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# VERMONT HISTORY



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# VERMONT *The Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society* ..... HISTORY



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# ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

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**Kenneth A. Degree** has long held a fascination with the history of his native state. He has written and lectured extensively on Vermont's past and is the author of *Vergennes in 1870*, *Vergennes in the Age of Jackson*, and *Deadlock, Deceit and Divine Intervention*. Degree is presently working on a biography of the early life of William Slade. He lives in Shelburne with his wife, Lori, and his daughter, Juliet.

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**Nancy E. Boone** is State Architectural Historian and has been working with the Vermont Division for Historic Preservation for over twenty years, promoting the identification, protection, and continued use of historic buildings and districts. She teaches as an adjunct faculty in the Graduate Program in Historic Preservation at the University of Vermont. Ms. Boone has been interested in the Civil War heritage of her home town of Montpelier for many years, with a focus on the architectural origins of the Sloan General Hospital. **Michael Sherman** is associate professor of Liberal Studies at Vermont College in Montpelier. He is the editor of *Vermont History*.

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**Sara Gregg** is a Ph.D. candidate at Columbia University. Her dissertation, "From Farms to Forest: Federal Conservation and Resettlement Projects in the Blue Ridge and Green Mountains, 1924–1936" explores the submarginal lands controversy in the context of federal programs during the 1930s. A graduate of Middlebury College, she first became engaged in studying Vermont history while working as a research assistant for Jan Albers's *Hands on the Land: A History of the Vermont Landscape*. Research for this article was funded by a Weston A. Cate, Jr. Research Fellowship from the Vermont Historical Society.

# Thomas Day Seymour Bassett (1913–2001)

Tom Bassett was unlike anyone else I have ever known or likely will ever know. We met forty years ago, and after the first few minutes of conversation I realized that he marched to the beat of his own special drummer. In those days he served as curator of the Wilbur Collection of Vermontiana at the University of Vermont, then secreted in the bowels of the Fleming Museum. Ambitious young academics shunned state and local history, and I certainly never anticipated that in another decade I would follow Tom into Vermont studies. What most fascinated me about Tom during our early meetings was his commitment to collecting archival materials that documented the everyday lives of common citizens. Although this work went unappreciated at the time, he eventually ranked high among the first archivists to recognize the value of such sources and he pioneered their collection in Vermont, a practice that has since become commonplace. A university-trained historian and a self-trained curator and archivist, Tom became a major user of many of the collections he amassed and a prolific contributor to *Vermont History*, the *New England Quarterly*, and other regional and national journals.

As a graduate student at Harvard University Tom nourished his special interest in social and cultural history under the direction of Arthur Schlesinger, Sr. He initially planned to write his Ph.D. dissertation on Vermont politics, a project he abandoned only after he discovered that there were too few political collections to support it. (Tom and his successors have since remedied this deficiency.) Instead he took on a study of the urban impact on Vermont villages from 1840 through 1880 that ran to two hefty volumes and was read by all serious students of nineteenth-century Vermont. By 1992, when the Vermont Historical Society published an abridged version as *The Growing Edge*, notes in the margin and other paragraphs he affixed with tape to his copy had nearly doubled the size of his dissertation. Tom insisted on, some might say suffered from, a commitment to inclusion. He edited the Vermont volume of the New England Bibliography series, not only the most complete Vermont bibliography but also the most comprehensive of the New England series. Because it included a disproportionately greater number of entries than volumes for older and more heavily populated states, it required disproportionately greater fundraising efforts. Tom casually rejected concerns over such mundane matters as unworthy of Vermont scholars.

He also edited the New Hampshire volume in the same series, but his heart was with Vermont. Born in Burlington, where his father taught classics at the University of Vermont, Tom attended local schools, Choate

School in Massachusetts, Yale University, where he became a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and Harvard University, from which he received his Ph.D. A conscientious objector during World War II, he did alternative service and after the war taught at Princeton University, Earlham College, and the University of California, Riverside. He returned to Vermont in 1958 where he joined the University, taught Vermont history for some years, and served as curator of the Wilbur Collection and university archivist until his retirement.

Tom's physical appearance, tall, jaunty, and thin, lent him the stereotypical look of the picture-book Vermonter, while his individualism and idiosyncratic manners branded him a "character," as colorful as many of those whose personal accounts he edited in his 1967 volume *Outsiders Inside Vermont*. But his lifelong love affair with Vermont and a powerful intellect fueled by an unquenchable curiosity most distinguished him. Bassett phone calls—"Bassett here" was his unvarying form of identification—frequently brought questions that never would have occurred to me to ask, much less answer. Some of his best work provides answers to questions no one else was then asking, but should have been. Tom's last book, *The Gods of the Hills: Piety and Society in Nineteenth-Century Vermont*, reflects his "bias" that religious beliefs formed the "most important" influence on history and the "most difficult to identify." A dedicated Quaker, his pursuit of religious themes brought him to a Quaker history on which he was hard at work at the time of his death. His lifelong passion for music—he seldom missed the opportunity to participate in a local choir—made him familiar to many who would never read a Bassett book or article. Many of my former students who did study Tom's writings best remember him as the history music man. On occasion he would lecture to my Vermont history classes on what UVM was like in the 1930s. Although Tom did not attend UVM, as a faculty brat he grew up as part of the university community. During the 1980s, with the University Cakewalk weekend festivities long abandoned, students would ask about the practice. Tom, in his seventies, would conclude his presentation with a vocal rendition of "Cotton Babes" along with a very sprightly version of the walk. When Tom could no longer do the required kicks, he asked if I still wanted him to lecture.

Tom's publications, his major bibliographic work, and his archival collecting that laid the base for the cumulation of one of the two best repositories of the Vermont experience, have left an important legacy. He approached history with the zest he did music. About two years after he could no longer cakewalk Tom and I attended a conference in North Carolina that featured an exhibition by clog dancers. It shouldn't have surprised me, but it did: Tom was one of the cloggers.

SAMUEL B. HAND

*Samuel B. Hand is professor emeritus of history, University of Vermont.*



# Legislative Voting Patterns on Banking in Vermont, 1803–1825

*Wherever a convenient and reliable market for goods and produce materialized in a region of Vermont, acceptance of banking was soon to follow.*

By KENNETH A. DEGREE

Few issues in early nineteenth-century America were more contentious than banking. It divided region against region within the country as well as within many states. It created tensions within each political party and was at the crux of every discussion over the direction the economy should take. Generally, the Federalist elite, who resided in port cities and felt banking to be essential to the carrying trade, found the institution unnecessary for the common herd who roamed the interior of the country. Republicans found themselves even more hopelessly split. Their moderate wing, peopled with "rising mechanics and would-be entrepreneurs," clamored for banks to gain equal opportunity in realizing their aspirations. Old Republicans, who cherished the nation's agrarian strength, vehemently rejected paper money and the market economy it facilitated. Two of the nation's foremost leaders, Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, at the turn of the century the bitterest of political enemies, found common ground when it came to banking. The Sage of Monticello suggested that banks were established "to enrich swindlers at the expense of the honest and industrious," while Adams argued that "Every dollar of a bank bill that is issued beyond the quantity of gold and silver in the vaults represents nothing and is therefore a cheat upon somebody."<sup>1</sup>

These divisions, both political and philosophical, appeared in Vermont as well. Banking and paper money were not totally accepted in the Green Mountains until 1825. An examination of the patterns that emerge from mapping legislative voting on bank charters in the first

quarter of this new century clearly reveals a common theme. Wherever a convenient and reliable market for goods and produce materialized in a region of Vermont, acceptance of banking was soon to follow, as increased economic opportunity bred a capital-hungry populace. Spirited and principled opposition to banking was always present, but the encroaching market economy would steadily erode any resistance.

The subject of banking first surfaced in the Green Mountains during the postwar depression year of 1786. In these times of rapid change, the close of war and certain acts passed by the legislature encouraging settlement combined to bring forth a flood of new migration to Vermont. Many of these new settlers soon found that the depressed prices offered for their produce and a frightening scarcity of hard currency left them unable to pay their debts. The sudden proliferation of lawsuits that followed proved that many attorneys also had been spurred by the opportunity to join this postwar migration. As sheriffs began appearing on the scene to foreclose on their farms, a nervous citizenry stood on the verge of revolt.<sup>2</sup>

Amid the tensions of the crisis, the legislature convened swamped with petitions for relief. The General Assembly approved some measures, such as the Specific Tender Act that required creditors to accept payment in kind, in a delicate attempt to defuse the situation. When it came time for more drastic measures, including the establishment of a bank, the solons decided to throw the problem back into the hands of the people. A tempting array of relief options greeted the voters in a referendum held on January 1, 1787. By then, tempers on all sides of the crisis had cooled. Most Vermonters seemed satisfied with the efforts of the legislature and wished to give the measures time to work. The more belligerent reluctantly fell into line after hearing of the ugly uprising at the county court in Rutland in the fall of 1786, which was quelled by hundreds of citizens turning out in their militia companies. Voters turned down every proposal, including the bank option, by a convincing 2,197–456 tally. Banking at this juncture was a topic clearly ahead of its time in frontier Vermont. These settlers could not be persuaded that paper money was the answer. All they desired was patience and understanding from their creditors. As the crisis subsided, the nettlesome issue of banking would disappear from Vermont politics for almost two decades.<sup>3</sup>

When the next banking application reached the Vermont legislature, the state had undergone profound changes. Population continued to soar and many former frontier settlements in the southern part of the state had begun to mature. The beginning of primitive trade routes and nascent industry prompted some moderate Republicans to petition for banks. They would be aided in their endeavor by the rise of what I will

call the "northern tier." New settlers flowed into this vast area, now encompassing the counties of Caledonia, Chittenden, Essex, Franklin, Grand Isle, Lamoille, Orleans, and Washington. From 1790 to the year the State Bank finally came into being in 1806, sixty-four new towns began sending representatives to the state legislature.<sup>4</sup> As the bitter political battles of the following years unfolded, these new frontier towns found themselves in a pivotal position.

The Republican Party was in the greatest quandary over the northern tier. By 1801, the party had finally overcome the Federalist stranglehold in Vermont, winning a majority in the House. Yet the vast frontier to the north initially remained neutral over the "revolution of 1800." The party quibbled over how to deal with this youthful section. Many Old Republicans were troubled by the overrepresentation constitutionally allowed to the northern tier. By 1806, under Vermont's rule granting each town a representative in the assembly, these sparsely settled lands contained only 23 percent of the state's population, but they held 42 percent of the seats in the legislature. Twenty-two of these towns had populations of 150 or less in 1800, and some had fewer than fifteen residents.<sup>5</sup>

No man typified this faction of Republicans more than Underhill representative Colonel Udney Hay. He served as commissary-general for the Northern Department of the Continental Army during the war, then unleashed his venom on the administrations of Washington and Adams thereafter. Speaking of the northern tier in a series of letters, he considered the present situation a cruel mockery of democracy. It was ridiculous, the colonel argued, that the latest seventy towns to gain a voice in the legislature did not even pay into the treasury a sum equal to the wages of their representatives. Although residing in a northern tier town, Hay felt that the only solutions to the imbalance were to create an equal upper house or to create districts of two or more towns to make the chamber more democratic. However, the Old Republican from Underhill did not typify the frontier. The letters of "Old Way," who resided in Shelburne, were more indicative. Dismissing Hay's claims as the musings of a hand-wringing ideologue, this correspondent felt that it was only right that the northern tier was overrepresented, for it was overtaxed as well. Since the state charged the same tax on an acre of land in Brunswick as it did an acre in Bennington, though the latter was one hundred times as valuable, it was more important to change the property tax law before worrying about equal representation. As for legislative districts, "Old Way" scoffed at that idea as well. Citizens now benefited from the fact that they knew their representative. To this writer, districts containing two or more towns would only lay the groundwork for unwelcome political intrigue.<sup>6</sup>

Nevertheless, Hay had struck a tender nerve on both sides of the party. Many were uncomfortable with the settlers of this new area, because they looked to Canada for their economic salvation and appeared aloof from the rest of the state. Others looked askance because these towns were raw, without churches or other signs of civilization. They saw the northern tier as a haven for shady traders and questionable characters such as Ira Allen and infamous colleagues like Samuel Peters, Silas Hathaway, and Timothy Hinman. Unable to create the upper house they deemed necessary to head off the growing might of the northern tier, some House Republicans joined with Federalists in 1801 to grant the Executive Council the right to non-concur with, or vote down, a bill passed by the General Assembly. One of the Federalist Party's most fervent desires had been to create a second chamber in Vermont as a check against the excesses of democracy embodied in the legislature. Ironically, it would be Republicans who granted the Council more power as a balance against the growing *inequality* of representation found in the people's chamber.<sup>7</sup>

Despite legitimate concerns, many moderate Republicans saw in the northern tier a golden political opportunity. They had searched for a way not only to tie its fortunes to the rest of the state, but to their version of Republicanism. Banking would be the common denominator. The moderates were aware that no section would benefit more from banking than the northern frontier. This region had access to the best-developed market available to Vermonters. However, although northern tier merchants sold their produce in Canada, prices of Canadian goods were generally higher than the prices of corresponding articles in New England and New York. Therefore, they tended to sell in the Canadian market and buy in the American market. This caused many disadvantages in a state that had no ready credit. Bankruptcies could quickly occur if a sudden drop in timber prices or a loss of a timber raft left someone unable to pay his debts. The creation of banking within the state would more readily facilitate trade in this region and perhaps bring it into the moderate orbit. Although there was support for banking in the southern part of the state, moderate Republicans knew that they needed the votes of this vast region if these charters were to pass.<sup>8</sup>

In 1803, the legislature received petitions to charter private banks in Windsor and Burlington. They found a sympathetic ear in the House due to the overwhelming influence of the northern tier. The Windsor bill passed by the narrow margin of 93-83. The northern tier voted for the proposal 52-14, while the southern section rejected it by the count of 69-41 (see Map 1). The response of the south to the measure anticipated its treatment by the Council. Here much of the membership was

composed from the Old Republican wing and, more importantly, elected statewide. Therefore, only two of its number came from the north. The Council applied its new power to non-concur, repudiating the measure 12-1, and selected Nathaniel Niles, veteran of the War of Independence and ardent Republican from Fairlee, to give the House its reasons for denial.<sup>9</sup>

Niles's lengthy reasoning was classic Old Republican scripture, warning his colleagues in the House that the tendency of banks "would be to palsy the vigor of industry, and to stupefy the vigilance of economy, the only two honest, general and sure sources of wealth." He envisioned "the speculator, the inexperienced youth, the indolent and the incautious" being lured "from those honest honorable and sure sources of mediocrity and independence" by visions of cashing in on risky investments, and ending up financially ruined by their reckless behavior.<sup>10</sup>

Niles was also suspicious that, once chartered, banks would become the exclusive province of the high and mighty. Certain that "those who are in the greatest need of help, cannot expect to be directly accommodated by them," he envisioned the institutions rapidly becoming a tool of aristocracy. The role of banks is, "in their natural operation, to draw into the hands of the few, a large proportion of the property, at present, fortunately, diffused among the many, and thus render them still more dependent on the few, and of course to make them, thro' necessity, yet more subservient to their aspiring views." In sum, chartering banks in the Green Mountains would "weaken the great pillars of a republican government, and, at the same time, . . . increase the forces employed for its overthrow."<sup>11</sup>

Despite Niles's forceful sermon, the Republican moderates remained unconverted. In 1805, bank charter petitions from Burlington and Windsor were once again brought before the legislature. Once again, the House passed both measures handily, by nearly identical tallies. Most of the votes in favor of the Windsor bank still came from the northern tier. These communities passed the measure 56-21, while the southern counties voted against it 55-52, including a clear rejection in host Windsor County (see Map 2). Once again, the bill moved on to the Council, which remained firm, rejecting it 10-3.<sup>12</sup> Nathaniel Niles pontificated anew on the evils of banking, and an impasse settled over the issue. However, time was on the side of the southern moderates and their allies in the northern tier.

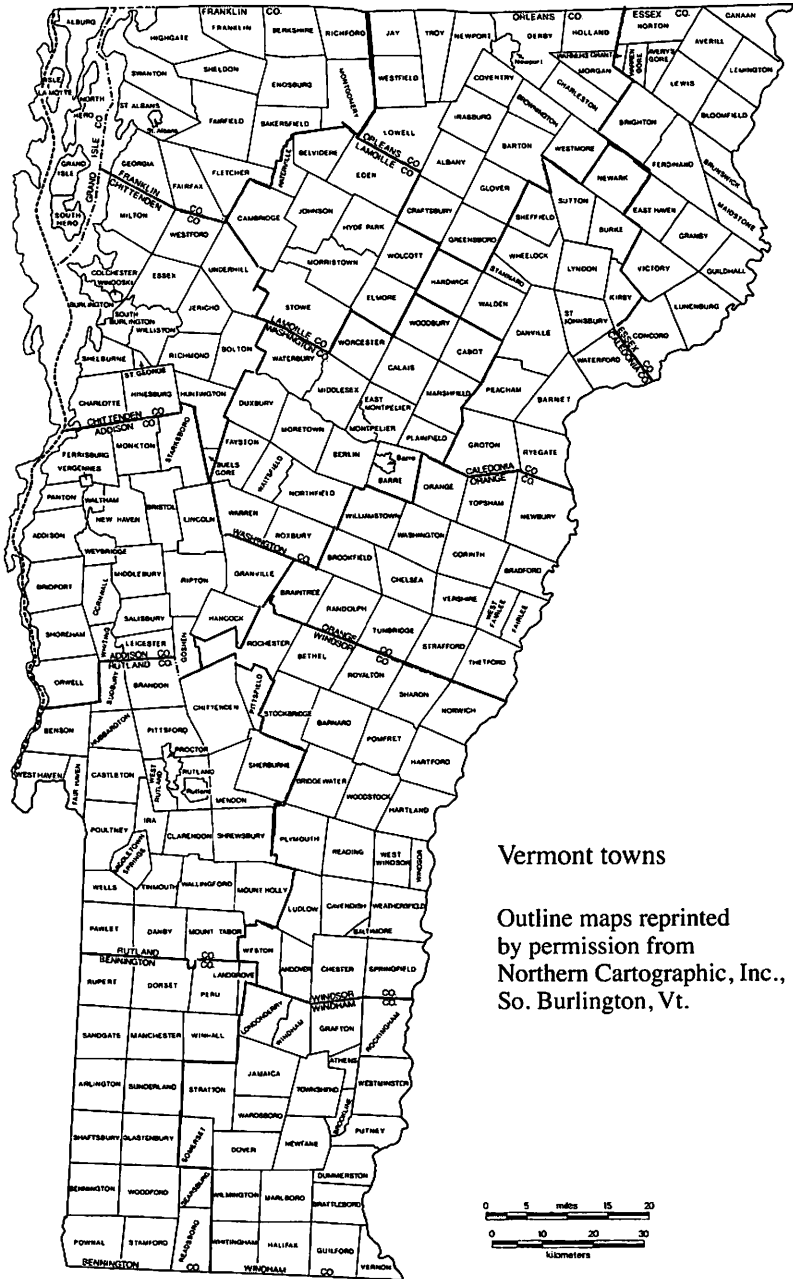
The emerging market economy was growing. It was estimated that at least \$500,000 worth of currency issued by other states found its way into Vermont by 1804. The editor of the *Green Mountain Post Boy* ar-

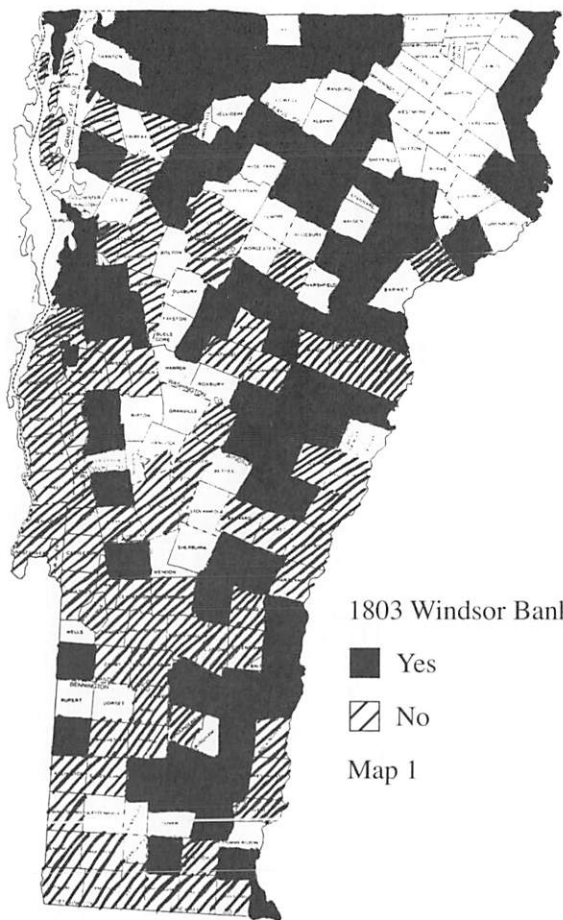
gued, "Specie disappears from the state in proportion to foreign bills[;] either issue a bank or stop all bills altogether." Local merchants found themselves at a disadvantage, for they lacked access to the kind of credit available to competition in surrounding states. Many citizens were also less than pleased doing business with the bills from out-of-state banks. Of dubious quality, most circulated at a discount because there was no place convenient to redeem them. Furthermore, a gang of counterfeiters had set up shop in lower Canada, building a profitable business forging American bills. Editors and readers filled the newspapers with columns clamoring for the establishment of banks. Armed with this knowledge and sure of their cause, some of the more head-strong moderates made the motion to repass the bank charters and return them to the Council. Wiser heads pursuing compromise quashed their zeal and the motion failed, 91-77.<sup>13</sup>

The search for middle ground and an attempt to foster party unity began that session with a suggestion from Hartland representative Elihu Luce. Luce was a plain man, rather rough in his speech and dress, with a fondness for snuff, which resulted in his clothes appearing perpetually dusted. Nevertheless, he had earned an enviable reputation for sound judgment, a discerning ear, and a penchant for conciliation. The Hartland farmer had voted against the bank charters himself, but he now offered a novel proposal. Rather than chartering private banks, he suggested that the state itself should consider getting into the banking business. The House referred his resolution to the committee on banks, and although this group found it wholly inadequate, the General Assembly would be given the opportunity to determine its practicality.<sup>14</sup> This investigation would have to wait until the next session.

By 1806, it seemed certain that banking would come to Vermont. The legislature had received numerous petitions for bank charters. The only question remaining was to what extent it would be a public entity. Daniel Buck of Norwich began the quest for the answer by making a motion for the incorporation of a bank in which the state would be a stockholder "to a certain amount," but his colleagues found his suggestion unacceptable. To ascertain if there was any support for private banks, Dudley Chase of Randolph made a motion allowing them to incorporate, with the state reserving the right to fill up any number of shares or, at any time it thought proper, the power to assume the whole stock. Even this sweeping authority wasn't enough to convince the skeptics, and Chase's motion lost narrowly, 93-91.<sup>15</sup>

A bank bill acceptable to all involved originated from one of the leading moderates, a young Woodstock attorney named Titus Hutchinson. The son of a New Light pastor who believed it was man's Christian

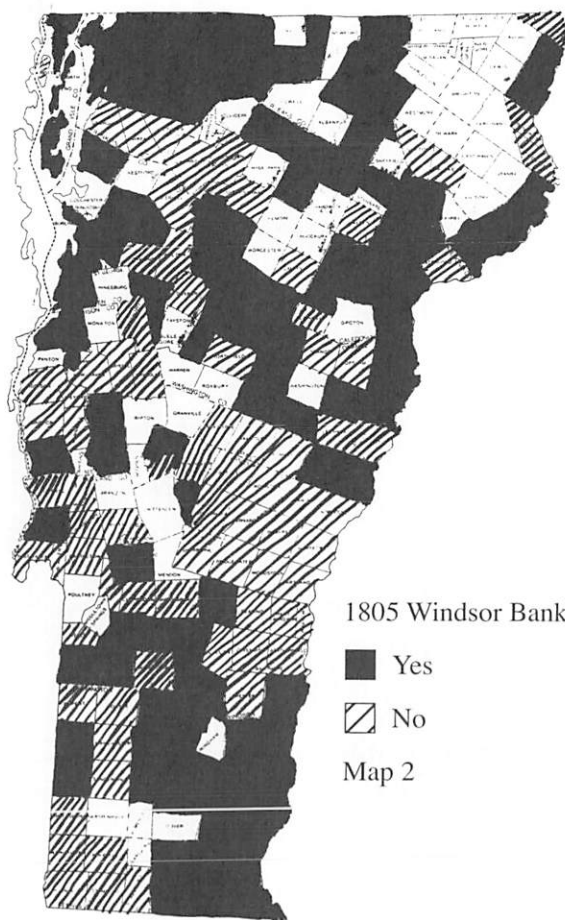




1803 Windsor Bank Vote

■ Yes  
 ▨ No

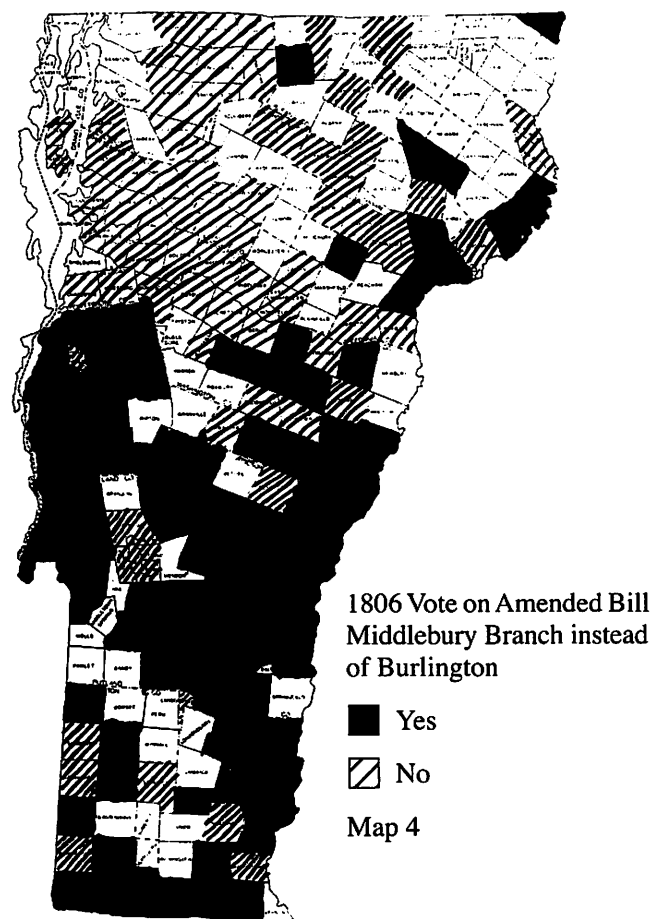
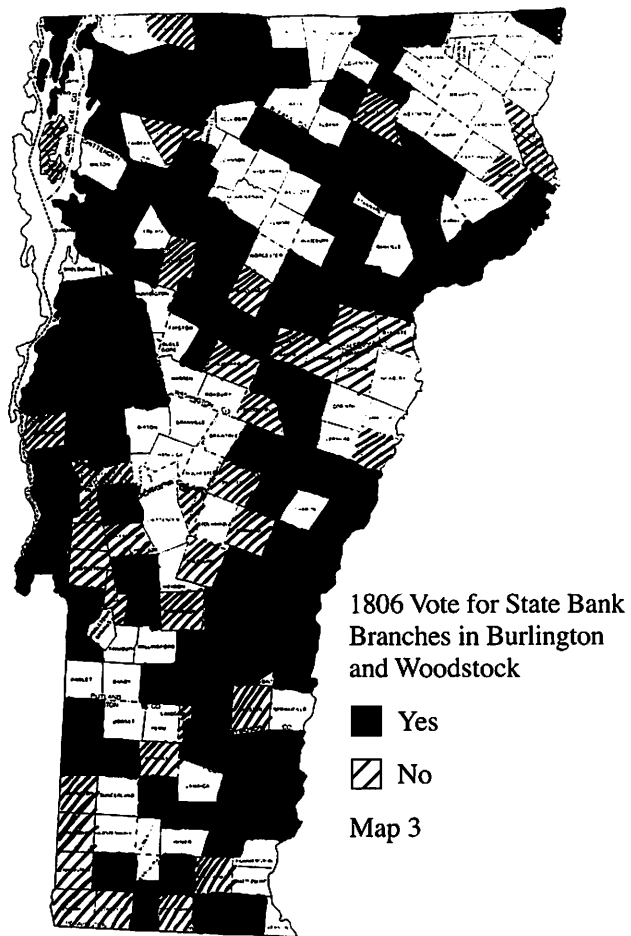
Map 1



1805 Windsor Bank Vote

■ Yes  
 ▨ No

Map 2



duty to root out tyranny among men, Hutchinson was raised a fervent Republican. Like Nathaniel Niles, he was wary of the Federalists. "They know the natural tendency of great wealth is to create power and influence in the affairs of government, and they are anxious to realize it in themselves." Therefore, he was equally contemptuous of corporations, turnpikes, or any other exclusive government charter. When it comes to government, Hutchinson argued, every act "which tends to foster this inequality of property, which establishes in one man or set of men, rights by which property can be obtained, and which are not common to the citizens at large, is clearly a departure from this principle of equal rights."<sup>16</sup>

However, when it came to banking, moderates such as Hutchinson willingly strayed from the Old Republican creed. He was comfortable reconciling the seeming contradiction between Jeffersonian hatred of corporations and exclusive privileges and Vermont's willingness to establish banks. The Woodstock lawyer fervently believed that economic opportunity was not enough. Vermonters also needed the means to take advantage of opportunity, particularly through equal access to credit and a readily available and secure currency. Although Hutchinson was a rising star in the Republican Party, he fully realized the resistance to his plan. The initial attempt to establish banking in the state in 1803 had transformed the citizens of Windsor County into frenzied "Anti-Bankites." Elected to the legislature the following year, Hutchinson received specific instructions from Woodstock residents to use his influence against the establishment of any banks. Thus, when he returned to the House in 1806, he knew the situation required delicate handling.<sup>17</sup>

After the Chase motion proved that no banking establishment except one under the full control of the state would pass, Hutchinson offered his state bank bill. The representative from Woodstock carefully steered it through the House. He soothingly reassured the nervous "that no monarch lurked beneath the folds of such an institution as the one proposed; for it would be in the hands, not of a corporation of soulless individuals, but of the true friends of the people." The first section of the bill succinctly stated, "All the stock in said bank, and all the profits arising therefrom, shall be the property of this state: and under the sole direction and disposal of the legislature of this state forever." The new language mollified most of the skeptics in the Republican Party. After a brief skirmish erupted on the floor over the number and location of the branches, the assembly settled on two, located in Woodstock and Burlington, and the bill passed the House handily, 128–41 (see Map 3).<sup>18</sup> It seemed that the members of the House had been able to craft a bill acceptable to all the myriad factions on the banking issue. But the question still remained: Would the Council grant its concurrence?

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The Executive Council surprisingly agreed with the intent of the bill, making but a few minor changes. However, in a move that threatened to destroy the fragile coalition put together to create the bank, it passed an amendment changing the site of the western branch from Burlington to Middlebury. On the surface, this seemed like an innocent maneuver, for Middlebury was one of the largest and most vibrant towns in the state and, in 1806, was the host of the legislative session. Burlington was a town of only 816 people. It was not even the largest town in Chittenden County. Sixty-nine towns in the southern section were more populous.<sup>19</sup> However, Burlington remained the beacon for the future of the northern tier. With its enviable location and natural harbor on Lake Champlain, it seemed ordained to be the center of trade for most of the region, and a kinsman to the rest. Although the members of the Executive Council grudgingly retreated on the bank issue, they refused to allay their suspicions about the raw, uncivilized, and overrepresented northern tier. It appears the Council rejected the moderate notion that granting Burlington a branch would tie these communities to the rest of the state. Instead, the councilors felt it would allow the northern tier to continue to remain economically aloof. Therefore, the Middlebury branch amendment can be viewed as yet another attempt to tie together the divided state.

The response from the northern tier left no room for interpretation. The amended bill was returned to the House and approved, 95-68.<sup>20</sup> When livid Burlington representative W. C. Harrington demanded the yeas and nays, they displayed a remarkable geographic reorientation from the original vote (see Map 4). The amendment had virtually been decided on a north-south basis. The northern tier overwhelmingly rejected changing towns 52-12, while the southern counties accepted it 83-16! Of the 45 members who had switched their votes from yes to no due to the nefarious amendment, 37 came from a suddenly betrayed northern tier. More surprisingly, of the 41 members who stubbornly rejected the original bill, 19 switched their votes when Middlebury was selected for the western branch, all from or bordering on the southern section (see Map 5). It has been said that politics makes strange bedfellows, and this pivotal vote proved to be no exception. Southern bank supporters now joined members suspicious of the northern tier in passing the Middlebury amendment, bringing the Vermont State Bank into existence. Their former arrangements with northern towns lasted only as long as it was necessary to procure the bank they so desperately wanted. The northern tier towns understandably revolted against the measure, which would take a branch out of the area more familiar with the Canada trade. They rejected reliance on a southern town and reacted

violently when their economic self-interest was threatened. This response would bode ill in the turbulent years ahead.

Initially, the Vermont State Bank was enormously successful. Yet although supporters such as Hutchinson assured everyone that they had placed enough safeguards and restrictions on the institution, the entrepreneurial energies liberated within the state quickly overwhelmed any attempt to keep a tight leash on the money supply. A year after its establishment, the legislature was so pleased by its handiwork that it created two additional branches, one in Burlington to appease the sulking northern tier and another in Westminster. During the economic boom, no one seemed to mind that the 3-to-1 bills-to-specie ratio called for in the charter was all but ignored. The former resistance vanished, as all but the most principled fell mesmerized before the allure of paper money. However, the wheels would fall off Vermont's economic engine in 1808. British depredations induced an edgy President Jefferson to announce his unpopular Embargo Act in December of 1807. When he tightened it by adding the "land embargo" the following March, northern tier citizens began to take issue.<sup>21</sup> The president's actions exposed how overextended the Vermont State Bank had become, but to the northern frontier it now mattered little with the border closed to trade. For what advantage was there in a ready loan when goods no longer found a market?

The Embargo and the ongoing troubles with Great Britain also brought about a resurgence of the moribund Federalists. Now transformed into the "peace" party, they vied anew for the affections of the northern tier and enjoyed successful results. With their economic self-interest once again threatened, many citizens from these towns who had been lured by the Republicans now were ready to walk away from the party. The Federalists welcomed them with open arms. They joined these disgruntled settlers as they hissed at the dastardly acts of Jefferson and commiserated with them as they faced the prospect of smuggling or ruin.

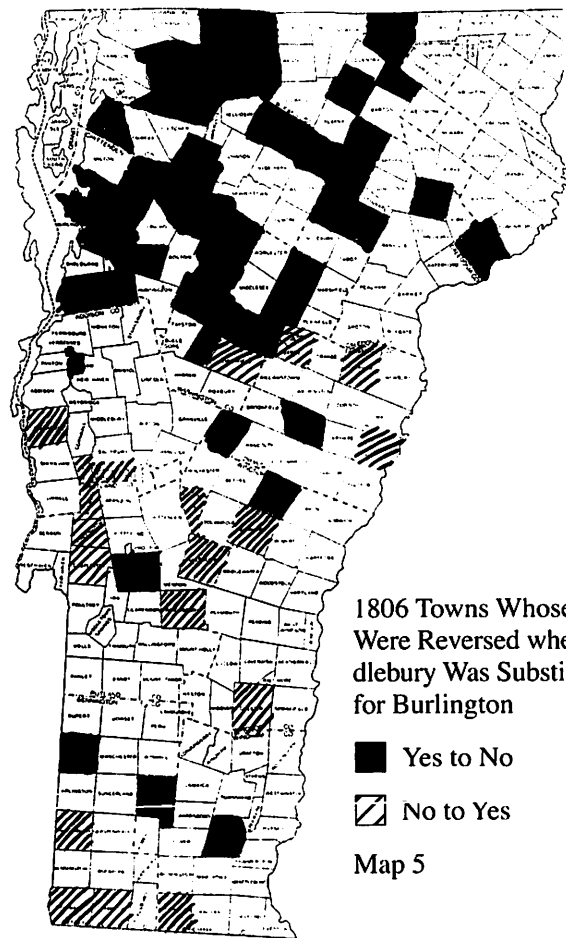
As for the State Bank, Federalists initially stood four-square with Republicans in defending the troubled institution during the 1808 legislative session, when the first charges of mismanagement and financial instability surfaced. (A motion to sever the state's relationship with the bank offered up during this session was overwhelmingly defeated, 152-20.) They approved of the measures passed in 1809 putting the full power of the state behind the bank's depreciating medium, allowing bills to be used to pay state taxes, and giving the branches extraordinary powers to collect on bad loans. However, when it became clear that the only result of these efforts would be to fill the state treasury with worthless paper, Federalists began to distance themselves from the institution, laying the blame for its downturn at the door of the Republicans.

Without Federalist support, with their former allies in the northern frontier now estranged by the policies of the national administration, and with Old Republicans now alarmed, moderate Republicans who had pushed for the creation of the Vermont State Bank now reluctantly acquiesced. The life of the Vermont State Bank following the embargo had been a long and painful terminal illness spent on legislative life support. When an audit uncovered malfeasance at the Middlebury branch and a legislative budget committee reported that supporting the institution had undermined the financial credibility of the state, the General Assembly mercifully pulled the plug in 1813.<sup>22</sup>

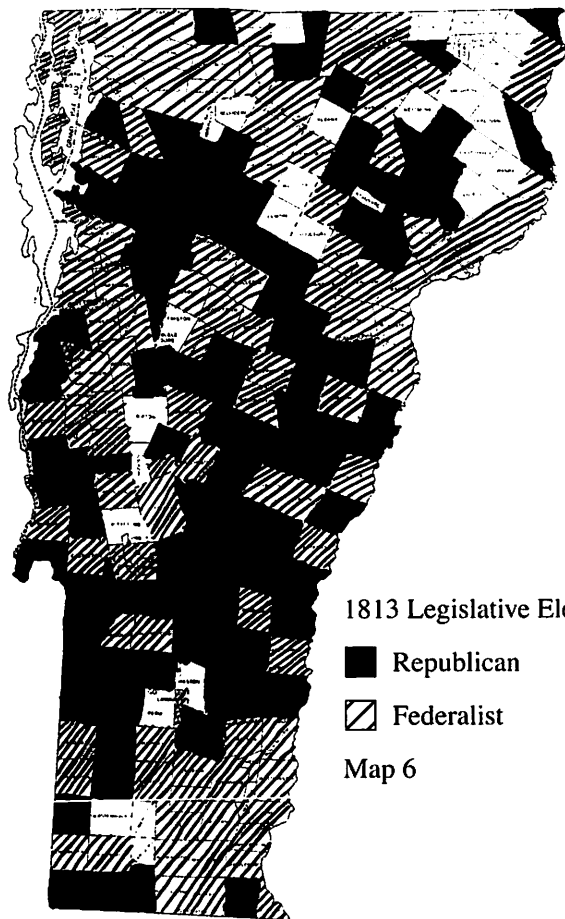
Not only did the Republicans lose the State Bank that year, but they also lost control of the legislature, with the Federalists gaining a slim 108–104 advantage. The breakdown of town representatives by party affiliation demonstrates the success the Federalists had in cultivating the northern tier. Deprived of their trading partner and in the uncomfortable shadow of an army preparing to advance, these counties provided the “peace” party with a 55–37 advantage, overwhelming the Republican tendencies of the southern part of the state (see Map 6).<sup>23</sup>

In the seven years following the War of 1812, the northern section of Vermont gradually diminished its reliance on the Canadian market, and the north-south split within the state based on economic issues ended. Following the passage of the Treaty of Ghent, Vermonters in the northern reaches quickly reformed their old patterns of trade. However, forces were working against them. On Canadian soil, officials labored to construct a barrier to American settlement by encouraging Canadian settlers and British immigrants to occupy the lands lying between the St. Lawrence, the Richilieu, and the border. Further, agrarian protest in the Eastern Townships over the renewed flood of American goods prompted the provincial governor to prohibit certain agricultural items from being imported free of duties. The British Parliament went so far as to pass the Canada Trade Act of 1822, which placed levies on raw material imports, particularly lumber. On the American side, New York, under the urging of Governor DeWitt Clinton, began in 1817 to make his dream of creating an inland waterway connecting the Great Lakes region and the state’s interior to New York City a reality. By 1822, the canal connecting Lake Champlain to the Hudson was completed, finally tying all parts of Vermont to American markets.<sup>24</sup>

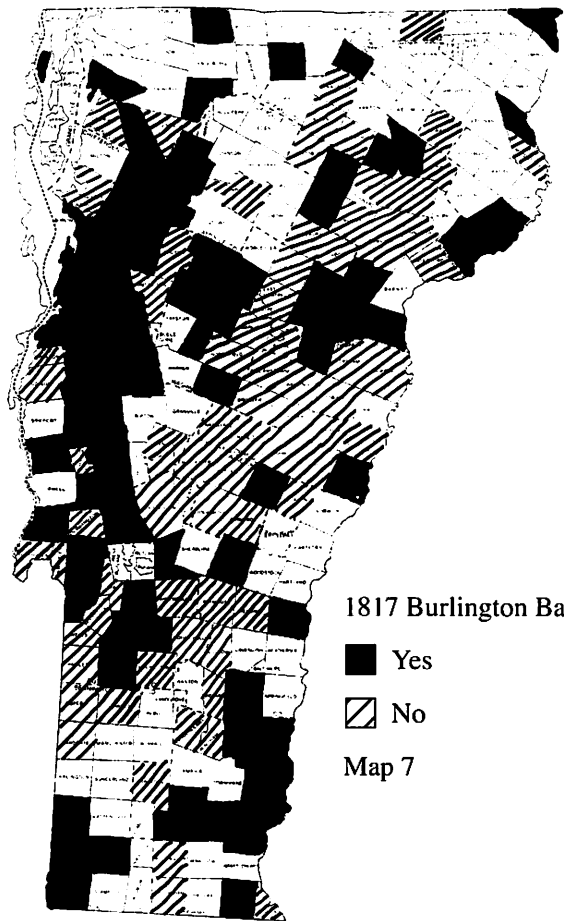
The opening of the Champlain Canal did much more than sever northern Vermont’s ties to Canada; it quickened the state’s assimilation into the developing market economy. Slashing transportation costs by 80 percent and with its impact eventually spreading across the Green Mountains, the canal gave farmers a wider market for their surplus.



Map 5



Map 6

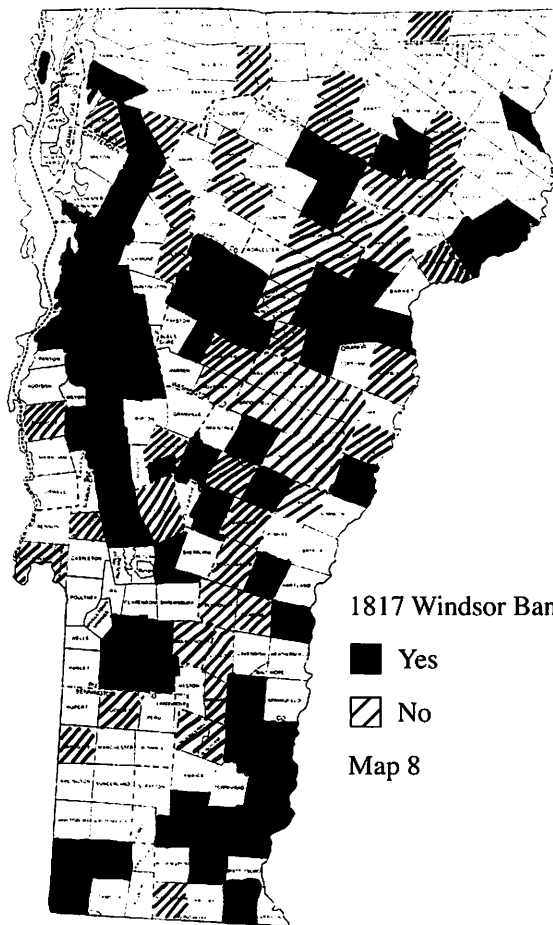


1817 Burlington Bank Vote

■ Yes

▨ No

Map 7



1817 Windsor Bank Vote

■ Yes

▨ No

Map 8

Merchants previously had traveled south a handful of times a year to replenish their stands. Now they were able to offer a dizzying array of goods, available at seemingly a few days notice, providing incentive to devote land and effort to commercial agriculture. After the dismal postwar years, the economic stimulus provided by the canal was heartily welcome. The close of hostilities had been followed by a typhoon of European goods, swamping Vermont's nascent warborn industries. Then came the total crop failure of 1816, after which many settlers surrendered, cashed in their property, and headed west, taking what little currency remained in the state with them.<sup>25</sup>

By 1817, Federalism had become but a memory, yet the Republican Party remained divided by competing economic visions. The postwar depression had spurred many of the state's leaders, taught by the newly styled "National" Republicanism that prosperity was dependent on public policy, to once again take up the cry for legislative relief, including, of course, new banks. These banking advocates testified that they had learned an important lesson from the fall of the Vermont State Bank. Instead of a state-run institution that might once again put the state's finances in jeopardy, they now stood behind private charters, in which individuals assumed the risk and the public would be provided with much needed currency made safe by appropriate regulatory legislation. Even under these arduous conditions, the return of banking was received with an icy skepticism. Governor Jonas Galusha was typical of the Vermonter who had been swayed by the siren song crooned by the supporters of the State Bank. Its failure found him chastened and firmly reattached to his former posture. In his annual addresses to the General Assembly in 1817 and 1818, he returned to the gospel of Old Republicanism revived in other states by men like Nathaniel Macon from North Carolina, John Taylor of Caroline from Virginia, and a converted Thomas Jefferson in response to rising postwar entrepreneurial activity. Attacking the National Republican leaders for their attempts to obtain new banking and other exclusive charters, Galusha poured scorn on the budding capitalist for harboring "that secret ambition to aggrandize himself, and promote his own ends" instead of reaffirming the superiority of hard work and thrift over "the ruinous system of paper credit."<sup>26</sup>

With two such divergent courses mapped out for them, most denizens of the Green Mountains chose to travel a schizophrenic middle way. The central question in the debate was framed by *Vermont Aurora* editor Gamaliel Small. "If banks accommodate and are profitable to the public, which no person can doubt, then the only inquiry should be, are numerous charters of [this] kind consistent with the principles of a Republican government?"<sup>27</sup> Although a majority of Vermonters could certainly

warm to a dependable currency, they knew from painful experience the dangers inherent in banking. Therefore, they reconciled these contrary urges by hoping that the number of charters would be restricted. Editor Small argued for eight or nine banks strategically placed throughout the state. His reasoning harkened back to Titus Hutchinson's pragmatic Republicanism of 1806. Whereas the Woodstock attorney labored to establish two banking houses to provide a stable currency and equal access to credit to all *individuals*, the Vergennes newspaperman sought to allow the benefits of banking to flow to every *region* of Vermont to prevent a monopoly in any section. Market towns, like Gamaliel Small's Vergennes, began to blossom throughout the state in the 1820s, some seemingly overnight, after the opening of the Champlain Canal. Everyone was all too aware of how the location of a bank in their region might make the difference between prospering as a center of trade or being left behind. Knowing that the number of banks would be few, many citizens became ardent boosters for a bank in their own area, but would then recite the tenets of Old Republicanism, warning of dire consequences should competing sections of the state offer up a charter. The curtain was being raised on an era dominated by "the politics of regionalism," when the pillars of the nascent capitalist economy became prizes for which towns and their hinterlands fiercely contested.<sup>28</sup> Nothing more clearly depicts this regionalism than the legislative voting record for bank charters from 1817 to 1825.

The years of 1817 and 1818 were years of transition from the old economic order of a northern tier looking toward Canada to the new one with the entire state fully attached to American markets. In 1817, after a four-year hiatus, bank charters reappeared before the General Assembly. Supporters once again chose the same two towns put forward in 1803, Burlington and Windsor. The results were almost eerily identical. Although the Burlington bill passed the house 82–73 (see Map 7) and the Windsor bank was similarly approved, they once again fell in the Council, as they had 14 years earlier. When the bills returned to the Assembly with reasons for denial, the membership quickly moved the Burlington bill to a third reading, which failed to pass, 69–66. The solons brought the Windsor bill up next and moved that it be referred to the next session, which failed by one vote. The bill then passed 71–55 (see Map 8). The council grudgingly accepted the wishes of the Assembly, but remained careful, burdening the charter with such onerous amendments that no bank organized under it.<sup>29</sup>

A breakdown of the tallies shows a lessening of the north-south split based on Canadian trade that predominated before the war. In the Burlington vote, the north still outpolled the south. The north carried the is-

sue 37–28, while the south deadlocked 45–45. However, the support for the bank now overwhelmingly centered in the Champlain Valley. The four counties bordering the lake—Addison, Chittenden, Franklin, and Grand Isle—voted for the measure 30–9. This should come as no surprise. Residents here, tempted by the increased opportunity to produce for a ready market during the war supplying both American and enemy troops, found the experience most rewarding. With the return of the Canadian market, the explosive increase in waterborne transportation, and the sound of picks and shovels of the canal builders drawing ever closer on their way from Albany, the Champlain Valley became the leading supporter of private banks. However, no longer as welcome in Canada and still out of the reach of the new market, the rest of the northern tier had become hostile. Even Franklin County's support was only lukewarm, signaling the beginning of a bitter regional feud with Chittenden County that would last for twenty years.<sup>30</sup>

The voting pattern on the Windsor bill followed a more curious pattern. On the final vote to repass the measure, it garnered little support from its home county, losing 8–6 with six abstentions. Neighbor to the north Orange County also rejected it 10–3. Although both the northern and the southern sections approved, the north 30–26 and the south 41–29, the most overwhelming support again lay in the Champlain Valley, which supported the charter 21–9. It seems likely that proponents once again hoped some statewide balance in the selection of host towns would tip the scales in favor of approval, but the east side of the Green Mountains was not yet ready to embrace paper money. The astonishing number of solons who abstained clearly suggests that the issue remained a troubling one.

Another year of the inexorable march of enterprise only served to redouble efforts for private banking. The same two towns pushed for charters again in 1818, with the state's most powerful National Republican, Burlington representative Cornelius Peter Van Ness, now leading the charge. The Burlington bill was the first to pass, by the margin of 97–81. An examination of the vote shows that the reach of the market advance had progressed northward, at least in the case of Burlington. The vote in the region northwest of a line drawn from the northeastern corner of Orleans County to the southern tip of Lake Champlain was 57–8 in favor. No town along the shores of the lake voted against the measure. Windham County, which had the ulterior motive of wanting to gain its own bank charter, a gambit that was narrowly defeated later in the session 58–51, combined with the five northeastern counties from Addison to Orleans in voting 72–16 for the charter. However, the Council remained unmoved. The state's most influential Old Republican,

.....

Governor Jonas Galusha, continued to hold firm, casting the deciding vote against the motion in the Council. When the General Assembly re-passed the bill by an even wider margin, the members of the Council knew, much as they had in 1806, that some sort of compromise was in order. After days of political jockeying over a series of restrictions on the new private institution necessary to soothe the wounded consciences of nervous Old Republicans, the charter was granted. The Windsor bill then sailed through easily.<sup>31</sup>

The push for more banks in Vermont stalled after the Panic of 1819. However, because renewed competition from foreign manufactures had restrained the post-war boom in New England, the state was only lightly touched by this painful scourge that brought widespread revolt against paper money throughout much of the rest of the country. Since the general conditions of ruin and despair were so prevalent and alarming in the American economy, Governor Galusha once again felt it necessary to use his annual address to beseech Vermonters to turn back from their profligate ways.<sup>32</sup>

Permit me, gentlemen, to enquire, that while we enjoy all the means of wealth and happiness, so general a complaint of the scarcity of circulating medium, and the consequent distress of individuals, in discharging private debts, and managing their own concerns, prevails? For a people possessing a rich and extensive territory, abounding with the fruits of production of almost every clime; with an unshackled commerce throughout the habitable world; possessing genius and enterprise exceeded by no people, to be in distress for want of a sufficient portion of medium, is a subject that loudly calls for investigation and reform. Amongst the various causes, the want of economy, in my opinion, is the most prominent. The unlimited credit given in this country, in almost every branch of business, to say nothing of banks, proves the ruin of too many valuable citizens, of every class and profession in society. The frequent bankruptcies, suspensions, and commitments to the county jails, sufficiently prove this fact.

What should be done to prevent a replay of this economic downturn? Galusha urged a return to the tenets of Old Republican political economy, which envisioned a society that would grow prosperous and civilized without succumbing to the lure of luxury. It was this newfound want of extravagance that had drawn America to ruin. According to the governor, this eagerness for unnecessary material things had caused the clamor for credit and paper money. Therefore, "the only safe remedy against embarrassment or poverty, is a retrenchment of family expenses, and lessening the consumption of articles of foreign growth and manufacture." How could this be effected? Governor Galusha considered any preventative legislation futile; rather, he believed "the most

powerful of all means is that of example. Let but one influential citizen, from each town in this state, return from the legislature to his constituents, with a rigid determination to abandon the unnecessary use of foreign articles, and while he enjoys all the real comforts and actual conveniences of life, reject everything that is superfluous; his fellow citizens would soon emulate his example.”<sup>33</sup>

Galusha’s speech was remarkable for its wistfulness. The very idea that the leading citizens of Vermont would return to their homes and begin rejecting cloth coats, calico dresses, and shoes in favor of buckskin, homespun, and moccasins underscored the hopelessness of Old Republicanism. The Pandora’s box of the market economy had been opened wide, and there would be no closing it. In his heart, Galusha must have known this, so he closed the portion of his speech relating to the economy with a final attack on banking. He lay the blame for the depression on the overextension of credit. “If I am not mistaken, in those states where the banks are the most numerous, and the means of credit the most easy, the recent cry of scarcity of medium, and its consequent distresses, have been the most heard and felt. This, gentlemen, will deserve some attention, if petitions to increase the number of banks in this state should be preferred.” As for the notion professed by National Republicans such as Titus Hutchinson and Gamaliel Small, that many banks helped provide equal opportunity, Galusha answered with contempt. “Although I wish equal privileges to be extended to every part of the state, yet, I am confident, that a multiplicity of incorporated banks in a state, will prove injurious to the community if not ruinous to each other.”<sup>34</sup> Jonas Galusha was serving his ninth, and last, term as governor. He would no longer hold statewide office, retiring to his Shaftsbury farm. Vermont’s Old Republicans lost their most impassioned spokesman.

The panic that clouded the national economy soon dissipated. By 1821, the citizens of Windham County felt the coast was clear enough to chance another charter in the legislature. To the horror of many hard-money advocates, they succeeded by an 84–73 margin (see Map 9). The furor erupted not because they obtained a bank, but rather over how they obtained it. Except for Addison County, an enthusiastic supporter of all charters, they were unable to capture a majority in any other county but their own. Yet their unanimous 21–0 county tally gave them enough votes for their charter.<sup>35</sup> The politics of regionalism had taken hold. Could any county, if it remained unified and desperately wanted a bank, now overrule a General Assembly hopelessly divided on the issue?

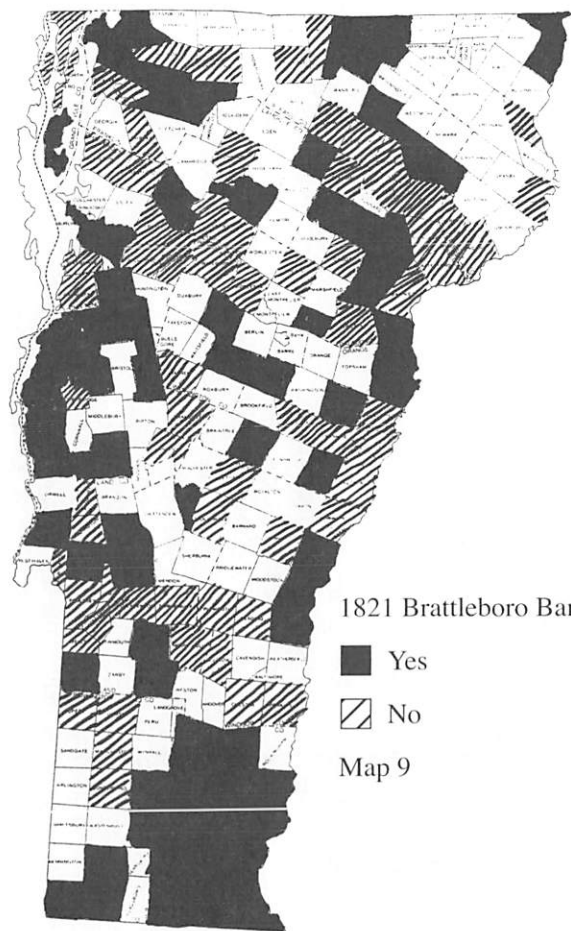
In 1822, Governor Richard Skinner, following in the footsteps of his predecessor, continued the rear-guard action against the lure of banking. In his annual address, he warned that the result of “the success,

which of late has attended the petitions for the establishment of banks, is to encourage others in the pursuit." The chief executive could not discern the advantage from augmenting the circulating medium, although earlier in his speech he railed against the practice occurring statewide of charging exorbitant interest for credit and pleaded for corrective measures. Skinner pronounced that the Assembly had done enough in regard to paper money, and his appeal carried the session.<sup>36</sup> Although the governor temporarily halted the pursuit of bank charters, he could not stop the market's advance. In 1823, the Champlain Canal began accepting boat traffic and concomitantly, during that year's legislative session, Danville, Rutland, St. Albans, and Montpelier, market centers energized by the new economic opportunities, applied for bank charters. When a resolution considering it imprudent to charter any new banks passed 100–90, the pattern of the vote displayed the clear shift to regionalism (see Map 10). Those voting against the motion almost all resided close to a town requesting a charter. Counties already home to banks largely turned their backs on any new proposals, hoping to press their advantage. Principle had been cast by the wayside; it was now every region for itself.<sup>37</sup>

The raucous 1824 legislative session was overwhelmed with petitions for banks, but the combination of a waning Old Republicanism and the scorched earth tactics of the politics of regionalism held the number of successful charters to one. Six petitions made their way to the floor. It seemed apparent from the outset that the Rutland bill would pass to provide some semblance of balance in banking statewide, but that the others were in for some tough sledding. However, they didn't go down without an earnest effort.

The first bill to be addressed was the Rutland charter, followed by that of Orwell, which was quickly dismissed.<sup>38</sup> However, the St. Albans bill was the first on which action occurred. Henry Gray, representative from the Windsor County town of Weston, moved that the bill be dismissed and his motion carried by a 115–82 tally (see Map 11). The vote displayed an intense division along north-south lines, with resistance stronger the farther away the county was from the requesting town. A vote to reconsider narrowly passed, but the bill was referred to the next session.<sup>39</sup> The Addison County bank bill received similar treatment.<sup>40</sup> The Rutland bill was then decisively affirmed, 147–59, with those opposed limited to the southeast section of the state, regions already in possession of banks (see Map 12).<sup>41</sup>

An attempt to refer the Caledonia County bank charter to the next session failed, but a vote taken on the bill was defeated by the thin margin of 104–100 (see Map 13).<sup>42</sup> A motion for reconsideration was also

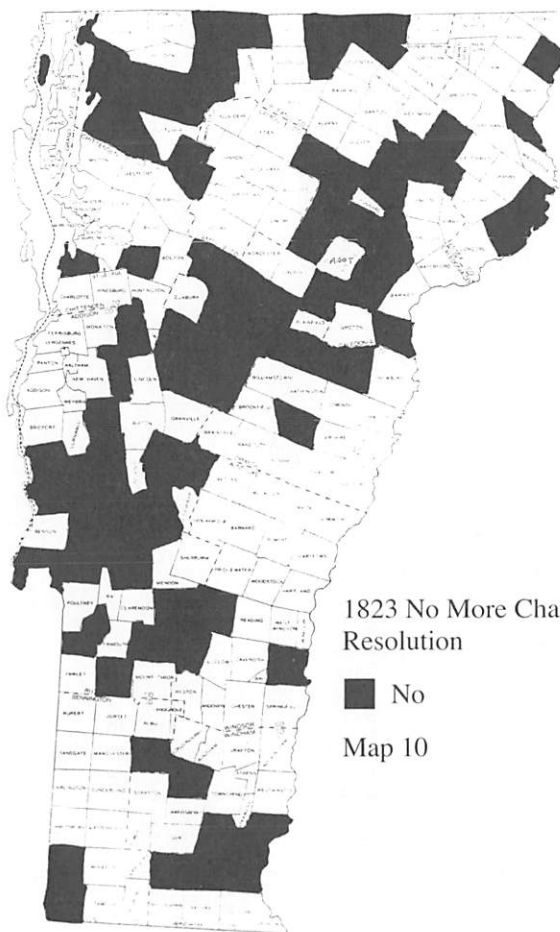


1821 Brattleboro Bank Vote

■ Yes

▨ No

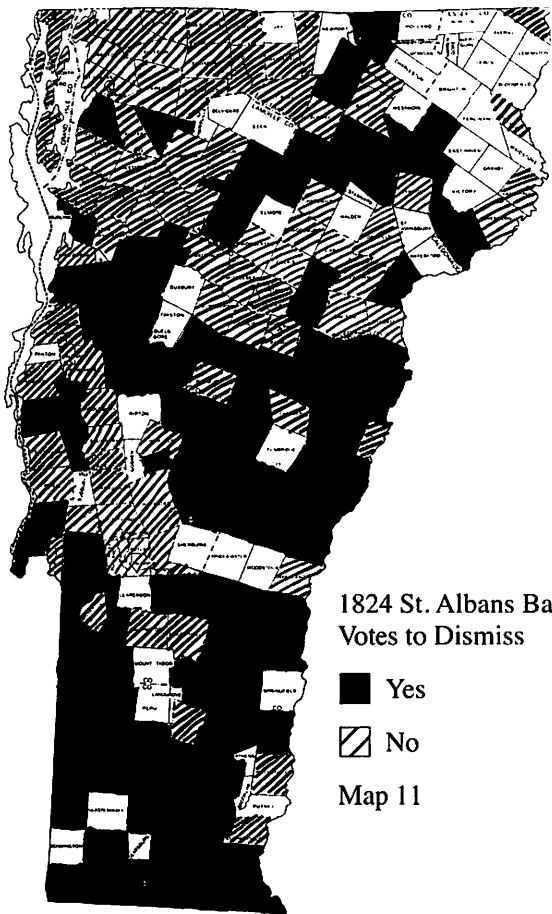
Map 9



1823 No More Charters  
Resolution

■ No

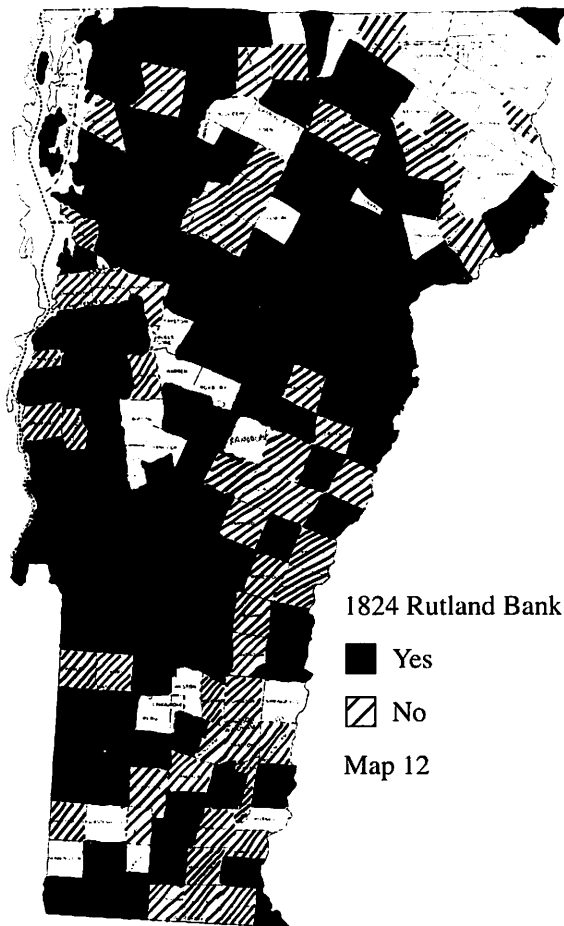
Map 10



1824 St. Albans Bank Vote  
Votes to Dismiss

■ Yes  
▨ No

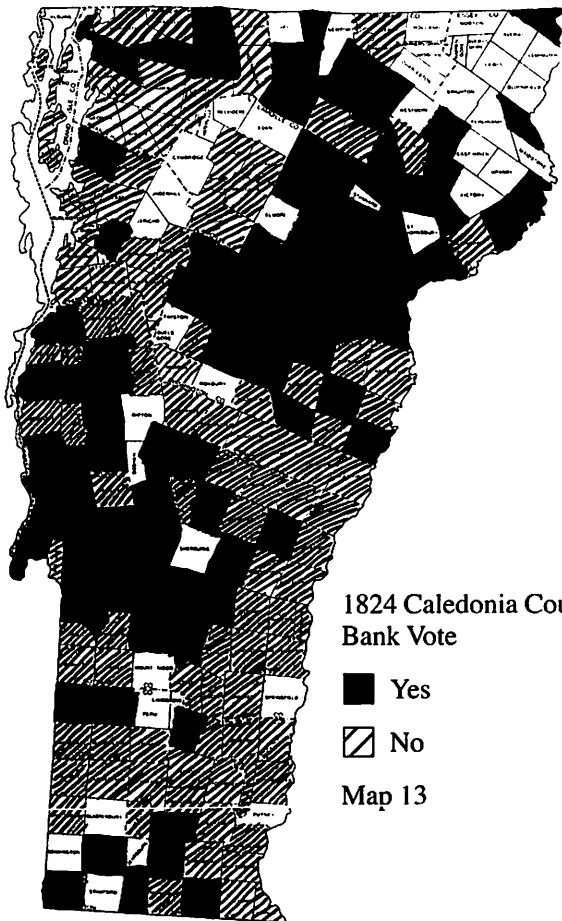
Map 11



1824 Rutland Bank Vote

■ Yes  
▨ No

Map 12

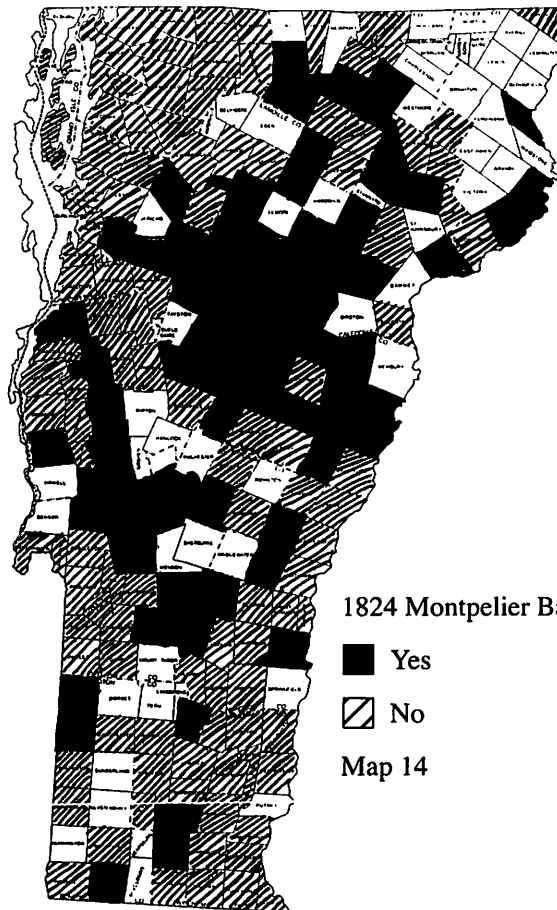


1824 Caledonia County  
Bank Vote

■ Yes

▨ No

Map 13

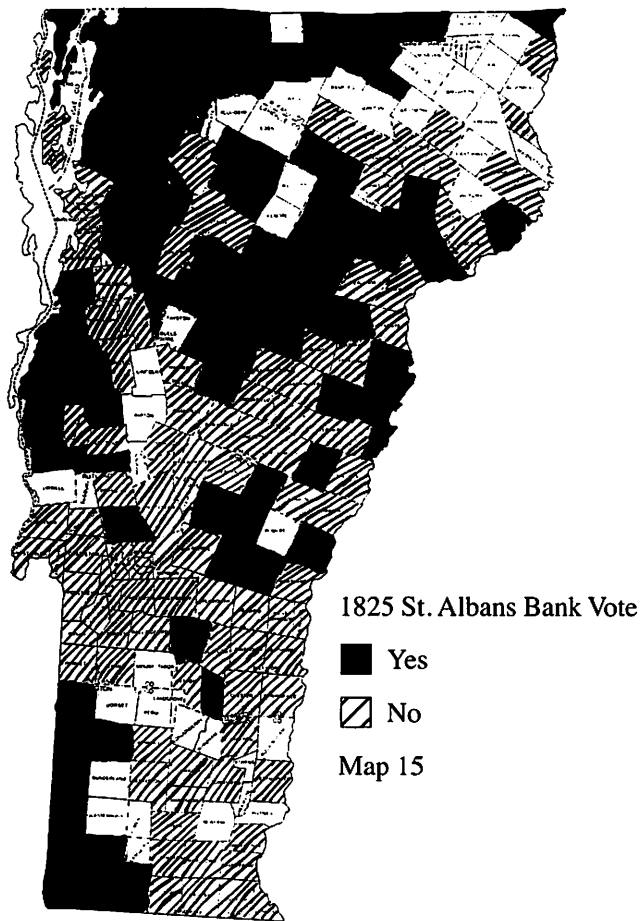


1824 Montpelier Bank Vote

■ Yes

▨ No

Map 14



rejected. Regionalism also played a role in this vote, with the preponderance of support from towns that had bank petitions in play. Addison, Rutland, and Washington counties assisted Caledonia's quest, but this group received scant support anywhere else. Montpelier's petition went down even more decisively, 112–80, and its endorsement dried up as distance from the capitol increased (see Map 14).<sup>43</sup>

A new wrinkle also surfaced during this turbulent session. The Executive Council now jumped into the business of campaigning for charters. Armed by an amendment to the rules of the Assembly, allowing them to submit bills with permission, two councilors compounded the regionalism in the General Assembly with that of the Council. Ezra Butler of Waterbury introduced a bill in the Assembly asking it to reconsider a charter for a bank in nearby Montpelier. Joseph Berry of Guildhall then followed suit, introducing a bill for a bank in Danville. Frowned upon by many members as encroaching on the turf of the Assembly, both bills met identical fates, falling like their companion measures.<sup>44</sup>

Despite all the activity, only one bank was chartered during the 1824 session. Not only was a rampant regionalism prevalent, so was self-interest. A county-by-county examination of the votes paints this distressingly parochial picture. Three of the four counties that gave the least support to the bank charters during this session, Windham, Windsor, and Chittenden, already had banks within their borders. The three counties that provided the most support, Washington, Caledonia, and Rutland, had charters in play.<sup>45</sup> It was clear that the Old Republican opposition to banking was in full retreat before the advancing market economy. Resistance now consisted of the politics of regionalism.

By 1825, the National Republican wing had finally cleared away most of the obstacles impeding banking in Vermont. With the market economy now dominant, the fear of paper money had drifted away, as had the belief that the number of charters should be restricted. The prevailing wisdom in the legislature had been transformed so that one bank would be allowed per county. Montpelier, Caledonia County, and St. Albans all finally secured their charters. Addison and Bennington counties would have in all likelihood succeeded as well if they had been able to decide which town would be home to their institution. Even Orange County, the last bastion of resistance, applied unsuccessfully for a charter.<sup>46</sup>

The closest ballot was for the St. Albans charter, which carried, 101–99 (see Map 15).<sup>47</sup> This town, wedged into the northwest corner of the state, was at a geographical disadvantage; its proposals continually received less support the further away one traveled. However, even St. Albans was able to gain a bank by gathering support from all the other counties

looking for banks of their own. Franklin County unanimously was in favor, with Washington, Caledonia, Addison, and Bennington counties providing the necessary votes to pass the measure. It took a dozen years following the demise of the Vermont State Bank, but by 1825 banking had become commonplace in the Green Mountains.

### CONCLUSION

Mapping the legislative voting records on bank charter applications from 1803 to 1825 makes it clear that the development of convenient and reliable markets for goods and produce was the most significant harbinger of the acceptance of banking. Vermont had its critics of paper money, such as the revered Old Republican, Jonas Galusha. Their message, no matter how eloquent or heartfelt, was drowned out by the roar of the emerging market economy.

In 1786, the first time that the subject of banking arose publicly in the state, it was overwhelmingly rejected by settlers living in a frontier economy with primitive markets. Twenty years later, when a more mature Vermont accepted the creation of the Vermont State Bank, the northern tier, those counties that had developed a bustling trade with Canada, cast the longest shadow over the proceedings. The State Bank collapsed in 1813, the victim of mismanagement, embargo, and war, leaving a stain that was slow to wash away. The return of bank charter petitions in the legislature followed closely the end of the war with England. However, the specter of Old Republicanism, although fading before nascent capitalism, succeeded in casting enough doubt on paper money, particularly by keeping the memory of the Vermont State Bank fresh, to convince the populace that the number of banks allowed should be few. This resulted in a vicious parochialism that stalled the creation of most new banks, as the market towns that emerged after the opening of the Champlain Canal scuffled over the meager number of charters available. The year 1825, when banking charters finally overcame hard-money opponents and regionalism, can be seen as the year that the market triumphed in the Green Mountains.

### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The use of the terms moderate Republican, Old Republican, and National Republican deserve some explanation. During the elections of 1800, the fledgling Republican Party consisted of several divergent and shifting groups who came together to fulfill a common goal; to oust the Federalists from power. Their subsequent success bred yet another struggle; one between members of the new party over the meaning of their victory. The most militant group in this coalition were the Old Republicans. When it came to the states' rights and agrarian ideals of the Anti-Federalists, they were the keepers of the flame. Old Republicans demanded a weak central government with powers explicitly defined. Fearing a replay of the squalor and demoralization found in industrializing Europe, they

were suspicious of any increase in commerce and manufacturing, or any government support for economic development, particularly banks.

The moderates, on the other hand, were less concerned about a strong national government than about its potential to misuse its power. They were content in defeating the Federalists, and now hoped to harmonize the different interests of the country. They did not fear the market economy, but rather felt it to be their duty to provide equal opportunity to reap its rewards. Many historians believe that this division was always present, and can be traced from the election of Jefferson to the election of Jackson.

National Republicans emerged during the postwar boom of the 1810s, long before the party that took this name. They stood for aggressive government intervention in the economy through such measures as banking, financing internal improvement projects, and high tariffs. For more illumination on Republican divisions, read Richard E. Ellis, *The Jeffersonian Crisis: Courts and Politics in the Young Republic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), passim, but particularly chapters 2, 6, and 17; Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), chapter 2 and passim; Drew McCoy, *The Elusive Republic: Political Economy in Jeffersonian America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980); and Saul Cornell, *The Other Founders: Anti-Federalism & the Dissenting Tradition in America, 1788–1828* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999). The quotes are from Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Bellesiles, *Revolutionary Outlaws: Ethan Allen and the Struggle for Independence on the Early American Frontier* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1993), 246; Robert E. Shalhope, *Bennington and the Green Mountain Boys: The Emergence of Liberal Democracy in Vermont, 1760–1850* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 188.

<sup>3</sup> Bellesiles, *Revolutionary Outlaws*, 246–248; Shalhope, *Bennington and the Green Mountain Boys*, 188–191; Walter Hill Crockett, *Vermont, The Green Mountain State* (New York: Century History, 1921), 2:407–421; *Records of the Governor and Council* (Montpelier: J. & J.M. Polard, 1873–1880), 5:443.

<sup>4</sup> *Governor and Council*, *ibid.* The information about the makeup of the northern tier was gleaned from John M. Comstock, ed., *A List of the Principal Officers of Vermont from 1777 to 1913* (known as “Deming’s Vermont Officers”); Saint Albans: St. Albans Messenger Press, 1918).

<sup>5</sup> Comstock, *ibid.*; Thomas Arnold, *Two Hundred Years and Counting: Vermont Community Census Totals, 1791 to 1990* (Burlington: Center for Rural Studies, 1993). The population statistics are based on the census totals for 1800, while the number of representatives was determined for the 1806 General Assembly.

<sup>6</sup> This spirited debate took place in the *Vermont Centinel* from July 16 through July 30, 1806.

<sup>7</sup> Chilton Williamson, *Vermont in Quandary, 1763–1825* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1949), 182–183, 206–241; Daniel B. Carroll, “Development of the Unicameral Legislature in Vermont,” *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society* 3 (1932), 15. Republicans in 1803 also thwarted the growing power of the northern tier in the General Assembly by giving the Speaker of the House the authority to appoint committees, judging it to be a more dignified method than the traditional manner of adopting them from the floor. See the *Vermont General Assembly Journal* (1803), pp. 32–33. In the next year, the canvassing committee appointed by the Speaker suddenly began rejecting votes from towns that it deemed not properly prepared. Although this affected towns throughout the state, curiously the preponderance of the votes rejected were from the frontier. This occurred from 1804–1806. I am in debt to Gregory Sanford for bringing much of this information to my attention.

<sup>8</sup> Paul S. Gillies and D. Gregory Sanford, eds., *Records of the Council of Censors of the State of Vermont* (Essex: Offset House, 1991), 189; Williamson, *Vermont in Quandary*, 243–247, 258–259. In the 1787 referendum, towns of the northern tier voted 60–31 in favor of the establishment of banks. *Vermont State Papers*, 3:3, 284–285.

<sup>9</sup> *Governor and Council*, 5:443; *Vermont General Assembly Journal* (1803), 173–174.

<sup>10</sup> Prentiss C. Dodge, ed., *Encyclopedia Vermont Biography* (Burlington: Ullery Publishing Company, 1912), 63–64; *Governor and Council*, 6:390–391.

<sup>11</sup> *Governor and Council*, *ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Vermont General Assembly Journal* (1805), 90–91; *Governor and Council*, 5:81–82.

<sup>13</sup> George B. Reed, *Sketch of the Early History of Banking in Vermont* (Boston: n.p., 1879), 7–10; *Green Mountain Post Boy*, Nov. 4, 1806; Williamson, *Vermont in Quandary*, 254.

<sup>14</sup> *Governor and Council*, 5: 444; *Hartland Anniversary: August 16, 1913* (n.d.), 5–6, 12. Luce also sat on the committees to construct both the new capitol building in Montpelier and the State Prison in Windsor.

<sup>15</sup> The *Vermont Gazette* reported in its November 4, 1806 issue that the Assembly had received petitions for banks from Danville, Brattleboro, Middlebury, and Rutland. *Vermont General Assembly Journal* (1806), 110–111.

<sup>16</sup> Shalhope, *Bennington and the Green Mountain Boys*, 170; Hutchinson's father, Aaron, was a pastor in Pomfret. F. G. Cleveland, *The Paper Money Experiment: The Vermont State Bank* (monograph, Vermont Historical Society), 6; Henry Swan Dana, *The History of Woodstock, Vermont* (Cambridge: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1889), 328–329; Titus Hutchinson, "An Oration Delivered at Woodstock, July 4, 1809," (Windsor: Oliver Farnsworth, 1809), 3.

<sup>17</sup> Dana, *History of Woodstock*, 329.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*; *Vermont General Assembly Journal* (1806), 199–201; *Laws of Vermont*, 1806, 164–169. After the bill was read a second time, William Czar Bradley of Westminster moved to give the directors, when chosen, the power to designate the location of the two branches. After this motion met defeat, Abel Spencer spoke for those who looked for more than the two branches offered. He first suggested that the bill be amended to establish six branches, and when that was rejected, came back with another amendment asking for four, also unsuccessfully. Bradley then worked to hold together the tenuous coalition by moving that the location of the coveted branches be resolved by ballot.

<sup>19</sup> Arnold, *Two Hundred and Counting: Governor and Council*, 5:140–143.

<sup>20</sup> *Vermont General Assembly Journal* (1806), 220–221.

<sup>21</sup> Kenneth A. Degree, "Malfeasance or Theft? What Really Happened at the Middlebury Branch of the Vermont State Bank," *Vermont History*, 68 (Winter/Spring 2000): 6–15.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> The party affiliation of the members of the 1813 General Assembly was determined from an anonymous article in the *Columbian Patriot* on Oct. 27, 1813. The writer, possibly William Slade, was at the state house during this raucous session and reported events firsthand. The writer stated that a vote to accept a resolution passed by the Council, to reinstate three councilors who had lost their seats as a result of the decision of the General Assembly canvassing committee, was decided by a straight party line vote. 108 Federalists voted against the resolution, 103 Republicans for it, with one Republican absent. *Vermont General Assembly Journal* (1813), 30–32. The yeas and nays were recorded and are the basis for the map.

<sup>24</sup> Williamson, *Vermont in Quandary*, 277–284; Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, 40–43. The Champlain Canal was open only for lumber by 1822. It was opened to shipping the following year.

<sup>25</sup> T. D. Seymour Bassett, "The Rise of Cornelius Peter Van Ness 1782–1826," *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society* 10 (1942), 9–10. P. Jeffrey Potash, *Vermont's Burned-Over District: Patterns of Community Development and Religious Activity 1761–1850* (Brooklyn: Carlson Press, 1991), 100–102; Edward Chase Kirkland, *Men, Cities and Transportation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), 1:28–29.

<sup>26</sup> Bassett, "Rise of Cornelius Peter Van Ness," 11; Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, 108–125; Paul Goodman, *Towards a Christian Republic: Antimasonry and the Great Transition in New England 1826–1836* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 127–128.

<sup>27</sup> *Vermont Aurora*, August 25, 1825.

<sup>28</sup> For more discussion of the politics of regionalism, see Kenneth A. Degree, *Deadlock, Deceit and Divine Intervention: The Politics of Regionalism and the Longest Political Campaign in Vermont History, The Fourth Congressional District 1830–1832* (Vergennes, 1997).

<sup>29</sup> *Vermont General Assembly Journal* (1817), 168–169, 187–189; Bassett, "Rise of Cornelius Peter Van Ness," 11.

<sup>30</sup> For an example of the animosity between Burlington and St. Albans see Degree, *Deadlock, Deceit and Divine Intervention*.

<sup>31</sup> Bassett, "Rise of Cornelius Peter Van Ness," 11–14. A map of the Burlington vote is included in Bassett's work.

<sup>32</sup> *Vermont General Assembly Journal* (1819), 11–12; Sellers, *The Market Revolution*, 138.

<sup>33</sup> *Vermont General Assembly Journal*, *ibid.*

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> *Vermont General Assembly Journal* (1821), 118–119.

<sup>36</sup> *Records of the Governor and Council*, 3:436–437.

<sup>37</sup> *Vermont General Assembly Journal* (1823), 118–119, 145–147. The resolution was offered by Lyman Fitch of Thetford.

<sup>38</sup> *Vermont General Assembly Journal* (1824), 63.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 65, 83–86.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 83–84.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 87–88, 90–92.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 97–98.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 136–142; *Records of the Governor and Council*, 7:137–138.

<sup>45</sup> Support for banking charters was determined as follows. Votes on each charter application were totaled. For example, Chittenden County lawmakers voted 9–6 in favor of St. Albans' charter, 10–5 in favor of Rutland's charter, 11–2 against Caledonia County's application, and 10–4 against

Montpelier's charter. In sum, Chittenden County solons cast 25 votes for bank charters, 32 votes against, only 43.9 percent in favor. In contrast, Washington County lawmakers supported St. Albans' charter 9-5, voted 14-1 in favor of Rutland's charter, 13-2 in favor of Caledonia County's bid, and 15-0 supporting their own application in Montpelier. In sum, Washington County solons cast 51 votes in favor of charters, only 8 votes against, 86.4 percent in favor. Using this method, we find that the Windham County delegation, who cast only 21.1 percent of their votes in support of bank charters, and the Windsor County lawmakers, who cast only 27.7 percent of their votes in favor of bank applications, joined Chittenden as counties that were already home to a bank who took a dim view of the charter bids of their neighbors. (Bennington County lawmakers cast votes for charters: only 43.2 percent of the time, as well.) The three largest supporters were again Washington, Caledonia with 74.6 percent of their votes in favor, and Rutland with 65.9 percent approval. All had charters in play.

<sup>46</sup> *Vermont General Assembly Journal* (1825), 80-81, 101-102. Montpelier secured its charter by a vote of 139-58, Caledonia by a vote of 115-80. The most bitter inter-county dispute over siting a bank was in Addison County. See Kenneth A. Degree, *Vergennes in the Age of Jackson* (Vergennes, 1996), 26-52.

<sup>47</sup> *Vermont General Assembly Journal* (1825), 82-83.



## Designed to Cure: Civil War Hospitals in Vermont

*President Abraham Lincoln and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton greeted a proposal from Vermont Governor Frederick Holbrook to open military hospitals far from the battlefield as "inexpedient and impracticable of execution." By the war's end, however, the army had created 192 general hospitals in its 16 military departments. Twenty-five hospitals were in the Department of the East, including three in Vermont.*

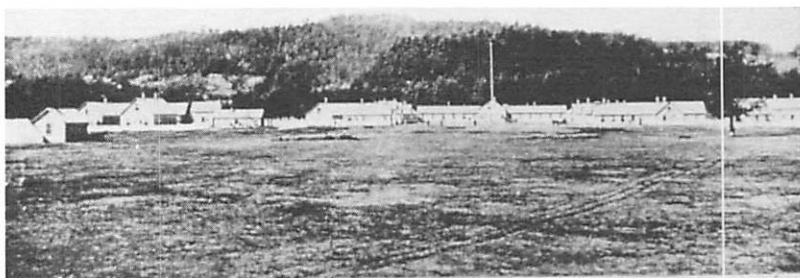
By NANCY E. BOONE AND MICHAEL SHERMAN\*

**I**n 1894 former Governor Frederick Holbrook of Brattleboro described his negotiations with federal officials to establish hospitals in Vermont to treat sick and wounded soldiers from the New England region.<sup>1</sup> Holbrook wrote that following a visit to the field hospitals in and around Washington, D.C., in December 1862, he convinced President Lincoln and Secretary of War Edwin Stanton to overcome their doubts that a hospital so far from the front lines would be "inexpedient and impracticable of execution. It was thought that many of the disabled men would die under the fatigue and exposure of such long transportation back to their state; and it was suggested that possibly some might be lost by desertion. It was also said that the plan would be an unmilitary innovation."<sup>2</sup>

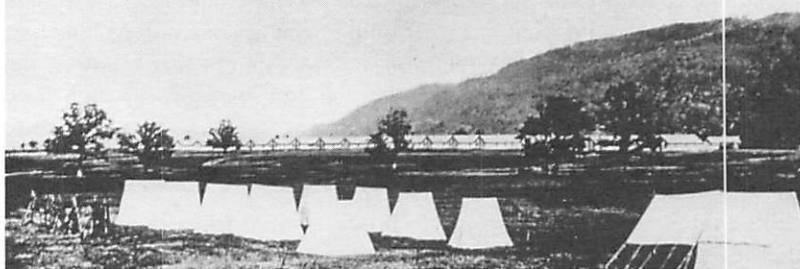
To overcome these concerns, Holbrook assured Lincoln and Stanton that the hospital would operate as a military facility, that the secretary of war would authorize transfer of patients from field hospitals, and that the experiment, as Stanton insisted on calling it, could be revoked in six months' time if it proved unworkable. Holbrook countered concerns

about the costs of building a new hospital by offering to use the existing military campgrounds and buildings in Brattleboro. These had been hastily built on the town fairgrounds in the summer of 1861 to muster out Vermont's First Brigade and muster in the Vermont Second Brigade. Holbrook pledged the State of Vermont to move the military buildings "to a sheltered situation at one end of the grounds, placing them in a hollow square, and to fit them up with plastered walls, nice floors, chimneys, provisions for ventilation, an abundance of pure spring water, and all needed appliances and facilities for hospital purposes."<sup>3</sup>

By the summer of 1863 the hospital in Brattleboro, under the command of Edward E. Phelps, who had accompanied Holbrook on his negotiating trip to Washington, was treating 1,500 to 2,000 patients. With the barracks buildings full, tents accommodated the overflow. According to Holbrook, the facility easily passed its first inspection by government officials and "was soon credited by the United States medical inspector, with perfecting a larger percentage of cures than any United States military hospital record elsewhere could show. . . . The experiment of



United States Gen'l Hospital, Brattleboro, Vt.--1863.



*U.S. General Hospital (later called Smith General Hospital), Brattleboro, 1863.*

establishing this hospital proved so successful that similar hospitals were provided in other northern states."<sup>4</sup>

The Brattleboro hospital, later known as Smith General Hospital to honor another Vermont wartime governor, J. Gregory Smith, was one of three military medical facilities in Vermont. It handled more patients than either of the other two—4,402 patients between June 1, 1863 and October 5, 1865—but it was not the first to open and in some respects Holbrook's account is misleading.

#### FROM POST HOSPITALS TO GENERAL HOSPITALS

Before the Civil War, post hospitals cared for seriously sick and wounded soldiers, while those with milder cases were simply confined to their tents. This system proved adequate for meeting the medical needs of small stationary units of armed forces. At the beginning of the war, regimental hospitals served the needs of the assembling troops, and division or brigade hospitals were created by combining regimental facilities. The first new military hospitals of the war—the East Street Infirmary and the Union Hotel—opened in Washington, D.C., in May 1861. Nearby private homes, adapted to create wards, service, and administrative areas, provided supplementary facilities. After Bull Run, in July 1861, when it became clear that the war would be long and require large scale movement of troops, the army had to develop a new system quickly to receive the most seriously wounded cases sent from the field hospitals or left behind when troops moved off to pursue the Confederate army. The first of many general hospitals opened in Alexandria, Virginia, followed by hospitals in Baltimore, at the U.S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, and the grounds of the Agricultural Society of Frederick, Maryland. In June 1861, the Christian Hospital in Philadelphia became the most remote military establishment of the Union army.

As the war dragged on, the army expanded the number and locations of military hospitals. According to the six-volume *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*, published serially by the Surgeon General between 1870 and 1888:

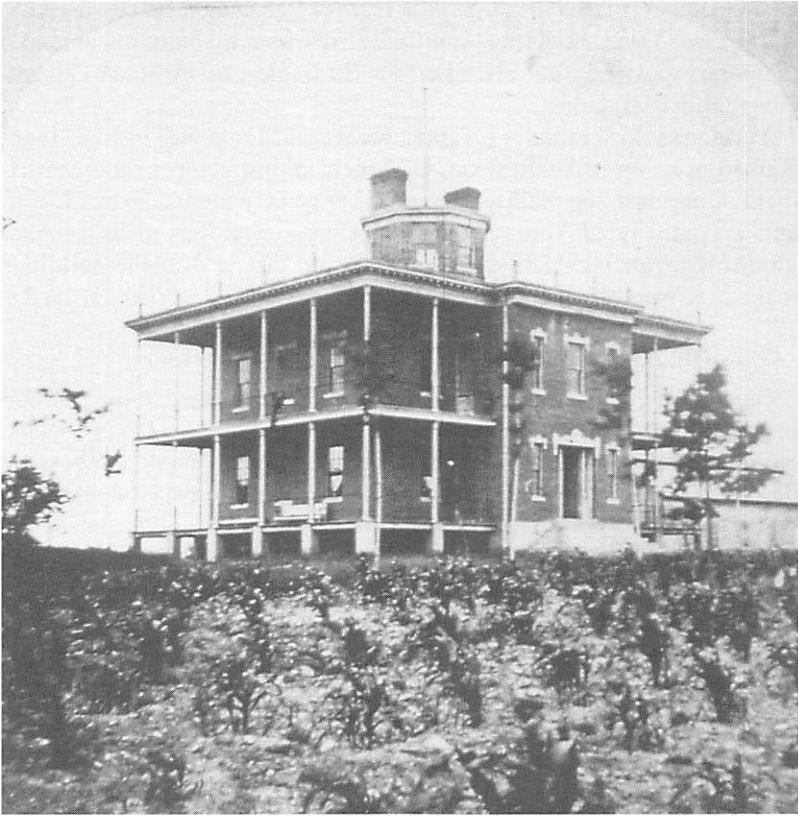
North of Philadelphia, there were but few extemporized hospitals. Factory buildings were occupied in Newark, N.J. A three-story cabinet factory contained most of the hospital beds in Elmira, N.Y. Contracts were made at Rochester and Buffalo with the civil hospitals at 50 to 75 cents daily per bed. The Mason hospital in Boston, Mass. was a private residence, given up rent-free by its owner.<sup>5</sup>

The U.S. government set up a few military hospitals south of Washington. In the western states, it created hospitals by converting or adapting asylums, orphanages, factories, hotels, schools, and warehouses.

By the war's end the army had created 192 general hospitals in its 16 military departments. Twenty-five hospitals were in the Department of the East, including three in Vermont. The surgeon general's report, so rich in detail about the dimensions, capacity, treatment, and facilities at these general hospitals, offers few dates, so it is difficult to confirm Governor Holbrook's claim for the priority of the Brattleboro General Hospital. It is clear, however, that the context for establishing these remote facilities was the growing realization that preexisting arrangements were inadequate for treating the large number of men who came out of battle wounded or physically and mentally broken down, as well as the many who contracted debilitating and contagious illnesses in the military camps themselves, where sanitary conditions were poor and diseases spread rapidly. In fact, during the Civil War, death from disease accounted for two-thirds of all military fatalities, while only one-third of the deaths were directly attributed to battle wounds, overwhelmingly bullet wounds. If a soldier survived the first few days following a battle injury, he was threatened by a host of secondary potential killers—diseases such as chronic diarrhea, typhoid, and malaria—if he had been lucky enough to escape them in routine camp life. Thus, by the time Holbrook and Phelps made their proposal to Lincoln and Stanton for remote hospitals, the need for additional facilities had become acute and the army had already begun to accommodate that need.

Although Holbrook's account claims that the Brattleboro mustering grounds became the first remote general hospital, the Marine Hospital in Burlington was already receiving sick and wounded from the war seven months before the governor presented his proposal to Lincoln and Stanton.<sup>6</sup> According to the report of the surgeon general of Vermont, the hospital "was opened by the State of Vermont under the direction of Governor Holbrook" on May 5, 1862, when it received its first patients, and "transferred to and organized by the United States Government" on July 1, 1862.<sup>7</sup> The physician in charge of the facility was Dr. S. W. Thayer, surgeon general of Vermont.

Originally built between 1856 and 1858 with a congressional appropriation of \$39,000—a political patronage reward for Judge David Smalley, head of the Vermont Democratic Party—the Italianate-style brick building with a spacious verandah sat two miles south of the village of Burlington on ten acres of land off Shelburne Road. According to an account in Abby Hemenway's *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, the building commanded "a fine view of the lake and village. . . . It is 2 stories high, with a basement; built very thoroughly, with ample and convenient rooms for the use intended."<sup>8</sup> A reporter from the *Burlington Free Press* described it as "a substantial and expensive affair. The rooms are high



*U.S. General Hospital, Burlington. The photograph, from a stereoscopic view, shows the original building, known as the Marine Hospital. The building dimly visible to the right may be one of the hospital wards built during the Civil War. Date unknown. Courtesy of Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.*

and airy, furnished with marble mantels, with closets and bath rooms attached to each ward on both floors, and every convenience in the way of store rooms, cases of shelves and drawers, &c. for the safe and orderly keeping of the quantities of clothing and hospital supplies in constant demand. . . . The wounded are all within the Hospital building. A few of the sick . . . are in a wooden portable house, and in the tents, which are provided with floors and stoves, and are entirely comfortable.”<sup>9</sup> Renamed the General Hospital in April 1863 then Baxter General Hospital in September 1864, in honor of Vermont Congressman

Portus Baxter, the facility treated a total of 2,406 men before the U.S. Army closed it in July 1865 and transferred its remaining patients to a temporary post hospital elsewhere in Burlington or to Sloan General Hospital in Montpelier.

Vermont's third military hospital opened in Montpelier in June 1864. Named in honor of W. J. Sloan, U.S. medical inspector for the Department of the East, the facility accommodated 500 patients, hospital staff, and a company of Vermont Reserve Corps, who served as hospital guards. On April 25, 1864, Governor Smith turned over the buildings to the U.S. War Department and in mid-June the first 300 patients arrived.<sup>10</sup>

### THE ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN OF CIVIL WAR HOSPITALS

Sloan General Hospital was a fully developed example of the pavilion principle of hospital design, which employed many small, connected buildings instead of a single massive structure. This approach to hospital design and construction derived from the work of Florence Nightingale, who exposed the poor conditions in British military hospitals during the Crimean War (1853–1856) and became an internationally renowned advocate for improved sanitation and care in hospitals. Attributing poor recovery rates of injured soldiers to “bad air”<sup>11</sup> and crowded conditions, she recommended treating patients in smaller wards, with improved ventilation. More windows would let in sunlight and air, provide light for reading, and offer views for enhancing good morale. The pavilion system proposed by Nightingale as an organizational principle for hospital construction and operation called for smaller treatment wards in detached buildings with centrally located administrative and support spaces. Pavilions could be arranged parallel to each other, or in line. The U.S. military tested, refined, and revised the pavilion design as it erected large new hospitals in rapid succession throughout the eastern states. The hospital complexes functioned as discreet, self-contained communities, providing for the physical and social needs of the hundreds of patients, medical personnel, and support staff who lived there. Tents often supplemented the wooden buildings of a facility. The hospitals bore a resemblance to forts or prisons—often contained within a high fence, although most typically of a picket type that only symbolically protected the complex from invasion or escape. Point Lookout (1862) in Maryland combined a prison and a hospital. The hospital there used the spoke-and-wheel plan, perhaps the first example of a design that would later be used at Montpelier.

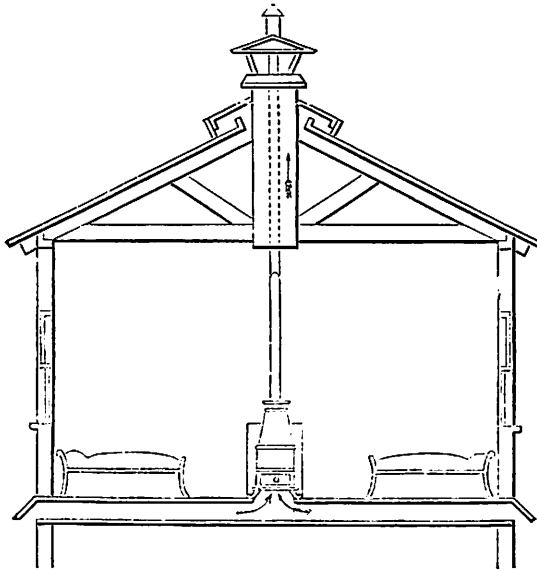
The converted barracks buildings that became the wards at Smith General Hospital in Brattleboro lacked sufficient windows for air and light. Barracks were typically constructed directly on the ground, exposed



*Birdseye view of Hamming General Hospital and U.S. Prison, Point Lookout, Maryland. Courtesy of the National Library of Medicine, History of Medicine Division, Prints & Photographs Collection.*

to damp and odors, termed by one observer as “unwholesome exhalation from the confined soil beneath.”<sup>12</sup> By contrast, the pavilion-style hospitals constructed by the U.S. Army consisted of one-story wards raised off the ground, with clear-span interiors open to the roof ridge.

As the prescription for good air and lots of it became an essential part of medical treatment, the army began improving ventilation in the pavilion model. Florence Nightingale noted that a patient gave off three pints of moisture in each twenty-four-hour period.<sup>13</sup> Contemporary accounts of hospital facilities measured quality in terms of the cubic feet of fresh air available per patient bed. Early examples providing 500–600 cubic feet of air space per bed proved inadequate and “unhealthy,” and the goal moved toward 800, 1,000, and 1,200 cubic feet/bed. Using these criteria the army designed wards with an abundance of windows and placed two beds between adjacent windows so that each patient was next to one. Ridge ventilators penetrated the roofs to draw air through the wards. Some pavilion wards included shafts that in winter could be opened periodically to funnel air under the floor to an opening beneath a stove, where the air would be warmed as it entered the ward.



*Schematic drawing of ventilation plan for U.S. general hospitals, from U.S. army specifications. Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion (1861–1865), Part III (1888), 945.*

Separating ward buildings also became a concern. Closely spaced wards were thought to stifle good air circulation, and the distance between adjacent pavilions grew to forty feet and more. Similarly, wards should be free of taller surrounding structures that could cut off breezes. Topographic elevation became a desirable specification for new hospital sites.

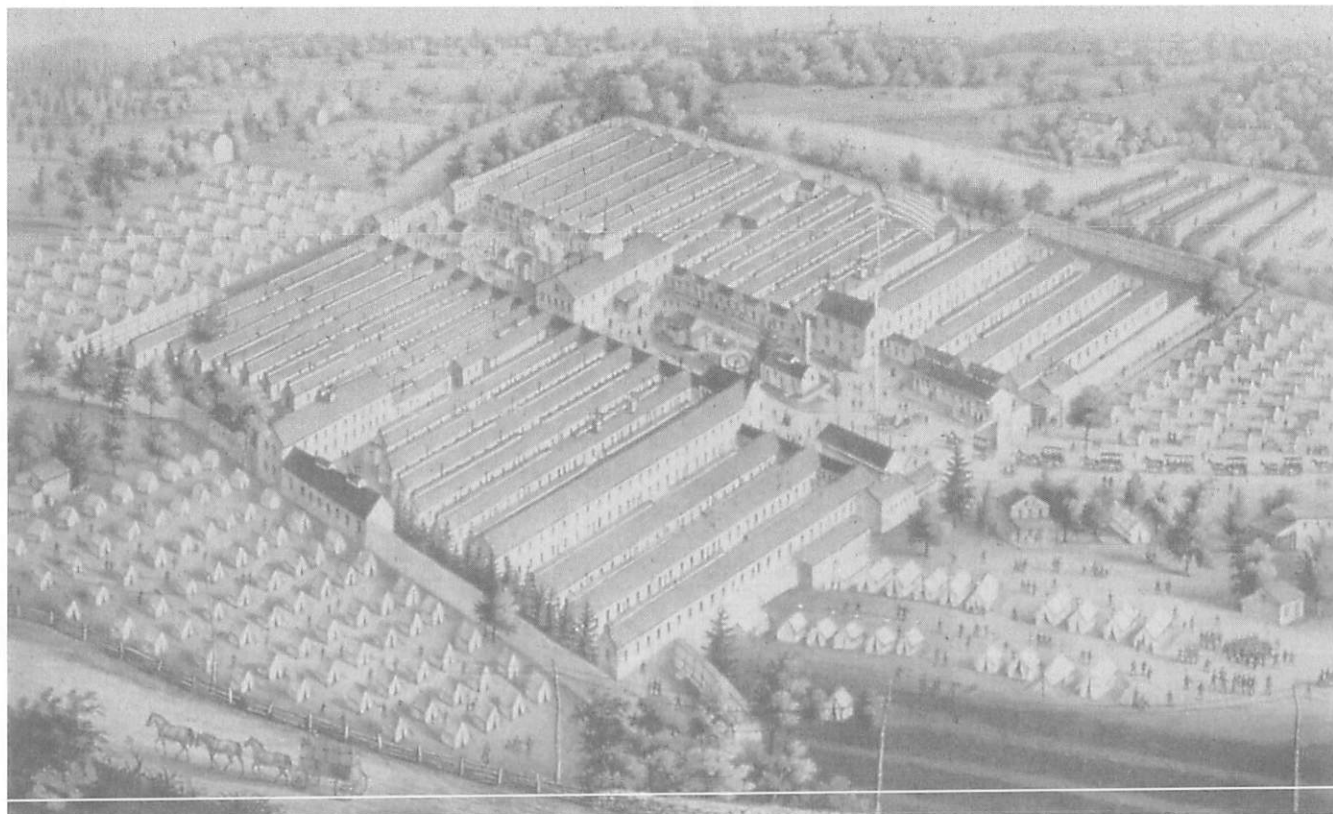
The army constructed its first ridge-vented hospital wards in Parkersburg, Virginia, with pavilions measuring 130 feet long by 25 feet wide by 14 feet to the eaves. That general size became a standard dimension for subsequent pavilion-style military hospitals, although length could vary considerably. In southern hospitals, the ventilators ran continuously along the roof ridge and remained open or, when necessary, could be covered by side shutters. This design proved impractical for colder climates, where only sections of the ridge were vented. Sloan General Hospital in Montpelier had only two small ridge vents per ward, which like little barn cupolas, vented moisture and encouraged air circulation.

The U.S. Sanitary Commission, founded in June 1861 to advocate for improved medical treatment of wounded and sick soldiers, promoted use of the pavilion principle and urged the construction of new hospital facilities. Two such hospitals in Washington, D.C., Judiciary Square and Mount Pleasant, were ready for occupancy by April 1862. For administrative convenience, the pavilion wards at these sites, which measured 84 feet by 28 feet by 12 feet, were laid out on both sides of and perpendicular to a central connecting corridor, staggered in alternating fashion along its length to promote air circulation.

Critics were quick to point out two major flaws in the design as executed in these early experiments. By joining all the pavilions to a single enclosed corridor, the hospital interior and the "atmosphere" within it became one space, whereas the goal was to separate pavilions and thereby control the spread of airborne diseases. The second error was the placement of the water closets in the corridor, instead of at the free end of the pavilions. Later hospitals avoided both problems.

At Baxter General Hospital in Burlington the army hastily constructed a row of seven (or nine—reports differ on the number) parallel pavilions to supplement the original brick building.<sup>14</sup> An open porch connected the pavilions at the end nearest the complex of administrative offices, kitchen, and dining facilities. Separated from each other by forty-eight feet of open space, the new pavilions had six-over-six sash windows every ten feet along their length and privies entirely detached from the wards.

Saterlee Hospital in Philadelphia opened a month after Baxter began operation, and utilized parallel open corridors facing a central elongated courtyard. The pavilion wards joined the outside face of the corri-



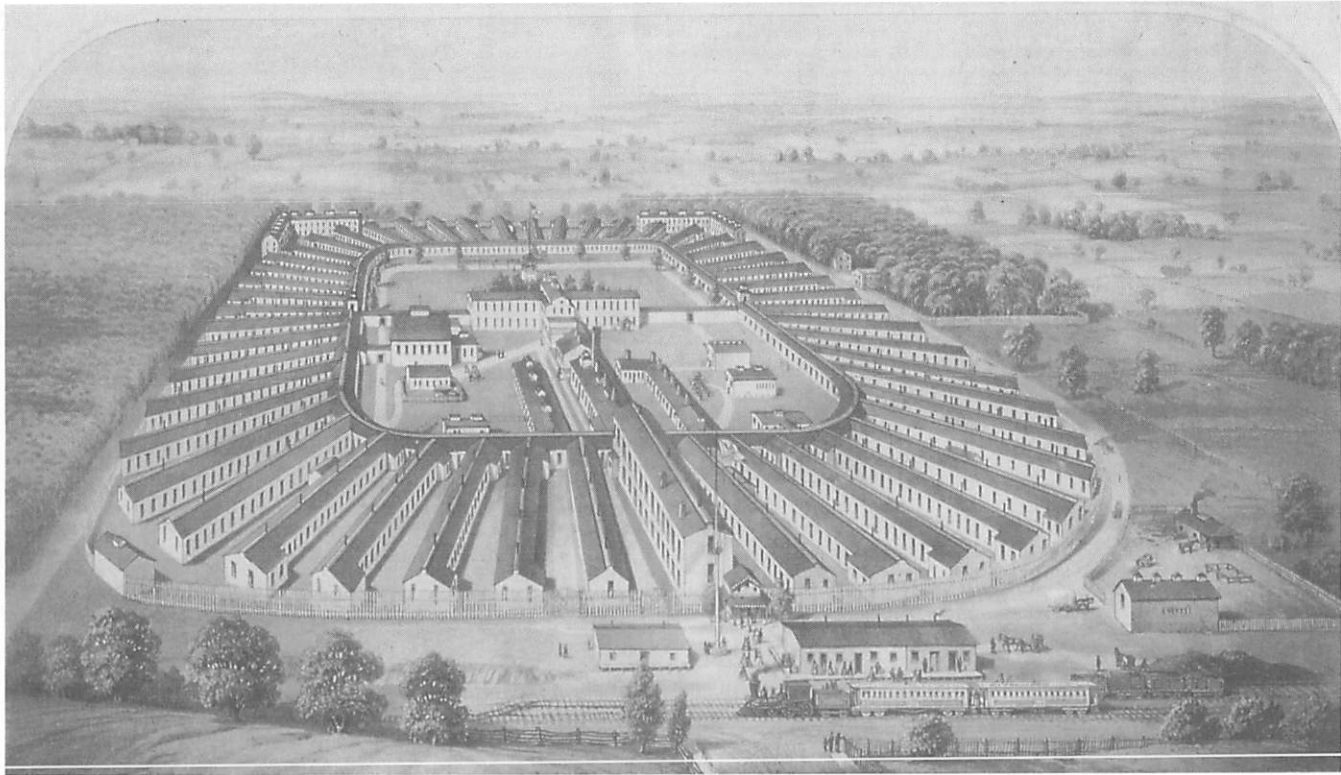
*Birdseye view of Saterlee U.S. Army General Hospital, West Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Courtesy of the National Library of Medicine, History of Medicine Division, Prints & Photographs Collection.*

dors. From that rectangular configuration, hospital layout progressed first to an elongated ellipse, and finally to an oblong or circular corridor with radiating pavilions. In December 1862, Mower Hospital in Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania, opened with fifty wards arranged on an elliptical plan. The Jefferson Hospital in Jeffersonville, Indiana, which opened in September 1863, featured a 2,000-foot long enclosed corridor encircling a central open area 600 feet in diameter. Designers also experimented with the "en echelon" plan. At Lincoln Hospital in Washington, D.C., the pavilions were arranged in the V-plan, with administrative buildings sited at the apex. To increase the freedom of air flow, enclosed corridors, which had become de facto dining halls and cut off air circulation at the ends of the pavilions, soon gave way to open, covered walkways.

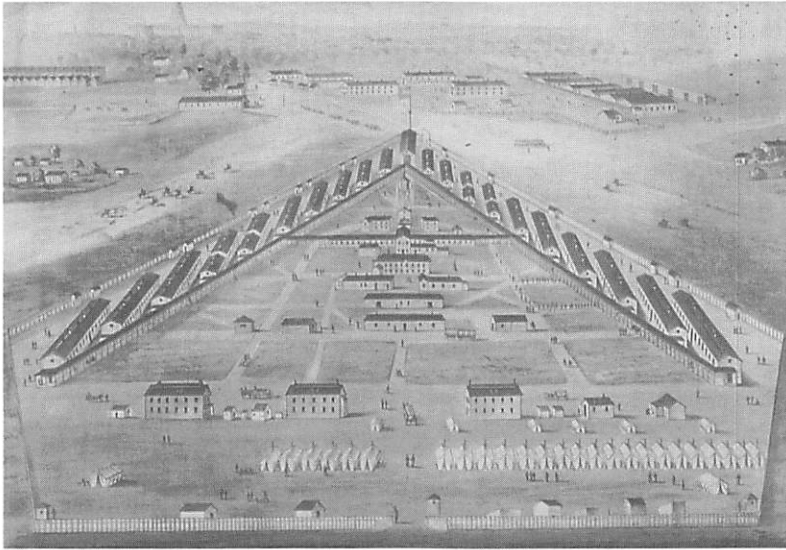
By July 1864, the U.S. Army had refined hospital design to a series of specifications for sites and buildings. Although finished just before the army published its design pamphlet, Sloan General Hospital in Montpelier represented a model of good hospital design. Vermont's Surgeon General, Samuel Thayer, Jr., selected the site, located about a mile east of the State House on a plateau of land that served formerly as a fairground. It possessed the desired qualities of altitude (650 feet above sea level, or by local measure, 85 feet above the Winooski River), access to fresh spring water, and access to the Central Vermont Railroad (which was owned by Governor Smith), for convenient transportation of wounded troops and supplies.

Built on the pavilion principle, with detached buildings for various purposes, Sloan Hospital was arranged around an almost circular covered walkway. The wards, administrative offices, kitchen, and dining halls were attached at one end to the walkway. Other buildings, located outside the circle but within the fence marking the perimeter of the hospital grounds, included a chapel that could seat 300 to 400 people, morgue, laundry, Reserves Corps barracks, ice house, and a large elevated water tank measuring 22 feet in diameter and 13 feet high.

Sloan's 496 beds were distributed among twelve wards, in pavilion buildings most of which were 108 feet long, 24 feet wide, and 12 feet high—somewhat shorter in length and height than the army's final published specifications of 187 feet by 24 feet by 14 feet. The dimensions made practical sense for Vermont according to the Vermont surgeon general, who, referring to a similar practice in the construction of wards at Baxter Hospital, noted that in the local market, lumber mills cut boards in twelve-foot lengths.<sup>15</sup> A twelve-foot height used one board, and a length of 108 feet required 9 boards. Each ward had approximately forty beds arranged in two rows along the walls of the pavilion.



*Birdseye view of Mower U.S. Army General Hospital, Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia (1865). Courtesy of the National Library of Medicine, History of Medicine Division, Prints & Photographs Collection.*

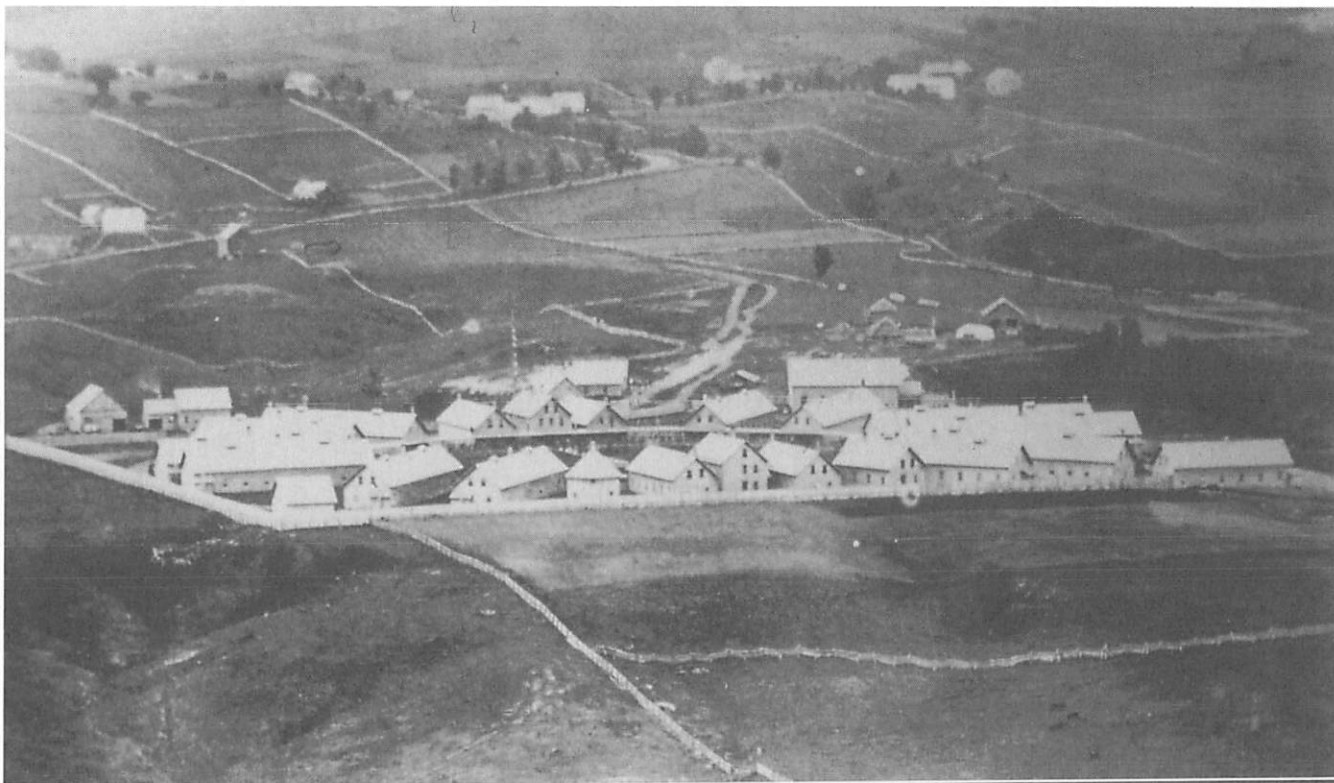


*Birdseye view of Lincoln U.S. Army General Hospital, Washington, D.C. Courtesy of the National Library of Medicine, History of Medicine Division, Prints & Photographs Collection.*

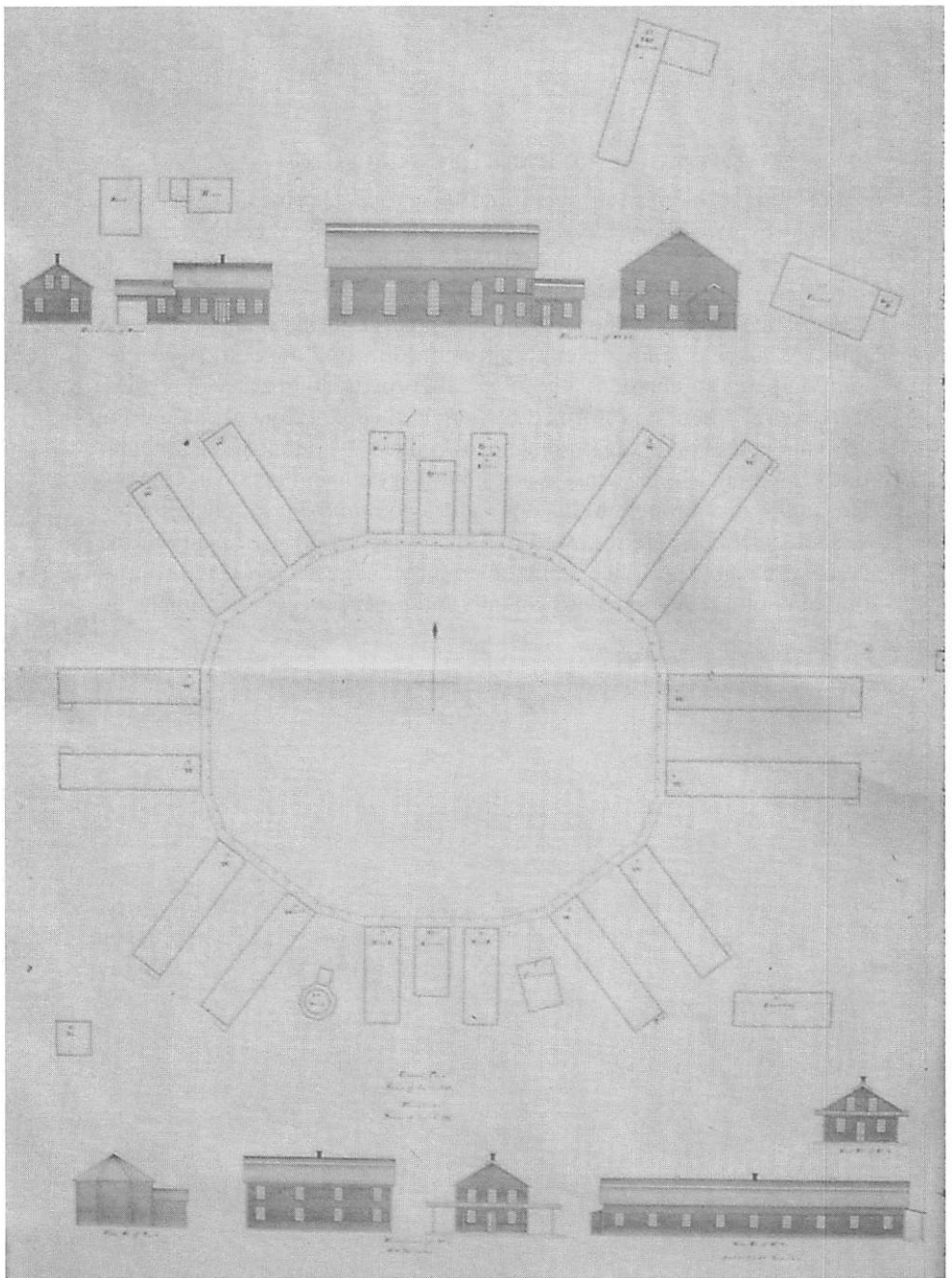
Air space per bed measured 1,000 cubic feet. Pavilions stood elevated above grade, insulated with “double-floors” as a concession to Vermont’s cold climate. A wardmaster’s room and lavatory room were partitioned off at the free ends. Privies located behind each ward emptied into a wooden sewer pipe.

The two-story administration building, officers’ quarters, and laundry also housed in the upper floors the staff who worked below. Although the Army specification for laundry buildings called for a flat roof with clotheslines, at Montpelier builders used the snow-shedding gable roof design. The morgue or “dead house” stood behind the chapel, out of sight of the wards.

Clapboards sheathed the exteriors of the buildings. Inside the walls were plastered and painted white. Store receipts from the time indicate that the hospital used large quantities of brown pigment, either as brown paint or mixed with white pigment to make tan.<sup>16</sup> Six-over-six sash windows were used throughout, except for some Gothic, pointed arch windows in the chapel. The eaves were simply detailed, without the cornice returns typical of Greek Revival design of the period.



*Photograph of Sloan U.S. General Hospital, Montpelier. No date [1864–1865?]. The view is from the south looking north. From Henry Janes, Medical Notebook, p. 367. Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont. Courtesy of Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.*

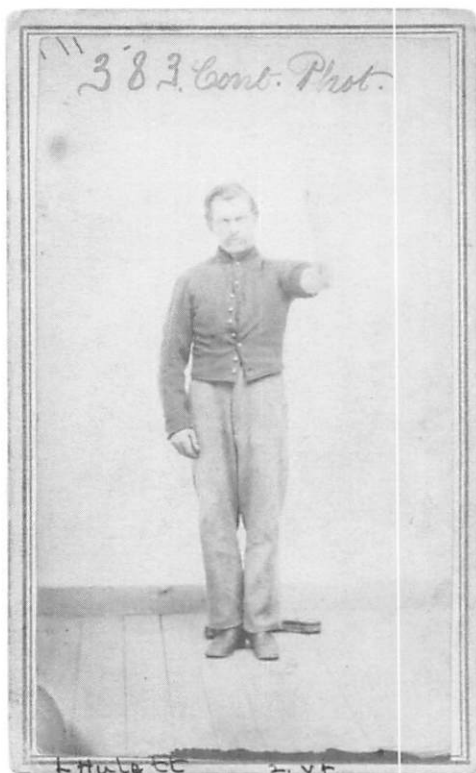


*The architectural plans for Sloan General Hospital, from the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. The spoke-and-wheel design of Sloan Hospital was connected at the hub by a continuous porch. Wards and other service and administrative buildings radiated out from the porch. Some buildings were freestanding, outside the circle, but within the picket fence that snaked across the landscape. To compare the photograph and plans note the hospital's ice house (SW corner—lower left), octagonal water tank (center of the south fence), laundry building (SE corner—lower right); the large chapel on the upper right (NE), and a small house and barn on the upper left (NW corner, still standing on what is now East State Street). The photograph reveals which structures rose to two stories. Beyond the hospital, Upper Main Street heads out of town toward Towne Hill Road. The hospital occupied the former fair grounds, where the Vermont College green is today.*

## OPERATION AND DAILY LIFE IN THE HOSPITALS

For most of its term of operation Sloan General Hospital was commanded by Waterbury physician Henry Janes, who already had three years experience with wartime medical practice when he took over as surgeon-in-charge on October 15, 1864. Janes enlisted in 1861 as surgeon of the Vermont Third Regiment, supervised the operation of the military hospital at Frederick, Maryland, following the battle at Antietam, and was in charge of the medical corps treating the wounded at Gettysburg, where he reformed battlefield medicine by convincing the 250 surgeons under his command to reduce the number of amputations.<sup>17</sup> A major in the army when he took command of Sloan General Hospital, Janes brought to his new post a commitment to rehabilitating wounded soldiers. He followed personally the progress of many of the gunshot patients and, like some other surgeons, used the new technology of photography to record wounds and treatment. Janes commanded

*Hospital photograph  
(2½" × 4") of Lyman  
Hulett of Shaftsbury, Vt.,  
Co. A, 2nd Vermont  
Regiment.*



Gun shot wound of Elbow Joint. Recovery  
with an chylous at right angle

Lyman Hulett. 1st Co. A. 2nd Vt. Ac 25.

Residence Shaftsbury Vt.

1300

Wounded at battle of Middlebury May 5. 64  
by a minie ball entering the under side  
of the left fore arm 4 in. from olecranon  
process passing upward opening the elbow  
joint - probably making its exit between the  
olecranon and internal condyle of the  
humerus. Sent to Frederickburgh and from  
there there to Fairly Hospital. Washington  
May 11. The discharge was profuse and  
offensive for 3 or 4 weeks. when 2 or 3 pieces  
of bone came out of exit wound. After  
which he improved and the wound  
closed about two & half month after injury  
The joint was an chylous at a slight angle  
he could not close his hand. In Aug. 64  
in a scuffle he got it completely straightened  
out. For 3 weeks afterwards he tried passive  
motion of the joint. but as it grew much  
worse he was obliged to discontinue it.  
and allow it to an chylous at a right angle.

Transf'd to V. R. C. Nov 25/64.

Sick'd Sept 14/65 Expiration of air  
Joint an chylous at right angle. good  
use of fingers. has rotatory power of hand  
3 and 4 & 5 fingers somewhat impaired.

Card Photos.

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F-PO-HULETT, LYMAN

Photographed at Sloan U. S. Gen. Hospital, Montpelier, Vt

Tabular & Rice

PURCHASE  
1927

On the reverse of the photograph shown at the left is a full medical  
report of Hulett's wound, treatment, and partial recovery.

the Montpelier hospital until its decommissioning in December 1865, then returned to private practice in Waterbury and kept most of his Civil War papers, which provide detailed information about the day-to-day operations of Sloan General Hospital.

Like every other general hospital, those in Vermont operated under military rules and regulations. Each hospital was run by a surgeon-in-charge, who had full military command over the persons and property connected with the hospital. The Vermont surgeons-in-charge were assisted by executive officers, who did some of the administrative work, including the routine but burdensome tasks of compiling and filing a myriad of bureaucratic forms: daily and weekly reports to the medical director of the Department of the East; monthly reports to the surgeon general and adjutant general of the United States; bimonthly muster and payroll reports to the adjutant general and paymaster; quarterly reports of property purchased with hospital funds and annual inventories of medicine and hospital stores to the surgeon general of the United States; and inventories of camp and garrison equipment to the quartermaster general of the U.S. Army.

The surgeon-in-charge also had responsibility for keeping records of admissions; alphabetical registers and registers by state of sick and wounded; records of casualties, deaths, discharges, transfers, and relations with local government officials; accounts of hospital fund property; and miscellaneous correspondence. Most important, but perhaps often buried under the bureaucratic requirements of the job, the surgeon-in-charge established some medical practices and policies at his hospital.

A corps of ward physicians served under the surgeon-in-charge, in theory one doctor for every seventy-five patients at the hospital. At the beginning of 1865, when Sloan General Hospital had 399 patients, it was staffed by a total of five medical officers, including Dr. Janes. The ward physicians provided medical and surgical treatment of the patients in their ward and had general responsibility for its condition. Each ward physician also served in turn a twenty-four-hour rotation as medical officer of the day. In addition to his regular duties, the medical officer of the day toured all the wards, inspected the hospital kitchens, enforced lights out, supervised guard duty and discipline, submitted a daily report on the condition of the hospital, and had authority to act in emergencies. The ward physicians were assisted by the wardmaster, who supervised the nursing staff, oversaw the physical condition and supplies of the ward, and supervised the medical cadets, young men (frequently medical students) who served as clerks and wound dressers.

The non-medical staff of the hospital was led by a group of three or four hospital stewards, who ran the dispensary and had charge of the

hospital's medical property, served as quartermaster for the installation, and coordinated the subsistence for patients and staff. The hospital stewards handled significant amounts of money and large quantities of physical resources. It is not too surprising, therefore, to find an example of peculation and abuse of power among these officers. Early in 1865 Dr. Janes received several letters charging Hospital Steward Lt. G. A. Lee with abuse of power, including allowing his family to send their clothes to be washed at the hospital while forbidding other stewards from doing the same, diverting to his family articles of clothing given to the hospital for patients (even altering some shirts to fit one of Lee's young children), diverting food from the hospital storerooms for his and his family's personal use, and selling for his own profit 270 barrels of swill and grease from the hospital kitchens. An investigation revealed more offenses and on February 13, 1865, charges were brought against Lt. Lee for misappropriation of government property, getting drunk on stimulants taken from the hospital dispensary, appropriating clothing for his family, destroying accounts of hospital funds, and neglect of duty.<sup>18</sup>

Other nonmedical personnel at the hospitals included a chaplain; male and female nurses—in January 1865 there were twenty-four male nurses at Sloan General Hospital, the records show no female nurses—cooks, bakers, and kitchen assistants; laundry workers; a blacksmith, carpenter, painter, and shop and stable hands; attendants in the knapsack house (which held the patients' personal property), dispensary, quartermaster's and hospital store rooms; workers in the dead house; and clerks for various administrative duties. A large hospital could have a staff of up to 200 employees, although the Janes papers do not suggest that Sloan General Hospital had so large a staff. Civilians, whom the army considered unreliable, subject to military draft, and likely to make a sudden departure, held few if any of these positions.

Each hospital received medicines, equipment, and standard rations through army contracts, but also maintained a hospital fund for special purchases, most often additional food. Some hospitals supplemented their rations with produce from their own gardens. The hospitals were also allowed to set up a fund derived from the sale of nonconsumable and waste items such as paper and barrels of grease and swill like those Lieutenant Lee sold on the side. The surgeon-in-charge exercised discretionary use of this fund.

In his discussion with Lincoln and Stanton about the hospitals, Governor Holbrook accurately assessed their virtues and risks. He argued that soldiers sick with malaria, swamp fever, and a variety of illnesses bred by close and unsanitary conditions in the camps and field hospitals

would recover better and sooner if removed to a healthier climate. Hospital records at the National Archives show that of the 8,574 patients admitted to the Vermont hospitals (including Burlington's post hospital) from May 1862 to December 1865, only 175 died while under treatment. About 66 percent returned to duty. This compared quite favorably with the 25 percent rate of return to duty from the Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia hospitals.<sup>19</sup> The majority of patients sent north for treatment were diagnosed upon admission with dysentery ("chronic diarrhea" in the record books), high fever, or one of several diseases associated with overcrowding and poor sanitation. Aside from altitude, fresh water, and less crowding, little could be done to cure the effects of dysentery, and hospital records for Brattleboro and Burlington show far more deaths from this than from any other cause.

Following the Wilderness campaign in May 1864, the hospitals received many patients suffering from "general debility"—battle fatigue and nervous breakdowns. Sloan General Hospital opened just in time to receive casualties from Cold Harbor (May 23–June 12, 1864), and here for the first time a far greater number of patients arrived with gunshot wounds than those suffering from illness or disease. Following the Battle of Cedar Creek on October 19, 1864, the admissions records in Brattleboro also show a higher proportion of gunshot wounds. In almost all these cases, however, the wounds were not critical and usually not fatal. Clearly, battlefield hospital surgeons had adopted a system of "triage" and sent north those with illness, disease, and gunshot wounds to their hands and feet—in other words, those whose prospects for recovery were highest. Surgeons' reports for the hospitals also show a higher proportion of "excisions" than amputations and consequently a high survival rate among patients admitted for gunshot wounds. Physicians and the all-important state agents, who roamed the wards of field hospitals and the general hospitals closest to the front looking for patients from their state, resolved Lincoln's and Stanton's concerns about the feasibility of moving wounded soldiers by moving mostly those who could bear the trip.

Roger Hovey of Worcester, a corporal in Company A of the Vermont Eighth Regiment, is a case in point. Wounded in the left shoulder by a minié ball early in the battle of Winchester, Virginia, on September 19, 1864, he was transported by baggage wagon to Harpers Ferry—a fifteen-hour trip over poor roads—then transferred to Baltimore, and sent on to Saterlee Hospital in West Philadelphia, where he arrived on September 25. In a letter to his sister, Martha, Hovey initially described his wound as "slight as no bones were broken and my arm is not stiff"; but it healed slowly.<sup>20</sup> In mid-October the army judged him fit to make

the four-day trip to the General Hospital in Brattleboro, where he stayed—despite his repeated requests for a transfer to Sloan General Hospital—from October 21 until January 7, 1865.

Lincoln and Stanton also worried about desertion. Hospital records show that there was some cause for concern, but that it was not a serious problem. Of the 8,574 patients admitted, 481 were recorded as having deserted—slightly over 5 percent. Emendations to the hospital records show that many of the charges of desertion were later dropped.<sup>21</sup> These figures can be interpreted in several ways. A substantial number of the patients arrived in Vermont on their way to hospitals in their home states of New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, and upstate New York. Facing an uncertain future, they may have taken the opportunity to visit their families before being officially transferred, discharged from the hospital, or sent back into combat. Some, healthy enough to be mobile but restless, lonely, close to home, and denied furloughs by nervous army doctors who feared the very behavior they provoked, left the hospitals without leave or passes, then returned. Some, it appears, deserted and reenlisted to obtain a second bounty payment from the government or from a town eager to fill its quota. And some doubtless did desert. These men had suffered through some of the fiercest fighting of the war. The prospect of recovering only to be thrust back into battle constituted a severe test of patriotism and nerve.

Moreover, life in the hospital was neither luxurious nor always restful and conducive to recovery. Hovey wrote of loneliness and boredom, constantly beseeching his sister for letters. In Brattleboro, he complained of Dr. Phelps's refusal to grant furloughs, writing to Martha, "I believe it is more than meat and drink to that man to torment, aggravate, and abuse the soldiers under his charge."<sup>22</sup> In December 1864, Hovey wrote that several men had complained by letter to Governor Smith, who sent Lieutenant Governor Paul Dillingham to inspect the hospital. "Since then we have lived much better," he noted, but added that Dr. Phelps took his revenge by denying requests for transfers to Sloan General Hospital in Montpelier.<sup>23</sup> Frustrated in his efforts to obtain a transfer to Sloan, Hovey eventually wrote to President Lincoln for a transfer for himself and a comrade. Surprisingly, Lincoln replied with an order to Phelps either to discharge the two soldiers or transfer them. A furious Phelps confronted Hovey, threatened to send him back into active duty, but finally agreed to transfer him to Sloan. Phelps failed to take action before the army transferred him from Brattleboro, but Hovey eventually obtained his transfer to Sloan, where he could be close to his family and sweetheart.

Late in his stay at Sloan, Hovey reported that Surgeon-in-Charge Janes arranged to have classes in bookkeeping, grammar, arithmetic,

writing, and "declamation" offered to the patients.<sup>24</sup> Whether this program was unique to Sloan Hospital is uncertain. Possibly Janes initiated it to relieve his patients' boredom and thereby forestall potential discipline problems. Possibly, too, he understood and acknowledged that these men from farms and rural areas, disabled by their wounds, would need new skills in order to find new employment when they left the hospital or when the war ended.

Another patient at Sloan General Hospital, Norman William Johnson of East Montpelier (Company F, Second Vermont Regiment), kept a diary of his recovery from wounds to the right side and wrist received at Spotsylvania on May 12, 1864.<sup>25</sup> Struck down in the morning, he arrived at the field hospital by 4:00 P.M. The next day he was moved to Lincoln Hospital in Washington, D.C. On May 29 he wrote, "the Vermont State Agent came through to transfer us to Burlington." Johnson left Washington by train on June 2, arrived in Philadelphia at daybreak, June 3, in time for breakfast, and reached New York City at 9:00 P.M. At midnight the train pulled out, headed for New Haven, Connecticut, where it arrived at 7:00 A.M. on June 4. Three hours later Johnson boarded another train headed north, arrived at Brattleboro at 10:00 A.M., June 5, and was admitted to the general hospital. He recorded on June 8: "Had a comfortable night. Very cold. Seventy new cases came in last night." On June 12 he recorded having his wounds burned with caustic to prevent gangrene. "There is a caravan and exhibits near here. I did not go up." A week later Johnson's wife visited him and he obtained an overnight pass. His wife stayed in Brattleboro through June 20 and he received day and evening passes into town to be with her. On July 2 Johnson got a furlough to return to East Montpelier for forty-eight days. Back in the Brattleboro hospital on August 18 he wrote that breakfast consisted of beans, bread, applesauce, and hash. On August 22, Johnson noted the arrival of 114 new patients. Later that week, the process began for transferring him to Sloan General Hospital, where he arrived on September 10. Almost immediately he received a four-day pass to be with his family again in East Montpelier. On September 26 he participated in a lottery for clothes and equipment, probably donated by the Christian or Sanitary Commission. He "drew two pairs of drawers and one haversack."

Johnson's entry for September 30 shows us that discipline and security at the hospital were ongoing issues. "Five men picked up downtown, three of them put to bed and clothes taken away. No passes given today." Security remained a persistent problem at all the hospitals. Janes complained upon his arrival at Sloan General Hospital that "The grounds are open on all sides, and consequently, I can neither keep soldiers in nor civilians out

of the Hospital. I find vendors of pies and peddlers of various sorts circulating about to the detriment of the sick and the injury of the others.”<sup>26</sup> He quickly erected a fence around the hospital grounds, and was allocated a contingent of Veterans Reserve Corps troops to serve as guards.

Late in his stay in the military hospitals, now back in Brattleboro, Johnson himself was assigned to guard duty, one way the army used recovering patients, thereby releasing more able-bodied men for active duty on the front, where they were desperately needed.

The experiences of Hovey and Johnson show that hospital administrators used furloughs to alleviate overcrowding and as rewards, and withheld them as punishments. They may also have used them in hopeless cases, so that men could die at home with their families. At least twenty men died on furlough, according to hospital records. One of them was Private John Piper of Company K, Tenth Vermont Regiment. Admitted to the Baxter General Hospital at Burlington on February 13, 1864, at the age of forty-two, he received a furlough on March 14 and died at home on April 16. Under “remarks” in the hospital register, the clerk wrote, “He left this vain world without a fear[,] without a struggle or a tear to mingle with the dead, His relatives so well pleased that they did not notify the hospital of his death until May 27, 1864.”<sup>27</sup> For others who died on furlough the clerks noted more laconically the receipt of death certificates, and for those who died in the hospital, they noted the cause, date of death, and when the family of the deceased claimed his body or possessions.

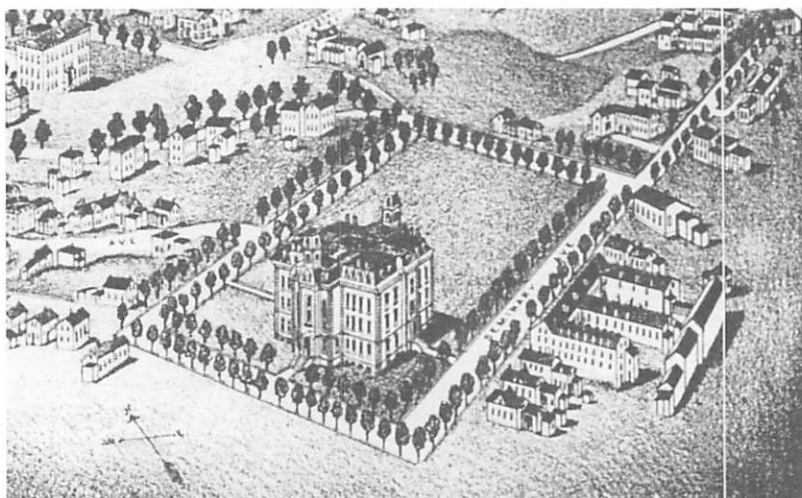
#### AFTER THE WAR: NEW USES FOR DISCARDED BUILDINGS

Within a year of the end of the war all three military hospitals shut down. Brattleboro Hospital was first to close. The Agricultural Society of Brattleboro purchased the buildings at a public auction on January 24, 1866, for \$3,200, which according to the *Free Press* was “within a few hundred dollars of the estimated value of the material.”<sup>28</sup> The society also bought the land at a separate auction. The buildings were eventually razed and the site is now occupied by the Brattleboro high school. On July 17, 1866, the government sold the Burlington hospital buildings for \$7,000 to the Home for Destitute Children. Eventually those buildings, too, were razed to make room for a shopping mall on Shelburne Road.<sup>29</sup> Sloan General Hospital, the last of the Vermont military hospitals to close its doors, ceased operation on December 12, 1865, by which time it had treated 1,670 patients.

On August 7, 1866, with approval from the Vermont legislature, the state sold the Sloan Hospital grounds and buildings for \$15,500 to the Vermont Conference Seminary and Female College, which was relocat-

ing from Norwich, where it had been known as the Newbury Seminary. The seminary, later known as the Montpelier Methodist Seminary and Female College and eventually as Vermont College, moved and reused many of the former hospital buildings for dormitories, faculty housing, recitation rooms, and society rooms. The core of the old hospital grounds became the campus green.<sup>30</sup> College Hall, the heart of the Vermont College campus today, was constructed on the green in 1872. The seminary continued to use the hospital chapel at its original location, which in the original plan of the complex was set back from the circle of other hospital buildings, but in the new campus plan was sited opposite the northeast corner of the green. It was torn down to make way for Alumni Hall, a gymnasium constructed in 1936. The hospital water tank also continued in use into the early twentieth century.

The seminary moved several ward buildings, setting them above new first stories to create a large 2½-story main dormitory facing the east side of the green. The front was apparently made from one of the longer, twelve-bay wards; two ells, extending to the rear, were adapted from nine-bay wards. A one-story middle ell completed an “E” forma-



*Birdseye view of Montpelier, Vermont, 1884, showing the area of the Vermont Methodist Conference Seminary and Female College—formerly the location of Sloan U.S. General Hospital. The view shows the hospital chapel in place across from the northeast corner of the college green, and the E-shaped main dormitory complex, made from former ward buildings, on the east side of Seminary Avenue.*



*Main dormitory complex, Vermont Seminary, Montpelier. Stereoscopic view by C. H. Freeman, Montpelier, Vt., no date.*

tion and was used as the kitchen and dining hall for the complex. The main dormitory was taken down to make way for new residence halls in the 1950s.

Many of the other original hospital buildings remain, however. Most of the wards were cut into shorter lengths, usually thirds, removed to nearby lots, and sold for houses. Deed restrictions promoted what the seminary hoped would be “a good opportunity to establish a community, noted for morality, refinement and religion in close proximity to [the] Seminary.”<sup>31</sup> Many of the deeds for these “hospital houses” direct that “no intoxicating liquors shall ever be sold on said premises, and that no business or amusements shall ever be carried on or permitted on said premises that are contrary, or which shall be contrary, to good morals, or that are injurious to the community.”<sup>32</sup> The deeds claim that a property shall revert to the grantor if the conditions are ever violated.

The “hospital houses” are recognizable by their 1½ story height,

open eaves without cornice returns, high kneewall between the tops of the windows and the eaves, six-over-six sash windows, and characteristic peaked window lintel trim. On their long eaves side, the buildings are generally three bays wide, with a central door substituted for what was formerly a middle window. The gable ends may display the original central door typical of the ward sections closest to the circular walkway. If the house came from the rear section of a ward, it may retain all the windows or a side door from the original building together with one new gable-end wall. Houses created out of the middle section of a ward have two new gable ends.

Some of the other hospital buildings also became houses. In all, fifteen reported "hospital houses" still exist today in the vicinity of the Vermont College green and more may be identified.<sup>33</sup> They represent a unique legacy of Civil War history.

The proliferation of military hospitals throughout the nation during the war served many purposes. Not least of these was alleviating the overcrowded conditions at hospitals in and around Washington, D.C. More significant was promoting a high rate of recovery among soldiers who were sick or wounded but not maimed or permanently disabled by their injuries. As the war dragged on and recruitment of new soldiers



*A private home on Emmons Street in Montpelier, near the former site of Sloan General Hospital. This house is one of several in the College Street area that display characteristics of former hospital buildings.*

became increasingly difficult and encountered increasing resistance and resentment, the successful treatment and return to active duty of some of the military force became increasingly important. It is clear that Governor Holbrook's "experiment" helped launch significant changes in the U.S. Army's planning and use of medical facilities. In contrast with medical practices in the field that with rare exceptions remained primitive, dangerous, and largely ineffective throughout the war, the rapid development of the design and operation of the army general hospitals contributed significantly to their success in treating patients. What Lincoln and Stanton originally dismissed as an inexpedient, impracticable, and "unmilitary innovation" doubtless helped them win the war and doubtless saved the lives of many New England soldiers.

## NOTES

\* Our thanks to the Preservation Trust of Vermont for a grant to support the publication of illustrations for this article.

<sup>1</sup> Frederick Holbrook, "The Military Hospital," *Picturesque Brattleboro*, ed. Frank T. Pomeroy (Northampton, Mass.: Picturesque Press, 1894), 40-44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 43, 44.

<sup>5</sup> Surgeon General of the United States, *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion (1861-1865)*, 6 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1870-1888), 6: 898.

<sup>6</sup> See Surgeon General of Vermont, *Annual Report of the Surgeon General of the State of Vermont to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, October 6th, 1865* (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Printers, 1865), 6-8.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>8</sup> Abby M. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, vol. 1 (Burlington, Vt.: A. M. Hemenway, 1868), 512; T. D. Seymour Bassett, *The Growing Edge: Vermont Villages, 1840-1880* (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1992), 145.

<sup>9</sup> *Burlington Free Press*, 9 May 1862, p. 2, col. 3.

<sup>10</sup> *Rutland Weekly Herald*, 17 November 1864; Mary W. Kidd, "'War Years,' Sloan General Hospital, *Green Mountain Whittlin's*, 9 (n.d.), 16-18; Raymond P. Flynn, "Civil War Hospital in Montpelier," *News and Notes* [Vermont Historical Society newsletter] 11, No. 2 (October 1959), 9-11; William A. Shepard, *The Hospital that Became a College: Sloan Army General Hospital, Montpelier, Vermont* (Northfield, Vt.: Norwich University Press, 1983); Walter Carpenter, "Sloan: Montpelier's Union Army Hospital on the Hill," *The Montpelier Bridge*, Sept. 2000, 12-13.

<sup>11</sup> The term "malaria" was originally used to describe the various diseases and illnesses associated with proximity to swamps and marshes. The association of the word with diseases caused by an organism transmitted by the bite of mosquitoes dates from 1898. See *Oxford English Dictionary*.

<sup>12</sup> *The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*, Part III, vol. 1 (1888), 915.

<sup>13</sup> Florence Nightingale, *Notes on Hospitals*, third edition (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1863), 17.

<sup>14</sup> See the *Burlington Free Press*, 26 August 1864, which reported that seven buildings went up in thirty-five days. Hospital plans in the National Archives and Records Administration show seven ward buildings. The surgeon general of the United States reported that there were a total of twenty-one wooden pavilions at Baxter, nine of which were used as wards. *Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion*, 1 (1870), 924.

<sup>15</sup> "Several buildings were erected in a substantial manner, shingled and clap-boarded outside, and lathed and plastered inside. They were constructed in sections, twenty-four feet wide, and in length the multiple of twelve, viz: 24 x 48-24 x 60-24 x 72 and 24 x 84. The above plan of construction was adopted for two reasons. 1st, If the buildings should be no longer required for hospital purposes, they could be easily separated into sections of 24 feet by 12, and removed and sold for dwellings. 2d, The length of planks, board and scantling, in this market, is twelve feet, laths four

feet, and clapboards four or six feet, favoring an economical use of lumber." *Annual Report of the Surgeon General of the State of Vermont* (1865), 7. No evidence has been found to suggest that any of these buildings still exist.

<sup>16</sup> "Estimate of Material Required and cost of Painting Sloan U.S. General Hospital, Montpelier, Vermont," in Sloan General Hospital file, Janes papers, Waterbury Historical Society, Waterbury, Vt.

<sup>17</sup> See Pauline Moody, "'49,000 Wounded Soldiers Passed Through His Hands': The Story of Waterbury's Dr. Henry Janes," *Vermont History News* 29, No. 2 (March–April 1978), 20–23; Howard Coffin, "Blood Sweat & Tears: The Journal of a Civil War Surgeon," *Vermont Sunday Magazine*, 7 May 1989, 4–5, 14–15; Howard Coffin, *Full Duty: Vermonters in the Civil War* (Woodstock, Vt.: Countryman Press, 1993), 210–218.

<sup>18</sup> The letters and final report on the case are in Carton 2, "Correspondence with Vermont Officials and Miscellaneous Correspondence," Henry Janes Papers, Waterbury Historical Society.

<sup>19</sup> The Vermont surgeon general, by contrast, reported 8,570 soldiers treated, 4,330 returned to duty (51 percent), 339 discharged with certificates of disability, and 181 who died while in treatment. *Annual Report of the Surgeon General of Vermont* (1865), 8.

<sup>20</sup> Roger Hovey, Saterlee Hospital, West Philadelphia, to Martha Hovey (staying in Florence, Massachusetts), 28 September 1864. Roger Hovey Civil War Papers, 1861–1866. Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont (hereafter cited as Hovey Papers, UVM). Thanks to Jeffrey Marshall for bringing these letters to our attention.

<sup>21</sup> The Vermont surgeon general reported 451 deserted and 231 "positively known to have returned." *Annual Report of the Surgeon General of Vermont* (1865), 8.

<sup>22</sup> Roger Hovey to Martha Hovey, 21 November 1864. Hovey Papers, UVM.

<sup>23</sup> Roger Hovey to Martha Hovey, 11 December 1864. Hovey Papers, UVM.

<sup>24</sup> Roger Hovey to Martha Hovey, 2 March 1865. Hovey Papers, UVM.

<sup>25</sup> Diary of Norman William Johnson [MS B J635], Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vt.

<sup>26</sup> Letter from Dr. Henry Janes to unnamed general, 21 June 1864. Janes papers, Waterbury Historical Society.

<sup>27</sup> See U.S. Army Hospital Registers, Vermont, 55 volumes, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Register 43: "Sick & Wounded, Brattleboro"; Register 52: "Sick and Wounded, Marine Hospital Burlington"; Register 53: "Sick and Wounded, General Hospital and Baxter Hospital, Burlington"; Register 62: "Sick and Wounded Sloan General Hospital, Montpelier." Other volumes in the collection include registers of furloughs, charge orders, surgeons' reports, miscellaneous reports, and weekly muster rolls, which list each individual present—patients, staff, and military units assigned to guard duty. The record for Private John Piper is in Register 53, page 4.

<sup>28</sup> *Burlington Free Press*, 27 January 1866, p. 4.

<sup>29</sup> The location is at the northwest quadrant of the intersection of I-189 and Shelburne Road, South Burlington.

<sup>30</sup> See Walter Rice Davenport, *Montpelier Seminary and Its Students* (Montpelier, Vt.: Montpelier Seminary, 1934), 104–121; Eldon Hubert Martin, *Vermont College, A Famous Old School* (Nashville, Tenn.: Parthenon Press, 1962), 105–110; Vermont College Sesquicentennial Organizing Committee, *Celebrate Our Past, Join Our Future: Vermont College Sesquicentennial, 1834–1984* (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont College, 1984), 5.

<sup>31</sup> "Announcement of the Vermont Conference Seminary and Female College, 1868" (Montpelier: Freeman Steam Printing Establishment, 1868), 2.

<sup>32</sup> See for example, City of Montpelier, Land Records, Book 7, deeds on pages 60, 93, 111, 191, 282, and 302.

<sup>33</sup> Lists of "hospital houses" can be found in "History of Sloan Hospital," no author, no date, in the William Shepard papers on the Sloan Hospital, Kreitzberg Library, Norwich University; and in the Vermont Historic Sites and Structures Survey, Vermont Division for Historic Preservation, Montpelier. Identified houses that clearly display hospital characteristics are: 64–66 College Street; 87 and 89 East State Street; 2 and 4 Emmons Street; 25 Kent Street; 20 and 60 Ridge Street; and Martin Hall behind the Gary Library of Vermont College. Pictorial, map, and deed evidence also supports hospital associations for: 80 and 84 College Street; 99–101 and 110 East State Street; 5–5½ Emmons Street; and 22 Ridge Street. Many of these houses have undergone some exterior changes since their conversion to dwellings.



## Can We "Trust Uncle Sam"? Vermont and the Submarginal Lands Project, 1934–1936

*The interactions of Vermont with the federal resettlement program between 1934 and 1936 suggest the gradual evolution of resistance to the land and agricultural policies of the New Deal during the mid-thirties.*

By SARA M. GREGG

**T**he Great Depression struck at the heart of the image of prosperity and independence that had characterized the interaction of Americans with their government during the 1920s. When Franklin D. Roosevelt took office in 1932, he promised to restore the nation to its former glory, assuring the people that "This great nation will endure as it has endured, will revive and will prosper," in spite of the current economic crises facing the United States.<sup>1</sup> Roosevelt had already alluded to his plans for the New Deal in his acceptance speech at the Democratic convention, in which he stressed the importance of issues that would be relevant to Vermonters, including reforestation, regional planning, public power development, and government regulation of utilities.<sup>2</sup>

Among the many programs eventually initiated by the Roosevelt administration was a proposal for the resettlement of poor farmers living on lands classified as "submarginal," and the subsequent conversion of these lands to the public domain. In the spring of 1934, federal administrators traveled to Vermont to educate the legislature on the program, and to scout out land in the Green Mountains for purchase and rehabilitation. The ensuing controversy over the future of Vermont's hill town communities provoked intense debate within the state and is illustrative of emerging hostility to the expansion of federal power. Moreover, the

submarginal lands debate framed the argument for Vermont's — and politician George Aiken's — opposition to any encroachment by the federal government on the rights of Vermont.<sup>3</sup>

#### VERMONT AND THE NEW DEAL

The interactions of Vermont policymakers with the federal submarginal lands project between 1934 and 1936 suggest the gradual evolution of resistance to the New Deal during the mid-thirties. Like other Americans, Vermonters suffered during the Great Depression and by March 1933, when Roosevelt took office, they were eager to get a share of the benefits of federal assistance. Newspapers encouraged the state to apply for its “fair share” of relief and development money, and early in the administration several important projects were applied to the state.<sup>4</sup> Under the auspices of the New Deal, Vermonters received support from the government through several of the alphabet agencies that did so much to change the geographic and social landscape of the nation. Yet as planning for various New Deal programs evolved, Vermonters began to recognize the potential implications of an expanded federal presence in the state, and wariness emerged alongside the initial interest in federal money. Though scholars have duly noted the state's hesitations about various federal programs, the negotiations over submarginal lands demonstrate the willingness of many Vermonters to consider some federal-state cooperation during the early years of the New Deal. In the end, several proposals for Vermont, such as resettlement and the Green Mountain Parkway, were rejected by the state, while others, more in harmony with a preexisting ethic of conservation and aid, were successful and brought both jobs and money to the state.

Legend has it that residents of the hills of Vermont were slow to notice the Depression during the early 1930s: These already-depressed towns initially suffered little from the widespread food shortages and industrial failures.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the subsistence farming that was common in many hill towns was touted by some Vermonters as a long-range solution to the economic troubles of the Depression and as evidence of the security of so-called submarginal farms. Yet even when progressive economists and planners appreciated the self-sufficiency made possible by this subsistence economy, they sought to improve upon it through the introduction of new methods and technologies as well as proposals to move farm families onto better land. The scholars who studied conditions on these farms suggested that the people of the hill towns were suffering considerably from the Depression, as prices for agricultural products fell and relief agencies became increasingly overextended.<sup>6</sup>

One of the redevelopment projects proposed for Vermont advocated



*Farm scene near Hardwick, ca. 1935. Works Projects Administration photograph, negative number GU-607. Vermont hill farmers struggled against an oftentimes inhospitable soil; an age-old way of life for farm families but a wasted effort from the perspective of agricultural economists and federal planners. These conflicting perspectives fed the debate over the conversion of land from farms to forest in the mountains of Vermont. Collections of the Vermont Historical Society.*

the purchase of submarginal farmland in depressed areas and its conversion to recreational and timber culture uses, coordinated initially by the Agricultural Adjustment Administration (AAA) and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) and after 1935 by the Resettlement Administration (RA). Although ultimately the plans for a Vermont "farm to forest" project were not carried out, the statewide controversy over the submarginal lands purchase program highlights the predicament of a small, independent-minded state during this period of extensive federal expansion into the domain of state and local control.

Through the correspondence between Vermonters and federal relief administrators we witness how the conflict between state and federal officials played out incrementally, culminating in the spring of 1936

with federal refusal to accept the stringent conditions insisted upon by the state of Vermont. States-righters counted the failed negotiations as a victory for local control, though other observers believed that Vermont had lost out as its poor farmers were denied the option of a subsidized move to better land, and the state simultaneously missed an opportunity to add thousands of acres of public land to its state parks and forests.<sup>7</sup>

#### LAND USE AND CONSERVATION IN THE 1920s

Conservation of the nation's natural resources and related issues ranging from soil depletion to flood control became increasingly important during the first decades of the twentieth century. In this context, the continued use of submarginal lands for agriculture and its ecological consequences played a significant role in attracting the government's attention to struggling farmers. A 1928 study of farm relief, commissioned by the National Democratic Committee, argued that such farming "constitutes a drain on our national well-being to the degree that the acquisition of such lands by the public is warranted."<sup>8</sup> This report, which as a policy statement presaged much of the agenda of the RA and other resettlement agencies, demonstrated the longstanding nature of economic and social problems in submarginal areas and proposed "the extensive purchase of such submarginal lands as are suitable for forestation." Depressed agricultural land prices meant that these areas were "available for purchase at comparatively low figures," while "the funds obtained by the owners would enable them to buy farms in the better regions."<sup>9</sup>

Any repurchasing program, moreover, would also further the national conservation agenda and improve the agricultural situation of many mountainous areas, "preserv[ing] the soils of many hillsides that are now washing down into the rivers and which frequently cover the more fertile valley lands with worthless and destructive gravel." This study articulated the widespread concern that farmers would continue to try and wrest a living from these poor farms, thus wasting effort and resources on a "project doomed to failure." Even before the onset of the Great Depression in 1929, retiring submarginal land from production was seen as one means of promoting more efficient land use, conserving fertility, contributing to the reduction of crop surpluses, and raising the social and economic standards of historically depressed agricultural areas.<sup>10</sup>

In the early thirties, some estimates suggested that close to 100 million acres nationwide were submarginal, and the deteriorating condition of these lands was eventually the impetus for New Deal legislation that created several rural relief agencies. Later in the decade, as analysis of agricultural problems matured, New Deal bureaucrats came to believe

that chronic rural poverty was a consequence of the unwise use of agricultural resources, including farming in submarginal areas. One FERA report suggested that the "rural slums" created by this problem were characterized by conditions similar to those in urban areas, where the "deleterious effects of poverty, disease, and ignorance impose their handicap upon the surrounding community." The federal government sought to counteract this trend toward rural decline with land use modifications and educational programs as well as through large-scale resettlement programs. The adaptation of improvement programs to rural areas was a part of the mission of the three agencies that worked to reform impoverished Vermont agricultural areas during the New Deal.<sup>11</sup>

### THE ECONOMICS OF VERMONT HILL TOWNS

In *Time and Change in Vermont*, Vermont geographer Harold Meeks attributes the decline of agriculture in the hill towns to the gradual transition from sheep husbandry to dairy farming. While even the poorest land was capable of supporting a flock of sheep, many mountain farms, even when fully exploited, were unable to furnish the feed or pastureland to support even a small commercial dairy herd. As part of the struggle to keep family farms viable, the "marginal uplands were kept in production far longer than they probably should have been, contributing to a large number of poverty-level farmers with a few cows trying to eke out an existence from meager land resources."<sup>12</sup> Many other discouraged farmers had already left mountain communities during the early decades of the twentieth century. The challenges of keeping a hill farm with poor soil in production were daunting for even the most stalwart and experienced farmer, and agricultural economists increasingly suggested that there were better uses for the land than struggling farms.

Within Vermont, concern had been voiced about rural depopulation for decades, but the late 1920s brought a resurgence of interest in the future of Vermont hill farms. While some observers worried about the expense of maintaining town governments in both poor and underpopulated areas, others increasingly focused on the recreational and summer home potential of Vermont's hill towns, as evidenced by the annual publication of guides like Dorothy Canfield's *Vermont Summer Homes*.<sup>13</sup> Attention was increasingly being paid to the future of Vermont's mountainous rural areas.

Submarginal lands and the fate of farms located on them first received official attention in Bulletin 357, "Land Utilization as a Basis of Rural Organization," published by the Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station in June 1933. This study, based on data from 1929 — before the culmination of the economic slowdowns of the Depression — examined conditions in thirteen hill towns and evaluated problems associated

with farm abandonment and unprofitable land in the mountains of Vermont. The towns in the study were described as “essentially similar” in topography and soils to another seventy-four towns in the state, all of which suffered from depopulation and economic stagnation during the decades prior to the Depression. These eighty-seven towns encompassed 35.3 percent of the land area of the state, and their uncertain fate was increasingly a source of concern for Vermont boosters and economists alike. In recognition of the regional importance of the hill town problem, this publication encouraged both the state and federal governments to direct funding and planning toward the improvement of land use and population distribution in these towns.<sup>14</sup>

The acreage in forest and woodland in mountainous parts of the state was constantly growing as the number of active farms dropped and hill towns became less economically desirable for development. One of the major concerns of the agricultural economists directing the study was the conservation of the timber resources of these areas, which were 77.2 percent forested in 1929.<sup>15</sup> The authors of Bulletin 357 concluded that the “physical and economic handicaps to farming in the locality apparently made extensive farm abandonment inevitable.” One of the troubling consequences of farm abandonment and the inevitable search for maximum profit from the land was that the owners would often “wreck it for timber” by clearing out all decent trees — mature or not — from the woodlot. This stripped the remaining value from the land and eliminated any chance that the timber lands could be feasibly cultivated in the near future.<sup>16</sup> In light of this type of remunerative yet destructive land use, the authors concluded that conversion of abandoned or partially abandoned farmlands to public forests offered the best opportunities for careful management and conservation of the land.<sup>17</sup>

The economic future of the hill towns seemed uncertain, even before the onset of the Depression, and this Agricultural Experiment Station study explored different ways to strengthen local economies and ameliorate conditions in the towns. The authors prescribed a program for the improvement of these areas, suggesting that it was both inevitable and desirable that some people would continue to choose to live in the hill towns. The problems of depopulation and farm abandonment faced by these towns had been moderated slightly over the years by the purchase of summer home properties by out-of-staters, and the authors encouraged this type of “adjustment” to the local economy.<sup>18</sup> They suggested the probability of an eventual need for town and state participation in the management and conversion of these areas. For, “in the last analysis, material improvement in conditions in the hill towns can be achieved only through broad policies.” The strategies that the authors endorsed

were "directed toward promoting the concentration of population on the better land, the elimination of the excessive costs of schools and roads which are associated with sparse population, and the development of forest and recreational resources." The object of these associated projects was the "combination of a limited amount of farming with employment in local woodworking industries and with incidental services provided for tourists and summer residents." By highlighting the major challenges facing Vermont hill towns, Bulletin 357 laid the groundwork for further consideration of the problem of submarginal lands. It also provided material to bolster arguments in favor of resettlement programs that would later emerge among supporters of the conversion of submarginal lands to public management.

The 1931 publication of the findings of the Vermont Commission on Country Life, *Rural Vermont: A Program for the Future*, addressed many of the same issues as Bulletin 357. The Commission recommended that areas where the "scenery is beautiful and the soil is not very productive" should be set aside for recreational use, though this would not necessitate the displacement of "productive farms with a non-agricultural class of residents."<sup>19</sup> In a 1930 article for the *Journal of Farm Economics*, Henry C. Taylor, the director of the state Commission on Country Life, presented what he saw as a consensus on the status of Vermont hill farms. Taylor observed that "Vermont rural leaders look with satisfaction upon the return of land to forests unless that land is fitted for a type of farming which will support a satisfactory farm life."<sup>20</sup> As demonstrated by Bulletin 357 and *Rural Vermont: A Program for the Future*, discussions of land use during the early 1930s were dominated by the sense that the state would benefit from the conversion of poor farmland into forest areas. The participation of government in this process had not yet become an important issue.

#### THE FEDERAL "FARM TO FOREST" PROGRAM

Evaluation of the submarginal lands question at the federal and state levels began shortly after economic and planning concerns were first raised in regional and nongovernmental contexts. With Roosevelt's election and the implementation of New Deal aid programs some of the assistance and relief proposals previously discussed by academics and planners became federal policy. Among the projects introduced in the first round of New Deal legislation, which was meant to immediately soften the impact of the Depression, was the conversion of poor-quality farmland to forest and recreational uses — the farm to forest program. Suddenly at the federal level a response was being formulated to the rural decline that had been obvious in Vermont for years.

When the Rural Rehabilitation Division of the FERA and the Land Policy Section of the AAA publicized their programs for purchasing submarginal farmlands, Vermont farmers and legislators found themselves debating whether the subsistence economies of mountain communities required reform. Some leaders, such as Speaker of the House (1933–1934) and Lieutenant Governor (1935–1936) George Aiken and Speaker of the House Ernest Moore (1935–1936), believed government purchase of private lands to be antithetical to the American principles of self-determination, local autonomy, and states rights.<sup>21</sup> Aiken lived and had been raised in the nominally submarginal town of Putney, and as a nurseryman he bristled at the assumption that the land around his home was valuable only for timber and recreational areas. Other Vermonters, such as author and public intellectual Dorothy Canfield, Commissioner of Agriculture E. H. Jones, and the leaders of the state Grange and Chamber of Commerce, supported the federal government's goal of turning under-productive farms into tree farms and parks. These public figures embraced the idea of preserving a scientifically managed and sustainable timber crop, as well as the quality of agriculture in the state and the soil at high elevations. To them, the significance of these lands lay in how they would best serve the community and the region, rather than how they influenced the lives of individual farmers and landowners.<sup>22</sup>

Under the auspices of the AAA, FERA, and later the RA, the designation of certain mountainous areas as submarginal and the preliminary negotiations for purchase of these lands took place in the legislature during 1934 and 1935. In July 1934, Governor Stanley Wilson appointed a committee to select 20,000 acres for land retirement, in compliance with the guidelines of the Surplus Relief Corporation. This agency, administered by the Land Policy Division of the AAA, aimed to convert poor farmland to alternate purposes in order to reduce agricultural production and the expenses of town governments; adapt lands to their most productive and beneficial uses; and improve the situation of farm families. According to the AAA, this project focused on converting poor farmland further hindered by inconvenient access to markets, thus serving the needs of farmers eager to “better their condition” while simultaneously improving land use. The administrators assured farmers that they would profit from this program that sought to “hasten and render less painful” the process of depopulation while simultaneously furthering the acquisition of land for state parks and forests.<sup>23</sup>

Motivated by the announcement of funding for submarginal lands purchase programs, a group of unnamed officials prepared the “Proposal for the Withdrawal From Cultivation of Poor Farm Lands in Vermont Under the Federal Submarginal Land Acquisition Programme”

and presented it to the governor during the summer of 1934.<sup>24</sup> This thirty-page report outlined six areas for purchase, describing the conditions that made these areas eligible for federal Surplus Relief Corporation funds. The authors relied heavily on Bulletin 357, noting that "conditions have grown rapidly worse in these areas since the time of the study in 1929." Parts of ten of the towns studied for Bulletin 357 were included in the proposal, as were sections of thirty-six other towns with similarly marginal conditions.<sup>25</sup> The authors emphasized the benefits that would accrue to the Vermont State Park and Forest system from the federal program, noting that the submarginal areas would complement and expand upon State Forest purchase units. Furthermore, the federal program would permit the acquisition of lands the state had deemed too expensive for purchase because of tenancy or the higher quality of farm woodlots. The authors concluded that virtually all of the farm families could be relocated within their towns, to "well-located, small places and partially-operated well-located farms" outside of the designated purchase units. This would permit most of the towns to retain their population at the same time that less-productive areas were vacated.<sup>26</sup>

According to the proposal, little would be visibly different throughout much of the area in question. Families would be relocated from the poorest and most outlying lands onto better-quality farms; recreational development and a program of timber management would be initiated, though without dramatically changing the character of an area; and the towns would operate more efficiently, with fewer roads and schools to maintain and a more concentrated population.<sup>27</sup> In this scenario, the chances for agricultural success would be improved while local self-determination and personal investments were preserved. In the final enumeration of benefits from this program it was suggested that "society" would benefit from the "economic and social rehabilitation of individual families," with the "consequent strengthening of the entire economic and social organization."<sup>28</sup> The authors of this document demonstrated their interest in concentrating the population and raising the quality of life of Vermont hill towns, while adding recreational and forest land to the state's reserves. They did not raise more specific questions about land transfers and federal control, and it is clear that the state was eager to learn more about how the federal government might contribute to the reorganization and improvement of poor agricultural communities in Vermont.

The next policy document on submarginal lands was the August 1934 "Proposal for the Purchase of Submarginal Lands in Vermont," prepared by the Governor's Commission that had been named in July. The members of this commission were all state officials: E. H. Jones, com-

missioner of agriculture; James Brown, commissioner of fish and game; J. E. Carrigan, director of the agricultural extension service; and Perry Merrill, commissioner of forestry. This proposal modified the more extensive report discussed above, for the first time raising the issue of local control over the properties and suggesting a long-term, nominal rental of the purchased lands to the state of Vermont. This report forthrightly observed that there were "practically no modern conveniences" in these areas, and suggested that some Vermont families were "struggling helplessly against the effects of vanishing incomes," and were in urgent need of relief. The proposal supported a federal purchase of 20,000 acres of privately owned land, and it outlined both the necessary interagency cooperation and a general budget for the project.<sup>29</sup> With this report, selected officials of the Wilson administration created a policy statement in favor of the submarginal lands project, thus publicizing what they perceived to be the political, economic, and social potential of this program.<sup>30</sup>

#### A CRITIQUE OF FEDERAL INTERVENTION DEVELOPS

In September 1934, the conflicts associated with submarginal lands began to emerge. The first evidence is Governor Wilson's conciliatory reply to an inquiry from the *Rutland Herald* about the use of funds received from a FERA grant for rural rehabilitation. The *Herald's* editor had previously referred to the "interesting topic" of rural rehabilitation "about which there seems to be a great deal of misunderstanding." In response, Wilson carefully emphasized the different functions of the rural rehabilitation program, as well as its independence from resettlement projects. The governor emphasized that no money had been received by the state in connection with the submarginal land program and that there was "no assurance that any will be received." He referred to his committee and its study, adding that "a tentative program adapted to Vermont is being considered, but this marginal land program has not proceeded beyond a stage of consideration." Alternately, the FERA grant for rural rehabilitation in question would support the development of relief gardens and fruit and vegetable preservation — less objectionable projects with fewer long-term ramifications than the proposed submarginal lands purchases.<sup>31</sup>

By pledging that no action had been taken on "so-called marginal lands," Wilson sought to reassure both farmers who feared for their farms and opponents of any expansion of federal control within the state. As the New Deal continued to extend its influence nationwide, Vermonters were beginning to consider the implications of extensive federal activity in the state, and local officials started to display caution

in their dealings with the federal government. Nevertheless, the project continued to develop, and in September the AAA appointed Perry Merrill as the project manager for the "rehabilitation of rural population stranded on submarginal farms." Merrill, who had served on Wilson's submarginal lands exploratory committee, retained his position as Vermont commissioner of forestry and he was directed to work as a liaison between the two levels of government. The federal government sought the most effective coordination of its politically sensitive project in Vermont, even as the state was beginning to distance itself from the idea.<sup>32</sup>

The submarginal lands question was even more rigorously evaluated during early 1935, as federal officials, following the recommendations of Wilson's commission, developed plans for purchase areas. In the meantime, Governor Charles Smith had taken office in January 1935, and his administration was less receptive than his predecessor's to the submarginal lands purchase program. In part this can be attributed to the executive presence of George Aiken of Putney, the new lieutenant governor, who adamantly opposed the project. Aiken's sense was that "the New Deal . . . and F.D.R. desire[d] to take over the state," and he believed that any alienation of mountain lands from local control would considerably hinder further development in the state, whether in agriculture, summer homes, or some other yet unforeseen type of economic growth.<sup>33</sup>

In the statehouse, consideration of the proposal had become more guarded. In the summer of 1934 the idea of receiving money from the federal government to move poor families off failing farms and onto better lands seemed tempting. Yet by the spring of 1935 the legislature was increasingly discussing leases and mineral rights and individuals were giving voice to second thoughts about their eventual loss of control over federally purchased lands. Similarly, many were opposed in principle to the idea of relinquishing farmlands that had been tilled by families for generations.

Resistance to the purchase program among state officials was subtle. In early 1935, the legislature appointed a board to consider the program and to work with the federal agents, but as Aiken mirthfully related in his *Speaking from Vermont*:

There was a bit of irony in this legislative action, which made your author chairman of the board. There was a bit of irony in that the legislators knew that he lived on a very submarginal farm. There was a bit more irony in this legislative action in making the Speaker of the House a member of the board, for the legislators knew that the Speaker lived comfortably in an area which was rated as a hundred percent submarginal for twenty miles in all directions from his home.<sup>34</sup>

Of course, Aiken made his living as a nurseryman, not as a farmer, and he was not exclusively dependent upon the land for his family's livelihood. There is no other documentation in the public record of the opinions of Vermont farmers on the submarginal lands question, though at least the town of Chester expressed its interest in having some of the poor and small farms within its boundaries purchased and converted to state forest.<sup>35</sup>

#### OTHER PLANS FOR THE VERMONT HILLS

Submarginal lands and resettlement raised questions about local control and state lands that were being asked simultaneously about other federal proposals in Vermont. In February 1935, after two years of discussion, the National Park Service presented the Vermont legislature with a proposal for the Green Mountain Parkway, a roadway running 250 miles along the length of the state. The project sought to provide work relief to unemployed Vermonters and encourage tourists and visitors to travel to the state. The parkway proposal presented issues similar to those surrounding the farm to forest program. By ceding some of the most picturesque land in the state to the federal government, Vermonters would lose any chance to develop it themselves and forfeit their control over land use in this central part of the state. While work relief and federal investment in the state were tempting prospects, the majority of voters chose not to invite federal involvement in parkland development; instead, they opted to maintain a degree of autonomy and self-reliance. Some residents were concerned with finding the most effective way to conserve and protect state lands, while others wondered about "the extent to which Vermonters would let the federal government obtain the control of land within the state." A referendum on the question of developing the Green Mountain Parkway took place on Town Meeting Day in 1936, and both the high turnout of voters and the definitive defeat of the referendum (43,176 to 31,101) demonstrated the deep interest of Vermonters in the development of their state. The outcome also suggests the ambivalence of the people about the merits of federal development projects and their consequences for control over Vermont's land and resources.<sup>36</sup>

The Green Mountain Club, which had managed the areas along the Long Trail since 1910, led the criticism of the Parkway proposal. The GMC's "All Vermont Plan," presented to the legislature five days after the federal highway was introduced, suggested that the state focus its attention on local recreational development, rather than on a roadway that would simply bring people through the state. The slopes of the mountains and hills offered ideal sites for summer homes and recreational areas, uses that would pull tourist money into Vermont more

consistently from part-time residents and repeat visitors. Most importantly, the plan "would leave Vermont in the possession and control of its own citizens as no National Park scheme can. It would avoid dividing the state by a large area of Federally controlled and tax-free National Park land." Similarly, supporters of the All Vermont Plan asserted that they abided by and reinforced the independent culture with which Vermont had come to identify, that the proposal encouraged moderate and healthy growth, and that it prevented the exercise of external control on the inner workings of the state.<sup>37</sup>

In its response to the parkway project, the All Vermont Plan also addressed the submarginal land issue: Abandoned and submarginal farms would be "reclaimed" for use by summer visitors who would contribute to the state economy by expanding the town Grand Lists. The corresponding road improvements would increase the usefulness and value of existing hill farms by permitting easier access to markets "without uprooting families from their long-established and well loved homes." The All Vermont Plan presented not only an alternative to the abandonment of Vermont's hill farms and mountain areas to federal control, but also a local answer to New Deal-dominated relief projects.<sup>38</sup>

The "resettlement" of Vermont involved not only summer visitors, according to George Aiken. In his 1938 book *Speaking from Vermont*, he suggested that during the Depression numerous hill farms were purchased and returned to use by urbanites who had fled from the cities and sought to ensure a decent standard of living in rural areas. These people, who had thrown themselves into making a living on their recently acquired farms, were sure to revitalize the towns to which they moved and to further develop their economies — all without either federal or state intervention. Coming from different perspectives, both Aiken and the Green Mountain Club urged keeping Vermont hill farms available for future use by individual landowners.

Yet another challenge to private control over Vermont forest land came in a series of proposals to extend the Green Mountain National Forest beyond the boundaries of the initial tract acquired in 1932. A decade after Vermont passed the enabling act permitting federal purchase of forest land and following thirty years of courting federal money for the development of a national forest in Vermont, the legislature moderated its enthusiastic tone, and limited the Forest Service's power over Vermont woodlands.<sup>39</sup> In March 1935 the legislature passed a bill requiring approval of the acquisition of new forest lands from a state board consisting of many of the same officials who sat on the Submarginal Lands Board.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, on May 7, 1935, after evaluating a proposal to approve the purchase of a northern section, this board ap-

proved the options on an additional 205,000 acres in Vermont, and the Forest Service continued to place options and purchase lands for the Green Mountain National Forest.<sup>41</sup> Apparently, the language of conservation and the ongoing relationship of the state and the Forest Service inclined the board members toward permitting the continued expansion of the National Forest. Elsewhere, concerns were increasingly being voiced about the alienation of land from local and state control, and other purchases less directly related to conservation would flounder in the legislature over the next year.

Perhaps it was only incidental that later that spring day the Submarginal Lands Board met to discuss the purchase and resettlement program.<sup>42</sup> W. E. Bradder, a former Forest Service employee and the project manager of the Land Policy Section of the AAA, met with the board and attempted to convince them of the benefits to be derived from selling privately held lands to the federal government. He reminded the board that other states had authorized the purchase of submarginal lands, much to their satisfaction; town expenditures in Maine had already been reduced as a consequence. Bradder was addressing an unenthusiastic audience; one board member reported that the consensus in the legislature during the recent session was that they did not "want the Government to own all this land." At this point, the board unanimously agreed that neither the AAA nor FERA could take further options on Vermont farmland until the matter of permanent control over the land was resolved to the satisfaction of state officials. The meeting ended after what must have been a gruff fifteen minutes.<sup>43</sup> Though no public record exists of any other discussions of submarginal lands during the remainder of the summer, the hesitations of the board must have disquieted the otherwise enthusiastic federal officials. A letter sent in August to Governor Smith evidenced their growing concern over the future of the program in Vermont. In this letter, Bradder requested that the governor send the acting director of the Land Utilization Division of the newly created Resettlement Administration a telegram "assuring him of the desire of the people of Vermont for the purchase and development of lands investigated by his Division and the wholehearted cooperation of State Officials in aiding the Project." Though the letter was eventually sent, the support of Vermont's executive for the submarginal lands project was visibly waning.<sup>44</sup>

#### CONSOLIDATION: OF RESETTLEMENT AND ITS OPPOSITION

In April 1935 the activities of the AAA and FERA relating to rural resettlement and submarginal lands were reorganized and consolidated into the Resettlement Administration. The RA's assignment included

administering "approved projects involving rural rehabilitation, relief in stricken agricultural areas, and resettlement of destitute or low-income families from rural and urban areas" while at the same time coordinating projects to combat soil erosion and stream pollution, and to facilitate reforestation, flood control, and other necessary protective measures.<sup>45</sup> This relief program in Vermont was stepped up during 1935 as aid workers recognized that some desperate and sparsely settled parts of the state, like many of the "submarginal" areas elsewhere, had received almost no federal aid.

The mission of the RA was explained to farmers through an article in the *Vermont Farm Bureau News* that discussed its activities in the state. "Rehabilitation Gives a Man a Break" described a program that would "give permanent relief to some of the distressed farmers and make them into real national assets," rather than relief cases. The article alerted Vermonters to two important aspects of the Resettlement Administration: the Land Utilization Division and the Rural Resettlement Division. The task of the Land Utilization Division echoed the concern of the authors of Bulletin 357 and *Rural Vermont* with improving the condition of "mostly cut-over timber land a considerable distance from centers of population, on land too poor or too poorly located to earn a living for those who till it." The RA suggested that "there is a profitable use for this land. It may be forestation, reforestation, wild life preservation, recreation, or something that will serve a twofold purpose; that of getting this land into useful production and preventing waste of human effort on land that cannot make profitable returns on the labor expended." Once the Land Utilization Division selected areas for reform, the Rural Resettlement Division offered farmers assistance with voluntary resettlement. The acquiescence of the landowner was crucial, however, and the author asserted: "In no way will there be 'moving' of farm families; simply offers will be made for families 'to move.'" In the event that a farmer opted to remain on his land, and officials agreed that the farm was viable, rehabilitation was offered; the farmer would then have the opportunity to improve his facilities, moderate his debt burden, and receive technical and managerial assistance.<sup>46</sup>

Neither rehabilitation nor resettlement appealed to some Vermont politicians, such as George Aiken, who argued that Vermont farmers were "healthy and well-nourished, comfortably warm and self-supporting — 'statistically bankrupt' . . . but actually solvent."<sup>47</sup> The question for critics of resettlement and the conversion of lands to the public domain was not whether society could be bettered by transfer of ownership, but whether the cherished spirit of independence and self-sufficiency could be maintained after federal intrusion into Vermont hill towns.

Opponents of the RA purchase program continued to argue that in spite of the absence of many "modern conveniences" in the hills, the residents of Vermont hill farms "prefer the right to breathe and think and act freely and naturally" to the imposition of federal assistance and oversight. From the perspective of spokesmen like Aiken, government intervention posed an even greater threat to the state than the economic problems of the hill towns. At one point in his campaign against federal involvement in Vermont, Aiken complained that "I cannot help but feel that this situation is due to the insatiable desire of certain Federal authorities for more and more control of all of us and our possessions and resources, public and private."<sup>48</sup>

During his campaign against the removal of farmers from submarginal areas, the lieutenant governor suggested that the towns and people would have benefited more if the money allotted for resettlement had been appropriated for rebuilding hilltop communities, rather than dismantling them. Aiken asserted:

It is no exaggeration to say that had half the money which they had planned to use in tearing down our communities been spent in constructing new roads that could be traversed the year round, in improving our schools and libraries, in building electric lines, a world of good would have been accomplished. . . . It would have enabled the people who already live up in the hills to secure a greater share of the luxuries of life to which they are entitled, but for which they will never surrender freedom.<sup>49</sup>

Aiken and others argued that federal purchase would fix land prices at the submarginal level — between \$1 and \$4 an acre — and forever limit the potential for economic growth in the hill towns, especially in the event of increasing interest in summer home purchases. One commentator asked, "Is it not the duty of the state to see that this natural resource of the towns is preserved for its best use, especially so as it may in the future provide the financial salvation of many of our towns?" The issue increasingly became one of immediate versus eventual improvement, and many Vermonters had come to entertain hopes for future economic development in their mountain communities. As the situation in Warren and Sherburne — two of the towns studied in Bulletin 357 and now the sites of immensely profitable ski areas — has indicated, economic boom was indeed just around the corner. Although in the mid-1930s it was still unclear exactly how these hill communities might be developed, state legislators and political leaders were increasingly willing to sacrifice immediate economic improvement for the protection of state control over its land area.<sup>50</sup>

By October, the consensus among state and federal officials about the best interests of Vermont farmers had virtually dissolved. The minutes

of the October 3, 1935 meeting of the Submarginal Lands Board demonstrate that the details of any land transfer were sensitive. The board's refusal to approve federal options for purchase in the Lake Bomoseen area had clearly inconvenienced and surprised the RA administrators, and Bradder informed the board that unless options were cleared within the near future, the money appropriated for Vermont would be reallocated to New York. Attempting to push the board toward action, he stressed the "humanitarian" benefits of providing universal access to the lakes in this region, as well as the ecological value of conservation.<sup>51</sup>

Vermont officials, nonetheless, had earlier decided to insist on certain conditions for any land transfers to the federal government, as legislated by the act providing for the conveyance of land to the federal government. H.365 (Act 3 of 1935) stipulated that the federal government would lease to the state of Vermont "any or all of such real property" purchased for use as state forests, parks, game reserves, and game sanctuaries for 999 years at a rental of \$1. In the meantime, the state retained the option to purchase said lands back from the federal government — at any time over the course of the lease — for the price originally paid by the United States. Moreover, all land purchases would have to be approved not only by the Submarginal Lands Board and the governor, but also by the selectmen of the towns in which property was to be purchased.<sup>52</sup> The towns, after all, would lose tax revenues from public ownership of the lands, even as they gained recreational areas.<sup>53</sup> Board member George Aiken's account of this pivotal moment evokes some of the tension of the negotiations:

The committee then asked upon what terms the land would be turned back to the State. Federal hands were thrown in the air in horror. Why, the very idea! No other State in the Union had even asked to know upon what terms this land would be returned to them. They all trusted their Uncle Sam. They knew that whatever terms were submitted would, of course, be to the advantage of the States, with Uncle playing the rôle of benefactor. . . . Federal eyes wept with sadness to think that Vermont should even want to know the terms. But the Vermont committee, surrounded by submarginal land which had supported generation after generation, was adamant. We would either know the terms that the Federal government proposed to make in this matter, or there would be no sale.<sup>54</sup>

Almost immediately after the board insisted on these conditions, the federal government discontinued work on the Vermont project and closed its office in Rutland. The state's requirements were far too restrictive for the RA program. Meanwhile, leaving Vermont the possibility of a rapprochement, the government sought to extend options on surveyed properties wherever possible, hoping to continue the project at a later date.<sup>55</sup>

After this impasse, state and federal officials exchanged a series of telegrams in late October and early November. During the correspondence the state administrator of the Works Progress Administration assured its director, Harry Hopkins, that a special session of the legislature was expected to discuss the submarginal lands issue and other questions. Requests that information about this session be kept confidential indicate that in spite of the general hostility to federal purchase of mountain lands, some officials in Vermont sought to override the refusal of others and facilitate cooperation with the RA.

The special legislative session of December 1935 and January 1936 considered an amendment to Act 3 of 1935 that would have made the terms of any land sale acceptable to the federal government, but it did not pass. Any chance of federal-state cooperation on resettlement was thus dismantled.<sup>56</sup> In April 1936, the RA sent notification to Governor Smith that the "farm to forest" program had been abandoned following the orders of Administrator Rexford Tugwell. The Vermont legislature had again refused to pass an act agreeable to the federal government that would have ensured the purchase and development of submarginal lands in Vermont under the RA's land utilization program.<sup>57</sup> For all intents and purposes, this signaled the end of discussions about the purchase of submarginal lands and resettlement in Vermont.

#### THE LEGACY OF THE "FARM TO FOREST" PROGRAM

Upon reflection on the opportunity offered by the submarginal lands purchase program, many Vermonters had come to determine that any control over state territory by a federal landlord was undesirable. The sense was strong among some, such as George Aiken, that Vermont retained the potential for future growth and success in the hill towns. Retaining for Vermonters the rights to eventual profits from the land, as well as the desire to privilege state over federal management of the land and its resources, were important in motivating the opponents of the submarginal lands program. Also, many in the state, like conservatives elsewhere, had come to fear the dramatic expansion of the federal government under the Roosevelt administration. The urge to support the much-needed relief measures of the New Deal was powerful, and several programs, such as the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), achieved great success in the Green Mountains. Yet the innate insularity of the state challenged federal efforts to direct large-scale social reforms or to subsume any significant amounts of its territory into a national system. Though some measures were passed during the period of the submarginal lands controversy, most notably the expansion of the Green Mountain National Forest, these purchases contained no reformist under-

tones, and they did not arouse the suspicion of Vermont officials.<sup>58</sup> Land improvement and conservation, through the CCC and the National Forest, proved acceptable to Vermonters, while federal planning and social engineering projects were considerably less attractive. Some people cautioned that if all of the programs proposed for Vermont had been enacted in combination, a significant portion of the state would have passed into federal hands and the autonomy of the people would have been considerably circumscribed. Activism on the part of several state leaders precluded this, however, and Vermont emerged from the Great Depression far less altered by federal programs than many other states.

The fear of a gross expansion in federal power was not restricted to Vermont, as many others around the country also feared the growth of an increasingly powerful national government. Yet Vermont was receptive to the idea of improving economic and environmental conditions in the state. The extent of the planning for the submarginal lands project and the support offered by many prominent Vermonters demonstrate the Depression-era willingness to use any means necessary to improve the situation of the state and to prepare for a more secure future.<sup>59</sup> The issues relating to submarginal lands were not only tied to land use and profits; they also touched on local self-determination, property rights, and the independent spirit that was an important part of Vermont's self-perception. Ultimately, Vermont politicians heeded the warning of their emerging leader and looked beyond the "promise of immediate gain . . . to the shadow of permanent loss."<sup>60</sup> After almost two years of consideration, in early 1936 legislators rejected federal attempts to both plan for and manage land use in the mountains; they chose instead to trust George Aiken's assurances that spring would again return to Vermont.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Franklin Delano Roosevelt, "First Inaugural Address," in *Documents of American History*, ed. Henry Steele Commager (New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1947), 420.

<sup>2</sup> William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1963), 11.

<sup>3</sup> William E. Leuchtenburg, *Flood Control Politics: The Connecticut River Valley Problem, 1927-1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1953); Hannah Silverstein, "No Parking: Vermont Rejects the Green Mountain Parkway," *Vermont History* 63 (Summer 1995): 133-157.

<sup>4</sup> "Retirement of Land Studied," *The Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 10 July 1934.

<sup>5</sup> In fact, the per capita income for the U.S. in 1929 was \$715, while that for Vermont was \$699; in 1931, national per capita income had dropped to \$425, while Vermont's averaged \$503—a figure exceeded by only twelve other states. From the report of the Brookmire Economic Service, 7 June 1932, as quoted in the *Burlington Free Press*, 4 July 1932, p.#3, as quoted in Harold Fischer Wilson, *The Hill Country of Northern New England: Its Social and Economic History in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1947), 377n.

<sup>6</sup> "A Proposal for the Withdrawal From Cultivation of Poor Farm Lands in Vermont Under the Federal Submarginal Land Acquisition Program," Governor Wilson Papers, reel S-3192, "Submarginal Lands," Vermont State Archives (hereafter referred to as the VSA).

<sup>7</sup> Perry Merrill, page B-5 in folder "Writings on Land Use" from the Perry Merrill Papers in the Wilbur Collection, Bailey Howe Library, University of Vermont.

<sup>8</sup> Edwin Seligman, *Economics of Farm Relief: A Survey of the Agricultural Problem* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), 223–224.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 224.

<sup>11</sup> Sidney Baldwin, *Poverty and Politics: The Rise and Decline of the Farm Security Administration* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 65–66.

<sup>12</sup> Harold Meeks, *Time and Change in Vermont: A Human Geography* (Chester, Conn.: The Globe Pequot Press, 1986), 161.

<sup>13</sup> Dorothy Canfield, *Vermont Summer Homes* (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Bureau of Publicity, 1934). This publication was produced annually and revised periodically by the author, also known by her married name of Dorothy Canfield Fisher.

<sup>14</sup> C. F. Clayton and L. J. Peet, *Land Utilization as a Basis of Rural Economic Organization, Based on a Study of Land Utilization and Related Problems in 13 Hill Towns of Vermont* (Burlington, Vt.: University of Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station, 1933), 5–6.

<sup>15</sup> Clayton and Peet, *Land Utilization*, 13–14.

<sup>16</sup> From 1919 to 1930, the number of operated farms dropped 25 percent, the number of partially operated farms increased 144 percent, and the number of abandoned farms increased 180 percent; *Ibid.*, 33–36; Wilson, *Hill Country of Northern New England*, 362.

<sup>17</sup> Clayton and Peet, *Land Utilization*, 133.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 50–51.

<sup>19</sup> Vermont Commission on Country Life, *Rural Vermont: A Program for the Future by 200 Vermonters* (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Printing Company, 1931), 2, 130.

<sup>20</sup> Henry C. Taylor, "The Vermont Commission on Country Life," *Journal of Farm Economics* 11 (January 1930): 168.

<sup>21</sup> George D. Aiken, *Speaking from Vermont* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company, 1938), 10.

<sup>22</sup> D. Gregory Sanford, "The Presidential Boomlet for Governor George D. Aiken, 1937–1939, Or You Can't Get There from Here," (UVM Masters Thesis, 1977): 69.

<sup>23</sup> The Land Policy Section of the AAA had functions defined as the following: "To determine the total area of land needed for production of the various agricultural commodities and forest products in the US; to work with other agencies in designating areas which need to be withdrawn from agricultural production and areas which should be restricted to extensive use, and in determining utilization of areas withdrawn from farming; in general to coordinate the program of the AAA with the government land utilization program." The Surplus Relief Corporation appointed the AAA as the administrator of the planning and development of specific submarginal land acquisition projects. "Retirement of Land Studied, Vermont Committee Prepares to Join Federal Project," *Erastleboro Daily Reformer*, 10 July 1934; letter from L. C. Gray to J. E. Carrigan, 25 May 1934, Governor Wilson Papers, reel S-3192, "Submarginal Lands," VSA.

<sup>24</sup> The place this document occupies in the governor's papers indicates that it came into his files during the early summer of 1934. I believe that it is probably the document referred to in a letter on 8 June 1934 from E. H. Jones to Governor Wilson. The Vermont State Archives was unable to date the document or to trace its authorship.

<sup>25</sup> An enumeration of income-producing products demonstrates the poor quality of the farmlands in these six areas. Potatoes made up most of the crop sales, representing significantly less than 10 percent of the total income from the farms.

<sup>26</sup> "A Proposal for the Withdrawal From Cultivation of Poor Farm Lands in Vermont Under the Federal Submarginal Land Acquisition Programme," Governor Wilson Papers, reel S-3192, "Submarginal Lands," VSA.

<sup>27</sup> The report also suggested that two or three towns be eliminated, though it did not indicate which ones; it argued that significant savings could be achieved from this consolidation.

<sup>28</sup> "A Proposal for the Withdrawal From Cultivation of Poor Farm Lands in Vermont."

<sup>29</sup> It is worth noting that the first proposal had suggested 86,000 acres for immediate federal purchase and the relocation of 295 families, while the August proposal was less specific in its description of 20,000 acres for purchase and 250 families for resettlement.

<sup>30</sup> Submarginal Land Committee, "A Proposal for the Purchase of Submarginal Lands in Vermont," 14 August 1934, Governor Wilson Papers, reel S-3192, "Submarginal Lands," VSA; letter from Governor Stanley Wilson to the Submarginal Land Committee, 14 September 1934 Governor Wilson Papers, reel S-3192, "Submarginal Lands," VSA.

<sup>31</sup> Letter from Howard L. Hindley to Hon. Stanley C. Wilson, 4 September 1934, Governor Wilson Papers, reel S-3189, "FERA," VSA; letter from Governor Wilson to Howard Hindley, 13 September 1934, Governor Wilson Papers, reel S-3189, "FERA," VSA.

<sup>32</sup> Letter from Perry Merrill to Hon. Stanley C. Wilson, 25 September 1934, Governor Wilson Papers, reel S-3192, "Submarginal Lands," VSA; letter from A.W. Manchester to Perry Merrill, 24 September 1934, Governor Wilson Papers, reel S-3192, "Submarginal Lands," VSA.

<sup>33</sup> George Aiken, cited in Sanford, "Presidential Boomlet for Governor Aiken," 69, 77.

<sup>34</sup> When this committee was named, Aiken had already taken his executive position as lieutenant governor, even though he calls himself Speaker of the House in this statement. Aiken, *Speaking from Vermont*, 10.

<sup>35</sup> Letter from P. H. Ballou, Selectman, Town of Chester to Hon. Stanley C. Wilson, 16 July 1934, Governor Wilson Papers, reel S-3192, "Submarginal Lands," VSA.

<sup>36</sup> *Burlington Free Press*, 4 March, 1936, 1.

<sup>37</sup> The plan designated three types of areas in the state: valleys, where agriculture, industry, and tourism were primarily centered; the slopes of hills and mountains which were formerly farmed but were "at the moment" better suited for summer homes and recreational areas; and mountain wilderness areas, which were ideal for trails and camping areas, serving both residents and tourists and preserving the wild beauty of the state.

<sup>38</sup> *Journal of the House*, 6 February 1935, 232-234.

<sup>39</sup> Christopher McGrory Klyza and Stephen Trombulak, *The Story of Vermont* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999), 100.

<sup>40</sup> The officials on the National Forest board were the governor, lieutenant governor, attorney general, state forester, and commissioner of agriculture.

<sup>41</sup> Klyza and Trombulak, *Story of Vermont*, 100; "An Act to Amend Section 54 of the Public Laws and to Repeal Section 55 of the Public Laws Relating to the National Forests and Concurrent Jurisdiction Therein," H.293, 26 March 1935, Governor Smith Papers, reel S-3196, "Submarginal Lands," VSA; Perry Merrill, *History of Forestry in Vermont, 1909-1959* (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1959), 50-51; minutes from the committee formed by H.293, 7 May 1935, Governor Smith Papers, reel S-3196, "Submarginal Lands," VSA.

<sup>42</sup> This board consisted of the lieutenant governor, speaker of the house, auditor of accounts, and the attorney general. Also present at this meeting were the governor and the commissioner of forestry.

<sup>43</sup> Minutes from the committee formed by H.365, 7 May 1935, Governor Smith Papers, reel S-3196, "Submarginal Lands," VSA.

<sup>44</sup> W. E. Bradder to Governor Charles Smith, 17 August 1935, Governor Smith Papers, reel S-3196, "Submarginal Lands," VSA.

<sup>45</sup> Telegram from Carl C. Taylor, Director of the Division of Resettlement and Rural Rehabilitation, to Governor Charles Smith, 22 June 1935, Governor Smith Papers, reel S-3195, "Rural Rehabilitation," VSA; Franklin D. Roosevelt, Executive Order for the Establishment of the Resettlement Administration, 30 April 1935, amended 26 September 1935, Governor Smith Papers, reel S-3196, "Submarginal Lands," VSA.

<sup>46</sup> "Rehabilitation Gives a Man a Break," *Vermont Farm Bureau News* (October 1935): 8f.

<sup>47</sup> Aiken, *Speaking from Vermont*, 22.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 17, 30; "One Phase of the Submarginal Land Problem and Its Relation to Proposed Purchase and Retirement by A.A.A.," Governor Smith Papers, reel S-3196, "Submarginal Lands," VSA.

<sup>51</sup> Minutes from meeting of legislative board mandated by H.365, 3 October 1935, Governor Smith Papers, reel S-3196, "Submarginal Lands," VSA.

<sup>52</sup> H.365 of 1935, reported by the Committee on Conservation and Development, "An Act Giving Consent to the Acquisition by the United States by Purchase or Gift of Certain Lands Under Certain Conditions."

<sup>53</sup> Minutes from meeting of legislative board mandated by H.365, 3 October 1935, Governor Smith Papers, reel S-3196, "Submarginal Lands," VSA.

<sup>54</sup> Aiken, *Speaking from Vermont*, 11.

<sup>55</sup> Letter from A. W. Manchester to Attorney General Lawrence Jones, no date, Governor Smith Papers, reel S-3196, "Submarginal Lands," VSA.

<sup>56</sup> *House Journal, Special Session 1935-1936* (Montpelier, 1937): 1264, 1301-1302, 1336-1339, 1341-1343, 1379.

<sup>57</sup> Letter from Dorothy M. Beck to Governor Smith, 10 April 1936, Governor Smith Papers, reel S-3194, "Rural Rehabilitation," VSA.

<sup>58</sup> Richard Munson Judd, *The New Deal in Vermont: Its Impact and Aftermath* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), 82-83.

<sup>59</sup> In spite of the enthusiasm generated nationally among planners and some farmers for the programs of the Resettlement Administration, only 4,441 families were moved - a sliver of the 500,000 projected in early estimates. Neither the money nor the infrastructure existed to facilitate such considerable transfers of population. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, 140.

<sup>60</sup> *Brattleboro Reformer*, 11 January 1935, as cited in Sanford, "Presidential Boomlet for Governor Aiken," 76.

# BOOK REVIEWS

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## *The Story of Vermont: A Natural and Cultural History*

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By Christopher McGrory Klyza and Stephen C. Trombulak (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999, pp. 252, paper, \$19.95).

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Christopher Klyza and Stephen Trombulak have accomplished a formidable task in compiling a story that integrates all the critical contributions to the evolution of what we know today as Vermont. As with all such efforts to examine a complex web of interactions that have unfolded through time and space, they developed an impressive foundation in the natural sciences.

Part I, "Setting the Stage for Vermont," provides an integrated framework of influence between geology, topography, climate, and biology, all firmly supported with carefully constructed factual information including maps and tables. This section spans about a billion years of geologic history with an appropriate telescoping coverage of time as we approach the present. When the last ice sheet left Vermont, according to Klyza and Trombulak, it left behind an ecosystem fully refreshed with new unweathered sediments, ready to accept the influx of all the varied life forms that developed and eventually greeted the arriving native and European settlers.

Part II, "The Recent Landscape History of Vermont," systematically tracks the influence of evolving human society on the landscape. As Europeans replaced the native peoples, populations exploded, habitats disappeared, and an independent republic became a state. The ecological revolution wrought by capitalism up until the Civil War led to deforestation and near elimination of large wild mammals, as domestic stock expanded to peak numbers. External market forces initiated postwar changes such as the decline of the sheep industry and the expansion of dairy farming, which resulted in reforestation, conservation, and tourism, factors that continue to guide the development of Vermont today.

Part III, "Ecological Communities of Vermont," systematically examines the existing biological webs in Vermont's forest, open terrestrial, and wetland and aquatic settings, continuously drawing insight from the previously presented historical perspective. While apparently just telling Vermont's story, Klyza and Trombulak use their presentation of this wealth of factual information to teach basic ecological principles concerning topics such as global warming, surface ozone accumulation, acid rain, and carbon and nitrogen cycling.

The text is packed with information—every sentence is rich with knowledge. Readers will find themselves torn between wanting to race forward to find out more about the mutual influences on the evolution of Vermont's landscape, and wanting to read every word carefully as the authors build not just snapshot images, but vivid panoramas as conditions at various points in time come clear.

DAVID S. WESTERMAN

*David S. Westerman is Dana Professor of Geology at Norwich University in Northfield.*

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### *Wetland, Woodland, Wildland: A Guide to the Natural Communities of Vermont*

By Elizabeth H. Thompson and Eric R. Sorenson, illustrated by Libby Davidson, Betsy Brigham, and Darien McElwain (Hanover, N.H.: The Nature Conservancy and the Vermont Department of Fish and Wildlife, distributed by University Press of New England, 2000, pp. xii, 456, paper, \$19.95).

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### *Lewis Creek Lost and Found*

By Kevin Dann (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2001, pp. xvii, 221, \$45.00; paper, \$19.95).

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These two books, both part of the Middlebury College Bicentennial Series in Environmental Studies, make a feast for the naturalist. Each offers new layers to our knowledge of the natural heritage of Vermont, using very different approaches.

When you stand in the woods, or at the edge of a river, what do you see around you? Why is one set of plants in a particular spot, and not another?

What do the assembled plants have in common? What can they teach us about the land? *Wetland, Woodland, Wildland* is written for landowners, hikers, foresters, naturalists, and anyone interested in knowing the wild landscape of our state. (The book does not cover either lakes and rivers or farmland, but concentrates on those places not completely under water and more or less wild—hence the title.) Written by ecologists Eric Sorenson of the state's Natural Heritage and Nongame Wildlife Department and Elizabeth Thompson of The Nature Conservancy, *Wetland, Woodland, Wildland* represents an advance in the tools available for assessing our wild lands.

The first sections of the book introduce the state's geology and climate, the eight biophysical regions, and the concept of the natural community, "an interacting assemblage of organisms, their physical environment, and the natural processes that affect them" (p. 58). The main text of the book is a guide to eighty natural communities, divided into upland and wetland, and further sorted by types, such as forested wetlands or open upland communities. These classifications have been developed by Nature Conservancy scientists and many others in and beyond Vermont. Each community is beautifully illustrated with drawings and photographs, and described in some detail: physical and ecological conditions, type of vegetation, animals, related communities, conservation and management, places to visit, references, and characteristic plants.

These can be useful in a number of ways. Some people will want to visit the examples of interesting communities near them, mostly on state lands. Some will map their own lands, or their town lands, and work to protect the most unusual and diverse places. Those interested in restoring a natural community that has been lost to cultivation, such as a riverine floodplain forest, can use the book to determine what plants were probably once there and would thrive there again, and which are invasives that need to be controlled.

There are only two maps in this book, both of the whole state: one a surficial geology map, the other of the biophysical regions. These are most helpful in giving an overview of the state and its regions. County or town boundaries would have helped, but maps big enough to be useful on the ground wouldn't have fit in this book's format anyway. It's a small complaint. All in all, the authors and illustrators have done prodigious good work, and produced a valuable field guide to Vermont's treasures.

The word "lost" in the title of Kevin Dann's *Lewis Creek Lost and Found* refers to the imminent danger of losing, with endangered ecosystems and communities, our sense of place and our knowledge of history—including that of local heroes, extinct species, and marginal people. Dann interweaves the geography and natural history of this small

river with the histories of the people who dwelled along it, and the lives of three of the most prominent figures in its nineteenth-century history: Rowland Evans Robinson, Cyrus Guernsey Pringle, and John Bulkley Perry. The book uses their lives and explorations as occasions to describe the waterways of Lewis Creek and the lands it drains, its watershed.

Lewis Creek rises in the mountains of Starksboro, Bristol, and Monkton and flows swiftly downhill into Hinesburg, where the valley flattens out, and winds through Charlotte and Ferrisburgh before emptying into Lake Champlain. Dann's book follows the river upstream. As he says, it's easier to start at the mouth of a river than to choose one of the myriad tiny headwater streams. Lewis Creek is a small river now, though its bed shows that thousands of years ago it was once much larger, when the retreating glacier still covered the Winooski and what we now call the Huntington River flowed into Lewis Creek. The Abenaki called Lewis Creek "Sunganhetook," the Fishing River, and made yearly trips to its lower reaches to catch its abundant fish, including the Lake Champlain Atlantic salmon. We read that Rowland Robinson talked to a man who, with his two brothers, had caught the last known Lewis Creek salmon early in the nineteenth century. They had speared it with a pitchfork on a summer morning, something the old man remembered some seventy years later.

Robinson, Pringle, and Perry were all students of the natural world. Robinson was an artist and writer, who grew up at his family's estate, Rokeby (now a museum on Route 7 in Ferrisburgh), and lived nearly all his life there, painting the landscape and writing stories about its people—hill farmers, Abenaki, and French Canadians. He saw the railroad built and the forests cut, and wrote of his disappearing beloved wild places and woods people. Pringle, for whom the herbarium at the University of Vermont is named, grew up on the family farm in East Charlotte and learned botany from the Lewis Creek plants. First a farmer, he became a plant hunter who explored Mexico and sent back specimens to Asa Gray at Harvard, eking out a living selling sets of pressed plants. Kevin Dann has told Pringle's rather lonely life movingly. Perry was a minister and an amateur geologist, who described and interpreted the vivid red rock we now call Monkton quartzite and the fossils to be found in western Vermont. His work was known and respected by New England's geologists. He was both a devout Christian and a believer in science, a student of Darwin and a man who found his God in rocks as much as in prayer.

The book is illustrated with portraits, two of Robinson's drawings, and with details of the 1871 Beers *Atlas of Addison County, Vermont*. As with *Wetland*, *Woodland*, *Wildland*, I wanted more geographical in-

formation, so I read the book with a Vermont atlas open nearby. Many passages make the reader wish to see the places described.

The author takes care to document not just the prominent English, but all the watershed's citizens: Native Americans, freed slaves, French, and Irish. Prejudice drove the Abenakis almost to oblivion, identified locally only as "gypsies" and "pirates." Dann also devotes a chapter to Vermont's part in the eugenics movement in the 1920s and 1930s, when some in power in academia and government felt that the blood lines of Vermonters needed to be pruned and purified by sterilizing the unfit. It hurts to remember our injustices and errors, and it is humbling to know how ignorant and wrong we can be even when we mean well.

Lewis Creek runs through all the stories: of hunters, farmers, fishermen, trappers, botanists, preachers, and artists; of mountains, bogs, cedar cliffs, ducks, otters, and oak trees. Dann has found and saved rich and varied stories in this book, and woven them together with the river.

SUSAN SAWYER

*Susan Sawyer is a naturalist and artist for the Vermont Institute of Natural Science and adjunct faculty member at Vermont College.*

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## *The Vermont Owner's Manual*

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By Frank Bryan and Bill Mares (Shelburne, Vt.: New England Press, 2000, pp. xiv, 125; paper, \$12.95).

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Messrs. Bryan and Mares have again entered the field to enlighten us on the born-here Vermonter/woodchuck/flatlander question. Their first effort was *Real Vermonters Don't Milk Goats* (1983), a humorous work of definition. Now comes *The Vermont Owner's Manual*, a self-help guide for cranks, or "How to grumble effectively." My own crankiness was at work one day when a couple from Ohio asked me, "What does that woman on the State House dome stand for?" I told them, "Because she doesn't have room to sit down." Vermonters usually think that a funny story. Others are not so sure. If humor is not somewhat annoying, why bother?

The wit and humor in this book serve a serious purpose, i.e., Vermont needs special care because it is a special place. It is crucial to make light,

so as to hold back the dark. The authors offer very funny advice on many things, including how to get through deer season and town meeting without losing it, how to get your kids educated instead of educationalized, and how to combat cant in all its forms. No consultants need apply. In short, the book offers suggestions on how to keep freedom and unity alive and well in Vermont.

To use a flatlander term that will get the authors somewhat peeved, this is a niche book. Put it on that porcelain box in the smallest room at your place. Then enjoy a few pages while you do more important things. If you do not enjoy this book, the authors will be around to revoke your Vermont ownership papers.

Finally it should be noted that their earlier work ended with the comment, "Real Vermonters don't read books like this." No such pronouncement occurs in the owner's manual.

BARNEY BLOOM

*Barney Bloom is a Washington County side judge, a unique Vermont office so obscure that it is barely mentioned in the owner's manual.*

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### *The Tour to the Northern Lakes of James Madison & Thomas Jefferson, May–June 1791*

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*Edited with an introduction by J. Robert Maguire (Ticonderoga: Fort Ticonderoga, 1995, pp. 40, paper, \$9.95).*

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**I**n the spring of 1791, the same year the independent republic of Vermont was admitted to the Union, the new state was visited by two of the most eminent political statesmen in the national government, Congressman James Madison and Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson. The two Virginians had set out incognito from New York City with plans to travel northward to the region of Lakes George and Champlain and then take an easterly course to the New England coast. The travelers had not visited the North Country before and viewed their trip primarily as a recreational journey, however the excursion did seem to have some political overtones. At the time, both Madison and Jefferson were at the center of a political coalition opposed to the fiscal and economic proposals devised by Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton—proposals

that constituted a key element in the legislative agenda of the nascent Federalist Party. Federalists were inclined to view Madison and Jefferson's northern "botanizing" tour as a transparent ploy to gain political advantage.

On the other hand, substantial evidence suggests that the excursion was largely prompted by the need felt by Jefferson and Madison for a respite from the pressure of their duties in Philadelphia, then the national capital, and their interest in studying the geography of northern New York and New England. In 1791 Jefferson was chair of a committee of the American Philosophical Society formed to investigate the Hessian fly, a destructive pest that had caused considerable damage to wheat crops. He planned to use a portion of his excursion time to survey the impact of the fly over the previous six years.

Jefferson had another interest in the North Country relating to natural history that is not commonly known. While serving as minister to France from 1784 to 1789, he had resolved to prove that the great French naturalist Count Buffon's theory of degeneracy of life in the New World was invalid. Jefferson asked General John Sullivan of New Hampshire to make arrangements to procure and transport specimens of moose, elk, and deer to France, where they presumably would demonstrate to Buffon that the productions of nature in America were, in reality, not puny or inferior. After several attempts by hunters to bag a moose in the northern wilds, a large specimen was finally killed in Vermont, probably near the center of Brookfield (according to Anna Clark Jones's neglected article, "Antlers for Jefferson," *New England Quarterly*, XII, no. 2, 1939), and was sent to France along with specimens of other animals at considerable expense to Jefferson. The "sage" of Monticello must have eagerly anticipated traveling to the region from which the moose originated.

While on their tour to the North Country both Jefferson and Madison hurriedly jotted down their observations. The editor of *The Tour to the Northern Lakes*, J. Robert Maguire, offers a transcription of Madison's five-page journal (May 31 to June 7) as well as a facsimile version of the manuscript. Jefferson's transcribed journal (May 22 to June 3) is substantially shorter, but is supplemented by a table of distances and an interesting rating of inns where the travelers were entertained. Additionally, the editor includes Jefferson's notes on the Hessian fly. Only one of Jefferson's journal entries, that describing Lake Champlain, is reproduced in facsimile. While these manuscripts have been transcribed and printed before in definitive editions of the papers of each author, Maguire has performed a useful service by making the travel journals of Madison and Jefferson more accessible to the general reader.

The great majority of the entries in the journals kept by Madison and Jefferson focus on the Upper Hudson River Valley and the Lake George-Lake Champlain region. The journals contain little in the way of characterizations of Yorker or Yankee culture and no mention of politics. They are also devoid of the Romantic rhetoric that travelers used a generation later to describe the landscape. Instead, the journals focus, in a matter-of-fact fashion, on the region's topography, flora, fauna, agriculture, commerce, and industry.

At Waterford, New York, for example, Jefferson observed a workshop where nails were cut out of bar iron at the rate of twenty per minute and was so favorably impressed that he later introduced nail making at Monticello. Both travelers were interested in the possibilities for commercial production of maple sugar as an alternative to reliance on cane sugar from the West Indies. In fact, in the previous year Jefferson had made an unsuccessful attempt to establish sugar maple saplings on his plantation in the Virginia piedmont.

Jefferson found Lake George more attractive than Lake Champlain. He noted in his journal that sugar maple, pitch pine, white pine, fir, and cedar were the forest trees that predominated around Lake George, along with cherry, aspen, willow, birch, and basswood. The lake and its environs were "healthy," but largely uninhabited. Its water was "very clear" and abounded with salmon, trout, bass, and perch. Jefferson and Madison encountered rattlesnakes in the vicinity of the lake and killed two of them. The lake was also infested with "swarms of musketoos and gnats, and 2 kinds of biting fleas." Nevertheless, Jefferson described Lake George in a letter to his daughter as "the most beautiful lake I ever saw."

James Madison's commentary about settlers on the shore of Lake George reveals his special interest in a "free Negro," Prince Taylor, who owned a 250-acre farm where he employed six "white hirelings." Madison observed that Taylor was intelligent, literate, and a good manager. It seemed significant to Madison that Taylor was "disinclined to marriage," or to having women on his farm in any capacity.

Lake Champlain impressed Jefferson as "less pleasant" than Lake George, but he saw only its southern end, where the water was "narrow and turbid." The lake, according to Jefferson, yielded sturgeon and twenty-pound catfish, but was infested with mosquitoes. The land on the west side, hemmed in by mountains, was "very indifferent," but land on the opposite side of the lake extending twenty to twenty-five miles to the Green Mountains on the east he described as "champaign." Natural growth on Lake Champlain was much like that viewed at Lake George, except for the presence of yellow pine and "thistle in much abundance as to embarrass agriculture in a high degree." Madison

found the soil on the east side of Lake Champlain "generally good." Wheat and grass (especially red clover and timothy) were listed as staple crops, but corn, rye, potatoes, and flax were also cultivated. Wheat and flour, along with pot and pearl ash, are noted as the chief export items. Madison also reported the smuggling of tobacco, brandy, and tropical fruits into Canada, via Lake Champlain.

Due to strong headwinds Madison and Jefferson could sail up Lake Champlain only about twenty-five miles before their northward progress stopped. At that point they reversed direction to return to Saratoga and from there proceeded to Bennington, where Jefferson assigned his highest rating of "good" to Dewey's Tavern. Madison observed that the farms in the southwestern corner of Vermont ran from fifty to two hundred and fifty acres in size, and that the price of cultivated land ranged from five to fifteen dollars per acre. Most settlers were from other parts of New England and followed a lifestyle Madison described as "extremely plain & oeconomical particularly in the table & ordinary dress." Their houses, built of wood, made "a good figure without," according to Madison, but were "scantily furnished within." From Bennington the travelers turned south to Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and then proceeded eastward to Northampton on the Connecticut River, which they followed to Long Island Sound.

*The Tour to the Northern States* is a slim but handsome volume that is a credit to all involved in its preparation and production. Editor J. Robert Maguire, a meticulous scholar highly knowledgeable about the history of the Lake George-Lake Champlain region, offers an illuminating introductory essay that serves as an important key for interpreting the journals of Jefferson and Madison. Readers looking for additional background detail will also want to see Willard Sterne Randall and Nancy Nahra, *American Lives*, vol. I (New York, 1997), 124–133. The journals are enhanced by well-selected portraits, maps, and other illustrations. The superior quality of the book design by Christopher Kuntze and the very high standards of Sharp Offset Printing of Rutland, Vermont, are also worthy of note. Additionally, the use of Mohawk Ticonderoga archival paper adds to the richness of the volume. In sum, *The Tour to the Northern States* is a carefully prepared and beautifully crafted publication that offers readers convenient access to interesting and significant observations of the North Country by two of the most discerning and sophisticated Americans of the late eighteenth century.

GARY T. LORD

*Gary Lord is Dana Professor of History at Norwich University.*

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*The Gods of the Hills: Piety and Society in  
Nineteenth-Century Vermont*

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By T. D. Seymour Bassett (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 2000, pp. 324, paper, \$26.95)

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Rejecting the New York lawyer James Duane's 1770 overture to quash the New Hampshire Grants crisis in its infancy, Ethan Allen cast the settlers' cause neither in political nor economic but rather in sacred terms. Much as he would later legitimize his capture of Fort Ticonderoga "in the name of the Great Jehovah," so Allen warned Duane that the "gods of the [Vermont] hills are not the gods of the valleys." By borrowing a portion of Allen's observation for the title of his work, the late Tom Bassett sets forth his desire to demonstrate its prophetic accuracy and tell the unique story of "Piety and Society in Nineteenth-Century Vermont."

While the first chapter provides a brief outline of developments "in the woods before 1791," the true starting point for Bassett's exploration is the evolution of Vermont's distinctive and unifying "civil religion." Much as the nation as a whole sought to sanctify its revolution through the guise of sacred figures (George Washington) and sacred objects (the Constitution, flag, etc.), nineteenth-century Vermonters shaped a set of sacred creeds that would continue to unify and guide civic behavior. Foremost among these was Vermonters' uncompromising belief in the ideal of equality, which shaped the state's contribution to the Civil War. The story of Vermont's "civil religion," particularly cast in the light of modern political fractionalization and uncertainty, is itself sufficient reason to purchase and read this book.

It is Bassett's formidable study of Vermonters' particular or disparate pursuits of the sacred that makes this a most illuminating work. His examination in chapter three of what he calls "the open race between the denominations" during the first four decades of the nineteenth century provides a uniquely accessible introduction to the competition between traditional Calvinists (Congregationalists, Baptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians). This rivalry was, in many ways, more intense than their collective struggle against the rationalistic Methodists, Universalists, and the unchurched. Even before the arrival of significant numbers of Irish and French Catholics, the vitality of Vermont's religious landscape, especially as evidenced through the spirit of Second Great Awakening revivals, bore witness to the power of religious competi-

tion. One particular episode, involving the controversial “new measures” used by New York itinerant preacher Jedediah Burchard during a tour in 1834–1835, underscored both the post-millennial desire of evangelicals to convert the masses and the dangerous ramifications of the effort.

The collapse of the Awakening, the large scale arrival of Catholics, and the gradual march toward Civil War marked the beginning of a new religious era in Vermont. Over time, Vermont would become residence not only for a pluralistic society including Protestants, Catholics, and Jews, but also for an assortment of new institutions and religious organizations. As Catholics planted churches and schools, Protestants searched for common ground and new vehicles with which to work together. Evangelicals returned to the instrument of the revival in 1877, sponsoring a protracted meeting in Burlington led by the renowned and, Bassett notes, “housebroken” Chicago itinerant Dwight Moody, with his musical accompanist Ira Sankey. Concomitant with the success of evangelicals, numbers of nonevangelicals countered by moving toward “Modernism,” emphasizing a need to better connect religious activity with the vision of progress that accompanied industrial prosperity. Missions, associations, and new social organizations would thus develop on all sides to support their respective efforts.

The challenge of tying together the myriad personalities and events of the nineteenth-century religious landscape, even before delving deeper into underlying beliefs, could only have been undertaken by Tom Bassett, given his unparalleled familiarity with the bibliographic resources and his lifelong interest in Vermont religion. This comprehensive work, portions of which appeared previously as articles in *Vermont History*, distills more than sixty years of Bassett’s research and insights. It constitutes essential reading for anyone interested in understanding the power of the “sacred” upon nineteenth-century Vermonters’ lives and the full range and patterns of religious experience that accompanied their beliefs.

P. JEFFREY POTASH

*Jeff Potash spent twenty years on the faculty at Trinity College, where he was a professor of history. He is currently co-director of the Waters Center for System Dynamics in Burlington.*

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## *George Perkins Marsh: Prophet of Conservation*

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By David Lowenthal (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000, pp. xxv, 605, \$40.00)

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This biography of George Perkins Marsh (1801–1882) by David Lowenthal is not merely a revision of his earlier *George Perkins Marsh, Versatile Vermonter* (1958). Rather, it is a wholly new biography based on fifty years of new scholarly research. In Lowenthal's words: "I had to reconsider histories, reassess motives and outcomes, revise and reverse judgements. This forced me to unravel, even jettison, earlier work and add new matter in its stead" (p. xx). The result is truly remarkable.

Foremost, this is a masterful analysis of the origins and lasting impact of Marsh's monumental *Man and Nature* published in 1862. In Lowenthal's words, the book "brought environmental awareness and reform not just to America but to the whole world. More than Marsh had dreamed, *Man and Nature* ushered in a revolution in the way people conceived their relations with the earth" (p. 268). He thus ranks it with Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* as "one of the nineteenth century's two seminal texts on the subject its title denoted" (p. 305).

Lowenthal's book is not, however, just an apologist's defense of Marsh's ideas and writings, which have come under criticism by some modern environmentalists. Rather, it is a superb example of historical biography rich in detail, context, and insight. For this reviewer, few other biographies have left the impression of personally encountering the individual described, of having "been there." That is in great part because of Lowenthal's devoted attention to Marsh's life story for over fifty years, which also makes it difficult at times to know who is speaking. While he is very careful to quote Marsh accurately, his own syntax often echoes Marsh so closely that the reader can easily forget that the author and subject were not intimate friends.

This apparent firsthand familiarity is especially reflected in Lowenthal's exquisite descriptions of daily life in the nineteenth century, of travel conditions, dress, and social protocol. Even more so are eyewitness accounts of personal events gleaned from letters and diaries, but described afresh in ways that make the details vital to understanding the meaning of the event to the broader story. This portion, for example, describes Marsh's death:

Marsh's body was . . . wrapped in an American flag, put on a catafalque with wreaths of yellow immortelle, and carried down the mountain by forestry students. They thus honored the scholar whose

work had awakened so many to the significance of their calling. Winding down through the dark woods, the cortege was met at sunrise by town officials (p. 310).

Similarly, Lowenthal provides fascinating insights into Marsh's life story by providing thorough historical context. Be it Marsh's early years in Vermont, his service in the U.S. Congress just prior to the Civil War, or his decades as the American envoy to Turkey and Italy, the reader finds rich descriptions of people, politics, and the passions of the times and places encountered. This meticulous attention to context is important to Lowenthal's thesis that "every aspect of Marsh's life is implicated" in his having written "an analysis that has revolutionized not just American but global awareness" (p. 310).

Lowenthal is masterful in weaving together the whole of Marsh's remarkable life: his wide-ranging scholarly interests, diverse personal experience, command of myriad languages, and unfailing ability to criticize and reverse himself in the light of new evidence and experience. "Reminded he had once held some contrary opinion, [Marsh] would say, 'A man who cares for the truth cannot afford to care for consistency'" (p. 290). The final two chapters of the book are in accord with this dictum, as Lowenthal attempts to put Marsh's contributions into contemporary perspective.

While he asserts that Marsh was "not primarily a crusader" (p. 391) nor an "environmentalist" (p. 392) because of his optimism and commitment to early conservation ideals, Lowenthal is clear that Marsh's basic maxims are no less valid today. He carefully dismantles the claims of some current environmentalists that Marsh was too "optimistic, utilitarian, technocratic, manipulative toward nature" (p. 416). Finally, he concludes that "Marsh's *Man and Nature* marked the inception of a truly modern way of looking at the world" (p. 429) and that "Marsh was the first to show that human actions had unintended consequences of unforeseeable magnitude" (p. 430).

No brief review of this remarkable book can do justice to the complex and fascinating portrait the author paints of a person ahead of his time, a man for all seasons. It must be read by anyone who cares about the future of the global environment and treasures the wisdom of the past as exemplified in Marsh's life and writing. For the Vermont reader, this book will elevate Marsh to the very top of the list of our state's heroes, unsung and celebrated alike.

CARL H. REIDEL

*Carl Reidel is professor emeritus of environmental studies at the University of Vermont, vice president for policy studies at the New England Environmental Policy Center, and former representative to the Vermont General Assembly from Addison County.*

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## *An Odd Kind of Fame: Stories of Phineas Gage*

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By Malcolm Macmillan (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 2000, pp. xiv, 562, \$39.95).

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The most loyal Vermont historian has to admit that aside from the births of several people who achieved prominence elsewhere, very few events of truly international significance have ever occurred in Vermont. But wait. There is one Vermont event that has made its way into many an introductory psychology textbook and certainly into the lore of neuroanatomy. It may well be the most truly historic thing ever to happen in Vermont. It is also among the least well understood.

In brief outline, here is what happened. On September 13, 1848, Phineas Gage, twenty-five-year-old foreman of a work crew at a Rutland and Burlington Railroad construction site in Cavendish, had placed a tamping iron in a boring in rock with a charge of explosive, and the explosive went off, driving the iron out of the hole and through Gage's head, entering the left cheek and emerging around the middle of the top. In modern neurosurgical terms, the iron bar performed a crude left frontal lobotomy.

Attention was first attracted to the accident in the newspapers and medical journals of the day by the fact that Gage survived. Under the care of local physicians, notably Dr. John Martyn Harlow, he weathered hemorrhage, infection, and seizures, and by early November was out and about, had clear memory of the accident, and, according to the incomplete measurements and reports made at the time, had lost no detectable sensory or motor function and no significant cognitive skills. He did, however, have a recognizable personality change. From being a well-organized and level-headed man of business, Gage became impetuous, unreliable, and—so some said in an era when this might have been noticeable—much more foul-mouthed than before. Occurring as it did in a time when the brain's neurological functions were first being localized to different cerebral structures, his injury helped advance understanding of brain structure-function relationships, particularly the role of the neurologically relatively "silent" frontal lobes. As we still read in psychology textbooks, the frontal lobes sit there behind your forehead and don't really seem to do much, but if you lose one, something doesn't work quite the same. Decades after Gage's time, neurosurgeons would try detaching frontal lobes, or portions of them, from the rest of the brain circuitry in an effort to treat severe depression and other mental illness.

Phineas Gage lived until 1860, able to do a number of jobs competently if not quite so responsibly as before. His death was brought on by seizures undoubtedly related to his injury. Some time after he died in California, his skull was exhumed and moved to the Warren Anatomical Museum at Harvard Medical School, where it still is kept with the original tamping iron.

At about the time that Cavendish was staging a gala event to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the Gage accident in 1998, Australian psychologist Malcolm Macmillan was climaxing years of combing the archives of Vermont, Massachusetts, California, and even Chile (where Gage lived briefly during his post-lobotomy years) for every shred and scintilla of evidence he could find about the circumstances of the injury, its precise anatomical, physiological, and psychological effects on Gage, and its role in future knowledge of neurophysiology, neurosurgery, and psychiatry. The result is the present book, which tells you in over five hundred pages more than you ever thought you wanted to know about Gage and his accident. It also tells you less than you thought you knew, because this is as detailed and thorough an example as you will ever see of the sort of historical study that asks the question, "How do we know what we think we know about this event?"

Macmillan discusses at least five threads of the story. (I list them not precisely in the order in which he takes them up.) First, is the basic narrative of Phineas Gage: who he was, what he was like before the accident, how the accident happened, what it did to his brain, how he was cared for afterward, and how his life and personality proceeded in his remaining dozen years. Clearly, we know far less about all of this than we would desire. Our understanding of Gage's personality prior to the accident is based on a few conclusions inferred from the type of work he did, plus a few words in Harlow's published accounts. Even with his skull available for study (including long-post-mortem CAT scans), we don't know exactly how his brain was injured. And we have very scanty evidence of his post-accident activities and personality. It is reasonably clear that he changed dramatically, but the contemporary case reports understandably lack the reproducible neuropsychological testing data that modern scientists might demand of such an account, and neither Gage's involvement with his medical caregivers nor their writing skill and style offer much insight. Macmillan does the best he can to tie down objective details of Gage's life, including correcting a frequently repeated error about his death date, but Phineas Gage left few documentary footprints.

Second, is the story of what was known or believed about brain function and localization before 1848 and how that knowledge advanced in

the century and a half since, with or without insights from the Gage episode. Macmillan's summary of this matter is interesting and relevant, but it is presented in language for which the adjectives dry and scholarly may understate the case. The reader who is not immersed in this branch of the history of science will not find this section of the book a very rousing read. (In Macmillan's defense, I should point out that he realizes this and so warns his readers in the introduction.) A prominent point made here is that there is no clear intellectual path between reports of the Gage injury in the medical literature and the development of the psychosurgical procedure of prefrontal lobotomy.

The third element is Dr. Harlow, under whose care Gage recovered, and whose accounts of the incident played a large role in bringing it to scholarly attention at the time and remain the most important primary source record of the events. The influence of Dr. Harlow's personality, training, and opinions, as well as those of others who reported on Gage (notably Henry Jacob Bigelow), are studied in relationship to their effects on our understanding of what happened. This account lapses into a few utter irrelevancies, including Harlow's genealogical lineage from an early Plymouth, Massachusetts, settler and the Civil War career of a soldier on whom he did an induction physical exam, but knowing something about Harlow does put his case reports in context. The book includes full facsimile reprints of his and Dr. Bigelow's reports, so the reader can see in detail what both men chose to tell the world about Gage. Publication of these rare resources is in itself a major service. We can agree with Macmillan that manuscript case notes would be a wonderful addition to this record; alas, none seem to have survived.

Fourth, the Gage story took on a mythological life of its own over 150 years, often emerging at variance from the truth in amusing ways. Among the crazier bits of misinformation to turn up from time to time was the notion that Gage lived for the rest of his years with the tamping iron lodged in his head. (The thing is about three feet seven inches long and an inch and a quarter in greatest diameter.) At a more intellectually subtle level, Macmillan discusses the degree to which retelling of the Gage story, like so many other historical narratives, has changed as times and philosophies have changed, being molded to suit the needs of the teller.

Finally, intertwined in the narration of all of these threads, is Macmillan's detective work uncovering them. For all of the fame the Gage injury may have had, no one has ever looked at it so carefully before. Macmillan's dogged search is greatly to be admired, but at times it intrudes unduly into the text of the story. "According to the Town Records of Lebanon in the New Hampshire State Archives in Concord, Jesse,

who fathered our Phineas, married Hannah Trussell Swetland of East Lebanon, New Hampshire, on 27 April 1823. This date is confirmed by records created by the Plummer-Wills families, now in the care of Robert Leavitt, and by C.V. Gage and Roberts" (pp. 15–16). This in the text of a book that also has thorough footnotes and a 49-page appendix with reference listings.

Beyond any doubt, anyone pretending to show expertise on the Phineas Gage story will now need to turn to this book as the bedrock of scholarly understanding of the episode and its consequences. The casual reader may yet wish for an easier road to understanding the subject.

JOHN A. LEPPMAN

*John A. Leppman is a practicing physician and a Vermont Historical Society trustee.*

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### *Through Hell and High Water in Barre, Vermont. 25 Eyewitness Accounts of the Flood of '27*

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*By Patricia W. Belding (Barre, Vt.: Potash Brook Publishing, 1998, pp. 114, paper, \$11.95).*

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Natural disasters have a way of becoming the benchmarks of local history. The "'27 Flood," as it has come to be known in Central Vermont, along with the flu epidemic of 1918–1919, are two events of the first half of the twentieth century that Central Vermonters use as reference points as time passes. Barre author Patricia ("Pat") Belding, during the months of February and March 1977, sought out survivors of the largest flood in the history of Central Vermont, and recorded the recollections of twenty-five people who lived through the frightening days of November 3rd and 4th, 1927. She transcribed the tapes, and has made the memories of local citizens the centerpiece of her well-organized and wonderfully convincing book about that fateful day. Of the twenty-five people she interviewed, all have now passed on.

The cause of the Barre flood was the joining of two storms over Central Vermont on November 3rd and 4th. In October, Central Vermont had experienced a 50 percent increase in rainfall and the rivers were already high; the ground was saturated with water. Then came a torrential

downpour of 8.63 inches in thirty-nine hours, which caused all the mountain streams and rivers to "burst their banks." Throughout Vermont, rivers including the Connecticut, White, Winooski, Otter Creek, Missisquoi, and Lamoille overflowed their banks. The Winooski River valley was hardest hit, and "totaled the greatest number of deaths. Houses, barns, livestock, cars and other debris were caught in the current and carried for miles" (p. 2).

Each of the twenty-five different voices, in telling their stories, provides unique insight into this moment in time. Gerald Cunningham recalls the tireless efforts of George Cruickshank, a ham radio operator, who for two days or more was Barre's only connection with the outside world. Cunningham's words make it possible for those living today to understand the kind of isolation the community experienced.

"Gene" Pierce, who nearly drowned himself, tells of the tragic deaths of Ralph Winter and Gerald Brock in the basement of Roger's store. Pierce recalls, "And gee, two nicer fellows never lived . . . never lived" (p. 8).

Rose Sassone's recollections, leading up to the birth of son Vincent, are fascinating reading. The birth finally took place in a caretaker's cottage behind Goddard Seminary. Sassone's words ring true, in a manner not possible from a second-hand account.

Up and down Main Street small businessmen and their employees sought ways to help one another. Each story brings the Barre community to life in the mind of the reader, and we learn not only of the tragedy, but also of the sense of community that existed at the time.

Humor, pathos, and curiosities are present in each of the individual stories. For those of us just slightly removed from this time, the voices of the people come alive again, with clarity and authenticity. The flood was vivid in the minds of members of my family while I was growing up in Barre. The stories of the flood were told so often that upon reading Pat Belding's book I found myself revisiting events with which I was quite familiar, though I was not born until several years after the flood occurred.

With a superb collection of photos, most of them new to me, Belding has put a human face on the "'27 Flood.'" Over seventy photographs are interspersed throughout the book; almost all are exceptionally clear. Photographer Howard Rockwood took the majority of the pictures, though some were made by "unknown photographers." All have now found their way into the Aldrich Public Library's photo archives.

Patricia Belding is a retired librarian who has lived in Barre with photographer husband John and son Russell since 1963. Her book on the '27 Flood is a major contribution to the history of Barre. It is a first-

class work that will be read for many years, and one that local historians will treasure for all time.

THOMAS C. DAVIS

*Tom Davis was the Director of U.S. Senator Patrick Leahy's Vermont office for fourteen years. A former Vice President of the Vermont Historical Society, he will be publishing Out from Depot Square, an anecdotal history of Barre, in the summer of 2001.*

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## *Northern Comfort: New England's Early Quilts*

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By Lynne Z. Bassett and Jack Larkin (Nashville, Tenn.: Rutledge Hill Press, 1998, pp. 118, paper, \$19.95).

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In the spring of 1998, Old Sturbridge Village in Massachusetts hosted a conference on the topic, "What's New England about New England Quilts?" During the day-long workshop, participants listened to papers on subjects ranging from quilt block styles to diary references about quilts to textile manufacturing. Representatives from each of the New England states also reported on the results of their statewide quilt documentation projects. The speakers and participants agreed that there is, indeed, something distinctive about New England's quilts.

By good fortune, the book that is the subject of this review had just been published and was available at the conference. Written by two members of the OSV staff, Director of Research Jack Larkin and Curator of Textiles and Fine Arts Lynne Bassett, the book delves into most of the topics covered by the conference. It draws upon the museum's collection of nearly two hundred and fifty early (1780–1850) New England quilts, plus thirty-two published and manuscript diaries, to trace the history of New England quilting and the differences that set the region apart from the rest of the United States.

American quilting came from England, whose model American women followed for two centuries. While it is probable that the first settlers brought quilts with them, Pilgrim mothers did *not* piece quilts during the "Mayflower" crossing—nor for more than a century following it. Indeed, New England's first quilts were not pieced at all, and were certainly not cotton—they were whole cloth (all one piece of plain fabric), and wool. Prior to the 1750s, most quilts were imported from En-

gland, and were the work of professionals in the upholstery trade—male master quilters, working with poorly paid female helpers.

Textiles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were expensive, as estate inventories plainly indicate, and such quilting as took place on the stony soil of New England was the pastime of the well-to-do. The idea that American quilts had always been made to use up leftovers from other sewing projects became current around the time of the Centennial celebration, when quilting and quilting parties became a “picturesque symbol of an idealized past in which everyone was hard-working, cooperative, frugal, and productive” (p. 113).

An estate inventory in 1633 is the earliest reference to “bed quilts” (as opposed to quilted petticoats or underskirts, which were also called “quilts”), although no documented seventeenth-century American quilts survive; the earliest quilt to bear a date on its surface was made in 1785, and is pieced wool. Few quilts were made in New England before 1750, and few were fashioned of imported wool or silk; in the words of the authors, these were “items of conspicuous display and symbols of wealth” (p. 11), and were reserved for upper-class households.

Even so, wool quilts were imported in large numbers through the end of the eighteenth century, interrupted only by the American Revolution. When quilted petticoats and whole cloth quilts fell out of fashion in England around 1800, exports of those items to America stopped, though the British continued to sell the fine wool yardage needed to make quilts. (When New England mills began producing wool cloth of a comparable quality, it was due in large part to Consul William Jarvis of Weathersfield, Vermont, who imported the first large flock of Merino sheep, with their long-fibered wool, about 1810.)

As New England mills started producing printed cotton fabrics in the late 1820s, the look and texture of the region’s quilts changed. Cottons were expensive at first, so their use was confined to wealthier families, but as the price came down, the vast array of printed fabrics became available to greater numbers of women, with the result that more and more quilts were made. However, tens of thousands of yards of expensive French and English cottons also poured into this country well into the mid-nineteenth century, much of it ending up in quilts.

American quilting began to diverge from the British pattern with the advent of mass-produced cotton goods, and by the mid-nineteenth century, American quilting no longer resembled its British progenitor. American women branched out from hexagons into squares, triangles and diamonds; they used the running stitch to sew their pieces together, abandoning the time-consuming method of sewing every piece onto a separate paper template, and then joined the smaller sections to-

gether in blocks and strips, further speeding the process. They cut the corners out of their square or rectangular quilts to make them fit without bunching around the posts on their four-poster beds. By about 1810, they began making white whole cloth quilts modeled on the so-called Marseilles coverlets loomed in France; they began to tie, rather than quilt, some of their quilts by the 1820s; and they took up appliqué in the late 1830s, following the lead of quiltmakers in Pennsylvania and Maryland. By 1850, a distinctly American style of quiltmaking had emerged, with differences from region to region.

The authors of *Northern Comfort* plainly know their subject matter well; the book is both informative and entertaining. It is lavishly illustrated, with seventy-three plates, of which thirty-six show complete quilts. The bibliography is extensive, and the text is well footnoted.

*Northern Comfort* should be on the shelf of anyone interested in quilts, folk art, or New England's textile history.

RICHARD L. CLEVELAND

*Richard L. Cleveland of Northfield is chairman of the Vermont Quilt Festival, a member of the Vermont Quiltsearch documentation team, and co-author, with Donna Bister, of Plain and Fancy: Vermont's People and Their Quilts.*

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## Recent Additions to the Vermont Historical Society Library

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### BOOKS

- \*Berkeley, Ellen Perry, ed., *At Grandmother's Table: Women Write about Food, Life, and the Enduring Bond between Grandmothers and Granddaughters*. Minneapolis, Minn.: Fairview Press, 2000. 298 p. List: \$24.95. Includes Vermonters.
- Bort, Mary Hard, ed., *Art and Soul: The History of the Southern Vermont Arts Center*. Manchester, Vt.: Southern Vermont Arts Center, 2000. 142 p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 617, Manchester, VT 05254. List: \$23.95 (paper).
- \*Brattleboro Historical Society, *Brattleboro*. Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2000. 128 p. List: \$18.99 (paper). Mostly photographs.
- Brunning, Benjamin, *Memories of Glover: Reminiscences of a Mid-Nineteenth Century Vermont Village*. Glover, Vt.: Glover Historical Society, 2000. 32 p. Source: The publisher, 1225 Perron Hill, Glover, VT 05146. List: Unknown (paper).
- \*Bryan, Frank, and Bill Mares, *The Vermont Owner's Manual*. Shelburne, Vt.: New England Press, 2000. 124 p. List: \$12.95 (paper).
- Clifford, George E., *Lake Champlain Lighthouses: An Illustrated Guide to the Historic Beacons*. Plattsburgh, N.Y.: Cumberland Head Tomorrow, 1999. 32 p. Source: Clinton County Historical Association, 3 Cumberland Ave., Plattsburgh, NY 12901. List: \$4.95 (paper).

- \*Coolidge, Calvin, edited by Peter Hannaford, *The Quotable Calvin Coolidge: Sensible Words for a New Century*. Bennington, Vt.: Images from the Past, 2001. 183 p. List: \$19.50 (paper).
- Cross, Coy F., *Justin Smith Morrill: Father of the Land-Grant Colleges*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999. 159 p. List: \$34.95. U.S. Senator from Vermont.
- \*Duffy, John J., and Vincent Feeney, *Vermont, an Illustrated History*. American Historical Press, 2000. 296 p. List: \$32.95. Updated edition of book first published in 1985.
- Edwards, Janice Bruso, *A Biographical History of Ephraim George Squier, 1839 Alumnus of Troy Conference Academy: Journalist, Author, Diplomat, Archeologist, Charge D'affaires to Central America, United States Commissioner to Peru*. Poultney, Vt.: J. B. Edwards, 2000. i-ii, 25, a-d p.; 29 cm. Source: The author, 60 Norton Ave., Poultney, VT 05764-1029. List: \$8.40 (paper).
- Edwards, Janice Bruso, *A Biographical History of Julia Caroline (Ripley) Dorr, Alumna, Troy Conference Academy, 1843, Poultney, Vermont: Authoress, Poetess and Vermont Resident*. Poultney, Vt.: The author, 2000. 60 p. Source: The author, 60 Norton Ave., Poultney, VT 05764-1029. List: \$12.50 (paper).
- Edwards, Janice Bruso, *A Biography of George Jones (August 16, 1811–August 12, 1891), Co-founder, the "New York Times": A First Generation American of Welsh Descent and Native of Poultney, Vermont, U.S.A.* Poultney, Vt.: The author. 2000. Source: The author, 60 Norton Ave., Poultney, VT 05764-1029. List: \$10.50 (paper).
- Fels, Tom, *Poets & Pioneers: 50 Lives in the History of Bennington*. Bennington, Vt.: Bennington Bicentinquagenary Committee, 1999. 48 p. Source: The Bennington Museum, West Main St., Bennington, VT 05201. List: \$5.00 (paper).
- Gage, Royce. *Bygone Years of Rochester*. Rochester, Vt.: The author, 1999. 77 p. Source: The author, 38 Rock Garden Terrace, Rochester, VT 05767. List: Donation (paper).
- Green, J. J., *The Diary of J. J. Green: A Daily Record of the Year 1885 in and around Newfane, Vermont, Describing Events and Conditions in the Community, by a Stationmaster on the West River Railroad*. Newfane, Vt.: Historical Society of Windham County, 1999. 108 p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 246, Newfane, VT 05345. List: \$17.50 (paper).
- \*Ham, Dolores E., *Caledonia County*. Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2000. 128 p. List: \$18.99 (paper). Mostly photographs.

- \*Jaspersohn, William, *The Two Brothers*. Middlebury, Vt.: Vermont Folklife Center, 2000. 32 p. List: \$14.95. Children's book based on true story of immigrant brothers in Vermont.
- Lakeview Union School Sixth Grade, *Greensboro, Then . . . and Now*. Greensboro, Vt.: Lakeview Union School, 2000. Unpaginated. Source: Lakeview Union School, Greensboro, VT 05841. List: Unknown (paper).
- \*Medearis, Michael, and Angela Shelf Medearis, *Daisy and the Doll*. Middlebury, Vt.: Vermont Folklife Center, 2000. 32 p. List: \$14.95. Children's book based on life of Daisy Turner of Grafton, Vt.
- Moore, Vivian M., *Along the North Road*. Sharon, Vt.: The author, 2000. Unpaginated. Source: The author, 107 Fales Farm Road, RFD #2, Box 236, South Royalton, VT 05068. List: Unknown (paper). Story of a French-Canadian family's move from Massachusetts to Barnard in 1919.
- \*Newman, Lea Bertani Vozar, *Robert Frost: The People, Places, and Stories behind His New England Poetry*. Shelburne, Vt.: New England Press, 2000. 139 p. List: 14.95 (paper). Mostly New Hampshire.
- Parsons, Cynthia, *The Discoverer: Mary Baker Eddy*. Chester, Vt.: Vermont Schoolhouse Press, 2000. 132 p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 516, Chester, VT 05143. List: Unknown (paper). Eddy was in Vermont for a time.
- Raphael, Matthew J., *Bill W. and Mr. Wilson: The Legend and Life of A. A.'s Cofounder*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000. 206 p. List: \$24.95. Biography of William Griffith Wilson (Bill W.), cofounder of Alcoholics Anonymous, who was born in East Dorset, Vt.
- \*Richardson, Frederick W., *Nineteenth Century Springfield from an Agricultural to Industrial Community: A Narrative. A Study of the Development of Industrial Springfield and Those Who Made It So*. Springfield, Vt.: Springfield Printing Corp., 2000. 381 p. List: \$29.00.
- \*Sherman, Joe, *Fast Lane on a Dirt Road: A Contemporary History of Vermont*. White River Junction, Vt.: Chelsea Green Pub. Co., 2000. 247 p. List: \$16.95 (paper). Updated edition of book first published in 1991.
- Smith, Sybil Watts, comp., *Index to About Burlington Vermont by Charles E. Allen (1905)*. Burlington, Vt.: Fletcher Free Library, 2000. Source: Fletcher Free Library, 235 College St., Burlington, VT 05401. List: Unknown (paper).
- Smith, Sybil Watts, comp., *Index to Burlington, Vt. as a Manufacturing, Business, and Commercial Center, (1889)*. Burlington, Vt.: Fletcher

- Free Library, 2000. Source: Fletcher Free Library, 235 College St., Burlington, VT 05401. List: Unknown (paper).
- Smith, Sybil Watts, comp., *Index to Picturesque Burlington by Joseph Auld* (1893). Burlington, Vt.: Fletcher Free Library, 2000. Source: Fletcher Free Library, 235 College St., Burlington, VT 05401. List: Unknown (paper).
- Smith, Sybil Watts, comp., *Index to Picturesque Burlington, Second Edition, by Joseph Auld* (1894). Burlington, Vt.: Fletcher Free Library, 2000. Source: Fletcher Free Library, 235 College St., Burlington, VT 05401. List: Unknown (paper).
- Thompson, Elizabeth H., and Eric R. Sorenson, *Wetland, Woodland, Wildland: A Guide to the Natural Communities of Vermont*. Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2000. 454 p. List: \$19.95.
- \*Vermont State Nurses' Association, *Voices of Vermont Nurses: Nursing in Vermont, 1941–1996*. South Burlington, Vt.: Vermont State Nurses' Association, 2000. 426 p. List: \$25.00 (paper).
- \*Zaremba, Robert E., and Danielle R. Jeanloz, *Around Middlebury*. Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2000. 128 p. List: \$18.99. Mostly photographs.

#### ARTICLES

- Barker, Andrew S., "Chauncey Langdon Knapp and Political Abolitionism in Vermont, 1833–1841," *New England Quarterly*, 73, 3 (September 2000): 434–462. Knapp was from Montpelier.
- Blackwell, Marilyn Schultz, "Keeping the 'Household Machine' Running: Attendant Nursing and Social Reform in the Progressive Era," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 74, 2 (Summer 2000): 241–264. Focuses on the Thompson Trust and Brattleboro Mutual Aid Association.
- Vermont Bar Association, "The First 100 Women: The View from a Few," *Vermont Bar Journal*, 26, 2 (June 2000). Issue celebrating first women in the legal profession in Vermont.

#### GENEALOGY

- Alexander, Wayne Henry, ed., *Town of Glover, Orleans County, Vermont, Federal Census for the Years 1800–1810–1820–1830–1840, with an Alphabetized Index to All the Years*. Glover, Vt.: Glover Historical Society, 2000. 46 p. Source: The publisher, 1225 Peron Hill, Glover, VT 05839. List: \$20.00 (spiral bound).
- Bowman, Elisabeth Lovell, *Alexander Lovell Genealogy: The Ancestors and Descendants of Alexander Lovell of Medfield, Massachu-*

- setts, 1619–1709*. Baltimore, Md.: Gateway Press, 2000. 889 p. Source: The author, 12 Leone Road, Toms River, NJ 08755-6321. List: Unknown. Includes Lovells of Rockingham, Vt.
- Cemetery Documentation Project*. Waterbury, Vt.: Waterbury Genealogy Quest, 2001. Unpaginated. Source: Elaine Snow, 891 Ripley Road, Waterbury Ctr., VT 05677. List: Unknown (paper). Inventories of the cemeteries of Waterbury and Duxbury, Vt.
- Dryfhout, John, *This Land of Pure Delight: Charles C. Beaman and Blowmedown Farm*. Cornish, N.H.: Augustus Saint-Gaudens Memorial, 2000. 127 p. Source: Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, RR 3, Box 73, Cornish, NH 03745. List: Unknown (limited edition). Story of a Cornish, N.H., family with Vermont connections.
- Hance, Dawn D., and Joann H. Nichols, *Extracts from the Rutland Weekly Herald and the Vermont Courier, 1808–1810; 1811–1815; 1816–1820*. Brattleboro, Vt.: The compilers, 2000. Three vols., various paginations. Source: Joann H. Nichols, 110 Chestnut Street, Brattleboro, VT 05301-6579. List: \$17.50 each. First three volumes of a projected multi-volume set.
- Howe, Marjorie Valliere, comp., *Gravestone Inscriptions of Locust Ridge Cemetery, Brattleboro, Windham Co., Vt.* Williamsville, Vt.: The compiler, 1999. 62 p. Source: The compiler, 19 Howe Rd., Williamsville, VT 05362. List: Unknown (paper).
- Howe, Marjorie Valliere, comp., *Gravestone Listings of Prospect Hill Cemetery, Brattleboro, Vt.* Williamsville, Vt.: The compiler, 2000. 209 p. Source: The compiler, 19 Howe Road, Williamsville, VT 05362. List: Unknown (paper).
- Howe, Marjorie Valliere, comp., *A Record of Burials at the Vermont Asylum, Later Known as the Brattleboro Retreat, 1837–1900*. Williamsville, Vt.: The compiler, 1999. 55 p. Source: The compiler, 19 Howe Rd., Williamsville, VT 05362. List: Unknown (paper).
- Marsh, William Hayden, comp., *The Lineage and Descendancy of Stephen Harrington of Sharon, Vermont*. Wescosville, Penn.: The compiler, 2000. 116 p. Source: The compiler, 6058 Fairway Lane, Wescosville, PA 18106-9609. List: Unknown (spiral bound).
- Mission of Norton Mills, Vermont, Marriages, Baptisms, Burials: February, 1888 to September, 1955*. Manchester, N.H.: American-Canadian Genealogical Society, 1999. 48, 84, 26 p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 6478, Manchester, NH 03108-6478. List: \$25.00 (paper).
- Morse, Robert H., comp., *Waterbury Cemetery Inscriptions, Washington County, Vermont*. Plainfield, Vt.: The compiler, 2000. 213 p. Source: The compiler, 550 Coburn Rd., Plainfield, VT 05667. List: \$25.00 (spiral bound).

- Murphy, Robert M., comp., *Maplewood Cemetery, Barre Town, Vermont*. Barre, Vt.: The compiler, 2000. 26 p. Source: The compiler, 35 Birchwood Park Drive, Barre, VT 05641. List: Unknown (paper).
- Simonds, Grace, comp., *A Complete Listing of the Stones in the Whiting Cemetery in Whiting, Vermont*. Whiting, Vt.: The compiler, 2000. 44 p. Source: The compiler, 29 South Main St., Whiting, VT 05778. List: Unknown (paper).
- Smith, Anne Kendall, and Stuart E. Smith, comps., *Vital Statistics from St. Johnsbury Caledonian*. Danville, Vt.: The compilers, 2000. Various paginations. Source: The compilers, 3033 Vt. Route 15, West Danville, VT 05873. List: Approximately \$16.00 each. (spiral bound). Projected 12-volume set will cover the period 1860–1918.
- Tucker, Rebecca Woodbury, comp., *Cemetery Inscriptions in Ludlow, Vermont*. Perkinsville, Vt.: The compiler, 2000. 387 p. Source: The compiler, 2236 Route 106, Perkinsville, VT 05151. List: \$27.00 (spiral bound).
- White, Joyce Anne, comp., *Descendants of Sylvester and Sarah (Kinney) White of Georgia, Vermont*. Burlington, Vt.: The compiler, 2000. 630 p. Source: The compiler, 3222 Cochran Rd., Richmond, VT 05477. List: Unknown.
- Wise, Richard, comp., *The Ancestors of Some Early Settlers of Montpelier, Vt.*, Portland, Maine: The compiler, 1999. 62 p. Source: The compiler, 16 Heather Rd., Portland, ME 04103. List: Unknown (paper).
- Wood, Janet Rust, comp., *Descendants of Henry Rust and Allied Families: Genealogy of 12 Generations*. Essex Junction, Vt.: The compiler, 1999. 52 p. Source: The compiler, 31 Mansfield Ave., Essex Junction, VT 05452. List: Unknown (spiral bound).
- Wood, Janet Rust, comp., *Descendants of William MacDonald and Allied Families: Genealogy of 7 Generations*, Essex Junction, Vt.: The compiler, 1999. 31 p. Source: The compiler, 31 Mansfield Ave., Essex Junction, VT 05452. List: Unknown (spiral bound).
- Wood, Janet Rust, comp., *Descendants of William Wood and Allied Families: Genealogy of 13 Generations*, Essex Junction, Vt.: The compiler, 1999. 50 p. Source: The compiler, 31 Mansfield Ave., Essex Junction, VT 05452. List: Unknown (spiral bound).

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