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VERMONT HISTORY

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In This Issue

About The Contributors

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Waldo H. Heinrichs Jr. is the son of the Waldo H. Heinrichs about whom he writes in this article. A fifteen-year-old at the time, he accompanied his father on several of the speaking trips mentioned here. He became a historian of American foreign relations, and wrote, among other works, *Threshold of War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Entry into World War II* (1988). Now retired, he lives in Shoreham, Vermont.

Seth Storrs, Congregationalism, and the Founding of Middlebury College

The role of Seth Storrs in the founding of Middlebury College has not been given much attention; it is time to give him his long-due recognition.

By ROBERT L. FERM

On November 1, 2000, Middlebury College celebrated the two hundredth anniversary of its charter. During its history Middlebury College has suffered through some dark times, yet it has survived and become a thriving institution in American higher education. Debts are owed to those who had the vision for this college in Vermont's wilderness, and to those benefactors during its history who supported its existence and made survival possible.[1]

The recent year-long celebration of the college's bicentennial gave primary attention to the roles of the local entrepreneur, Gamaliel Painter (1742–1819), and Timothy Dwight (1752–1817), the president of Yale College. Painter was described as the founder of the college and recognition of that is evidenced in the bestowal of a replica of Painter's walking stick to every graduate of the college at commencement and to alumni who return for their class reunions. The importance of Dwight's visit to Middlebury to confer with town officials and give his blessing to the hopes for a college in the village was noted by a group of runners who retraced Dwight's journey from New Haven, Connecticut, to Middlebury. This further look at the period of the founding has led to a different perspective on the college's origin.

This essay addresses three themes that supplement the previous historiography and focus on material not covered in earlier accounts. First: Middlebury College was founded and led by Congregationalists who resided in the town; it was not tied to a denomination because of the distinctive nature of Congregational polity. Second: The Congregation-

alism represented in Middlebury at that time was part of the school of thought known as the New Divinity. Third: Seth Storrs deserves recognition as the individual who had the idea for Middlebury College and also as one of the central benefactors in the very early years of its life.

The Town's College

Every college that was founded by Congregationalists was a "Town's College," because of the nature of Congregational polity, i.e., their distinctive form of church government. The story of the founding of Yale College is illustrative. The charter for Yale was granted in 1701 but there was no agreement on where the college would be located. During its first fifteen years three communities vied for its physical presence: Wethersfield, Saybrook, and New Haven. Wethersfield had the students; Saybrook had the library; New Haven finally won out with the land and a building. The controversy was fierce and even led to a group from Saybrook attempting to ambush the caravan carrying books from Saybrook to New Haven; many books were destroyed. But had the final choice been Saybrook or Wethersfield, Yale would still have been the town's college and the area's college. The same is true of Dartmouth College (1769), Williams College (1793), Bowdoin College (1794), Amherst College (1825), Oberlin College (1834), Grinnell College (1847), and Pomona College (1887). In each case a group of Congregationalists got together to replicate for their town or region the example of Harvard or Yale.

The establishment of these Congregational colleges was unlike the process used by the Presbyterians at Princeton (then known as the College of New Jersey, 1746), Transylvania College (1783), Dickinson College (1783), or Allegheny College (1817). Those colleges were founded by an ecclesiastical governing body of the Presbyterian Church, namely a synod. Similarly, the Episcopal colleges—such as Columbia College (1787) and Trinity College (Hartford, 1823)—and Dutch Reformed colleges—such as Queens College (1766, later Rutgers)—and German Reformed colleges—such as Franklin College (1787, later Franklin and Marshall)—all had ecclesiastical sanction. Because of their polity structure, that is, their decentralized church organization and government, the Congregationalists were different from other denominations; they did not have a tie to a denomination and by definition were not "sectarian." The term "Town's College" can lead to the assumption that Middlebury College was unique in that respect; such is simply not the case.

The Nature of Congregationalism

The issues that shaped the development of Congregationalism in New England need some attention in order to understand the context

for Congregationalism in Middlebury at the time of the college's founding. Congregationalism developed out of the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century in Switzerland, led by John Calvin and Ulrich Zwingli. Calvinism splintered in the years following the deaths of these two major figures and prompted some fierce theological warfare. It was never a unified whole and took different forms in Switzerland, the Netherlands, England, Scotland, and in the colonies in the New World. Most of the Congregationalists or "Puritans" of the seventeenth and early eighteenth century in New England were theologically rooted in the form of Calvinism known as Covenant Theology; they read not only the works of John Calvin but equally important the tracts of William Ames, John Preston, William Perkins, and others who brought a subtle change to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Calvinism. The covenant theologians emphasized the biblical covenant and insisted that fallen man needed to make a response to the saving grace of God in the working out of human redemption.

The covenant theologians were not, however, Arminians. The term Arminian comes to the fore in the second decade of the seventeenth century as a result of a dispute among Calvinists over divine sovereignty and human responsibility. Specifically, it is derived from Jacob Arminius, who represented a group of Calvinists against a group called the Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort in 1619. The Remonstrants, in brief, argued against the hard-line Calvinists by saying that the human being is not totally depraved, that election is conditioned by human response, that the atoning work of Christ is for all, not just the elect, that the grace of God is resistible—one can fall from grace—and that the saints (elect) will not necessarily persevere. The Remonstrants were condemned at the Synod of Dort; Arminius, who was to be their prosecutor, converted to their softening of Calvinism—thus Arminianism. So in the seventeenth century in Europe three broad groups of "Calvinists" were developing (leave out for now the Scottish Presbyterians): John Calvin Calvinists, the Covenant Theologians, and the Arminians.

Issues of church polity also divided the "Puritans" in the colonies. Those at Salem believed themselves to be still tied to the mother church in England; they came to America to reform the Church of England. To the Anglicans, the locus of authority resided in the bishop, archbishop, king, or queen. To some Congregationalists authority was vested in the local congregation; to others a group of Congregationalists or a Consociation (similar to a Presbytery, the authoritative structure in Presbyterianism) was dominant. Soon after their arrival in New England the Congregationalists struggled to define the "full" members of the church/congregation and this issue persisted throughout the sev-

enteenth and eighteenth centuries and was even apparent in the Congregational Church in Middlebury at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1648 the "full" members of the church were defined in the Cambridge Platform as those who were orthodox in belief, free from gross and open scandals, and who gave a public testimony of their regeneration. But not all among the new generations could meet those tests and therefore many could not be baptized, or cleansed from the guilt of original sin. Thus, the Half-Way Covenant of 1662 was adopted which allowed the children of unregenerate parents to be baptized. In 1677 Solomon Stoddard, pastor of the church in Northampton, Massachusetts, and the grandfather of Jonathan Edwards, argued as a Calvinist that no one can tell who is regenerate so everyone should be allowed to come into the church (as long as they are orthodox and free from gross and open scandal) and take the Lord's Supper as a means of regeneration.

Later, in the 1740s and beyond, Jonathan Edwards and his successors, the New Divinity, sought to return to the stricter requirements of the Cambridge Platform and required public testimony of regeneration, even from those who were already members of the church. The result was Edwards' dismissal from the Northampton Church, where he had become the minister upon Stoddard's death in 1729. The exiled pastor assumed a small mission church in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, and in 1758 served briefly as president of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). Precisely the same happened to his namesake, Jonathan Edwards the Younger, pastor of the White Haven Church in New Haven, Connecticut, who was exiled to Colebrook, Connecticut, in 1795 and in 1801 became president of Union College in Schenectady, New York.

By the time of the Great Awakening in the mid-1730s and early 1740s three theological groups co-existed within New England Congregationalism. The New Divinity, sometimes called the "consistent Calvinists," were disciples of Jonathan Edwards; they were supporters of the Great Awakening and its revivalistic measures. In the middle were the heirs of Covenant Theology, who were the opponents of Edwards and the New Divinity. The third group was the Arminians, who were now taking over Anglicanism and making inroads in New England Congregationalism. Congregationalism was not a unified whole; there were deep, passionate divisions.

In part the conflict was marked by the geographical bifurcation of New England, with the Connecticut River as the dividing line. Those towns to the west of the river tended to be dominated by the New Divinity, namely Samuel Hopkins in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, Joseph Bellamy in Bethlehem, Connecticut, Jonathan Edwards the

Younger in New Haven, Connecticut, and Levi Hart in Preston, Connecticut. The moderate Calvinists were scattered on both sides of the river. The Arminians were gaining notoriety in eastern Massachusetts. Carl Bridenbaugh, in his grand study of the rise of the city, remarked that intellectually the distance between Boston and London was far less than the distance between Boston and the frontier villages, such as Northampton.[2]

An important reason why the New Divinity clergy became a force to be reckoned with in the remainder of the eighteenth century was how they received their theological education.[3] Students were admitted to Yale for collegiate education at the age of thirteen, after having been trained by their local pastor in Greek, Latin, and classical literature. Normally those graduates who wished to become physicians or lawyers would be apprenticed to a particular individual. The same was true of prospective clergy because there were no Congregational theological seminaries until 1808. After four years at Yale, those who chose to study for the ministry did so in one of the "schools for prophets" run by a settled clergyman. Those disciples of Edwards mentioned before—Hopkins, Bellamy, Edwards the Younger, Levi Hart—attracted a number of students. Joseph Bellamy, for example, trained sixty fledging clergymen whose names are known, and probably a score more.

Though these "schools for prophets" existed before the eighteenth century, they were not widespread until after the Great Awakening. The reason, apparently, is the divisive effect the Awakening had on New England churches; the revivals divided congregations along theological and ecclesiastical lines and prompted the formation of new congregations. For example, in New Haven, Connecticut, by the time the fervor of the 1740s was fully spent, three Congregational Churches were situated on the town green. Though it is difficult to place a particular parson in a particular school of thought because not all wrote tracts or published sermons, most ministers who had a "school" were part of the New Divinity tradition and had been supporters, in varying degrees, of the "enthusiasms" of the revivals. These teachers sought to guide carefully the doctrinal development of their students, to nurture their individual religious fervor, to instill in them the need to be concerned about the state of the souls of their future congregations, and to make them vigilant about the currents of heresy infiltrating the Connecticut Valley—namely Arianism, Arminianism, and Deism. (The Boston area had already shown signs of succumbing to the winds of dissension emanating from the motherland and those blessed Anglicans.) In brief, then, the effects of the Awakening lingered throughout most of the remainder of the eighteenth century and the "schools" tended to

sharpen the divisions within New England theology and nurture the religious fervor and theological position of the new generation of clergy, largely those of New Divinity persuasion.

Those clergy who were trained by the New Divinity Calvinists dominated the western Connecticut, western Massachusetts, and Vermont churches, and the third generation of this group was still evident at the end of the eighteenth century and into the early years of the nineteenth century. New Divinity clergy became founding presidents at Williams, Middlebury, Hamilton, and Amherst Colleges. For example, at Williams, founded in 1793, New Divinity sentiments were held by its early presidents: Ebenezer Fitch (1793–1815), Zephaniah Swift Moore (1815–1821), and Edward Dorr Griffin (1821–1836). A recent historian of Williams has written: "From the highest reaches of the presidency and board of trustees to the student body, (Jonathan) Edwards's second, third, and fourth generation disciples shaped the religious character of Williams College. For forty years, they read New Divinity works, taught New Divinity theology, discoursed in New Divinity language, behaved in New Divinity ways, and promoted New Divinity revivals."[4] Seth Swift, pastor of the Congregational Church in Williamstown, was trained by Joseph Bellamy; his brother Job Swift, pastor of the church in nearby Bennington and later in Addison, Vermont, had studied with Jonathan Edwards the Younger; Benjamin Wooster had settled as pastor in Cornwall, Vermont, in 1794 and studied with Jonathan Edwards the Younger; John Barnet, the first pastor of the Middlebury Congregational Church, studied theology with Edwards the Younger; his successor Jeremiah Atwater studied with Timothy Dwight, the grandson of Edwards and his disciple; and Thomas Merrill, who was pastor at Middlebury from 1805–1842, had studied theology with Asa Burton, one of the most conservative Calvinists around. The list could go on.

In 1800 there were sixty Congregational Churches in Vermont with settled pastors.[5] Of those sixty, twenty-five graduated from Yale, thirteen from Dartmouth, eight from Harvard, three from Princeton (College of New Jersey), and two from Brown. The background of eight are unknown. Of the fifty-two college graduates, thirty-five had known theological tutors, twenty-two of whom were trained by New Divinity clergy; only one could be identified as an Arminian (i.e., a liberal). Another student has made a list of Arminian New England clergy (largely settled in eastern Massachusetts) in this period; of sixty individuals, every one graduated from Harvard. Of twenty-two others he listed as New Divinity, none were graduates of Harvard; they were primarily Yale alumni, with a couple of Dartmouth degrees.[6]

The New Divinity ethos was clearly the dominant strain in the theo-

logical preparation of most Vermont clergy. We have no way of determining what the laity believed; no Gallup or Roper polls existed. But the "Confession of Faith," the "Covenant," and "The Articles of Discipline" that were adopted by the Middlebury Congregation at its founding in 1790 were Calvinistic documents. In 1809 the "Confession of Faith" was altered and words favored by New Divinity theology were inserted, words describing human nature as possessing a "moral inability" other than to continue "impenitent." New Divinity sentiments were part of the religious culture of Middlebury.

Seth Storrs

The role of Seth Storrs in the founding of Middlebury College has not been given much attention; it is time to give him his long-due recognition. Storrs was born on January 24, 1756, in Mansfield not far from New Haven, Connecticut, and a few miles from what became Storrs, Connecticut.[7] He entered Yale College in 1774 and graduated in 1778,

Seth Storrs (artist and date unknown). Courtesy of the Henry Sheldon Museum of Vermont History, Middlebury, Vermont.

the year that Ezra Stiles became president. Thomas Clap was president of Yale during Storrs' years in New Haven and was not sympathetic with the new winds of theological change. He even chastised a group of seniors at Yale for soliciting funds to reprint Locke's *Essay on Toleration* and refused to graduate them until they publicly confessed their sin. Stiles was much more hospitable to the newer currents of thought and even added works of Deists to the Yale library during his presidency. Timothy Dwight was one of Storrs' tutors at Yale and they became close, life-long friends. (Stiles and Dwight did not get along; in fact, Dwight thought he should have been made president of Yale instead of Stiles. Dwight was in the New Divinity group and Stiles was an Old Calvinist which illustrates the theological division within Congregationalism.)

After his graduation from Yale Storrs was invited by Dwight to join him and another graduate of Yale, Joel Barlow, in a preparatory school Dwight was forming in Northampton. The school began in 1778–79 and Storrs remained with Dwight at Northampton until 1783. Any records of this school have been lost; in fact the reference librarians at the Northampton Historical Society and the Forbes Library in Northampton had never heard of it. There are, however, too many sources that refer to it to doubt its existence. After 1783 Storrs kept in touch with Dwight, either by letter or periodic visits.

When Dwight moved to Greenfield Hills, Connecticut, in 1783 to assume a pastorate and found another preparatory school, Storrs initially spent some time in New York City with his friend Mason Cogswell, who became a noted surgeon in Hartford, Connecticut. Then he moved in 1784 to Bennington, Vermont, to study law with Noah Smith, who had been in his class at Yale. Smith later became state's attorney in Bennington County. Sometime in the next three years Storrs was admitted to the bar.

Only a few letters that Storrs wrote during this period in Bennington, 1784–1787, are extant. These reveal a man of humor, education, and humility. One letter conveys his regret that he has not heard from his friends in New York City. He had a knack for letting his feelings known and in so doing he also revealed something about his own convictions.

Bennington 9th June 1786 To: A. Prosper Wetmore
Mr. Mason Cogswell,
Queen St. No. 219
New York

A couple of pretty Lads! to be so altogether engrossed by whirligigs and phantasies and phlibbertgibbets, that with all my writing, talking, thinking, & dreaming about you, I have been able to get only a

line from each of you for nearly six months. This is a circumstance, for which I was not, in the least prepared, not having forseen it, nor would I have believed it had it been told me. It often vexes me. However, it is not a matter of so much consequence, as it sometimes I have supposed it to be. Think what you may, I assure you that I keep, as good, not to say better company. If you are jealous, who cares? I have my choice of the grave or the gay, the devout or the dissolute, the prosaical or the poetical. To inform who these my companions are, would require longer time than I choose to spend in your company at the present. I will just name a few, but since the names of persons, with whose characters we are acquainted, are very little interesting I will be as sparing, of troubling you as possible. Still they are characters, with which, as a friend, I could wish that you might have some acquaintance.—If they would not be as agreeable, they might be as useful, as the giglers and flirters with whom your leisure hours are spent.—No it is not significant, whether you are made acquainted with them or not. They would not suit your taste. They have no regard to the fashionable dress, or to the pretty figure, or even to the fine speeches or approving smiles of their devotees. Therefore, they are by no means suitable companions for N. York Beaus. You, who reason thus—"What do I gain by being in company, where I have nothing to do, but to see, hear & receive information, when the company will not see, hear & admire me" I would be fatigued to death, in one half hour with the best of them. This would kill you outright.—You would not even have to die; you would be already dead. This manner of reasoning does not nicely correspond, with what I should adopt for myself. I am pleased with Homer, Virgil,—, Chaucer, Spencer, Shakespeare, Milton, Thompson, Pope, Swift, Young, Goldsmith, Lyttleton,—, Locke, Edwards, Hume &— will regulate the ideas of the head, if not the sentiments of the heart, very much better than Peggy & Polly & Sally & Betsy. [undeciphered sentence.] These gentlemen do not require half the attention to fill stockings &----Bootes, as your City Belles. They will sit with me in the most humble situation. Nor will they refuse me their company when in bed. These are the companions of my leisure. At other times I make some serious researches into the laws of nature and nations, with Puffendorf,—; into the principles of society, with Littleton & Coke, read a lecture with Blackstone, or decide a nice principle of law with—. If your circle be a better one, inform me. I shrewdly suspect that altho. they may contribute to the making of softer hearts, they will not to the making of sounder heads . . .

You will not omit mentioning me in the most friendly manner to all your and my Friends. Seth Storrs[8]

This and other letters that Storrs sent to his friends in New York City have a whiny quality about them: "why have you good friends not written to me? I have my friends—Homer, Chaucer, Locke, Edwards, Hume, etc.—but no belles and you seem to party all the time. The least you can do is write." But it also shows his breadth of interest and that his Yale education was a serious one.

In 1787 Storrs moved to Addison, Vermont, to practice law. He boarded with attorney John Strong and his family and shortly afterward married Strong's daughter, Electa, who was the mother of their eight children. In 1794 they moved to Middlebury.

In the period from 1784/5 when Storrs moved to Bennington until his move to Middlebury in 1794 Storrs became acquainted with the Evarts family, notably James Evarts. The original family settled in Guilford, Connecticut, in the 1640s and in the 1740s became entwined with the history of Middlebury. The story is complicated. In 1749 four Evarts brothers moved from Guilford to Salisbury, Connecticut: John, Nathaniel, Sylvanus, and Elijah. Salisbury was important for the settlement of Middlebury and surrounding villages. It was home to Ira and Ethan Allen, John and Thomas Chipman, and Elisha and Gamaliel Painter, and it was in John Evarts' tavern that a group met in 1761 to endorse the charter for Middlebury that had been granted by Benning Wentworth, who had been appointed governor of New Hampshire by the King of England in 1741. Sixty names were recorded, though not all moved to Middlebury: four Evarts did sign and moved to the Middlebury area. John and Nathaniel Evarts stayed in Salisbury and John became a leader of the community and moderated most town meetings there during his lifetime. Abner Evarts and Charles Evarts moved from Guilford to Sunderland, Vermont (approximately twenty miles north of Bennington), in 1766 and were among the first settlers there; Ethan and Ira Allen also joined the group. Another Evarts, James (1754–1824), also moved to Sunderland, probably by the early 1770s. James Evarts is key to an understanding of the circumstances that resulted in the founding of Middlebury College later in the century.

In 1774 James Evarts bought a piece of land in Georgia, Vermont; he moved there in 1787 and was the moderator at the town meeting on March 31, 1788, when the town was organized. (Ira and Ethan Allen also moved to Georgia.) In 1781 James' son, Jeremiah, was born. It was the meeting between James and Jeremiah Evarts and Seth Storrs in Middlebury in January of 1798 that became significant—the catalyst for Middlebury College. Father and son had visited Storrs before; this time James was taking Jeremiah to Guilford to study with the pastor of the Congregational Church, a Rev. Mr. Elliott, to prepare for his matriculation at Yale.

I have found four references to that meeting. The only individual who was in Middlebury in the 1790s and who is named as having the idea for the establishment of the college was Seth Storrs.[9] These are my sources:

1. From Franklin Dexter's *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College.*[10]

"He [Storrs] was a member of the corporation of the County Grammar School which was created in Middlebury in 1797, and a year or two later he conceived the idea of having a college in the town. As a result of his suggestions Middlebury College was chartered in November, 1800, and Colonel Storrs (as he was called) was made one of the trustees. In this capacity he was one of the most active friends of the institution and the commanding site now occupied by the college buildings was one of his valuable benefactions."

2. From Thomas Merrill, *Semicentennial Sermon.*[11]

"He is said to have been the first person, who conceived the idea of having a College in Middlebury. As the Father of Jeremiah Evarts belonging to the north part of this state called at his hospitable mansion, when carrying his son to Yale College, it occurred to Col. S. as extremely desirable, that Vermont should have a College in active operation, and thus save her citizens the necessity of sending their sons abroad to acquire their education."

3. From: Abby M. Hemenway, *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer.*[12]

"Mr. Evarts took his son to Guilford on horseback. On his way, as was his wont when on that road, he spent a night with his friend, the late Col. Seth Storrs of Middlebury. The object of the journey gave direction to the thoughts of these two public spirited men, and the talk, evening and morning, was of a college that should provide at home for the education of Vermont boys. 'This,' said Col. Storrs, mentioning the incident to the writer many years ago—'this was among the circumstances that led to the establishment of Middlebury College.'"

4. From: *The Storrs Family Genealogical and Other Memoranda*[13]

"He [Storrs] was foremost in promoting the prosperity of Middlebury, especially its literary institutions. There were then no colleges in Vermont, and in an account of him published after his death it is said that his interest in helping to found one was awakened in this wise: 'When the father of the late Jeremiah Evarts [father of Hon. William M. Evarts], who resided in the northern part of this State (Vermont), called at the hospitable mansion of Colonel Storrs on his way to Connecticut for the purpose of having his son enter Yale College, it occurred to the deceased as a matter of regret that Vermont, instead of enjoying facilities for the education of her sons at home, should be under the necessity of resorting for that purpose to the literary institutions of other States. In this manner seems to have been suggested the first idea of a college at Middlebury.'"

Ideas matter, and here are two individuals who knew Seth Storrs that

credit him with the idea for Middlebury College. Ebenezer Tracy, the son-in-law of Jeremiah Evarts and author of the sketch in the *Vermont Historical Gazetteer,* wrote specifically that Col. Storrs mentioned to him that the visit of the Evarts to his home was "among the circumstances that led to the establishment of Middlebury College." Thomas Merrill, pastor of the Middlebury Church, knew Storrs well and confirmed that Storrs "conceived the idea of having a college in Middlebury." (Storrs was a deacon, clerk, and at times treasurer of the Middlebury church from 1798 until his death in 1837.)

Storrs also gave land to the Addison County Grammar School which was to be used later for the college. The first gift was for the land under the building being constructed in 1798. In July 1800, four months before the charter was granted, he deeded a sizable piece on the west side of Otter Creek leading up to the future home of the college, known as Storrs hill. That piece of land, largely owned by Storrs, also included parcels owned by Darius Mathews (later a founding trustee of the college), Appleton Foot, Stillman Foot, and Anthony Rhodes. In 1810 Storrs initiated a fundraising drive among Middlebury citizens for a building, which was completed in 1815.[14]

Other factors would enter the picture. Timothy Dwight stopped in Middlebury en route to Vergennes where he had been invited to preach on Monday October 1, 1798, to visit Storrs and baptize his son.[15] Dwight spent the night in Storrs' home and visited with some others in Middlebury at Samuel Miller's home that evening to discuss Storrs' plan. (Storrs rode with Dwight to Vergennes the next morning.) We do not know for certain who gathered at Miller's home; they may have been other trustees of the Addison Grammar School but the only references to Mathews and Painter being there is in a Middlebury College catalog of 1961. (The catalog of 1961 does not mention Daniel Chipman.) The manuscript of what became Dwight's *Travels in New England* does not mention their names.[16] To be sure, the trustees of the Addison Grammar School would have talked about Storrs' idea and probably could have squashed it if they were opposed. The importance of Dwight's visit has been exaggerated.

It should also be noted that of the fifteen men who made up the original board of trustees most were college graduates except for the Middlebury group of Gamaliel Painter, Darius Mathews, and Samuel Miller, and the Baptist minister, John Leland. Six attended Yale; three were alumni of Dartmouth and influenced by its president, Eleazar Wheelock (1711–1779), whose missionary work had been encouraged by Jonathan Edwards. One attended Harvard; the educational background of the other trustee is unknown. Except for Leland they were

Congregationalists. The early board of trustees at the University of Vermont included those of Episcopalian, Congregational, Baptist, Quaker, Universalist, and Deist persuasions.

Seth Storrs had a primary role in the founding of Middlebury College. By education, experience, connections, and personal character he stands out as first among equals in the early history of the college. But it was not simply a fortuitous meeting of Storrs and James and Jeremiah Evarts that brought the college into being; it takes a person with fire in his belly to ignite others to pursue a common goal. Certainly many people within the Middlebury community at the time stoked the fire with their gifts of dedication and money and it is true that Middlebury College was in that sense a "town's college."

The Congregational heritage is part of Middlebury's past.[17] That does not mean that to be true to its past the college should retain the obscure and now long lost motives of that time. But Middlebury College would not *be* without that initial and sometimes unarticulated but felt tie to a mission its citizens believed in. It was not a mission to convert the world but a hope that through the education of a new generation that its children and Vermont's children would benefit and serve and become lights to a future that was not yet born. Middlebury College's ancestors from that time were Congregationalists whose perspective and daily routine were infused with shared religious convictions. There were no so-called "atheists" or, if so, they were deeply hidden; there were no Unitarians, or, if so, they were quiet as church mice. There were hidden Catholics, but no Jews, Lutherans, Mennonites, Hare Krishna, Buddhists, Christian Scientists, or African Methodists. That world is not ours, though it is part of our past.

Notes

[1] The main histories of the college's founding are: David Stameshkin, *The Town's College: Middlebury College 1800–1915* (Middlebury: Middlebury College Press, 1985); Samuel Swift, *History of the Town of Middlebury* (Middlebury: A.H. Copeland, 1859; reprint, Rutland, Vt.: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1971); W. Storrs Lee, *Town Father. A Biography of Gamaliel Painter* (New York: Hastings House, 1952); and W. Storrs Lee, *Stagecoach North* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1941). In these studies minimal attention was given to the role of Seth Storrs (1757–1837), a resident of Middlebury from 1794 until his death, or to the religious character of the town of Middlebury in the period of its founding.

[2] See Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness. The First Century of Urban Life in America 1625–1742* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1938), 139.

[3] See Mary Gambrell, *Ministerial Training in Eighteenth Century New England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937; reprinted, New York: AMS Press, 1967), and Robert L. Ferm, "Joseph Bellamy and His 'School for Prophets' in Eighteenth Century New England," *Bulletin of the Congregational Library,* 37:1 (Fall 1985), 6–19.

[4] David W. Kling, "The New Divinity and Williams College, 1793–1836," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* 6:2 (Summer 1996), 199–200. See also: David W. Kling, *A Field of Divine Wonders: The New Divinity and Village Revivals in Northwestern Connecticut, 1792–1882* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1993); Joseph Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and*

the New Divinity Movement (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmanns Publishing Co., 1981); Mark Valeri, *Law and Providence in Joseph Bellamy's New England: The Origins of the New Divinity in Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Robert L. Ferm, *Jonathan Edwards the Younger 1745–1801: A Colonial Pastor.* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmanns Publishing Co., 1976).

[5] See John M. Comstock, *The Congregational Churches of Vermont and Their Ministry 1762–1942. Historical and Statistical* (St. Johnsbury, Vt.: The Cowles Press, 1942).

[6] Conrad Wright, *The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America* (Boston: Starr King Press, 1955), 281ff.

[7] Other Storrs family names in Mansfield from the eighteenth century were: Samuel, Andrew, Huckins, Experience, Eleazar, John, John, Jr., Richard Salter, and Richard Salter, Jr., most of whom were Yale graduates and became clergy. In 1881 Charles and Augustus Storrs gave a large parcel of land and a generous bequest to found Storrs Agricultural College, which became later the University of Connecticut.

[8] This and five other letters of Seth Storrs are in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

[9] W. Storrs Lee has called Gamaliel Painter the founder of the College. In his *Town Father: A Biography of Gamaliel Painter* Lee wrote: "The man responsible for founding the first college to open its doors in Vermont did not have the remotest bid to anything approaching erudition. Painter was unread and uncultivated. The only formal education he possessed was a few broken years of common schooling in Salisbury, Connecticut" (151). And later: "Painter was the principal founder of the College . . ." (167). But he offers no documentation. In another book, *Father Went to College. The Story of Middlebury* Storrs Lee reports in detail a conversation that Timothy Dwight had with the Grammar School Trustees for which there is no record (18ff). The book is cast more as an historical novel. Dwight's report on his trip to Middlebury and Vergennes in September 1798 does not contain quotations from any conversations he had with Middlebury citizens on that visit and does not even record who was at the meeting.

[10] Biography of Seth Storrs in Franklin B. Dexter, ed., *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College* (New York: 1885–1911), 4: 59.

[11] Thomas Merrill, D.D., *Semicentennial Sermon Containing a History of Middlebury, Vt., Delivered Dec. 3, 1840. Being the First Thanksgiving Day, After the Expiration of Half a Century From the Organization of the Congregational Church, September 5, 1790* (Middlebury: Printed by E. Maxham, 1841), note 37, 91.

[12] Ebenezer Tracy, "Jeremiah Evarts," in Abby M. Hemenway, ed., *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer* (5 Vols., 1867–91) 1: 241. Tracy later wrote a long biography of Jeremiah Evarts, who became well known as the editor of the *Panoplist* and later as a missionary and a founder of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

[13] Collected and compiled by Charles Storrs (Privately printed, New York, 1886), 336.

[14] H. P. Smith, ed., *History of Addison County, Vermont* (Syracuse, N.Y.: D. Mason and Co., 1886), 334. The Sheldon Museum has the original solicitation that Storrs initiated. I am indebted to Nancy Rucker, archivist of the museum, for this information.

[15] This fact was found by Robert Cushman of Middlebury in the records of the Middlebury Congregational Church. Quoted in T. D. Seymour Bassett, *The Gods of the Hills. Piety and Society in Nineteenth-Century Vermont* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 2000), 72 and 97, note 6.

[16] The manuscript of Dwight's trip, "Vergennes No 5 Middlebury-Onion River," is not a very reliable historical source because it weaves together three visits to the Middlebury area: 1798, 1805, and 1810; it is not always clear which trip is being described. Also, between 1805 and Dwight's death in 1817 he used twelve amanuenses to collate his manuscripts; the handwriting changes throughout the 166 page document. The manuscript is in Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

[17] One trustee of both UVM and Middlebury was Asa Burton, pastor of the Church in Thetford, Vermont, and a New Divinity Calvinist. He was a graduate of Dartmouth and had studied theology with Levi Hart, who led a New Divinity school in Preston, Connecticut. Burton did not care for the "liberalism" of Harvard graduate Daniel Sanders, the first UVM president and former pastor of the Congregational Church in Vergennes. Burton and a few others fought to have Sanders removed as president but they finally gave up and Burton resigned from the board. He commented that if UVM had appointed "an orthodox man with a proper classical education" the college (UVM) "would have prospered and another college (Middlebury) would never have been thought of, or erected." *Life of Asa Burton Written by Himself* (Thetford, Vt.: The First Congregational Church, 1973), 36. After his resignation from UVM Burton was appointed to the Middlebury College board of trustees.

Waldo H. Heinrichs, George D. Aiken, and the Lend Lease Debate of 1941

The national debate over Lend Lease centered on Congress; the contest aimed at winning the votes of state delegations in Washington. Vermont's all-Republican delegation had a solid record of support for Roosevelt's measures to aid Britain in 1940. The question was whether that record of unified support could be extended to the more controversial Lend Lease bill.

By WALDO H. HEINRICHS JR.[1]

This is a story of Americans in a small state wrestling with the issue of going to war. It examines the debate in Vermont in early 1941 over the Lend Lease bill, which would provide aid to Great Britain, but with the attendant risk of war with Germany. The article focuses on the perspectives of the principal proponent of the bill, Professor Waldo H. Heinrichs of Middlebury College, and the principal opponent, Senator George D. Aiken.

The nature of the national debate on Lend Lease will be better understood by assembling a mosaic of state debates than by painting with a broad brush nationally. Local circumstances—political, cultural, economic—shaped these debates and strongly affected their outcomes. In this framework, the small state of Vermont offers a manageable unit of analysis and fresh insights.

The issue of providing arms and other war material to Britain raised the fundamental question of the extent to which, if at all, the United States should involve itself in the European war. The fight over Lend Lease was a critical moment in the history of American foreign relations, when the nation finally decided that its well-being, and indeed existence, depended on discarding aloofness from world politics. It would

participate in the world struggle by supplying arms to Britain, even at the risk of war. It went on to become the leading power of that war, the Cold War, and the early twenty-first century. By offering an intensive, public, legislative scrutiny of policy, the Lend Lease debate provided an excellent opportunity for democratic opinion formation—really the only one—on the question of intervention in the war.

The burning question was not about the right to sell American arms to Britain in its time of dire need (that was already allowed), but rather how Britain was to pay for them when its supply of dollars was vanishing. The answer embodied in Lend Lease was for the American government to purchase the entire output of arms and "lend" appropriate portions of it to countries fighting the dictators. Legislation to that effect came before Congress in January 1941 and was the centerpiece of nationwide debate over the next ten weeks.

American opinion on policy toward the European war ran the gamut from total isolation to a call for declaration of war. On Lend Lease a blurry line of division formed: Proponents argued that German victory in Europe would pose a fundamental threat to American security and urged all assistance short of war to sustain Britain. Opponents considered the argument of German threat less than compelling and insisted on maintaining America's neutrality and traditional distance from Europe's quarrels. Many hovered in between.

Organizations existed on both sides to muster opinion. The Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies (CDA) represented the interventionists. Chaired by William Allen White, a Republican newspaper editor from Kansas, CDA drew the cosmopolitans: leaders from finance, the arts, communications, education, and some churches.

The leading opposition organization was America First, a more heterogeneous group including traditionalists, set in their hemispheric view of American security, as well as right-wing Roosevelt haters, those inheriting the Populist suspicion of Britain and its imperialism, and Americans soured on internationalism by the First World War and the Versailles peace. Also opposing Lend Lease, though not generally members of America First, were pacifists and internationalist peace activists. CDA had 750 local chapters and America First 648.[2]

The Vermont chapter of CDA formed in the summer of 1940 to press for sending aid to besieged Britain. President Paul D. Moody of Middlebury College was chair; Professors Paul D. Evans of the University of Vermont and Waldo H. Heinrichs, Sr. of Middlebury College served as co-secretaries.

Heinrichs's involvement in the Lend Lease debate arose from powerful convictions drawn from extensive international experience. He

Waldo H. Heinrichs in 1958. Courtesy of the author.

was born in British India of Baptist missionary parents. Upon graduating from Denison University in 1913, he began a career in the international Y.M.C.A., interrupted by service in the First World War. A pursuit (fighter) pilot, he was shot down, severely wounded, and taken prisoner by the Germans. After the war he earned an MA in history at Columbia University, returned to the Y.M.C.A. abroad in India, and then took on the imposing task of running the handsome new "Y" in

Jerusalem, Palestine, open to all faiths in a city taut with Arab-Jewish antagonism under the British mandate.[3]

In the 1920s Heinrichs believed in a new Wilsonian world order that would lead to the gradual reduction of armaments, imperialism, and conflict. In 1926 he was so impressed with a sermon on education for world peace that he decided never to fight again and removed his service lapel button and Croix de Guerre ribbon "as evidences of a militarism that must be passé in the world."[4]

The button and ribbon returned in the 1930s. Coming to Middlebury in 1934, Heinrichs developed "Contemporary Civilization" as a course in recent and current world politics, which just then were becoming radically transformed with the rise of Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. In 1936 and 1939 he joined study tours to Europe that offered meetings with prominent officials of the countries that would be at war in 1941. In 1939 he managed to wangle his way into German-occupied Czechoslovakia to talk with people under Nazi domination.

These years of travel and teaching, as well as the writings of contemporary students of world affairs, especially Hermann Rauschning and Frederick L. Schuman, convinced Heinrichs that Nazi Germany was a mortal threat to all free peoples.[5] At the time of the Munich crisis he wrote in his diary, "I am daily getting more and more full of hatred of Hitler and Mussolini." The appeasers were "yellow-bellied skin-savers. Just at the moment of victory . . . [they] completely capitulate."[6] By 1941 Heinrichs's Wilsonian values were expressed in the language of power.

The campaign for Lend Lease in Vermont began promptly. Successfully seeking out local leaders, CDA formed chapters in Vergennes, Middlebury, Barre, Rutland, Northfield, St. Johnsbury, and Windsor as well as other cities and towns.[7] Heinrichs noted in his diary on January 1, 1941, that his actions on behalf of the committee the previous summer put "our state in the forefront of the pressure group trying to get all possible aid to Britain."[8] CDA was ready for action.

The Vermont press strongly favored Lend Lease. Four principal dailies, the *Burlington Free Press, Rutland Herald, Brattleboro Daily Reformer,* and *Bennington Evening Banner,* gave editorial support to the bill. The *Caledonian Record* was a lonely voice of opposition from the Northeast Kingdom.[9]

The press provided a forum for debate by reporting speeches on the issue in the state, noting public meetings and community petitions, and publishing open letters and letters to the editor. Vermont press reporting of national speeches by Colonel Charles Lindbergh, other American Firsters, and Senate isolationists was counterbalanced by reports of testimony by high administration officials such as Cordell Hull and General

George C. Marshall, and by a chorus of editorialists. Leading Vermont newspapers had extensive coverage of international events and the *NewYork Times* and *New York Herald Tribune* provided same-day delivery in parts of Vermont. Heinrichs required his students to read either the *Times* or the *Herald Tribune.* Nightly Vermonters tuned in to radio news and commentary from Edward R. Murrow's expert reporting team in Europe, hearing, for example, of the latest German bombing raids on British cities.

Sentiment for Lend Lease was strongest in the cities and towns of western and southern Vermont. Pockets of activism existed in St. Johnsbury and Barre, but the main lines of support ran along the Route 7 corridor and the lower Connecticut Valley. Vermont elites—business, professional, literary, academic, political—were preponderantly pro-Lend Lease.[10] The organizing list of Fight For Freedom, an offshoot of CDA, read like "the entire society of Vermont," according to one member, "anybody who was anybody in the state."[11]

The opposition to Lend Lease was unorganized and weakly represented in the media. Nationally, America First "lacked the organizational structure and strategic design to exploit popular sentiment," in the judgment of historian James C. Schneider. During the election of 1940 it put its emphasis on radio broadcasts and national advertising, whereas CDA stressed a grassroots membership drive and formation of local chapters. Consequently CDA was better prepared to rouse opinion after the 1940 election when Lend Lease was introduced; America First, according to Schneider, was caught "flatfooted."[12] Vermont noninterventionists, lacking outside help and perhaps the sense of crisis and urgency that characterized CDA, were not strong enough to create local chapters before or during the debate, or a state chapter until September 1941.[13]

The most vigorous and sustained resistance to Lend Lease in Vermont came from the pulpit. Protestant clergy in surprising numbers spoke out against the drift to war, including the Congregational ministers of Danby, Fair Haven, and Middlebury.[14] Leading the way was the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) of Burlington, a lingering vestige of the peace activism of the 1920s. Nationally, FOR condemned militarism and imperialism and strove for disarmament and nonviolent modes of international conduct.[15] Among Catholics, word from their leading cleric in the state, Bishop Matthew Ryan of Burlington, that the United States must mind its own business in the face of the European war, carried weight with Vermonters of French Canadian, Irish, and Italian backgrounds.[16]

Many Vermonters were probably indifferent to or unaware of Lend Lease; most did not stand up to be counted. However, some "ordinary"

people of Vermont, "window washers, masons, carpenters, janitors," as Ralph Nading Hill, an America First member, described them, did voice their fears of another war and bitter opposition to Lend Lease.[17] Such people—artisans, farmers, small business owners, laborers—represented village Vermont, resentful of the demands and values of an intrusive modern, industrial America.

Fear of Lend Lease leading to war was obviously a concern of Vermonters of draft age and their families, as well as families of National Guard members who boarded trains for Florida to join the 43rd Infantry Division as it entered federal service.[18] Heinrichs encountered a number of these Vermonters in his role as champion of Lend Lease.

The national debate over Lend Lease centered on Congress; the contest aimed at winning the votes of state delegations in Washington. Vermont's all-Republican delegation had a solid record of support for Roosevelt's measures to aid Britain in 1940. The question was whether that record of unified support could be extended to the more controversial Lend Lease bill.

Vermont's representative, Charles Plumley, sought restrictive amendments to the Lend Lease bill but his ultimate support was not in question. Senator Warren Austin was a staunch advocate. America would fight if it had to, he thundered to gallery applause, because "a world enslaved is worse than war."[19] Vermont's other senator, Ernest W. Gibson Jr., had been no less outspoken in advocating maximum aid to Britain. However, he had served only to finish the term of his father and in January 1941 he took over leadership of the national CDA from William Allen White. Newly elected Senator George D. Aiken had just completed two terms as governor of Vermont. Thus, in a narrow sense the CDA campaign in Vermont was all about capturing that one vote of Aiken's.

Aiken and Gibson, both from Windham County, were longtime friends and political intimates. Both were Republicans in the Progressive tradition, but with a significant difference. Like Theodore Roosevelt, Gibson accepted an enhanced role for the federal government in reform and had a keen interest in military affairs, which Aiken entirely lacked. Aiken believed that the initiative for reform should come from the states. His battles as governor with the Roosevelt administration over New Deal programs for hydroelectric power and flood control in Vermont left him inveterately suspicious of any increase in presidential power. Aiken's progressivism stayed close to home.[20]

During Aiken's senatorial campaign, in the months before the Lend Lease debate, he had seemed alive to the threat posed by German conquest of Europe, but guarded on issues of aid to Britain. In July 1940 Heinrichs wrote the governor to inquire about his position on steps

CDA was urging the president and Congress to take. Aiken responded that he would permit the sale of arms after making "very sure these materials are *not* needed by our own country." "Adequate defense of America is more imperative than diffusions of our war resources . . . even to friendly nations," he insisted. "Our ultimate safety lies in having the world's greatest air force." Heinrichs declared himself "completely satisfied" with Aiken's response, pointing out, however, that the Vermont American Legion, four thousand strong, stood "100% for increasing aid to the utmost possible extent of our capacity to Great Britain."[21]

During the campaign Aiken usually parried questions on foreign policy, "too modestly disavowing any knowledge" on the subject, Heinrichs told him. A newspaper columnist feared readers might weary from all the issues Aiken was "not up on." His reserve was a shrewd tactic, however, since he left his opponent in the Republican primary, Ralph E. Flanders, president of Jones and Lamson Machine Tools, engaging in controversial issues of defense and foreign policy while the governor dealt from strength in the domestic sphere.[22] Flanders discovered the difficulty of engaging in such issues when he made what the *Boston Globe* described as the "astounding" suggestion that conscription could be postponed until after industrial machinery was geared up.[23]

Standing on his reformist record as governor, Aiken warned of the sacrifice of liberties that resulted from the centralization of power at Washington under the Democrats. He portrayed himself as the defender of the "common folk" against the state political machine of the Proctor family and the railroad and public utility interests represented by Flanders. At the American Legion convention he warned of the rise of a new class of war profiteers. A small percentage of people, he claimed, held great advantages over farmers, workers, small business owners, and professional groups. The "average man," Aiken's campaign manager claimed, "is with us."[24]

Aiken was vaguely favorable to aid for Britain but not willing to define it as crucial. He thereby reassured those constituents fearful of foreign entanglements that might lead to another war. At the same time his Progressivism drew the support of reform-minded Vermonters such as Heinrichs, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, and Wilder Foote, editor of the *Middlebury Register.*

Aiken won the primary by some 8,500 votes, ensuring victory in the general election in Republican Vermont. He came to Washington as cautious and enigmatic about Lend Lease as he had been on foreign policy issues during the campaign.

CDA made every effort to build statewide pressure for a unified favorable vote on Lend Lease by the state's delegation in Congress.

Upon word that Senator Austin needed "every possible support" for his pro-Lend Lease stand, Heinrichs notified him, this time as chair of the National Defense Committee of the Vermont American Legion, that the state Legion endorsed aid to Britain and urged the Congressional delegation to implement the resolution immediately.[25]

The chair of the Windham County Democratic Committee wrote town committees asking their chairs to write Congress urging unlimited aid for Britain, China, and Greece. With the defeat of those nations, he said, it would only be a matter of time before *Mein Kampf* was substituted for the Bible.[26]

The Vermont Chamber of Commerce passed a resolution urging material aid to Britain. Speeches on behalf of the resolution were printed in *The Vermonter,* a monthly magazine of public affairs, and this issue, with a letter from the Chamber president, went to all members of Congress. The Vermont House of Representatives passed a resolution supporting Lend Lease with the amendments offered by Senator Austin.[27]

An editorial in the *New York Herald Tribune* paid tribute to Vermont's support of Lend Lease. Vermonters were known, it pointed out, for "a rugged insistence on their freedom that is sometimes the despair of more pliant folk." Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys were "quite willing to defend their territory against New York or New Hampshire as against the British. . . . It is comforting to know that we have a tough core of such traditions at a time when the threat to freedom is worldwide."[28]

CDA also sought to raise public interest in local communities by providing speakers and organizing debates. Middlebury, Vermont, provides a good example. Among those supporting Lend Lease in Middlebury, aside from President Moody and Heinrichs, were: C. A. Ingalls, president of the Chamber of Commerce; Dr. Howard I. Slocum, osteopath and community leader; Rev. T. J. Leonard, priest of St. Mary's Catholic Church; William Hazlett Upson, author of the Alexander Botts stories in the *Saturday Evening Post*; Frank E. Howard, professor of psychology, and A. M. Cline, professor of history, both at Middlebury College; John T. Conley, state's attorney; and Wilder Foote, editor of the *Middlebury Register.*[29]

Heinrichs spoke twice in Middlebury, once at the Chamber of Commerce and again at the first of two community forums arranged for debating the issues. Before a disappointing forum crowd of sixty to eighty people Ellsworth B. Cornwall opposed Lend Lease, contending that America would lose its democracy by joining the war and that attack on the Western Hemisphere was impossible; the Germans had been unable even to cross the English Channel. More of the "usual weak . . . ar-

guments of the isolationists," Heinrichs noted. Ruth Hastings followed with a middle-of-the-road position advocating aid to Britain short of risking war, which Heinrichs found essentially no different from Cornwall's stance. Heinrichs then gave the "Political, Military, and Economic reasons for an *all-out* effort to aid Britain."

He was sure he "had them cold" and that the "intelligentsia" were with him, but he admitted that "all the pacifists of FOR . . . would not be convinced." At the Chamber of Commerce he had taken a crack at "laggards, pacifists, appeasers and left them *not much disturbed.*" In fact three of five Middlebury pastors opposed him: William Hastings of the Congregational Church, Arthur H. Gordon of the Baptist Church, and Charles Whiston of the Episcopal Church.[30] Also opposed was Everett Skillings, professor of German at Middlebury, who had seen the carnage of the First World War, turned to Quaker pacifism, and formed a study group of student pacifists.[31]

Student pacifism was a contentious issue at the college. At a required chapel vespers service, Dr. John Thomas, former Middlebury president, strongly urged Americans as Christians to help Britain with material and military aid. An editorial in the college newspaper, *The Campus,* asserting that the American people did not want war, condemned the speech as exhorting students, in a compulsory setting, to support war. Chapel should not be used to "exploit political opinions," stated a letter to the editor. Heinrichs, who deplored pacifist tendencies of students, was reluctant to interfere with a student newspaper but, pressed to comment, allowed that *Campus* editorials were short on facts and long on "sloppy and wishful thinking."[32]

Heinrichs devoted most of his effort for CDA to speeches. He gave roughly a dozen on Lend Lease, traveling as far as winter driving permitted, to Burlington, Brandon, Lincoln, New Haven, Rutland, and other towns. On the Brandon occasion, his wife, Dorothy P. Heinrichs, spoke as well.[33]

His argument in these speeches was consistent and forceful. Failure to help Britain, he asserted, would not keep the United States out of war because Hitler sought world domination, required the resources of the Western Hemisphere, and had plans for its conquest. More profoundly, Nazi Germany represented the forces of evil. The current war was not a war of imperialism but a world revolution, a "death struggle" between totalitarian and democratic ideologies, a matter of the survival of Christian civilization. With Hitler, compromise or appeasement were impossible. Life under Nazi rule was not worth living. Americans must face the reality of a world dominated by force, Heinrichs declared. Those nations fighting the totalitarian powers were fighting our battle.

Our only chance to avoid war was aid to Britain now. If Britain fell, chances were overwhelming we could not avoid war alone against Germany, which would have greatly superior military forces.

We must not fall into an "Atlantic complex," like the French "Maginot Line complex," he warned. That was "pure self-deception." Isolationists and "sincere" pacifists were playing into the hands of Hitler, who was seeking to divide the country. Time was of the essence: Heinrichs foresaw an all-out invasion of Britain in the coming spring. Ernest Gibson, Jr., chair of CDA, spoke twice in Vermont along the same lines. The world, he said, paraphrasing Abraham Lincoln, could not afford to exist four-fifths slave and one-fifth free.[34]

Speeches and editorials encouraged petitions and resolutions. Among those urging passage of Lend Lease were the Middlebury Rotary Club, the Springfield Elks, the South Shaftsbury Town Meeting, the Bennington and Rutland Chambers of Commerce, and 260 individuals from Saxton's River.[35]

The question was whether such speeches and pressures would gain the vote of Senator Aiken. He seemed to be straddling the fence, leaning forward in concern to aid Britain and then backward in fear of the immense powers the bill conferred on the president. Yet, given the positions he took in the senatorial campaign, it is hard to imagine him leaning far toward a "yes" vote at any time. What development since the election made Britain's survival more critical to the United States? Was there a greater need now to risk war and lose faith with the "common folk" of Vermont who had just boosted him to victory? Was the Vermont press any more prescient now in unified support of Lend Lease than it had been when united in opposing his nomination? Was there any likely amendment to the bill that would substantially curtail the powers conferred on the president? All these questions Aiken probably would have answered in the negative. On February 25 he rose for his maiden speech before the Senate and announced he would vote "no."

Aiken stated that he had listened day after day to great men testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee but looked in vain for "just one" of the "common people of America" to tell his story. He saw these "ordinary folks" when he went "back to the hills of Vermont" over the previous weekend. "The farm and village folks of my state," he said, "do not want war," and this bill would give the president the power to put the country into any war.

The speech was a powerful statement of the bitter world view of a fading rural America. It was charged with the Populist anti-imperialism of earlier decades and the sourness of betrayed ideals in the First World War. "When we have crushed Hitler, when the bodies of American

boys lie rotting in foreign lands, with whom shall we make peace?" he asked. "What do we plan for the countries we expect to crush?"

The foremost influence today, Aiken continued, was "fear, fear, fear"; not fear of survival but fear engendered by "those who fear for their dollars." "Unless they can arouse our people to a fighting pitch, unless they mislead them or fool them into a declaration of war . . . they are going to lose money."

These economic imperialists saw their flag waving in glory over the oil fields of Asia Minor and the plantations of the East Indies. These were the war profiteers, the "dollar patriots," who had provided the totalitarian powers with the tools and resources to wage war. These were the industrialists who after the war would sacrifice farmers' export markets to "place their goods in every country." "Thirty dollars a month is good enough pay for the boys in our army. . . . All they have to do is leave their jobs, their homes, their future, and it may be, die or come back blind or without legs or arms or minds. This is not much so long as we can save money for 'dollar patriots' who are driving America to war today."

For Aiken, going to war represented a failure to solve domestic problems. It would lead to national bankruptcy, one-party government, and the greatest suffering by the American farmer. America had defeated invasion before, when it was young and weak, at Hubbardton, Bennington, and Saratoga. It would do so again if necessary. He preferred to go home now "and face the wrath of the money powers of my state than . . . later and face the empty chairs and empty hearts in the homes of my neighbors." On March 6, Aiken repeated the speech over CBS radio.[36]

The speech set off the hottest phase of the Lend Lease debate in Vermont. Proponents used every means to change Aiken's mind. The *Burlington Free Press* editorialized that the speech sounded "too much like speeches two years ago which will be found in the records of the Chamber of Deputies of the now defunct Republic of France." The Town of Lincoln sent a petition disapproving of the speech; other towns felt encouraged to do the same. The *Free Press* conducted a poll of its readers, which showed that of 599 ballots, 81 percent disapproved of the Aiken speech and 19 percent approved. In response, CDA arranged for petitions opposing Aiken's vote to be placed in downtown Burlington in the vicinity of Church Street, at McAuliffe's Stationery Store and Alps Restaurant, and at Colodney's Food Market at the juncture of North Street and North Avenue, as well as in Shelburne, Waterbury, and Cambridge.[37]

Wilder Foote, in a *Middlebury Register* editorial, expressed his shock at finding Aiken in the ranks of the opposition "on so fundamental an issue." He pointed out that the American "money powers" included the "appease Hitler element of big business." Furthermore, the Senate

leaders in the present fight were the same ones who destroyed the chance of lasting peace after the First World War by preventing U.S. participation in the League of Nations.

With respect to the charge of granting too much power to the president, Foote noted that the nearest approach to excessive power in American history had been the senatorial dictatorship after the Civil War, while the extension of presidential power under strong presidents from Washington to Wilson had actually strengthened democracy. The "plain people" wanted peace but also the freedom to continue the "unfinished work of democracy." This they could only do by "facing unpleasant facts and acting to defend their rights and win their future from their enemies with promptness and resolution and the irresistible strength given to a people both united and free."[38]

The *Brattleboro Daily Reformer,* no friend of Aiken, accused him of being a demagogue, setting class against class, the wealthy against the "common folks." The *Caledonian Record* agreed with Aiken: Americans did not want to go to war.[39]

The Aiken speech did not, of course, find favor with Waldo Heinrichs. It was "impressive in its inconsistencies," he wrote to the *Free Press.* One did not get peace "merely by wishing to keep out of war," for it took only one to make war and "that one will be Hitler." Asserting that Aiken misrepresented Vermonters, most of whom supported Lend Lease, Heinrichs appealed for immediate protest to Aiken. Delay of Lend Lease must be prevented, he warned, for the gravity of Britain's situation was "tremendous." He quoted Walter Darré, German minister of agriculture: "England must be destroyed as Carthage was destroyed and when the time comes America must follow."[40]

In a statement to the Associated Press on March 3, Aiken charged that "apparently Professor Heinrichs would commit the United States to war." This comment led to further development of Heinrichs's public position.[41]

A central ambiguity of CDA—perhaps an unavoidable one—was that it did not address the question of going to war head-on. Support of Lend Lease implied acceptance of the risk of war. William Allen White's resignation from CDA arose from his unwillingness to cross that line. Ernest Gibson, Jr., now chairing CDA, himself a strong interventionist who favored American naval escort of convoys, only with great difficulty was bridging the gap in CDA between those like himself and those fearful of moving too far ahead of the American public or personally averse to facing the question of war directly.[42] On March 4, Rev. Max Webster of the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Burlington wrote Heinrichs and Professor Evans an open letter asking bluntly

whether they favored United States entry into the war. Heinrichs responded with a statement for the *Free Press.*

He said that if material aid called for presently did not prove to be enough, the United States would have to decide on "total war or abject peace." It now appeared to him that employment of the American merchant marine, navy, and air force (as yet we had no combat-ready army forces to send) alone could save Britain. Therefore, he personally did favor an "immediate declaration of war on the totalitarian powers." Such a declaration would "galvanize us for the supreme effort required." He said he was "ashamed to have my country . . . 'hire' men to die for a cause which I believe is ours as much as theirs, and compel them to pay for that privilege."[43] As Paul Evans noted, Waldo Heinrichs had responded to Max Webster's challenge with "his usual forthrightness."[44]

Despite every effort, Aiken did not change his mind. On March 8 he voted against Lend Lease and split the previously undivided Vermont delegation. The Senate, however, voted 56 to 35 in favor; the House had already voted 260 to 165 in favor. Aiken wrote Heinrichs on April 29 that his considered opinion was that the policy the U.S. was following was far more likely to result in the destruction of the British Empire than the German Empire. Heinrichs was not persuaded. Along with Moody and Evans he now moved beyond CDA to join the new pro-war public activist group, Fight For Freedom.[45]

Democratic debate is not always honey and flowers. Heinrichs's message was designed to shock people out of complacency and people resent that. He received much support, to be sure, but also bitter and insulting letters.[46] Heinrichs was all wrong, wrote Gertrude Daniels; everyone, "Thank God," was not thinking the way he did. "Your dictatorial manner smacks of the Hun and by your name I judge you have plenty of that blood in your veins." The point was not that everyone thought as he did, Heinrichs responded, but that Aiken did not represent most Vermonters. Besides, he added, "German aviators did their best to shoot all the German blood out of me on September 7, 1918 in a single combat against eight so-called Huns."

Several letters suggested that he volunteer to help the British fight. He would not be the one to die if America went to war, they complained, but rather "sons of the poor class." He needed to talk to "good hard-working down to earth people . . . who are themselves of draft age," wrote Dana Bowie. Heinrichs answered that his parents, as immigrants, had started at the bottom and that he had put himself through college by working summers as a laborer. He had tried thirteen times to get into the army and despite a First World War disability had passed the physical exam.[47]

A letter from Rev. Donald Trumbull of Fair Haven drew an angry response. Heinrichs characterized the letter as "so full of venom it did not merit a response." Nevertheless, respond he did. Trumbull had used the old saw "Those who can do, those who can't teach." Such a slur, Heinrichs replied, was beneath contempt; he was "glad to defend a profession second to none in any respect." Trumbull objected that the word "appeaser" had come to be a condemnation, "as though it were no longer ever right to try to get along with an opponent without enforcing your own will upon him!" To this Heinrichs replied: "If you Christian pacifists have any practical solution to the present situation, I should be very glad to know about it. . . . One cannot turn back the years . . . and the many missed opportunities are the tragedies of this period of history. . . . The fact is that there is now a war going on and if you have any solution other than superior force it will be quite a discovery."

Central to the Lend Lease debate was the question of necessity. Did Germany pose a fundamental threat to the United States? In fact, as we know more fully now, the German navy was just then extending its campaign against British shipping into the central and western Atlantic. U-boat wolf packs intercepted convoys on a line running south from the southern tip of Greenland. On March 15–16 the battle cruisers *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* sank sixteen ships off the Grand Banks of Nova Scotia. In March British shipping losses were 500,000 tons and rising. The Atlantic was no longer a barrier to German expansion.[48]

The way the world looked from Main Street obviously differed greatly from the way it looked from the White House. The Roosevelt administration circumscribed terms of the Lend Lease debate, limiting it to Britain, Europe, and the Atlantic, and barely mentioning the Soviet Union and Japan, which figured critically in the coming months. This simplification was advantageous for the proponents of Lend Lease because it emphasized the familiar and proximate, at least for the eastern states. The cost was failure to widen the perspective of Americans commensurate with the widening of a conflict to global proportions. Furthermore, for security reasons the administration did not convey a realistic sense of the Battle of the Atlantic, nor of the defensive countermeasures taken by the United States. Thus, discussion of the threat posed by Germany to the security of the United States remained hypothetical and couched in generalities.

Nevertheless, stripped to its essentials, the argument of the proponents of Lend Lease, that circumstances required the United States to make foreign commitments risking war for its own protection, did correlate with external reality.

Nationally the Lend Lease debate was an essential validation of the president's first big step in bringing American weight to bear on the world balance of forces. Schneider, in his intensive study of the debate over intervention in Chicago, concluded that, in spite of its merits, the debate was flawed. It was marked by vilification of opponents and left a public torn and polarized instead of unified. The result appeared to him "deeply disturbing."[49] That is not the picture in Vermont.

The Vermont debate was coherent. In spite of the preponderance of proponents of Lend Lease and the absence of an America First organization, negative arguments were set forth strongly by pacifists and Aiken's Senate speech. Vermont was small enough to remain a single arena and develop a central narrative of challenge and response in the failed quest for Aiken's vote. Discourse was harsh and critical at times, but rarely ugly or smearing.

The debate undoubtedly consolidated and probably somewhat expanded majority sentiment in Vermont in favor of Lend Lease. The pervading and predominating pro-Lend Lease campaign and the large number of opinion leaders and organizations who made known their support for Lend Lease created a powerful momentum. It did not produce consensus; for a substantial minority of Vermonters the risk of war entailed in sustaining Britain outweighed any advantage in reducing the threat of Nazi Germany. Dominating their outlook was horror at the prospect of another war so soon after one so keenly remembered. What stands out is this fear, and not a sense of complacency about finding security in isolation. The debate was clarifying on both sides. It became apparent with Heinrichs's shift to support for a declaration of war that CDA's ambiguous position on the risk of war was no longer viable. Lend Lease was not a way to stay out of war any more than was isolation.

Public opinion is better seen as a process than a snapshot. In the case of the Lend Lease debate in Vermont, like the head of a caterpillar, the interventionists inched forward from CDA to Fight For Freedom, while the opposition, lacking convincing and practical alternatives, dragged along behind.

Notes

[1] I am very grateful to Professor Samuel B. Hand of the University of Vermont for reading an earlier version of this article, sharing with me his wisdom and knowledge of Vermont history, and pointing me toward further research.

[2] On the national debate, see Mark Chadwin, *The Hawks of World War II: American Intervention before Pearl Harbor* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968); Walter Johnson, *The Battle against Isolation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944); Wayne Cole, *America First: The Battle against Intervention* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1953); James C. Schneider,

Should America Go to War? The Debate over Foreign Policy in Chicago, 1941 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989). On Lend Lease: Warren Kimball, *The Most Unsordid Act: Lend Lease, 1941* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1969).

[3] Information for this biographical sketch is from the Papers of Waldo H. Heinrichs, Divinity School Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. On Heinrichs's service in the First World War, see Charles Woolley, *First to the Front: The Aerial Adventures of Lt. Waldo Heinrichs and the 95th Aero Squadron, 1917–1918* (Atglen, Pa.: Schiffer Publishing Co., 1999).

[4] Diary of Waldo H. Heinrichs (hereafter WHH), 1 July 1926, Box 263, Heinrichs Papers.

[5] Hermann Rauschning, *The Revolution of Nihilism: Warning to the West* (New York: Alliance Press, 1939); Frederick L. Schuman, *Night over Europe* (New York: Knopf, 1941). Heinrichs's copy of the Schuman book, heavily marked up by him, is in the author's possession.

[6] WHH diary, 29 Sept., 7 Oct. 1938.

[7] Michael Jarvis, "The Senators from Vermont and Lend Lease, 1939–1941," (MA thesis, University of Vermont, 1974), 68.

[8] WHH diary, 1 January 1941.

[9] These five newspapers as well as the Middlebury College *Campus* and *Middlebury Register* were searched for the period January–March 1941.

[10] Based on press reports of meetings, petitions, and speeches, and locations of CDA local chapters.

[11] Arthur F. McGrath III, "The America First Committee in Vermont," (MA thesis, University of Vermont, 1998), 78.

[12] Schneider, *Should America Go to War?*, 117–118.

[13] Jarvis, "Senators from Vermont and Lend Lease," 68; McGrath, "America First Committee in Vermont," 19, fn. 39.

[14] WHH to Rev. Hugh Holland, 1 April 1941, and to Rev. Donald Trumbull, 12 March 1941, Lend Lease Correspondence, Box 258, Heinrichs Papers. For Middlebury see note 29.

[15] Robert David Johnson, *The Peace Progressives and American Foreign Relations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 219–221.

[16] Jarvis, "Senators from Vermont and Lend Lease," 80.

[17] As quoted in McGrath, "America First Committee," 26.

[18] *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 4 March, 1941; *Rutland Herald*, 22 Feb. 1941.

[19] *Burlington Free Press*, 8 Feb. 1941; *Rutland Herald*, 18 Feb. 1941.

[20] On Aiken and Gibson, see Samuel B. Hand, "Friends, Neighbors, and Political Allies: Some Reflections on the Gibson-Aiken Connection," (University of Vermont Center for Research on Vermont, Occasional Paper No. 11, 1986), 1–14; Jarvis, "Senators from Vermont and Lend Lease," 40–46; Stephen M. Boyle, "The President Has Got to Eat His Spinach: Ernest W. Gibson, Jr. and Intervention, 1940," (MA thesis, University of Vermont, 1997), 12–16.

[21] WHH to Aiken, 23 July 1940, Aiken to WHH, 29 July 1940 (emphasis in original); WHH to Aiken, 9 Nov. 1940, and Aiken to WHH, undated but attached to WHH to Aiken, 9 Nov. 1940, all in Folder 18A, Box 4, Correspondence, Crate 60, George D. Aiken Papers, Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt. (hereafter cited as Aiken Papers).

[22] WHH to Aiken, 9 Nov. 1940, ibid.; Val Bowman column, *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 24 July 1940, Scrapbook, 1940, Box 2 (Clippings), Crate 60, Aiken Papers.

[23] *Boston Globe*, 18 Aug. 1940, Clippings Folder July–Dec. 1940, ibid.

[24] *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 18 July 1940, *Boston Globe*, 18 Aug., 1 Sept. 1940, Scrapbook 1940, ibid.; Aiken speech to Vermont American Legion, 19 Aug. 1940, speeches over Station WDEV (Waterbury), 19 Aug., 6 Sept., 2 Nov., Box 6, Bound Volumes of Speeches, Crate 48, Aiken Papers; E. H. Peet, campaign manager, to Mrs. Gertrude Daniels, 3 Aug. 1940, Folder 24, Box 4, Correspondence, Crate 60, Aiken Papers.

[25] WHH to Senator Warren R. Austin, 11 Jan. 1941, and to president, Vermont Chamber of Commerce, 11 Jan. 1941, Folder 51, World War II, 1941, James P. Taylor Collection, Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vt.

[26] *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 4 Jan. 1941.

[27] James P. Taylor, secretary, Vermont Chamber of Commerce, to WHH, 15 Jan. 1941, Folder 51, Taylor Collection; *Burlington Free Press*, 8 Feb. 1941; *Journal of the House of the State of Vermont*, Special Session, 1940 and Biennial Session, 1941 (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press, 1941), 111 (6 Feb. 1941). The resolution was apparently adopted in the House by acclamation under a suspension of rules, as there is no vote count. Senator Austin denied offering amendments and the Vermont Senate buried the resolution in committee.

[28] *New York Herald Tribune*, 16 Jan. 1941.

[29] Middlebury College *Campus*, 7 May 1941. For information about the individuals in Middlebury, both for and against Lend Lease, I am grateful to Phyllis Brooks Cunningham of Middlebury.

[30] WHH diary, 3, 31 Jan. 1941 (emphasis in original); Middlebury College *Campus*, 5 Feb. 1941; *Rutland Herald*, 7 Jan., 3 Feb. 1941; *Burlington Free Press*, 3 Feb. 1941.

[31] For information about Professor Everett Skillings, I am grateful to his daughter, Emily Skillings Palfrey: letter to author, 1 Dec. 2000.

[32] Middlebury College *Campus*, 15, 22 Jan. 1941.

[33] *Rutland Herald*, 28 Feb. 1941.

[34] This is a composite of reports on several of Heinrichs's speeches: *Burlington Free Press*, 18 Jan., 3 Feb., 8 March 1941; *Rutland Herald*, 7 Jan., 3, 28 Feb. 1941.

[35] Jarvis, "Senators from Vermont," 68–75; *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 6 Jan. 1941.

[36] *Congressional Record*, 77th Cong., lst sess., 25 Feb. 1941, vol. 87, pt. 2, 1360–1363; CBS speech, 6 March 1941, Box 6, Crate 48, Aiken Papers.

[37] *Burlington Free Press*, 27 Feb., 1, 4, 5, 6 March 1941; Middlebury College *Campus*, 5 March 1941. The poll was not fair, as Michael Jarvis points out ("Senators From Vermont," 78). The question should have been, "Whose position most closely represents your opinion? Aiken? Austin?"

[38] "Letter to Senator Aiken," *Middlebury Register*, 7 March 1941.

[39] *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, 3 March 1941; *Caledonian Record*, 28 Feb. 1941. Charles T. Morrissey and D. Gregory Sanford, "George David Aiken, That Man from Vermont: An Oral History" (typescript, 1981), 85, Folklore and Oral History Collection, Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.

[40] *Burlington Free Press*, 4 March 1941; *Rutland Herald*, 28 Feb. 1941.

[41] WHH statement, "Position Regarding War," *Burlington Free Press*, 8 March 1941.

[42] Boyle, "Gibson and Intervention," 62–66.

[43] Max H. Webster to WHH, 4 March, and WHH to Webster, 6 March 1941, Lend Lease Correspondence, Box 258, Heinrichs Papers.

[44] Paul Evans statement, "Organization, Vermont Chapter, Fight For Freedom, Rutland, Nov. 1941" folder, Paul Evans Papers, Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.

[45] Aiken to WHH, 29 April 1941, Lend Lease Correspondence, Box 258, Heinrichs Papers; McGrath, "America First Committee," 75–84.

[46] Gertrude Daniels to WHH, 2 March 1941, WHH to Daniels, 5 March 1941, Dana L. Bowie to WHH, 28 Feb. 1941, WHH to Bowie, 4 March 1941, Rev. Donald Trumbull to WHH, 8 March 1941, WHH to Trumbull, 12 Mar 1941, all in Lend Lease correspondence, Box 258, Heinrichs Papers.

[47] Heinrichs reentered the Army Air Corps in March 1942 and served as an intelligence officer in the 8th Air Force.

[48] Waldo [H.] Heinrichs [Jr.] *Threshold of War: Franklin D. Roosevelt and American Entry into World War II* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 27–31.

[49] Schneider, *Should America Go to War?*, 219–224.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Building History of Northern New England

By James L. Garvin (Hanover and London: The University Press of New England, 2001, pp. ix, 199, $35.00).

This is not a typical volume of architectural history, surveying great monuments and masters, identifying styles, or reproducing glorious photos of precious meetinghouses and mansions. True to its name, it is a history of building in upper New England, examining and explaining how and of what materials the regional buildings from the seventeenth century through World War II were put together. The book is the product of James Garvin's extended process of self-education, synthesized from specialized scholarship of the last decades of the twentieth century (collected here into a valuable, topically organized bibliography) and looking closely at the material evidence over a period of some thirty years, the last thirteen as state architectural historian for the New Hampshire Division of Historic Resources. It looks at the characteristics of building technology and planning, beginning with craft principles distilled from intuitive engineering, through the increasing impact of manufactured details and systems, to complete pre-fabrication.

The book is organized into concise, well-explained sections dealing first with technology (why the building is built the way it is) and then with style (why the building looks the way it does). In the former Garvin explores the unfolding histories of framing, sheathing, masonry, roofing, hardware, finishes, nails, and glass. He takes us from hand-hewn timbers to contemporary two-by-fours, from braced frame and plank construction to platform framing, from split shingles to cement asbestos roofing, from graduated clapboards to novelty siding, from Dutch bond brick to concrete blocks, from riven lath to beaver board. We examine cut nails, door latches, and the pattern and sizes of panes that can be cut from a disk of crown glass.

In the section on style we progress through plan and massing types, to moldings, doors, windows, and fireplaces. The author combines comparative photos of details from documented (mostly New Hampshire) buildings and examples from builders' guides and catalogues with his own numerous explanatory drawings that are worth a thousand words. At a glimpse one can understand the basic vocabulary of moldings, the evolution of window muntins, the construction and organization of panel doors. Because he explores them over time, he is able to establish clear comparisons of such details and to demonstrate how they can be utilized as evidence for decoding the history of a building—the dating of the original frame and plan, the remodeling of certain windows, the updating of a parlor's woodwork.

This may sound like a handbook for New England antiquarians and restorers. It isn't intended that way, though, nor does it read so. Garvin has aimed this book at anyone who seeks to understand old buildings, and especially at homeowners, whom he addresses as the temporary custodians of a finite heritage. He gives them the means to explore and read their buildings, providing keys to a world of discovery and appreciation. He also provides insights into materials and methods—the pattern of a structural frame, the width and strength of a mortar joint, the layering of a plaster wall—that can be of use to those who seek to care for and repair those buildings. His earliest examples tend to be regionally specific (thus justifying the book's title), but when he gets to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries he is discussing building types and features that, by virtue of their manufactured character and broad diffusion, make the volume useful to anyone confronting an older building almost anywhere in the country.

This book is guaranteed to send its readers heading for cellars and attics, cataloguing doors and windows, and looking at their woodwork with new eyes. A fascinating initial read, it is also likely to become a valued and frequently consulted reference.

GLENN M. ANDRES

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Rural New England Furniture: People, Place, and Production

Edited by Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University, 2000, pp. 256, paper, $25.00).

This book is the published proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife for 1998, a three-day series of lectures and demonstrations held in Deerfield, Massachusetts. Since 1976 the Dublin Seminar has brought together scholars, students, collectors, and other interested parties to present papers on an annual theme. Topics have included archaeology, gravestone art, foodways, medicine, Native Americans, music, paintings and this latest edition, furniture. Publication of the proceedings is eagerly anticipated by those who could not attend the seminar and those who did and whose interests were piqued during one of the many rapid-fire presentations (see the program description, pp. 252–253).

The articles in *Rural New England Furniture: People, Place, and Production* demonstrate varied approaches to the study of furniture from analysis of construction techniques and form (connoisseurship), to revealing the cultural meaning of specific forms of furniture in nineteenth-century America (material culture studies), to examining the mass production of chairs (industrial/economic history). Robert Trent's introduction is a good overview of what follows and gives the reader a succinct scholarly context for each article while providing the story of how presenters where chosen. It is worthwhile going back to ponder some of the questions he asks in the introduction after reading an article. All of the articles are worth reading, since they are vetted from the many oral presentations; but for the purposes of this journal this review will focus on the articles that are primarily about Vermont.

Jason T. Busch's "The Briggs Family Business and Furniture: A Study of Patronage and Consumption in Antebellum Southwestern New Hampshire" is a case study of a successful furniture making business that evolved, expanded, and contracted while competing in the changing marketplaces of pre-Civil War New England. Primarily a Keene, New Hampshire, business, the Briggs family expanded their operations into Vermont's capital city of Montpelier in the mid-1820s and stayed until the mid-1840s. These would have been boom years in the city, indicated by the many new homes being constructed as well as the new state capitol in the popular Greek revival style. Surviving portraits of

prosperous and successful families indicate that artists and craftsmen had receptive patrons in Montpelier. A table attributed to Lyman Briggs in the Vermont Historical Society collections was owned by Montpelier banker Timothy Hubbard and would have fit perfectly in his new temple-fronted home. Busch's article shows one strategy for long-term survival in what must have been a very competitive environment: Send out family members from your core operation to set up a new shop, provide other skilled family members as needed, and supply them with latest fashionable pieces from style-setting urban centers by transshipping them from your central store. As business dwindles, close up distant operations and focus on the main store. It all seems very modern and pragmatic though of course in antebellum Vermont Lyman Briggs was in business for a generation. Busch demonstrates that kinship ties, accumulation of capital, and flexibility allowed the Briggses to expand and then survive economic downturns that most likely put others out of business. As is usually the case with a good article, Busch raises more questions in the reader's mind than he can answer, such as, "what happened to other examples of Lyman Briggs furniture made in Montpelier?"

Kimberley King Zea writes about another successful Vermont furniture maker in "Cheaper by the One–sixth Dozen: Vermont's Patterson Chair Company." Like the Briggses, the Patterson family managed to succeed in business for three generations in Norwich. They did this by eventually specializing in chair making, adapting and adding new technologies for power, retaining their skilled labor force, and expanding their market by utilizing railroads and new sales techniques. Zea's analysis reminds us that many smaller manufacturers were able to compete with huge industrial producers in Southern New England creating small thriving communities as they did so.

David Krashes's article, "The South Shaftsbury, Vermont Painted Wooden Chests," revisits the painted chests that are often referred to as "Matteson-types" because two are marked with that name. Color and design have been used in the past to assign unmarked pieces to the South Shaftsbury area. Krashes believes that construction is a better way to determine origin and that the Mattesons were probably the owners, not the makers, of the two marked chests. Though Krashes's theory is probably a better approach, his checklist indicates that of the seventeen chests, five were not available for examination because their location is unknown, and a sixth, one of the marked Matteson chests, burned in 1970. As the author admits, the origins of these beautiful pieces will continue to be a mystery.

The final article in the volume, a fifteen-page bibliography prepared by Gerald W. R. Ward, is worth the price of the book to anyone interested in rural New England furniture.

JACQUELINE CALDER

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In Search of New England's Native Past: Selected Essays of Gordon M. Day

Edited by Michael K. Foster and William Cowan (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998, pp. xiv, 328, $70.00; paper, $19.95).

There is much to admire in the career of Gordon M. Day: forester, turned linguist, turned ethnologist, turned historian. Day (1911–1993) was born in Albany, Vermont, and spent part of his childhood in Barre. After a stint in the army during World War II at the European Theater Headquarters, he embarked on his professional career. Early study (of the effects of earthworms on forest soils) honed his skills at observation, recording, and analysis. He was first a forester at Rutgers University in the 1940s and 1950s. Next he became a research associate in the Department of Anthropology at Dartmouth College in the late 1950s. Finally he was invited to be an ethnohistorian at the National Museum of Canada in Ottawa (later called the National Museum of Man, now the Canadian Museum of Civilization) in the mid-1960s. Day's 1979 "retirement" allowed him to synthesize his research, 17 of his 75 published works were prepared in this period, including *The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians* (1981), as yet unsurpassed in its field, several articles, chapters, and reviews, and two dictionaries of the Western Abenaki language, published posthumously.

As significant as his professional appointments were, Day's true contribution was in the happy conjuncture of tireless fieldwork, prodigious research in written and archaeological records, and clear-eyed synthesis. Day's early interest in the native peoples of northern New England drove him to seek out traces of Abenaki and Penobscot culture in town histories, archaeological sites, old news clippings and other obscure written sources. He sought Abenaki culture in Vermont, New Hampshire, Quebec, New York, and Ontario. He conducted extensive taped interviews with native informants, asking first about trees, plants, and ani-

mals, and later about families and traditions. He gained the trust of families in Canadian reserves and in Vermont enclaves, returning again and again for more detail. With a historian's concern for preservation, he consolidated all the texts he could find in the Abenaki language, some dating from the Catholic missionaries of the seventeenth century. Tapes of his interviews are stored on both sides of the border, at Dartmouth and in Ottawa; his papers are archived at the Canadian Museum of Civilization. One suspects that treasures remain hidden in both collections, ripe for the energetic researcher.

This cross-border focus in Day's career, in his research, and in the eventual archiving of his tapes and papers reflects the exigencies of his subject matter. Abenaki history, language, and culture rightfully belong both north and south of the border, in at least two provinces and several states. The scholarly kinship that produced this volume of New England history breaches borders as well. Foster is curator emeritus at the Canadian Museum of Civilization and Cowan is professor emeritus of linguistics at Carleton University, in Ottawa.

In Search of New England's Native Past includes a preface describing the selection process of the included essays, an introduction to the importance of Day's work by Foster, twenty-four essays, a list of works cited in Day's essays, several clear explanatory maps, photographs of Day and the individuals he interviewed, a bibliography of Day's published works, and a detailed index. The essays include linguistic analyses, an article about a Penobscot war bow, evidence about the eastern boundary of Iroquoia, and a discussion of Dartmouth College's early links with the Abenakis.

Day's major contribution to Vermont history is his establishment of the Abenaki people as the earliest identifiable inhabitants of Vermont. Using methods that would satisfy linguists, archaeologists, ethnologists, and historians, he laid the groundwork for later archaeologists such as Marjory Power and Bill Haviland of the University of Vermont, whose book, *The Original Vermonters* (1981) reversed three centuries of generalized denial about native influence in the region. There is a direct line from anthropologists such as Frank Speck and Franz Boas through Day's work to Power and Haviland, to Colin Calloway (*The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600–1800* [1990]) and, not tangentially, to the revival and recovery of Abenaki traditions, language, and lineages in Vermont in the last quarter of the twentieth century. This lineage, albeit in a Western tradition of documenting on paper and tapes the words of others, has done much to preserve Abenaki language and traditions. There is no doubt that Day's work could not have been done even a generation later, when many of the Abenaki speakers had died. His tire-

less fieldwork amounted to a rescue: Few scholars or native researchers had addressed the problem before Day applied himself, and none had done so comprehensively. Day's notes, tapes, and syntheses are of seminal and lasting value for the native history of northern New England.

The editors of this volume of essays decided to excerpt some of Day's longer works and reprinted many of his articles in full. Ethnologists of all regions will be as interested in Day's methods as they may be envious of the institutional support he enjoyed for this work. The selection, however, is of particular interest to Vermont historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists. For instance, a section on place names untangles the meanings of names such as Missisquoi, which have often been misunderstood. The editors also reproduced portions of *The Identity of the Saint Francis Indians* (1981), a less readily available work of research on Odanak (Quebec), which has significant implications for Vermont and New Hampshire Abenaki families.

Foster and Cowan decided not to edit the essays. They allowed Day's earlier statements to stand, even those that he modified in his later work. The reader is thus afforded the opportunity to examine the progression of Day's thought. In a compromise intended to keep the volume readable, Foster and Cowan also consolidated all the works cited toward the end of the volume. This could lead to some confusion about the sources Day used, most particularly about primary documents cited in edited works. For instance, John White's 1590 voyage is described as follows: "and at Roanoke, White's (1906) expedition . . ." Readers unfamiliar with the early narratives and their later publication history would do well to keep one finger in the works cited section.

As the volume's title implies, the field of New England's native past is as yet unsettled, and Day's work raises as many questions as it answers. The sense of quest that Day exemplified, the variety of the essays included here, and the sophistication of Day's analysis will keep the reader engrossed. This well-executed and useful volume deserves a place on the shelf of every scholar searching for the roots of New England.

LINDA B. GRAY

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The Voice of the Dawn: An Autohistory of the Abenaki Nation

By Frederick Matthew Wiseman (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2001, pp. xvii, 305, $45.00; paper, $19.95).

This book is a history of the Western Abenakis, descendants of the people whose homeland is now called Vermont. It is not about the descendants of the Western Abenakis of New Hampshire, or about those who settled at the end of the seventeenth century at St. Francis on the Odanak reserve in southern Quebec. Nor is it a history of the people known as the Eastern Abenakis, who are culturally and linguistically related. Frederick Wiseman makes it very clear why he has chosen to limit his history of the Abenakis to the Vermont region. In addition to being a book about their history, it is also intended, as the substantial document it is, to make a public claim for their tribal recognition (today read nation) which has long been denied them by both the state and federal governments. Wiseman also expresses his displeasure with the absence of scholarly inquiry by academics, who have too readily dismissed the Abenakis as having abandoned their homeland. His disapproval results in an interesting and frank book on the Abenakis of Vermont. Wiseman has provided a different and intriguing look at their long history, along with a much-needed perspective on the political events of the past several decades.

This history proceeds chronologically. It begins with the great Abenaki hero, Koluscap, convincing the Frost Monsters to give up the ice cover, thereby permitting pollen and animals to take root and enabling the ancient Abenaki ancestors, created from the ash tree, to people the land. Each stage of their antique existence roughly follows the larger temporal periods used by archaeologists to describe the precontact eras. However, at the time of contact with the French in the early 1600s, Wiseman's chapter headings take on more sinister tones, such as "darkness falls." In fact, the years after 1609 are clouded by darkness until the 1970s, when the Abenakis began contesting their historical and geographical oblivion. What is intriguing about this history is that the author, himself an Abenaki, provides an almost first-person narrative, so that the reader gains greater insights into processes such as tool making or hunting. Wiseman, head of the Abenaki Tribal Museum, a professor of anthropology at Johnson State College in Vermont, and an expert on material culture, breathes life into the objects and subsistence activities he is portraying. In his discussion of his methodology, he freely admits

that his history is a personal interpretation, hence his reference to autohistory in the title. For the more recent period he draws on stories and characters from his childhood, interspersing them with the events he has gleaned from the published record. The last section of the book, on the Abenaki struggles for recognition, provides a candid account of the internal problems of factionalism and conflict. Wiseman does not hesitate, at times, to express his regret at decisions taken by the leadership. The author is to be admired for stepping into this minefield in such a public way; few others have done so.

Much of the book revolves around material culture. This reviewer found that approach puzzling, until the last chapters, when it occurred to me that Wiseman believes one way to prove the continued existence of the Abenakis is to identify all the crafts and artifacts they have produced in Vermont, most of which are now in the hands of collectors or antique shops. Although the focus is on the tools of Abenaki life, the book has much greater breadth and appeal. In his extensive endnotes Wiseman discusses many of the more academic topics, in addition to explaining whose research has guided his interpretation of events, as in his explanation of how his ancestors conducted warfare, the fur trade, and sea mammal hunting. These discussions are usually, but not always, convincing. For example, evidence is sorely lacking for his claim that a thousand years ago Abenaki log ships sailed to Europe. Also "irritating" (his expression, p. 246) is his suggestion that the St. Lawrence valley in the sixteenth century was a homeland for the Abenakis, not the St. Lawrence Iroquois. I judge these as two excesses in the author's attempt to move the history away from the usual Eurocentric approach. Nevertheless, most of the discursive endnotes I found useful and informative. These endnotes also display Wiseman's passion for subjects such as the need for academics to study the more recent period: "Ignore our prehistory. . . . please work on the archaeology and ethnohistory of a people who had to go underground" (p. 249). The book also contains very instructive appendices on educational resources, herbal medicines, and Abenaki place names.

Sometimes Wiseman's passion impairs our reading. At the beginning of the book and beyond the introduction where it belongs, he is very insistent about how the Abenakis have been ill-used by academics. His complaint is understandable, to a degree, but it is overstated, particularly when he relies so heavily on their findings to flesh out the details of his history. Much of early ethnohistory was left to anthropologists, who were prejudiced against working with acculturated peoples and unaccustomed to working in archives. Once historians began research in the more obscure sources, however, as he acknowledges with Colin Calloway's work, the Abenakis became reinstated on the map of Vermont.

Despite the internal and external difficulties the Abenakis have encountered in recent years in achieving tribal recognition, the last chapters end on an optimistic note, as Wiseman explains their renaissance as a people and a culture. This interesting and refreshing account of their past and their struggles is a fitting tribute to the Abenakis and the author. I would recommend it for lay readers as well as academics.

TOBY MORANTZ

Toby Morantz is an ethnohistorian whose latest work, in press, is, "The White Man's Gonna Getcha": The Colonial Challenge to the Crees in Quebec *(McGill-Queen's University Press). She is an associate professor of Anthropology at McGill University.*

The Green Mountain Boys

By Daniel P. Thompson in a new readable version *edited by* Carol E. Washington and Ida H. Washington. (Weybridge, Vt.: Cherry Tree Books, 2000, pp. 242, $15.00).

Daniel Pierce Thompson's book *The Green Mountain Boys* (1839) was probably the most popular novel written in nineteenth-century Vermont. Appearing in dozens of reissues well into the twentieth century, the book offered generations of Vermonters a condensed version of events leading up to Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys taking the old forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point from the British army in 1775 and Seth Warner leading his Continental Green Mountain regiment in the rear guard battle at Hubbardton in 1777.

Thompson pads the narrative of these events with several subplots. The antirevolutionary Loyalist Jake Sherwood pursues the novel's romantic heroine, Alma Hendee, and her father's wealth, and four additional romantic entaglements further expand the tale. The novel concludes with an epilogue in which a domineering Ethan Allen jocularly commands the quadruple coupling of eight lovers: Alma marries Charles Warrington, who is loosely based on Seth Warner (though, unlike Warner, Warrington is unmarried); Alma's long-lost brother, who as a child had been given to the Indians in one of Sherwood's schemes, marries Jessy Reed, the daughter of a New York land speculator whose Scots settlers had been evicted from Panton by Ethan Allen and his merry band; Green Mountain Boy Pete Jones, a conventional comic rus-

tic, marries Alma's maid, Ruth; and Neshobee, the Indian friend of the Hendees, marries the servant girl Zilpha. Each Jack gets his Jill in a heavy-handed Shakespearean comedy ending.

Today, a lasting connection between a popular novel and its reading audience seldom lingers more than a month, as measured by consumer suveys like the *New York Times* Best Seller List. The history of the reissues of Thompson's *Green Mountain Boys* suggests that its popularity lasted for decades—from the 1850s to about the First World War. Young Vermonters most often encountered the book in school. Tradition tells us that teachers rewarded their students for good behavior by reading a chapter from the novel to conclude the school day. Happily, like most Victorian-era fiction, each chapter builds to a climax that leads the reader to want more of the story tomorrow. Teachers of especially active students doubtless learned the disciplinary value of Thompson's book early in their careers. As literacy in America declined between the Civil War and the 1920s, books that lent themselves to oral storytelling enjoyed enduring popularity.

Today, Carol and Ida Washington tell us, old copies of the book "lie gathering dust in attics and museums." The editors wish to give it a "renewal of life," however, so that "these adventures from our history [might gain] their rightful place in the American literary scene." Yet in conceiving the task of revival as only a revison of the "language of the novel to make it more readily readable by the youth, even the adults of today," they proceed from a simplistic and limited understanding of the book's faults. Modern audiences are attuned to the possibilities of narratives from their enormous exposure to the full range of popular media now accessible to them. They would need far more than a simple change of "language and style" to be drawn into Thompson's version of events and people in a revolutionary past.

Language, moreover, is not all that needs modernizing in Thompson's fiction. His characterization is one-dimensional and banal: The first three characters we meet are named Smith, Jones, and Brown. Rhetoric is overblown and obvious; dialogue is stilted, excessively formal and pseudo-literary, doing most of its damage in the story's dramatic crises. Jones, the comic rustic, reads like a character in a satirical Monty Python skit: "The jolly woodsman turned and bounded down the slope like a young colt, singing out, 'Trol, lol, lol de darly!'" A creaky plot crudely skips over years of real time, as in, "From this time for a period of about two years, there was a pause in our story. We propose, therefore, to pass lightly over this interval." One wonders if Judge Thompson would have allowed similar liberties in his court to a lawyer pleading a client's innocence.

The classic plot structure for warrior/cowboy narratives is not all that difficult to follow, whether in Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans,* Ford's *My Darling Clementine,* or *Star Wars:* First, there's everything before the fight; then there's the fight; and then there's everything after the fight. Thompson seems to know this formula, but he uses the wrong fight—the rear guard action at Hubbardton, from which no real victors emerge—rather than the big one a few days later on the Walloomsac, celebrated as the Bennington battle. In this novel, however, Thompson alludes to the Bennington battle—the single most important event of the revolution to involve Vermont and Vermonters in its purpose and outcome—only in an aside after the fight. So much for keeping the early Vermont heritage alive.

It is the treatment of Neshobee, the "friendly Indian," and the hostile Indian allies of the British, that compels the question: Exactly what in "the heritage of early Vermont history" do the editors of this revision want to keep alive? Thompson presents Neshobee as an inscrutable, mysterious figure whose only redeeming qualities come from having been taken from his home and family. Like Captain Hendee's dog, he has a preternatural sense of intruders approaching the Hendee house, dancing around the farmyard listening to tree stumps for messages. The Hendee's dog yelps as he also senses the intruders, then barks to confirm Neshobee's animal sense of danger. Later, when British General John Burgoyne treats his Mohawk allies to a war feast and presents, the scene is described as full of "Hell and thunder! What whooping and yelling there was. One would have thought that all the underworld had been emptied upon the earth, and that the earth was alive with devils!" Thompson portrays the Indians other than or less than human, whether they serve the British or the colonists.

Judge Thompson was a founder of the Vermont Historical Society. Presenting Vermont's early history as a fictional tale allows him a great deal of authorial freedom, of course. The novel, moreover, once provided entertainment for audiences spanning several generations. Yet as a vehicle for teaching early Vermont history, it is best understood as a vehicle for myth. The test is easy to apply: We know we are in the realm of myth when heroines are "fairest in the land" (all are so in this book, including the formidable Ann Story) and none of the heroes are unspectacular. *Green Mountain Boys* passes that test.

The editors' aim to renew the life of this book in order to restore "the adventures from our history to their rightful place in the American literary scene" was doomed from the start. Its proper place is indeed on the dusty shelves of museums (and libraries) where students of American

popular culture can examine it for what it tells us about its nineteenth-century Vermont audience.

JOHN DUFFY

John Duffy is emeritus professor of English and Humanities in the Vermont State Colleges and a former director of the Vermont Historical Society. He was chief editor of Ethan Allen and His Kin: The Correspondence 1772–1820 *(University Press of New England, 1998) and is chief editor of the forthcoming* The Vermont Encyclopedia, *to be published by the University Press of New England in 2002.*

Edge of the Sword: The Ordeal of Carpetbagger Marshall H. Twitchell in the Civil War and Reconstruction

By Ted Tunnell (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001, pp. x, 326, $34.95).

Instead of returning home to Vermont when the Civil War ended, Captain Marshall H. Twitchell, a farmer's son from Townshend, decided to seek his fortune in the South. Twitchell became a Freedmen's Bureau agent in Louisiana, and eventually an influential planter and important Republican political figure in that state during the violent postwar era known as Reconstruction, when the federal government controlled the states of the Confederacy before readmitting them to the Union. Ted Tunnell, a historian at Virginia Commonwealth University, describes Twitchell's experience in Louisiana as "one of the great stories of Reconstruction, a story never fully told and indeed largely unknown outside the purview of specialists" (p. 4).

Although primarily interested in Twitchell's postwar career, Tunnell devotes almost one-third of his narrative to events of the war years, from which a picture emerges of Twitchell as an intelligent and courageous soldier. Twitchell joined the 4th Vermont Regiment in 1861 and participated in seventeen battles, involving some of the Virginia theater's hardest fighting. He sustained, but survived, a serious head wound at the Battle of the Wilderness in May 1864. Three months later, this independent-spirited soldier moved up in rank from sergeant to captain by transferring to the newly created United States Colored Troops.

Dispatched to Texas with his unit in the summer following Ap-

pomattox, Twitchell soon after signed on with the Louisiana Freedmen's Bureau. When that service ended, the Townshend farmer's son bought a cotton plantation in the northwest part of the state. Embracing his new circumstances, he courted and eventually married a local girl, served as a delegate to the Louisiana convention that adopted an egalitarian constitution for the state and disfranchised Louisiana's Civil War leaders, worked to establish local public schools, and became a parish judge and state senator. Using his plantation as a base, Twitchell launched efforts to revitalize northwestern Louisiana's economy according to a business-minded Yankee model of thrift and industry, and brought eight of his own family members from Vermont to join his "Yankee colony."

However, as a carpetbagger (a derisive name for whites from the north), Twitchell found himself involved in a new type of war. By the early 1870s, his bold actions and business success made him a chief symbol of Reconstruction control in the state and a major target of anti-carpetbagger groups, including the notorious Knights of the White Camellia. Night-rider violence caused the deaths of seven of his Vermont family members, the destruction of much of his property, and eventually the expropriation of his plantation. Twitchell himself lost both arms to amputation from wounds absorbed in assassination attempts, and Tunnell describes the Vermonter's "crippled, armless body [as] a metaphor for Reconstruction's dying promises" (p. 247). Newspapers across the nation carried stories of his and his family's ordeal, and of the faltering efforts of Louisiana's political reconstruction. Finally driven from Louisiana in 1876, Twitchell retreated to Vermont and two years later accepted a presidential appointment as U.S. consul in Kingston, Canada, where he served until his death from a stroke in 1905.

This book, which contains sixteen photographs, three maps, a bibliography, and an index, traverses historiographical territory familiar to recent students of the era. Tunnell depicts carpetbagger Twitchell as one who "was more or less typical of the breed" (p. 2): not the stereotypical villainous opportunistic northern adventurer motivated by a desire to plunder the defeated South, but an ex-soldier simply trying to make his way in the region. However, apparently because of the limitations of his sources, Tunnell provides little insight into Twitchell's character and motivation, leaving readers with only a surface understanding of this formidable, seemingly complex figure. Also, while the work comes alive in its narration of anti-carpetbagger violence, it gives scant attention to the larger context of repression of Louisiana's newly freed black population. Tunnell's book nevertheless succeeds in its primary goal of providing an absorbing account of the odyssey of a

courageous Vermonter during one of the darker periods of America's past.

GENE SESSIONS

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So Great a Vision: The Conservation Writings of George Perkins Marsh

Edited by Stephen C. Trombulak (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2001, pp. xviii, 228, $50.00; paper, $19.95).

George Perkins Marsh (1801–1882) is a paradoxical hero of the environmental movement. Historian Lewis Mumford heralded him as "the fountain-head of the conservation movement" (p. ix), and many leading environmentalists consider him the Father of Conservation. Yet, as author-editor Stephen Trombulak of Middlebury College notes in his Introduction to *So Great a Vision,* "it is surprising that so few people today have ever heard of George Perkins Marsh, and that so few even among them who have a deep understanding of environmental issues are aware of any of the details of Marsh's thinking" (p. xv). As the most recent book in the Middlebury Bicentennial Series in Environmental Studies, this volume goes a long way toward resolving that enigma.

Part of reason for Marsh's relative obscurity lies in the fact that, with the exception of his monumental work, *Man and Nature,* Marsh did not widely publish his thoughts. Perhaps even more to the point, as Trombulak explains, "Marsh wrote in a style common to men and women of letters in the nineteenth century, which more modern readers often find dense, even impenetrable" (p. xv). This book resolves both problems by including all of Marsh's publications dealing with his environmental thinking. Trombulak reprints, with minor editing, six lectures and reports, covering topics of agriculture, artificial propagation of fish, the study of nature, irrigation, and a lecture advocating the introduction of the camel for use by the U.S. military.

While the topics of these brief essays may seem a bit arcane in the twenty-first century, Trombulak does a brilliant job of providing insight into Marsh's thinking with brief introductions to each piece. In addition, by not overly editing Marsh's "dense, even impenetrable prose," Trombulak allows the reader to experience Marsh directly. It is doubtful that

any but the most dedicated scholar will wade through the text in its entirety. That, however, remains the reader's choice, not the editor's.

Most of what we know about Marsh appears in David Lowenthal's book, *George Perkins Marsh: Prophet of Conservation* (see review in *Vermont History,* v. 69, Nos 1&2 [Winter/Spring 2001], p. 233–4). While a superb biographer, Lowenthal is admittedly an apologist for his subject, rationalizing some of Marsh's most contradictory ideas by emphasizing his ability to criticize and reverse himself when new ideas suggested he was wrong.

Unlike a biographer, Trombulak in this book lets us read Marsh firsthand. Some of his ideas are quite astounding. He lauds the American institution of private property, as opposed to the European feudal system, that "makes every man the absolute irresponsible owner of his own land . . ." (p. 3). In his report on irrigation, however, he recommends that government "assume the absolute and perpetual ownership of all natural waters" in "States where irrigation has . . . importance" (p. 115). And he clearly favors civilization, "the mother and the fruit of peace" over the "arts of the savage" whose "life is a warfare of extermination, a series of hostilities against nature or his fellow man" (p. 5). Contradictions aside, Trombulak skillfully guides the reader through Marsh's wilderness of words to gain new appreciation of his amazing foresight on a wide range of conservation issues.

Trombulak's abridged presentation of Marsh's 1864 *Man and Nature: or Physical Geography As Modified by Human Action,* in contrast to the earlier essays, is heavily edited. He has eliminated Marsh's extensive footnotes and many examples used to support his key points, reducing Marsh's text to about one hundred pages—one-fifth the original. The result is splendid. Whereas no one I know—including this reviewer—has ever read *Man and Nature* in its entirety, Trombulak's edited version is very accessible.

Marsh's sweeping survey of history touches on many themes that invigorate the environmental movement today. He examines species extinction, introduction of exotic species, forest conservation and restoration, changes in aquatic ecosystems, desertification, and the impacts of large-scale projects. As he does in his introductions to the earlier essays, Trombulak translates Marsh's ideas, themes, and words into modern ecological terms.

In Trombulak's comments on the final chapter in *Man and Nature,* he emphasizes the importance of Marsh's theme of "humility." He cites the book's final paragraph as "one of the most eloquent statements ever written about the relationship between humanity and nature" (p. 218). In it Marsh poses the "great question" as "whether man is of nature or

above her" (p. 226). Trombulak concludes that Marsh "thus set the stage for more than a hundred years of discussion among philosophers, writers, religious scholars, scientists, and all people who develop a deep connection with their place on earth" (p. 218).

Surely, today, that discussion is especially cogent here in Vermont as we face so many serious environmental problems. Thanks to Stephen Trombulak we can draw on the wisdom of fellow-Vermonter George Perkins Marsh with new clarity.

CARL REIDEL

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The Mills at Winooski Falls, Winooski and Burlington, Vermont: Illustrated Essays and Oral Histories

Edited by Laura Krawitt (Winooski, Vt.: Onion River Press, 2000, pp. 206, $18.95 paper).

In the middle of the nineteenth century Vermont considered itself part of the nation's emerging industrial economy. Yet barely a century later the Green Mountain State's industrial past was all but forgotten. Only in recent decades have historians and preservationists sought to alter the tenacious image of Vermont as a rural state inhabited exclusively by independent Yankee farmers.

The Mills at Winooski Falls, a history of a Vermont textile mill community, is a fine example of the kind of effort now underway to rectify that image. This book of essays brings together experts in a wide variety of fields from botany and history to technology and environmental studies. Their short articles provide an excellent background for the reminiscences and oral history interviews that make up the remainder of the volume and bring it alive for the general reader. The book also complements the exhibits in the Héritage Winooski Mill Museum located in the Champlain Mill.

Several of the articles in this collection, previously published elsewhere, provide an important introduction to the Winooski mill story. Jennie Versteeg's "Counting Sheep and Other Worldly Goods" gives an excellent overview of the industrial revolution in Vermont, with empha-

sis on the developing textile industry. Betsy Beattie's "French Canadian Émigrés and Industrialization" focuses on the Québécois who fled their overpopulated homeland with its grim economic conditions for the plentiful job opportunities in the United States. As Beattie points out, if working conditions at the Winooski mills were hardly ideal, "the prospect of weekly wages for the several family members was preferable to the uncertainties, sometimes hopelessness, of farming in Quebec" (p. 60).

We tend to think of Winooski as a largely French Canadian town. But as these recollections show, Irish, Italians, Poles, Armenians, Syrians, and Lebanese all had their little enclaves here. We are told how residents of these communities continued to speak their native languages, maintain their native traditions, and enjoy their native food. Madeline Perrino recalls the Italian community in Winooski with its own store, and the "padrones" who found jobs and a place to live for new arrivals. We learn from Connie Stech Flynn about the advantages enjoyed by Italian immigrants in Winooski who often came with enough money to start a small business. By contrast, the destitute French Canadians and Poles were wholly dependent on mill work for survival. For Syrian girls the move to Winooski meant liberation. Here their parents encouraged them to get the best education they could. Back home in Syria women weren't even allowed to attend school.

The darker side of mill employment—the long hours, poor wages, and dangerous working conditions—is hardly mentioned in these personal essays. One is left with the clear impression that hard as conditions were in Winooski, they marked a decided improvement over the destitution many of these immigrants had known back home.

Two articles in particular rectify this somewhat roseate picture of life in a factory town. The first, by Jeffrey Marshall, shows how the renowned early-twentieth-century photographer, Lewis Hine, used images of youthful mill workers—including several photographs taken in the Winooski woolen mills—"to raise public awareness of the abusive employment of children" (p. 139). The second, by Paul Gillies, traces the long history of child labor regulation in Vermont. As Gillies points out, in this largely rural state where children were expected to help out on the family farm their employment was viewed as a private matter, subject at best to local control. Thus when child labor laws first became a national concern, Vermont was the last state in New England to regulate the employment of children in mills and factories.

In 1954 the American Woolen Company, which had operated the Winooski woolen mills since the turn of the century, closed them down

for good. The reasons given for the shutdown ranged from charges of inefficient management and outmoded technology to union pressure to keep wages and employment high. The true answer, according to an article by Douglas Slaybaugh, was increasing foreign competition, which by the mid-twentieth century threatened the textile industries of both America and Europe.

Recovery from the loss of so many jobs was necessarily painful and slow, but it came, we are told, thanks to the faith of the townspeople in their community's future. Today only the great brick mill buildings lining the banks of the Winooski River remind the visitor of the town's industrial past. This book of essays and reminiscences fleshes out that past and makes it come alive for the modern reader.

DEBORAH P. CLIFFORD

Deborah Clifford is the author of The Passion of Abby Hemenway: Memory, Spirit, and the Making of History *(Vermont Historical Society, 2001).*

Green Mountain Boys of Summer: Vermonters in the Major Leagues, 1882–1993

Edited by Tom Simon (Shelburne, Vt.: New England Press, 2000, pp. 191, paper, $24.95).

Baseball fans love to dream. *Green Mountain Boys of Summer* is good fodder for daydreams during a rain delay and winter dreams of opening day. It begins with a sentimental opening pitch by the Chief Justice of the Vermont Supreme Court, Jeffrey Amestoy, and ends with a page of statistics and an index. In between the writing ranges from serviceable to flights of poetry, both fair and foul. The illustrations, mostly photos, are excellent and include an image of each player represented. Many are baseball cards. All are the image the players wanted fans to see.

The subtitle tells you which players are included. The born-here Vermonter conundrum is raised by two players who were born here and left right after. They are also the two best players in the book, Birdie Tebbetts and Carlton Fisk. The place where one is born invokes a kind of geographical astrology. One response is "if a cat has kittens in the oven, it don't make them biscuits." No matter the criterion for inclusion, this is a wonderful cast of characters, both on and off the field. You will find Hall-of-Famer Carlton Fisk, "Three-Fingered" Dave Keefe, the inventor of the forkball, and Frank Dupee, "the third worst pitcher in the history

of Major League Baseball" (p. 38). Off the field they range from gregarious and pugnacious drinkers, to captains of industry, a doctor, a Mayflower descendant, French-Canadians, Irishmen, and others.

Vermont likes to think of itself as unique. Baseball is also unique. It is the only major sport in which you do not score with the ball. It is also played without a clock. With these facts and this book, even the casual fan and anyone interested in Vermont can learn and dream for many an hour.

BARNEY BLOOM

Barney Bloom was an assistant librarian at the Vermont Historical Society for fifteen years and is now a Washington County side judge. He is also a Red Sox fan of the stoic variety.

Voices of Vermont Nurses: Nursing in Vermont 1941–1996

(Winooski, Vt., Vermont State Nurses Association, 2000, pp. 426, paper, $25.00)

Each year nursing programs across the United States graduate a new class of nurses. What opportunities and challenges lie ahead for the graduates? If current trends continue, these graduates will experience rapid changes in the health care system, new developments in science and technology, increasing client acuity, escalating health care costs, and an impending shortage of nurses. Predicting the future is risky business. One can, however, look at history and see how previous graduates and students faced the challenges and reveled in their accomplishments. The history of nursing in Vermont is well documented in two previous Vermont State Nurses' Association publications: *We Who Serve: A Story of Nursing in Vermont,* published in 1941, and *Fifty Years of Progress: Past/Prospective,* published in 1964.

Voices of Vermont Nurses: Nursing in Vermont 1941–1996 portrays an exciting and dramatic picture of nursing in Vermont. This new publication utilizes many voices including students, staff nurses, educators, retirees, nurse practitioners, nurses from a variety of specialty areas, and nurse anesthetists. Each voice tells a different story, a different journey of sacrifice, joy, and suffering. Through these voices, we hear the will and strength of Vermont nurses.

The book is divided into four sections: Nursing Education, Nursing Practice, Nursing Organizations, and Vermont State Board of Nursing.

Each section provides the reader with a historical perspective, frequently followed by personal accounts by individual nurses. This format allows the reader to select particular areas of interest to read or use for research purposes.

Section one highlights nursing education in Vermont, beginning in the early 1940s and continuing through 1996, and presents information on each program in the state. During this period nursing education changed dramatically. New programs opened and others closed. Excerpts from students' personal stories share their views. "Life as a Student Nurse, Circa 1948: A Personal Account," allows the reader to hear the voice of a nursing student. "As students we worked or went to classes 6½ days a week and had two weeks off during the summer. Our uniform was a blue-and-white-striped short-sleeved dress with a stiff white collar and cuffs. Over the dress we wore a white bib and apron, and we wore white stockings and shoes. Each morning we had to stand for inspection for length-of-dress (over the knees), shoes (shined), and hairnet at proper length (just below the ears)" (p. 23).

Listen to the determination of another student who was one of five males in the class: "After being out of school for three years, I was scared to death, and I asked myself, what am I getting myself into? I knew at the time that I was entering a field that was predominantly made up of women. But I was not going to let that stop me from entering a career that I knew would be both rewarding and fulfilling" ("My Life as a Student Nurse. A Personal Account," p. 40).

Section two describes nursing practice in Vermont from 1941 through 1996. During this time-span nurses witnessed wars, the advance of technology, the beginning of Medicare, AIDS, increased attention to environmental and ethical issues, and the expanding legions of clinical nurse specialists and nurse practitioners. Today, a career in nursing provides a multitude of opportunities. Nurses only need to assert their voices to enter the field of their choice.

"When the Patient is Vermont: Public Health Nursing," provides an interesting portrayal of public health nursing from its beginning, when the nurse provided "bedside care in the home and school nursing" (p. 238), to the present "focus on the community while providing nursing intervention with individuals, families, and groups" (p. 266). Life as a public health nurse is challenging and hazardous, as described in this recollection from the 1940s. "There was one incident in mud season. As I was driving down from West Hill School, the road just separated and there I sat with the front end of the Plymouth nosed into the separation. It was a nearby farmer who came with his team to the rescue" (p. 246).

"A Nurse's Journey to Improve the Environment: A Personal Ac-

count," shows the determination of one nurse who overcame numerous obstacles to start recycling efforts in Vermont hospitals. The culmination of her work came in 1997, when the American Nurses' Association Convention passed a resolution, introduced by the Vermont delegation, to fund education for nurses on reducing pollution in health care.

"Vermont Nurses in the Military: Harbingers of Peace, Care, and Humanity during Wartime," provides vivid accounts of Vermont nurses serving during wartime, starting with the Cadet Nurse Corps in World War II and culminating with Operation Desert Storm. These nurses tell of sacrifice, hardship, courage, long hours, lasting friendships, and pride. A statement by General Colin L. Powell at the 1993 groundbreaking ceremony for the Vietnam Women's Memorial speaks of all nurses who served during wartime. "This monument will ensure that all of America will never forget that all of you were there, that you served, and that even in the depths of horror and cruelty, there will always beat the heart of human love . . . and therefore our hope for humanity" (p. 286).

Sections three and four provide information about the history, activities, and purposes of nursing organizations and the Vermont State Board of Nursing.

The many authors who contributed to *Voices of Vermont Nurses* offer a readable, enlightening, and entertaining picture of nursing in Vermont over the past fifty-five years. The use of photographs adds to the historical perspective and reminds the reader of days gone by. Nurses in Vermont will find inspiration in the voice of a colleague: "I hope that nurses in Vermont will march with vigor, with creativity, with a passionate commitment to quality patient care, remembering the slogan, 'Virtually Nothing is Impossible'" (p. 237). All readers will find that the voices of Vermont nurses are loud and strong.

LINDA ELLIS

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Wilderness Comes Home: Rewilding the Northeast

Edited by Christopher McGrory Klyza (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2001, pp. 320, $50.000; paper, $22.95)

John Elder closes his essay "A Conversation at the Edge of Wilderness" with an image from composer Charles Ives, haunted by the childhood memory of his bandmaster father's delight in marching two

bands playing different tunes past each other on the town green. Elder suggests that the well-tuned ear could discern within this perambulating cacophany a complex euphony, and he employs that image to call for harmonization of the frequently discordant sounds produced as wilderness advocates march toward landscapes "primeval" while consensus-oriented conservationists double-step in the direction of "working" landscapes. One of the rewards for the reader of *Wilderness Comes Home: Rewilding the Northeast* is that the two symphonic strains contained in the twelve articles making up the book sound through of their own accord. Whether they reach a concordance of any sort is another question.

A variegated mix of foresters, park administrators, conservation biologists, and activists describe the successes, failures, and impending challenges for wilderness recovery and restoration in the Northeast. Editor Christopher McGrory Klyza suggests that taken together, their voices can help to balance the traditionally Western chauvinism of much American conversation about wilderness. Old-growth "evangelist" Robert Leverett describes a suite of forest stands he finds representative of hundreds of long-overlooked sites that will become increasingly important to any "rewilding"—accidental or managed—that takes place in the northeast. Middlebury College conservation biologist Stephen Trombulak looks at the theory and technique of ecological reserve design in one article, and with wildlife biologist Kimberly Royar surveys the status of species reintroductions—from nineteenth-century efforts to bring deer, caribou, elk, and beaver back to the region to the contemporary attempts to reintroduce the wood rat, fisher, pine marten, lynx, wild turkey, peregrine falcon, osprey, bald eagle, shad, and salmon. Activists Jamie Sayen and John Davis call for "forever wilding" big tracts of the northeastern forest, and point to the opportunities afforded by the recent sale of timber and paper company properties. Addison County Forester David Brynn, Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller Park Superintendant Rolf Diamant, and Conservation Study Institute Director Nora Mitchell find promise at a much smaller scale of stewardship, in the private forest lands of the region.

An alternative title for this volume of articles might be, "Ecology Comes Home: Rehistoricizing the Northeast," and historians will take delight in seeing the formerly relentlessly ahistorical science of ecology pay homage to the importance of history. It is a deep irony that American forest ecology (born in the 1850s as Henry David Thoreau noted the patterns of pitch pines colonizing formerly plowed fields and watched squirrels burying hickory nuts in stands of hemlock) took shape in northeastern universities as the first wave of forest regeneration swept over New England in the wake of farm abandonment. Yet it has taken

nearly a century and a half to awaken to the fact that history matters as much in the life of wildlands as it does in the communities whose citizens seek out these places for restoration and renewal. If humans are to participate in the process of rewilding consciously, we must develop an acute knowledge of a place's past in order to guide its future effectively.

Successful ecological restoration depends on fine-grained knowledge of the natural histories of a place and its constituent species. Time and again, restoration efforts based on experience gained in one place have failed when transported to new locales. This need for specificity is an invitation to historians to collaborate with conservationists as they seek to restore the ecological integrity of landscapes. Local history becomes extremely relevant to the conservation biologist looking for just the right place to reintroduce lynx or peregrines. One wonders too, what local historians might say about the persistence throughout the Northeast of very distinct local places as "wildernesses" through the very era when, according to broad-brush regional histories, no wilderness existed.

Though in his essay John Elder reminds us that the wilderness movement is nothing transcendental, but is itself a historical phenomenon, the articles in *Wilderness Comes Home* almost universally lack any historical self-consciousness. This vantage point may be just the place where local and regional historians can create the most fruitful collaborative harmonies with both biologists and activists, seeking out the particular stories of past efforts at restoration that have become lost to us.

KEVIN DANN

Kevin Dann is the author of Lewis Creek Lost and Found *(2001) and* Across the Great Border Fault: The Naturalist Myth in America *(2000). He lives in Woodstock, Vermont.*

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BOOKS

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*Alexander, Wayne H., *Runaway Pond: The Complete Story, a Compilation of Resources.* Glover, Vt.: Glover Historical Society, 2001. 90p. Source: The publisher, Glover, VT 05839. List: Unknown (paper).

Allen, Richard H., *The History of Williston Central School, 1950–2000.* Essex Junction, Vt.: The author, 2001. 92p. Source: The author, Williston Central School, 195 Central School Drive, Williston, VT 05495. List: $15.00.

Anderson, Will, *Over 100 of the Northeast's Old-Time Best Lost Diners and Roadside Restaurants of New England and New York.* Bath, Maine: Anderson & Sons' Pub., Co., 2001. 184p. Source: The publisher, 34 Park St., Bath, ME 04530. List: $19.95. Includes seven Vermont diners.

Bishop, Mary B., *The History of Methodism in Brandon, or, the History of the Brandon Methodist Church.* Interlachen, Fla.: The author, 2001. Unpaginated. Source: The author, 720 Marion Ave., Interlachen, FL 32148. List: Unknown (paper).

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Bushnell, Alice, ed. by Marcia Cowles Bushnell, *A Little Girl's Diary: Life on a Farm in Strafford, Vermont.* Strafford, Vt.: The editor, 1998. 113p. Source: The editor, 20 Childs Rd., Lexington, MA 02421. Diary written in 1911. List: Unknown.

Carter, Jack, Lorraine Eastman Fava, and Linda Kaiser, *Waterbury Bridges the 20th Century: A Pictorial History, 1900–1999.* Waterbury, Vt.: Waterbury Historical Society, 2000. 112p. List: $19.00 (paper), $25.00 (cloth).

*Dann, Kevin T., *Lewis Creek Lost and Found.* Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2001. 223p. List: $19.95 (paper), $45.00 (cloth). Environmental and historical study of Addison County watershed.

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*Harwood, Madeline B., with Karen D. Lorentz, *Two Harwoods in the House: A Vermont Memoir.* Shrewsbury, Vt.: Mountain Publishing, 2001. 246p. List: $19.95 (paper). Madeline and Clifford "Doc" Harwood of Manchester.

*Ide, Horace K., ed. by Elliott W. Hoffman, *History of the First Vermont Cavalry Volunteers in the War of the Great Rebellion.* Balti-

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Joyce, Henry, and Sloane Stephens, *American Folk Art at the Shelburne Museum.* Shelburne, Vt.: Shelburne Museum, 2001. 90p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 10, Shelburne, VT 05482. List: $19.95 (paper).

Kimble, Warren, *Warren Kimble American Folk Artist: His Life, His Art & Collections with Inspirations and Patterns for Creative American Folk Crafts.* Cumming, Iowa: Landauer Books, 2000. 125p. List: $24.95. Popular contemporary Vermont folk artist.

Lorentz, Karen D., *Good Vermonters: The Pierces of North Shrewsbury.* Shrewsbury, Vt.: Mountain Publishing, 2000. 240p. Source: The publisher, 1300 CCC Rd., Shrewsbury, VT 05738. List: $19.95 (paper).

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*Parrish, Wendy Snow, *Stowe.* Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia, 2000. 128p. List: $18.99 (paper). Mostly photographs.

*Phillips, Harry, and Terry Tyler, *Vermont's Gunsmiths & Gunmakers to 1900: Including Inventors and Patentees of Firearms and Accouterments, Manufactories and Armories.* Dorset, Vt.: Two Damn Yankees Inc., 2000. 306p. List: $60.00.

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Crumb, Cynthia J., *Boyce.* Naugatuck, Conn.: The author, 2001. 373p. Source: The author, P.O. Box 229, Naugatuck, CT 06770. List: Unknown (paper).

Soo, Lisa R. Gilbert, *Gravestone Inscriptions from the Cemeteries of Westfield, Vermont.* No publisher, 2001. 82p. Source: The author, 13 Agawam Rd., Acton, MA 01720-2501. List: Unknown (paper).

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

Correction: In the article, "Can We 'Trust Uncle Sam'? Vermont and the Submarginal Lands Project, 1934–1936," by Sara Gregg, Volume 69, Number 1 & 2, page 201, the term of office for President Franklin D. Roosevelt is incorrectly dated beginning in 1932. FDR took office on March 4, 1933.

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Prepared by Reidun Dahle Nuquist

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