VERMONT HISTORY

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VERMONT HISTORY

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In This Issue

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Champlain Glass Company: Burlington's First Manufacturing Enterprise

"Enterprising, diligent, temperate, hopeful"[1]—this is one historian's description of the leadership needed for establishment and continued survival in the fascinating but risky business of glass-making in nineteenth-century Vermont. A story about the Champlain Glass Company is a story about such leadership.

By L. DIANA CARLISLE

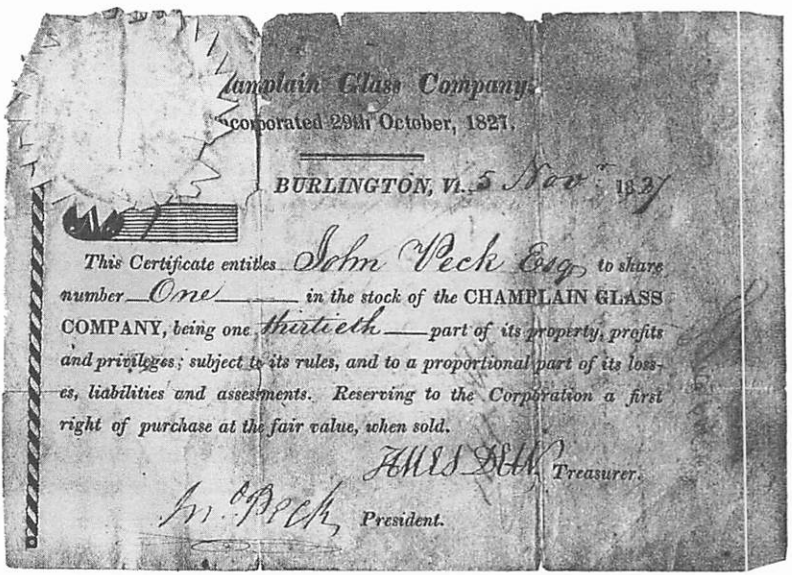
The Champlain Glass Company was incorporated in Burlington, Vermont, on October 27, 1827 by an act of the General Assembly and hailed as the first extensive manufacturing operation in the area. Petitioners and incorporators were Joseph T. Barrett, John Peck, Lewis Allen, John S. Foster, and James Dean. Three of the incorporators took major roles in the new venture: Peck was elected president, Dean, treasurer and John S. Foster, superintendent. Another person who was to play an important part in the development of the firm joined the company at its beginning as an apprentice—fifteen-year-old Frederick Smith. "Enterprising, diligent, temperate, hopeful"—this is one historian's description of the leadership needed for establishment and continued survival in the fascinating but risky business of glass-making in nineteenth-century Vermont. A story about the Champlain Glass Company is a story about such leadership.[2]

The company was authorized to build a wharf, a storehouse, and other necessary buildings at the foot of Pearl Street or elsewhere on the shore of Burlington Bay near the site of the works and to construct a carriage road and railway from the wharf, including "proper cars and wagons

and machines, and engines."[3] The act provided for the governance of the corporation and specifically denied banking privileges, a reaction, perhaps, to the fact that the bank bills issued by the then defunct Vermont Glass Factory of Lake Dunmore had become worthless.[4]

Dr. John Peck, born in 1786, was 41 years old. A successful purveyor of wholesale goods, druggist and chemist, he was one of the most prominent men of that period. His firm, J. & J. H. Peck and Co., located at 320 College Street on the north side of the square in Burlington, had become the most extensive wholesale house in Vermont. Six- and eight-horse "land-ships" took on goods there for resale in interior towns of the state. Peck was the ideal man to distribute and market the window glass and other products of the new glass works. He held extensive real estate, helped found the Champlain Ferry Company in 1824, and was also an original stockholder of the Champlain Transportation Company incorporated in 1828.[5]

James Dean, LL.D., was a highly respected former professor of mathematics and natural philosophy at Dartmouth College and the University of Vermont.[6] He was one of the "enterprising citizens of Burling-


Champlain Glass Company.
Incorporated 29th October, 1827.

BURLINGTON, Vt. 5 Nov. 1827

This Certificate entitles John Peck Esq. to share number One in the stock of the CHAMPLAIN GLASS COMPANY, being one thirtieth part of its property, profits and privileges; subject to its rules, and to a proportional part of its losses, liabilities and assessments. Reserving to the Corporation a first right of purchase at the fair value, when sold.

James Dean Treasurer.

John Peck President.

Stock certificate number one, issued to President John Peck and signed by him as president and by James Dean, Treasurer. Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library, University of Vermont.

ton"[7] who, along with Peck, chartered the Champlain Ferry Company and he also served as a director of the Champlain Transportation Company.

Superintendent of the new works, John S. Foster, came from Boston, where he had been manager of Chelmsford Glassworks, a failed subsidiary of the Boston Glass Manufactory, the first successful producer in America of the prized crown window glass.[8] He remained in Burlington only a short time, moving across the lake in 1831 to become the first superintendent of the Redford Crown Glass Company. Apparently he was discharged from the Redford Company, unjustly, so he claimed. He then selected a site in Jefferson County, New York, where he founded a new glass factory, naming it Redwood so he could more easily compete with his former employer. He died of an apparent heart attack, on June 2, 1834 while on business in Watertown, New York. Foster was credited at his death with the high quality of glass products manufactured by all the companies with which he had been affiliated.[9]

Young Smith was the son of Caleb B. Smith, a prominent early settler in Shelburne and Williston. His father, a ship builder and captain, died when Smith was only four years old, leaving his mother to support him and his two-year-old sister.[10] After a common school education, Smith was "bonded out" at age twelve to a deacon. According to stories Smith later told his family, the deacon had agreed to feed and clothe him and pay his mother a small sum in exchange for his work on a farm, but, in fact "worked him so hard and fed him so poorly that it stunted his growth and forced him to run away."[11] He went to Burlington, worked for a year for a merchant and then, in 1827, was "bound out for the remainder of his minority (to age twenty-one)"[12] to the Champlain Glass Company. Smith was to remain with the company throughout all but two years of its more than twenty-year history, rising to management and eventually becoming an owner.

The Setting

For a number of years, Burlington's lakeside location had proved ideal for trade. Following the War of 1812, when commerce shifted away from Quebec City and Montreal and the European import and export trade these cities provided, Burlington remained a central point for the distribution of goods. To the south the Champlain Canal opened in 1823, providing passage from Whitehall, New York at the southern end of the lake all the way to Troy, and, via the Hudson River, to the New York City market. October 1825 marked the completion of the Erie Canal, an inland water route connecting the Hudson River with the Great Lakes. Development of cities along the route (Rochester and Buffalo) and in the Midwest opened up new markets for products, including

building-related materials such as window glass. It was now much cheaper to ship by canal than by road. Whereas wagon portage had cost $100 a ton, the canal boats cost the shippers only $12 a ton.[13] Reduced breakage of fragile cargo was a significant, added benefit.

Burlington, as the largest lake port, was a center of activity. Sailing ships filled the harbor. The Lake Champlain Transportation Company had been chartered and was building steamboats that traveled from Whitehall to St. Johns (present day St. Jean) in Lower Canada several times a week. Burlington was also the regional warehouse center to receive goods and produce and to send them on to the interior northern half of Vermont or down the Connecticut River to New Hampshire and on to Boston. It was natural that Burlington entrepreneurs would look for products to manufacture in the city. In glass, a product "highly prized"[14] at that time for both its practical and ornamental uses, they saw an opportunity.

Glassmaking

Prior to this period, glass companies in the United States had experienced difficult times, an example being the Vermont Glass Company at Lake Dunmore, founded during the War of 1812 but forced out of business in 1817 when foreign manufactured goods again entered the country. In the 1820s, in an atmosphere of growing pride in America and desire to support the development of home industries, protectionists succeeded in passing the Tariff Act of 1824. Glass was included as an import to be taxed. This protective tariff encouraged the Burlington glass company founders and, when they had secured the necessary materials and skilled craftsmen, they embarked on their new enterprise.

Raw materials for making glass are silica in the form of sand, flints or quartz and, to help fuse the materials, alkalis such as potash, mostly in the form of wood ashes or soda. Lime and salts are used as stabilizers, and in some recipes, small measures of arsenic and/or magnesia for additional transparency.[15]

Silica was readily obtainable in the "sandy and light"[16] soil of northeastern Vermont. In nearby South Burlington and Colchester, much of this abundant sand lay in deltas near the surface, making it economical to obtain. Two good bridges led to Colchester, enabling local landowners to bring materials to Burlington. A ledge of nearly white quartz rose east of Winooski Falls. Potash could be had from area farmers and suppliers[17] and limestone was plentiful in the eastern part of the area.

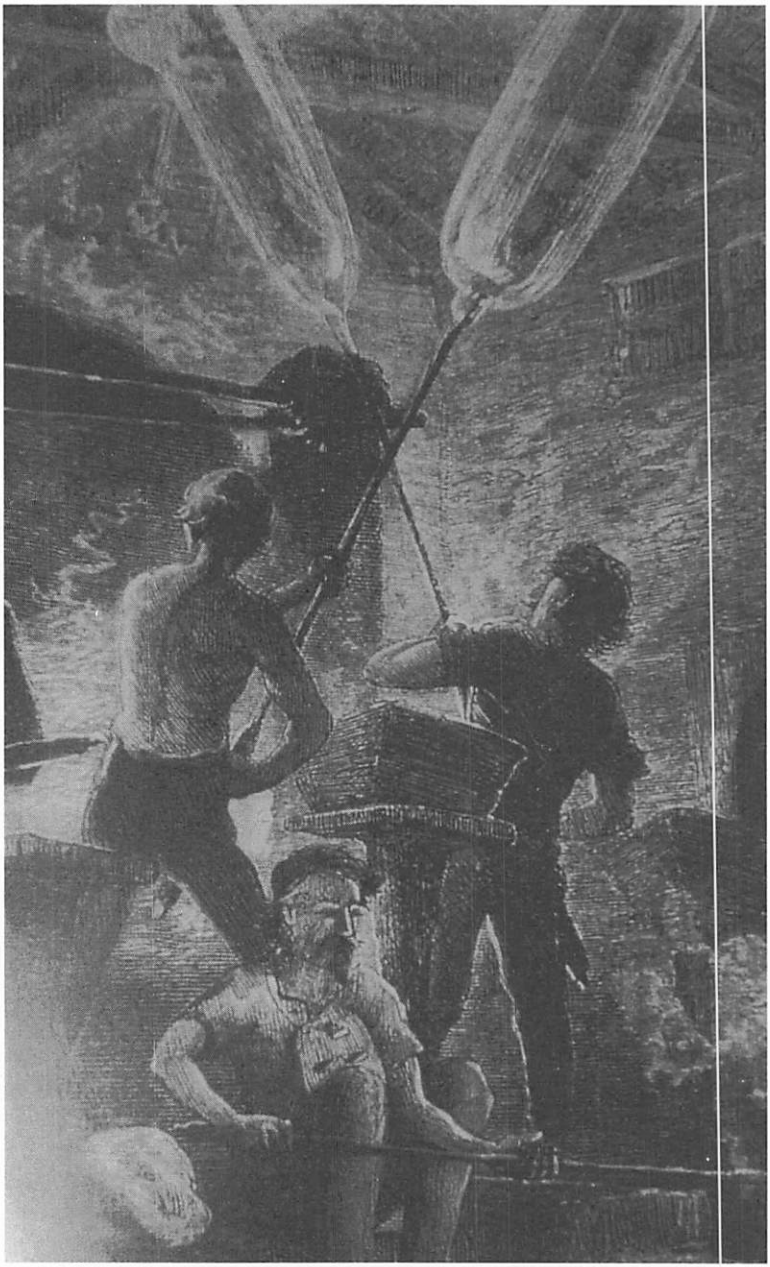
Because great quantities of wood were needed to fuel the furnace and stoke the fire for the high temperatures required to fuse the glass, it was crucial that a vast source of wood be nearby. Pine and hemlock grew in

the Burlington area in abundance, a heavy growth of the former covering present day Winooski Avenue. There were also vast tracts of hardwoods to the south.

Clay was also a critical item. It was used in building the pots, a careful and lengthy process which included an aging period, testing in a special pot furnace or oven and final placement in the main furnace. Charles Young, who visited the works in the 1830s, noted, however, that the clay used at the Glass Works had to be imported from Hamburg, Germany, "none having yet been found in America capable of resisting for any length of time the extreme heat of the furnaces."[18] Because of the intense heat even the average German clay pot lasted no longer than about six weeks before needing replacing.[19]

The Burlington works manufactured the window glass by the cylinder method. The process was as follows: upon arrival at the glass works the sand was washed and sifted and the quartz broken into small pieces and ground in a mill.[20] The silica and other materials were then measured by weight and shoveled together in the mixing room to make what was called the "batch." This was taken to the furnace room where it was put into the clay pots in the furnace and gradually melted at high heat. The resulting molten substance was called the "metal." When it cooled enough to be worked, the glass blowers were called. Using an iron blowpipe, they gathered the necessary amount of metal and blew it into a long cylinder. The cylinder was immediately cut down one side, usually with shears, and then taken to the flattening (or flatting) room where it was reheated in special annealing ovens and gradually opened out into flat sheets of glass before being cut to size.[21] This simple description belies the time-consuming and exacting procedures that went into the various stages such as making the pots, setting the pots, preparing the mix and stoking the fires so they would be just right for the melts or the cool-down stage.

Experienced manpower was crucial to this process. Inasmuch as many of the glassblowers came from abroad, mainly England and Germany, they were normally in short supply. After the Chelmsford Glassworks went out of business, however, John Foster may have recruited some former employees from the Boston area to the new operation in Burlington. In a pay list of the Champlain Glass Company for 1835 appear the names of two men known for company records to have worked at Chelmsford, Frederick S. Geer, glasscutter, and William E. Hirsch, blower. Hirsch, who went to work with his father at Chelmsford at age 16, was the eldest son of an experienced German glass blower, born in Bohemia, who had emigrated to America. The names of two other Hirsch family glassblowers, Charles and Francis, also appear on the 1835 Champlain list.[22]



Cylinder window glass blowing in a manner similar to that of the Champlain Glass Company. The seated worker has around his neck a wooden mask, called a "cowboard." This would be worn over his face for protection as he worked in front of the hot fire. Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly, *18 March, 1871. Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania Library and Archives, Pittsburgh.*

Along with his personal contacts, Foster contributed to the Burlington enterprise an extensive background in glass making. His years in the Boston glass works had given him the knowledge and experience to mix the metal so as to produce an outstanding product. As superintendent of the works at Burlington, he gathered under his control "about 100 hands"—the many skilled and unskilled people needed for a successful operation: blowers; cutters; box makers; men to tend the pots, the mix, and the fires; and laborers to cut and dry the wood, pack the boxes carefully with straw, keep the buildings in repair, clerk in the store, and other tasks.[23]

Beginnings of the Glass Works

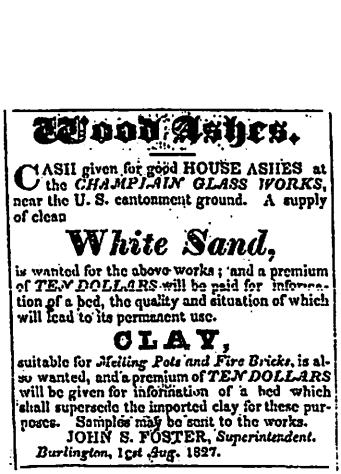
Land records show that Foster was actively acquiring various properties in the north end of Burlington in the spring of 1827. In April he secured a block of four five-acre lots in the vicinity of Pearl and Champlain Streets. Three were purchased from William A. Griswold, Burlington lawyer and insurance man, and the fourth, a lease lot, secured for a yearly fee of ten dollars. Funding for the purchase of the three lots seems to have come from Foster's own resources plus a mortgage of $1000 furnished by Griswold. The next month, Foster, who may have been calling on his Boston connections for cash to finance construction of the glass factory, sold the block of three lots and his interest in the leased lot to John Bartlett, a physician from Roxbury, Massachusetts, for $2000. In May, Foster rented "all the tenements standing upon the land called the 'Cantonment' owned by the United States which is generally known as the 'Officer's Barracks.'"[24] The latter was the northern part of the old military camp in the vicinity of present day Battery Park. He also leased for a period of five years water lot number 70 at the foot of Pearl Street, giving the company access to the lake and a site for a wharf. The Champlain Glass Company, after incorporation in October, purchased the block of lots from Bartlett in November of 1827, at which time the property was listed for the first time as "the site of the glass factory."[25]

The spring and summer of 1827 was a time of great activity at the glass works site. Laborers, both skilled and unskilled, prepared the site, erected buildings, and gathered necessary materials. Teams of work animals were kept busy. A line of log pipes (in use until 1850) was laid to the factory from springs near the site of the residence of Henry Loomis on Pearl Street. Later a windmill was installed at the top of the embankment to pump the water for washing the sand and other purposes.

Ammi B. Young's map of 1830 shows a cluster of about six good-sized buildings between Water and Champlain Streets labeled "Glass Works." A large, octagonal building, probably containing the main fur-

nace, appears in the drawing with an open yard fronting on Champlain Street. Across the street are scattered smaller buildings, perhaps homes of workers or others connected to the company.[26] Original papers of John Johnson, a local surveyor, builder and engineer, contain several plans for frame buildings for the Champlain Glass Company, including a combination store and house. An additional clue to the layout of the compound comes a few years later from a map and inventory by Johnson of structures, contents and value of the buildings. This map shows a "flatting" shop, a combination cutting room/packing room building ("glass therein . . . 400 [dollars]"), a pot shop of two stories, a store and, the largest building, a barn. The barn contained horses worth $500, as well as carriages, harness, saddles and buffalo skins.[27]

Johnson's papers also include plans for a wharf and railroad as proposed by J. S. Foster, agent, entitled "Wharf Calculations for Glass Co—11th March 1828." This detailed estimation with an accompanying sketch shows that the wharf was to be 300 feet long (the length of a modern football field), 30 feet wide, and floored at the bottom with round and squared timbers, the whole to be filled with sand. Extending up the hill, "say 400 feet," the railroad plans called for three timbers laid longitudinally and then timbers sixteen-feet-long closely laid across.



Wood Ashes.

CASH given for good HOUSE ASHES at the *CHAMPLAIN GLASS WORKS*, near the U. S. cantonment ground. A supply of clean

White Sand,

is wanted for the above works; and a premium of *TEN DOLLARS* will be paid for information of a bed, the quality and situation of which will lead to its permanent use.

CLAY,

suitable for *Melting Pots and Fire Bricks*, is also wanted, and a premium of *TEN DOLLARS* will be given for information of a bed which shall supersede the imported clay for these purposes. Samples may be sent to the works.

JOHN S. FOSTER, *Superintendent.*

Burlington, 1st Aug. 1827.

CHAMPLAIN

Window Glass

THE subscriber offers at his store, wholesale and retail, a general assortment of *GLASS*, of first and second qualities, made at the new works in this place. The thickness, brilliancy and color of this article give it a decided superiority over any other cylinder glass in the market; and purchasers will have the additional advantage of receiving it well sorted and packed, and every light whole,

Clock, Coach & Picture Glasses,

Fan-Lights and Ovals,

cut at short notice. Merchants and others are requested to call and examine for themselves.

Also, for sale, a few *GLAZIERS' DIAMONDS*, of superior quality.

JOHN PECK, *Agent for the Champlain Glass Company.*

Burlington, Oct. 30, 1827.

Left: Crucial raw materials were constantly needed. This ad first appeared in the summer of 1827 as the company prepared to begin operations and ran continuously for several months. Burlington Free Press, *1 January, 1828. Right: Announcement of company opening and advertisement for its window glass.* Burlington Free Press, *2 November, 1827.*

On these cross timbers would be rails of square timber "for the wheels to run on." A list of all necessary timbers and other materials includes quantities and costs. The railroad would have carried goods up and down an incline 446 feet long to a height of 112 feet above the lake. Although a good wharf was very important for the success of glass companies located on the water, perhaps the cost—$1300—and the fact it was to be built on land not in their possession, proved too ambitious for the young company and they decided to use existing facilities. Whatever the reason, the wharf and railroad at the foot of Pearl Street were never built.[28]

In preparation for the opening of business John Foster advertised in the September 14, 1827, issue of the *Burlington Free Press* that the Champlain Glass Works would pay cash for "good house ashes" and premiums of $10 for information on a bed of suitable white sand and a bed of clay to "supercede the imported clay for (melting pots and fire bricks). Samples may be sent to the works."[29] Ads continued to run weekly for these constantly needed materials.

The company was ready for business by October of 1827. Two notices in the *Burlington Free Press* on November 2, 1827, one from Foster and the other from Peck as agent, confirm full operation and offer glass for sale made "at the new works in this place." The newspaper welcomed the new operation with enthusiasm, congratulating the owners and declaring in a column entitled "Champlain Glass Works": "The successive melts have produced glass of a superior quality; . . . the proprietors intend to give us a thicker and better article than the miserable trash from the west which has been selling among us." The editors pointed out that value would now be given to local resources formerly "useless," that is, non-income producing.[30] The other Burlington newspaper, *Northern Sentinel,* belatedly took notice of the new enterprise on November 16:

> the curiosity of our citizens has been highly excited and amply gratified. The glass is of a superior quality and that part of it which is designed for elegant houses, not inferior in thickness or brilliance to the celebrated "Boston Crown", the parent and pride of American glass works. . . . The workmen employed are mostly young men of good habits and calculated to make useful citizens—and a spirit of order, industry and economy pervades the whole establishment, which could hardly be expected from one so young and so rapid in its growth.[31]

By the following summer the glass company general store had opened. A notice dated August 14, 1828, appeared in the newspaper and announced "a NEW STORE and NEW GOODS Just received from New York, and for sale at the *GLASS FACTORY STORE* on the corner of Champlain and Pearl Streets, near the Glass Factory, a general assortment of DRY GOODS."[32]

Glass Company Products

Champlain Glass manufactured window glass in various sizes and grades indicated by different names such as Burlington, Burlington Extra, Vermont, Essex.[33] At its height the company produced nearly 12,000 boxes of window glass yearly in standard sizes and cut-to-order, and, presumably, also furnished many of the fan lights and oval windows found in Burlington dwellings erected while the company lasted.[34] These ornamental windows, especially, required custom cutting and the skill of a good glass cutter. Champlain glass was known for its superior thickness, brilliancy and color, these qualities being championed in the company's advertisements. Although the more common 7- by 9-, 6- by 8-, and 8- by 10-inch panes in many Burlington homes built in that era and still standing keep their secrets as to their origin, many must be Champlain glass. We know from advertisements in 1835 that Follett, another major wholesaler in Burlington, was also selling these sizes made at the local company.[35]

It is possible, but unlikely, that Champlain Glass also produced commercial hollowware such as bottles, although the metal (mixture) for window glass was suitable for this application. However, no records exist of notices, advertisements or examples of bottles for sale. It is certain that the blowers made so-called offhand or end-of-day pieces, including tableware and "curiosities" blown for their own use by the craftsmen after hours from left over window glass melt. Some years after the factory closed, a doctor, writing about his visits to Burlington as a child in the 1830s, recalled: "a place of great interest—a visit at night to the old Glass Factory to see it while in blast and the curiosities that were blown."[36] These curiosities may have included the fanciful twisted hollowware canes that glass blowers traditionally blew for themselves. Levi Smith, a descendent of Fred Smith, said he had heard that these did exist.[37]

A story that appeared in the *Burlington Free Press* years later concerns an unusual bottle that Champlain Glass had made. In the course of construction of the glassworks a local hotel proprietor stopped by to note progress. He proposed to fill the first bottle blown at the works with the best in drink his house afforded, as thanks to the new industry. Shortly after the glass blowers began production, the hotel owner was greeted at his door by a very large bottle, the contents of which would measure over a barrel. Taking it in stride the owner ordered the bottle filled. Liquor was hauled up out of the cellar thus proving that his word was "no scrap of paper."[38]

The Glass Company 1828–1834

In 1828, the one-year-old Champlain Glass Company was busy producing glass and advertising in the local papers. On October 2, 1828,

the *Burlington Free Press,* under the heading "The American System," extolled the company's virtues in an article that gives us insight into the impact of this enterprise on the community:

> A few facts will do more to establish the importance of domestic manufactures than all the declamation which has wasted our money and exhausted our patience on the floor of Congress. . . . The Champlain Glass Company have disbursed money during their brief existence, to an amount equal to the whole of the capital of our banks, even the oldest. The distribution of so much money in a place where a large portion of the trade is barter is felt by almost every individual, in the facilities for payment, or exchange.
>
> Another view of the subject is interesting—our lumber, pearlash, and lime, find a home consumption—our wood, much of which would long have obstructed settlements and cultivation is rendered productive and fields of wheat are succeeding the forests which the farmers were else unable to clear; and lastly our mountains are yielding their inexhaustible beds of sand and clay to the alchemy of industry which converts whatever otherwise cumbers the soil into something better.[39]

That year Congress passed an even stronger tariff bill, known as the "Tariff of Abominations," and, although a controversial issue in the country as a whole, the tariff surely helped the fledgling glass works. Again the newspaper praised the company in an October, 1829, article for "giving employment to many of our poorer families, particularly in the winter months, when such employment is most desired." It went on to say, "[T]he business is reduced to a cash standard—the hands punctually paid and the money distributed in small sums. The quality of the glass is unquestionably the first of its kind and bears the highest price at home and abroad . . . this factory has now nearly the whole supply of those parts of Vermont and New York which border on the lake."[40] The Champlain Glass works was also gaining state wide recognition. In an article reprinted in the *Burlington Free Press* the *Bennington* newspaper extolled the superiority of its window glass and mentioned the company's use of sand from nearby Dorset.[41]

In Burlington the company became involved in the town's volunteer fire-fighting efforts. After the court house on the square burned in June, 1829, and the *Burlington Free Press* called the town's firefighting forces "feeble,"[42] fifty-six townspeople rallied to subscribe a total of $251.50 to purchase fire engines. Foster, Dean, and Peck were among the contributors. Later, in February of 1830, John Peck was one of three persons appointed to raise and organize engine companies of firefighters for each of the three new fire engines. Peck was responsible for the engine located near the Champlain Glass Company.[43]

In early 1830, the company bought one hundred acres of land in Colchester. This was probably a wood lot to help satisfy the unending need for fuel. The company also purchased a one-third part, or five acres, of the camp ground or cantonment lots when the government put them up for public auction that year. In May, 1830, at a regular meeting of the company, John Foster was authorized to sell several plots of land in the vicinity of Champlain Street to various glass workers. One worker was Peter Strook (Stroak), who purchased a one-half acre of land on which he had built a house for $100. Jemima Smith, Frederick Smith's mother, purchased a one-quarter acre lot. Perhaps the purpose of these sales was to raise cash for the company.[44]

An ominous turning point for the company came in 1831. At the annual meeting in January the Champlain Glass Company, led by Mr. C. W. Corning, voted to borrow $4,800 from President John Peck and Treasurer James Dean, with the company itself to be used as collateral. The details of this action were as follows:

> At a meeting of the Champlain Glass Company 12 Jan y [sic] 1831. On motion of Mr. C.W. Corning it was then voted that the Superintendant be directed to make and execute to John Peck and James Dean, two several notes promising to pay to each of them the sum of twenty four hundred dollars in six annual instalments, embracing $400 of the principal and all the interest, and that he be further directed to make execute a mortgage deed of the Company's real estate and affix their seal thereunto, in favour of the said Peck and Dean, to secure the payment of the said two notes amounting to $4,800 and interest. This was then done in the presence of the company.
>
> Attest John S. Foster Clerk
>
> Read and approved Jn. Peck Prest.[45]

The reason for the loan and the mortgage of the company's property soon became clear. One month later the company became the principal backer of the Redford Glass Company, a new crown glass venture across the lake near Plattsburgh, New York. The Burlington company bought the first two lots associated with the new company, comprising 1,294 acres, for $1 an acre, followed six months later by an additional two lots for a total investment of $2,594. Leading the Redford Glass Company was Charles W. Corning, a member of the Champlain Glass board of directors who had made the motion to borrow the money from Peck and Dean, and his fellow Troy businessman, Gershom Cook. A further connection between the two companies was John S. Foster. The Champlain superintendent and master glassmaker had left Vermont early that year to oversee the construction of the Redford works, selling his Burlington house and property in March. After setting up the company across the lake, Foster became an incorporator and its superintendent, helping to

turn out the first lot of crown glass in October of 1831.[46] Champlain Glass had lost a valuable and experienced leader in John S. Foster and had saddled itself with a staggering debt load as well. The repercussions of the January, 1831, meeting would be felt for a long time.

Despite having a fire engine nearby, the Burlington glass works suffered another major fire in May of 1831 when an early morning blaze destroyed the furnace house. As reported in the newspaper the next morning, the loss was estimated at $4,000, all but $500 covered by insurance. The paper concluded, "We understand it is the intention of the proprietors, to rebuild without delay."[47] Despite the fire, the Burlington company continued to sell its glass. John Peck advertised two hundred boxes of Champlain window glass in the August 26 *Burlington Free Press* of 1831, though this may well have been glass made before the fire and stored.[48]

At some time in 1831, however, the glass company was reorganized. At the same time, Frederick Smith, now nineteen years old, was "relieved" of his agreement and apprenticeship.[49] Information is lacking as to the details of the company's action and the severing of Smith's agreement so it is not known if it was something he did or did not do that caused his departure.

Smith was then hired for what was reportedly a large salary to help a group of proprietors in Middlebury in their efforts to reestablish the Lake Dunmore Glass Company in nearby Salisbury. Two letters from Smith to the proprietors of the Dunmore works make it clear that he was arranging for blowers and other "hands" to leave Champlain Glass and come with him to the new company. It also illustrates the fierce competition for skilled glass workers. Smith refers to a "Mr. Foster" who is being "friendly to our concern," going so far as offering to import clay and diamonds (for cutting) with him that spring. This was obviously John S. Foster, his old boss and former Champlain superintendent, now at Redford glassworks, helping his young protégé.[50]

On March 15, 1832, Smith wrote from Burlington to Middlebury lawyers and backers of the revitalized Lake Dunmore glassworks, Linsley and Chipman:

> I have made some progress in engaging hands. Since I last saw you I have engaged Mr. Wetherbee & he has been discharged here in consequence of it & is now idle. I think it will be well to employ him at your works as soon as you can do it to advantage. I shall be at your place with him the first of next week. I have got six Blowers to sign a contract & one more has agreed to go but prefers not to sign at present. John Long has turned *traitor* & gone to Keene [NH] after Blowers for this [Champlain Glass] Company & probably will go from there to Clyde & Geneva [glassworks in western NY] in which case he will be

> likely to get some hands that we very much want and I have taken the liberty to say to Mr Clark that we will pay his expences and allow him as much for his time as he would make at work to go on and get the start of Long as no time is to be lost. The hands here are very much engaged & are very desireous that we should have a good set of hands & are determined not to be outdone by this Company. This Company have offered $1.50 for large & small & I have in consequence of that been obliged to give the same wages to secure them which is a little more than the first proposition & they pay their own moving expences.[51]

Three weeks later Smith wrote: "Weatherbee has concluded not to go down till his house is ready to take his family along with as the time is so near by—will you let me know what day his house will be ready—he will depend upon you to send two teams for his goods." He concluded: "I shall probably get my business arranged so as to go down about the middle of this month."[52] Frederick Smith remained at the Lake Dunmore works for two years.

In Burlington, the glass company was experiencing a time of turmoil and change. Obviously not happy with the "reorganization," many experienced workers were leaving or were discharged. One employee, Elijah Burroughs, a Champlain glass packer and box maker, wrote to Linsley and Chipman in April of 1832 seeking employment at the Dunmore factory. John Long, the above blower, "turned *traitor*," was apparently persuaded to change his mind about leaving by being given more responsibility (the opportunity to travel and recruit blowers for the company), and probably more money. In addition, later that year John Peck, president, transferred one-half ownership of his share of Champlain Glass Company stock certificate number one to John Long and James David, another blower, perhaps as further inducement to stay. In the case of Long, Peck's effort was to no avail, however; six months later Long was across the lake with his old boss John Foster, helping him recruit blowers for the recently established Redwood (New York) Glass Company.[53]

The Burlington glass company managed to remain in business despite internal problems and the nearby competition. In the summer of 1832 the company recovered its investment in Redford Glass when the Redford lots were sold to owners Cook and Corning for $2,594, the exact price paid by Champlain. In an April 26, 1833 advertisement Peck reassured customers that the "CHAMPLAIN GLASS WORKS are now in full operation and the company are manufacturing WINDOW GLASS of a quality superior to any cylinder Glass in New England."[54]

Frederick Smith, meanwhile, had kept in touch with John Peck. On a trip from Salisbury to visit his mother, Jemima Smith, in Williston, in January of 1834 he wrote her a hasty note from Burlington saying, "I intended to have gone to Williston tomorrow but Dr. Peck and Capt

Thomas are going to Redford tomorrow to settle some of the old accounts with the Redford Co and cannot get along without my assistance . . . I cannot get away from going to Redford."[55] Later that year Smith and Peck entered into serious business discussions with the result that Frederick Smith, now twenty-two years of age, returned to Burlington and Champlain Glass where he and his business partners entered into a lease of the company. We learn of the details of the arrangements and their importance to Smith in a letter to his mother dated at Burlington, January 14, 1835.

> I have delayed writing you for a long time in order that I might be able to let you know my prospects of business. I have for 2 or 3 months been trying to Rent the Glass Works at this place and have at last accomplished it. Geo Loomis of Salisbury, myself & others have Rented the Glass Works for 1 to 3 years and have got them in good repair & commenced blowing the 5th Inst. and our prospects now look fair for doing a good business. Geo Loomis has moved his family here and lives in the house that Mr. Wetherbee used to occupy and I am boarding with him.[56]

Loomis, Smith & Company

The corporate name of the Burlington glassworks was now officially Loomis, Smith & Company though they continued to do business as Champlain Glass. Loomis was an incorporator of the Lake Dunmore glassworks and son-in-law of the lawyer and company backer George Chipman to whom Smith refers in earlier correspondence with that company.

An informal expense sheet of Smith's entitled "Exps.1 Month for 6 Pot Furnace," although undated, includes rent payment. We can, therefore, assume it concerned the period of time when Smith was leasing the company. It gives us valuable clues to the size and extent of the operation and the labor and materials used. It itemizes eighteen mixings a month, one hundred fifty cords of wood to be bought at $2 per cord, rent of $33, and taxes of $5, for a total cost, with other expenses, of $1,600.[57]

The operations of the revitalized company were off to a good start and Fred Smith must have shared this news with his mother, for she wrote him in April of 1835 "It gave me great pleasure to hear from you and that you are prospered in business," but with motherly concern she adds, "I think your own experience has taught you the disappointments and crosses we are liable to meet with in this world . . . remember there is a never ending eternity beyond this life and may it lead you to Trust in the Lord . . . he Shall direct thy paths."[58] Fortunately for Smith the prosperity continued. The lease of the company lasted three years during which time, according to the historian Rann, the establishment be-

came a decided success.[59] With the financial aid of Dr. Peck, Smith then bought out the business.

These were prosperous times. A number of manufacturing companies started up in Burlington around 1835. The Farmers' and Mechanics' Bank in Burlington had been founded with Dr. Peck as its first president. Glass manufacturers as a whole in the country were doing well. In a book of American trades and professions published in 1837 the author concluded his section on "The Glass-Blower" by saying that, though the glass manufactories were not successful in the beginning, due to inexperience and competition from imports, "adequate protection having been extended to this branch of our national industry, by the tariff of 1828, it is now in a highly prosperous condition—so much so, that importations of glass-ware have nearly ceased."[60]

In 1836, the Burlington company employed an agent in Troy, New York to sell its glass. A Jan. 1, 1836 flyer found in an attic in that vicinity over one hundred years later, had been issued in Troy by Larned and Corning, general agents of Champlain Glass. It solicited the attention of builders, contractors, manufacturers, dealers in window glass, and others to the "superior" Champlain window glass whose quality "has been greatly improved" and to the "liberal terms" of the company.[61]

An account book in the Special Collections at the University of Vermont entitled "Pay List. No. 1. Loomis Smith & Co." lists payments to the glass factory workers on a monthly basis from 1835 to 1837 and shows credits and debits to each worker at each pay date. A study of this book yields information on many subjects. For each worker the credit side of the ledger shows the work performed, the span of days or months in which the pay had been earned, and a few other credits. The debit side includes the worker's store account, rent owed, and notes or money owed to other workers. These credits are followed by the cash disbursed, if any, and the worker's signature or, if he could not write, his "mark," an "X" by his name. In many instances the per-day, per-month or per-piece rate is included, which makes this an interesting study in wage rates. By the amount of money paid for a certain job one can discern how valuable the different tasks were and perhaps judge something about the skills needed to perform them. The time actually spent on each job was precisely measured, such as 12/30 month, or, in another example, 1 and 24/30 months. It can be surmised that the workers spent twelve hours a day on the job because the time worked on one job is listed as being twenty-six days plus a partial day of ten and one-half hours out of a possible twelve. In many of the early glasshouses employees worked six-hour split shifts (two six-hour shifts with six hours in between), and this may have been the case in Burlington.[62]

TABLE 1 Summary of Jobs and Wages as Shown in Account Book

Type of Job	*Rate of Pay*
Stoking and "on ovens"	$20.00/month
Master stoking	$30.00/month
Wood drying	$25.00/month
Labor in mixing room	$22.00/month
Making salts	$17.25/month
Labor	$16.00/month
"Services"	$13–14.00/month
Grinding sand	75 cents/day
Work in pot room	60 cents/day
Small glass (cutting)	$1.00/thousand panes of glass
Large glass (cutting)	$1.25/thousand panes of glass
Cutting boxes	10 cents/box
Packing boxes glass	1.5 cents/box

A survey of the pay list reveals other information too. In July of 1836 John Morrison was listed as earning $79.42 for work in the mixing and pot rooms. Just below this entry is a $5 deduction "for getting drunk." Morrison received his pay of $74.42 (minus debits) on 14 July, signing with his mark, "X." Perhaps it was a moral stand—this was during the zeal of the temperance movement and Fred Smith, according to his obituary, was the first merchant to discontinue the sale of liquor in his store. Or it could have been that Morrison was drunk on the job. For the important steps of preparing the materials for mixing and making the pots, a sober man was needed, sure on his feet and steady of hand.

A list of some other jobs at which the men worked and the wages for each illustrate the many tasks necessary to produce the glass.

Other tasks included sawing and splitting wood, making melts, flattening, and tending kiln and glass blowing.

Pay for each glass blower was listed by month and work hours varied from month to month. In 1836 glassblower Charles Hirsch earned $56.00 for April, $53.12 for May, and $68.31 for June. In March of that year E. Vosburgh earned $39.88 and in February, $46.62. Hirsch earned only $21.37 for blowing in March, considerably less than his earnings for the following three months; while it was obviously the highest paying job, earnings from glassblowing depended on time on the job or other factors.[63] Glass blowing had traditionally been a craft passed on from father to son, with the formulas for processing the metal kept secret. Apprenticeships usually lasted seven years. It was hard work, one author describing the glassmaker as "sweating half-naked in front of a furnace with a hot and heavy cylinder at the end of his blow-pipe."[64] He must be

ready to be called at any time of day or night according to when the metal was ready to blow.

Glass Company Houses

Experienced glass workers moved often, responding either to the availability of fuel or the lure of better contracts. In order to persuade the much sought after workers to come to a particular location it was usually necessary to provide them with living accommodations and, often, moving expenses. The contract that blower Francis Hirsch had signed while working at Chelmsford Glassworks called for the proprietors to furnish a house for each blower, or allow $6.00 per quarter to those who did not require one. The Loomis and Smith pay list shows rents deducted for some of the workers, usually of $2.50 or $3.00 per month. In a plan found filed in John Johnson's original papers and entitled "Champlain St North of Glass factory," two houses on that street are identified as belonging to Francis Hirsch. One may have been a rooming house for the workers. This plan, probably for insurance purposes, contains information on the size and value of contents of the houses and barns, with Hirsch's barn noted as "well finished and painted,"[65] reflecting most likely the relative prosperity his blower's wages earned.

Company houses still stand on George Street, Burlington.

Real estate development proceeded at a more rapid pace in the north end of Burlington because of the glass company. Land was purchased and houses built so that the workers could live near the glass factory. The Burlington map of 1839 identifies the area west and north of Champlain Street as "Glassville."[66] George and Charles Streets were laid out. Under contract with the town, Fred Smith was responsible for the laying out of Battery Street north of Pearl in 1842, Front Street, and several other streets in that vicinity. About 1835 the company built several small brick houses on George Street for its workers and the houses are still standing. Also standing is the house at the northeast corner of Park and Sherman Streets (formerly Smith's Lane) that Smith built around 1840. In 1836 he had married Mary Curtis Foote from St. Albans and they had started their family, eventually to number five children. Family members remember that there was an orchard in the yard between the family house and the house that the Smith's son later built further down the street. Another company house remarkable for the carved fanlight in the gable can still be seen at 18 Park Street, across from present day Battery Park.

John Peck and James Dean vs. Champlain Glass Company

The glass company's debt to Peck and Dean from 1831, which had been secured with a mortgage on the company's property, had not been paid as promised (except for a portion the first year). Thus, in December, 1835, the two men filed a complaint at Chittenden County Superior Court alleging that "the Champlain Glass Company combining and confederating to and with divers persons at present to your orators (Peck and Dean) unknown . . . do pretend and give out in speeches that (the company) did not owe . . . the money specified in the promissory notes." Peck and Dean alleged further that when the "Company with their confidantes admit that said Company was indebted to Peck and Dean . . . they pretend that said notes were well and truly paid according to their time and effect and that said mortgage was long since cancelled and discharged." Champlain Glass did not appear or make any answer or defense to the charges so the court decreed at the following session in January, 1836, that Peck and Dean were to be paid a total of $4,153.30 plus court costs by January 12 of the following year or Champlain Glass would be foreclosed, which is what happened. Peck and Dean received title to the company "free and clear."[67]

In February of 1838 Smith, with his new partner twenty-nine year-old William H. Wilkins, Jr., a freight forwarder at the lake and former Champlain Transportation Company steamer captain, bought John Peck's half interest in the glass company for $3,000 with Peck holding

the mortgage plus additional acreage in the area, to be followed a year later by the purchase for the same amount of the remaining (James Dean's) half of the glass factory.[68] Just before this final purchase, the glass factory, now under the legal name Smith and Wilkins Company, suffered yet another fire. Reporting on plans to rebuild, the *Burlington Free Press* on December 28, 1838, referred to the improvements the proprietors had made in that part of town: "Already a number of rickety and combustible shanties connected with the factory have given place to substantial brick & stone enclosures and we learn that it is their intention to extend this reform throughout."[69]

The Glass Company Continues

The Burlington glass works continued with Frederick Smith at the helm. He took on new partners, reflected in the changing corporate names of the company as associates came and went, though they continued to do business as Champlain Glass. One of his descendants, Levi Smith of Burlington, described him as "a fighter. His partners got scared and ran away when the bottom dropped out of their business."[70] Levi Smith also recalled that Fred had a hard time with a gang of tough laborers brought in from the outside in the early years. Fires, financial panics such as the disastrous one of 1837, competition, labor problems—these all tested the resolve of Smith and his glass manufacturing partners.

By 1840 the company seemed to be enjoying success. In the census that year it reported $15,000 capital with forty employees producing $30,000 worth of glass, one of only three businesses in Burlington producing significant products for out of state markets.[71] An additional piece of property, the 225-acre Walker farm in Williston and Burlington in the vicinity of Muddy Brook had been purchased the year before for $6,000, with a down-payment of $500 and a five-year mortgage. The farm became known by the name of the "Glass Factory Farm" and was evidently a source of the much needed wood for fuel, because two years later Smith and Wilkins leased "a Saw Mill, Mill Yard together with all tools and machinery of said mill . . . on Muddy Brook." Perhaps to finance the farm purchase and other company operation costs, Smith and Wilkins sold lots near the glass works to no fewer than fourteen glass company employees in 1839 and 1840, at least one of the lots being "the same place as (the worker) now resides," with mortgage notes taken back on most of them. They and two partners also sold to the town of Burlington nine acres at Water and Pearl Streets for $400, establishing what is today Battery Park, with the important proviso that it be "used, held, enjoyed and improved as a public Common and highway forever and for no other purpose."[72]

Agents in Chicago and elsewhere distributed and sold Champlain glass, suggesting a large western trade. An important improvement in 1841 enabled freight to travel without handling all the way through to New York City and to the west, thus reducing loss by breakage and saving shipping time. That year the Merchants' Line was established by the Burlington wholesale firm of Follett & Bradley. This line pioneered a development in canal boats. Built like sloops, the new boats could sail to Whitehall where the mast and sail could be taken out so the boats could continue through the Champlain Canal and on to New York City by steam tow boats. Smith and Wilkins established their own line of these cargo carrying "long boats," the "New York and Canada Line," which carried on a good business until the railroads forced it to cease.[73] One of the glass company's account books contains records of tickets being sold, presumably on this line. The ledger book for 1847–1848 shows that glass was being shipped on consignment to stores in Canada and locations in several states besides Vermont: Salem, Northampton, Pittsfield, and Concord in Massachusetts; Hartford and New Haven in Connecticut; New York City (several dealers), Buffalo, Troy, and cities across the lake in New York State and Portland and Bangor in Maine.[74]

The 1844 price list from Smith & Wilkins showed the current wholesale prices of Burlington window glass and the three most common sizes: 6- by 8-inch, which ranged in price from $2.75 for the better grade "Burlington Extra" to $1.50 for "Lake," each box containing 150 lights; 7- by 9-inch, $3.00 to $1.75 for a box of 114 lights; and 8- by 10-inch, $3.00 to $1.75 for a box of 90 lights. Thirty-two additional sizes were available, larger and more expensive, the largest size being 24- by 18-inch. The price was per box of fifty feet of glass and payment terms were four months. At this wholesale level a penny could buy a 6- by 8-inch pane of glass.[75]

In 1846 Smith and Wilkins made the major decision to move the company to St. Johns, Canada, the busy customs house port at the northern end of navigation from Lake Champlain with train connections to Montreal. In an agreement dated August 1, 1846, they entered into an equal partnership with four other parties (two from St. Johns and two from Montreal) for the term of five years, the purpose of which was "carrying on business at St. Johns CE [Canada East] of Manufacturing Glass, trading in Merchandize, or any other business . . . for the advantage of said company." They each put in the sum of £1,000, equal to $4,000, giving them working capital of $20,000, with which the partners agreed to purchase from the former Smith and Wilkins Company "all their Real Estate, Tools, Horses, Waggons, etc." for $15,000, and also all their stock of materials on hand, "Soda Ash, Wood, Clay etc. at their cash

value or actual cost." The glass was to be manufactured under the name and firm of Smith Wilkins and Co. and Fred Smith was to be manager, "devoting his whole time and attention to the business" at an annual salary of $1,200. Another partner, Charles Seymour, would manage the store. Smith had apparently moved to St. Johns, as the Canadian town was listed as his residence, and his only son, Charles, was born there the following March. William Wilkins remained in Burlington.[76]

A major reason the Burlington glass company decided to move north may have been the availability of wood for fuel. In 1843 the Chambly Canal had been built around the twelve miles of rapids on the Richelieu River just above St. Johns, allowing a "seemingly endless outpouring of logs"[77] to come from the Canadian forests, whereas in Vermont that same year the local lumber resources were considered exhausted. When the company sold the "Glass Factory Farm" in Williston to Samuel Brownell at the end of 1846 the purchase price was $3,500, or $2,500 less than the company had paid for it seven years before. Perhaps this was because all the wood, now more valuable and scarce than ever, had been logged off the property.[78]

In Burlington the company took on another partner, Ralph Landon, a twenty-nine year-old merchant who was manager of the company store and co-owner with Smith of much land in the north end of town. The Smith Wilkins & Landon ledger of 1848 is a fascinating source of information about business and company life. The ledger illustrates the role of the company store in the everyday buying and selling of local commodities and the barter system at work. The store purchased lumber, salt, pork, salmon, muslin, ashes, corn, wood, lime and other items. Glass company employees bought goods on credit and paid for them by work. One transaction reveals that Jacob Lagrange paid for meal, corn and postage "by blowing."[79]

As the year 1848 progressed, however, it appeared that the company store, and possibly the glass company itself, were closing up business. In a notice dated June 15, Ralph Landon & Co. announced in the *Free Press* a "Business Removal—The Subscribers have removed their Goods from the Store lately occupied by them near the Glass Factory" to the former Follett store at the head of Champlain Wharf. The list of stock "a greater variety than at any other store in the vicinity" does not include glass. Another *Free Press* advertisement dated April 2 that year announced that Hervey Burnett, employee at the glass company, was going into business for himself—"opening of Glaziers Shop!!" The last ad found from J. H. Peck for the sale of Champlain glass was for 2,000 boxes of glass in the various grades on April 1, 1848.[80]

The company ledgers and record books indicate accounts being set-

tled, closed or transferred. The glass workers numbered about a dozen as judged by the accounts at the company store, and the amount of credit the men earned by work dwindled, especially for the glass blowers. Some of the same men from the 1835 pay list appear still working at their trade. The last entry for the glass workers as a group is June, 1848, when the store closed. Listed are F. Hirsch, Jac. Lagrange, Jn. Marks, S. H. Baker, B. Shattuck, A. Baty (all blowers), and L. Manning, G. H. Bostwick, Angelo Wicker, R. Lillie, L. Wagner, and Joel Lund. Another ledger shows a flurry of activity in 1848 as whole pages of debts and credits are recorded covering transactions from June through October 1, 1848 when the final tally shows a $5,260.51 credit "By Balance on settlement to date." After a few more minor entries the account is ended with the January 4, 1849 entry: "By Balance to Seymour & Co. a/c transferred—Credit $1,054.11." Charles Seymour was the partner designated to run the St. Johns company store.[81]

Whatever hopes Smith and Wilkins had for the new partnership in Canada seem not to have worked out. Land records do not show the sale of the glassworks real estate, except for the farm, and, by 1849, Fred was back in Burlington. The story passed down, according to a Smith descendent, was that one of the partners "absconded with the cash."[82] Another explanation could lie in the fact that the town of St. Johns was about to be bypassed as the premier entry into Canada by the coming of the railroads and the choice of Rouses Point on the lake near the border as the connecting railroad and steamboat terminal for Montreal-bound traffic. Historic St. Johns became a "ghost port" when the first train came through from New York in 1850, resulting in financial ruin for one of Smith and Wilkins' Canadian partners, Jason Pierce, a prominent and well-respected St. Johns businessman who, to his distress, correctly foresaw his previously thriving business as a forwarder there disappear overnight.[83]

The U.S. Industrial Census for Vermont for 1850, which included names of corporations, companies or industries producing articles to the annual value of $500 or more, does not include the Champlain Glass Company or any glass making concern in the area.[84] There are, however, thirteen individuals, including Smith, in the 1850 Population Census of Burlington who listed their occupation as related to glass making, including blowing (five), cutting, and flattening. Most of these names appeared on the glass company ledger book in 1848, though a glass blower from that list gives his employment as a mason in 1850. Another former glass cutter lists his occupation as "none" (unusual because most of the time the space would have been left blank), and there is no mention of the numerous Hirsch glass-blowing family. Seven of the thirteen glass men listed in the census were property owners, not common at

that time, indicating the high wages and economic status of glass craftsmen. Fred Smith listed his occupation as manufacturing glass and his worth in real estate as $10,000.[85]

By 1850 the glass company had gone out of business. Certainly the dwindling supply of wood was a major factor. Coal was now available and more economical, and the glass industry strengthened in the Pennsylvania area. Those glass manufacturers were also nearer to the market centers and the expanding West, which made it almost impossible for the Vermont company to compete pricewise. The lake advantage was gone and the era of the railroads had dawned. For the glass manufacturers the coup de grace was the downward trend of tariff duties in the 1840s, which resulted in cheaper imported glass flowing into the country again. European glass could be purchased for less than it cost the local manufacturer to produce.[86]

According to family sources, Fred lost a lot of money and had a "tough time paying off his debtors."[87] His mortgage for the glass factory property to John Peck, who himself had gone bankrupt, was finally paid off in 1855. Small consolation for him, but Fred Smith was only another example of the continuing struggle for success of American glass manufacturers. Citing examples in various locations, one author has stated, "Almost every effort to create a full-fledged glass industry in the United States seemed doomed to failure" until the successful reorganization of the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company in 1883.[88]

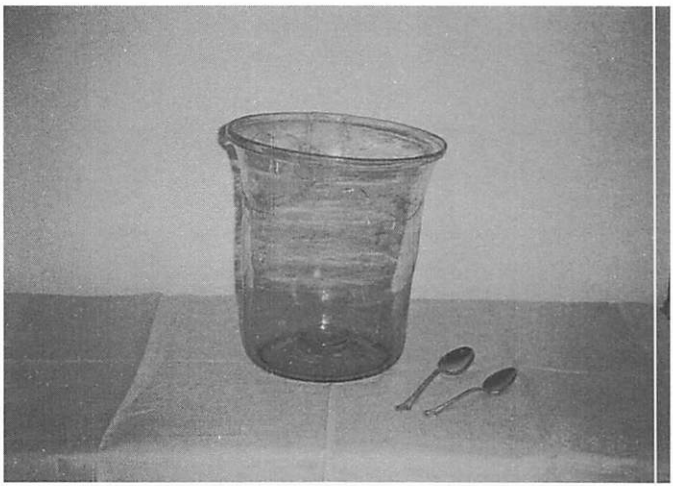
Fred, thirty-eight years old in 1850, became involved in other projects. He was one of the founders of the Burlington Aqueduct Company and, in 1852, became a leader and managing director in a stock company that raised money for the establishment of the Pioneer Mechanics Shop, a large building on the waterfront that provided space for a variety of manufacturers. Because Fred had seen the results of high unemployment when a major employer like the glass company goes out of business and takes other businesses with it, he worked to provide for diversified industries in Burlington. But this venture did not work out financially for him either and in June of 1856 all the numerous plots of land that he and Ralph Landon owned in the north end of Burlington near the glass factory were sold at public auction.[89] Fred went into the lumber, feed and grain businesses, joined eventually by his son, Charles P. Smith. He retired in 1867 and lived on in his house on North Battery (now Park) Street, giving counsel to Charles as the young man entered the Burlington banking community. Fred died in 1892 in his eightieth year.[90]

No evidence of the actual glass factory works, its furnace or related buildings, remains today. The company that was hailed as the most ex-

The only known picture of Champlain Glass Company proprietor Fred Smith, this undated photo was taken in front of his home on Water Street, Burlington. Fred is the elderly, bewhiskered gentleman in a top hat standing behind the fence. Courtesy Sybil and Levi Smith.

tensive manufacturing enterprise in the area upon its founding was gone, despite the "enterprising, diligent, temperate, hopeful" efforts of the men who were behind it. An era was over.

Only a few pieces of offhand glass attributed to Champlain Glass remain extant today. One is a wide-brimmed bowl, probably used as a milk pan, in the private collection of a Burlington resident. A similar bowl was given to the Fleming Museum in 1955 by a descendant of an original glass company worker, Robert Marks, who said it had been passed down in the family but this bowl no longer remains in the Museum's possession. It was described as "a large (dia.13″ ht 6″) bowl in greenish blue glass, one of the first products of the Champlain Glass Works."[91] A piece of "frit," or partially fused glass, of a sea green color is in the possession of Lilian Baker Carlisle, and the Shelburne Museum owns a rimmed glass bowl attributed to the local company. It appears that the



Fruit jar, milk pan, and glass frit, of greenish blue colored glass, Champlain Glass Company. These are rare examples of the "offhand" pieces blown from leftover window glass by the workers for their use or to give as gifts. Private collections.

last surviving piece of Champlain glass in the Smith family is a large jar (probably for fruit), approximately 18 inches high, of plain design with a rimmed edge, unfortunately broken at some earlier time as it was taken from a shelf and now patched together. It is owned by Dorothea Smith Hanna, granddaughter of C. P. Smith, Fred's son. Mrs. Hanna has confirmed that it is her understanding that Champlain Glass did not make much tableware.[92] Though it is difficult to prove the origin of old glass pieces, a check with several leading New England museums and the Corning Museum of Glass confirmed that they have no known examples of Champlain glass.

NOTES

[1] John M. Weeks, *History of Salisbury, VT. 1860* (Middlebury: A.H. Copeland, 1860), 202. The reference is to Henry Schoolcraft, Superintendent of the early Vermont Glass Factory in Salisbury, Vermont.

[2] This project had its origins as a class paper I wrote in 1993 as part of the Historic Preservation program at the University of Vermont with Professor Thomas Visser. At that time my mother, Lilian Baker Carlisle, shared information that she had collected on the Champlain Glass Company, including material from David Blow, which helped me begin the project. I thank my mother and David Blow for help and encouragement. Thanks also to my husband, James Inman, for his technical assistance.

[3] *Laws of Vermont (1827)* Act 43, sections 1–9, 78–80.

[4] Warner McLaughlin, "Glassmaking in the Champlain Valley and Northern New York," *Vermont Quarterly* (January 1946): 8.

[5] W. S. Rann, *History of Chittenden County, Vermont* (Syracuse: D. Mason & Co., 1886), 419.

[6] *Burlington Free Press*, 20 January 1849. Dean obituary.

[7] Abby Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, vol. 2 (Burlington, Vt: A. M. Hemenway, 1867), 693.

[8] Helen McKearin and Kenneth M. Wilson, *American Bottles & Flasks and Their Ancestry* (New York: Crown, 1978), 52. Also see Kenneth M. Wilson, *New England Glass and Glassmaking* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1972), 84.

[9] Clinton County Historical Association, *REFLECTIONS—The Story of Redford Glass* (Plattsburgh, 1979), 8. Redwood Glass Company Papers, Jefferson County Historical Society, Watertown, N.Y.

[10] Abby Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, vol. 1 (1867) 669.

[11] "Smith Family," *Life*, 1966.

[12] *Burlington Free Press*, 28 January 1892. Smith obituary.

[13] Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Almanac of American History* (New York: Bramhall, 1986), 216.

[14] Kenneth M. Wilson, *Glass in New England* (Sturbridge: Old Sturbridge Inc., 1969), 3.

[15] McKearin and Wilson, *American Bottles & Flasks*, 9. Also see Edward Hazen, *The Panorama of Professions and Trades; or Everyman's Book* (Philadelphia: Uriah Hunt, 1837), 241–242.

[16] Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont, Natural, Civil and Statistical in Three Parts, with a Map of the State and 200 Engravings* (Burlington: Goodrich, 1842), 38.

[17] Many years later Judge Torry Englesby Wales recollected that as a child in 1829 he had visited Burlington to see the steamboats when "my father had occasion to come to Burlington with a load of salts and potash for the glass works." *Burlington Free Press*, 18 May 1899. Also see Rann, *History of Chittenden County*, 309.

[18] Charles A. Young, *Travels in North America During the Years 1834, 1835, & 1836* (New York: Harper, 1837), 3.

[19] Lura W. Watkins, *American Glass and Glassmaking* (Southampton, N.Y.: Cracker Barrel Press, n.d.), 10.

[20] Hazen, *Panorama of Professions*, 241.

[21] McKearin and Wilson, *American Bottles & Flasks*, 7. Also see Hazen, *Panorama of Professions* 242–243.

[22] Wilson, *New England Glass and Glassmaking*, 86; Champlain Glass Company Pay List 1835, Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library, Burlington, Vt. See also Hirsch family papers at Chelmsford (Mass.) Historical Society.

[23] Lilian B. Carlisle, editor, *Look Around Burlington, Vermont* (Burlington: Chittenden County Historical Society, 1972), 8.

[24] Burlington Land Records, 19 May 1827, vol. 8, 349.

[25] Burlington Land Records, 23 April 1827, vol. 8, 347–348; 31 May 1827, vol. 8, 354–355; 7 November 1827, vol. 8, 426.

[26] Ammi B. Young, 1830 Plan of Burlington Village, Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library.

[27] John Johnson, John Johnson Papers, Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library. The map of the glass factory site is undated but must be 1839 or later because it identifies Smith & Wilkins as owners.

[28] Ibid.

[29] *Burlington Free Press*, 14 September 1827.

[30] *Burlington Free Press*, 2 November 1827.

[31] *Northern Sentinel*, 16 November 1827.

[32] *Burlington Free Press*, 15 August 1828.

[33] "Wholesale Prices Current of Burlington Window Glass," 1 August 1844, Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library.

[34] Carlisle, *Look Around Burlington*, 8.

[35] *Burlington Free Press*, 8 May 1835.

[36] S. Hayes, "Fifty Years Ago," *Burlington Free Press*, 6 October 1887.

[37] Levi Smith, telephone interview by author, 15 October 1993.

[38] "Old Burlington," *Burlington Free Press*, 7 June 1919.

[39] *Burlington Free Press*, 2 October 1828.

[40] *Burlington Free Press*, 2 October 1829.

[41] *Burlington Free Press*, 15 May 1829.

[42] *Burlington Free Press*, 19 June 1829.

[43] Rann, *History of Chittenden County*, 445.

[44] Burlington Land Records, 18 January 1831, vol. 10, 61–62 refers to Colchester Land Records, 13 January 1830; 28 January 1830, vol. 10, 61–62; 13 August 1830, vol. 10, 29; 30 August 1830, vol. 10, 21.

[45] Burlington Land Records, 8 January 1833 (received for record), vol. 10, 61–62.

[46] Clinton County Historical Association, *Reflections—The Story of Redford Glass* (Plattsburgh, 1979), 7–8; Burlington Land Records, 7 March 1831, vol. 10, 90–91.

[47] *Burlington Free Press*, 27 May 1831.

[48] *Burlington Free Press*, 26 August 1831.

[49] *Burlington Free Press*, 28 January 1892. Smith obituary.

[50] Frederick Smith, letter to Linsley and Chipman, 15 March 1832, Linsley Papers, Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, Vt.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Frederick Smith, letter to Linsley and Chipman, 3 April 1832. Linsley Papers, Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, Vt.

[53] Elijah Burroughs, letter to Linsley and Chipman, 3 April 1832, Linsley Papers, Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, Vt.; Champlain Glass Company Papers, Stock Certificate Number One. Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library.

The next year Long moved on to the Lake Dunmore Glass Company where he stayed until his death in 1841 of a lung ailment, an occupational hazard of glass blowing. (Redwood Glass Company newspaper article reprinted from *Watertown Times*, 1963. Jefferson County Historical Society, Watertown, N.Y.)

[54] Clinton County Historical Association, *REFLECTIONS*, 7; *Burlington Free Press*, 26 April 1833.

[55] Frederick Smith, letter to Jemima Smith, 27 January 1834, Smith Papers at residence of Levi and Sybil Smith, Burlington, Vt.

[56] Frederick Smith, letter to Jemima Smith, 14 January 1835, Smith Papers at residence of Levi and Sybil Smith, Burlington, Vt.

[57] Frederick Smith, undated expense sheet, Smith Papers at residence of Levi and Sybil Smith, Burlington, Vt.

[58] Jemima Smith, letter to Frederick Smith from Clarkson, N.Y., 9 April 1835, Smith Papers at residence of Levi and Sybil Smith, Burlington, Vt.

[59] Rann, *History of Chittenden County*, 462.

[60] Hazen, *Panorama of Professions*, 245.

[61] McLaughlin, "Glassmaking," 10.

[62] Champlain Glass Company Papers, Pay List. No. 1. Loomis Smith & Co., Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library; D. R. Guttery, *From Broad-Glass to Cut Crystal* (London: Leonard Hill, 1956), 37.

[63] Champlain Glass Company Papers, Pay List. No. 1.

[64] Guttery, *From Broad-Glass*, 23.

[65] Wilson, *New England Glass and Glassmaking*, 87; John Johnson, Johnson Papers.

[66] John Johnson, 1839 Map of Burlington, Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library.

[67] John Peck and James Dean v. Champlain Glass Company, Vt. Chit. Sup. Ct. Box 8. 7 January 1836.

[68] Burlington Land Records, 24 February 1838, vol. 13, 441–443; 15 January 1839, vol. 14, 115–116.

[69] *Burlington Free Press*, 28 December 1838.

[70] Levi Smith Sr., interview by Lorraine Dwyer, Burlington, 1948, in file of Lilian Baker Carlisle.

[71] The U.S. Census of 1840, tabulated for Burlington appears in T. D. Seymour Bassett, *Urban Penetration of Rural Vermont, 1840–1880* (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1952), 44.

[72] Burlington Land Records, 5 March 1839, vol. 14, 169–170; 24 November 1841, vol. 15, 357; 1 April 1840, vol. 14, 503–507; 17 April 1840, vol. 14, 535.

[73] Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, vol 1. 684, also 844.

[74] Champlain Glass Company Papers, Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library.

[75] "Wholesale Prices Current of Burlington Window Glass," 1 August 1844, Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library.

[76] Frederick Smith Papers, Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library; Nathan Daboll, *Schoolmaster's Assistant* (Ithaca, NY, 1841), 85. One pound Canadian currency equaled four dollars Federal money according to Daboll's arithmetic book.

[77] Ralph N. Hill, *Lake Champlain: Key to Liberty* (Woodstock: The Countryman Press, 1976), 233.

[78] Peter Smith, "Burlington, Vermont 1791–1848. A Study of Economic Development and Social Change in a Community" (Ph.D. diss. Princeton University, 1968); Burlington Land Records, 22 December 1846, vol. 18, 319.

[79] Champlain Glass Company Papers, Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library.

[80] *Burlington Free Press*, 23 June 1848; 2 June 1848; 1 April 1848.

[81] Champlain Glass Company Papers, Smith, Wilkins & Landon ledger, Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library.

[82] Dorothea Smith Hanna, telephone interview by the author, 14 November 1993.

[83] Ralph N. Hill, *Lake Champlain*, 225. Jason Pierce's health deteriorated rapidly as he contemplated the decline of St. Johns and he died on September 6, 1851, the same day that the steamboat to Whitehall departed for the last time from St. Johns.

[84] 1850 U.S. Industrial Census, Microfilm, Bailey-Howe Library. *Walton's Vermont Register and Farmers' Almanac* (Montpelier: E. P. Walton & Sons, 1842–1851) lists Champlain Glass Company in its 1850 edition but the register was an annual commercial publication printed and for sale the previous year. The offices of the Vermont Secretary of State and the Burlington City Clerk have no records about the closing of the company.

[85] 1850 U.S. Population Census, Chittenden County, Vermont. Microfilm, Bailey-Howe Library. The Census showed that Fred Smith's household consisted of himself and his wife, four children age eight and under, his mother, Jemima Smith, and an eighteen-year-old Irish girl.

[86] Wilson, *New England Glass*, 91.

[87] Levi Smith Sr. interview by Lorraine Dwyer.

[88] Burlington Land Records, 12 May 1855, vol. 13, 443; Donald E. Cooke, *Marvels of American Industry* (Maplewood, N.J.: Hammond, 1962), 54.

[89] Burlington Land Records, 7 June 1856, vol. 25, 494–495.

[90] *Burlington Free Press*, 28 January 1892, Smith obituary; Dorothea Smith Hanna interview by author, 14 November 1993.

[91] Alan Gowins, letter to Corning Museum of Glass, 1955, Fleming Museum, Burlington, Vt.

[92] Hanna interview by author.

"Tell us all the news": Letters from Peacham Vermont at Mid-Nineteenth Century

As members of rural Vermont farm families scattered across the country, they received letters from home recounting daily activities, giving these wanderers a reminder of their past life.

By LYNN A. BONFIELD WITH MARY C. MORRISON

From her Peacham dooryard, Roxana Brown Walbridge Watts waved goodbye from 1840 to 1862 to her children headed west as part of the great migration.[1] In 1840, the year that she, a widow with six children, married Lyman Watts, a widower with two children, and moved to his Peacham farm high on East Hill, her eldest child Martha married and moved west to Michigan with her husband. The household on East Hill was thus intimately touched by the westward emigration that profoundly affected family life for Roxana and for many Vermonters.

Founded in 1776 as settlers moved up the Connecticut River, Peacham attracted families from southern New England looking for cheap farm land. In 1794 the Congregational church was established. Its first minister, Leonard Worcester, preached faithfully for almost forty years, providing a long reign of stability in the institution that "exercised far-reaching sway," as Peacham historian Ernest Bogart records.[2] In addition to the church, the county grammar school, known as the Peacham Academy, was chartered before the turn of the nineteenth century; its first principals all had college degrees and its president and trustees represented the most prominent local men. For Peacham, the church and school were the backbone of family life. For Roxana, these two institutions were central to her religious conviction and her belief in education for her children.

In 1840, when at age thirty-eight Roxana returned to Peacham, her birthplace, after almost twenty years in Wolcott where her first husband, Daniel Walbridge, farmed and died, she found a town larger by 149 inhabitants than when she left. Peacham had grown to 1,443, which was to be its population peak. Just as changes were taking place in Roxana's life, Peacham too was experiencing change. Its population began declining through the nineteenth century as family, friends, neighbors, and acquaintances packed up and moved west to seek their fortune or improve their future prospects.

Martha's departure in 1840 marked the first time Roxana bid farewell to a departing daughter or son. By her death in 1862, she had repeated the scene at the dooryard of the Watts Farm many times, as a total of five of her children moved westward permanently, and the other six stayed at home in varying degrees of restlessness.

In 1853 Martha's younger sisters, Chastina and Clara, left for California, followed in 1855 by Sarah to the "Minesota territory" and Charles to Illinois. Son Lyman moved around the West wherever a teaching job called him, and Dustan and Augustus also made extended stays away in California and Minnesota. Roxana's second brood, her Watts children—Isaac, Alice, and Ella—traveled, attended school away from home, and took jobs temporarily in the West.

With Martha's departure, Roxana began faithfully writing to absent family members. In total, close to five hundred family letters survive—in libraries, historical societies, and private collections—many between Roxana and her children, and after her death, many exchanged among her children, by then grown and widely separated, with families of their own.

At the start, Roxana's letters, penned to Martha in the early 1840s, were stiff, full of spelling errors with almost illegible penmanship. Writing came hard to her at first. She was fortunate to have been raised in Peacham where the school-houses were open to girls, but marriage and the long days of work and child rearing left little time or energy for letter writing, and because neither her mother nor older sister—both living at a distance from Roxana—could read and write, she had little incentive to practice. But when her children reached the age of independence and moved away, Roxana drew on her training from school days. Often she received letters from her children only in response to her own, so she put her mind to regularly penning letters, usually late in the evening after the rest of the family had gone to bed.

Gradually Roxana found her own writing style, as she described the activities of her family, neighbors on East Hill, and town events. She used the common expressions of the people of Peacham, making her letters a source revealing the language of the time. Straightforward facts fla-

Roxana Brown Walbridge Watts (1802–1862) posed beside a stack of books signaling her pride in being literate. Her letters full of community reports are the primary sources for this article. Print from a daguerreotype taken about 1850 in St. Johnsbury, Vt. Courtesy California Historical Society, FN-13869.

vored with simple storytelling became her style, and her children appreciated it. In 1856 she boasted, quoting a letter that Charles had written from Illinois, that "he would give more for one of *Mothers* letters than all the rest he has had from Vt." She continued "dont you think that is *flattering*."[3]

Roxana's special storytelling skill may account for the preservation of these letters; they were read and read again, and sent on to other family members. It is known that many New Englanders wrote letters to their western "friends," the word used for family members, but few of the recipients saved the letters for any length of time. Roxana's wanderers, her children who moved west, saved them all and passed them on from generation to generation.

For Roxana the greatest loss to the westward movement came in the spring of 1855 when the last of her Walbridge daughters, Sarah, left Peacham and moved with her husband, John Way, and two small children to Minnesota. The event was not unexpected, as Sarah and John had sold their Hardwick farm, and John had toured the West picking the best place for his family, but the loss went straight to Roxana's heart: "O Sarah you cant think how lonesome it seems to look up where you lived and not see those little frolicksome Children nor hear their merry laugh as they used to be heard last summer but you are *all gone*." Rather than continue in this vein, Roxana went on to describe the forlorn reaction of their pet dog, left behind: "Dick looked all over the house after you went away and finally went into the parlor bed room where you last changed your clothes and laid down fo[r] some time and we thought he had followed you but we found him there."[4]

It was in the letters to Sarah that Roxana developed the storytelling skill that make them a vivid cultural reflection of the times, a storehouse of information about Peacham activities. Perhaps she was less self-conscious with Sarah than with her more educated daughters, Chastina and Clara, who attended the Peacham Academy and taught school for years. Of the four older girls, Sarah had lived longest in Peacham, and when she left, at twenty-seven, she was mature enough to relate to the stories of competitive neighbors, strained marital relations, and bloody deaths.

The Walbridge and Watts children grew, married, and went west, but the Watts household and Peacham community continued their traditional activities centering around churches, schools, agricultural fairs, national holidays, and other celebrations. For those who had stayed behind in Vermont carrying on the familiar traditions, these social encounters brought pleasure and a welcome relief from the drudgery and isolation of their daily work.

When Roxana, and her young daughter Alice, who later took on the role of family scribe, wrote of these special events to the family members who had gone west, their tone varied. Sometimes they wished that distant family members could share "the comforts a kind providence has bestowed on us" and were sorry that they "can not have the priv-

Once she moved to Minnesota, Sarah Walbridge Way (1827–1909) became the recipient of most of her mother's letters. This portrait taken in 1849 probably accompanied her husband on his trip to the California gold mines. Author's collection.

elege of society." Sometimes they expressed the hope that the wanderers might decide to return to Vermont so they could all "have the privilege of talking instead of writing." Sometimes Roxana expressed alarm

that "every boddy is *bewitched* to sell out and go west but I think we are as well of[f] to stay where we have a good home and enough to make us comfortable."[5] At other times the two writers seemed intent on simply giving a taste of Vermont to those gone away.

Education

With good education uppermost in the minds of the early Peacham settlers, more than twelve district schools providing elementary education to both girls and boys had been established by the mid-nineteenth century. Roxana's interest in the schools was high at this time as her three younger children, born between 1842 and 1847, attended the East Part district school, located almost directly across the road from the family farm. Hardly a letter went west that Roxana did not mention which of her children were going to school, so strong was her commitment to the benefits of education. Occasionally she would mention the teacher who often boarded at the Watts Farm. In July 1855 Roxana reported to Sarah: "Our school does not seem to amount to much the teacher is sick almost all the time she did not keep at all last week and but one day and half this week rather small potatoes."[6]

Adults also formed their own groups for education and entertainment. Singing schools—in 1860 Alice noted three singing schools in town each week during the winter—art classes—in 1849 sister Chastina attended classes at the Corner—and the weekly Sabbath schools were all common in Peacham at mid-century.

Most winters a series of lectures was delivered in Peacham by noted inventors, professors, or philosophers. In 1856 prominent local men were asked to speak, among them the oldest son of the family, twenty-four-year-old Lyman. Roxana, obviously pleased, wrote Sarah in March: "He delivered a lecture at the Academy . . . it was called the *Second best* that there had been out of a course of 10 that had been delivered by Drs Lawyers Ministers and others His subject was, The young men of our Country."[7] Alice wrote about the same event to their brother Charles in Illinois, noting that the bad weather had prevented the family from going to Lyman's lecture so "last night he read it to us [at home]. We had invited Mr. Way's folks Mark Varnum & Uncle Elijah's [Sargeant] folks, so we had quite a lecture. After it was over, Mark broke the silence with '*That's first rate.*'"[8]

Possibly as part of this 1856 lecture series, William Mattocks, a lawyer and son of former Vermont governor John Mattocks, spoke out against the great western migration that many families were experiencing. Roxana reported: "Mr Mattocks has been here this month he gives his opinoon that there are many gone west who had better staid here . . .

he has sold out at Kenosha [Wisconsin] and some think he will return East again."[9] Debate was ongoing in all Vermont towns in the 1840s and 1850s between those who planned to stay and those who prepared to leave.

Spelling school was a community event that all ages enjoyed. Each town in northern Vermont set aside at least one evening a year when the pupils of the district schools spelled against each other. The first step took place in the district schools as scholars rehearsed the event among themselves. At the end of 1857, Roxana wrote to her daughter Clara in San Francisco to report on Julian, her seven-year-old grandson, who had returned to Peacham that previous summer to be raised by his grandmother after the death of his mother in California: "To day is his birth day and he has had fine times with the Boys at school. They have all gone to Spelling school this evening, he with the rest he said when he went out he wished he could spell the school down and when they get home I will write you the result."[10] (No postscript is attached.)

A spelling school in nearby Barnet a few years later attracted between one and two hundred people and was written up in the local newspaper, *The Caledonian,* naming the best school and the individual winners (all girls).[11]

Work and Agricultural Fairs

Farm life required a demanding schedule that had to be followed seven days a week, fifty-two weeks a year. Each season brought special tasks in addition to the rigorous daily routine. A dozen or so families lived on East Hill, all farming through each long day. Only active farmers lived up on the hill; professional men or retired farmers, who had made good on the sale of their farm, lived two miles west at Peacham Corner, where the church and Academy stood. Farm couples like Lyman and Roxana were dog-tired after a day of constant physical work. In 1861, a year before she died at age sixty, Roxana expressed this to Sarah: "I think some times that I am almost used up with hard work and seems as if I ought to rest a little but there is just as much to do as ever and I dont see any place to *Shirk.*"[12]

For those working on farms, sometimes success was measured and satisfaction described through listing in letters or diaries measurable amounts produced. In the years between 1856 and 1860, for instance, Roxana noted in her letters: 300 pounds of sugar made; 500 pounds of butter sold; 440 bushels of potatoes grown; 40 bushels of apples picked (a poor year); 12 cheeses made; 12 gallons of preserves made, "some Raspberries, some plumbs but mainly blackberies."[13]

A sense of accomplishment also came through participating in agricultural fairs. In September some farmers geared themselves up for the

annual Caledonia County Agricultural Fair, although there is no mention that Roxana or Lyman participated either in the competitions or the judging. But in 1856, when the farmers of the western towns in Caledonia County—Barnet, Cabot, Danville, Groton, Ryegate, and Peacham—started their own "People's Fair," Roxana described the excitement to Martha's family in Michigan: "The display of oxen was verry large there were 251 yoke of oxen besides 2 and 3 years old steers in abundance." By this time most farmers had begun using horses rather than oxen, but in this period of transition good oxen continued to be valued. With a note of pride Roxana concluded: "We gave a dinner to more than 2000 people free of any expense to those who ate. We all cooked and carried in victuals we set tables in the two vestrys to the meeting houses there was room for 350 to sit at once and the tables were all filled five times and more to[o] but they did not *eat us out clean* for we had a great deal left."[14] The number of people served is one indication of the size of the population in and around Peacham at mid-century.

Each September the Caledonia County Fair attracted large crowds, including Peacham folks, who often won premiums. In 1860 Roxana's neighbor, "Mrs. Jacob Way," was named for "Best hearth rug." Early the next year, the Caledonia County Agricultural Society held its annual meeting in January and again Peacham took the day, winning many prizes, including $3.00 to Jacob Way for "Best acre of wheat, 44 bushels." At the same meeting the Society's Committee on Butter granted $3.00 to David Currier, another East Hill farmer, for the "Largest amount of butter in a dairy of not less than five cows."[15]

Community Holidays

Holidays also provided a time for social gatherings, and the Peacham community took advantage of these days for celebration. The most community-oriented holiday was Independence Day on the Fourth of July, which caused much excitement, especially among the children. It fell just after haying time and most parents could be "teased" into leaving the fields for Harvey's Lake or the Danville Green, the common sites for celebration. As Isaac, Alice, and Ella grew older, they were allowed to go to the celebration by themselves. In 1855 Roxana described that event to Sarah: "We all staid at home on the 4 except the Children and they all three went out to their uncle Parkers [in Danville] the first time they have ever rode out together the girls wore their blue linen dresses and their new white aprons that you gave them for the first time they have got their Capes done and they are verry pretty and I have got them some poplin dresses and had their Bonnetes trimmed new."[16] Thir-

AGRICULTURAL
EXHIBITION
AND CATTLE FAIR

OF CALEDONIA COUNTY will be holden at Lyndon Corner on Wednesday, 30th September, and at Peacham on the day following.

Farmers, Mechanics, Manufacturers and all others, are respectfully invited to present for examination specimens of their products, industry and skill, their fine cattle, &c. Pens will be provided for such animals as may be present; at Mr Hubbard's tavern at Lyndon, and at Mr Brown's tavern at Peacham, their Hall's will also be appropriated to the reception of domestic and light articles, where it is the request of the Committee, all such articles should be left; and it is hoped the Hall may be adorned with many rare examples of the skill, taste and industry of the ladies of Caledonia. And in addition to this, the ladies are particularly requested to appear personally with their Linen and Woolen wheels. The Committee would be highly gratified to have the common at Lyndon and at Peacham adorned with 300 ladies spinning at one time. It is all in vain for a husbandman to expect to prosper without asking his wife, next his daughters.

The Committee of Arrangement need not remind their friends of the utility of Societies like this, since they are acknowledged to be highly important agents to the promotion of the science of agriculture, of the arts, and of improvements of the breeds of animals; and all those who attended the last annual Fair cannot have forgotten the several objects of interest on the occasion.—Farmers from each town are expected with their long teams of oxen. The Ploughmen will not forget the ploughing Match.

The following named gentlemen appointed Committees, are requested to meet at Hubbard's & Brown's at 9 o'clock, and make arrangements to proceed to the discharge of their respective duties:

COMMITTEES.

ON OXEN.
HAZEN MERRILL,
JOHN CAMERON,
OTIS EVANS,
AMOS KINNE.
STEERS.
R. C. BENTON.
ROBERT LANCE,
WM. GRAY,
THOMAS PIERCE.
WELCOME BEMIS.
COWS AND HEIFERS.
F. E. FULLER.
PETER LAIRD,
JOHN DAMAN,
JUDE KIMBALL,
A. H. COBLEY.
ON BULLS.
I. P. DANA,
WM. WHEELER.

LEONARD HARRIGTON,
ISAAC DENISON,
BENJAMIN WALKER.
ON HORSES.
STEPHEN DOLE,
CLOUD HARVY,
HIEL BRADLEY.
LAMBERT HASTINGS.
ALONZO BEMIS.
ON SHEEP.
ELNATHAN STRONG,
JACOB BLANCHARD,
GEO. W. DENISON,
JAMES WORKS,
ABEL BUTLER.
ON SWINE.
LUTHER CLARK.
ABNER FARRINGTON,
JOHN GILSON,
ELIAS BEMIS,

JOHN PHILLPS.
ON BUTTER & CHEESE.
TIMOTHY FISHER,
E. C. CHAMBERLAIN,
WM. BACHOP,
DANIEL FRENCH,
SEWELL BRADLEY.
PLOUGHS & PLOUGHMEN.
SALMA DAVIS,
THOMAS EASTMAN,
WM. STEWART,
CHARLES ROBERTS,
JOHN NELSON.
FIELD CROPS.
HENRY STEVENS,
SILAS UNDERWOOD,
SIMON BLANCHARD,
ALPHEUS STODDARD,
EZEKIEL CUTLER.

ON FARMS.
E. B. CHASE,
EBEN. EASTMAN,
JOHN CAMRON,
LAMBERT HASTINGS.
DOMESTIC MANUFACTURES.
EPHRAIM PADDOCK
ROBERT HARVEY,
ORA CROSBY,
JOHN BOLTON,
SAMUEL SIAS.
IRON MANUFACTURES.
HUXHAM PADDOCK,
ISAAC HARRINGTON,
SENECA LADD,
GALUSHA BUNDY,
LEONARD W. JONES.
MARSHALS.
SILAS HOUGHTON,
NEHEMIAH BRADLEY.

COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS.

Henry Stevens, Ezekiel Cutler, Isaac Denison, E. B. Chase, John Cameron, F. E. Fuller, Joseph Nickerson, Jacob Blanchard, Stephen Dole, Hiel Bradley.

L. P. PARKS, Secretary.

Barnet. September 14, 1840.

"Agricultural Exhibition and Cattle Fair of Caledonia County," September 1840. Broadside.

teen-year-old Isaac must have been proud as he held the reins for the fourteen-mile trip there and back.

Three years later in 1858, Alice wrote Sarah:

> About the 4th of July . . . The folks at Danville Green got up a "buster of a 4th." Had the Fire Companies from Danville and St. Johnsbury and a Rifle Company of the former place march about and perform their various accomplishments for the amusements of the various spectators. I believe there was a ride to Plainfield and a great celebration. As for my celebration, it was confined to firing a bunch of Crackers [at home].[17]

The major family holiday of the time was Thanksgiving. Until 1870 the exact date of the celebration of the harvest was set by each state. In November 1853 Roxana joked about the date in a letter to Sarah at their Hardwick farm purchased with gold Sarah's husband John Way had mined in California: "[Augustus] thinks the new Governor rather lazy in not having Thanksgiving sooner he wants to come home [from Lyndon where he was a wheelwright apprentice] and is waiting to come then . . . I wish you could be here too for I shall be verry lonesome as it will remind me of the many years you have all been together on that day and now! O can it be that we are so far apart."[18]

Hardly a Thanksgiving went by that Roxana did not note the empty places at the table. In 1857, when Dustan and Augustus were visiting the Ways in Minnesota, she complained to them: "I spent a verry lonely Thanksgiving as there was no one with us but our own family and [cousin] Elizabeth Parker. Well do I remember the many times when you Children have all been at home together and come around the family board But Oh how changed. I cannot dwell upon it for tears blind my eyes and I must stop."[19]

Politics

The Watts family letters mention almost no political themes. This may be due to the fact that most of the letters were written by Roxana, whose main concerns were health, religion, daily life on the farm, and her family's economic survival. In the spring of 1856, worrying over the difficult time Sarah and John Way were having in Minnesota, Roxana expressed her fear that the Ways would move to Kansas, where many New Englanders went to increase the number of residents who would vote for Kansas as a free state: "There is now in many places in new England Clubs forming to go to Kansas I *pitty* them with all my heart when I think of the privations they must suffer in going to that place I hope John will never go there but I have been afraid if he is not satisfied where he is that the next *move* will be there."[20] She must have been well

aware through the local newspaper of the dangers facing the new settlers in Kansas, often called "Bleeding Kansas," but she couched her concern in terms of the suffering her daughter would have to endure if they relocated there.

Before her death in October 1862, Roxana referred only once in her letters to the increased tensions leading to the attack on Fort Sumter. Writing to Sarah in February 1861 about the carriage shop Dustan and Augustus "have hired on Railroad street St Johnsbury," she reported that "since the trouble at the South there does not seem to be so much demand for any thing in their line of buisness as heretofore."[21] Once again she revealed no inkling of the enormity of the situation, seeing political events only in terms of their direct impact on her family.

Roxana was also silent about the national election campaign of 1860, although daughter Alice on election day wrote in her diary: "'Abe' will get it."[22] It would have been hard for Roxana to ignore the celebration once the results were known. *The Caledonian,* with its strong pro-Republican stance, announced "The Glorious Result" in a lengthy article assuring its readers that "the nation has given its verdict, let the people rejoice." In the following issue, the weekly reported on the "jollification generally" in the area. The St. Johnsbury scene was described: "Bonfires were kindled . . . the cannon was fired, the church, school, and court-house bells were rung, private dwellings were illuminated, fireworks were burnt, and everybody hurrahed, making altogether *considerable* noise."[23] Alice must have heard the celebration, for her diary on November 7 reads: "Rejoicing at St. Johnsbury. Light from a bonfire and noise of cannon."[24]

Of Peacham's 186 votes cast that November, Lincoln took 138. This was no surprise in a town described by historian Ernest Bogart as "the birthplace of Oliver and Leonard Johnson, the residence for many years of Thaddeus Stevens, and the home of a vigorous anti-slavery movement."[25]

By the close of the Civil War, Roxana had died, her oldest son, Dustan, wounded at Cold Harbor, lay in his grave in Peacham, and her youngest son, Isaac, returning from the battlefields, took over command of the Watts Farm. East Hill neighbors Elijah and Sylvia Sargeant also lost a son in the war; the name of Elijah W. Sargeant (1842–63) is on the Peacham Soldiers Monument. Other neighbors saw their sons return to the farms in East Peacham weakened and ill, like Asa Sargeant (born 1844), who lost sight in one eye, and Mark Wheeler (born 1839), so changed from months in Andersonville Prison that his mother did not recognize him. Alice noted at the end of her 1863 diary that thirty-four people died in Peacham that year, including eight soldiers, "more mortality in town than since 1811."[26]

Marriage

Men and women in nineteenth-century Vermont assumed they would marry, or as an historian of American courtship stated, "Women and men saw marriage as their destiny." The roles of men in the field and women in the house were central to daily farm life, and most girls and boys in Vermont anticipated marriage and raising children. There were notable examples of girls working in the fields and of men doing housework, but these usually occurred in times of crisis when all hands were needed at all jobs.

By the end of the eighteenth century, marrying for love was the rule, especially in first marriages.[27] In 1821 at age nineteen, Roxana Brown married a man she loved, Daniel Walbridge, who had a farm in Wolcott. When Daniel died fourteen years later, Roxana was left a widow, pregnant, with five older children. Years later, when sympathizing with a woman who had just lost her husband, Roxana wrote remembering her own situation of being widowed at the age of thirty-two: "Tell [her] I know well the loss she has sustained . . . no doubt she feels that the arm on which she leaned is broken and her comforts fled yes and she left alone to mourn for a time yet I trust she looks forward to that day when they shall again be reunited to spend an eternity together."[28]

Roxana's second marriage to Lyman Watts in December 1840 was what might be labeled an arrangement of dignified convenience. There was no official newspaper announcement of the marriage, and no description of the ceremony or mention of anniversaries in letters. This was not the emotional match that Roxana had enjoyed with Daniel, or for that matter, that Lyman probably enjoyed with his first wife, Esther Sargeant, who died in childbirth. The main concern in second marriages was caring for the children, and Roxana was grateful that Lyman took in her children and provided for them. Once children were born from their union, no differentiation was made between step and half children—they were all brother and sister, Roxana was Mother, and Lyman was Father, or Father Watts.

Another concern, for first and second marriages alike, was the economic well-being of the family which was only achieved when husband and wife worked together for the common goal of providing for the family, and, if possible, producing goods to sell. Roxana and Lyman succeeded in this effort, for the Watts Farm became one of the most productive in Peacham at mid-century, free of debt. Community recognition of Lyman's high place among Peacham residents was evident in his serving as lister, selectman, and town representative to the state legislature for a term in 1858.[29]

THE WALBRIDGE/WATTS FAMILY

In 1840 Roxana Brown Walbridge (1802–1862) married Lyman Watts (1801–1875) joining her six children with Lyman's two sons; together they had three:

Martha Walbridge (1822–1846)
Chastina Walbridge (1824–1857)
Sarah Walbridge (1827–1909)
Clara Walbridge (1830–1917)
Lyman S. Watts (1832–1872)
Dustan S. Walbridge (1832–1864)
Charles Watts (1835–1875)
Augustus Walbridge (1835–1881)
Isaac N. Watts (1842–1881)
Alice Watts (1845–1882)
Ella Watts (1847–1915)

In their joint diary, Roxana's second daughter Chastina and her husband Alfred Rix noted the marriage of two classmates on June 5, 1850: "Louisa Martin and Luther Parker = 1."[30] Courtships were watched closely, with many of the older women interested in making matches, often by simply spreading rumors. During their courtship, Louisa and Lute were amused to learn that a neighbor woman watched "to see the candle go out," noting how long it took Lute to leave Louisa's father's house.[31] Roxana's mother, Olive Brown, who spent the last years of her life at the Watts Farm, was also given to match-making, her most persistent topic of conversation.[32]

In 1861 Roxana wrote announcing a marriage in the household of their East Hill neighbors: "Elvira Sargent was married this week to Aaron Wesson . . . [he] is a first rate young man Elijahs folks are all very much pleased with [the] match."[33]

Most often, however, letters and diaries documented the disappointing marriages. In 1859 Roxana wrote to Sarah:

> Perhaps you have not heard of the trouble in *Bill* Mattocks family. They have parted and she with her Children have come back to Peacham. She has got a bill of divorce from him. he has given her between 12 and 15 thousand dollars [earned as a noted lawyer]. the trouble arose from the intimacy with Phebe Brock which has been going on for a long time but his wife was not aware of it and finally he

> got to be so bad that he even compelled her to get a bill [of divorce] he drinks verry hard and is verry reckless he says now that he shall never marry Phebe she has come back to Barnet to her Father despised by every one for breaking up her sisters family.[34]

Roxana told the story of another marriage involving a man she identified as "Uncle Lyman Way," probably a relation to Sarah's husband, John Way. Apparently he had been to Minnesota, claimed land, and returned to Vermont in 1861:

> Uncle Lyman got back safe but not verry *sound* I should think by the appearance of his leg he stayed to Jakes [Jacob Way, a neighbor across the road] about 3 weeks and then one of the boys carried him to Wheelock. his reception was not very cordial after he had been there a little while his wife asked him what was the matter with his *old shin* he told her it was a fever sore. Well said she you may stay long enough for me to cure up your old shin, and then be off she accordingly went to poulticing it and in about 4 weeks he came back all cured so that he has thrashed Jakes oats and helped him get up his wood.

Later Roxana added to the letter: "I talked with him some about his affairs out in Minnesota." It seems Uncle Lyman's brother Smith Way was preparing to write John about going west:

> I dont blame Smith for wanting to go somewhere for I never see a man that has had so hard a time as he has for the last four years. His wife has been sick all the time besides being a *complete thorn in the flesh* I could not begin to tell you one half of the trouble he has had with her, aside from her being sick, if I should write a week but if you ever see Lime he can tell it Smith would mak a good citizen but I should hate to have his wife a neighbour to me.[35]

Here was an implicit warning to her daughter not to encourage Smith and his wife to join them in Minnesota.

It is known that many husbands who decided to move west simply announced the decision. For the most part, wives had to be talked into the move, especially if they were comfortably settled in a Vermont house with young children. It might have been relatively easy for someone like Roxana's eldest daughter Martha, who climbed into the wagon almost immediately after her marriage in 1840 and took her "fixings" with her, fresh and new to Michigan. But for daughter Sarah it was a harder situation. Her husband John Way had a restless spirit—in 1849 he left her pregnant in Peacham when he went to the California gold mines. When he returned with his "pile," he purchased a farm in Hardwick which he sold five years later, preparing to move west in the spring of 1855. Sarah was right to resist these plans, for once in Minnesota, they lived in a log cabin for ten years before John completed the house he promised—he didn't even finish digging the well for two years.[36]

John S. Way (1822–1909) made enough money in the gold fields to buy a good Vermont farm which he sold in order to move his family in 1855 to Minnesota. This portrait was probably taken just before he left for California. Author's collection.

Some husbands went to California alone and found the climate, economy, and prospects so appealing that they decided to stay. They began "inviting" their wives to join them. Often these women had never been more than fifty miles from home, and the idea that they would travel unaccompanied by a man was disturbing. In 1852 when Alfred Rix urged his wife Chastina to bring their two-year-old son Julian to California, she said no. In every letter Alfred listed the good things about San Francisco and once added that "Chester Brown is working away nicely, but says the flat refusal of his wife to come on (which he has just got) has knocked some of his best plans on the head."[37] It is not

known if Chester's wife joined him, but in January 1853, after taking six months to change her "no" to "maybe" to "yes," Chastina left the Watts Farm with Julian and made the trip west. In the end, her sister Clara went with her, agreeing almost immediately when asked, and although Clara toyed with the idea of returning, especially in letters to her mother, she eventually married and permanently made her home in San Francisco. The last view of Roxana the sisters had was her waving goodbye; neither saw their mother again.

Roxana once wrote that "the marriage covenant is in it self a solemn vow that we take upon ourselves we are bound by the laws of God and man to provide for each others needs as long as we both live."[38] Roxana understood that her daughters, Martha, Chastina, Sarah, and Clara, had entered the contract of marriage and thus placed the wishes of mother second to the wishes of husband.

Relations with Neighbors

Although Roxana's letters from the 1850s note the activity of more than one hundred people, she most often mentioned her close neighbors on East Hill. Among these were the Curriers, who lived to the east of the Watts Farm with their four children. In 1855 Roxana's hired girl, Elizabeth, was at the Curriers' when Roxana wrote to Sarah: "Elizabeth has not been here for a[l]most three weeks she has been helping Mrs Currier through her seige of workmen on their barn it was raised last saturday I dont know when she will come back again."[39] Events like barn building kept the whole community busy.

Neighbors helped out, as when daughter Ella had a quilting in the summer of 1858, just before her brother Charles took a neighbor girl "for better or worse."[40] During the quilting, the Curriers entertained Grandmother Olive, for at eighty-eight, Olive tended to demand all of her daughter Roxana's attention. When people came to visit the Watts Farm, Olive feigned illness, or whenever Roxana prepared to leave the house, Olive made a scene that did not end until Roxana rode from the dooryard. So having the Curriers take care of Olive during a social event at the Watts Farm was much appreciated.

Neighbors looked to each other to evaluate new technology. In 1856 Alice wrote to Sarah: "Last week there was a man along putting up lightning rods. Mr Way got one; and Mr Currier 2. One on his House; the other on his new barn."[41] It is strange that in this letter there is no mention of Father Watts purchasing this protection, as his own mother had been killed by lightning in the front yard of her Peacham house in 1813,[42] when her son was only eleven. But then, as Alice knew, her father was frugal and slow to change. Long after his neighbors and his

own children began using kerosene lamps, Lyman Watts "still clings to the old fashioned *tallow dips*."[43]

When new neighbors moved in, there was a period of getting acquainted. In 1853 Jacob and Sophia Way and their children moved to the elegant brick house north of the Watts Farm on East Hill. From the letters it seems as if a friendly rivalry, or at least a watchful comparison, existed between the two households.

Roxana compared her house renovations with the Ways, and she often felt lacking. In the spring of 1856, she wrote to Sarah:

> We are having some painting done this spring we have had the shed kitchen floor painted and just moved in last week I have been getting ready clearing out washing windows ceilings and *things* in the middle room bed room buttery and entry and stairway and expect Nelson Renfrew here this week to commence opperations He has been painting to Mr Ways 2 weeks and has got 3 days more Mrs Way got her Back room all painted and grained and varnished likewise her sitting room bed room and parlor she has got 12 new Knob door latches her sitting room floor is going to be led color and marbled . . . you know she never counts the cost of a thing if it only *looks well* He *scolds* and *she teases* all the more and she finally carries the day. I dont expect to come within *gun shot* of her in getting *fixt* up, for you know I am no great *teaser* and if I was it would not do any good.[44]

Lyman Watts also compared his crops and animals to the Ways, even though he had owned his farm since 1830 and Jacob Way had come to East Hill only in 1853. Describing in a letter to his son-in-law and former hired hand the hard times he was having in 1855, Lyman wrote:

> Times are hard hear for money oing to two reasons first the hard winter that killd out the grafs [grass] so that we shall not hav more than half a hay crop . . . Jacob Way said that he did not expect to hav anny hay last may but he will hav some more than half as much as he had last year I shall get about one half . . . the other reason for hard times hear is that every mon[i]ed man is collecing all that tha can to invest it in western land or to put it whare it will be the most profitable.[45]

Neighbors had close and quick communication systems. Children were sent on errands, and both the men and women visited on a regular basis. In 1858 Alice sent the neighborhood news to Sarah: "There is a set of thieves around now, robbing people's houses in the night and going from one town to another. They have not visited us yet but from Asa Sargeant's they took 120 dollars in money and other articles to make up about 130."[46]

News of fire always traveled fast. In 1855 Roxana wrote Sarah about such an event at the Watts Farm: "I have just been up to the school house to a meeting there but did not stay long your father set fires in the corner where he got wood yesterday and to day the wind has breeze up

and the fire is running all over sugar place George C [Currier] came in to meeting and the men mostly left to help put it out."[47] This must not have been a major fire, although all fires were scary, and unfortunately all too common. Several neighboring farms burned to the ground during these years.

Scandals

Two opposing myths express the modern overview of nineteenth-century Vermont rural life—one, that it was simple, well ordered, and innocent; the other, that it was a scene of inbreeding, depravity, and violence. Roxana's view from East Hill demonstrates that rural life was a mixture of the two—and also that the horrified fascination with which people greet and dwell on terrible events is a universal trait not confined to place or time. Sensational events summoned up Roxana's considerable gifts as a storyteller, and knowing that her children would be as interested in hearing her tales as she was in telling them, her prose flowed freely.

One of these events was identified by Roxana in 1859 as "the Richardson affair." The urge to get rich fast was characteristic of the American Dream and was fueled by the California gold rush. Most young men growing up in the nineteenth century in New England dreamed of "striking it rich." Some men went to California like Dustan Walbridge, John Way, and Alfred Rix; others joined the trails to what was later called the Midwest, where fertile farm land beckoned. All were tempted by new schemes for making money and new ways to satisfy their dreams.

Son Lyman in an 1852 letter to Ashbel Martin reported on one of their former Peacham Academy classmates: "Almond Richardson has gon out west He is teaching school about 4 miles from springfield the capitol of Illinois He has 25 dollars per month." Knowing that Ashbel was trying his hand at mining in California where he was "surrounded with many temptations," Lyman ended his letter: "Let us 'pray then that we enter not into temptation.'"[48]

Temptation was indeed to hit their friend Almon Richardson. In the West opportunity knocked and Almon realized that with some capital, he could make a good strike at becoming rich in business—though it is not clear what kind. Some time around the beginning of 1859 he talked others into joining him and found at least three Peacham friends who lent him money: John Eastman, George Clark, and Charles Choate. Somewhere along the line, however, Almon "failed up," to use Roxana's words. It is not clear from Roxana's summary of the situation where he went wrong, only that he did. "Almon wrote a letter, or commenced one, to his Father after he had taken the deadly draught told

him he was driven to despair and *Death* by not being more honest and upright and he wrote as long as he could but left the letter unfinished."

In a second letter, this one to her son Augustus, Roxana detailed the story:

> There were rather sad news come to Peacham last week Almon Richardson has taken his own life by taking Opium. The reports are that he was very much involved in money matters had borrowed and hired all he could and finally had recourse to *Forgery*, but to what extent is not yet known John Eastman and Charly Choate loose about $2000 by him John and Charly had been at home a few weeks and were both sick with the Ague Charly is better and has gone back to St Louis to see about the aff[airs] of Richardson Eastman is verry low and probably has got the Consumption.

Almon's friends who had invested in his business were not willing to let the matter end with his death. George Clark, who had gone to St. Louis for an explanation from Richardson, returned to Peacham in a rage, accusing John Eastman of being a partner in the deception. George, Roxana wrote in September, "came home last week and demanded all the letters that R [Richardson] had wrote to John, he let him see them and not being satisfied he got a *Search warrant* and searched Eastmans house from *top to bottom* to try to find money that he thought John had brought home and concealed. But he found nothing." Roxana added that John "suffered a great deal in his mind . . . and expected to find a friend in George and he has proved his enemy."

Having no success with Eastman, George Clark went west again looking for more clues. Meanwhile, Charles Choate and John's sister Lucy had "started for St. Louis week before last and expected to find George there to assist them," but of course George had returned to Vermont. Almon's sisters, too, had gone west to try to clear up the situation. It was not known what happened when these people finally got together, but by the end of the year, two young men were dead: Almon Richardson at twenty-six by his own hand, and John Eastman at twenty-seven of consumption.

Roxana finished the story: "I cannt tell you any thing correctly about the affair becuse it is such a complicated piece of business that I dont understand it." But she had her opinion of it, and she ended her story with the declaration that Almon Richardson "is now gone to receive a just recompence for his deeds."[49] Roxana strongly believed that God punished men's misdeeds, not men. She never picked up the story again.

Another bit of sensational news went to daughter Sarah in a letter from Roxana written in the summer of 1856. This story sounds very modern, even timeless. It comes from Joe's Pond at West Danville, about ten miles from Peacham Corner, far by the horse-and-buggy transporta-

tion systems of the time; but it is amazing how the people of East Hill got around—to St. Johnsbury in one direction, or to Cabot or Wolcott in another, or to Barnet and Ryegate to the south, for example. And the word, the gossip, got around even better—and faster—than the people did.

> Well I have got some Storyes to tell and so I must begin. There has been quite a tragedy enacted up by Joes pond you recolect the Mrs Porter that went to your house with Zilpha once she has nine Daughters and one of them went to keep house for a man by the name of Whitehill in Ryegate and she got in a bad *fix* he came up several times and wanted to marry her but she would not have him. a week ago last Monday Smith Ways wife watched the movement at Mrs Porters and she was well convinced that there was some thing a going on wrong she wanted her husband to go down by the pond with her but he would not that night but the next morning he went with her and they found a *Child* under a bank with a little brush over it. it was a boy and weighed 10 pounds Dr Woodard was here yesterday and he said he was going by there and they called him to come down he said he went and saw the child and to all appearances it had been left to bleed to death as it naturally would without propper care he said one of its feet was eat pretty much off by something in the woods he advised them to hold an inquest and then follow up according to law accordingly they proceeded and they have taken Mrs Porter to jail the girl is sick and has Hysteric Fits Woodward sais he did not examine her but it was evident enough that she was guilty They both deny it and say it is no such thing how it will come out I dont know.[50]

The Caledonian made no mention of this incident in its weekly column, "Local and State News," or in its summary of county court cases. It covered many stories, including murders, accidents, fires, drownings, intoxication, suicides, and many other horrible events, but not the tragedy at Joe's Pond.

Weather

The main common subject that neighbors, friends, and all people in the area shared was the weather. Not a letter, not a diary entry, was written without some reference to the weather. Vermonters' well-being in the nineteenth century depended on just the right balance of sunshine and precipitation. In 1850 Roxana wrote to her son-in-law in Michigan: "We are having the hardest winter that we have had for many years cold enough to freeze us all the time besides the snow is very deep and drifted beyond all calculation."[51]

In his few letters Father Lyman expressed interest in two topics, weather and crops, and his main theme was how these two subjects related. In July 1855, two and a half months after Sarah and John's departure for Minnesota with its promise of a longer growing season, Lyman wrote: "We hav not had but a verry little rain since the Day that you left

Danville it has been cold & windy the most so that I ever saw the grafs killd out last winter the worst that it has for 40 years & what is a live dos not gro for it is so drie & cold People hav plowd up & sowd oates & planted hundredes of acres whare it was stout hay last year all of my stout grafs is dead or nearly all."[52]

Winter weather news usually included the temperature and the depth of the snow. Interest was high in whether the family had begun to use sleighs rather than "wheels" for transportation. In early spring, the questions centered on whether days were warm enough and nights cool enough for sugaring. The important thing always was this critical balance of wet and dry, low and high temperatures.

The spring before her death in October 1862, Roxana spent several paragraphs in a letter to Sarah discussing "this long snowey winter" which was still not over on April 19:

> There is some truth in what you read [in the newspapers] about the snow. We never had such drifts since my remembrnce as there has been this winter it has not been a very cold winter but heavy snows and every one that come blowed all up into drifts About 5 week[s] ago we had about 2 feet of snow fell in one day and night wind N East and when we went to bed Saturday night we were in hope it would not blow but it did not heed our wishes for when your Father got up in the morning and [tried to walk] out the back door for water *Lo and behold* he could not get out the snow was completely over the top of the door all but one littl corner next [to] the well he dug a little hole through just enough [to] creep out and let it remain untill Monday ever since then we have had snow to wash with that we could shovel into the kettle without going out doors.[53]

Summers were worth commenting on, too. In 1859 *The Caledonian* reported that there were only fifteen days between the late frost of July and the early frost of August.[54] In Roxana's words: "We have had such sudden changes that it has been very bad for taking hard colds three times in June and once in July we have had one or two verry *hot* days and then follow with Thunder showers and clear off cold and hard frosts so that it has killed all kinds of vines and beans has injured the corn badly by pulling it back but has not killed it on high land it is very small not yet begun to tassel."[55] Weather has always been a subject of deep concern for most Vermonters—in letters and in speech.

Conclusion

In 1852 son Lyman wrote to a friend in California that "all the young people have left" for the West.[56] But like his mother Roxana writing that "my Children have all left home,"[57] this was an exaggeration—it just felt as if everyone was leaving. For Roxana's family, eventually all

but Alice wandered out west, at least for a visit, but only five made their homes away from the Peacham area.

Those who stayed in Vermont experienced and described in letters the whole range of community activity, whether it be school programs, social gatherings, celebrations, scandals, or combating the weather. These were constants in the lives of Peacham families at mid-nineteenth century. In their letters the rural Vermont family members recounted daily activities to their relatives scattered across the country. Letters gave the wanderers a touch of home. "Tell us all the news," wrote one of Roxana's wanderers, "for we want to hear."[58]

NOTES

[1] Most of the letters quoted in this article were uncovered since the publication of Lynn A. Bonfield and Mary C. Morrison, *Roxana's Children: The Biography of a Nineteenth-Century Vermont Family* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995). The authors are grateful to the Minnesota branch of the family for preserving these newly discovered primary sources; special thanks to Chris Way who shared them with us. For vital dates of letter writers and individuals noted, see Jennie Chamberlain Watts and Elsie A. Choate, compilers, *People of Peacham* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1965).

[2] Ernest L. Bogart, *Peacham: the Story of a Vermont Hill Town* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1948), 159.

[3] Roxana Walbridge Watts (hereafter cited as RWW) to Sarah Walbridge Way (hereafter cited as SWW), 26 Apr. 1856, Private Collection (hereafter cited as PC, referring to one of six collections owned by individuals). Original spelling, punctuation, and capitalization have been retained in quotations. RWW wrote and received her letters from the Watts Farm in Peacham. SWW wrote and received her letters from her home in Northfield, Minn., unless otherwise noted.

[4] RWW to SWW, St. Anthony, Minn., 20 May 1855, PC.

[5] RWW to SWW, 7 Mar. 1856, PC; RWW to SWW, 19 Jan. 1856, PC; RWW to Hubbell and Augusta Gregory, unidentified place, 28 Sept. 1856, Walbridge-Gregory Family Papers, California Historical Society (hereafter cited as WGFP).

[6] RWW to SWW, 27 July 1855, PC; Harold M. Long, "Early Schools of Peacham," manuscript, 29 Aug. 1971, Peacham Historical Association.

[7] RWW to SWW, 9 Mar. 1856, PC.

[8] Alice Watts (hereafter cited as AW; her letters were written and received from the Watts Farm in Peacham, unless otherwise noted) to Charles Watts, Monticello, Ill., 18 Feb. 1856, PC.

[9] RWW to SWW, 9 Mar. 1856, PC. William Mattocks did return to Peacham—in a casket, as he died in Kenosha of typhoid fever on 22 December 1859, with the burial in Peacham. *The Caledonian* (St. Johnsbury, Vt.), 6 and 20 Jan. 1860.

[10] RWW to Clara Walbridge Rogers, San Francisco, 30 Dec. 1857, PC.

[11] *The Caledonian*, 1 Mar. 1861.

[12] RWW to SWW, 2 Feb. 1861, PC.

[13] RWW to SWW, 26 Apr. and 20 July 1856, 18 and 30 Oct. 1859, 12 Sept. 1860, PC.

[14] RWW to Hubbell and Augusta Gregory, Jackson, Mich., 28–29 Sept. 1856, WGFP; Bonfield and Morrison, *Roxana's Children*, 11.

[15] *The Caledonian*, 5 Oct. 1860, 18 Jan. 1861.

[16] RWW to John S. Way and SWW, 27 July 1855, PC.

[17] AW to SWW, 17 July 1858, PC.

[18] RWW to SWW, Hardwick, Vt., 17 Nov. 1853, PC.

[19] RWW to Dustan and Augustus Walbridge, Northfield, Minn., 4 Jan. 1858, PC.

[20] RWW to SWW, 26 Apr. 1856, PC.

[21] RWW to SWW, 2 Feb. 1861, PC.

[22] Diary entry, 6 Nov. 1860, AW, PC.

[23] *The Caledonian*, 9 and 16 Nov. 1860.

[24] Diary entry, 7 Nov. 1860, AW, PC.

[25] Bogart, *Peacham*, 320–321. The Johnson brothers and Stevens were prominent abolitionists, all raised in Peacham.

[26] Diary entry, 31 Dec. 1863, AW, PC. There are forty-three names inscribed on the Peacham Soldiers Monument, although it is obvious from observing the engraving that several were added after the dedication ceremony on 4 July 1870, when Isaac N. Watts named forty-one Peacham men (and two who were associated with the town but who enlisted from elsewhere). For the Watts list and his speech (not reported in *The Caledonian*), see Mary C. Morrison and Lynn A. Bonfield, "The Peacham Civil War Soldiers Monument," *The Peacham Patriot* (newsletter of the Peacham Historical Association) 11(May 1996): 1–7. Bogart, *Peacham*, 322, lists the names of thirty-two Peacham men who died in the war.

[27] Ellen K. Rothman, *Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 26–27, 56.

[28] RWW to Hubbell and Martha Walbridge Gregory, Jackson, Mich., 27 Sept. 1844, WGFP; Bonfield and Morrison, *Roxana's Children*, 5.

[29] Peacham Town Records, Grand List, 1850 through 1876; Bogart, *Peacham*, 467–469.

[30] Diary entry, 5 June 1850, "Daily Journal of Alfred and Chastina W. Rix," 1849–1854, Rix Family Papers, California Historical Society.

[31] Luther F. Parker, Hanover, N.H., to Louisa Martin, Peacham, 5 Sept. 1848, PC.

[32] RWW to SWW, 1 July 1859, PC; Chastina Walbridge, Peacham, to Sarah Walbridge, Lowell, Mass., 18 Oct. 1847, PC; Dustan Walbridge, Marshfield, Vt. to SWW, 12 July 1858, PC.

[33] RWW to SWW, 2 Feb. 1861, PC; this marriage on Jan. 31 was announced in *The Caledonian*, 5 Feb. 1861.

[34] RWW to SWW, [no day] July 1859, PC.

[35] RWW to SWW, 2 Feb. 1861, PC.

[36] RWW to Augusta Gregory, unidentified place, 27 July 1856, WGFP; AW to Augusta Gregory Mills, Rawsonville, Mich., 7 Dec. 1864, PC.

[37] Alfred S. Rix, San Francisco, to Chastina Walbridge Rix, Peacham, 26 June 1852, Edward A. Rix Collection, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

[38] RWW to Hubbell Gregory, unidentified place, 20 Jan. 1850, WGFP; Bonfield and Morrison, *Roxana's Children*, 36.

[39] RWW to SWW, St. Anthony, Minn., 27 May 1855, PC.

[40] Dustan Walbridge, Marshfield, Vt., to SWW, 12 July 1858, PC. For a fuller story of quilting in the Walbridge/Watts family, see Lynn A. Bonfield, "Four Generations of Quilters in One Nineteenth-Century Rural New England Family" in Lynne A. Bassett, ed., *Proceedings of a Symposium at Old Sturbridge Village, June 13, 1998, "What's New England about New England Quilts?"* (Sturbridge, Mass.: Old Sturbridge Village, 1999), 34–47.

[41] AW to SWW, 20 July 1856, PC.

[42] Old Peacham Cemetery, headstone for Ruth Highlands Watts: "Ruth wife of Moses Watts died July 30, 1813 Aged 54." The Cemetery Card File in the Peacham Town Records lists cause of death as "killed by lightening." This occurred at what is now known as the Farrington Farm on the road from Peacham Corner to the Hollow.

[43] AW to Augusta Gregory Mills, Rawsonville, Mich., 7 Dec. 1864, WGFP.

[44] RWW to SWW, 26 Apr. 1856, PC.

[45] Lyman Watts (Father), Peacham, to John S. Way and SWW, 29 July 1855, PC.

[46] AW to SWW, 17 July 1858, PC.

[47] RWW to SWW, St. Anthony, Minn., 20 May 1855, PC.

[48] Lyman S. Watts (Son), unidentified town, Maine, to Ashbel Martin, unidentified town, California, 25 June 1852, PC.

[49] RWW to AW, Castleton, Vt., 25 Sept. 1859, PC; RWW to Augustus Walbridge, Lyndon, Vt., 13 Sept. 1859, PC. See Watts and Choate, *People of Peacham*, 103, 260, for vital dates and family of John Eastman and Almon Richardson.

[50] RWW to SWW, 31 July 1856, PC.

[51] RWW to Hubbell Gregory, unidentified town, Mich., 27 Dec. 1850, WGFP.

[52] Lyman Watts (Father), Peacham, to John S. Way and SWW, St. Anthony, Minn., 27 July 1855, PC.

[53] RWW to SWW, 19 Apr. 1862, PC.

[54] *The Caledonian*, 3 Sept. 1859.

[55] RWW to SWW, 10 July 1859, PC.

[56] Lyman S. Watts (Son), St. George, Maine, to Ashbel Martin, White Rock, Calif., 25 Dec. 1852, PC.

[57] RWW to Hubbell Gregory, unidentified place, 29 May 1853, WGFP.

[58] Chastina Walbridge Rix, San Francisco, to RWW, 15 Dec. 1853, Edward A. Rix Collection.

The Burleigh Brothers: Nineteenth Century Titans of the Champlain Basin

Active in the lower Champlain Basin in both New York and Vermont from 1880 to 1900, the Burleigh brothers held dominant positions in the social, political, and economic life of the region.

By STEPHEN K. ASTMANN, RONALD F. KINGSLEY, AND VIRGINIA BURLEIGH LAPOINTE

The tumultuous onrush into the late nineteenth century industrial era was captained by extraordinary men who shook loose from strictly agrarian roots and sought wealth in raw, bold, commerical ventures. Two such men were the brothers Henry Gordon Burleigh and Brackett Weeks Burleigh. Active in the lower Champlain Basin in both New York and Vermont from 1880 to 1900, the Burleigh brothers held dominant positions in the social, political, and economic life of the region. They played powerful roles in the development of its industries: rail and water transportation, lumber and ship building, manufacturing, mining, and finance and real estate. They were also active in philanthropy and state and national politics.

The visionary Burleighs insinuated themselves into the region with genius. They recognized the potential of the conjunction of the geographical resources of the lower Champlain basin, with its existing railroads, canals, bridges, hotels, and mercantile facilities. They dovetailed these natural and man-made resources into commercial systems, and established a persistent demand for their products and services by pursuing risky, largely successful initiatives in a scope well beyond the region. As a result the area around Ticonderoga, Whitehall, Larrabee's Point, and other lakeside communities became, for a time, prosperous, financially stable, and critically important as staging locations for their other financial undertakings.

The Burleigh brothers were descended from New Hampshire sol-

Henry Gordon Burleigh. Courtesy of the Burleigh family, Ticonderoga, New York.

diers, legislators, farmers, merchants, and tavern keepers. Their father, Gordon, operated a major lumber business.[1]

Henry Gordon Burleigh, the elder brother, was born on June 2, 1832. His formal education ended when he left Grafton County, New Hampshire, at the age of fourteen and settled in Ticonderoga.

Henry's career in commerce began when he became a clerk with the firm of Wilson & Calkins located in Ticonderoga's "Old Brick Store." During his clerkship he studied on his own and sharpened his business sense. When Wilson & Calkins failed in 1850 Henry became one of its assignees and from that point continued as an entrepreneur on his own in the emerging industrial center of Ticonderoga. His general supply business gradually shifted to the business of shipping lumber and provi-

sioning boatmen who worked and lived on the canal system. In 1859 he created the firm of Burleighs and Marshall and a year later began building canal boats. His business expanded until he had approximately 150 canal boats and steamers to carry lumber, iron ore, and coal between Ottawa and Montreal to the north and New York and Philadelphia to the south. His company had become the hub of the canal system and one of the largest transportation concerns in the country, and was to provide the foundation for Henry's productive career.[2]

In 1860 Henry moved to Whitehall while maintaining a residence in Ticonderoga. Because of its strategic location on the Champlain Canal, Whitehall then became the principal site for the expansion of his business, political, and personal pursuits. He acquired large tracts of timber land, which were largely supplemental to his lumber business, the Whitehall Lumber Company (incorporated in 1881). He also maintained a major interest in the Robert M. Cook Towing Company, which was a major towing and transportation concern on Lake Champlain headed by his son Charles R. Burleigh. Land transportation, however, between Whitehall and Ticonderoga was difficult and precarious. On one occasion, Henry's stagecoach became so bogged down that he walked the remaining distance and arrived before the stagecoach.

Henry held the positions of president of the Old National Bank of Whitehall and of the First National Bank of Ticonderoga. He was a director of the Commercial Insurance Company of Albany, the International Paper Company, Ticonderoga Pulp and Paper Company,[3] and the St. Maurice Lumber Company, and he held a controlling interest in at least a score of other corporations. His interest in real estate included ownership of many valuable pieces of land in New York City, Vermont, and Canada.

He was also, at various times, interested in the iron ore mining business. He owned and operated the Smith Mine in Port Henry, New York, and had many thousands of acres around Lake George, including at one time over fourteen miles of lake front property. In the early 1890s he acquired the title to approximately 75,000 acres of land in Canada. In addition to business and industrial interests, he owned at his death at least five large farms.[4]

An uncompromising Republican, Henry was elected supervisor of the town of Ticonderoga in 1861. In this capacity he always raised the full quota of volunteer troops for the Civil War. This was a substantial achievement because it eliminated the unpopular alternative of conscription. His contributions to the Civil War effort were acknowledged with the publication of the "Burleigh March," which was played by musicians of the Burleigh Corps. Elected to the New York Assembly in

1875, he promoted numerous bills that benefitted the canal system of the state. In 1884 he was elected to two terms in Congress from the Rennsselaer County District and promoted bills that championed the commercial activity of the region including the elimination of the burdensome tonnage tax on northern frontier boats. During his congressional service he became a personal friend of Chester A. Arthur.

When Henry died of appendicitis in 1900, one obituary in the *Fort Ann Republic* noted that "he bordered on being one of the Nation's greatest men" and that "in business he was the very life and soul of this northern country."[5] A separate supplement in the *Whitehall Times* included brief biographical notes from newspapers in Troy, Fort Ann, Glens Falls, and Albany. Acknowledging that it was virtually impossible to define a central focus of Henry's complex life, the *Glens Falls Star* noted that:

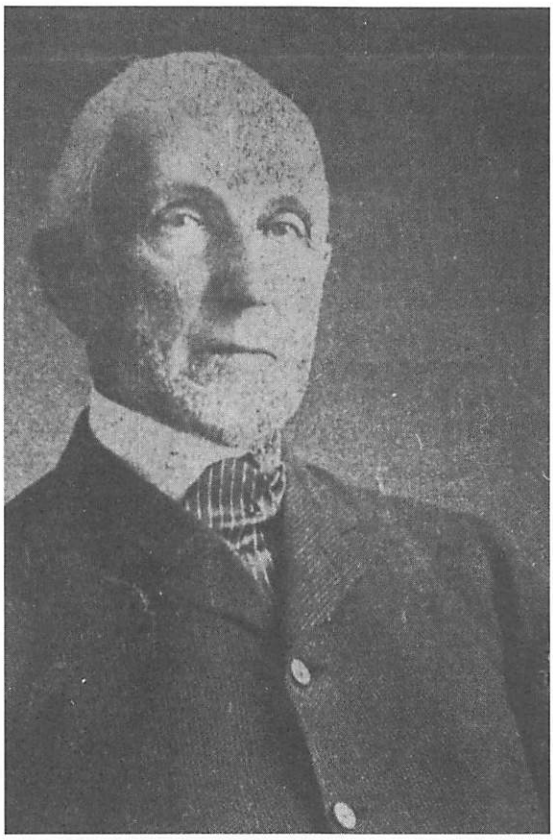
> . . . while [he was] known principally as a politician . . . the greatest achievement of his long and useful life was the great transportation system of the Hudson and Champlain Valleys, and in doing this so earned the gratitude of this entire community regardless of political affiliations.[6]

Upon the death of Henry Gordon I, his son Henry Gordon II carried on the business and became president and the major share holder of the Ticonderoga Electric Light and Power Company. He married Susan Tisdale Sanborn of Whitehall, New York, and had three children. Tragedy struck the family in 1903 when Henry Gordon II took his life, a week after the birth of his third child. With his death the commercial empire of the Burleighs began to unravel.

Brackett Weeks Burleigh was two years younger than Henry and was often perceived to be Henry's shadow. When Brackett died his obituary in the Ticonderoga newspaper identified him as, "an only brother of the Late Hon. Henry Gordon Burleigh whose career as a statesman and financier was of national interest."[7] Even the partnership the brothers formed in 1858, to conduct "a general mercantile business" was named "H.G. Burleigh & Brother,"[8] thereby suggesting a lesser role for the younger brother.

Brackett was, however, an equal partner in virtually all of Henry's commercial affairs. Though he did not share his brother's national prominence he was active in Essex County, New York, politics, serving as a delegate to state conventions and an advisor to political leaders.

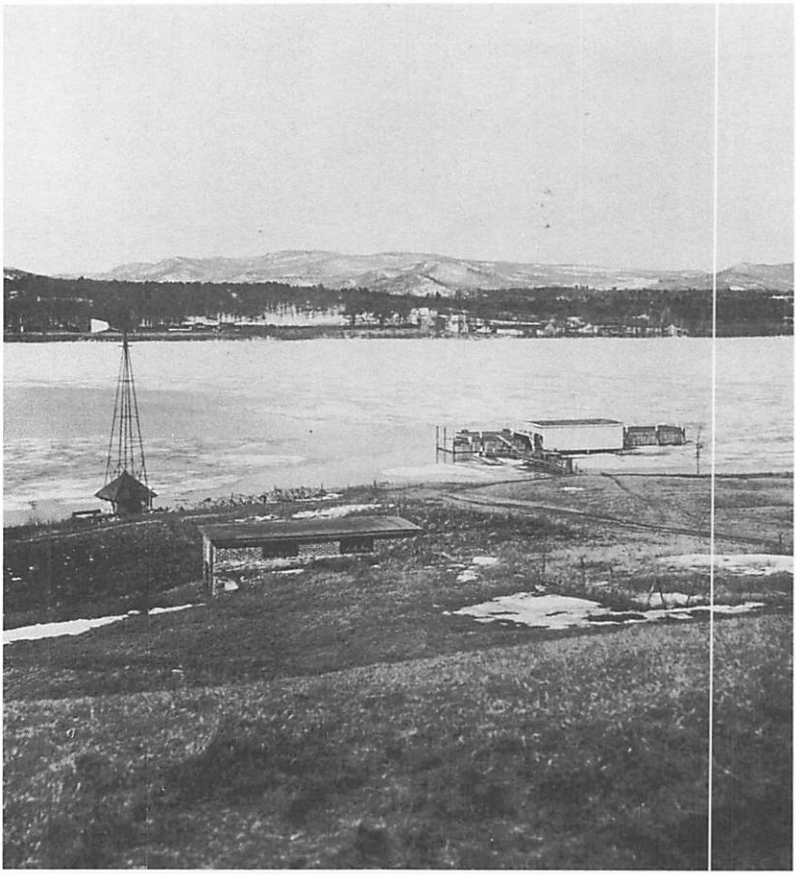
Brackett began his business career in what was known as "the Old Brick Store" in Ticonderoga, where he formed the partnership with Henry. This partnership evolved into a mercantile and transportation company that dominated the commercial life of the region. Brackett Weeks always



Brackett Weeks Burleigh. This picture appears on the front page of the Ticonderogian, *7 July 1910.Courtesy of the Ticonderoga Historical Society and the Burleigh family, Ticonderoga, New York.*

maintained a major financial stake in the partnership, which further bound the brothers to their commercial enterprises. He represented the company in New York City from 1890 to 1897 and later became a director and president of the Whitehall Lumber Co., a further testimony to his independence as an entrepreneur and commercial force.

Brackett was known as "The Vermont Brother," and his decision to establish a Vermont base of operation was prompted by a need to supply the east shore of Lake Champlain and further inland regions with goods being transhipped up and down the lake between the destination ports of New York City and Montreal. In order to accomplish the transi-



One of several docks of the Burleigh brothers' commerical enterprises at Larrabee's Point, Vermont. Courtesy of James Bullard, Larrabee's Point, Vermont.

tion between water and land routes, he established storage yards, boat docks, and railroad tracks and trestles at and around strategically located Larrabee's Point in the Town of Shoreham, Vermont.[9]

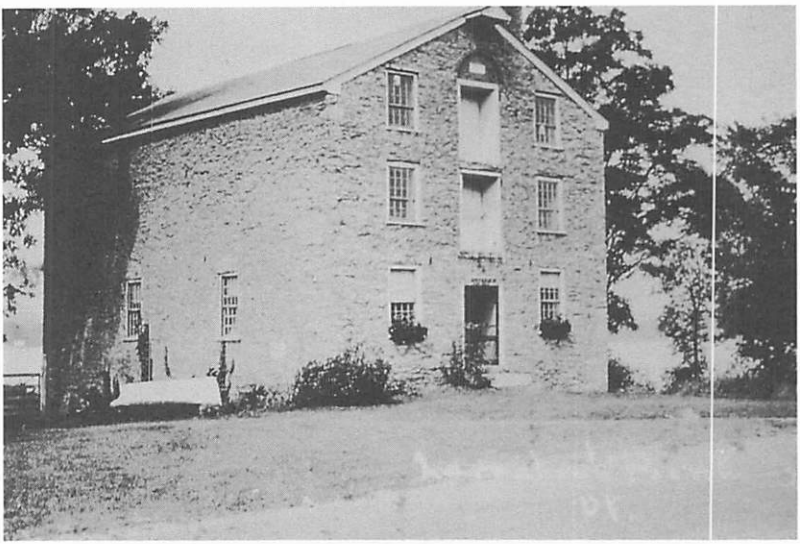
His facilities were linked to Vermont's Addison Railroad, which handled lumber, coal, explosive powders, and food stuffs and crossed Lake Champlain about a mile south of Larrabee's Point. Between 1879 and 1881 the Burleigh brothers built one-hundred-ton canal boats at Larrabee's Point, employing a large sawmill erected there to cut timber into planking.[10]

Brackett Weeks Burleigh's mansion at Larrabee's Point, Vermont. Courtesy of James Bullard, Larrabee's Point, Vermont.

Brackett's commercial commitment to Vermont was reflected in his construction of a summer residence known as the "Burleigh Mansion" and buildings and structures associated with his business. His house was a classic Victorian, built on the natural terrace overlooking Lake Champlain at Larrabee's Point, with a spectacular view of the Adirondacks to the north and west. One of the two barns is still used and features a cupola that serves as an architectual symbol of the Burleigh fortunes.[11] The house itself, however, was dismantled after Brackett died of cancer in 1910. Along the shoreline only earthen outlines of foundations remain to mark the location of the former commercial buildings.[12]

Brackett Weeks Burleigh's mansion and his extensive business operations at Larrabee's Point had allowed both brothers to straddle lower Lake Champlain and thereby exercise substantial control over the rapidly developing commercial activities of the region.

After Brackett's death, his son, Sheridan Locke Burleigh, assumed responsibility for the business enterprises of his father and uncle until these were dissolved and absorbed into other larger enterprises that typified the burgeoning industrial era. Currently Larrabee's Point is



Stone warehouse (circa 1823), currently Teachout's store, located at the ferry landing at Larrabee's Point. Courtesy of the Shoreham Historical Society, Shoreham, Vermont.

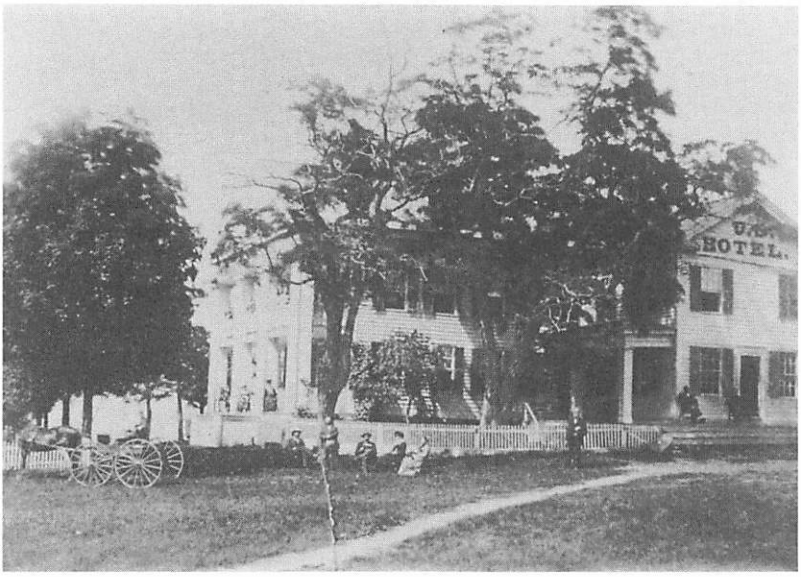
pleasant and pastoral but unspectacular and most notable as the terminus for the historic Ticonderoga Ferry. The Burleigh's barn, the ferry landing, and the stone storehouse (circa 1823), now Teachout's store, remain as markers of Vermont's connection to its basin neighbors and friends across the lake.

Just to the south of Larrabee's Point, at Beadles Cove, was the commercially important black marble quarry.[13] The elegant United States Hotel, established at Larrabee's Point circa 1840 and lost to fire in 1917, was a major adjunct to and symbol of the once flourishing commercial and popular recreational enterprises along the Vermont lakeshore.

The marble quarry and the popular hotel were no doubt some of the resources that encouraged the Burleigh brothers to invest further in this region of Vermont during the latter half of the twentieth century.

In his 1861 *A History of the Town of Shoreham,* Rev. Josiah F. Goodhue, describes other resources:

> The opening of the Lake Champlain Canal, from Whitehall to Albany, gave a great impulse to mercantile business in the town, especially to that portion of it done [down] on the lake shore. The merchants received large quantities of grain in exchange for goods, and sold the

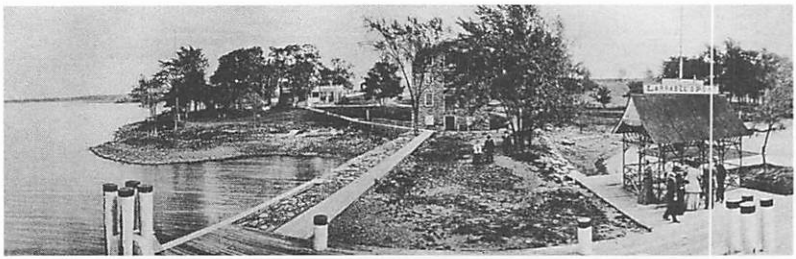


A popular resort, The United States Hotel, 1847–1919, located along the shoreline at Larrabee's Point. The hotel was destroyed by fire. Courtesy of the Shoreham Historical Society, Shoreham, Vermont.

> leading heavy articles, such as flour, salt, and iron for cash or its equivalent, at a small advance from cost and transportation.[14]

For a short time Larrabee's Point emerged as a major crossroads of the north-south Montreal-New York canal and the east-west Addison Railroad between Whiting, Vermont, and Ticonderoga, New York, via the causeway and floating swing bridge across Lake Champlain. In 1923 the bridge was abandoned, however. The abandonment of the bridge due to the advent of commercial trucking had a devastating impact on Larrabee's Point. Even before that, however, a series of calamities in the 1800s befell the Burleighs' business and signalled the close of the commercial era at Larrabee's Point. Among them were the collapse of the engine tender when crossing the trestle at the coal yard and an extensive fire and explosion of 125 barrels of powder at the wharf and warehouse.[15] A once vital eastern Vermont crossroads settled down to its current sedate condition.

It is worthwhile to speculate what would have happened if New York, with its ties to industry, and Vermont, with its agricultural and rural flavor had been chosen by the Burleighs to further develop their formida-



The landing dock at Larrabee's Point during the 19th century. Courtesy of James Bullard, Larrabee's Point, Vermont.

ble commerical empire along the eastern shore of Lake Champlain. Larrabee's Point might have served as the southern anchor of a substantial industrial corridor, adjacent to the Champlain canal and beginning at Burlington to the north. Their decision to let the railroads, piers, warehouses, and other commerical entities lapse into disuse and decay might have been a factor in the creation of two distinct realms on either side of the Champlain basin.

The Burleigh Hotel or House, Ticonderoga, New York. Courtesy of the Ticonderoga Historical Society, Ticonderoga, New York.

A notable reminder of the partnership between the Burleigh brothers and their flourishing communities is the Burleigh House, which was among the joint ventures of the brothers. An elegant four-story hotel on the southwest corner of the intersection of Main and Exchange Streets in Ticonderoga, The Burleigh House opened in 1880 and served the rapidly developing community. Despite an innovative system of fire protection installed on every floor, the hotel was destroyed by fire in 1953.[16]

Henry Gordon and Brackett Weeks Burleigh, brought their formidable New Hampshire commercial and political expertise to the Champlain Basin and seeded the valley corridor with commercial ventures. The Burleighs had caught the colonial mercantile spirit. This spirit followed opportunities out of New Hampshire and into Vermont and eastern New York and then, ultimately, to the Pacific Coast. The 1860 census had classified five out of every six Americans as rural, but between Appomattox and World War I, during the working lifetimes of the Burleigh brothers, all of this changed.[17] The Jeffersonian "republic of farmers" dissolved into an industrialized, urbanized, hugely rich, productive, and populous nation with a rapidly evolving manufacturing technology. The Burleigh brothers, by virtue of their domination of the Champlain region at the turn of the century, were principals in the dramatic commercial, industrial, and political maturation of this country.

NOTES

The authors wish to thank the following persons and organizations for their interest, assistance, and suggestions with regard to the development of the manuscript: James Bullard, present owner of the Ticonderoga Ferry, Larrabee's Point, Vermont, and Program Chairman of the Shoreham Historical Society; Susan H. MacIntire, Shoreham Historical Society; the Gordon Burleigh family of Ticonderoga, New York; the Ticonderoga Historical Society; Sanford Witherell, Shoreham, Vermont; A. Peter Barranco, Jr., Montpelier, Vermont; Mrs. Carol Greenough, Trustee of the Historical Society of Whitehall, New York, and Director of the Whitehall UCP/Heritage Area; International Paper, Ticonderoga, New York; New York State Library, Albany, New York; Schenectady County Public Library, Schenectady, New York; and the Vermont Historical Society Library, Montpelier, Vermont.

[1] Charles Burleigh, *The Genealogy of the Burley or Burleigh Family* (Portland: Press of B. Thurston & Company, 1880), 9, 112; William R. Cutter, ed., *Genealogical and Family History of Northern New York*, vol. 1 (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1910), 345–348; *Ticonderoga, Patches and Patterns from Its Past* (Ticonderoga, New York: Ticonderoga Historical Society, 1969); Eleanor Murray, "Historical Facts and Fiction from around the Area," *Ticonderoga Sentinal*, 23 May 1968; Henry Gordon Burleigh, *The Whitehall Chronicle*, 17 August 1900.

[2] Russell P. Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains: A Maritime and Military History of Lake George and Lake Champlain* (Fleischmanns, New York: Purple Mountain Press, 1992), 245, 302; Hon. Henry G. Burleigh, *Washington County, New York; Its History to the Close of the 19th Century*, William Stone and A. Dallas Wait, eds. (New York: New York History Co., 1901), 201–203; Jennie Versteeg, "Aspects of the Vermont-Canada Forest Products Relation in the Twentieth Century," *Vermont History* 58 (Summer 1990), 164–178.

[3] *Generations of Pride, A Centennial History of International Paper* (Purchase, New York: International Paper, 1998), 203. In 1878 Ticonderoga Pulp & Paper Company first built and operated the Lower Falls mill. The mill produced soda pulp and fine papers. A second plant, referred to as the Island mill, was built in 1891 by the Lake George Paper Company. In 1898 this mill joined with other mills in the northeast to form International Paper. The Lower Falls mill was acquired by International Paper in 1929. A third mill was built along the shores of Lake Champlain in 1968 to replace the Lower Falls mill.

[4] Clarence Holden, "Hon. H.G. Burleigh" in *Material Concerning the History of Whitehall, New York*. Unpublished manuscript (Albany, New York: New York State Library Archives, 1910), 248–252.

[5] "Honored in Death Hon. Henry Gordon Burleigh Now At Rest: A Useful Career Ended." *Whitehall Times, Supplement*, 23 August 1900.

[6] *Glens Falls Star*, quoted in the *The Whitehall Times, Supplement*, 23 August 1900.

[7] "Hon. B.W. Burleigh, Whose Long and Honorable Life Came to an End June 28th." *Ticonderogian*, 7 July 1910.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Middlebury Register*, 25 August 1874; *Ticonderoga Sentinel*, 19 September 1874; *ibid.* 3 October 1874; *ibid.* 9 June 1882; *ibid.* 25 August 1882; A. Peter Barranco, Jr. "Ticonderoga's Floating Drawbridge; 1871–1920," Paper presented as part of Lake Champlain Basin Program, Demonstration Report no.4E at the Lake Champlain Management Conference in May 1995.

[10] *Plattsburgh Republican*, 20 December 1879; According to A. Peter Barranco, Jr., seven canal boats were built and launched at Larrabee's Point between 1880–1881 (personal correspondence, May 12, 1997).

[11] "The Burleigh Mansion at Larrabee's Point, Vt." *Ticonderoga Sentinel*, 2 March 1883.

[12] Ronald F. Kingsley, "The Braunschweig and Hesse-Hanau Auxiliaries in the Champlain Valley, 1777: An Archaeological Survey of the Shoreline of Shoreham, Orwell, and Bridport Townships, Vermont, 1987–1999." Unpublished study. The German Auxiliaries Project (GAP) is an independent research project which focuses on the participation of the the German auxiliaries who served General John Burgoyne during his invasion from Canada in 1777. The project is being conducted in collaboration with the Vermont Division for Historic Preservation and Fort Ticonderoga; Ronald F. Kingsley, "An archaeological survey of the land approach to Mount Independence, 1776–1777, Orwell, Addison County, Vermont," *The Journal of Vermont Archaeology*, 2:1997, 57–71; Ronald F. Kingsley, "A German Perspective on the American Attempt to Recapture the British Forts at Ticonderoga and Mount Independence on September 18, 1777," *Vermont History*, 67 (Winter-Spring 1999), 5–26.

[13] *Shoreham, The Town and Its People* (Shoreham, Vermont: Shoreham Historical Society, 1988), 52–58, 61–62; Josiah F. Goodhue, *History of the Town of Shoreham, Vermont* (Middlebury, Vermont: A. H. Copeland, 1861), 38; Robert Hagerman "Two Centuries of Ferryboating," *Vermont Life* (Summer 1976), 24–26.

[14] Goodhue, *History*, 68–69.

[15] "Terrible Explosion, $25,000 worth of Property destroyed on Larrabee's Point, opposite Fort Ticonderoga." *Ticonderoga Sentinel* 28 September 1877; *St. Albans (Vermont) Weekly Newspaper*, 5 October 1877.

[16] The Burleigh House was recognized as one of the best hotels in northern New York. It served primarily businessmen and tourists and offered many features. *Ticonderoga, Patches and Patterns*, 270–271; *Ter-Centenary of Lake Champlain, 1609–1909* (Ticonderoga, New York: n.d.), 7.

[17] Sidney Lens, *The Forging of the American Empire* (New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell Company, 1971), 125.

BOOK REVIEWS

Vermont Voices, 1609 through 1990s: A Documentary History of the Green Mountain State

Edited by J. Kevin Graffagnino, Samuel B. Hand, and Gene Sessions (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1999, pp. 409, cloth, $60.00; paper, $45.00).

Recent trends in Vermont historiography and education are neatly comprehended by two publications of the Vermont Historical Society: *In a State of Nature: Readings in Vermont History,* edited by H. Nicholas Muller and Samuel Hand, published in 1982, and the recently released *Vermont Voices*. Both, in the words of Gary Lord's 1982 review of *In a State of Nature,* address the "great need for suitable instructional materials to encourage and improve the teaching of Vermont history."

What distinguishes these two books from each other is the role they assign primary sources. *In a State of Nature* is a compilation of articles, stripped of their footnotes. Consequently, the primary sources steering the research are lost, leaving the reader adrift in the writer's interpretations. *Vermont Voices* reverses this approach, placing primary documents to the fore, shadowed only by brief contextual comments by the editors.

The editors, speaking from the experience of their own distinguished careers, note that "contemporary records are the essential ingredients used by historians in the writing of history." Unlike *In a State of Nature,* the *Voices'* reader is asked to participate in the historian's craft; to see history as an intellectual exercise in selection and interpretation. The editors recognize that "[u]nderstanding a primary source . . . can be complicated" and urge the reader to ask questions "about the authenticity of the item; about the attitudes and circumstances that underlay and influenced its creation; about the credibility of its details, the biases that may distort the reporting, and the existence of corroborating evidence. By engaging these questions, the reader enters into the historian's enterprise" (p. xxi).

This transition of the reader from passive recipient to active participant is what makes *Vermont Voices* so exciting. It also makes the volume essential to any school seriously pursuing the new state social studies standards. *Voices,* however, is less a textbook than a resource for all observers of the Vermont experience.

The selected documents are chronologically arranged and laid out in eleven sec-

tions, each prefaced with a contextual essay. Documents include public letters, newspaper editorials, journal entries, political cartoons, and song sheets. One can find Abenaki creation stories and an Abenaki petition for tribal recognition. There are familiar tales, such as Seth Hubbell's 1789 narrative of homesteading, and less accessible documents such as Mrs. Annette Parmalee's 1917 definition of a "woman's place." Ethan Allen's polemics supporting Vermont independence bolster our self-image; Kenneth Wibecan's 1968 "black man's viewpoint" jars our self-complacency. An epilogue suggests themes developed through the documents and a bibliography points to complementary compilations and studies (though curiously omits some of the documentary editions used for selections).

Vermont Voices is part of a long tradition of documentary editions, from William Slade's *Vermont State Papers* (1823) through John Duffy's *Ethan Allen and His Kin: Correspondence, 1772–1819* (1998). Weighed against that tradition, *Voices* holds its own.

Part of that tradition, of course, is debating the selections. We should all accept the editors' invitation to be participants. Certainly as an archivist I welcome that invitation as a way of encouraging discussion about the creation and use of records.

With the exception of a modern transcription of an ancient Abenaki creation story, the selected documents are "all . . . printed or written sources that have survived in their original form" (p. xxi). In practice, selections are frequently drawn not from original manuscripts but from previous documentary compilations such as Slade, E. P. Walton's *Records of the Council of Safety and the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont* (8 vols., 1873–1880), the State Papers of Vermont, etc. (a preference reinforced by the absence of a bibliographic section on Vermont repositories or their on-line or otherwise published catalogues).

The source for the 1777 constitution excerpt, for example, is cited as Walton's 1873 *Governor and Council,* not the manuscript 1777 constitution, nor the 1778 published version. How then can the reader effectively ask questions "about the authenticity of the item"? For example, did the 1777 manuscript or 1778 published versions of the constitution italicize sections of the Declaration of Rights, as the reproduced version does? Only by going to *Governor and Council* does one learn that Walton italicized lines that were Vermont's "additions to or changes" to the 1776 Pennsylvania constitution.

Contextual loss occurs in many other ways. Most of the selections were originally created for broad public consumption, an important fact not developed by the editors. Documents designed for publication carry different contexts than personal correspondence and diaries. The reader would be better served, for example, if informed that the *Vermont Watchman & State Journal,* from which the description of the 1848 Democratic State Convention is drawn, was a Whig newspaper.

Context is further obscured by representing complex public dialogue through single documents, thereby muffling once vigorous public debate. The entry on the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, for example, is limited to the legislative response of the Federalist majority; the minority report of the fifty Jeffersonian legislators is omitted. How then can the reader effectively ask questions "about the attitudes and circumstances that underlay and influenced [the document's] creation?"

None of this, however, diminishes the importance of *Vermont Voices*. Rather, by raising such issues, *Vermont Voices* ultimately demonstrates why it is indeed an essential tool. To the degree that it can engender dialogue and provoke thought it will truly open the reader to the "historian's enterprise."

D. GREGORY SANFORD

Gregory Sanford is the Vermont State Archivist.

Hands on the Land: A History of the Vermont Landscape

By Jan Albers (Rutland, Vt.: The Orton Family Foundation [by The MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.], 2000, pp. 351, cloth, $35.00).

Jan Albers has given us much more than just "a history of the Vermont landscape," although that might have been enough to justify calling *Hands on the Land* an important book. In a rich synthesis, Albers tells a full story of Vermont's past as it has played out on the face of its landscape. Her accomplishment is valuable to all who care about Vermont, regardless of whether they consider themselves history minded. She has assembled a guidebook to Vermont's useable past.

The lessons of Vermont's past, as written on the land, are: (1) landscapes constantly develop and change in response to human cultural activity, and (2) our actions and values are revealed in the landscapes we leave to our descendants. Stated another way, the choices we make become indelible parts of the landscape, so we should be careful to make good choices. "We may not all have dirt under our fingernails, but every one of us has our hands on the land" (p. 332).

Albers's writing echoes the insights of another Vermonter, George Perkins Marsh, who wrote the book *Man and Nature* 136 years ago. In this classic, Marsh postulated that human activity inexorably shaped nature, often with dire results, but also with the possibility of enlightened improvement. Marsh was expressing a new way of thinking, and we remember him as our earliest "ecological" writer. Albers anchors her fourth chapter with an insightful discussion of Marsh's importance in which she relates his later insights to his formative years in Woodstock. Her analysis of Marsh is an interesting complement to David Lowenthal's newly expanded biography of Marsh (*George Perkins Marsh: Prophet of Conservation*), which was published about the same time as *Hands on the Land*.

In an excellent work of historical synthesis, chapter one of *Hands on the Land* blends geological information on the Vermont landform and archeological analysis of prehistoric human occupation, seamlessly leading to the history of European contact and its impact on the land as well as on the native population of Vermont. Although the

myth of a Vermont devoid of native populations has long since been discredited, Albers replaces it with a very readable narrative that establishes Vermont at the time of English settlement as a real place populated by native people with strong cultural roots of their own. Albers understandably feels compelled to apologize for lumping native culture together with geology in a single chapter called "Native Vermont," but the result is worthwhile, firmly establishing native people as shapers of the landscape.

Subsequent chapters tell the story of how Vermonters repeatedly shaped and reshaped the land and their communities: "Claiming the Land" and stripping it of forest in the period through statehood; organizing a "Classic Agrarian Landscape" in the hopeful first half of the nineteenth century; "Creating Vermont's Yankee Kingdom" in response to the land's natural limitations and significantly altering the landscape between the Civil War and World War II; and combining the myth of its past with the reality of its re-greened landscape, "Choosing Vermont" in a formula for recent prosperity and growth. Throughout Vermont's past, spiritual outlooks, values and ideals, and economic imperatives and pressures have combined to influence the ways that Vermonters have shaped the land, and the record is writ large upon the landscape.

The industrial revolution dealt Vermont only a glancing blow. The state's landscape and society remained primarily rural while most of the nation underwent industrial transformation in the first half of the twentieth century. Similarly, Vermont has been late to experience the postsuburban sprawl that has blighted rural landscapes throughout the East. Vermont's unique rural character is ironically the product of the land's limitations—ironically because the attractiveness of its rural character constitutes both threat and opportunity. In her concluding chapters, Albers chronicles the creation and cultivation of Vermont's image as a quintessentially rural place. Today, the myth is so pervasive and seemingly timeless that it can mask the reality of the profound changes and transformations that the state has experienced as Vermonters struggled to make a living from the land. It can mask a real understanding of the historical forces and human decisions that shaped the Vermont landscape. And it may even mask insight into the forces that could undo—virtually before our eyes—what we value about Vermont.

In sponsoring, publishing, and underwriting *Hands on the Land,* the Orton Family Foundation has expressed its strong belief in the value of a useable past. The book is a history for everybody, published in the belief that "the more a community understands about how decisions have been made, the better will be its future decisions." The book is engaging, written in a lively, provocative, and occasionally jocular style, liberally illustrated, and lavishly designed and printed. At $35.00 it is truly a bargain—no doubt largely made possible by Orton's generosity. But the Orton Family Foundation has done much more than simply underwrite an attractive book. The Foundation's vision of the value of rural Vermont and the value of understanding how the past has shaped the present makes a lasting contribution to the historical literature of the Green Mountain State.

DAVID A. DONATH

David A. Donath is president of The Woodstock Foundation, Inc., which operates the Billings Farm & Museum and is an operating partner of the Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park. He is a member of the Vermont Advisory Council for Historic Preservation.

The Great Warpath: British Military Sites from Albany to Crown Point

By David R. Starbuck (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999, pp. 206, $22.95, paper, $19.95).

This is not only an intimate look at the shadow of long-gone people and armies, but just as close a look at the day-to-day travails and thrills of the archaeological crews who laboriously unearth evidence and artifacts where the rest of us see only weedy mounds, depressions in the woods, and rotting timbers.

David Starbuck's uncovering and interpretation of soldier haunts, huts, forts, hospitals, and battlegrounds brings us all closer to the eighteenth-century people who lived, occasionally fought, and often died in the invasion corridor between Albany, N.Y., and the Canadian border. The very delicacy of the archaeologist's handwork and the painstaking effort to preserve ordinary things are a testimonial—an act of homage—to those very real, very tough, men, women, and children who were so typical of that bygone era of adventure, struggle, and conquest.

Whether they were conquering a vast wilderness or besieging forts, fighting whole armies or small war parties, the folk whose shadow can still be seen under the ground Starbuck turns over were human, not plastic icons—people, not idealized pictures in history books. Starbuck and company begin their quest for these shadows on that very premise: Real people, living every day in mundane campsites and cabins, threw what are now treasures into their trash pits. The archaeologist tells their story by revealing their humanity and showing us precisely where they won and lost, waited, ate, slept, recuperated, and were buried.

The Great Warpath is a journey into that shadowland of burn marks and post holes, lost graves and sunken bateaux. Those of us who see our ancestors as real people can appreciate such a book as this for showing vividly how the eighteenth-century generations were much like our own. The likeness is manifested by lost coins and buttons, pits full of beef bones, latrines, discolorations of soil that indicate the remains of walls and floors—and is evident on an unexploded mortar shell that bears a piece of human scalp, apparently from the head of the person upon whom the shell dropped.

Starbuck eloquently interprets what he and his fellow workers have found in the richest vein of eighteenth-century British military sites in the country. He overlays the historical narrative with an explanation of how he meticulously uncovered the physical evidence piece by piece, excavation by excavation. By showing us the ordinary things of life back then, the book evokes even more vividly the reality of the bloody battles of Saratoga and Hubbardton, the terrible massacre of unarmed British soldiers and civilians at Fort William Henry, and the waterborne clashes on lakes Champlain and George.

It is a delight and fascination to look at the 150 photographs and drawings that range from period illustrations of battles to square, lined-off excavations, and to collections of buttons and buckles discovered one by one.

Starbucks's own excitement shines through as he explores the earth that is not so far from his birthplace in nearby Ticonderoga, N.Y. The thirteen-year-long study detailed in the book was more than an academic endeavor for Starbuck, who teaches archeology at Plymouth State College in New Hampshire. It might be likened to a genealogical search of sorts—a search for his own people's ancestors, but with a spade, trowel, and brushes. That search bears an overarching sense of respect and reverence for those other folks who shared that past and that country with Starbuck's own forebears.

More questions than answers are often unearthed in this type of historical research: Why was a line of palisades found near a smallpox hospital on Rogers Island? Who were the five men whose skeletons were discovered years ago underneath a brick floor of a barracks at Fort William Henry (one with eight musket balls mingled with his bones)? What sorts of jars and bowls did those badly burned pottery shards unearthed at Mount Independence come from?

Mount Independence, across the narrows of Lake Champlain from Fort Ticonderoga, is perhaps the most intact site from the period, according to Starbuck. Its hospital, he believes, is the only eighteenth-century "general" hospital ever to have been professionally excavated. The encampment and fortifications there were in a constant state of construction throughout much of the Revolution, and thousands of troops came and went there, including British and loyalists.

Sites included in *The Great Warpath* are a blockhouse in the heart of Albany, the Saratoga battlefields, Fort Edward and Rogers Island, Fort William Henry, the Village of Lake George, Mount Independence, Ticonderoga, Hubbardton, and the depths beneath the waters of lakes George and Champlain.

Starbuck's combination of enthusiasm and personal gratification unites with his fine scholarship and profound respect for the people of the past. The result makes *The Great Warpath* a history book that goes beyond mere historical facts and delves deeper, into the truth about a people barely remembered—but whom we know a little better now, thanks to David Starbuck and company.

STUART MURRAY

Stuart Murray has written eight historical novels set in the frontier regions after the French and Indian War and during the Revolutionary War; he has also written three nonfiction works on the era, including The Honor of Command, *about the Saratoga campaign, and* America's Song, The Story of "Yankee Doodle."

Textiles in Early New England: Design, Production, and Consumption. The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings 1997

Edited by Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University Press, 1999, pp. 240, paper, $25.00).

This publication features essays based on papers presented at the twenty-second annual Dublin Seminar held in Deerfield, Massachusetts, June 27–29, 1997. It was the first of two seminars addressing the history of domestic and imported textiles in New England, 1700–1950. The volume contains fourteen of the eighteen papers presented at the seminar, organized into six thematic sections and a postscript.

In section one, "Coverlets," Deborah Kraak's essay "Early American Silk Patchwork Quilts" examines four extant eighteenth-century American silk patchwork quilts and places them in the broader context of English silk patchwork quilts and dress fabrics. "The Warp and Weft of a Lifetime: The Discovery of a New Hampshire Weaver and Her Work," relates the important research efforts of Donna-Belle Garvin into Hannah Leathers Wilson, the weaver of at least 177 weft-loop coverlets long admired by textile historians. The essay goes beyond the history of Hannah Wilson's life, placing her work in the context of the local market, the consumers who "bespoke" the coverlets, local businesses, and textile spinning and weaving mills.

Section two, "Textiles and Decorative Arts," features the essay by Paula Bradstreet Richter, "Lucy Cleveland's Figures of Rags: Textile Arts and Social Commentary in Early-Nineteenth-Century New England." The artist's interest in storytelling is revealed by the domestic scenes she created, such as "The New Baby" or "The Sick Room." Her figure "The Petition of the Poor Shirtwomen," created for the 1852 Shirtwoman's Union Fair in New York, illustrates her awareness of and participation in national reform movements.

In section three, "Hand Tools," the essay "Heads Were Spinning: The Significance of the Patent Accelerating Spinning Wheel Head" documents how the development and distribution of the accelerating spinning head affected domestic woolen textile production. Author Frank G. White presents an excellent overview of nineteenth-century business development by relating how Amos Miner faced such issues as production rights, manufacturing concerns, and marketing strategies in his efforts.

Two of the essays in section four, "Domestic and Outwork Production," trace unique home-based industries promoted by and organized for women. "The Laces of Ipswich, Massachusetts: An American Industry, 1750–1840" by Marta M. Cotterell, and "Mitten Production in Nineteenth-Century Downeast Maine" by Deborah Pulliam, discuss the structure and economy of two outwork industries and examine how the changes in nineteenth-century industry and commerce affected these home-based industries. In the third essay of this section, "Lace Schools and Lace Factories: Female Outwork in New England's Machine-Lace Industry, 1818–1838,"

Richard M. Candee discusses how the outwork systems in the handmade lace industry were integrated into the factory-based production of lace.

Section five, "Toward Industrial Production," focuses on the history of domestic and factory textile production. Adrienne D. Hood discusses how regional differences, immigration patterns, and agricultural trends influenced patterns of industrialization in urban and rural Pennsylvania and Massachusetts in her essay, "Industrial Opportunism: From Handweaving to Mill Production, 1700–1830." In "Textile Legacy of a Narragansett Planter: Families of Robert and Christopher Browning," Gail B. Putnam examines an extensive collection of household textiles and clothing that demonstrates the continued production of hand-woven clothing and household goods long after factory goods were readily available. By relating these textiles to household guides and other documented extant textiles, Putnam illustrates how one family's collection can be used to provide a more complete picture of domestic life.

Section six, "Textiles and Clothing," explores the use of imported and domestic textiles and popular attitudes toward clothing and the people who produced it. In "Bandanna: On the Indian Origins of an All-American Textile," Susan S. Bean looks at the history of manufacture, importation, and use of these now familiar textiles. Lynne Z. Bassett examines fashionable clothing and popular attitudes in her essay, "'The Great Leap': Youth's Clothing in the Early Nineteenth Century." By relating extant clothing and illustrations found in portraits and prints to comments on appropriate clothing found in contemporary literature and guide books, Bassett shows that fashion-conscious youth were caught between the desire to dress according to style and parental concern for economy and popular attitudes that stressed restraint. In her essay "Designing Women: Massachusetts Milliners in the Nineteenth Century," Glendyne R. Wergland presents a fascinating commentary on the economic and social lifestyle of women employed in this fashionable trade. To insure a lucrative business, women needed more than creativity and sewing skills; they required good business skills, the ability to deal with salesmen and customers, and astuteness to market their creations. On the social side, a successful milliner needed to be cheerful and enjoy a good reputation. It was also important for her to attend a local church, not only to demonstrate her good character, but also to advertise her hats. "Luther Edgerton's 'Cloathing Books': A Record of Men's Ready-to-Wear, 1817–1821" by Adrienne St. Pierre describes Mr. Edgerton's career as a bookkeeper and tailor of ready-made clothing. Using Edgerton's records, St. Pierre provides information on the relative value of clothes, the textiles used to make them, the consumers purchasing the clothes, and the maker's life, family, and financial circumstances.

The closing essay, "A Canterbury Tale: Sarah Ann Major Harris and Prudence Crandall," reminds us of the continued value of textiles as artifacts of material culture. Using an embroidered family register as a reference, author Glee F. Krueger relates the story of Sally M. Prentice, the first African-American pupil to attend Prudence Crandall's academy in Canterbury, Connecticut.

The papers in this collection provide valuable information on the makers and users of quilts, coverlets, dolls, lace, millinery, and clothing; the fiber and fabric used in their manufacture; and the economic environment in which they were produced.

Textiles in Early New England: Design, Production, and Consumption will be an excellent resource for anyone interested in the study of textiles.

CELIA Y. OLIVER

Celia Oliver is the Curator of Textiles at Shelburne Museum. Her recent publication, "Enduring Grace: Quilts from the Shelburne Museum," examines the use and relationship of quilts and other bedcovers in the historic home.

A Tourist's New England: Travel Fiction, 1820–1920

Edited by Dona Brown (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1999, pp. 217, paper, $19.95).

Pitched to an academic as well as a popular audience, *A Tourist's New England* is a welcome addition to the still sparse published literature treating tourist travel in New England from 1820 to 1920. In presenting concepts and literary images of travel, it realizes an admirable goal. It provides substantive intellectual stimulation as well as engaging entertainment. In recent years, by virtue of her publications, lectures, conference presentations, and editorial work, Dona Brown, associate professor of history at the University of Vermont, has established herself as the premier historian of tourism in nineteenth- and twentieth-century New England. This reputation is well merited. Brown's most notable accomplishment to date is her marvelously insightful and thought-provoking book, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century.*

In *A Tourist's New England,* a volume in the University Press of New England's extensive and successful "Hardscrabble Books" series, Brown has assembled, edited, and written a fine introduction to a representative group of fictional writings—short stories as well as excerpts from novels—by some of the region's best-known writers, beginning with Nathaniel Hawthorne in the 1830s and concluding with William Dean Howells and Sinclair Lewis in the 1920s. In the author's words, "this collection explores tourists' responses to New England in an earlier era" and "the experiences of one particular set of tourists who wrote—and published—fictional accounts of their experiences" (p. 1). In Brown's introduction, one gains a sense of the importance of the practice of travel in nineteenth-century fiction, the demographics and economics of tourism, and the changes in travel patterns and "the ways people wrote about traveling" (p. 2). As New England underwent pronounced transformation in the nineteenth century, so did perceptions of the landscape, seascape, city, rural town, and the nature of travel.

Brown organizes the collected readings into three logical groupings. The first is concerned with "tourists in search of beautiful scenery" and illustrates effectively "the close relationship between scenic touring and literary work" (p. 4). The pri-

mary geographic focus of this section is on New Hampshire's White Mountains, long regarded by historians as the principal scenic tourist destination in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. The reader is treated to excerpts from Hawthorne's "Sketches from Memory" (1835) and to the entire essay, "The Ambitious Guest" (1835), chronicling the Willey family and the tragic Crawford Notch landslide of 1826. Following Hawthorne's writings are Sarah Josepha Hale's "The Romance of Traveling" from her *Traits of American Life* (1835), two chapters from Susan Warner's *Nobody* (1882), and a chapter from Charles Dudley Warner's "Their Pilgrimage," serialized in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (1886). Centered on both coastal and mountain scenery, these excerpts, like Hawthorne's, connect "literary fame and scenic touring" (p. 5), but also tie travel experiences to "the stories of love, rivalry, and social position that dominated late-nineteenth-century fiction" (p. 8).

The second section of the book, "Pleasure and Danger at New England Resorts," investigates the New England vacation experience and associated themes involving romance, sensualism, and sexuality. The reader is first treated to excerpts from Emma Dunham Kelley's *Megda* (1891), and Susan and Anna Warner's *The Gold of Chickaree* (1876), which deal with questionable human encounters, the significance of the waltz dance, and the "profound tension at the heart of nineteenth-century vacationing" (p. 8). Next, Harriet Beecher Stowe examines this tension in chapters from her novel *Pink and White Tyranny* (1871), about "corruptions of wealth and leisure" (p. 9). This is followed by excerpts from Edith Wharton's *Summer* (1917), in which she recounts an episode about "the lure of marriage to an inappropriate mate" (pp. 10–11). The unpredictable human side of tourism is thus fully investigated.

In the book's third section, "A Visit to Old New England," Brown explores "the tourist's search for an experience of . . . [an] imaginary nostalgic New England." Each of her five selections "harbors a fantasy—a memory of something lost that might be found in rural New England" (p. 13). In contrast to earlier times, visions of the regional countryside after the Civil War underwent "a radical transformation" (p. 12) due to industrialization, urbanization, and growing ethnic diversity. Chapter one of Edward Bellamy's *Six to One: A Nantucket Idyl* (1878) portrays a peaceful, orderly, remote island, removed from the stresses of city life. The next excerpt, from Sarah Orne Jewett's *Deephaven* (1877), describes her home town, South Berwick, Maine, in a similar fashion, "blending nostalgia for the past with meticulous powers of observation" (p. 14). This is followed by Thomas Nelson Page's short story, "Miss Godwin's Inheritance" (*Scribner's Magazine*, 1904), also set in coastal Maine and similarly concerned with recapturing "stability and harmony in a world without industrial conflict" (p. 15) through immersion in the past. In portions of his last novel, *The Vacation of the Kelwyns* (1920), William Dean Howells provocatively describes the time-honored tourist quest for good country food, a vacation delight combined with "the pleasures of a 'colonial' fantasy of order and stability, [and] the quiet and solitude of a place off the railroad grid" (p. 15). In the final selection, Brown directs attention to the turn-of-the-century interest in wilderness hiking and camping through the experiences of Sinclair Lewis's legendary character George Babbitt (from the 1922 novel *Babbitt*), his search for communion with nature and a

return to the uncomplicated, pure, and primitive past. This is a most fitting conclusion to Brown's collection of "tourist responses to New England . . . between 1820 and 1920" (p. 1), and to that still wonderfully enticing and compelling invention—the New England myth that continues to beckon and refuses to die.

BRYANT F. TOLLES, JR.

Bryant F. Tolles, Jr. is associate professor of history and art history, and director of the Museum Studies Program at the University of Delaware. He is the author of The Grand Resort Hotels of the White Mountains *(David R. Godine, 1998), and* Summer Cottages in the White Mountains *(University Press of New England, 2000).*

Beautiful Lake Bomoseen

By Castleton State College History Students, with an introduction by Holman D. Jordan, Jr. (Castleton, Vt.: Castleton State College, 1999, pp. 227, paper, $19.95).

The Right to Recreate and the Attempt to Amuse: Recreation and Leisure in the Towns of Addison County, Vermont, 1790–1930

By Margaret Kline-Kirkpatrick (Middlebury, Vt.: Friends of the Library, Middlebury College, 1998, pp. 119, paper, $15.00).

One of the greatest difficulties of exploring the history of leisure and recreation in the United States is the fact that so little research has been done on a local level. Leisure and recreation have played increasingly important roles in American life and, in many states (Vermont is one), have become crucial to the economy. Still, local historians are only beginning to show an interest in gathering basic information about the history of recreation and leisure in their towns and counties. These two new local histories may promise a change.

These books are also interesting for another reason: they are written by undergraduates at Vermont colleges. The first, *Beautiful Lake Bomoseen*, is the collaborative project of several generations of history students at Castleton State College, under the direction of Holman D. Jordan, Jr. The second, *The Right to Recreate and the Attempt to Amuse*, is Margaret Kline-Kirkpatrick's senior honors thesis, submitted to the history department at Middlebury College. As the products of undergraduate historians, these histories are each impressive, testifying to long hours of archival research and interviewing and also to the hard work of writing and analysis. They demonstrate, among other things, what a powerful teaching tool local history can be.

Beautiful Lake Bomoseen is a compilation of student research projects, each describing a specific aspect of the resort experience at Lake Bomoseen. Most are based on oral histories done in the community. For the most part focused on the

1920s and 1930s, they detail the history of each inn, hotel, beach, cottage community, and dance hall on the lake. Much of this material will be especially appealing to the local enthusiast, who will enjoy matching reminiscences with the people who appear here. Many sections also offer intriguing information for scholars, often touching on important questions of larger regional interest. Historians know very little, for example, about the work force employed by resorts. The discovery that workers from Jamaica staffed some Lake Bomoseen hotels is both startling and intriguing.

If these essays have any weakness, it is a general one often associated with oral histories: many of the questions historians may have about the past may not arise in an interview setting. For example, most of the oral histories imply that Lake Bomoseen was a largely Roman Catholic and Irish-American resort, but no one addresses the question of how that fact may have shaped the resort experience there. On the whole, though, these are lively and interesting essays, reflecting a devotion to concrete detail that a teacher loves to see in a history student. Professor Jordan offers a thought-provoking general introduction to their work, fitting the local information into a larger historical framework.

Margaret Kline-Kirkpatrick's work, *The Right to Recreate,* was originally her senior thesis at Middlebury College. As Kline-Kirkpatrick puts it, her work describes a "movement from a world where recreation was a private, individual, and usually single-sex experience to one more public, community-organized, and occasionally mixed-sex . . . and finally to a mass-American, often commercialized experience" (p. 6). Again, *The Right to Recreate* will interest local readers, who will find food for thought in her approach to local history. For example, she makes the connection between the demand for better roads in Addison County and the new craze for bicycles. But Kline-Kirkpatrick's purpose is clearly to set local history into the context of larger historical questions—essentially to illustrate national trends with a local narrative. Addison County serves here as a test case for rural America, offering evidence for use in more general theorizing about the history of leisure.

Kline-Kirkpatrick points out in her introduction that the complexity and magnitude of her subject made her task difficult. That is certainly true. In spite of its limited geographical focus, her work raises too many important questions to be answered in a short work like this: apparently simple questions about leisure invariably lead the researcher to a series of complex questions about gender, religion, social class, and the rise of industrialism. But these difficulties do not obscure the intelligent and thoughtful work she has done.

Both these books do important work, and both would make interesting reading for other undergraduates, not only because they were written by undergraduates, but because of their direct and concrete approach to history.

DONA BROWN

Dona Brown is associate professor of history at the University of Vermont in Burlington.

Safe Thus Far: A History of the Guilford Congregational Church, a.k.a. The Guilford Community Church, United Church of Christ in Guilford, Vermont, 1767–1997.

By Larrimore C. Crockett (Dummerston, Vt.: Black Mountain Press, 1999, pp. xiv+ 275+ Appendices, $56.00).

Larrimore Crockett's *Safe Thus Far* has a splendid title because it recognizes that life, as well as recorded history, is work in progress. The book is a monumental study of a parish in a town that seems to have become an outer suburb of Brattleboro. The Guilford church is unique in having survived, although sinking into a coma several times, when other denominations have come and gone. Its author, an outsider in birth, education, and early work, became an insider as Vermont executive, professor, interim pastor, and husband of the minister to whom his work is dedicated, F. Shirley Harris Crockett (1932–1998).

Crockett is interested in details and knows how to get them right and let them illuminate large themes. Hence his book will be useful for a wide variety of readers: the members of the Guilford church, its neighbors in the area, anyone concerned with religion, past and present, and genealogists and other persons seeking information about the hundreds of individuals carefully indexed. Most valuable is the vast collection of elusive data on the settled, supply, and guest pastors, especially the first four in the eighteenth century. The 136 pages of appendices include biographies of pastors; lists of members, baptisms, marriages, deaths; covenants, articles and confessions of faith; lists of church records; and bibliography.

Crockett carries the reader along with him in wondering why things happened, and in risking clearly marked guesses, based on an amazing variety of soundly scrutinized sources gathered from across the country. He penetrates, farther than most writers in this field, the darkness concealing events for which the main sources are gone. His lively curiosity and imagination operate skillfully on the few details he can find.

He combines detachment and sympathy for the leadership and the members. Although an ordained minister and preacher's kid, he is restrained in pointing morals. He does not dodge the failings to which human nature is prone, but explains the situation and is not judgmental. His treatment of Abner Reeve and Elijah Wollage, first and third pastors, is characteristic. However, when reporting the failure of the wheel chair lift to operate because one piece of electrician's tape on the door frame was too thick, Crockett cannot refrain from pointing out what a "huge difference even a small effort can make" (p. 256).

Where most historians end well back of their present, to avoid hurt feelings and because of the size of the job and the lack of perspective, Crockett risks revision by coming up to yesterday. Future historians of subjects upon which this sotry touches are fortunate that they will have *Safe Thus Far* to build on.

T. D. SEYMOUR BASSETT

T. D. Seymour Bassett, retired from the University of Vermont, has recently published The Gods of the Hills: Piety and Society in Nineteenth-Century Vermont.

Vergennes, Vermont and the War of 1812: The Battle of Lake Champlain

By Norman Ansley (Severna Park, Md.: Brooke Keefer Limited Editions, 1999, pp. 232, $29.95, paper, $19.95).

The history of Vergennes is dominated by the War of 1812. The central role played by the little city in the events leading up to the Battle of Plattsburg Bay casts a large shadow over the remainder of its illustrious past, much as the monument dedicated to the hero of the battle, Commodore Thomas MacDonough, overshadows the city green. For it was here, in the Otter Creek basin, that the motley flotilla we called a navy limped into winter quarters in late 1813. It was here, anticipating the desire of the British to gain control of the lake during the next sailing season, that a new fleet was carved out of the surrounding forest with such amazing speed that it still remains hard to believe. The eventual commander-in-chief of the Vermont volunteers, Samuel Strong, was also one of Vergennes's leading citizens.

With the title of *Vergennes, Vermont and the War of 1812*, one might expect a work centering on the activities in Vergennes during the conflict. Perhaps it would consider the impact of the naval shipyard on what was then Vermont's only city, or how military contracts and the fitting out of the American fleet revived the hopes of the Boston merchants who owned the struggling Monkton Iron Works situated on the Otter Creek falls. Instead, the title seems an attempt to pay homage to Vergennes's part in the conflict, for the city finds itself only peripherally involved in the main story. The subtitle, *The Battle of Lake Champlain*, more accurately describes what the reader will find inside the cover. The bulk of the book's two hundred thirty-two pages are devoted to following the members of the American army and navy in the Champlain valley as they moved toward their rendezvous with destiny on September 11, 1814.

The decisive engagement at Plattsburg Bay can hardly be considered virgin soil to the historian, for it has been analyzed and reanalyzed by everyone from academics to military and naval officers to world leaders. Yet Ansley's aim here is not to plow old ground. Rather, he has created a unique treasure trove on this epic battle from a Vermont perspective. The author opens with a forty-page synopsis of the contest. He sets the stage by describing the sorry state of the navy as it existed when MacDonough arrived on the lake in the fall of 1812. We are then led through the disastrous summer of 1813, punctuated by a demoralizing British raid, the commodore's choice of Vergennes as his winter quarters, and the frantic shipbuilding campaign that followed. Ansley describes the rebuff of the Royal Navy at Fort Cassin in the spring of 1814 as it attempted to bottle up the infant American fleet, and, of course, closes with a vivid rendering of the land and sea battles in Plattsburg and on Lake Champlain.

The balance of the book consists of a compendium of data on the battle divided into two appendices. In the first, the author furnishes detailed descriptions of all the ships of both navies that were present at Plattsburg Bay, right down to the gun

ranges of the cannon and the consistency of the shot. He also identifies all units of the United States army, Vermont volunteers, and New York militia present, as well as those of the British army. The second appendix lists all Vermont companies by town and commander, and each company's assignment to regiment. It also includes a valuable list of the over 3,000 Vermonters who volunteered for service at Plattsburg, which the author compiled by searching through the roster of 1812 veterans, pension lists, and town histories. The book is brought to completion with an afterword by Art Cohn, director of the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum, and Kevin Crisman, professor at Texas A&M University. Both trailblazers in the exploration and preservation of the lake's underwater relics, they provide a short history of what has become of the remains of the British and American fleets that took part in this pivotal clash.

Norman Ansley has put together a nice volume on the Battle of Plattsburg Bay. The book is handsomely illustrated, with photographs as well as line drawings, has ample notes, a bibliography, and index. For the less seaworthy among us, the author includes a glossary of nautical terms. With its unique format and status as the first attempt at compiling a true list of Vermont volunteers at Plattsburg, *Vergennes, Vermont and the War of 1812* has earned a place on the crowded shelf of books devoted to this subject.

KENNETH A. DEGREE

Kenneth A. Degree is the author of Vergennes in the Age of Jackson *and* Vergennes in 1870: A Vermont City in the Victorian Age.

Justin Smith Morrill: The Father of the Land Grant Colleges

By Coy F. Cross II (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1999, pp. 147, $24.95).

Justin Smith Morrill was arguably Vermont's most distinguished nineteenth-century politician. Certainly he was the most durable; Morrill's combined forty-four years in the House and Senate remains the longest tenure in Congress by any Vermonter. In his time, Morrill was considered uniquely representative of the characteristics of his home state, and he remains a Vermont icon, particularly in his native Orange County. Nevertheless, the last book-length biography of Morrill was written in 1924. Coy Cross's new biography, *Justin Smith Morrill: Father of the Land Grant Colleges,* rectifies that long neglect.

Justin Smith Morrill is generally a straightforward political history. As the book's subtitle suggests, Cross is mainly interested in recounting, and measuring the long-term impact of, Morrill's legislative achievements. The first chapter synopsizes Morrill's life prior to his formal entry into politics, from his Methodist upbringing

in Strafford and training in business in Portland, Maine, to early retirement after achieving great success as a merchant in South Strafford. It is with Morrill's election to the House of Representatives in 1854, amidst the deepening sectional crisis, that Cross's story truly commences.

Cross argues that Morrill had an immediate and enormous impact in Congress. He first made a name for himself crusading against Mormon polygamy. Morrill subsequently achieved greater prominence for his enthusiastically protectionist stance on industry and trade. "Ever the fiscal conservative" (p. 64), as Cross writes, Morrill submitted proposals to increase tariff rates in 1859 and 1860, but saw these blocked by his Southern colleagues. Only after the secession of the first six Southern states was the Morrill Tariff enacted. Cross writes that this made the Vermonter one of the foremost Yankee villains to Southerners; one Virginia newspaper offered a reward for the capture of Morrill dead or alive in 1862. The Morrill Tariff did not long survive the war, but it established his reputation. For forty years thereafter, Morrill was known as "Congress' most knowledgeable member on tariffs and wool's staunchest guardian" (p. 51).

Before the Civil War concluded, Morrill realized his greatest legislative achievement with the passage in 1862 of the Land-Grant College Act. Though Morrill's own education had ended at the secondary level, his law's effect on American higher education was profound; Cross quotes Robert Frost as writing that there was "no greater name in American education than that of Justin Smith Morrill" (p. 77). Morrill's vision of a system of universities that taught agriculture, engineering, and commerce, which Cross dubs "Morrill's Monument," remains the legislation for which he is best known. Cross is careful to note, but ultimately dismisses, persistent doubts concerning Morrill's authorship of many of the bill's provisions. The three million students of all types who currently attend land-grant colleges each year are, for Cross, a powerful, living testament to Morrill's extraordinary vision of a more practical and equitable system of higher education.

Morrill moved on to the Senate in 1867 and remained there until his death in 1898. He wrote little memorable legislation there, focusing his efforts on tariff issues, beautifying Washington, D.C., and nurturing the land-grant college system. A fierce proponent of the gold standard, Morrill helped write the Specie Resumption Act of 1875. The resulting deflation of currency was a massive economic tragedy for most rural sections of the nation, the reaction to it culminating two decades later in Populism's brief moment. Vermont farmers were far less touched by sound money policies, however, and Morrill's popularity in his home state never waned.

Justin Smith Morrill is excellent political history, and is highly recommended for a wide audience. Questions concerning the larger forces that influenced Morrill's ideology are left largely unanswered, such as how he was shaped by being raised a Methodist during the height of the Second Great Awakening. Perhaps also deserving more exploration is why Morrill was considered so uniquely representative of his state in the late nineteenth century. Late-nineteenth-century Vermont was not an entirely simple, coherent society, but instead rent with deep divisions, foremost among them between the state's farming and industrial communities. Cross writes that Morrill's constituents were attracted to his emulation of such unifying, ancient Ver-

Vermont State Government since 1965

Edited by Michael Sherman (Burlington, Vt.: University of Vermont, 1999, pp. 668, $49.95).

Every American state has a diverse band of writers, academics, journalists, politicians, and administrators who take a detailed interest in the life and times of their state. The records of these individuals, appearing singly as authors or gathered in edited volumes, appear in the annual volume of *Books in Print*, which notes, for example, some 850 items under the subject heading of "Vermont" and 37 items under "Vermont, politics and government." *Vermont State Government since 1965*, with its thirty-two authors and co-authors of twenty-six substantive chapters plus three introductory messages, a substantive appendix, and six selected tables of general interest plus two maps, is the latest contribution to a sizable and diverse literature on the Green Mountain State. The book follows steadfastly in two traditions of political analysis.

The writers, who were gathered under the auspices of the University of Vermont's Center for Research on Vermont and the Snelling Center for Government, extend a tradition that was first set out by Andrew and Edith Nuquist, who co-authored the earlier and complementary 1966 volume, *Vermont State Government and Administration*. The current volume is dedicated to these two chroniclers of Vermont politics who wrote as it passed through the middle of this century. The present volume emulates the organization and layout of the Nuquist & Nuquist book, thereby continuing their traditional analysis, but also providing a valuable updating and more extensive analyses that befit a many times more complicated politics and government. It must have been a most sobering thought for editor Michael Sherman and his colleagues when they gathered to discuss and plan this present volume that it took the efforts of so many dedicated and energetic Vermonters in 1999 to replicate for the last third of this century what the two-Nuquist team had done for Vermont for the period up to 1966.

Both the Nuquists and Sherman *et al.* follow in a second tradition of what can be called "within-state analysis." These analyses are characterized by a close scrutiny of a state, institution by institution. In this volume, the constitutional framework of Vermont government and politics is masterfully brought up to date by the late, former Justice of the Vermont Supreme Court, William Hill. It is followed by five chapters that discuss the formal and informal institutions that mark Vermont's "political system." Gregory Sanford and Bill Doyle nicely team up as "outsider and insider" to describe Vermont's legislative politics, wonderfully complemented by the most engaging chapter in the book, on "the media," written by former journalists William Porter and Stephen Terry. Frank Bryan's chapter on "interest groups and lobbying" sets out some of the results of his on-going research on these informal political institutions, an ever-more-complex web of links and understandings between those authorities vested with power—officials and administrators—and those who need something from those in power—representatives of private individuals, firms, and associations.

mission on Country Life (VCCL), established in 1928. Composed of two hundred prominent Vermonters, the commission had Governor John Weeks as chairman and Perkins as secretary. Its funding, through grants from the Social Science Research Council and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Fund, assured continued life for the Eugenics Survey itself.

Over a three-year period VCCL devised recommendations in a wide range of areas affecting Vermont's future, from agriculture to tourism to the state's "heritage." Beneath the surface of its 1931 final report, *Rural Vermont: A Program for the Future,* however, lay Perkins's eugenic concern for protecting and nourishing Vermont's "old stock." One of the commission's study groups, the "Committee on the Human Factor," specifically continued the work of the Eugenics Survey, promoting in its closing report a program of "positive eugenics" that would include assistance to the "handicapped" poor and feebleminded, and child-focused parent education programs, to be provided by the state Department of Public Welfare. It also recommended good breeding, "urging that it should be the patriotic duty of every 'normal' couple to have sufficient children to replenish 'the good old Vermont stock'" (p. 116).

In 1936, as the Germany of Adolph Hitler commenced translating eugenics into a program of racial purification through genocide, Perkins's Vermont eugenics efforts were coming to an end, his ideas in decreasing favor. By then, Perkins himself grudgingly had begun placing larger emphasis on the role of individual choice and motivation in human success and failure. In 1945 he formally retired from the UVM faculty, and died in 1956, reportedly a disappointed and bitter man.

Perkins's endeavors, and that of his Vermont backers, left a harsh legacy. They poisoned efforts of reformers at defining an enlarged and more enlightened role for state social services; they undermined the very community bonds Perkins and his allies presumably sought to strengthen; and, most significantly, their contributions to Vermont's experiment with sterilization had untold and tragic consequences for the lives of countless individuals. "Unfortunately," Gallagher writes, "the process of looking at people eugenically—in terms of their conformity to the idealized Vermont family—would alter the relationship between the middle class and the poor, between providers and recipients of 'human services,' and between civil authority and the people they served" (p. 70).

Gallagher tells this complex and fascinating Vermont story in a direct and clear prose style, never losing sight of its larger national and international context. Along the way, she provides informative side lessons in the history of science, the politics of scientific inquiry, and the cultural and social history of early-twentieth-century Vermont. *Breeding Better Vermonters* is an important book, made more timely by recent advances in mapping the human genome and renewed questions about the proper uses of scientific information in efforts at charting "a better future." The volume contains endnotes, an index, seventeen helpful illustrations, a bibliography, and appendices that include a "pedigree chart," examples from Perkins's case studies, and Vermont's 1931 sterilization law.

GENE SESSIONS

Gene Sessions is a former editor of Vermont History *and a coeditor of* Vermont Voices, 1609 through the 1990s: A Documentary History of the Green Mountain State.

"progress." When Perkins learned that mental tests given to Vermont recruits during World War I showed that a high number of men had been rejected for military service because of low scores, he decided to bring eugenics research to Vermont.

He utilized studies in "rural eugenics," which rested on the belief that recessive genes, including a "feeblemindedness gene," explained "the apparent 'life incompetence' and 'peculiarities' of isolated and inbred families" (p. 36). Perkins soon concluded that the rugged, isolated life of some rural Vermonters had produced not hardy self-reliance and continuation of the proud Yankee Protestant tradition, but bad heredity, inbreeding, and unsocial communities that helped explain both Vermont's reputation for backwardness and the wartime tests' embarrassing results (pp. 39–40).

In 1925 Perkins established the Eugenics Survey of Vermont to document his conclusions and offer scientific solutions to the problems exposed by the draft board results. Gallagher writes that, far from "scientific," the Eugenics Survey's assumptions and methods reflected the "deep historic prejudices" that existed among Vermont's "elites," directed at the state's non-Yankee "unwanted peoples," primarily French Canadians and Abenakis (p. 70).

By presenting his Eugenics Survey as a means for advancing child welfare and progressive social reform in the state, Perkins gained valuable cooperation and financial backing. Some of the state's most reputable individuals endorsed his work and contributed money to his cause. He also won public endorsement from such trusted institutions as the Vermont Conference of Social Work and the Vermont Children's Aid Society, through which he gained access to confidential case files of "problem" families with "inherited defects."

Gallagher identifies Perkins's goal as the "very specific" one of transforming "the social records of families registered in the Vermont Children's Aid Society and the State Social Services Exchange into pedigrees of degeneracy that would help support a campaign for legalized sterilization" (p. 71). In this effort to prevent the reproduction of the unfit, his field staff drew up profiles of sixty-two "defective" and "degenerate" family lines, and more than six thousand individuals, spanning several generations (p. 77). These "unwholesome" Vermonters had been classified by welfare authorities as either criminally inclined, feebleminded, or dependent on public charity. In 1931, with Perkins's support, the Vermont legislature enacted "An Act for Human Betterment by Voluntary Sterilization," which led to an unknown number of sterilizations, both voluntary and involuntary, many of them performed on people of Abenaki or French Canadian descent. Lawmakers did not repeal the act until 1981.

Two developments complicated Perkins's efforts in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The scientific climate of opinion concerning the merits of eugenics research and related social policies began to change; and a report by the National Committee on Mental Hygiene found Vermont's rate of mental deficiency to be not disproportionately high but in fact similar to the national average. Faced with declining support for his endeavors, Perkins broadened the Eugenics Survey's focus, moving away from the "negative eugenics" of investigating "degenerate" families, with its emphasis on sterilization, to a broader survey of the conditions of life in rural Vermont that encompassed not only heredity factors but also social, cultural, and economic influences.

The vehicle for this more comprehensive approach became the Vermont Com-

Horace Corbin who launched the new ferry *City of Burlington* in 1936 and thus ushered in the end of the steam era on Lake Champlain. Corbin's diesel-powered "streamline" ferry was specifically designed to transport automobiles. One year later Horace Corbin bought the ailing CTC for a fraction of its book value. References to competition from Goodsell and Corbin would have helped readers to appreciate more fully the severity of the CTC's dilemma in the final years of its operation.

Ticonderoga: Lake Champlain Steamboat was released to coincide with the rededication of the steamboat *Ticonderoga* following an intensive six-year restoration. The restoration effort, underwritten by Mac and Lois McClure and the estate of Ralph Nading Hill, was a momentous event in historic preservation and will insure that *Ticonderoga*, the last of her line, will remain a national treasure for future generations to enjoy. Strum's publication is a worthy companion to this effort and will provide everyone who has an interest in history with a valuable new resource for a voyage into the world of steamboating.

ARTHUR B. COHN

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Breeding Better Vermonters: The Eugenics Project in the Green Mountain State

By Nancy L. Gallagher (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1999, pp. 237, paper, $21.00).

By the 1920s prominent Vermonters had been worrying for decades that their state seemed to be "falling behind" as the rest of the country "progressed." When Henry F. Perkins, a zoologist at the University of Vermont (UVM), launched the state on a notorious adventure in eugenics late in the decade, he believed it would provide both an explanation and a solution for Vermont's difficulties. According to *Breeding Better Vermonters,* Nancy L. Gallagher's careful and intelligent account of Perkins's activities, the UVM science professor "discovered in eugenics the means to renew Vermont's heroic history and reveal the sources of Vermont's social and economic problems" (pp. 9–10).

Perkins became drawn to the study of heredity and genetics around 1912 and soon joined ranks with a growing number of early-twentieth-century scientists enamored of the notion that laws governing heredity provided a means for directing human progress; that some races and classes stood genetically superior to others; and that, consequently, race mixing deteriorated "pure racial stocks" and impeded

Strum. The book starts by tracing the evolution of Lake Champlain steamers from 1808 to 1906. The remainder of the book focuses on the construction, operation, trials, tribulations, and triumphs of the steamer *Ticonderoga*. Strum captures the world as it changed from steam power to the gasoline engine, and he demonstrates the impact of the automobile and the Great Depression on the Champlain Transportation Company (CTC) and its sister company, the Lake George Steamboat Company. Of particular interest are the chapters that chronicle the "Twilight of Steamboating, 1937–1953," and the acquisition and movement of the *Ticonderoga* to the grounds of the Shelburne Museum. The final chapter details the complex and significant challenges the Shelburne Museum and its staff faced with *Ticonderoga*'s restoration, the landmark achievement completed in 1998 that motivated this new publication. The book is luxuriously illustrated with paintings, postcards, menus, broadsides, and photographs. Most of these items come from the Shelburne Museum's extensive collection, an accumulation of material that provides an excellent visual record of the people, the period, and the steamboats themselves.

Ticonderoga (1906) was the last steamboat built by CTC, incorporated in 1826. The Delaware & Hudson Railroad acquired the CTC in 1870 and ultimately sold the *Ticonderoga,* along with the CTC's other assets, in 1937. Strum describes well the steamers' physical limitations, since *Chateaugay* (1888), *Vermont III* (1903), and *Ticonderoga* (1906) were all designed for the pre-automobile age of passenger excursions. The dawn of the automobile era forced the awkward steamers to adapt or risk being sent to the scrap heap, but time and tide could not save the steamers from the advancement of technology. After a series of heroic efforts led by Daniel Loomis, the Fishers, Ralph Hill, and Electra Webb, the time had come to seek a creative solution. That solution, the dramatic movement of the *Ticonderoga* overland to the Shelburne Museum, is beautifully presented in this book.

Strum consulted the best archival and printed material available, and the book's bibliography and endnotes will be very useful to those interested in further researching this topic. A particular contribution is information from interviews conducted by Jane Beck, director of the Vermont Folklife Center. Excerpts from interviews with Lois McClure, Lynn Bottum, David Eakin, Dick Adams, Jr., and Sterling Weed give the story a texture that brings *Ticonderoga* to life, adding a new dimension to the steamboat's history that cannot be found in newspapers, books, or corporate records.

I questioned only one aspect of Strum's historical presentation, when on page 65 he quoted from the diary of Daniel Loomis, who worked for the CTC for fifty years and was its last general manager before it was sold. Strum stated that the 1933 entry, "'No fuel-no money-no brains' reflects his [Loomis's] exasperation at the effect the Depression was having on his ability to keep the steamboat business alive." I have always interpreted this passage as a criticism that Loomis directed not at himself, but rather at his ever resourceful competitor, Elisha Goodsell, an unflappable entrepreneur who on occasion had to raise his ferries from the lake bottom at the start of the day. In 1923, Goodsell began placing the old steamers *Admiral, Legonia,* and *Oneida* in direct competition with the CTC. It was Goodsell's operation that drew Loomis's comment about "No fuel-no money-no brains," although it was

promise at one time acceptable to most critics, was shattered the illusion that Vermont was free of racism. Negative responses to the Vermont–New York project, a summer program that brought city blacks to the state, alerted residents to a strong antiblack sentiment, while a nightrider shooting into the home of a newly arrived black minister and the legal aftermath of the incident left many Vermonters traumatized. Depicted to the nation as a bastion of self-righteous New England hypocrites, the University, aspiring for national approval, abandoned efforts at "sanitation" and sought a thorough purge of Kakewalk from the campus.

Of course, single photographs can seldom tell such complicated stories, but the fact that *A Vermont Century* included so many photos that stimulated detailed reflections merits high praise.

There are occasional errors of fact. Some essayists leave the impression that before there was a Republican Party Vermonters voted Democratic, and purists will note that Bernard Sanders ran for governor, not Congress in 1972. Bernie Sanders merits consideration in another context as well. Possessed of a broad New York City accent, he has done more than any other single individual to change the popular concept of Vermont speech. My wife and I also claim New York City as our place of birth, and though we have lived in Vermont for forty years we have retained our original speech patterns. It was with considerable surprise, therefore, that beginning about ten years ago strangers we met in middle America and on the west coast often claimed they could identify us as being from Vermont from the way we spoke. This puzzled us for a time until we realized that the Vermonter most Americans saw and heard on television was the state's newly elected Independent congressman.

A Vermont Century makes the larger point in a more felicitous manner, positing that "outsiders changed the look and even the sounds of Vermont" (p. 181). Whether an insider or an outsider, you are likely to be captivated by *A Vermont Century*. Even the price is right.

SAMUEL B. HAND

Samuel B. Hand is Professor Emeritus of history at the University of Vermont and a former president of the Vermont Historical Society. Most recently he was a co-editor of Vermont Voices, 1609 through the 1990s: A Documentary History of the Green Mountain State.

Ticonderoga: Lake Champlain Steamboat

By Richard M. Strum (Shelburne: Shelburne Museum, Inc., 1998; pp. 110, cloth, $29.95; paper, $19.95).

A welcome addition to the bookshelf of anyone interested in steamboats, maritime transportation, or regional history, this new book about the venerable steamboat *Ticonderoga* is skillfully crafted by Shelburne Museum educator Richard

A Vermont Century: Photographs and Essays from the Green Mountain State, 1900–1999

(Rutland Herald and the Barre-Montpelier Times Argus, 1999, pp. 207, $34.95).

On the table that holds my laptop computer lies a copy of *Arizona Landmarks* and my Arizona landlord's University of Vermont Kakewalk trophy. Writing this review in desert country suggests to me a relevance both items have to *A Vermont Century*. *Arizona Landmarks* is a collection of photographs and essays culled from *Arizona Highways*, that state's equivalent of *Vermont Life*. It is apparent from *A Vermont Century*'s very first pages, however, that despite its excellent photographic reproductions, it is not just another sophisticated variation of *Arizona Highways* or *Vermont Life*. The pictures along with accompanying essays elevate it to the ranks of pictorial history that paint a more complicated reality than state promotional literature allows—still affectionate, but also darker. Readers are even likely to discover that on some matters the volume will constitute a valuable reference source.

As could be anticipated from a *Rutland Herald-Times Argus* publication, most essayists are current or former journalists, although contributors include participants and historians. The over 200 photographs, largely from newspaper archives, include items from the Vermont Historical Society, the University of Vermont, and other sources. Reflecting the technology of Vermont newspaper publishing, only photographs from the final decade are in color.

The first essay in this coffee-table sized volume begins with a December 31, 1901 diary entry from Molly Riordon. Abandoned by her alcoholic husband after their Charlotte farm went bankrupt, Molly's subsequent struggles for women's political and economic causes ended in March, 1912 in New York City when she jumped to her death with others in the Triangle Shirt Waist Company fire. Although there are no images of Molly, there are photographs of Addie Laird as a ten-year-old worker at a North Pownal cotton mill taken by Lewis Hine.

For this reviewer the most compelling images were those that by capturing an event at its most magical moment have come to substitute for the event itself in the minds of subsequent generations, often draining the event of all ambivalence. A commentary on the University of Vermont's Kakewalk, a winter carnival whose central focus was a stylized plantation dance by costumed contestants in blackface, is accompanied by a striking photograph of two such walkers. Described as a "shameful tradition from the University's past" (p. 103), for many undergraduates and alumni its banning from campus marked a discontinuity from the University's past that was seen as largely arbitrary, even by some who recognized its racist implications. My Arizona landlord's trophy is from 1969, the final Kakewalk, and at the request of the NAACP he and his partner performed without makeup. At about the same time I received a letter from an African-American alum serving with the military in Europe who questioned the wisdom of totally abandoning the practice. Personally opposed to continuing the performances, I showed the letter to no one.

Central to banning Kakewalk rather than continuing efforts to sanitize it, a com-

outside the campaigns of the Army of the Potomac. In one of the appendices, the author offers an extensive agenda for future research. This includes such interesting and potentially important questions as how Norwich's citizen-soldier military principles may have differed in battlefield practice from those implemented by the graduates of West Point; and the possible influences of Norwich's philosophy and methods on the antebellum Southern military colleges, established in part due to the activity of Norwich founder and former West Point acting superintendent, Alden Partridge. These are complex interconnections and interactions for some future scholar eventually to explore.

Poirier's focus is almost totally on the fighting itself, with relatively little said about the longer periods of camp life between battles or other nonmilitary aspects of wartime experiences. One can only wonder what insights might also be gleaned from the same primary sources that Poirier uses about the lives of the families and friends of the Norwich soldiers who kept the home fires burning back in Vermont and elsewhere.

Some of these same materials might also help throw light on the recent controversy among Civil War historians about what motivated this war's soldiers to fight and die, as they did in such astounding numbers. However, Poirier goes no deeper into analyzing his sources than to provide the evidence of the Norwich soldiers' undoubted professionalism and patriotism. He seems oddly unsympathetic to the notion that at least some of the soldiers fighting for the North could have been motivated by the desire to help put an end to slavery, a general point that James McPherson has recently emphasized using similar primary sources. One would think that in such a major antislavery state as Vermont, antislavery ideals must surely have affected the ideological orientation of its military college and of the men it sent off to war. One indication of this possibility is the fairly substantial number of Norwich men Poirier shows volunteering to be officers with the U.S. Colored Troops.

Whatever its omissions and limitations, *"By the Blood of our Alumni"* should be widely welcomed as a much-needed and indeed excellent beginning that documents Norwich's participation in the Civil War. With its solid text, photographs, maps, meticulous lists of Norwich soldiers and sailors organized alphabetically and by regiment, many useful endnotes, and a decent index, Poirier's book will be picked up not just once but used as a reference work and as a starting point for study and pleasure many times over. This work belongs on the shelf of any serious Civil War scholar or buff and, for the students of Vermont history, right next to other excellent recent titles such as Howard Coffin's *Full Duty: Vermonters in the Civil War* and Jeffrey D. Marshall's *A War of the People: Vermont Civil War Letters*.

JOSEPH P. MOORE

Joseph P. Moore juggles the varying perspectives of someone who was raised on the New Market battlefield in Virginia and who taught Civil War history at Norwich. He currently teaches history at the University of Vermont.

Poirier, himself a Norwich alumnus, demonstrates again and again how Norwich and the men it produced were highly significant to the war effort in a number of ways. From the first, with the officer cadre of the small prewar regular army heavily committed and with many southern defections, squads of cadets dispatched from Norwich were invaluable in training and drilling the raw new volunteer regiments around Vermont and New Hampshire. Moreover, wherever you might look, Norwich citizen-soldiers took part in the fighting—in all the major theaters of war and at all levels of rank and command right up to major general (with at least seven attaining that rank). Poirier carefully weighs the various evidentiary sources—this is a challenging task because of a major fire at Norwich in 1866—and totals up over 600 former cadets who fought to preserve the Union for the North. He is able to count at least fifty-six others who joined and fought in the losing cause for the South. A total of sixty-one Norwich men gave their lives to uphold the Union. Five Norwich men received the Congressional Medal of Honor.

Not all of the men who went off to fight after training at the military college located in the only New England state lacking a seacoast participated in the ebb and flow of war on *terra firma*. Some Norwich graduates and former students, including the young George S. Dewey (class of '55), for whom much greater fame would come later during the Spanish-American War, played noteworthy roles in the navies and the sea battles on both sides. Gideon Welles (class of '26) was President Lincoln's secretary of the navy and political confidant.

Poirier, drawing principally upon secondary sources, rehearses the familiar courageous, blood-soaked narrative of the Army of the Potomac from the earliest engagements at Bull Run and Ball's Bluff through the silence that finally fell upon both armies at Appomattox Court House. At each major site of the conflict, and at some of the minor ones, he identifies the Norwich participants by name and graduating class, and he describes what their units were up to within the larger battlefield contexts along with their successes and failures and the Norwich men's contributions. Casualties are identified, where possible. In those cases where he has been able to dig up relevant primary sources such as personal letters, Poirier utilizes them adeptly to provide short narratives about the actions and experiences of individuals.

Of particular interest is Poirier's description of the St. Albans Raid in October 1864, which was not only the sole Civil War "battle" to take place on Vermont soil but also led to the sole instance in which the Norwich cadet corps was called upon to help quell the Southern rebellion directly. This did not bring these teenage soldiers onto a "field of honor," however, as was the case for the VMI cadets at the famous if inconsequential Confederate victory at New Market, Virginia, the previous May. The St. Albans Raid instead led to a rather comical denouement, as rumors circulated of a possible Confederate invasion force descending Lake Memphremagog from Canada to Newport. The cadets were marched to help stop it, but the supposed raid fizzled out. Yet, as the Norwich motto says, "I Will Try"; and Norwich's students and alumni certainly did that, whenever and wherever they could—and often they accomplished much.

One chapter digresses from the military narrative to look at Norwich campus life during the war years, and a final chapter surveys the involvement of Norwich men

fert" expressed by the soldiers in receiving letters from home. The selection of letters in this volume allows the reader to share those emotions, along with the exhilaration of a mock battle in the form of a snowball fight between two regiments, the mischievous joy of a practical joke on another regiment, the satisfaction of accomplishment after a victory, the anger toward officers blamed for excessive bloodshed after defeat, the love of a husband, son, brother, or friend, the sadness of that bond broken by death, and the shock of the assassination of a president.

This sampling from the thousands of letters available demonstrates Marshall's special skill in selecting and organizing those pieces of correspondence that breathe life into Vermont's participation in this national catastrophe. *A War of the People* provides the standard against which past and future edited collections of Civil War letters will be measured.

CHARLES S. MARTIN

Charles Martin is a practicing attorney in Barre and a longtime Civil War scholar.

"By the Blood of our Alumni": Norwich University Citizen Soldiers in the Army of the Potomac

By Robert G. Poirier (Mason City, Iowa: Savas Publishing Co., 1999, pp. 452, $29.95).

It is hard to imagine sometimes just what might be left to research, write, and publish on the U.S. Civil War. But the ever-popular—and profitable—Civil War history industry just keeps rolling along, with no apparent slowing to the publishing stream in sight. By my very approximate count using Amazon.com, well over 300 new Civil War titles were published during the last year alone, including new biographies of soldiers, statesmen, and civilians, previously unpublished memoirs, collections of letters and diaries, new battle and regimental histories, and new community studies, plus two new books on Civil War submarines and no fewer than three books on Civil War ghosts (about which other books had already appeared).

Even so, major historiographical gaps do exist. One of these gaps began to be filled in 1999 with the long-awaited publication of Robert G. Poirier's *"By the Blood of our Alumni": Norwich University Citizen Soldiers in the Army of the Potomac*. Although quite a bit has been written and celebrated through the years about the roles of Norwich's southern counterparts, especially the Virginia Military Institute (VMI), the participation of America's first independent military college in the War Between the States had never been addressed until now in its own book. This is all the more surprising because Norwich was the only such private school in the North training soldiers at the war's outbreak. With this book's publication, Norwich's manifold contributions to the war can no longer be slighted or ignored.

battles. There is little in-depth description of the battles themselves, except as to the role the individual writer played in that particular clash of arms. But the reader cannot help but feel the anguish when an acquaintance or relative of the addressee is reported to have been wounded or killed, or the relief when no one from home was a casualty in the recent battle.

Several of the soldiers make repeat appearances to allow the reader to follow their military careers and, in some cases, promotions through the ranks. Valentine Barney of St. Albans rises from a homesick sergeant in the 1st Vermont Infantry in 1861 to lieutenant colonel of the 9th Vermont, cheering Lincoln while the president reviews his regiment shortly before Lee's surrender. Waterbury native William Wells as a captain in the 1st Vermont Cavalry shocks the reader with the gruesome account of his regimental commander's suicide in the spring of 1862 then thrills with his narrative of the Battle of Cedar Creek in 1864, in which he fought while commanding a cavalry brigade under George Armstrong Custer. In a letter to his parents dated June 4, 1864, Wells beseeches them to generate political support for his promotion to general officer rank, which he ultimately receives. This is evidenced not only in Marshall's notes, but also by his general's stars, which today he proudly wears on his twin statues at Battery Park in Burlington and at the base of Round Top at Gettysburg.

Marshall's selection of letters provides voices of a genuine cross-section of Vermont society. Blacks are mindlessly scorned by a cavalry sergeant and praised by a captain for assisting him in escaping his captors after he had become a prisoner of war. An infantry sergeant, writing to a female friend, bravely dismisses the loss of a leg at Fredericksburg as "but little inconvenience," while a private in the same brigade later asks his son to ship him "licker" carefully packed "so it wont wratle for they are gitin (v)ery strick" in order to gain ill-gotten profits. Another private writes home to his wife telling of the sexual exploits, presumably of others in his division, in words that reveal that today's most common slang for coitus was also in use during the Civil War.

To satisfy the reader's curiosity about the fate of the writers of the letters, Marshall provides an appendix listing each writer with an abbreviated service recorded if he is a soldier, and other personal information, including the dates of birth and death, when available. I found myself regularly flipping to the rear of the book to find whether a particularly fascinating writer survived the war. Many did not.

The accounts of the deaths of loved ones are particularly agonizing, especially after the reader forms an intimate relationship with the soldier through the letters written before his death. But, as painful as the deaths from combat and disease were, none affected the soldiers as much as their required observation of executions for desertion by hanging or firing squad.

Marshall illustrates his work with photographs of many of the letter writers, period lithographs and photographs of events and places written about, and maps that put the locations of camps, marches, and battles in proper perspective. The stars on a map of Vermont at the end of the book reveal the town where each writer lived.

In his well written and informative introduction providing an overview of Vermont's Civil War experience, Marshall relates the enjoyment, pleasure, and "com-

tive sleuthing that enabled the diary's contents to be interpreted. They are two of the book's best parts.

GENE SESSIONS

Gene Sessions is emeritus professor of history at Norwich University.

A War of the People: Vermont Civil War Letters

Edited by Jeffrey D. Marshall (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999, pp. 357, cloth, $50.00; paper, $25.00).

Jeffrey Marshall, the archivist and curator of manuscripts at the University of Vermont's Bailey-Howe Library, has scoured, not only that university's collection of Civil War era letters, but also other collections, both public and private, to present a collage of correspondence from both soldiers and civilians that gives the reader a portrait of the impact of the war on their lives. In doing so, he has created a masterpiece that offers a compelling contrast with the all too frequent Currier & Ives images of heroic warriors, glittering uniforms, and bloodless deaths in less honest attempts to tell of the Civil War.

The chapters of *A War of the People* are the seventeen seasons of the four war years. Marshall begins each chapter with a competent outline of the wartime events of that season, with special emphasis on the roles that Vermonters played. Then he steps back to let the writers of the letters tell their personal experiences as they participated in those events, appropriately intruding only to edit an indecipherable word or phrase and to provide margin notes to inform the reader from which collection the letter was chosen or to explain an obscure reference contained in the body of a letter. He is careful not to over edit the letters, allowing the reader to encounter the spelling, grammar, and punctuation that appear in the original script, thereby permitting an intimacy with the writer that would have been lost by elevating all the documents to editorial perfection.

The writers are soldiers in the ranks, line and field grade officers, surgeons, and chaplains. Letters from wives, parents, siblings, friends, and neighbors of the soldiers are here as well, telling of the love, anxiety, and ultimately, in some cases, the grieving for them.

That is not to say that all perceptions of glory are absent. Marshall includes several letters of college students written during the first spring of the war and filled with patriotic platitudes no doubt genuinely felt. He astutely contrasts these letters with the letter of a Quaker schoolteacher to her brother, very accurately predicting and worrying about the "thunderbolt" that was about to strike the country

Marshall skillfully traces the emotions generated by the war by selecting letters telling of homesickness, naive bravado, and thinly disguised anxiety before the first

of black Atlantans; and the wives, sisters, and daughters of the above groups. Several in this informal Unionist circle, including the Stones, were Northern-born and of "social standing" in the city, and some were slave owners and staunch defenders of slavery. During the 1860 presidential election campaign these individuals tended to support the "moderate" candidates John Bell or Stephen A. Douglas, and in the weeks following Abraham Lincoln's victory, Amherst Stone and other Unionists made public speeches opposing secession. After Georgia formally embraced the Confederacy, however, the pro-Northern viewpoint vanished from print and public discourse in Atlanta, and once-powerful members of the city's "establishment" found themselves socially shunned and excluded. Vigilance groups enforced the silence, sending out warnings that "treasonous" Unionists should leave the community or risk being run out of town.

Although they suppressed their views while the war raged, several Atlanta Unionists, secretly and at great personal risk, worked in various ways to undermine the Confederate cause. This included providing money, food, and clothing to captured Union prisoners of war and smuggling information about Confederate troop movements and other military intelligence to Union military forces, especially in the days prior to General William T. Sherman's July 1864 siege of the city. These activities resulted in occasional arrests on suspicion of spying (Cyrena Stone was among those detained) and brief imprisonments for some.

The Unionist group shrank in number as the fighting stretched on and the danger of conscription for these men and their sons grew. Several of the men, including Amherst Stone (ostensibly on a business venture), escaped to the North. Union authorities received these exiles skeptically, however, and Amherst was jailed for a time, as a Southern spy. For the wives and daughters who stayed behind, Cyrena Stone provided intrepid leadership, presiding at morale-boosting secret meetings that included displaying the American flag and singing patriotic songs. As Sherman's forces approached the city Cyrena protected several runaway slaves in the bottom of her house, and provided a hiding place for a free black barber, while also extending aid to wounded Confederate soldiers.

The end of the fighting did not cease the Atlanta Unionists' struggles or resolve questions of patriotism and loyalty raised by their experience. The Unionist circle's prominent men had expected to benefit politically in the postwar years by their loyalty, but federal sources of Georgia patronage turned out to be disappointing. With their political identity in doubt, positions of Southern leadership eluded most members in their group. As for the Stones, they managed to survive the war but lost their substantial home and most of their other property in the destructive wake of Sherman's siege. Three years after Appomattox Cyrena was dead, at age 38, of a lingering illness; and by 1873, Amherst had abandoned Georgia and the South to accept an appointment as a U.S judge in Colorado territory.

Dyer has done prodigious scholarly work in providing readers a view of the Civil War from a hitherto overlooked perspective. His well-organized and clearly written narrative is accompanied by maps, ten pages of illustrations, and extensive notes. In an appendix Dyer presents his most important source, the fragmentary diary of Cyrena Stone, in its entirety; and in a second appendix he provides an account of the detec-

mont qualities as thrift and integrity. Explaining whether Morrill shared the sentiment of many successful, urbane Vermonters like himself that the state's hill towns were in decline, rather than stable, would have done much to illuminate Morrill's broad appeal. Those with an interest in the inner workings of the era's politics in Vermont will find most of the action based in the nation's capital. Approaching such topics is not Cross's intent, however; measuring the genius of Morrill's most inspired legislation and political acumen is, and that goal is achieved admirably.

PAUL SEARLS

Paul Searls is a visiting assistant professor at the University of Vermont.

Secret Yankees: The Union Circle in Confederate Atlanta

By Thomas G. Dyer (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999, pp. 397, $29.95).

In *Secret Yankees: The Union Circle in Confederate Atlanta,* Thomas G. Dyer examines the fate of Union loyalists in the "second capital of the Confederacy" during the Civil War and immediate postwar period. His account, which focuses on the actions, attitudes, and perceptions of Atlanta's small Unionist circle, reveals the wartime presence of a surprising diversity of views in the city, and by implication challenges whether the South had sufficient political unity to succeed as a Confederate nation.

The documentary record concerning Atlanta during the Civil War, and the city's Unionists in particular, is not abundant. Dyer's exhaustive detective work, however, manages to uncover a dramatic new chapter of this most-examined of American wars. His most important source is the surviving 1864 portion of a recently rediscovered diary fragment kept by Cyrena Stone. Cyrena and her husband Amherst Stone, both natives of Vermont, emigrated to Georgia in 1848, and to Atlanta in 1854, becoming prosperous and prominent members of the community. Cyrena composed the diary in a kind of shorthand that she learned from her Vermont minister-father, which hid the real identities of individuals mentioned in her entries (for example, she referred to herself only as "Miss Abby").

Dyer describes *Secret Yankees* as "the story of the Stones," but "also the story of as many of Atlanta's wartime Unionists as can be coaxed out of the shadows of the Lost Cause mythology that has enshrouded them for generations" (p. 6). He tells us that, of the approximately ten thousand residents of Atlanta at the time of the secession crisis in 1860–1861 (two thousand of whom were blacks—mostly slaves), about one hundred families could be identified as Union loyalists. These included a small group of thirty-five or forty merchants, manufacturers, and professionals; a few tradesmen, artisans, and mechanics; a group of foreign-born residents; a circle

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Welch, Linda M. F., comp., *Reading (Windsor County, Vermont) Record of Deaths, 1785–1924, with Obituaries and Added "Home Town" News Materials from the Local Newspaper.* Lebanon, N.H.: L. M. F. Welch, 1999. Unpaginated. Source: The compiler, 179 Meriden Road, Lebanon, NH 03766. List: Unknown (paper).

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*Granai, Cornelius, and Edwin Granai, ed., *Letters From "Somewhere . . .": A Memoir from World War II*. Burlington, Vt.: Barnes Bay Press, 2000. 73 p. List: $12.95.

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Houghton, Janet, and Corwin Sharp, *Made in Woodstock: Furniture in the Collection of the Woodstock Historical Society*. Woodstock, Vt.: Woodstock Historical Society, 1997. 48 p. Source: The publisher, 26 Elm St., Woodstock, VT 05091. List: Unknown (paper).

Isle La Motte Historical Society, *Isle La Motte, Vermont's First Settlement: Commemorating the 75th Anniversary of the Isle La Motte Historical Society, 1925–2000*. Williston, Vt.: Isle La Motte Historical Society, 2000. 56 p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 104, Isle La Motte, VT 05463. List: $15.00 (paper).

MORE ABOUT VERMONT HISTORY

Recent Additions to the Vermont Historical Society Library

BOOKS

*Albers, Jan, *Hands On the Land: A History of the Vermont Landscape*. Cambridge, Mass.: Published for the Orton Family Foundation, Rutland, Vt., by MIT Press, 2000. 351 p. List: $35.00.

Alexander, Joseph H., *Edson's Raiders: The 1st Marine Raider Battalion in World War II*. Edson's Raiders Association, 1999. 345 p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 3195, Oakton, VA 22124-9195. List: $19.95. History of unit lead by Montpelier native Merritt A. "Red" Edson.

Ballou, Thelma, and Patricia K. Ballou, ed., *Thelma Ballou: From the Green Mountains to the Middle Kingdom*. Chester, Vt.: P.K. Ballou, 1997. 253 p. Source: The author, 1762 Popple Dungeon Rd., Chester, VT 05143. List: Unknown (spiral). Selections from the diaries of a China Missionary from Vermont.

*Bassett, T. D. Seymour, *The Gods of the Hills: Piety and Society in Nineteenth-Century Vermont*. Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 2000. 324 p. List: $26.95 (paper).

Brown, Bob, *Thetford Center Covered Bridge*. Thetford, Vt.: Thetford Historical Society, 1998. 9 p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 33, Thetford, VT 05074. List: $8.00 (paper).

groups are to be commended for including an index. These books will be invaluable resources for those individuals interested in the history of Cabot or Pittsford.

ALLEN RICE YALE, JR.

Allen Yale is associate professor of history at Lyndon State College in Lyndon and author of While the Sun Shines: Making Hay in Vermont, 1789–1990 *published by the Vermont Historical Society.*

industry, education, social life, recreation, and recognition of veterans in the nation's wars. Yet these volumes are quite different in the way they handle these topics.

Cabot, Vermont is a collection of the sights and voices of the past century. It is the product of an extensive project by the Cabot Oral History Committee. The authors explicitly state that "This volume is not intended to be a history of Cabot, and the reader should always bear in mind that what is presented here is not fact, but opinion—memories." The bulk of the text consists of quotes from the eighty-seven informants who contributed to the project. Added to this are literally hundreds of photographs. Of special charm are the eight Stanley Lyndes' cartoons of daily life in Cabot that are scattered throughout the book. This blend of visual images and the first person narrative brings to life the experience of living in Cabot during the first half of the twentieth century.

One pitfall of many local histories is the custom of referring to a residence or business by the name of the current owner. Cabot does an excellent job of avoiding this problem by providing an excellent set of maps showing Cabot in 1873 and in 1999. By labeling on the 1999 map the residents mentioned in the text, future readers will be able to identify the location, even if the property has changed ownership. While excellent, the map set would have been even better if the 1999 map of Lower Cabot were on the same scale and orientation as the Beer's map of the same region.

Pittsford's Second Century is a very handsome volume. It has a hard cover of red with gold letters and a color print of Frederick Church's "View of Pittsford, 1848." This image is repeated on the insides of both covers. In addition, the book includes four color prints of works by local artists.

Over seven hundred and fifty pages long, *Pittsford's Second Century* is almost encyclopedic in its approach. In addition to the usual narrative of the town's economic and social past, the book has sixty pages of mini-biographies of selected individuals, forty pages tracing the title of property ownership back from current owners, and 181 pages of genealogical information on town residents. One concern is that because none of these is comprehensive, some townspeople may feel slighted for being left out.

At several points the reviewer was reminded that *Pittsford's Second Century* is the sequel to Caverly's *History of Pittsford* and, to get a full picture of the town's history, one would have to consult both volumes. For example, the chain of titles in the "Homes and Other Buildings" section only goes back to 1872, with a reference to Caverly for those who wish to go back further.

Pittsford's history also includes appendices of military rosters of the wars since the Spanish-American War, pastors of the town's three churches, town representatives since 1870, businesses, and place names. The book ends with twelve maps, including three from Beer's Atlas of Rutland County, but the reviewer found it hard to relate the modern maps to the Beer's maps. While most of the maps were keyed by number to the "Homes and Other Buildings" section of the book, only those buildings covered in the text were shown on the maps. A map of the entire town would have been helpful in aiding the general reader in relating the other maps to each other.

While these two town histories are quite different in their approach, both are testimony to what can be accomplished by a group of dedicated local historians. Both

have benefited from some special touches such as more imaginative use—by cropping, enlargement, and placement—of its carefully chosen array of photographs. A copy editor might have smoothed out some spelling and consistency problems; for example, footnotes on pages 81 and 82 skip from 8 to 11, while the missing notes 9 and 10 appear in the "notes" section without textual references. After a stern warning that the place name "Kents Corner" should appear in that format, with no apostrophe, we see on page 70 a reversion to "Kent's Corner" (actually, one could argue: four corners, Kents' as plural possessive). But these are truly minor quibbles about a volume of exceedingly well-informed history that has been lovingly assembled and will be treasured in many homes and libraries.

TYLER RESCH

Tyler Resch, librarian of the Bennington Museum, a Shaftsbury selectman, and former member of the VHS Publications Committee, is the author of a town history of Dorset and a dozen other books of regional history.

Cabot, Vermont: A Collection of Memories from the Century Past, Liberally Illustrated with Photographs and Other Ephemera

By Jane Brown, Barbara Carpenter, and Amanda Legare, Caleb Pitkin (ed.) (Cabot, VT: Cabot Oral History Committee, 1999, pp. 216, paper $20.00).

Pittsford's Second Century, 1872–1997

By Jean S. Davies, Margaret Armitage, Lois Blittersdorf, and Jean Harvie (West Kennebunk, Me: Phoenix Publishing/The Pittsford Historical Society, 1998, pp. 779, $50.00).

Town histories are a special genre. They are primarily intended for the people who live in the town and those who have a special link to the town. The myriad of details, names of people, and places that are so appealing to those intimately acquainted with the town are less meaningful to the general reader. Yet, these details are what make town histories so valuable to historians.

Two Vermont towns recently completed local histories that cover the past one hundred years or so. *Pittsford's Second Century* is focused on this time frame to complement Dr. A. M. Caverly's 1872 *History of Pittsford,* which covered the first hundred years since the town's founding in 1772. *Cabot, Vermont: A Collection of Memories from the Century Past* deals primarily with the twentieth century because it is an oral history, limited by the memories of its informants.

As one would expect, these two volumes have much in common because they cover many of the same subjects that are common to this genre: farming, business,

Calais is a real hill town—with no mountains—and by Vermont standards it was settled quite late, in 1789, near the end of the Independent Vermont Republic, having been a former inactivated New York patent. The town is characterized by neighborhoods that bear names more curious than its own. In addition to Kents Corner (one corner, several Kents, the reader is cautioned) there are places called Moscow, Pekin, Bunkerville (also known as Gospel Hollow), and Sodom, which took on the more sober label of Adamant. In 1797, Cate tells us, the town meeting rejected an effort to rename the town Mt. Vernon, in honor of the home of the father of our country, and no legislation to make the change was ever introduced.

Cate has woven a rich and readable fabric of local warp and woof to create a volume that no "Calaisite" will be able to live without and many Vermontophiles will want to acquire. The reader will learn, for example, that the French-flavored names of both Calais and nearby Montpelier trace to the assumption that Jacob Davis, an early proprietor and speculator, selected them out of gratitude for France's crucial support during the American Revolution.

Some details simply fascinate. The 1850 agricultural census, for instance, discloses that Calais farmers were producing enormous crops of potatoes. "George Foster raised 700 bushels of potatoes that year. Fayette Teachout raised 600 bushels while Amasa Tucker and George Ide each raised 500 bushels. More than half the farmers in town each raised over 150 bushels." The reason was neither domestic consumption nor conversion to spiritous beverages. Canny Calais farmers were responding to the Irish potato famine and the resulting shortage of starch in England, where huge cotton mills required great quantities of the stiffening compound.

Earlier, a manufactory was built at Gospel Hollow in 1844 by Abdiel and Ira Kent and L. Bancroft that produced as much as 80 tons of starch a year. About the same time Moses Sheldon launched another starch factory farther down Pekin Branch. But the local agricultural bonanza proved too good to last: "The British developed a new and less expensive method of cloth production that no longer required starch, and the bottom fell out of the potato barrel in Calais," Cate explains. By 1860 the Kent factory had closed and Sheldon's was converted to making lath and eaves troughs.

Forever Calais sweeps across the twentieth century, too, touching upon the dramatic arrival of electricity with the creation in 1939 of the Washington Electric Cooperative; a candid account of the troubles of the Adamant Credit Union; and a concise but knowledgeable overview of the evolution of public education.

There are also riches in the back-of-the-book matter. These include a lengthy bibliography; a record of how the town meeting voted over the years on "special issues" (in 1933, repeal of the 18th Amendment was favored 65-53; in 1936 the Green Mountain Parkway was defeated 110-42; and in 1974 Richard Nixon's impeachment was favored 82-71); a list of unusual names given to children born between 1785 and 1900 (samples: Rocksey, Keziak, Zoeth, Reuphemia); rosters of town officials; citizens who served in the armed forces from the American Revolution to Desert Storm; an ample index; a list of patrons; a tribute from the Calais Historical Society to the author; and nineteenth-century maps of individual neighborhoods.

From a design point of view, the book has a plain-Jane appearance, and could

Tradition and change are the central themes of these books. The old ways were passing over the last forty years, as more people moved to Vermont, and their collisions with the natives brought new challenges to the legal system. Rural Vermont started to give way to suburban Vermont in these years, but the traditions are still largely in place, preserved in our institutions and memories.

Peter Langrock is among a very few Vermont lawyers and judges who have written about their life in the law. Deane Davis, of course, was the most recent example, with several collections of his stories. Before Governor Davis, there was Lucius Chittenden, back in 1893. Judge Frank Fish collected biographies of lawyers and judges, in the fifth volume of Walter Hill Crockett's *Vermont: The Green Mountain State* (1921, 1924), but beyond that you have to look hard to find details about trials and the legal system in Vermont.

Books like Langrock's are important because they help detoxify the experience of dealing with the law. Here you see average people in unusual situations, trying to protect themselves in a world that seems cold and unresponsive at times. Justice, in the pure sense, is not present in these stories. You are left with the impression that right wins sometimes, occasionally by accident, by the arrival of a surprise fact or an unintended response.

It's best to get used to that idea, that right doesn't always triumph. Good doesn't always find its reward, and bad is sometimes never punished. The legal system isn't perfect, but it yearns to be. That yearning is our best hope, and is the music that accompanies these memoirs of one of Vermont's first-ranked lawyers.

PAUL GILLIES

Paul Gillies is a Montpelier lawyer who writes about Vermont legal and judicial history.

Forever Calais: A History of Calais, Vermont

By Weston A. Cate Jr. (Barre, Vt.: L. Brown and Sons Printing, Inc., and Calais Historical Society, 1999, pp. 241, $35.00).

Everything you ever wanted to know about this archetypal Vermont town—with its creatively anglicized pronunciation (only a non-Vermonter needs to be told that the name of this town rhymes with "Dallas")—has been meticulously set down by an author who could be described as the most qualified living person to do so. Weston A. Cate Jr. is a former director of the Vermont Historical Society and author of a history of the VHS (*Up and Doing* [1988]). He also knows the workings of Vermont towns in depth, having been executive director of the Vermont Education Association.

Wes Cate's roots also reach deep into the region he writes about. His ancestors first settled in Montpelier in 1793 and a great-grandfather was a Calais selectman at the time of his death in 1887.

Addison County Justice: Tales from a Vermont Courthouse

By Peter Langrock (Forest Dale, Vermont: Paul S. Erickson, 1997), pp. 194, paper, $14.95.

Beyond the Courthouse: Tales of Lawyers and Lawyering

By Peter Langrock (Forest Dale, Vermont: Paul S. Erickson, 1999), pp. 180, $21.95.

Peter Langrock is a lawyer, and everybody knows what that means. He can talk, and how he can talk. People used to say of such lawyers, that they were vaccinated with phonograph needles.

Now in the September of his legal career, attorney Langrock has given us a precious gift: his stories about cases and people from his forty years as a Vermont lawyer. His is an insider's view of the law, and he shares his memories freely and openly, with an engaging style. Apparently never tempted to get into politics or accept a judicial appointment, Langrock is a lawyer's lawyer, a veteran of thousands of trials, pleadings, and settlements, who has appeared in every court in Vermont at one time or another and before every judge. He defended Becky Duranleau, Leo Durocher, and John Zaccaro. He has stories about everyone, it seems.

The tone of these memoirs is relaxed and inviting. It's as if we're in a comfortable hunting lodge, around a fireplace, with cigars and whiskey, hearing wooly stories told by a great lawyer. Peter Langrock is one of the best we have. No one should be surprised to discover he's a great storyteller, too.

A great lawyer graces the law, as a great judge does, elevating the domestic and the mundane into something majestic and proper. He always stands erect. He is confident, goodhumored, and determined to win, always. Above all else, he understands human nature. That's the skill Peter Langrock brings to his stories.

These books are not about the law, but about people's experiences with the legal system, from the perspective of one of the crusaders. Langrock is not a neutral observer, of course, but he admits when he lost and respects his opponents. There is not an ounce of bitterness in these writings, although now and again you sense a remembered pain or regret.

Langrock's stories are surprisingly candid. I kept worrying he was telling too many secrets, but no doubt he has releases from everybody. The truth is, every lawyer has some stories that just beg to be retold, but the opportunity is limited, given the lawyer–client privilege. That may be why so many lawyers are writing novels these days. Behind every story, no doubt, there is another story, and these may not (ought not to) be the last we hear from Peter Langrock, because he has a gift for telling stories, and the stories deserve keeping.

Langrock has known the powerful and the not powerful, and it sounds as if he prefers the latter for companionship. He has pursuits other than the law. His love of horses and harness racing is obvious in these books, but above all else is his admiration for the rural character, the practical wisdom of the farmer and the mechanic, and Vermont tradition.

Further, this volume draws on "within-state analysts" from different perspectives and unique perches. Former administrator of many hats, Ron Crisman, writes on the politics of taxing and spending, while economist Arthur Woolf presents a crisp chapter on Vermont taxes. Crisman has probably forgotten more politics than most of us academics will ever learn, while Woolf is an academic, a statehouse adviser, and a columnist. The five chapters on the judiciary, justice, law enforcement, corrections, and civil and human rights, are written by two justices of the Vermont Supreme Court, an academic, a state official, and a practicing lawyer, and together they serve as an important 130-page primer on this subject of increasing importance to all Vermonters.

An additional perspective on this volume is most crucial: No analysis of Vermont politics that was published in 1966 can adequately account for present-day Vermont politics. When the Nuquists closed their volume, Philip Hoff was in his second term as governor; the Vermont House and Senate had not yet put into place the post-*Baker vs. Carr* reapportionment reforms; the longer-term consequences of Vermont as "the beckoning country" were just then being detected; and the Vietnam War and the counterculture movement had yet to manifest themselves on the state's campuses and in its hills. Most important of all, I suspect, the revolutionary effects of the rise of the "positive state" in Washington, D.C. were just beginning to manifest themselves in the many public policies that Vermont state government—with Washington's help—either assumed (e.g., cultural agencies), extended (education, health care, public welfare, agriculture, natural resources), or transformed (business, labor, and industry; land use, planning, and the environment; and transportation). Chapters 15 through 23 discuss, one by one, these transformed public policies. The overwhelming impression on the reader is the extraordinary change in politics, government, and administration in post-Nuquist Vermont. In a very interesting chapter, Paul Gillies assesses the most vulnerable governments in the changing Vermont—its local governments. And in a companion chapter, Art Ristau analyzes how federal power and influence varied, policy by policy, in timing of arrival and impact on Vermont's public policies; and how skillful and able Vermont leaders were in identifying and exploiting various federal programs. Frank Smallwood, in the concluding chapter, very ably brings this encyclopedic and diverse volume to a satisfactory close.

This book decidedly does *not* follow in one other tradition. It is not a political science tome for political scientists. It is a book about the political life and times of Vermont written by Vermonters for their fellow citizens. It will appeal to every politically interested Vermonter and it will be useful to the politically active citizen. It will also be enormously valuable to those, such as students, who have a substantive interest in Vermont politics and government, and to political scientists in need of informed opinion, historical detail, and broad understanding of the unique qualities that set the Green Mountain State apart from the others.

RICHARD F. WINTERS

Richard F. Winters is professor and chair of the department of government at Dartmouth College.

Wright, Charles Byron, comp., *Monuments & Headstones in the "New Cemetery," East Parish, Westminster, Windham County, Vermont* . . . Walpole, N.H.: C.B. Wright, 2000. 125 p. Source: The compiler, P.O. Box 519, Walpole, NH 03608. List: Unknown (spiral).

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

The trustees of the Vermont Historical Society
are pleased to award
the 2000 Weston A. Cate Jr. Research Fellowship to

Karen F. Madden

for "Ready to Work: Vermont Women in
Republican Party Politics in the 1950s and 1960s."

The deadline for submitting applications for the 2001 Cate Fellowship is March 30, 2001. The stipend for this one-year fellowship is $1,200. Guidelines and application forms are now available by calling the Society at (802) 828-2291 or by downloading the information from the Society's website, **www.state.vt.us/vhs**.

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