climax of President John Thomas's fundraising and building program. Mead Chapel and Hepburn dormitory were under construction. The state continued grants totaling a third of the college's income, and Joseph Battell died, leaving the College 30,000 acres of mountains and other property.

Battell's gift was an element of "the strength of the hills" that sustained Middlebury College in the twentieth century. Other elements were the landscape itself and the near availability of skiing, both attractive to the children of the urban elite nationwide, that the college was increasingly successful in recruiting.

"A tiny, moribund, conservative college" in 1880 changed into "a moderately prosperous and respected country college" by 1915 (*The Town's College*, p. 281). Thereafter, especially after World War II, this provincial collection of teachers and "unsophisticated white, Protestant, middle-class students" from the Northeast, required to attend daily chapel and concerned most with Greek-letter clubs and sports, changed into a larger but still homogeneous and conservative national college (*The Strength of the Hills*, p. 182).

Stameshkin's organization is ambiguous about the sources of these social changes. Did presidents, trustees, students, or "A Cast of Thousands," as he entitles his concluding chapter, make things happen? By labeling his chapters in Part II "The Stratton Years," "The Armstrong Years," and "The Robison Years," he emphasizes the conclusion that these presidents raised the money, expanded the campus, advertised the college, and hired the faculty. Samuel S. Stratton, for example, stabilized, enlarged, and improved (p. 117). Stratton, backed by the trustees, won power battles both with Dean Storrs Lee and with the faculty majority that wanted to oust him. Presidents John Thomas, the builder, and Paul Moody, "the faculty's president," (p. 24) were an older breed with more personal control of fewer people and less staff. Thomas's policies to segregate women students and establish a state teachers' college failed. Moody's dislike for fundraising and budget-pinching during the depression led to a shift of power to the trustees, especially to their chairman, Redfield Proctor, and ultimately led to Moody's dismissal. The compartment of campus life, on the other hand, was "essentially determined and played out by students," (p. 321), as described in Part III. The book concludes that many elements sometimes shared power to shape the college's history.

The author makes clear that the two world wars, the Vietnam War, and the Great Depression had the strongest influence on Middlebury College, beyond any other outside force. The outer world affects a campus

in many other ways, however. For example, how much money was available for endowments and scholarships and which colleges won the largest pieces of the pie? The author makes comparisons (pp. 144, 171). But he does not touch upon many other questions. How did the flapper revolution after World War I affect President Moody's failed attempt to create sex-segregated campuses? Who were the candidates who also ran for the Middlebury presidency? What were the criteria for a new president after World War II? How much did Middlebury College presidents and faculty participate in their national organizations? Were their wage-earners ever unionized? Answers to such questions would fit Middlebury's history into the general history of higher education.

The author accumulates overwhelming evidence that Middlebury shared developments in higher education everywhere. What I do not find emphasized beyond the title is what has made Middlebury unique. Most people think of its language schools first, but while each one receives due notice, their total impact is not highlighted.

As a former college student, Stameshkin looks at student life sympathetically in five topical chapters covering the whole century. Social trends, after all, develop slowly. As an administrator, he usually finds the administration reasonable and right. As a scholar, he devoted over fifteen percent of the book to endnote comments and references to sources. As a former employee but now an outsider, he metes out even-handed justice, e.g., in his handling of the faculty tussle with President Stratton. The two volumes show little of the official history's partiality.

Endpapers show alumni banqueting "all dolled up" in 1941, and informal freshmen entering in 1990. Many well-chosen photographs, with emphasis on action, enliven the text. The book cries for maps of the campus, at least in 1915 and 1990. I suspect that more will use this book as a reference for their particular interest than will read the whole story. The index falls short of satisfying that use. With so much space devoted to endnotes, showing the pages of text to which each page of these notes refers would have made them easier to locate and use.

T. D. SEYMOUR BASSETT

Thomas Bassett has retired from a life of teaching history, collecting Vermontiana, compiling bibliographies, administering archives, and writing local history. He is completing a book on the history of religion in Vermont.

More About Vermont History

Recent Additions to the Vermont Historical Society Library

Books

*Allen, Donald G., *Barre Granite Heritage, With Guide to the Cemeteries.* Barre, Vt.: Friends of the Aldrich Public Library, 1997. 52p. List: $5.00 (paper).

Bearor, Bob, *The Battle on Snowshoes.* Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1997. 94p. Source: The publisher, 1540E Pointer Ridge Place, Bowie, MD 20716-1859. List: $12.00 (paper). Rogers Rangers and the French and Indian War.

Burlington Fire Department, Centennial Edition, 1895–1995. Burlington, Vt.: Burlington Firefighters Association, 1996. 95p. Source: The publisher, 136 South Winooksi Ave., Burlington, VT 05401-8378. List: unknown.

Canoe and Natural History Guide to the Winooski River Valley. Burlington, Vt.: Winooski Valley Park District, 1992. 53p. Source: The publisher, Ethan Allen Homestead, Burlington, Vermont 05401. List: $4.95 (paper).

*Cogbill, Rachel W., editor, *Good-bye, Falls School.* No imprint, 1995. 33p. List: $2.50 (paper). Fourth graders' history of their school.

Degree, Kenneth A., *Deadlock, Deceit and Divine Intervention: The Politics of Regionalism and the Longest Political Campaign in Vermont History, the Fourth Congressional District, 1830–1832.* Vergennes, Vt.: The author, 1997. 57p. List: $5.00 (paper). Source: The author, 3 Ice House Court, Vergennes, VT 05491.

Denaro, Dominick, *A Centennial Field Scrapbook: Memories of the Minor League's Oldest Ballpark.* South Burlington, Vt.: Blue Fish Arts, 1995. 41p. Source: Bookstore, University of Vermont, Burlington, VT 05405. List: $9.95 (paper). History of the Burlington ball field.

*Downs, Virginia Campbell, *Voices from the Kingdom.* St. Johnsbury, Vt.: Fairbanks Museum and Planetarium, 1997. 237p. List: $14.95 (paper). Short biographies of citizens of the Northeast Kingdom.

Dugger, Elizabeth Lancy, *Mud Season at the Castle: Poems of the Northeast Kingdom.* St. Johnsbury, Vt.: Passumpsic Publishing, 1995. 44p. Source: The author, RR 1, Box 217B, Barnet, VT 05821. List: Unknown (paper).

Faine, Earl, *Green Mountain Man: The Odyssey of Ethan Allen.* New York: Forge, 1997. 444p. List: $26.95. Fictious account of Allen during the Revolution.

Fukaya, Michiyo, *A Fire Is Burning, It Is in Me: The Life and Writings of Michiyo Fukaya,* edited by Gwendolyn L. Shervington. Norwich, Vt.: New Victoria Publishers, 1996. 181p. List: $9.95 (paper). Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 27, Norwich, VT 05055-0027. Biography and writings of a Japanese-American lesbian poet and activist (1953–1987) living in Burlington in the 1980s.

Galo, George, *The 191st Company, The Civilian Conservation Corps.* Proctor, Vt.: The author, 1997. 45p. Source: The author, 85 Olympus Road, Proctor, VT 05765. List: Unknown (paper). A year in the life of a CCC recruit.

Hamilton, Edward Pierce, *Fort Ticonderoga: Key to a Continent.* Ticonderoga, N.Y.: Fort Ticonderoga, 1995. 241p. List: $14.95. Reprint of 1964 history.

*Johnson, Claire Dunne, *Images of America: St. Johnsbury.* Dover, N.H.: Arcadia Publishing, 1996. 128p. Source: VHS Museum Shop. List: $16.99 (paper). Mostly photographs.

Kerson, Samuel, *The Underground Railroad: Vermont and the Fugitive Slave.* Worcester, Vt.: The author, 1997. Unpaginated. Source: The author, RD 1, Worcester, VT 05682. List: $8.95 (paper). Copies of woodcuts used for mural at Vermont Law School.

*Lavelle, Phyllis, ed., *Images of America: Along the Connecticut River: Fairlee/West Fairlee, Orford, Bradford, Piermont, Newbury, and Haverhill,* compiled by local historical societies. Dover, N.H.: Arcadia Publishing, 1996. 128p. List: $16.99 (paper). Mostly photographs.

Leavy, Nancy Patnode, *Trooper Patnode's Memories of the Vermont State Police (1947–1976).* Underhill Center, Vt.: The author, 1997. 46p. Source: The author, P.O. Box 77, Underhill Center, VT 05490. List: Unknown (paper).

*Little, Barbara DeWolfe, *Winhall, Then and Now: A Brief Pictorial History of the Town of Winhall.* Winhall, Vt.: Winhall Bicentennial Committee, 1996. 96p. List: $16.00 (paper).

Lockwood, Glenn J., *The Rear of Leeds and Lansdowne: The Making of Community on the Gananopue River Frontier, 1796–1996.* Rear of Leeds and Lansdowne, Ontario: The Corporation, 1996. 636p. Source: Corp. of Rear of Leeds and Lansdowne, Box 160, Lyndhurst, Ontario K0E 1N0, Canada. List: $58.95US. History of a town settled by Vermonters in the late 18th century.

Michaud, Robert Blondin, *NVRH at 25: A History of Northeastern Vermont Regional Hospital.* No imprint, 1997. 44p. Source: Director of Community Relations, NVRH, St. Johnsbury, VT 05819. List: Unknown (paper).

Miller, William Lee, *Arguing About Slavery: The Great Battle in the United States Congress.* New York: A. A. Knopf, 1996. 577p. List: $34.50. Includes significant material on the role of U.S. Representative William Slade of Vermont.

Perry, Clark, *Annals of Newbury, Vermont.* Woodsville, N.H.: Haverhill Heritage Books, 1996. 17p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 283, Woodsville, NH 03785-0283. List: Unknown (photocopy). Transcription of manuscript in Tenney Memorial Library, Newbury, Vt.

Pitkin, Olive, *There and Then: A Vermont Childhood.* Santa Barbara, Calif.: Fithian Press, 1997. 137p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 1525, Santa Barbara, CA 93102. List: $10.95 (paper). Story of growing up in Bennington.

*Proper, David R., *Lucy Terry Prince: Singer of History.* Deerfield, Mass: Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Assoc. and Historic Deerfield, 1997. 50p. List: $5.95 (paper). Biography of black woman who lived in Guilford and Sunderland, ca. 1781–1821.

*Rooker, Sarah Giffen, *"Yours, In the Cause of the Slave:" A Document Packet for Teachers and Students.* Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1997. 32p. List: $8.00, $6.00 to schools (paper).

Runyon, Randolph Paul, *Delia Webster and the Underground Railroad.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996. 259p. List: $29.95. Biography of abolitionist who taught briefly in Vergennes.

*Sharrow, Gregory, *From before My Grandmother: Artists from the Vermont Traditional Arts Apprenticeship Program.* Middlebury, Vt.: Vermont Folklife Center, 1997. 23p. List: $5.95 (paper).

Shaw, Lisa, *New Hampshire vs. Vermont.* Grafton, N.H.: Williams Hill Publishing, 1997. 110p. Source: The publisher, RR 1, Box 1234, Grafton, NH 03240. List: $11.95 (paper).

Stearns, Sandra Field, *Cavendish Hillside Farm, 1939–1957.* Cavendish, Vt.: Cavendish Historical Society, 1996. 185p. Source: The publisher, c/o Barbara B. Kingsbury, Rt. 1, Box 93C, Cavendish, VT 05142. List: Unknown (paper).

Strong, Marjorie, *Guide to the Manuscript Holdings of the Archives of Barre History.* Barre, Vt.: Aldrich Public Library, 1997. 44p. Source: The publisher, 6 Washington St., Barre, VT 05641-4227. List: Unknown (paper).

Thomas, Eliza, *The Road Home.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books of Chapel Hill, 1997. 179p. List: $17.95. Experiences building a home in Randolph.

Through the Eyes of Our Elders: Stories from Corinth. Corinth, Vt.: Town of Corinth, 1997. 84p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 461, Corinth, VT 05039. List: Unknown (paper).

*Titterton, Robert John, *Julian Scott: Artist of the Civil War and Native America.* Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland and Co., 1997. 315p. List: $48.50. Scott was from Johnson.

Vermont Council on the Humanities, *Real History, Real Voices: A Connections Reading Discussion Program.* Morrisville, Vt.: Vermont Council on the Humanities, 1997. 3 vols. Source: The publisher, RR 1, Box 7285, Morrisville, VT 05661. List: Unknown (paper). Educational materials using historical primary sources.

*Visser, Thomas Durant, *Field Guide to New England Barns and Farm Buildings.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1997. 213p. List: $19.95 (paper).

Winter, Jenny Burtis, *The Real Ellie: The Life and Times of Eleanor B. Gibbs.* Hadley, Mass.: The author, 1996. Unpaginated. Source: The author, 36 Roosevelt St., Hadley, MA 01035. List: $10.00 (paper). Biography of a Brattleboro librarian.

Wood, Virginia C., *Changing Lives: The Story of One Vermont Literacy Program.* No imprint, 1996. Unpaginated. Source: Central Vermont Adult Basic Education, 18 North Main St., Barre, VT 05641. List: Unknown (paper).

Dissertations and Papers

Bowler, Philip M., *The Fly Catches the Black Snake.* Course paper, Burlington Adult Basic Education, 1995. 42p. Includes transcribed documents from the *Black Snake* affair, 1808.

Brown, James D., *Ecological Site Planning and Design for a Vermont Community Growth Center: A Case Study of Taft Corners, Williston, Vt.* Senior thesis, University of Vermont Environmental Studies Program, 1996. 70p. Winner of 1997 Nuquist Award.

Smith, Donald Alan, *Legacy of Dissent: Religion and Politics in Revolutionary Vermont, 1749 to 1784.* Ph.D. dissertation, Clark University, 1981. 3 v.

GENEALOGY

Cassidy, Anne Walker, *Walkers through History.* Salt Lake City, Utah: The compiler, 1997. 524p. List: $31.50 (paper). Source: The compiler, 2718 South Highland Dr. #1, Salt Lake City, UT 84106. Includes Pittsford Walkers.

Colburn, Richard A., *A Catalog of Charleston, Vermont, Cemeteries.* Charleston, Vt.: Charleston Historical Society, 1996. 163p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 46, East Charleston, VT 05833. List: $27.00 (paper).

Colburn, Richard A., *A Catalog of Holland, Vt., Cemeteries.* Charleston, Vt.: Charleston Historical Society, 1995. 62p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 46, East Charleston, VT 05833. List: $13.75 (paper).

Douglass, Ruth Cary, *Genealogy of a Douglass-Donaldson Family.* Baltimore: Gateway Press, 1996. 229p. Source: The compiler, 1185 Farmington Ave., W. Hartford, CT 06107-1610. List: $27.00. Includes Vermont families.

Drew, Norman Lesley, *The Ancestors of Theophilus and Dorothy (Pease) Drew.* Clinton, Conn.: The compiler, 1996. Various paginations. Source: The compiler, 71 Commerce Street, Clinton, CT. List: Unknown (photocopy). Includes Drews of Danville.

Elwell, Richard C., *Shaftsbury Elwell Plot Rehabilitation.* Niskayuna, N.Y.: The author, 1996. 10p plus attachments. Source: The author, 1143 Rosehill Blvd., Niskayuna, NY 12309-4627. List: Unknown (paper).

Graves, John Card, *Graves Family.* Boone, N.C.: Lisabeth M. Holloway, 1996. 16p. Source: The publisher, 334 Meadowridge #29, Boone, NC 28607-8789. Includes Graveses of Springfield and Rockingham.

Powers, Duane Gordon, *Woodstock: Four Pioneer Families.* Chico, Calif.: The compiler, 1997. 33p. Source: The compiler, 1406 Downing Ave., Chico, CA 95926-2417. List: Unknown (photocopy). Whitcomb, Carpenter, French, and Powers families.

* indicates books available through the Vermont Historical Society museum shop.

INDEX TO VERMONT HISTORY

Volume 65 (1997), Numbers 1–4

Prepared by Reidun Dahle Nuquist

Please note that each year's issues of *Vermont History* are numbered consecutively. It may be helpful to know that the 1997 volume is paginated as follows:

Number 1–2, Winter/Spring 1997, pp. 1–112
Number 3–4, Summer/Fall 1997, pp. 113–206

Vermont Historical Society
Business Members

The Vermont Historical Society thanks the many businesses that provide support through our annual giving campaign, in-kind contributions, and business memberships. Their gifts are very important to the Society. The following companies are business members of the Society at upper levels of support.

Business Patrons

The Rutland Herald (Rutland)
The Times Argus (Barre)

Business Supporters

Denis, Ricker & Brown (Montpelier)
Northfield Savings Bank (Northfield)

Business Sponsors

Concept II (Morrisville)
Krebs & Lansing (Colchester)

The Trustees of the Vermont Historical Society
are pleased to award
the 1997 Weston A. Cate Jr. Research Fellowship to

Mariella Squire

for "Toward a History of the Native American
People in Northeastern Vermont,"
and
the 1997 Ben B. Lane Prize to

Donald A. Smith

for his article, "Green Mountain Insurgency:
Transformation of New York's Forty-Year Land War,"
Vermont History, Vol. 64, No. 4 (Fall 1996).

VERMONT HISTORY

POSTMASTER:
Send address changes to
VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY
109 State Street
MONTPELIER, VERMONT
05609-0901

Entered as Second Class
Matter at the Post Office
at Montpelier, Vermont

American-Canadian
Genealogical Society
P.O. Box 6478
Manchester NH 03108-6478