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In This Issue

About The Contributors

John J. Duffy of Isle La Motte and **Eugene A. Coyle** of Skerries, County Dublin, Ireland, have coauthored articles and presented papers in Ireland and the United States on Irish political connections with early Vermont that will appear as chapters in their forthcoming book, *Loyalists, Patriots, and Radicals: Irish and American Connections in the Late Eighteenth Century.* Coyle was a Fulbright Scholar at the University of Vermont in 2001. Duffy is Emeritus Professor of English and Humanities in the Vermont State Colleges and chief editor of *The Vermont Encyclopedia,* forthcoming in 2003.

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A summer resident of Greensboro, Vermont, **Gail A. Sangree** edits *The Hazen Road Dispatch,* the annual publication of the Greensboro Historical Society. She lives in Connecticut and teaches English at Naugatuck Valley Community College. She became interested in Timothy Hinman because two hundred years earlier he made trips similar to hers from western Connecticut to northern Vermont.

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Mineral collecting as a youngster led **Johnny Johnsson** to a career in the crushed stone industry and environmental permitting, and to an interest in mining history, particularly the mining and manufacture of chromium, copper, and iron related to the Tyson family. A Licensed Professional Engineer, he is a member of the Mining History Association, has published several articles, and presented slide lectures. As a volunteer ranger at the Soldiers Delight Natural Environment Area, a serpentine barrens in Maryland hosting one of the Tysons' chromite

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Kelly Nolin has worked at the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University, the John Hay Library in Providence, R.I., the Connecticut Historical Society, and several academic, public, and special libraries in Vermont's Northeast Kingdom. In October 1999, she became Military Archivist on the Vermont Military Records Project, where she supervised the organization, arrangement, microfilming, and rehousing of nearly eighty cubic feet of records dating from the American Revolution to 1919, salvaged from the State Arsenal when it burnt in 1945.

Crean Brush vs. Ethan Allen: A Winner's Tale

A victor's version of the past reaffirmed the Revolution for an anxious present and an ambiguous future.

By JOHN J. DUFFY AND EUGENE A. COYLE

Crean Brush, an Irish soldier and lawyer, came to colonial New York about 1762 and settled in 1770 in Westminster, in the region east of the Green Mountains that New York organized as Cumberland County in the same year. A Crown official, land speculator, and member of the New York Assembly for Cumberland County in the early 1770s, Crean Brush comes down to us as one of the villains in the New Hampshire Grants controversy and the early years of the Revolution in New York and Boston, who properly died a degraded suicide in 1778. Vermont's historians have represented him as a rootless, vaguely Irish figure whose major sin was to chair the New York Assembly's committee that wrote the bill outlawing Ethan Allen and other leaders of the Green Mountain Boys in 1774. Ethan Allen and Crean Brush have served a common purpose in the story of Vermont. In their afterlives as, respectively, villain and hero, Brush and Allen have contributed to the historical narrative by which Americans require their past to justify and give certainty to their present and future.[1]

Crean Brush was the son of a family staunchly loyal to the British Crown since at least the late seventeenth century, when his great-grandfather, John Brush (1662–1741), served as a Williamite officer in a Dutch regiment against the Jacobites in the major Irish battles of the 1680s and 1690s, including at Derry, Aughrim, and the Boyne. He was rewarded with a treasury warrant in 1696 for his military service, with which he bought a small number of forfeited Abercorn properties near Omagh in County Tyrone. He later purchased property in Meath at Kilrush and in Dublin city from the Williamite Commissioners sale in

1703. After John's death his son, Crane I (1680–1758), mortgaged with three of his own sons (James, Crane II, and Roland) the properties acquired by patriarch John for his service to William II. Crane I thus assured his own maintenance in old age and the family's continuance in the confiscated properties, one of which was Darkmany, a 100-acre farm and stone house in Omagh where he lived with his son Crane II (1703–1767) and his family. Crane I's youngest son, Roland Ash-Brush (d. 1775), resided on the family's property in Kilrush, County Meath. The middle son, the Reverend James Brush (1704–1777), B.A. and M.A. from the University of Glasgow, was comfortably settled with his large family as vicar of Garvaghy and bishop-elect of Dromore, County Down. He also administered the Church of Ireland estate in Dromore and held the family's interest in several Dublin city properties. By the third quarter of the eighteenth century, the progeny of John Brush were solidly based in the middle class as minor landed gentry.[2]

Among the descendants of John Brush, his great-grandson, Crean Brush III (1727–1778) of Darkmany in Omagh, carried on the family tradition of loyalty to the Crown. Between 1757 and 1760 he married and became a father in Ireland. After his wife died in childbirth he placed his daughter Elizabeth Martha with his brother-in-law John Cushing in Dublin. Brush emigrated to New York, where he adopted Crean as the variant spelling of his name, and quickly obtained employment as assistant to Goldsbrow Banyar, deputy secretary to the provincial assembly. In 1764 he was licensed as an attorney and formed a partnership with another Irish lawyer, John Kelly, who also speculated in wild lands, despite banishments and condemnation for his loyalist sympathies by the revolutionary governments of New York and Vermont. Brush rose in colonial society with help from Banyar and Kelly and a beautiful new wife, Margaret Schoolcraft, daughter of a well-known family in New York's Schoharie Valley. She brought to the marriage her late sister Anna's talented, illegitimate, six-year-old daughter, Frances Montresor. Brush continued in New York City until 1770, when he took his new family two hundred miles north to settle in recently established and sparsely populated Cumberland County on the Connecticut River, where he remained a government supporter.[3]

From 1763 to 1771 three governors of colonial New York had asserted a legally dubious authority to grant unsettled lands, an arrogation of executive power easily corrupted by granting townships in the vastness north of Albany to family members and political favorites. Brush's loyal partisanship was well rewarded. In 1772 he was appointed Cumberland County clerk, surrogate judge, and administrator of all civil and military oaths. In April of the same year, New York

Governor William Tryon granted 32,000 acres in Albany County to thirty-two associates, including his son-in-law Edmund Fanning, Goldsbrow Banyar, John Kelly, and Crean Brush. Two days later Brush and several others conveyed their shares to Tryon, completing the circle of appointments and payoffs. By early 1775 Brush had acquired over 20,000 acres in the provinces of New York and New Hampshire, all of those in New York coming to him as Crown grants, including those in the New York counties later separated and reorganized as the state of Vermont.[4]

The common political corruptions of eighteenth-century British government marked Crean Brush as a loyal Crown officeholder, the very model of a colonial placeman. Representing Cumberland County when the New York Assembly sat in 1773, Brush was comfortably established as a land speculator with extensive holdings, a lawyer, and a prominent political figure at home and in the provincial capital. His very comfortable and improving circumstances promised a prosperous future. But the revolutionary turmoil of colonial America during the mid-1770s completely reversed his fortunes. The American dispute with the Crown turned to violent resistance in 1775 as colonial militia roughly handled British regulars in Massachusetts during April. After a force of Green Mountain Boys and Connecticut militia led by Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold seized the crumbling fortresses at Ticonderoga and Crown Point on Lake Champlain in early May, Crean Brush exerted his loyalist energies in the New York Assembly to help lead Tory opposition to the revolutionary Continental Congress. Only the year before he had also been a central figure in preparing legislation—the Bloody Acts of 1774—that designated Ethan Allen and other leaders of the Green Mountain Boys as outlaws with rewards on their heads for violently resisting New York's enforcement of land grant titles that overlapped grants first issued by Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire in a region west of the Green Mountains that New York had subsequently organized as Albany and Charlotte counties. Brush also held substantial acreage in Albany County around Lake George. But soon after the New York Assembly adjourned in late spring of 1775, the revolutionary New York Congress formed and quickly took its seat in the Assembly's chamber. The four northeastern counties claimed by New York, a region of heated land claim disputes, were in a war zone, and Crean Brush faced arrest or worse both in New York City and back home in Westminster.[5]

The remaining three years of Crean Brush's life took him first in mid-1775 to British-held Boston, where he was commissioned by General Gage to evacuate the stocks of mercantile warehouses in order to

house troops in them during the coming winter. While in Boston, Brush twice sought authority to enlist a regiment of loyalists that would suppress Ethan Allen and his "banditti" and take back Cumberland County and the rest of the region west of the Connecticut River, including the disputed New Hampshire Grants that settlers were even then organizing into an independent state they would name Vermont in mid-1777. Brush sketched offensive and defensive strategies to restore the Crown's authority and crush the revolutionaries, especially Allen, and urged the British commanders Gage and Howe to approve his plans. But nothing came of these schemes. In April 1776, commanding a ship loaded with confiscated property, Brush left Boston in the British retreat to Halifax, but was captured by an American privateer and brought back to Boston. A Patriot court failed to convict him of any anti-revolutionary crimes, but kept him in jail. In November 1777 Brush disguised himself in his wife's clothes and escaped to New York City, where he was restored to the military rolls. His wife joined him, but Crean Brush died in the spring of 1778, within days of the exchange of Ethan Allen for British Colonel Alexander Campbell in New York. Allen had been taken prisoner after a failed attempt to seize Montreal in September 1775, was sent to Pendennis Castle in Cornwall, England, then for a month was held at Cobh, Ireland, and finally was held in New York on parole for over a year before the exchange.[6]

The new state of Vermont confiscated and sold Brush's house, barn, and law library in Westminster. His lands were also taken by Vermont's confiscation commissioners and leased for fees that helped support the new state's government. A year after Brush's death, the Vermont legislature listed him with his old law partner John Kelly among 126 loyalists who were banished from Vermont and threatened with forty lashes if they returned. Curiously, none of Kelly's land was confiscated, and soon after the war ended the Vermont legislature granted him at least one township and a portion of another. Margaret Brush and Frances Montresor returned to Westminster in 1783 after the cessation of hostilities to recover their inheritance of one-third shares of Crean Brush's landed estate. But the legislature had granted most of Brush's 20,000 acres to settlers and speculators, and other settlers who had leased the land after it was first confiscated now claimed outright ownership. His estate was irretrievable.[7]

In 1784, Ethan Allen, whose leadership against both the colonial government of New York and the British Crown had haunted Brush during his months in Boston, formed an unforeseeable alliance with Crean Brush's heirs by marrying the young widow Frances Montresor in Westminster at the home of his friend and attorney Stephen R. Brad-

ley. Until his death in 1789 Allen, with Bradley's assistance, led his wife and her aunt's unsuccessful legal efforts to acquire Brush's land in Westminster and New York. After Allen's death, Margaret Brush and Frances Montresor Allen sold their interests in Brush's estate to his daughter Elizabeth Martha in Ireland, by then married to Thomas Norman of Drogheda. She came to America in 1795 seeking to recover her inheritance, only to be advised by John Kelly that Brush's Vermont lands were "irrecoverably lost" through a land claims settlement negotiated by New York and Vermont in 1791. Thomas Norman later joined his wife to settle at Lake George in Caldwell, New York, on land originally granted to her father by New York's Governor Tryon.[8]

The vanquished loyalist Crean Brush acquired an afterlife in the standard nineteenth-century accounts of the origins of the state of Vermont. He appeared in regional histories and historical fiction as an Irish macaroni whose city manners and fancy dress offended the simple and honest rural folk of Westminster. As the Tory New York legislator who drafted the infamous Bloody Acts of 1774 outlawing Ethan Allen and others who forcefully resisted efforts to enforce New York land titles that overlapped New Hampshire land grants, he was a useful foil in the story of the heroic founding fathers. A Boston newspaper claimed Brush killed himself, though the manner of his death was not reported in New York. Even Brush's death was exploited as an example of loyalism's moral degradation. Traditional accounts of his death—suicide either by cutting his own throat or by a gunshot—"his brains besmearing the walls of his apartment"—featured a British payroll officer in New York rejecting his appeals and shaming him into suicide for his conduct in Boston. His career exhibits the mixed motives and a range of both material success and degradation that could result from loyalism in violent revolutionary times. As reported by nineteenth-century American regional historians, the standard account of Crean Brush's loyalist and antirevolutionary activities during his sixteen years in America came to a properly bathetic and dishonorable conclusion with his death.[9]

The received account of Brush's American years comes to us, then, as a moral fable told by the victorious Revolution's heirs, in a regional chapter of the Whig version of the Revolution's history. So understood, the moral tale of Crean Brush the corrupt loser shows how eighteenth-century loyalism could serve American, especially Vermont history's purpose to enforce a victor's version of the past that reaffirmed the Revolution for an anxious present and an ambiguous future. By the 1830s, when postrevolutionary America's second generation began to gather the documents of the Revolution and the early Republic, the political and moral order apparently confirmed by that successful struggle

seemed to lack the certitude that victory had ascribed to it. The anxieties induced by the social ferment of the 1830s and 1840s contributed to the popular appeal of historical novels with clearly defined Patriot heroes and counter-revolutionary villains. In New England, Daniel Pierce Thompson's frequently reprinted novels, *The Green Mountain Boys* (1839) and *Locke Amsden* (1847), gave to Ethan Allen a glorious afterlife in the popular imagination that eventually led to enshrining him in the Statuary Hall at the United States Capitol. Defender of poor settlers on the New Hampshire grants against New York land jobbers, hero of Ticonderoga, hanging prosecutor of loyalists, rescuer of babes lost in the woods, and diplomatic saviour of the young State of Vermont from a threatening British army in Quebec, Thompson's Allen was noble, tall, blond, and buckskin-clad. In one of the most frequently reprinted novels of the nineteenth century and later in Benjamin Hall's *History of Eastern Vermont*, Allen's loyalist antagonists, such as Justus Sherwood, the former-Green Mountain Boy turned loyalist leader, and Crean Brush, the foppish placeman and self-aggrandizing Crown officer, could represent much that the Revolution had defeated and expelled from American life.[10]

The stark black and white shades of Crean Brush's afterlife and the concurrent mythic construction of Ethan Allen suggest, however, that obviously no single narrative of the past tells the full story and that the victor's version deserves scrutiny. In violent struggles for political power contestants may raise their personal stakes in the outcome, and their own economic interests might even merge with community or civil life. Ethan Allen, for example, the demon of Crean Brush's dreams of recovering his power and land in Cumberland County, has come down to us as the altruistic defender of liberty and the young state of Vermont. Yet the Allen family's titles to over 200,000 acres of New Hampshire Grants could have been rendered worthless and their land business would have collapsed had New York's claim to jurisdiction over the lands it had granted west of the Connecticut been enforced by a British victory over the American revolutionaries. As the story of the loyalist Crean Brush and his antagonist Ethan Allen reminds us, winners seldom examine their own complex motives, and history from their point of view usually avoids such analysis.

Notes

[1] Benjamin Hall's *History of Early Vermont* (New York: Appleton, 1857) is the earliest account of Crean Brush's American career. Though Hall used important New York and Vermont documents

from the colonial and revolutionary years, his version of Brush came in good part from oral traditions communicated to him distant in time from that era.

[2] Brush Family Tree, *Blackwood Pedigree for County Families*, Blackwood Mss., Linenhall Library, Belfast; Burke's *Irish Family Records* (London: Burke's Peerage, Ltd., 1876), 178–79. Dean H. B. Swazy, *The Biographical Succession Lists for Dromore Diocese* (Dundalk: privately printed, 1925); J. G. Simms, *Williamite Confiscation in Ireland 1690–1703* (London: Faber & Faber, 1956), 89. Of the 9,681 acres confiscated from Claude Abercorn, Earl of Tyrone, his Protestant brother James purchased 8,982 from the Confiscation Commissioners and the remainder was awarded to Williamite soldiers. *Calendar of Home Office Papers*, 1696, 100.

[3] Goldsbrow Banyar (1724–1815) came to America in 1734 and eight years later was appointed deputy secretary of the province of New York, deputy clerk of the Council and deputy clerk of the Supreme Court. At the outbreak of the Revolution he retired to Rhinebeck and refused to cooperate with the British army in the Hudson River valley. John Kelly speculated profitably in New York, New Hampshire, and Vermont grants before and after the Revolution. Kelly and Crean Brush's daughter, Elizabeth Norman, were among those paid by Vermont in 1791 to quiet land claims based on New York grants dating from the 1760s, which was a negotiated condition for New York withdrawing its objections to Vermont joining the Union, and he advised the Vermont General Assembly to grant a township to John Jay for his role in settling the long-standing dispute. Frances Montresor (1760–1830) was the child of a liaison between Anna Schoolcraft and John Montresor, a major in the engineers corps during the Seven Years War. The affair became the subject of Susannah Rowson's much-reprinted sentimental romance novel, *Charlotte Temple* (Boston, 1790). When Brush arrived in Westminster in 1770 as the county's third lawyer, Cumberland County held fewer than 5,000 inhabitants.

[4] John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, granted 450,000 acres while governor of New York for eight months in 1770–1771, over 10 percent of which was deeded back to him. In July 1771 he granted 32,000 acres to 32 prominent New Yorkers supportive of Crown policies in a region where the province of New Hampshire had already granted five townships. William Tryon resumed the New York governorship in 1772 and continued the corruption with another 32,000-acre grant in April. New York State Library, *Albany Land Papers*, Patents Volume 16, Deed 9, 97; see E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany: Weed, Parson & Co., 1849–51), 8: 213.

[5] For Ethan Allen's response to Brush's role in composing and passing the Bloody Acts, see John J. Duffy, et al., eds., *Ethan Allen and His Kin: Correspondence 1772–1816* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1998), 1: 16–17. On the dissolution of the New York Provincial Assembly, see "Proceedings of the New York Provincial Assembly, Winter 1775," Peter Force, ed., *The American Archives: consisting of a collection of authentick records*, 9 volumes (Washington, D.C.: prepared and published by the authority of an act of Congress, 1837–1853), 1: 1281 ff. By late April armed mobs roamed New York's streets looking for prominent Tories, but many of them had left town, like Brush, or escaped to safety on HMS *Kingfisher* in New York harbor. In May a meeting of town delegates in Cumberland County elected representatives to the newly formed New York Congress. New York State Library, Colonial Historical Mss., 1: 97, and *The American Archives*, 2: 918–934.

[6] Hall mentions Brush's military experience in Ireland as the basis for his rank of colonel in New York. Dublin city electoral polls list a Major Crane Brush for 1760. His plans for a loyalist regiment and a strategy to regain Cumberand County and the New Hampshire Grants from Allen and the Green Mountain Boys appeared in the *Boston Gazette*, 15 April 1776, a few days after he was captured. Office of the Massachusetts Secretary of State, *Revolution Messages 1775–1783*, 297–319. Eugene A. Coyle and John J. Duffy, "Ethan Allen's Irish Friends," *Vermont History*, 63 (1995), 69–80.

[7] Brush's death was reported without details in the *Boston Gazette*, a Patriot newspaper that regularly published Samuel Adams's revolutionary pronouncements. In New York, neither James Rivington's *Loyal Gazette* nor Hugh Gaines's *New York Mercury* mentioned Brush's death. Preparing a suit by Elizabeth and Thomas Norman to recover a debt of the Burt family of Walpole, New Hampshire, owed to Crean Brush's estate, attorney Stephen R. Bradley secured a deposition in New York City in 1800 from the former Loyalist Timothy Lovell who testified to selling a load of firewood to Crean Brush in 1778 about an hour before his death, an unlikely transaction before suicide. Cf. Norman file, Stephen R. Bradley Papers, Special Collections, Bailey Howe Library, University of Vermont. The only surviving contemporary record of the event is a petition for support by Margaret Brush to Roger Morris, Commissioner of Refugee Claims for New York, January 20, 1779, *Royal Institution Transcription*, 4: 17–18, in which she tells Morris that nothing remains from Brush's military pay.

[8] Frances Montresor's first husband, a young New York merchant named John Buchanan, died in service as a King's Loyal Ranger. See also the Ethan Allen–Stephen R. Bradley correspondence on Allen's efforts to secure and liquidate the Brush estate in Duffy, *Ethan Allen and His Kin*, 1: 217–218, 248–250. John Kelly to Elizabeth Norman, *Documentary History of the State of New York*,

1024–1025. Benjamin Hall interviewed Elizabeth Brush Norman's son, Henry, in Lake George for information on her immigration and settlement on her father's land in New York.

[9] The *Boston Evening Post,* 11 July 1774, spelled out the revolution's dress code, true Patriot homespun. On Brush's death as a suicide, Hall cites the Patriot *Independent Chronicle and Universal Advertiser,* 21 May 1778.

[10] For a complete summary of the nineteenth-century view of Crean Brush, including most of Hall's many factual errors, see the text of an internet web site by Rachel V. Duffalo, www.usgennet.org/usa/vt/town/westminster/brush.html.

The Checkered Career of Timothy Hinman

Hinman's life illustrates the contradictions inherent in financial risk taking early in the nineteenth century.

By GAIL A. SANGREE

In the well-kept cemetery overlooking Derby Lake lie the bones of Timothy Hinman. The notation on his gravestone reads, "Honorable Timo Hinman April 29, 1850 AE88yrs." The marble has been recently cleaned, and the following inscription appears to have been added later: "First Settler of Derby. A soldier of the Revolutionary Army. Patriot & faithful honest citizen. A just and good man."

"Faithful, honest, just, and good" is strong praise for a man who, in addition to building roads, starting a town from scratch, and rendering judicial decisions, speculated in land, selling the lots at huge profits; smuggled and traded with the enemy; cheated his associates; defaulted on thousands of dollars of loans and betrayed the public trust; and upon conviction, escaped from jail. Hinman's life illustrates the contradictions inherent in financial risk taking early in the nineteenth century: While the potential for accumulating wealth was great, the chances of ruin were also high. Although a young man with strong arms, determination, and a mixture of knowledge and luck might secure a comfortable position for himself and his family, his efforts might bring him nothing.

As a boy growing up in Southbury, Connecticut, Hinman, born in 1761, heard about the plentiful opportunities for land in northern Vermont from his first cousin once removed, Colonel Benjamin Hinman, who had made raids into Canada from Crown Point on Lake Champlain in 1758. He had returned to the area during the War of the Revolution, taking over command at Fort Ticonderoga from Ethan Allen. Following his retirement, Col. Hinman surveyed the northeastern

Vermont wilderness and returned to Connecticut to tell land-hungry friends and relatives of the "Still Remaining unappropriated . . . tract of Land in the . . . State of Vermont,"[1] a large chunk of land approximately the size of Rhode Island for which he petitioned. After the Revolution, with agricultural land in short supply and a burgeoning population, southern New England farmers were eager for such information.

Serving in the militia and the regular army until his discharge in 1783, Timothy Hinman, along with his older brother Isaac, acquired road-building, bridge-making, and surveying skills. At the conclusion of the war he returned to Southbury and married Phebe Stoddard, one of a family of fifteen children. Because his father had already removed to Vermont and neither he nor Phebe had prospects of acquiring a farm in the Southbury region, Timothy soon ventured northward in search of a livelihood. In the summer of 1789 Timothy, along with Southbury natives Aaron Hinman (Colonel Benjamin's son), Samuel Drakeley, Obadiah Wheeler, and Vermont's second surveyor general, James Whitelaw of Ryegate, explored the area of the large unappropriated tract that Colonel Benjamin had applied for ten years earlier.[2] They returned in the summer of 1790, and beginning in 1791, Timothy was an indefatigable petitioner to the Vermont legislature for taxes on land to build and improve roads and bridges in northeastern Vermont.[3]

By 1792 Hinman was actively engaged in Vermont's land market. His name appeared in a notice in the *Vermont Gazette* as tax collector for the town of Woodbury, Vermont, although he had not yet left Connecticut permanently.[4] On March 30, 1792, he and Ebenezer Strong, another land speculator from Southbury, wrote a letter to James Whitelaw requesting him to bid on land that had come up for auction in the future town of Barton, promising "we will Reward You Amply for all Your Trouble Soon we Arnestly Request You not to fail as it is of Consequence to us to have Said Business Done."[5]

That autumn, Hinman was one of several Revolutionary War veterans from Connecticut who gathered in Greensboro and signed petitions to the legislature requesting that taxes be levied to build roads and bridges. One of these petitions stated, "We . . . beg Leave to inform Your Honours that there is Several Settlement began on the town of Darby by Lake Memphremagogue which Cannot be Caryed on with Success without Communication with Some Neaghbouring towns and at present the town of Greensborough is the Nearest town that is Inhabitted & the Road from Greensborough to Darby Leads through the Towns of Glover and Barton."[6]

Perhaps they were overstating the case when they claimed that "there is Several Settlement[s] began on the town of Darby," but it

seems clear that by this time Hinman had decided to locate a town there on the Canadian border even though Glover and Barton were unsettled. From the fall of 1792 until the spring of 1795 when he permanently moved his family to Derby, he used Greensboro as his base for many road-building trips to the north. Supported by taxes levied by the state and collected by Hinman himself, the road went due north from Greensboro through the future towns of Glover, Barton, and Brownington thirty-five miles to Derby.

Blind chance did not account for Hinman's choice of location for his new town. The town of Stanstead in Lower Canada was settled at the same time, and as a result of Whitelaw's and Benjamin Hinman's earlier surveying trips, Timothy would have known not only that the land was of high agricultural quality, but also that positioning an American town directly across the border from a Canadian settlement would facilitate international trade through Quebec. The north-south orientation of Lake Memphremagog, extending more than twenty miles into Canada, was similar to Lake Champlain, already a major trading route in the west. Hinman probably envisioned an eastern route to the St. Lawrence River to rival the success of traders west of the mountains.

The people who settled Stanstead came from the same places as and were often related to those who settled Derby. Samuel Pomroy, for example, bought a lot in Derby in 1799, and his brother Selah settled in Stanstead. Several members of the Bangs family from Williamsburg, Massachusetts, settled on both sides of the border. Indeed, although the forty-fifth parallel had divided the American colonies from Canada since 1763 and the area had been surveyed by 1792, "the line of demarcation had been so imperfectly defined that the early settlers hardly knew at first whether they were in Vermont or Canada."[7]

The process of establishing a new town required a financial commitment and offered speculators the possibility of enriching themselves. At Derby those proprietors who, after due warning, did not pay taxes on their rights forfeited their shares at public vendue to satisfy taxes. Derby's first such sale took place in 1793. Timothy Hinman acquired sixteen rights. In 1794 a second tax sale occurred, and Hinman bought four more rights.[8] In addition to his own share of 310 acres, he gained twenty-one proprietors' rights in Derby, or about 6,700 acres, a large portion of the town, though worth little until cleared and cultivated. It was in his interest, then, to sell these lots to settlers, who would contribute to the town's future prosperity. He had reason to fear that the proprietary rights to Derby would be forfeited if settlement did not occur in a timely fashion because Derby's charter specified that houses had to be built and acreage cleared within four years' time.[9] Perhaps prompted

by a desire to attract settlers to their new town, Timothy and Phebe made a trip back to Southbury in 1795.[10] Like Ebenezer Strong, who had bought original proprietors' rights from Southbury investors and was selling lots at a tidy profit to settlers from New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, Hinman engaged in land deals on a smaller scale, selling lots to family members and an assortment of settlers from diverse communities.

These pioneers organized their lives according to long-established patterns. By 1797 Timothy had become Derby's justice of the peace.[11] His duties included conducting marriages and settling disputes in an informal setting, probably his home. Early Vermont's economy, which lacked cash, depended upon an intricate balance of mutual indebtedness, with a simple legal system to work out disagreements.

Soon, however, established custom gave way to modifications. For example, disputes may have arisen concerning roaming livestock. Among those officers elected at the first town meeting convened in 1798 were two fence viewers, which suggests that communal pasturing, common in earlier New England towns, was short-lived in Derby and that its settlers preferred a more individualized arrangement of their assets.

Favoring individual endeavor over communal arrangement may be partly attributable to Derby's first inhabitants' coming from several towns in southern New England and never meeting until they arrived in Derby's wilderness. They subscribed to a variety of religious faiths, including Freewill Baptist and Methodist as well as Congregationalist. Although land was set aside for a church when the town was laid out, no church was organized until 1807, no settled minister called until 1810, and no church building erected until 1820.[12]

Those who established a new town hoped that it would "improve" with further settlement so they could sell their land at a profit if they decided not to live there. In order to improve, a town required settlers and connections to other towns. In this sense, Hinman's town and his own fortunes improved rapidly, for within five years of settlement, Derby had one hundred seventy-eight inhabitants.[13]

In what was to become a life-altering decision, Hinman opened a store, which sold basic necessities to cash-poor settlers who traded goods or services for items such as buskins, mittens, corn, pork, and rum. Like other storekeepers in Vermont, Hinman accepted potash or pearlash in trade. Settlers saved all their fireplace ashes, as well as the ashes remaining from clearing land through burning, which they processed into "black salts" or pearlash, useful in manufacturing glass, bleach, and gunpowder. Because Britain paid good prices for pearlash,

this by-product of clearing forest land became America's first important chemical export.[14] Accepting pearlash as payment for goods at his store, Hinman could arrange to transport the ash to Quebec for re-export to Britain.

Hinman's account book, covering the years from 1798 to 1809, records a complex web of debts, some in dollars, some in pounds, which townspeople of Derby owed to either the store or the tavern.[15] His method of record keeping reveals that the villagers of Derby met their basic needs through a network of dependencies. Although a few items, such as velvet, buttons, cups and saucers, rum, gin, and brandy, would have been imported, most of Hinman's stock in trade was available locally: In the early years he sold more hay, pork, applesauce, and horses than fancy fabric or housewares. When the store began, Derby's economy was locally based, and Hinman's shop supplied townsfolk with necessities they could not, or chose not to, provide for themselves.

Hinman used a day book and a ledger. Only the single-entry day book survives. This was a record of who was charging for items sold at his store or tavern, and it contains valuable data.[16] Some of these transactions were quite complicated in that Hinman accepted goods and services as well as cash. In this sense, his customers might also be his suppliers. Sometimes he would accept notes of indebtedness to third parties. For example, on March 31, 1800, he wrote, "Record with Mr. Noah Woodward and settled by taking a note against Aron Vilas of $3.50." Transactions such as "to Eliphalet Bangs Jr to Mr. Clark 2/ to 1 Day work at his farm" indicate that Hinman accepted labor for paying off debts.[17]

The day book also provides data regarding Hinman's land sales. In at least two cases, those of David Dustin and Rufus Stewart, people to whom Hinman sold land did not pay the full price all at once, for he noted, "by Cash in Dollars to be endorsed on a note" (July 26, 1798), and "by Cash 15 Dollars to be endorsed on his note." On November 28, 1798, Hinman recorded that David Dustin worked for seven months for twenty-one pounds, "of which he gives $14.87 to giving up his note."[18]

The later years covered by the account book list many charges for alcoholic beverages sold by the glass, the quart, or the gallon. Among those running up a tab at the tavern were Hinman's neighbors Eliphalet Bangs, Freeman Vining, John Phelps, and Sheriff James Owen.

Hinman put a series of cross-hatchings beside notations such as "keeping 4 oxen overnight," which indicated that he had transferred the debt from the day book to the ledger. However, at one point he wrote in the margin, "Previous to this page, all is posted which was necessary to be posted and some more, but finding so many inexplicable

things I dare not venture any further in that way,"[19] as if the tangle of who owed what was too complicated to unravel. It also suggests that Hinman's accounting was not precise. If everyone managed to get by, he was not particularly concerned with making every column balance.

This casual attitude toward finance, while typical of early New England farming communities, would later prove disastrous for Hinman. Local exchange permitted great latitude in the settlement of debts; creditors rarely charged interest and allowed extra time for the debtor to gather assets to pay off the debt, often waiting until the next harvest for payment. Only when the creditor needed money himself did he feel justified in pressuring the debtor to pay.[20] However, as credit relationships extended over larger geographical areas, they became more formalized. If a townsman did not know his debtor, he was likely to desire more formal credit arrangements, such as promissory notes and bonds.

As his business increased, Hinman took on two associates. Beginning in 1800, Ralph Parker of Glover appeared in the account book: "To Mr. Parker, 6 hundred of hay," and later "to Mr. Parker 4 hundred of hay took away the heifer the 29 day of March."[21] Parker also did some work for Hinman, for he wrote, "In the summer of 1802 Parker worked 17½ days."[22] Ralph Parker, one of Glover's first citizens, came to settle late in the eighteenth century from Fair Haven and sold lots to new settlers. Like Hinman, he opened a store and tavern at his home, and served many terms with Hinman in the legislature. Melvin Vining of Derby was the son of Freeman Vining, in whose home the Congregational church was organized. Melvin Vining first appeared in the account book in 1808.

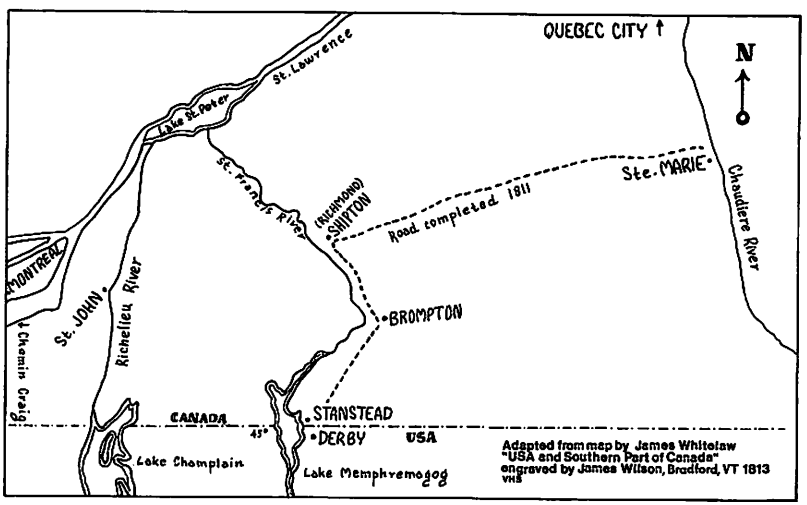
Within a few years Hinman had expanded his business beyond the local area by offering goods obtained from Boston merchants. Later records indicate that he borrowed money to pay for merchandise from several wholesalers, among them Staunton and Spellman, Eli & Company, and Oliver C. Wyman.[23] In so doing, he drastically changed the nature of his business, for this kind of trade required cash rather than barter and written contracts rather than simple trust.

Once his store was in operation, Hinman had more reason than ever to seek to increase trade with the British by creating a route to the north so that he could offer more of the imported wares that customers craved. Beginning in 1802, along with his brother Isaac and Ebenezer Strong, Hinman petitioned the legislature not only for a tax for the construction of roads and bridges but also for exclusive rights to a ferry across Lake Memphremagog.[24] The ferry would have served as the beginning of a water route to the St. Lawrence River. The legislature continually postponed action on the ferry proposals, however, ordering them to "lie on the table" in 1802, 1803, and 1804.

By October 1805 Hinman had conceived another strategy. He joined several citizens of Orleans and Caledonia counties in a petition to construct the Vermont section of a proposed Boston and Montreal Turnpike. However, when the route for this turnpike proposed by James Whitelaw followed the Bayley-Hazen Road and bypassed Derby, Hinman withdrew his support.[25] Instead, he seems to have placed his hopes on another route, north from Derby to Quebec City.

Just how far Hinman got in creating such a roadway is unclear. According to his grandson's account, Hinman constructed a road from Shipton (now Richmond in Quebec) on the St. Francis River sixty-five miles north to the vicinity of Quebec City.[26] This road, called Chemin Craig, was completed by November 1810 under the direction of Lower Canada's Governor Craig, commanding a force of more than four hundred soldiers, who built a route through the wilderness to accommodate stagecoach travel.[27] Although Hinman may have been involved in the planning of this road, his name does not appear either as surveyor, financier, or builder, and despite his hopes, the road was not completed in time to connect his business in Derby to the St. Lawrence at Quebec.

Earlier, Hinman's road building had been funded by property taxes, which he collected and disbursed, but in 1808 he sought another source: money borrowed from a bank. Whether Hinman told the bankers what



"Chemin Craig," eastern route for Vermont goods to Quebec City. Map by Anniegraphics [M. Ann Bartel], Greensboro, Vt. (2002), courtesy of the author.

he planned to do with the money is not clear because his application has not survived. Although he may not have realized it, borrowing money from a bank was very different from being indebted to a neighbor or from wangling money from the state for taxes to build roads.

According to the records of the General Assembly, in December 1808 Timothy Hinman as principal, with Ralph Parker and Melvin Vining as securities, executed a promissory note of $11,000 to the president and directors of the Burlington branch of the Vermont State Bank. This represented a very large sum of money at the time: According to John J. McCusker's composite consumer price index, eleven thousand dollars in 1808 would be the equivalent of $118,689 in 1992 dollars.[28] The $11,000 was due to be repaid within a short period. How Hinman and his associates expected to pay back such a large sum so quickly is unclear, and the penalties for defaulting were harsh.

He couldn't have chosen a worse time to borrow money to finance a business based on international trade. Situated on the border, with contacts already established, Hinman may have considered himself favorably positioned to sell British goods to Americans isolated from other suppliers. Yet, while he was envisioning expanded trade with the British, President Jefferson was issuing trade restrictions forbidding importation of many British products. In December 1807 Congress had passed an embargo on seaborne trade that prohibited the overseas export of American products. Hinman may have wished to profit from the interruption in normal overseas routes by which Americans secured British goods. However, in March of 1809, only a few months after he had received his loan, Congress passed another act strengthening the Embargo of 1807. This bill covered overland trade, stating that any person who should load products "into any cart, wagon, sled, or other carriage . . . with intent to export, transport or convey the same on board any foreign ship or vessel" risked seizure of the cargo and a fine equal to four times its value.[29] The administration put in place enforcement measures to prevent smuggling, which trimmed American exports from $108,000,000 in 1807 to $22,000,000 in 1808.[30]

Undaunted by the unfavorable economic situation and with funding available, in 1809 Hinman built a large store at Derby Line, which his grandson described as "a store that soon, in a small way, became a wholesale store."[31] As soon as his new store was built, however, the state bank, in deep financial trouble itself, recalled Hinman's loan. With financial troubles looming, Hinman, never averse to taking a risk, borrowed $3,000 more from the Middlebury branch of the state bank in May 1809. Among other unusual practices, this branch did not require collateral on the loans it made.[32]

Overall, Hinman's share of the bank's debt was 2.7 percent of its notes outstanding. For each $1,000 of unpaid debt the bank had to call in another $1,000 loan to meet depositor demands, and, because the bank had ignored state requirements that bills in circulation not exceed three times the sum of deposits, its bills had decreased in value. This may explain why the bank requested that Hinman repay his loan only nine months after receiving the money. Within two years the bank failed.

Hinman himself was in serious trouble on several fronts. According to his grandson's account, the wreck at sea of a ship carrying Hinman's pearlash and peltries, together with the embezzlement of funds by his "business manager," presumably Vining, brought financial ruin.[33] There may have been other reasons for the collapse of the business. For example, the price of pearlash had declined and would continue to do so. Further, as a merchant, Hinman was in the difficult position of trying to balance the demands of distant suppliers for prompt settlement of their bills with traditional local expectations of extended credit. With little currency, customers at Hinman's store were accustomed to delaying settlement until they could trade their surplus produce, but Hinman's Boston suppliers had no such understanding.[34] The long-range prospects for Hinman's business were even dimmer. Certainly by the time federal troops were stationed in Derby in 1812, charged with maintaining the embargo, illicit trade would have been difficult, if not impossible.

Yet the sympathies of many of the local people favored international exchange. Several of Derby's citizens opposed and flagrantly violated the embargo, for they depended on the Canadian market as a way to sell their cattle, lumber, and pearlash surpluses. They believed that for the federal government to hold back trade in this manner amounted to denying them the opportunity to prosper.

Vermonters in the early nineteenth century took a more sympathetic view of debtors than did the law. An article in Danville's *North Star* entitled "The Poor Imprisoned Debtor" expressed a mix of outrage and sympathy toward "these unfortunate men, shut up in a Bastile by the rigor of an impolitic and barbarous law, and the tyranny of unmerciful creditors."[35] Addressing the affluent or the merchant class, the writer stressed that the fate of the miserable imprisoned debtor might easily have been their own. During these years citizens' petitions on behalf of prisoners who had cosigned on loans for their friends who subsequently defaulted clogged the General Assembly's docket.[36]

Court records reveal that the effects of the bank's recalling the loan were disastrous for Hinman and put him in a difficult position as judge of the Orleans County Court. Already beleaguered by creditors, Chief Justice Hinman presided over the March 1810 session of the court. One

case on the docket involved his neighbor and frequent tavern customer Eliphalet Bangs, who had failed to pay a debt to a New York creditor. Although Sheriff Joseph True had signed papers assuring that Bangs would appear to answer the charges in court, he failed to do so, and Judge Hinman directed his brother Isaac to attach property of Bangs and/or True to the value of $300, or to take Bangs himself to jail.

Another case at that session involved Hinman himself, who had personally guaranteed that Bangs would pay a debt he owed Aaron Porter of Danville. As a judge, Hinman must have known the possible consequences of such action, but Bangs may have been unable to negotiate his note without the signature of a prominent townsman, and as Bangs's neighbor, Hinman was doing what was expected of him. When Bangs did not pay, Justice of the Peace Jehiel Boardman authorized Sheriff Isaac Hinman to attach goods and chattels of his brother Timothy. On the specified date in March 1810, neither Bangs nor Hinman agreed to pay the debt, so Boardman authorized the sheriff to attach up to $200 of Judge Hinman's property, or failing that, to take his body to jail.[37]

In other business before the court that session, Hinman once again received a tavernkeeper's license for two dollars and was appointed by the court as a surveyor. For the most part, however, Assistant Judge Samuel Crafts heard the cases that session. Conflict of interest may not have been written into law, but common sense may have persuaded the court that it was inappropriate for Hinman to act as judge in cases directly involving himself.

Even though conflict of interest violations did not trouble early Vermonters nearly as much as they might today, Derby's land records and those of the legislature nevertheless reveal some disquieting details of Hinman's murky understanding of the separation between his own and the public's money. A petition from the selectmen of Holland, Vermont, in October 1811 stated that in 1808 when towns were assessed a tax for building a new state prison, the selectmen had given Holland's tax money to Hinman to turn over to the state treasurer. They thought that Hinman had done so, but learned later that he had never relayed the funds. A similar situation came to light regarding the town of Morgan, which had given its tax money for the prison to Hinman only to learn that he had merely turned over about half of it.[38] These cases hint at the possibility of larger irregularities, for Hinman had been collecting tax money for a number of towns since 1792.

Shortly after the March 1810 session of the county court, Hinman attempted to raise money to settle his debts. On March 21 he executed a deed conferring land rights for a large part of Glover to Ralph Parker

with the understanding that if Hinman should pay off the bank debt independently, the deed to Parker would be void.[39] Derby's land records also contain a document signed on the same day in which Hinman stated that for the sum of $5,000 he conveyed to Parker "All the Lands of every Name or Nature which I own in the Town of Derby." In conveying this land to Parker, Hinman hoped to gather funds to pay off the bank loan. He also may have wished to transfer ownership to Parker so that his creditors could not touch it. The next day he sold a piece of land to Levi Goodenough of Derby for $130,[40] but these efforts fell far short of meeting his financial obligations.

Eighteen ten was the last year Hinman served as a judge. Samuel Crafts, far better educated than his predecessor, replaced him as chief justice the following year. Eighteen ten was also Hinman's last year in the legislature, for the forces of the law were closing in upon him swiftly.

In February 1811 the Chittenden County Court rendered judgment against Timothy Hinman, Melvin Vining, and Ralph Parker for $11,662.75 and court costs in the Vermont State Bank case.[41] Combined with the other suits against Hinman, he owed his creditors more than $18,000. The court ordered the county sheriff to attach goods, chattels, and lands of Hinman, Parker, and Vining, and, in the event their property proved insufficient to discharge their debt, to incarcerate them. By the summer of 1811, even though Hinman had finally secured legal counsel, professional help did not keep him a free man. Sheriff Joseph Scott arrested Hinman and escorted him to jail at Craftsbury.[42]

Craftsbury's jail, located in the buttery of Sheriff Scott's own home,[43] was hardly adequate, for on the very day that Scott granted Hinman the liberties of the jailyard, whose boundaries included a sizable portion of the town, Hinman "did escape from sd prison and from the liberties thereof and go at large whither he would," thereby setting off yet another lawsuit.[44] Whether Hinman intended to return home to Derby or merely to roam farther in Craftsbury than permitted, and just when he was transferred to the more secure prison at Danville is not stated in the record.

A few days before his land was to be sold to repay his loans, Hinman wrote to reassure James Whitelaw that land belonging to Whitelaw and to one of Whitelaw's clients had been mistakenly advertised as part of Hinman's holdings. In a rare instance expressing regret for the inconvenience he had caused others, he wrote, "I am sorry that my misfortune s[h]ould make others so much trouble."[45] Eliphalet Bangs had bought this land in 1798, but when debt overtook him, he sold it to Hinman for $1,000. After holding it for only a few months, in August 1809 Hinman

sold it to Whitelaw for $2,500, more than five times the average selling price of Derby lots at the time. Whitelaw had been associated with Hinman for close to twenty years and may have regarded this favor as what he owed a friend.

After the auction of Hinman's land in August 1811, the sheriff filed a list of his land parcels sold in Greensboro, Salem, Holland, and Derby, which brought in a total of $6,129, far short of the sum required to pay the debts.

The August 1811 session of the Orleans County Court dealt with further litigation regarding the wreck of Hinman's business. Boston merchants Eli & Company claimed $1,001, and Oliver C. Wyman of Boston recovered judgment against Hinman and Melvin Vining for $1,569. These wholesalers may not previously have been aware of the sad state of Hinman's affairs. Although it is difficult to imagine that anything remained, Sheriff James Owen attached more of Hinman's property on August 11.[46]

Many of Hinman's associates appealed for redress of injuries they had suffered in the course of their financial involvement with him. Elisha Bartholemew, one of Hinman's business acquaintances in Lower Canada and one of the cosigners of loans from the Woodstock and Middlebury branches of the Vermont State Bank, petitioned the legislature in October 1812 stating that in 1809, at the request of Hinman and Vining, he had "endorsed" a note to them from the Middlebury branch for $3,000, only to learn later that the note had already been paid. Apparently Hinman was paying a debt to Bartholemew by using the canceled check as if it were valid and made Bartholemew a party to his scheme. Bartholemew stated that he "hadn't the least idea the note was paid until February 1811 when he was arrested . . . and committed to gaol in Brownington in October 1811 where he has been confined ever since." He requested that the legislature grant him an act of insolvency. The committee voted to suspend the charges in consideration of Hinman's fraudulent use of the returned note.[47]

Ralph Parker also petitioned the legislature in 1812, claiming that when he cosigned on the loan from the Burlington branch of the state bank in December 1808, the amount of the loan was not specified. He said he had merely signed his name on a blank note, which Hinman subsequently filled in with the sum of eleven thousand dollars. Parker alleged that he had assumed the note was only for one or two thousand dollars, as had been the case with previous transactions, but when he later learned that it was for eleven thousand, he "became seriously alarmed at the state of Hinman's affairs and went to Burlington to urge the Directors to press the collection of the note of Hinman." In effect,

by not telling Parker what he was signing, Hinman had lost his trust. The committee looking into the matter found in Parker's favor, declaring that since Parker had not received any of the money from the loan, he should not be held liable.[48]

Parker proposed a deal whereby he would turn over to the state land valued at $9,000 if the state would release any further claims upon him. The legislature complied with the recommendation of the committee, although Parker was optimistic about the total amount that could be raised toward the debt, for in a final report of the committee, a postscript was appended: "in the above amount of $77,550 is included the sum of $18,000 being the Hinman and Parker debt one half of which (that is $9,000) is supposed to be lost."[49] Parker did, however, avoid serving time in prison by forfeiting a large portion of his land.

Litigation over Hinman's debt dragged on at the Orleans County Court for years. Boston merchants Staunton and Spelman's suit against Melvin Vining and Timothy Hinman for $1,350 was continued from one session to the next. By 1817 they were suing Hinman's sons Albert and Hoel for a total of $3,500, and though they won their case, they were back in court the next year alleging that the full amount had not been paid.[50]

Many other litigants sued Hinman for amounts large and small. Managers of the Charitable Lottery, for example, claimed that Hinman had taken twelve lottery tickets, promising to sell them, but had never paid for them. In this case, Isaac Hinman signed papers for his brother "as good and sufficient bail."[51] In 1811, however, Isaac himself won a suit against Timothy, claiming that Timothy had failed to deliver goods promised to Isaac.[52]

Life for the family in Derby was difficult during the next few years. Timothy and Phebe's last child, Porter, was born in January 1812, when Phebe was forty-three years old, her husband was imprisoned, and his financial affairs lay in ruins. Without her husband's support, Phebe relied on her eldest sons, Albert and Hoel, now in their early twenties, who struggled to support the family during these difficult times. In 1814 and 1815 they bought back a portion of their father's farm from Ralph Parker.[53] In 1815, Hoel secured a tavernkeeper's license in order to keep the family business going. In 1816 Albert and Hoel worked on repairing Derby's roads in lieu of paying cash to discharge their property taxes.[54]

Statewide disgruntlement over the economic effects of the war resulted in the election of Federalist Martin Chittenden as governor in 1813. Since Federalists also controlled the General Assembly, Hinman hoped to gain his freedom and petitioned the legislature in October

1813: "The undersigned Represents . . . that he is now and has been for more than two years a Prisoner in the Common Gaol in Danville . . . for Debt and . . . he cannot take the oath prescribed by law for poor Debtors in consequence of sundry matters that remain uncertain and . . . therefore your Petitioner believes that it might be for the intrest of his Creditors that he be liberated from Prison either by an act of Insolvency or suspention for a term."[55]

The "sundry matters that remain[ed] uncertain" may have been that Hinman still had assets he did not wish to have confiscated by the state. An imprisoned debtor could gain his freedom in three ways: One was to pay the debt; another was to take the poor debtors' oath, which Hinman declared he was unable to do; the third was to petition for a private act of insolvency, as Hinman did in this letter. The Federalist-controlled legislature was sympathetic toward Hinman, for in November 1813 the committee considering his request recommended a two-year suspension of his sentence.[56] However, another year went by before he actually went free.[57]

By 1815, with the war successfully concluded, the Federalists lost their hold on Vermont's state government, and Jonas Galusha returned as governor with a Republican legislature. The temporary suspension of Hinman's sentence was not renewed. Because his name does not appear on any Derby documents or personal papers until 1818, it is likely that he returned to Danville when his two-year furlough expired.

Hinman's financial troubles occupy a very large portion of the Orleans County Court records, as well as those in Caledonia and Chittenden counties, from 1810 through 1818. No other cases heard before the Orleans County Court involved such large sums nor dragged in so many other townspeople. Most of the debt cases heard during these years involved $100 or less. Whatever the size of the debts, reading Orleans County Court records of the second decade of the nineteenth century gives the impression that the region was suffering a financial breakdown that entangled many of its prominent citizens.

This period of Derby's history reveals several instances in which neighbor sued neighbor, and brother sued brother. The situation may have resulted from Derby's economy no longer being locally based. Eliphalet Bangs's debt was owed to a New York creditor; Timothy Hinman was indebted to three Boston wholesalers. Under these new circumstances, the tradition of trustfully allowing a debtor great leeway in paying off his debt had eroded, with the result that even local creditors appealed to the courts for relief. Because they were both debtors and creditors, merchants were especially likely to experience these troublesome lawsuits.

Fearing that Hinman would never repay what he owed, Parker brought suit against him in September 1813 in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Danville, stating that he had been held liable for the bank debt, and thus had been obliged to forfeit much real estate to the state. He asked to recover twenty thousand dollars, but the court ruled that he should receive half that amount.[58] Parker may have hoped that since the judgment would be good when Hinman got out of prison, he would recover what was owed, but by the time Hinman was free, Parker had already moved to New York State.

Several others caught up in Timothy's ruin requested relief from the legislature. In October 1813 Isaac Hinman submitted a petition stating that in 1810 he had cosigned for $1,500 as security for his brother. As a result of Timothy's failure to repay the loan, $350 of Isaac's goods were attached. Isaac stated that since he was unable to pay the sum due the bank "without selling his farm and turning himself and his large family out of doors," he begged the General Assembly to pass an act directing the bank to give him more time to pay. He concluded, "since the state has been greatly the loser by his unfortunate Brother," he prayed that the General Assembly would "take his hard case into your wise consideration." The assembly granted Isaac a time extension but determined that he was still liable for the amount he had signed for.[59]

Timothy's neighbor, John Phelps, was another petitioner to the legislature in 1813. He declared that in order to prevent Melvin Vining from going to prison, he had endorsed a writ on Vining's behalf, believing that Hinman and Parker's attached properties would be sufficient to settle the debt, and "Vineing being worth nothing, his being arrested seemed . . . of no use." Unfortunately, Vining fled to Canada, and the bank held Phelps responsible for the full amount owed by Hinman, Vining, and Parker. The legislative committee found in Phelps's favor.[60] When the matter finally came to trial at Danville's Supreme Court of Judicature in 1816, representatives of the failed bank did not appear, and the court ruled that Phelps should recover his costs.[61]

Some of the townspeople caught up in Hinman's difficulties moved on. Within a few years of his failure, many of his regular tavern customers were gone. The Bangs family had left the state, Eliphalet owing state taxes of two hundred dollars.[62] Derby's annual reports make no mention of Freeman Vining or of John Phelps after 1814. Also absent from the list of heads of households in the 1820 census are Jehiel Boardman, James Owen, and Joseph True. In fact, of the ninety-five heads of household enumerated for Derby in 1810, sixty-three were gone by 1820 (66 percent), while only 47 percent had vanished in the years between 1800 and 1810. Of course, the unsettled economic times

in the years following the war with Britain led many northern Vermonters to leave, but Derby lost population at a higher rate than other towns in Orleans County.[63]

Despite their diminished financial and social status, however, the Hinman family remained. Whatever exuberance Timothy may have felt at the time of his town's founding had been dissipated by the time he filed a claim for a veteran's pension in 1818. Not mentioning his legal troubles or his recent incarceration, Hinman stressed his poor health and impecunious situation: "am now fifty-seven years of age and much infirmed and poor and have need of assistance from my Country."[64] Two years later he filed an inventory of his meager possessions, which listed basic home furnishings, a "note for ten sheep," and "one proprietors right in Norton in Essex County worth little or nothing being on a mountain all rock and in an unsettled town." He described himself as "a farmer, lame in the right knee and unable to support myself by manual labour, resides with his second son, together with my wife Phebe aged fifty-one years, much infirm, three children, one son fifteen years old named Timothy, one daughter thirteen years old name Katharine, one son name Porter age two years. I with my wife and the three children here named live with my son Hoel who is not in very affluent circumstances."[65] Ira H. Allen, clerk of Orleans County Court, estimated the total value of Hinman's property to be $35.75. After reviewing the application, the federal government awarded Hinman a pension of eight dollars per month.

Hinman resumed life in Derby after his years in prison. Derby's census in 1820 listed him as head of a household of ten with six men engaged in agriculture. (This census offered two other occupational categories: "engaged in commerce" and "engaged in manufacturing," both of which were left blank.) At town meeting in 1820 Timothy was sworn in as a highway surveyor and chosen as a petit juror.[66] The next year he was chosen to serve as poundkeeper, a low-status job that both Albert and Hoel had held in recent years.[67] By 1821 he had been reinstated as justice of the peace, for he signed property deeds and performed marriages at least until 1825.

His grandson's encomium said that Timothy and Phebe Hinman passed their declining years in a "humble cottage," living with Hoel, but the 1830 census listed Timothy as head of a household separate from Hoel with one son over twenty living with him and Phebe.[68]

In 1836, when Hinman was seventy-five years old, Derby's residents entrusted him to represent them at the state constitutional convention.[69] Back at Montpelier after an absence of twenty-six years, he joined a group of 218 delegates to draft a new constitution. Hinman

took an active role in the proceedings, voting on all the amendments proposed.

Although the record of Hinman's business dealings suggests a risk-taking, self-serving nature, once he had completed his prison sentence he managed to regain his place in his community. The gravestone description of Timothy Hinman as an honest, patriotic, and faithful citizen may represent an attempt to restore the good name of someone whose reputation suffered from forces he did not understand and could not control.

Notes

[1] Manuscript Papers of Vermont, State Archives, Office of Secretary of State, Montpelier, 21: 126.

[2] Norman Bingham, *A Sketch of the Life of the Honorable Timothy Hinman* (Somerville, Ma., 1892).

[3] Manuscript Papers of Vermont 5: 301.

[4] *Vermont Gazette*, 24 Feb. 1792.

[5] Letter from Timothy Hinman and Ebenezer Strong, 30 Mar. 1792, Whitelaw Papers, Vermont Historical Society (VHS), Barre.

[6] Manuscript Papers of Vermont 9: 413.

[7] B. F. Hubbard, *The History of Stanstead County Province of Quebec* (Montreal: Lovell, 1874, Facsimile Reprint, Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1988), 31.

[8] Frye Bailey's Sheriff Book, Vendue for the Sale of Land in Maidstone to Satisfy the General Survey, 1789, Orleans County Superior Court, Newport, Vt.

[9] Manuscript Papers of Vermont 2: 60.

[10] Timothy and Phebe's 1795 trip to Connecticut provided the occasion for an oft-repeated myth that Timothy left his children, six-year-old Albert and three-year-old Laura, in the care of Indians encamped at Derby Lake for the entire winter of 1794 when a ferocious snowstorm prevented him from returning with them to Greensboro. According to the legend, repeated in the Greensboro town history, when Timothy returned the next spring, the children were fine. This story appeared in the history of Derby written by Mildred and Cecile Hay, retired schoolteachers, in 1967. Their information about Hinman comes largely from *A Sketch of the Life of the Honorable Timothy Hinman*, written by Hinman's grandson, Norman Bingham, who was Laura's son from her second marriage, and from "The Old Meeting House," read by Mrs. F. H. Webb at a meeting of the Orleans County Historical Society in 1890. But Bingham's account of the children left in Derby differs markedly from that in the Hay sisters' town history. According to Bingham, the children were left in the care of Phebe's younger sister, Eunice Stoddard, during the winter of 1795–96 when the parents went south to Connecticut. Bingham does write that Albert and Laura played with Indian children nearby, but the Indians were not assigned the task of caring for them. Although his book wasn't written until forty-two years after Timothy's death, certainly Bingham is more reliable than the Hay sisters, since his own mother was one of the children supposedly left with the Indians.

[11] Derby Town Records, Vol. 1.

[12] Cecile B. and Mildred B. Hay, *History of Derby* (Littleton, N.H.: Courier Printing, 1967), Derby Historical Society, 94–95.

[13] *Vermont 1800 Census Index, Heads of Families. Orleans County* (Washington, D.C.: Govt. Printing Office, 1908), 101–102.

[14] Theodore J. Kreps, "Vicissitudes of the American Potash Industry," *Journal of Economic and Business History*, 3 (1931): 637 ff.

[15] This account book records providing "Joseph Indian" with pork, rum, flour, etc. The legislature paid Hinman $10 a year to supply food and clothing to Indian Joe, for whom Joe's Pond in Danville is named. An Abenaki Indian friendly to the American cause who remained in Vermont after the Revolution, Joe aided settlers and later became one of the state's first welfare cases.

[16] Christopher Densmore's "Understanding and Using Early Nineteenth-Century Account Books" (*The Midwestern Archivist*, 5: 1, [1980]) explains the system of day books and ledgers in common use in the first half of the nineteenth century. Of the two, the day books contained far more detailed information than the ledgers, which often listed sales as "sundries" without specifying what was exchanged. The purpose of the ledger was to keep track of the balance due from individuals charging their purchases. Because the ledger has not survived, we cannot know how often Hinman allowed a debt to drag on for years nor how many of his debtors he forgave.

[17] Account Book of Timothy Hinman, 1798–1809, VHS (MSC205), 41.

[18] *Ibid.*, 43.

[19] *Ibid.*, 51.

[20] Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), 123 ff.

[21] Account Book of Timothy Hinman, 51.

[22] *Ibid.*, 82.

[23] Derby Land Records, Book 1: 385, 389, 392, Derby Town Clerk's Office. Also see Manuscript Papers of Vermont 49: 123.

[24] Manuscript Papers of Vermont 43: 93, and Hinman Road Process File, VHS.

[25] *An Act of Incorporation and the Bylaws of the Boston & Montreal Turnpike Co.* (Peacham, Vt.: Samuel Goss, 1806), American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Ma.

[26] Bingham, *Timothy Hinman*, 20.

[27] An announcement appeared in the *Quebec Gazette* 31 December 1810, declaring that a traveler could depart from Quebec City on Monday and arrive in Boston on Saturday the same week. The stagecoach traveled from Quebec City to Shipton, south through Hatley, Stanstead, and Derby, then followed the Hinman Road through Salem, Brownington, and Barton, heading east through Sheffield, Lyndon, and St. Johnsbury, to Newbury where it crossed into New Hampshire and followed existing roads south to Boston. Quoted in l'Abbé Ivanhoe Caron, *La Colonisation de la Province de Québec Les Cantons de l'Est 1791–1815* (Quebec, 1927), 222. A search of the Inventaire des Proces Verbaux of the Grand Voyers of the Province of Quebec at the Provincial Archives of Quebec turned up many references to this road, named Chemin Craig, from 1817 to 1823 when it was being reconstructed, but there is no mention of Hinman in connection with the building of this road.

[28] John J. McCusker, *How Much Is That in Real Money? A Historical Price Index for Use as a Deflator of Money Values in the Economy of the United States* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1992), Appendix A, 31–33.

[29] *Annals of Congress*, Tenth Congress, First Session (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1852), 2814–2817, and Tenth Congress, Second Session (Washington, D.C.: Gales and Seaton, 1853) 1798.

[30] Donald R. Hickey, *The War of 1812* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 21.

[31] Bingham, *Timothy Hinman*, 20.

[32] Crafts Family Papers, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont, Carton 1, Folder 34 and Kenneth A. Degree, "Malfeasance or Theft? What Really Happened at the Middlebury Branch of the Vermont State Bank," *Vermont History*, 68 (Winter/Spring 2000): 5–34. According to Ralph Parker, Hinman was in the habit of borrowing a thousand dollars from the bank from time to time.

[33] It is interesting that the Hay sisters' history of Derby mentions more than one conniving "business manager" who brought financial ruin upon his boss. In 1809, it is unlikely that any storekeeper had a business manager.

[34] See Clark, *Roots of Rural Capitalism*, chapter 4.

[35] "The Poor Imprisoned Debtor" *North Star*, 8 Feb. 1808.

[36] See Manuscript Papers of Vermont 47: 156, for an example.

[37] Orleans County Court Records, II: 16, Newport Vt.

[38] Manuscript Papers of Vermont 51: 103.

[39] Orleans County Deeds, II, Book 2, Newport, Vt.

[40] Derby Land Records, Book 1: 437, 89, Derby Town Clerk's Office.

[41] Chittenden County Court Records, Vol. 6: 618, 1811–1815, Public Records, Middlesex, Vt., microfilm F-5604.

[42] Orleans County Court, Case 354, *Coos Bank v. Timothy Hinman & Jesse Olds*, General Index, March term 1810 to August term 1813, II: 122.

[43] Frederick W. Baldwin, *Biography of the Bar of Orleans County, Vermont* (Montpelier: Vermont Watchman and State Journal Press, 1886), 6.

[44] Orleans County Court, General Index, March term 1810 to August term 1813, II: 122. The liberty of the jailyard was an ameliorating measure taken to improve the lot of imprisoned debtors whereby they could work on their farms during the day and return to jail at night. Throughout this period the boundaries of jailyards increased until they eventually encompassed the entire state.

[45] Hinman to James Whitelaw, 21 Aug. 1811. Whitelaw papers, Doc. 334-7, VHS.

[46] Derby Land Records, Book 1: 389 and 392.

[47] Manuscript Papers of Vermont 74: 51.

[48] Manuscript Papers of Vermont 49: 123.

[49] Manuscript Papers of Vermont 74: 51.

[50] Orleans County Court Records, Vol. III: 344, 447.

[51] Orleans County Court Records, General Index, Vol. II: 118.

[52] *Ibid.*, 204.
[53] Derby Land Records, 2: 187.
[54] Orleans County Court Records, Vol. III, General Index, March term 1814 to August term 1818, 131.
[55] Manuscript Papers of Vermont 49: 148.
[56] *Ibid.*
[57] *Ibid.*, 74: 49.
[58] Supreme Court Records, 3: 186. (This court received cases on appeal or on the recommendation of judges in the lower county court system.)
[59] Manuscript Papers of Vermont 50: 13.
[60] *Ibid.*, 26.
[61] Supreme Court Records, 3: 291.
[62] *Journals of the General Assembly 1811* (Rutland: William Fay, 1811), 26.
[63] In Greensboro, for example, 52 percent of its heads of households in 1810 were gone by 1820, similar to Bennington, which lost 48 percent of its 1810 population by 1820. Robert E. Shalhope, *Bennington and the Green Mountain Boys* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 393.
[64] Pension application, Timothy Hinman #W1607, Bureau of Land Warrantees, 14765-160-55, National Archives.
[65] *Ibid.* According to other documents, Porter was eight years old at the time.
[66] Derby Annual Report, 1820, Public Records, Middlesex, Vt.
[67] Derby Annual Report, 1821, Public Records, Middlesex, Vt.
[68] *U.S. Census, Orleans Co. Vermont,* 1830.
[69] *Journal of the Convention of Vermont together with the Constitution of the State of Vermont* (St Albans: Spooner, 1836).

South Strafford's Elizabeth Copper Mine: The Tyson Years, 1880–1902

Because of recent press coverage and community interest in the environmental effects of this abandoned mine site, it is timely to consider the Tyson era, as the mine's history continues to unfold to this day.

By JOHNNY JOHNSSON

The Elizabeth Copper Mine in South Strafford, Vermont, has an interesting history, from the initial discovery of its sulphide ore body in 1793 through its final closing in 1958.* The stories of early smelting in the 1830s, as well as more recent mining operations conducted since the 1940s, have been researched and published.[1] Nevertheless, the period of operations between 1880 and 1902, when members of the Tyson family and their associates attempted to develop the mine into a significant producer, is less well documented. This article briefly reviews the general history of the mine among the copper mines of Vermont, then examines some of the problems and successes the Tysons encountered during their tenure in developing the mine and smelting the difficult pyrrhotite ore.

THE ORANGE COUNTY COPPER DISTRICT

The Elizabeth Mine, one of the primary producers of the Orange County Copper District, is located in the southern portion of the district in east-central Vermont. Geologically, the region is composed of highly folded metamorphic rocks (schists and amphibolites), and within these rocks are found several massive iron sulphide ore bodies containing varying amounts of copper of economic importance. Since these ore bodies are also folded within the rock strata, their origin predates the forces that folded the bedrock. These ores were deposited during sedi-

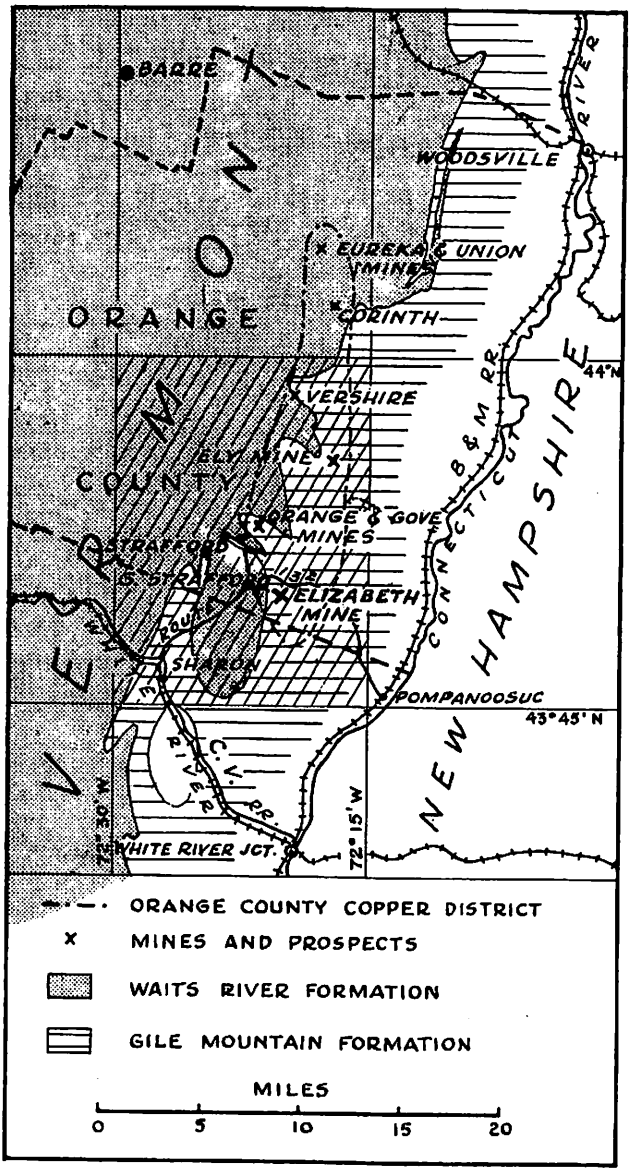


Figure 1. Location Map. The Elizabeth Mine is located in the southern part of the Orange County Copper District in east-central Vermont. W. S. White and J. H. Eric, "Preliminary report on the geology of the Orange County copper district, Vermont" (Washington: U.S. Geological Survey, 1944), figure 1.

mentation and volcanic activity on or near an ancient sea floor over 400 million years ago in geologic time. Then, tectonic forces associated with colliding plates of the Earth's crust folded the sedimentary layers with the enclosed ore bodies. Erosion and glaciation later exposed outcroppings of these ore bodies, which served as the points of discovery for local citizens.[2]

Other major mines include the Pike Hill mines, located near Corinth in the northern portion of the district, and the Ely or Copperfield Mine, located in South Vershire near the middle of the district. Situated in between these mines are several smaller mines and numerous prospect pits.

The history of the Ely Mine is probably the most exciting and romantic of the Vermont copper mines. The mine dates to the early 1800s and Isaac Tyson, Jr., patriarch of the Tyson mining family, and his associates had involvement there in the 1830s. Its primary period of operation was from 1854 to the mid-1880s. The Ely Mine became one of the largest copper mines in the country during the 1870s, competing with established mining districts in Michigan and Tennessee, and a village of nearly 1,000 inhabitants grew up around it. Copper smelting at Ely commenced in 1867 and became significant with the establishment of a major industrial complex. The decline of the mine by 1883 resulted in noteworthy labor strife known as the "Ely War." The mine subsequently faded into intermittent operations, last producing copper concentrates during World War I.[3]

The history of the mines on Pike Hill is somewhat subsidiary to that of the Ely Mine, because for much of their existence they were controlled by the Ely principals. Operated independently from the 1840s to the 1860s, Pike Hill copper ores were shipped to Boston and Baltimore for smelting. Later, teams hauled ore to Ely's numerous furnaces for smelting. The Eureka and Union mines experienced a brief revival during the early 1900s and World War I. In totality, the mines on Pike Hill contributed only about eight to nine million pounds of copper to Vermont's overall historic production. In contrast, the Ely Mine yielded some 30 to 40 million pounds of copper. Both Ely and Pike Hill featured higher grade copper ore than the Elizabeth Mine, but ultimately its vast quantity of low-grade ores and long life made Elizabeth the leading Vermont producer, topping out at 100 million pounds.[4]

Early Developments on Copperas Hill

The ore body on Copperas Hill, a few miles south of Strafford, Orange County, Vermont, was discovered in 1793, reportedly when the rusty mineral-bearing outcrop was noticed during maple-sugar sap

gathering. In 1809 out-of-state investors formed the Vermont Mineral Factory Company to manufacture iron sulphate, then known as copperas or green vitriol. Applications of copperas included the manufacture of inks and dyes, and it was also used as a mordant in the tanning industry.[5] The bronze-colored ore, composed mainly of the iron sulphide mineral pyrrhotite (much like more common iron pyrite or "fool's gold"), was mined from the earth, roasted with fire, and subsequently leached with water in a series of operations gradually moving down the steep hillside. The resulting copperas liquors were collected in wooden troughs and boiled and crystallized in lead-lined vats. The coarse green copperas crystals were then packed into barrels for shipment, mostly to Boston. At the urging of Colonel Amos Binney of Boston, President James Monroe, "an enthusiast in favor of American manufacturers," visited this early industrial works during his tour of New England in 1817.[6]

The company was able to recover some copper value from the leaching solutions by precipitating copper mud on scrap iron, because the ore contained irregular quantities of the copper-bearing mineral chalcopyrite.[7] By 1830, small furnaces for smelting roasted hand-cobbed copper ores were erected. Isaac Tyson, Jr., a Quaker chromium industrialist from Baltimore, became a partner with the Binney family, the major holder of the mineral rights. Taking his young family with him on the long journey to Vermont, he oversaw copper smelting in eight small furnaces there during 1833 and 1834, in an area now known as Furnace Flat.[8] As early as December 1833, Tyson conducted pioneering experiments using a hot-blast apparatus and anthracite coal to smelt copper, for which he was granted a patent in April 1834.[9] He was attempting more economical ways to win copper from the stubborn pyrrhotite ores, which are more difficult to smelt than the oxide ores found in many other districts. Unfortunately, the enterprise was not financially sustainable in the uncertain economy of the 1830s. It was shut down by 1839, but not before it had produced copper in sizable quantities for the time period.[10] Tyson retained a half-interest in the mineral rights to a portion of the significant Copperas Hill ore deposit, near the village now known as South Strafford.

Isaac Tyson, Jr., who died a wealthy man in 1861, groomed two of his sons, James Wood Tyson and Jesse Tyson, in the copper and chrome businesses. They knew how to conduct metallurgical assays and how to negotiate mineral leases and business deals, and they developed useful skills in applying technology. Being Quakers, both attended Haverford College near Philadelphia from 1841 to 1843.[11] They later served as trustees over the family's estate and as officers in the various companies created to continue their father's business enterprises. Although

Figure 2. James W. Tyson (1828–1900), founder and president of the Elizabeth Mining Company, astride a horse at Buena Vista Farm, c. 1890s. Photograph courtesy of Tyson archives.

Jesse, born in 1826, did participate in the copper business, his main focus was the Baltimore Chrome Works, where, as president and majority stockholder, he continued to dominate the chromium chemicals industry initiated by his father. James, younger by two years, became president of the Tyson and the Mineral Hill Mining companies, producers of chrome and copper, respectively. He had gained valuable experience as a youth while working in his father's hot-blast iron furnace in Tyson, Vermont, established in 1837 near Plymouth in Windsor County. Through the 1850s he also managed the Elba Furnace in Maryland, which his father had purchased for him, manufacturing car-wheel iron for the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. In 1859 he served on the board of managers of the American Iron Association.[12] James has been described as being a very consistent person, compatible with his Quaker upbringing.[13]

The Elizabeth Mining Company

James W. Tyson surely recognized a valuable property when he saw one. Consequently, when most of the copper and chrome mining enterprises in Maryland declined, he turned his attention back to South Strafford, where he and Jesse as young children had observed their

father's involvement in the copper business in the 1830s. James purchased the other half-interest in the mineral rights to the Blaisdell Lot on Copperas Hill from the Binney heirs for $500, and began acquiring other nearby properties, partly with his own money but mostly with funds of the Tyson Mining Company. In 1881 James formed the Elizabeth Mining Company, naming it for his wife of thirty years, Elizabeth Dawson, the daughter of a Quaker family in Philadelphia. The stated purpose of this company, incorporated under the laws of the State of Vermont, was "the mining and smelting of copper ores." His brother Jesse and his sons Mordecai and Isaac were also officers and stockholders in the enterprise, the family trust holding a large interest in stock. Capitalized at $500,000, the company issued 100,000 shares at $5 par value, which were closely held.[14]

The Tysons often hired trustworthy agents to assist them in their business ventures. Thus, another incorporator of the Elizabeth Mining Company was William Glenn, a former Confederate military engineer and colonel, who served as the company's mining engineer and metallurgist. Glenn was a recognized expert in chrome mining and chromium chemicals and was quick to develop copper-smelting expertise.

Figure 3. Elizabeth D. Tyson (1828–1888), for whom the mine was named, c. 1887. Photograph courtesy of Webb L. Nimick.

Born in Norfolk, Virginia, in 1840, he had started his career at age fifteen as a chainman on the B & O Railroad. He proved himself working under John H. B. Latrobe, Isaac Tyson's attorney, close personal friend, and attorney for the B & O Railroad. Glenn rose rapidly in the railroad company and took on responsibilities such as overseeing the construction of a section of track in the mountains near Cumberland, Maryland. His study of mineralogy at this time led to his becoming a mining engineer. Shortly after his faithful wartime service, he accepted a position with the Tyson Mining Company, and he would serve Tyson interests for nearly forty years.[15]

In 1880, James Tyson entered into important negotiations with the owners of the neighboring Vermont Copperas Company property (also known as the Foster-Cleaveland tract) to prove title to his Copperas Hill property. He wanted to ensure that they did not have a valid adverse-possession claim on the Blaisdell Lot from any encroachment during the forty years it had lain idle. According to one newspaper account, Tyson had done "little more than enough work to protect his mineral rights here, for many years."[16] He and William Glenn traveled to Boston to meet with the principals, attorney John D. Bryant and businessman William H. Foster.[17] After some lengthy discussions, the parties settled the outstanding issues amicably. Tyson paid $1,000 to Bryant and Foster and they exchanged two small parcels of land. In addition, Tyson gave them $100 toward the construction of a new reservoir, guaranteed them access to water dammed up in their workings, and furnished an auxiliary supply from a well on one of his nearby farms.[18] Meanwhile, by sinking mine shafts from the top of Copperas Hill, Tyson began developing the pyrrhotite ore body as it dipped deeper underground. During the same period, the Strafford Mining Company worked the adjacent Foster-Cleaveland tract for copper ores under a lease, the property owners retaining the rights to the other ores for any copperas production. Tyson maintained friendly relations with his neighbors, and in early 1881 he charged some of his development expenses to an account with that unrelated company, until his own company was sufficiently organized.[19]

Like his father before him, James Tyson frequently utilized skilled Cornish miners to develop his mining properties. He now employed John Vial, one of his key Cornish mining captains from Maryland. Born in Camborne, Cornwall, in 1826, Vial had emigrated in 1844.[20] By 1850 he was working in Isaac Tyson's Mineral Hill Mine in Maryland, where he eventually held the position of superintendent, and where two shafts were even named after him.[21] At the Elizabeth Mine, Vial conducted the initial shaft-sinking. Several years later he encountered a "fine run

of ore" and skillfully kept the Tyson level away from copper ore containing too much silica.[22] He reportedly died of miners' consumption in 1895 and was buried not far from Mineral Hill in a Methodist churchyard in Carroll County, Maryland, where he had raised his family.[23]

Developing the Mine and Smelting Copper Ore

The Elizabeth Mining Company developed several initial levels in the mine, accessed via a ladderway and two shafts. The ore was hoisted to the surface for the process of separating by hand, or hand cobbing. One shaft, known as the Tyson Shaft, featured a steam engine for hoisting. The boiler and steam engine were transferred from the Tyson Mining Company's chromite mines in Maryland and Pennsylvania, shipped by rail to the station at Sharon, and then hauled to the crest of Copperas Hill by teams of up to seven horses each.[24] The hoisting equipment handled buckets each holding 300 pounds of ore, sometimes raising water as well because the mine had no pumps. At the second shaft, the company utilized a whim, or horse-operated hoist. After being crushed to pieces two inches or less in a secondhand ore breaker and hand cobbing, copper ore was trammed on rails in one-ton mine cars down the hill to the west.[25]

Pyrrhotite ore is difficult to smelt due to its high iron and sulphur content. The former element has a strong affinity for the silica found in many firebricks, and the latter has a strong affinity for the copper the smelting foreman is trying to produce. Therefore, successful smelting of pyritic copper ores requires an initial step of roasting to drive off a portion of the excess sulphur and partially oxidize the ore in preparation for smelting. Glenn and Tyson adopted their method of roasting from William H. Long at the nearby Ely Mine in Vershire, where an efficient system of 900-foot-long roast beds had been in operation for some years. Careful attention to details often meant the difference between success and failure in a smelting operation.

In a level area prepared for this purpose, the ore was heap-roasted for eleven weeks. In the roast beds, seven feet of broken ore was systematically placed in layers on top of nine inches of wood and the whole pile then covered with a few inches of fine ore particles. Workers ignited the wood beneath the pile and the fire spread first to the wood and then slowly through the ore pile. They controlled the combustion by adding shovelfuls of fines to any point in the heap that appeared to be too hot, taking care not to allow the pile to fuse together. After about two weeks the combustion of the sulphur in the pile became self-sustaining, requiring little maintenance. Each 24-foot by 50-foot heap yielded approximately 350 tons of roasted ore suitable for smelter feed.

Figure 4. View of the deep Elizabeth Mine north open cut on Copperas Hill from the south. This pit was last mined on the old Foster-Cleaveland tract by the Vermont Copper Company during the 1940s and 1950s, obliterating remnant copperas mining excavations. This final phase exposed old mine openings from the Tyson era where the large ore body dips beneath the surface. The mine and mill buildings from the 1880s were located on the right side of the dumps. October 1998 photograph by the author.

Workers tended a number of heaps on the roast beds, working among heavy sulphur fumes. The sulphurous gases killed the vegetation in the surrounding environment, a fairly common occurrence in such mining districts until better methods were developed to capture the fumes or eliminate the need for roasting.[26]

The company also erected a 48-inch-diameter copper-smelting furnace near the roast beds by a small stream called Blaisdell (now Sargent Brook). Water circulated between the inner and outer steel shells to dissipate the heat, thereby extending the life of the furnace linings. During the summer seasons from 1882 to 1884, they smelted nearly forty tons per day of roasted ore in this small water-jacket furnace, producing a 20 percent copper matte.[27] Matte is an intermediate product of copper smelting, a double sulphide of iron and copper. This product was shipped to the Orford Copper & Sulfur Co. in Bergenport, New Jersey. The Tyson smelter also produced a small amount of pig copper, used to make high-quality brass pins in England. Connellsville coke from Pennsylvania and gas coke from Boston served as fuel in the smelting process.[28]

In 1882, James Tyson and William Glenn conducted experiments with the lining of their furnace. Finding that the lining of silica bricks in the hearth bottom was quickly eaten away by the molten material in the furnace, they replaced it with chromite sand. They hoped that chromite's refractory qualities could withstand heat and chemical attack from the smelting of pyritic ores, but the fine chromite they used had no physical bonding strength and was eroded away by the heavy molten matte. This trial failure, however, set the stage for later success.[29] William Glenn carefully documented the quantities of ore charged into the furnace, fuel consumption, and matte and slag assays, and discussed the cost-efficiency of water jackets in *The Engineering and Mining Journal.*[30] He also promoted the use of the so-called filter charge to charge a blast furnace, to prevent the roasted fines from smothering the combustion process. By carefully shoveling coarse, medium, and fine ore in regular succession on top of a layer of coke fuel, Glenn demonstrated a capacity improvement of twenty percent in the water-jacketed furnace.[31]

About this time, Boston copper metallurgist and professor Henry M. Howe served as a consultant to the Tysons. He recommended the development methods required to turn the Elizabeth Mine into a major producer. He suggested driving a long, deep horizontal passageway, or adit, from the east to open up and verify a large volume of ore reserves. Professor Howe also recommended stages of semi-pyritic smelting in a larger blast furnace, where the combustion of the sulphur in the ore would contribute heat to the smelting process. This method could produce black copper containing around 90 percent copper. Alternatively, Bessemerizing in a manner similar to the methods of the steel industry could produce high-grade matte.[32] However, the copper slump of the mid-1880s soon caused the suspension of mining operations in South Strafford.

Another Smelting Campaign

January 1888 brought some changes to the James W. Tyson family, commencing with the death of the mine's namesake, Elizabeth, in Baltimore, after a bout with pneumonia. This sad event caused the postponement of the wedding of the elderly bachelor Jesse Tyson to young Baltimore debutante, Edyth Johns. A scaled-down, intimate wedding among family members and close friends replaced the grand affair that had been planned, and Jesse had to rush from the ceremony to attend the funeral of his sister-in-law. James remarried in December 1890, uniting with Elizabeth Key Howard.[33]

Mining and smelting were again conducted from 1888 to 1890, because the price of copper was artificially elevated by the manipulations of the French Secretan Syndicate. First, ore-mining operations were resumed; then the Tysons began roasting the ores while preparing the smelter for operation, at times employing twenty to thirty men. Captain George W. Dow had charge of the underground workings, supervising the work of the miners.[34] The Elizabeth Mining Company issued six-percent mortgage bonds secured by the property to raise some $50,000 of needed working capital. The consensus of the board of directors was to operate the mine successfully so as to be able to sell it at a fair price.[35] During the summer and fall of 1890 smelting superintendent George A. Packard succeeded in manufacturing 40 percent copper matte from ore containing 5 to 6 percent copper.[36] The matte was shipped to the American Metal Company in New York for further smelting. The Tysons were eager to have a railroad built up the valley of the Ompompanoosuc River to South Strafford, as this would greatly reduce the costs of transporting ore, fuel, and supplies and make the marginal operation profitable.

A local newspaper article of the day proclaimed the high ethical standards of the operators of the Elizabeth Mine, describing them in these words: "Providence has placed it in the possession of some most excellent people of abundant means and a large amount of mining experience, but they are conscientious and humanity loving people as well."[37]

Further Mine Development Fosters Smelter Expansion

Another period of depressed copper prices kept the Elizabeth Mine mostly idle for about five years, and then development commenced along the lines recommended by Howe, with an adit driven some 1,400 feet through barren rock to the vein. Starting with hand drills, the company soon acquired an air compressor and drill to speed the pace of development. The miners finally reached the vein in June 1898, after

nearly three years of work. Put into service in early 1899, the new adit aided in the drainage, ventilation, and gravity mining of several hundred thousand tons of ore. With minor modifications it remained in use until 1958.[38] The Tysons soon built a mill equipped with a crusher able to handle 300 tons of ore per day. The mill featured revolving tables or picking belts to assist in efficient hand cobbing of the chalcopyrite-bearing ores.[39] The company also purchased a larger compressor capable of operating more drills at a greater distance inside the mine.

In 1899, copper prices once again boomed, this time because of market factors related to hungry acquisitions by the Rockefellers' Amalgamated Copper Company. The Elizabeth Mining Company continued to ship its richer copper ores to market to generate cash flow, by rail to tidal waters in Connecticut and then by barge to the Mountain Copper Company smelter in New Jersey. At the same time, it began constructing a larger smelting plant at South Strafford: a new 150-ton blast furnace for initial smelting and a new 10-ton reverberatory furnace for producing blister copper, 96 to 99 percent pure.[40] For maximum efficiency in handling materials, the roast beds were carefully laid out beneath a timber trestle and a parallel track. Each stage of processing was located along the descending hillside to utilize gravity in handling and

Figure 5. The Tyson Adit (1,340 feet long) was completed in 1898 and served as the mine's main entrance until 1958. June 1994 photograph by the author.

Figure 6. Heap-roasting near the Elizabeth Mill, c. 1902. Smoke from the roast beds near the left end of the railway trestle partially obscures the mill building. The wooden ore cars in the foreground were used to charge the copper blast furnace located near the photographer's vantage point. Collamer Abbott Papers, Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont, carton 13, folder 3.

transporting materials. An article in the *Boston Globe* reported favorably on the recent operations of the Elizabeth among the Orange County mines.[41]

By this time James W. Tyson, Jr., following in his father's footsteps, lived and worked full-time in Vermont, overseeing the operation. After receiving his formal education at Haverford, he had participated in some of the mining and smelting activities in South Strafford during the previous campaigns and later gained experience in Pittsburgh's steel industry. James Junior and his family resided in the large white brick house known as "Buena Vista Farm," a short distance down the road from the Elizabeth operations. The homestead still remains in the family today. James Senior had been suffering poor health for several years and could travel north only in seasonable weather, often directing company business from Baltimore. Bookkeeper H. Lee Hatch and Captain Dow regularly mailed reports to keep him informed of operations.[42]

The underground mining environment subjected both man and beast to various hazards. While the Elizabeth mine did not have the explosive

Figure 7. Young James W. Tyson, Jr. (1861–1946) in a reflective pose at Buena Vista, c. 1887. The youngest surviving son of James W. Tyson and the most active in copper mining and smelting, he worked at the Elizabeth Mine during the 1880s and managed the operations from 1897 to 1902. He superintended again under August Heckscher in 1907. An upstanding community member, he resided at Buena Vista Farm in South Strafford for nearly fifty years, and served as the town's representative in the legislature. Photograph courtesy of Webb L. Nimick.

gases and massive roof collapses typically associated with coal mining, its large underground openings offered the potential for falling rocks, and heavy equipment might crush someone in an instant. In the dim light of candles or oil lamps, dangers were not readily apparent. Miner Ed Carey was killed instantaneously by a falling rock in July 1900.[43] Injured miner Warren Flanders received a $40 collection from the other men while he lay at Mary Hitchcock hospital.[44] On one documented occasion in 1893, a blast nearly killed several miners when a rock struck only about two feet away from them.[45] Tragically, thirty-

three-year-old Arthur Kenison, son of an Ely miner, was killed instantly in July 1897 by a premature dynamite blast.[46]

The mine employed horses to draw the ore cars in the long adit. In February 1899, Buchanan Tyson's little horse Jack was severely burned when the oil lamp attached to its harness exploded. The frightened animal is reported to have lain down in the flaming fluid.[47] Later that year, a collision in the tunnel mortally injured another horse, but no miners were hurt.[48] In another instance, Willis Sharp was hurt while taking an ore car out of the mine.[49] Two buildings at the mouth of the adit burned in May 1899 and had to be rebuilt, and the workers' change house caught fire in 1900.[50] These and other such difficulties were part of the normal course of operations at the mine.

The elder James W. Tyson was well enough to travel to Vermont in June 1900 to attend to business, but by late July was so seriously ill that a physician and a nurse had to be called in from Hanover to care for him. Another doctor and a nurse accompanied him when he returned to Baltimore in the fall.[51] He died on December 3, 1900, the same day his granddaughter Rosa was born at Buena Vista. A memorial service was held on Copperas Hill while Tyson's funeral was conducted in Baltimore.[52] Like her father, Rosa Tyson would grow up to be a pillar of the South Strafford community.

James W. Tyson, Jr., carried on mining and smelting as best he could with little support and assistance from Baltimore, apart from faithful metallurgist William Glenn. The Elizabeth Mining Company was often short of working capital, with cash tied up in the thousands of tons of ore lying on the roast beds. The company had to take out small loans and seek cash advances on ore and matte shipments in order to meet monthly payrolls and pay its bills. For some time the principals had been trying to sell the operation for a good cash price, as the company was indebted to other family business concerns for several hundred thousand dollars. Potential buyers desired options with various contingencies, but their unsecured offers were declined. The Tysons even turned down a reported $600,000 offer from George Westinghouse.[53] Westinghouse instead purchased the mined-out Ely Mine in neighboring Vershire, spending a million dollars there over a five-year period conducting experiments in a failed smelting plant. Afterwards, not only were Westinghouse's plant and equipment removed, but the one-time boomtown of Copperfield was dismantled as well.

Innovations Amid Difficulties

The Tysons continued mine and smelter operations to try to prove the value of the property and its extensive ore reserves. The smelter

products were consigned to the Bridgeport Brass Company through its Oronoque Company affiliate in Vermont and shipped to the Nichols Chemical Company refinery on Long Island, New York, for refining.[54] Unfortunately, by 1901, as the price of copper once again fell, the asking price for the mine had to fall also. Because the company was now caught in a family legal squabble and encumbered by creditors, it received no serious offers to purchase the mine.[55]

Several factors combined to hinder smelting operations at the site. Gas coke shipments were either delayed, or contained excessive moisture or fines that made them unsuitable as smelter fuel. The local railroad proposals of the 1890s never came to fruition because of an unstable economy and poor prospects of financial success, so the Elizabeth Mine still faced high transportation costs. Securing fuels inexpensively and moving products economically to distant markets were critical to the success of any mine. Moving materials and goods to and from the remote Vermont location remained expensive and unreliable. Teams of

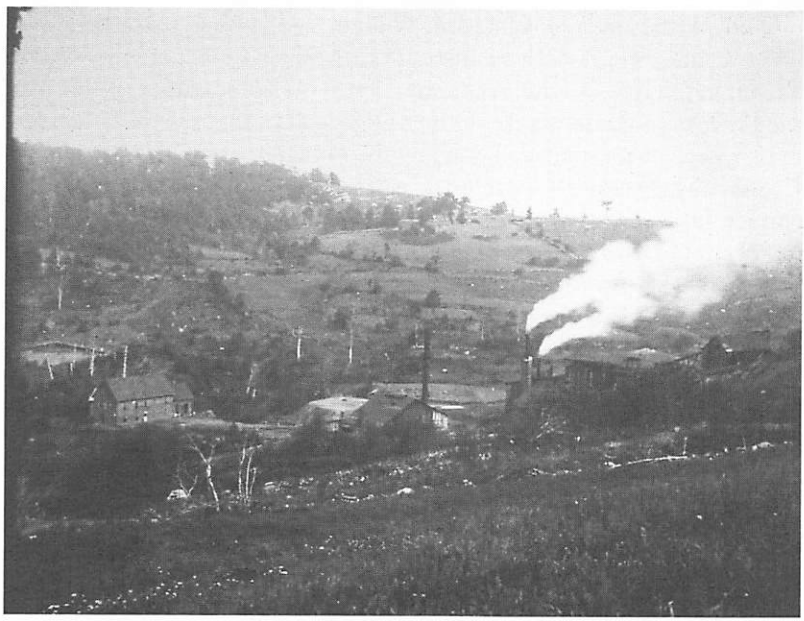


Figure 8. Tyson copper smelter operating, c. 1900 (possibly 1907) with smoke emanating from blower engine and blast furnace stacks. The reverberatory furnace was housed in the structure with the idle smokestack and the building to the far left was a miners' boarding house constructed c. 1900. Photograph courtesy of the Strafford Historical Society.

horses took cobbed ore or matte ten miles downhill to the Pompanoosuc Station of the Boston & Maine Railroad, returning with fuel and supplies. At times as many as seventy-five draught animals were hard at work. The company made frequent shipping arrangements with the station agent, Hersey E. Kendall.[56] During winter weather, sledding became the required mode of transportation. When "mud season" came in spring, haulers switched from runners to wheels.

During this period James Tyson, Jr. and William Glenn experimented successfully with several innovations. One was the use of chromite hearth linings in their 3-foot by 10-foot water-jacketed cupola furnace. Their knowledge of chromite through the chemical business in Baltimore gave them an advantage in applying the material as a furnace lining that might stand up to the smelting of pyrrhotite ore. Using both large and small pieces of interlocked Turkish chrome ore, hammered into place, they successfully built a furnace bottom that functioned well for more than twenty-six weeks. A typical silica-brick bottom deteriorated rapidly and had to be replaced weekly, as the excess iron in the molten pyritic ores consumed it. William Glenn shared this achievement at the 1901 American Institute of Mining Engineers meeting in Richmond, Virginia, and recommended it to all smelters. Tyson also used blocks of chromite ore in the bridge wall of the reverberatory furnace, where it stood up well, proving the effectiveness of the chromite.[57] Even today chromite is a preferred refractory material in reverberatory copper furnaces, in spite of the fact that it has been removed from many related uses because of hazardous waste concerns.

Another innovation concerned the process of copper converting. Tyson, assisted by Glenn and his smelterman, a Mr. Everett from Canada, devised a way to skip the expensive and laborious steps of crushing and roasting the heavy matte produced from pyrrhotite smelting, by directly reducing it in the small reverberatory furnace. They found they could successfully convert impure matte to blister copper by aiming a blast of superheated steam, air, and sand onto the surface of the molten charge.[58] The sand provided silica to draw away iron from the melt to form waste slag, leaving molten copper behind. They generated the steam by utilizing the waste heat from the smelter flue. In January 1902 they sought a patent, but to their disappointment the application was denied. Thomas Roberts of Baltimore and others already held patents covering a similar process, although they had not proven them practically as the metallurgical staff of the Elizabeth had done.[59] In his 1902 *Copper Handbook,* Horace J. Stevens referred to this method as the "reactor process."[60] The durability of the chromite refractory made the Tyson process effective, successfully producing blister copper in two steps in-

stead of three. Much of the slag from the smelting was handled using wheeled slag pots, or buggies, that could easily be maneuvered and dumped on a waste heap by one man. A trough with flowing water was also installed to granulate the molten slag and wash it away.

Continued financial and legal problems caused the shutdown of the mine, mill, and smelter by June 1902. The company owed Bridgeport Brass $55,000 on a chattel mortgage and had two $5,000 loans from the National Bank of White River Junction.[61] The Elizabeth Mining Company was effectively defunct.

After the Tysons

During its years of operation, a number of prominent mining engineers and consultants examined the Elizabeth Mine. They visited the mine and smelter complex to interview the management and collect ore samples for assaying. They measured the huge vein and prepared maps to accompany their reports, explaining the geology and indicating the potential of the mine. Recognized experts following Professor Howe included Lomax Littlejohn in 1888, H. C. Southworth in 1897, and Messrs. Albert R. Ledoux & Co. in 1899. In 1896 Professor N. A. Bibikov from Russia visited the mine while conducting studies on the Ely Mine, and Westinghouse representatives visited as well when a possible purchase was under consideration. Reginald W. Petre visited in 1902, and Walter H. Weed of the U.S. Geological Survey in 1903. Both Philip S. Smith of Harvard and German Otto Sussman of the American Metal Company authored reports in 1904, followed by others representing both the academic and business communities.[62]

In 1905, John Judson and Lewis Rowand, former employees of the Wetherill Separating Company and accomplished veterans of difficult ore-separation processes at the New Jersey Zinc Company, obtained a lease on the Elizabeth Mine from the court-appointed receivers. They conducted magnetic separation experiments in their laboratory in New Jersey, attempting to remove the valuable copper mineral chalcopyrite from the ubiquitous unwanted mineral pyrrhotite. Their process consisted of roasting the pyrrhotite ore to make it more magnetic, as the Elizabeth pyrrhotite is not as magnetic as other such ores. Since pyrrhotite was not covered in the Wetherill Magnetic Separator patents, they would not have to pay licensing fees to use the process.[63] Judson and Rowand tried to get American Metal (backed by the German conglomerate Metallurgische Gesellschaft, A.G.) to invest in their Elizabeth project. Failing in these negotiations, they convinced New Jersey Zinc magnate August Heckscher to be their financial backer. However, the process they had developed in the laboratory proved unsuccessful

at South Strafford. Heckscher exercised an option Judson had negotiated and purchased the mine for only $200,000 in late 1906, enabling the Tysons to settle with their creditors.[64] Under the direction of James Tyson, Jr., an inventory of roasted ores was smelted for a brief period in the existing Tyson blast furnace in early 1907. Heckscher then constructed an elaborate and expensive smelter plant rated at 300 tons per day, but it, too, failed after several attempts.

Exploration conducted with diamond drills in 1909 began to confirm the depth and lateral extent of the massive Copperas Hill ore deposit. The ore body eventually proved to be more than two miles long, some 300 to 600 feet deep, and usually 12 to 35 feet wide, with some sections reaching a width of 64 feet. On the whole containing less than 2 percent copper, the ore could not be treated economically by the milling and smelting techniques applied by the Tysons and others. Only the highest-grade ores were profitable, and then only during periods of elevated copper prices. It would take the successful application of early froth flotation technology during World War I to make the mine's future possible.[65] The flotation process involves grinding the ore to a powder, then using specific chemicals in an aerated water bath to cause only the copper-bearing minerals to adhere to the surface of the rising bubbles. The mineral-rich "froth" is skimmed off as a copper concentrate ready for shipment to a smelter.

After a short run by American Metal in 1926 and another by National Copper from 1929 to 1930, the Elizabeth Mine was outfitted during World War II by a new corporation, the Vermont Copper Company, with modern mining equipment and a 500-ton per day flotation mill for its final fifteen-year run. The support of the Vermont War Production Board and studies conducted by the U.S. Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines helped to justify the large capital outlay required to reopen the mine. A loan from the Metals Reserve Company, a federal agency, supplemented the significant private investment. Because of wartime demands in 1943, the Vermont Copper Company received a premium price to supply copper under its guaranteed government contract. During this time, the Elizabeth Mine grew and became one of the top twenty U.S. copper mines, a noteworthy achievement to be named among the mammoth mines of the West found in Arizona, Montana, and Utah. It processed 800 tons per day of ore on average by 1953, with a peak production of 1,000 tons per day, finally closing in 1958.[66]

Recent Events

An unintended legacy of the Elizabeth Mine is acid mine drainage into the west branch of the Ompompanoosuc River. Acidic water con-

taining varying quantities of iron, aluminum, and other contaminants emanates from the former workings, exceeding established water quality standards. The regular decomposition of sulphide minerals in waste rock and tailings piles caused by the action of water and air also yields such drainage. As a result, federal agencies including the Army Corps of Engineers, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), and the U.S. Geological Survey, with the cooperation of the Vermont Agency of Natural Resources and Department of Environmental Conservation, have studied and continue to consider the Elizabeth site, which was listed on the National Priorities List of hazardous waste sites under Superfund laws in June 2001. In addition, the State of Vermont Historic Preservation Office is reviewing the continuing historical and archeological investigations, as the district has been determined to be eligible for the National Register of Historic Places. Counted among those conducting the historic and scientific studies are industrial archeologists, historians, environmental consultants, geochemists, and engineers. Nearly a dozen community groups have come together as stakeholders in an advisory capacity to help determine by consensus an acceptable solution from a series of options being provided by the government and consultants.

After many studies and community meetings, interested parties reviewed the EPA's Engineering Evaluation and Cost Analysis report and Proposed Plan of Action for a cleanup in Spring 2002 and gave feedback during a thirty-day public comment period. After considering these comments, EPA plans to conduct a Remedial Investigation and Feasibility Study based upon a cleanup direction selected. Archeological field work was conducted during Summer 2002. Further studies and meetings will take place before actual site cleanup commences, contingent upon adequate funding.[67]

The proposed cleanup solutions are controversial and the scale of the Elizabeth project is immense. It will be the first major mine cleanup project in New England, and soon will be followed by work at the other nearby abandoned copper mining sites. Interested parties have different priorities. Historians desire to study and preserve unique and historic elements of the site, environmental activists seek a thorough cleanup and restoration of the landscape, and many community members are concerned about the truck traffic required to transport dirt for capping the extensive tailings piles, as well as the loss of a familiar landmark. Still others, such as engineers and scientists, want decisions based upon sound scientific research and engineering principles. Government officials seek a cleanup that meets required environmental standards while addressing the related elements of concern, ever cognizant of the

considerable financial outlay from limited funds for the initial site cleanup and the requirements for ongoing maintenance costs in the future.

Notwithstanding the unfolding cleanup saga, the challenge remains to remediate the mine's environmental effects without destroying its unique historical and topographic features nor disrupting the community, for the Elizabeth Mine and its landscape represent some 150 years of eastern U.S. copper-mining history.

Notes

* With fond memories this article is dedicated to Frances Wilson of South Strafford, Vermont.

[1] Collamer M. Abbott, "Vermont's Pioneer Copper Plant," *The New England Galaxy* 6, no. 2 (Fall 1964): 33–41; Collamer M. Abbott, "Early Copper Smelting in Vermont," *Vermont History* 33, no. 1 (January 1965): 233–242. For a general history of Vermont's copper mines, the author recommends: Collamer M. Abbott, *Green Mountain Copper: The Story of Vermont's Red Metal* (Randolph: Herald Printery, 1973), 1–36. *Green Mountain Copper* was recently reprinted (2000) and copies may be obtained from the Thetford Historical Society. Another general reference is Katharine Blaisdell, *Over the River and Through the Years, Book Four: Mills and Mines* (1982), 46–84. The Strafford Historical Society has periodically (regularly in recent years) provided informative slide programs and articles concerning the history of Copperas Hill and the Elizabeth Mine.

[2] John F. Slack and Terry W. Offield, et al., "Besshi-type Massive Sulfide Deposits of the Vermont Copper Belt," in *SEG Guidebook* 17 (Society of Economic Geologists, 1993): 1–73.

[3] Abbott, *Green Mountain Copper,* 4–27; Susan Youngwood, "The Ely War," *Vermont Life* (Spring 1993), 44–47, 70.

[4] Abbott, *Green Mountain Copper,* 30, 35.

[5] Abbott, "Early Copper Smelting in Vermont," 233.

[6] Zadock Thompson, *Gazetteer of Vermont* (1842), 167; William Belmont Parker, *The Life and Public Services of Justin Smith Morrill* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924), 22–23.

[7] Dr. John Locke, "Some account of the copperas mines and manufactory in Strafford, Vt.," *American Journal of Science and Arts* 3 (1821), 328.

[8] Isaac Tyson, Jr., "Old Memo & Journal 1833," Vermont Historical Society collection, 1–136; Isaac Tyson, Jr., "Memorandum Book 1835–1852," Tyson family archives (privately held), South Strafford, Vt., 17; Abbott, "Vermont's Pioneer Copper Plant," 33–41; Abbott, *Green Mountain Copper.*

[9] "Specification of a Patent for an improvement in the Mode of Heating and Applying Heated Air to Blast Furnaces. Granted to Isaac Tyson, Jr. city of Baltimore, 18 April 1834," *Journal of the Franklin Institute* 20 (1835): 407. Isaac Tyson, Jr. was inducted into the National Mining Hall of Fame and Museum in Leadville, Colorado in 1996, partly for his pioneering hot-blast copper smelting experiments at Furnace Flat, in addition to his noteworthy accomplishments in the chromium industry.

[10] Thompson, *Gazetteer of Vermont,* 168. Specific production figures are not given, but from this and other descriptions the copper enterprise in Strafford was significant for the era.

[11] *Biographical Catalog of the Matriculates of Haverford College, 1833–1922* (Philadelphia: Prepared by a committee of the Alumni Association, 1922), 36, 39; William Glenn, "Biographical Notice of James Wood Tyson," *Transactions of the American Institute of Mining Engineers* 31 (1902): 118–121.

[12] James P. Lesley, *The Iron Manufacturers Guide to the Furnaces, Forges and Rolling Mills of the United States* (New York: John Wiley, 1859), 25, 48, 50.

[13] Elizabeth Key Howard Tyson, "Memoirs" (n.d.), Tyson archives, 28.

[14] "Elizabeth Mine Act of Incorporation, etc.," 12 October 1881, Tyson archives, 1, 43–46.

[15] *The Baltimore Sun,* 12 February 1907, 7; *The Engineering and Mining Journal* 84, no. 3 (20 July 1907): 123. John H. B. Latrobe was the son of Benjamin H. Latrobe, an architect whose work included the U.S. Capitol.

[16] "Mineral Wealth!! That Lies Buried in Vermont Hills," *West Randolph Herald and News* (hereinafter *Herald*), 16 February 1893. The *Herald and News* published for Randolph, Vermont, and the *Chelsea Herald,* published for Chelsea, Vermont, were basically one and the same newspaper, and will both be cited as *Herald.*

[17] William Glenn to James W. Tyson, 1 February 1881, Tyson archives.

[18] Agreement and deed between Bryant and Foster and James W. Tyson, "Elizabeth Mine Act of Incorporation, etc.," 6 September 1881, Tyson archives, 58.

[19] Elizabeth Mining Company records, 1881, Tyson archives.

[20] Margaret Brauning, "Brauning Family Genealogy," containing 1895 John Vial obituary by Pastor S. W. Coe, 1997, 2.

[21] "Record of Proceedings, Mineral Hill Mining Co." (Eighth Annual Report of the President and Directors, 30 September 1871), 238.

[22] James W. Tyson, Jr., to James W. Tyson, 7 February 1900, 16 May 1900, James W. Tyson letterbook, Tyson archives, 183a, 263.

[23] Brauning, "Genealogy," 3.

[24] Patterson, Teele & Dennis, Certified Public Accountants, New York, Baltimore, Columbus, Ohio, "Reports and Schedules, Elizabeth Mining Company to December 31st, 1900, No. 3287," Mine Plant Account, 5 May 1882 to 31 July 1884, Strafford Historical Society collection; *Vermont Journal*, 22 July 1882.

[25] "A Vermont Mine," *Herald*, 24 January 1889; "Mineral Wealth!!," *Herald*; Elizabeth Smelter Records, 1882–1884, Tyson archives.

[26] William Glenn, "The Vermont Method of Heap-Roasting Copper Ores," *The Engineering and Mining Journal* 36, no. 23 (8 December 1883): 352–353.

[27] Elizabeth Smelter Records, 1882–1884; William Glenn, "Fuel in Cupola Smelting," letter to the editor, *The Engineering and Mining Journal* 38, no. 3 (19 July 1884): 34.

[28] William Glenn, "Water-Jackets versus Brick Furnaces in Copper Smelting," letter to the editor, *The Engineering and Mining Journal* 36, no. 18 (3 November 1883): 274.

[29] William Glenn, "Chromite as a Hearth-Lining for a Furnace Smelting Copper-Ore," *Transactions of A.I.M.E.* 31 (1902): 375.

[30] Elizabeth Mine & Furnace Statements, 1883 and 1884, Tyson archives; Glenn, "Water-Jackets versus Brick Furnaces," 274.

[31] Glenn, "Fuel in Cupola Smelting," 34.

[32] Henry M. Howe, "The Elizabeth Copper Mine, Vermont," *The Engineering and Mining Journal*, 42, no. 19 (6 November 1886): 327; Henry M. Howe, *Report on the Elizabeth Copper Mine of Strafford, Vermont, 1886* (Baltimore: Hoffman & Co., 1890), 10–11.

[33] "Death of Mrs. James W. Tyson," *Baltimore Sun*, Wednesday morning, 25 January 1888, 4; "The Tyson-Johns Wedding," *Baltimore Sun*, Friday, 27 January 1888, supplement, 2; Webb L. Nimick, "A Family History and Genealogy of James Wood Tyson and Elizabeth Dawson Tyson and Their Forebears and Descendants" (1994), Tyson archives, 66; Elizabeth Key Howard Tyson, "Memoirs," 28. The marriage of Jesse Tyson to Edyth Johns was almost scandalous, for he was sixty-six years old and she was only nineteen. The rest of the Tyson family had serious reservations about such a union. A similar situation arose when sixty-year old James W. Tyson remarried. Elizabeth Key Howard, a descendant of Francis Scott Key, author of the "Star-Spangled Banner," was thirty-three at the time. James's grown children at first objected to their father's marriage to someone younger than some of them, but they later came to accept and even befriend the second Elizabeth.

[34] "Vermont," *The Engineering and Mining Journal* 45, no. 13 (31 March 1888): 240; "Mineral Wealth!!," *Herald*.

[35] "Elizabeth Mine Act of Incorporation," board of directors meeting minutes of 9 April 1890, Tyson archives, 75–80.

[36] Elizabeth Mine, Furnace Operation & Furnace Records 1890, Tyson archives; George A. Packard, "Vermont," *The Engineering and Mining Journal* 85, no. 1 (4 January 1908): 47.

[37] "A Vermont Mine," *Herald*, 24 January 1889.

[38] Elizabeth Mine records, 1898, Tyson archives; James W. Tyson, Jr., letterbook, 15 June 1898, Strafford Historical Society collection, 273.

[39] Report of Albert Reid Ledoux in "Papers Descriptive of the Elizabeth Copper Mine, South Strafford, Vermont," from Ledoux & Co. to Lomax Littlejohn, New York (17 May 1899), Collamer Abbott Papers, Bailey-Howe Memorial Library Special Collections, University of Vermont, 6.

[40] George H. Perkins, "Metallic Products, Copper," in *Report of the State Geologist on the Mineral Industries of Vermont, 1899–1900* (Burlington: Free Press Association, 1900), 10; Elbridge C. Jacobs, "Copper Mining in Vermont," in *Report of the State Geologist on the Mineral Industries and Geology of Vermont, 1915–1916* (Burlington: Free Press Printing Co., 1916), 194; Horace J. Stevens, *The Copper Handbook*, vol. 2 for 1901 (Houghton, Michigan: Horace J. Stevens, 1902), 315; Glenn, "Chromite as a Hearth-Lining," 375.

[41] "Copper Mining Revived in Vermont," *The Boston Globe*, 8 December 1899. The same article was carried locally in the *Herald*.

[42] James W. Tyson letterbook, 1900, Tyson archives.

[43] *Herald*, 5 July 1900. Unless noted otherwise, transcriptions of untitled articles in Vermont newspapers were provided by Gwenda Smith, Strafford Historical Society.

[44] *Herald*, 21 June 1900.

[45] *Vermont Journal,* 11 March 1893.

[46] *Bradford United Opinion,* 16 July 1897 (transcription from Collamer Abbott, Notebook 51), 151.

[47] *Herald,* 9 February 1899. Buchanan Tyson, the oldest son of James W. Tyson, Jr., was about ten years old when this accident occurred.

[48] *Herald,* 9 November 1899.

[49] *Herald,* 2 November 1899.

[50] *Herald,* 4 May 1899; *Herald,* 27 December 1900.

[51] *Herald,* 21 June 1900; 26 July 1900; 30 August 1900, 11 October 1900.

[52] *Herald,* 12 December 1900; *Baltimore Sun,* 4 December 1900, 7; James W. Tyson, Jr., letterbook, 3 December 1900, Tyson archives, 156a.

[53] Record No. 15, *Edith [sic] Johns Cotten, Executrix of Jesse Tyson, Exceptant,* vs. *Julia McHenry Tyson et al.,* in the Court of Appeals of Maryland, Appeal from the Circuit Court of Baltimore City, filed 13 June 1913, "In the Matter of the Trust Estate of Richard W. Tyson, deceased," 87, Maryland Law Library, Annapolis. This 550-page reference contains many details concerning a complicated legal case involving second- and third-generation members of the Isaac Tyson, Jr., family, including the finances and ownership of the Elizabeth Mining Company in relation to the other family-held companies such as the Tyson Mining Company, the Mineral Hill Mining Company, and the Baltimore Chrome Works. Legal proceedings dragged on in the courts for thirteen years, involving many attorneys, accountants, trustees, witnesses, and family members. The author has not included these details to avoid distracting the reader from the main subject of the article. Therefore, brief statements in this paper making mention of receivers, creditors, or "the Tysons" in relation to the management and operation of the Elizabeth Mine, are intended to simplify a very complicated matter and should be understood in general terms.

[54] "Elizabeth Mine Act of Incorporation," Agreement between Elizabeth Mining Company and the Oronoque Co., 7 November 1900, recorded in minutes of board of directors meeting, 1 November 1900, Tyson archives, 104.

[55] Record No. 15, *Cotten* vs. *Tyson,* 38.

[56] James W. Tyson and James W. Tyson, Jr., letterbooks, 1899–1902, Tyson archives.

[57] Glenn, "Chromite as a Hearth-Lining," 375–379.

[58] William Glenn, "A New Method of Copper Matte Concentration," letter to the editor, *The Engineering and Mining Journal* 74, no. 25 (20 December 1902): 820–821; James W. Tyson, Jr., to William Glenn, 19 and 20 January 1902, Tyson archives, 754–756 and James W. Tyson, Jr., to Munn & Co., 25 January 1902, 783–784.

[59] Thomas Roberts, "Process of Reducing and Refining Copper," United States Patent Office, Letters Patent No. 568700, 29 September 1896; James W. Tyson, Jr., to William Glenn, 17 March 1902, Tyson archives, 883.

[60] Horace J. Stevens, *The Copper Handbook,* volume 3 for year 1902 (Houghton: Horace J. Stevens, 1903), 57.

[61] Record No. 15, *Cotten* vs. *Tyson,* 91.

[62] Transcriptions of the Howe, Littlejohn, Southworth, Ledoux, Petre, and Sussman reports (originally from the American Metal Company collection) are found in the Collamer Abbott Papers, Bailey/Howe Library Special Collections, University of Vermont; "Report of Prof. N. A. Bibikov on Elizabeth Copper Mine," 6 June 1896, Tyson archives, 1–6; Walter Harvey Weed, "Notes on the Copper Mines of Vermont," in *Contributions to Economic Geology,* U.S.G.S. Bulletin 225 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904), 190–201; Philip Sydney Smith, "The Copper Sulphide Deposits of Orange County, Vermont" (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1904), 1–177; Henry Lloyd Smyth and Philip S. Smith, "The Copper Deposits of Orange County, Vermont," *The Engineering and Mining Journal* 74, no. 17 (28 April 1904): 677–678.

[63] John Nichols Judson, *Elizabeth Mine, South Strafford, Vermont. Statement Respecting the Proposed Method of Working the Ore by Magnetic Separation* (New York: Evening Post Job Printing House, 1904), 1–28.

[64] Columbus O'Donnell Lee to James W. Tyson, Jr., 13 October 1906, Tyson archives.

[65] Elbridge C. Jacobs, "Reopening of the Vermont Copper Mines," in *Report of the State Geologist on the Mineral Industries and Geology of Vermont, 1941–1942* (Burlington: Free Press Printing Co., 1942), 12–16.

[66] Charles White Merrill and Helena M. Meyer, "Copper," in *U.S. Bureau of Mines Minerals Yearbook 1949* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1951), 467; Jacobs, "Reopening of the Vermont Copper Mines," 1–6; Abbott, *Green Mountain Copper,* 30–36.

[67] Interested readers can find a wealth of information regarding the ongoing Elizabeth Mine remediation project from a number of sources. For starters, the author suggests reviewing the Elizabeth Mine Community Advisory Group website: http://www.dartmouth.edu/~cehs/CAGsite, or try contacting one of the EPA-appointed facilitators at 802-223-1330. Information found on the website leads in many diverse directions, further exemplifying the complexity and importance of this historic site.

VERMONT ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS

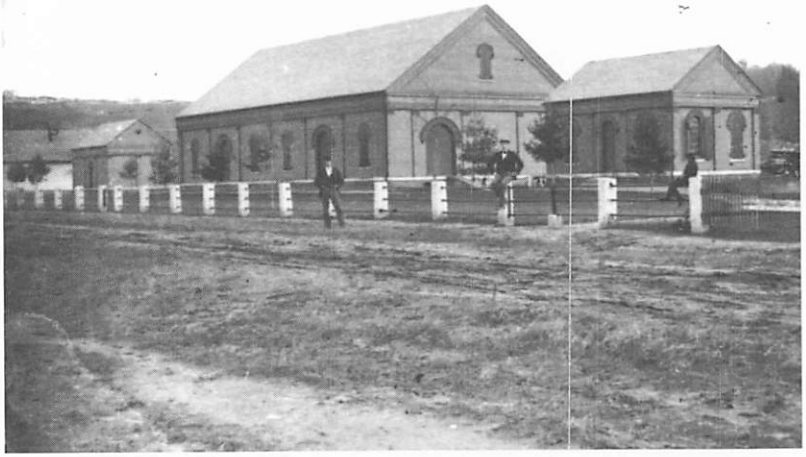
This occasional section alerts researchers to the rich resources acquired regularly by Vermont's historical repositories. News of accessions and openings of processed collections, as well as longer evaluative descriptions of research collections are welcome. Please send submissions to the Editor, Vermont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

The Vermont Military Records Project: The Civil War Records

By Kelly Nolin

In his official report for the year ending October 1865, Adjutant General Peter Washburn wrote: "The records and files which have accumulated in this office since the commencement of the rebellion, possess a value which cannot be estimated, and their loss would be irreparable.... I have been enabled to keep very full record of the military history of nearly every man in service from this State. The records are in constant use, and will be for a long time ... I respectfully suggest that some measures should be authorized for securing the safety of ... these records and files from casualty by fire."[1]

When the state arsenal in Montpelier was struck by lightning on the night of August 31, 1945, and burnt to the ground, nearly fifty cartons of records were somehow salvaged from the wreckage. The storage of Vermont's military records in the old arsenal on College Street had



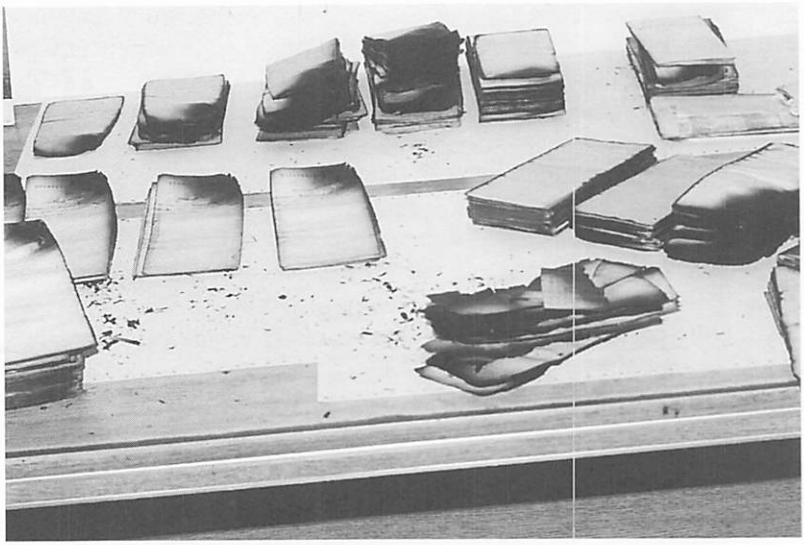
Two views of the U.S. Arsenal complex in Montpelier. Above, ca. 1890; below, on September 1, 1945, the day after fire destroyed the central building.

been a contentious issue for many years. The large brick building, built in the mid- to late 1860s, lacked both a fire suppression system and climate control. On August 29, 1945, the adjutant general went before the Public Records Commission to formally recommend the removal and transfer of the military archive. Two days later, the arsenal went up in flames, and with it much of Vermont's documented military history. Today, many of the remaining documents exhibit at least some water damage; most have sustained significant fire damage. With the original order lost, those who triaged the documents following the disaster nearly sixty years ago made little attempt to arrange the fragile materials, although there seems to have been an effort to sort the records according to military unit or subject matter.

For almost sixty years the records remained as their rescuers left them. Historians had long bemoaned the condition of these important documents and the tightly wrapped bundles had been prodded and pried open by frustrated researchers over the years, further worsening their fragile physical condition and already unreliable organization. Although the legislature turned down the first request for archival funding in 1997, success came at last in 1999 due to the efforts of persistent and devoted military historians Michael Bellesiles and Howard Coffin, of Director of Central Services and Public Records A. John Yacavoni, and of State Archivist D. Gregory Sanford. Senator Vincent Illuzzi and the Senate Institutions Committee, and Commissioner of Buildings and General Services Thomas Torti ensured both initial and continued financial support of the project through Capital Construction Bill appropriations in 1999, 2000, and 2001. Thanks to their combined efforts this important archival initiative was undertaken and Vermont's military heritage was salvaged.

What I faced when first confronted with these fifty forlorn cartons of damaged military records, and how those approximately 200,000 burnt pieces of paper went from their post-salvage stage to their present secure and accessible status (via microfilm), is beyond the scope of this article. It was a challenge deserving its own narrative in another venue. But the hope of the project was that what began in October 1999 as an archivist's nightmare might prove, in the end, to be an historian's dream. Now that the project is nearly complete, a wealth of new primary source material has become available, and from that foundation will certainly arise a more comprehensive understanding of Vermont's proud military heritage and history.

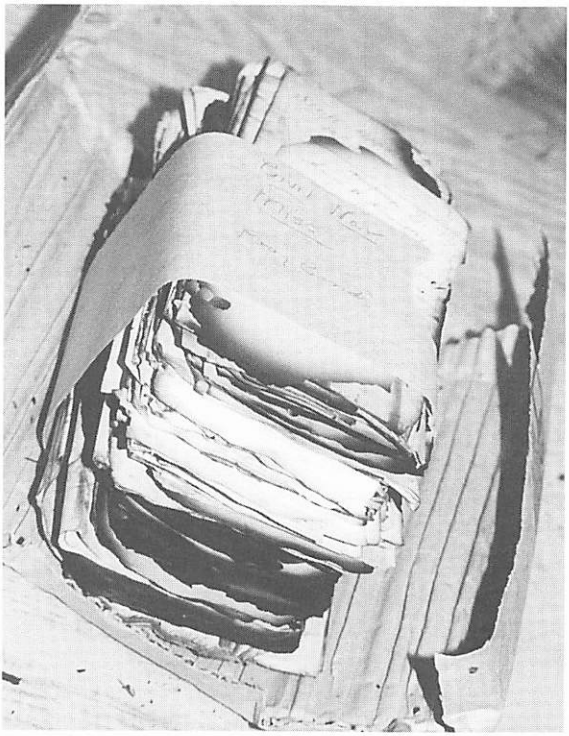
The Civil War records account for perhaps three-quarters of what remains of the adjutant general's original archive. These salvaged military records provide a rare glimpse into the busy office of Vermont's



6th Vermont, Monthly Returns, 1864. These records were so severely burnt and damaged by water that they cannot be handled. Does enough text survive to make filming worthwhile? The documents will fail on being unfolded and severe charring will obscure much of the text that does survive. Photo by the author.

adjutant general during four years of civil war. The sheer volume of paperwork must have nearly overwhelmed the small and overworked staff. The busy clerks received 6,200 letters between October 1863 and October 1864 alone.[2] Along with the pressures of paperwork, the adjutant general also bore the unenviable responsibility of inspiring recruitment and ensuring a continuous flow of soldiers from Vermont's well-tapped fountain of patriotism, as Washington continued throughout the war to demand more and always more men for its armed services.

New voices have emerged from the salvaged records. Homer Stoughton recounts his memories of the wounding of General George Stannard at Gettysburg. Colonel Francis Randall provides his own detailed account of the 13th Vermont Regiment in action at Gettysburg. Several officers of the 9th Vermont Regiment add their testimony to their unit's claim to be the first to enter Richmond in April of 1865. And Merritt Barber informs us of the conspicuous part played by



Civil War records hastily bundled together following the fire in August 1945. The paper band bears the description, "Civil War Misc. Poor Cond[ition]."

General Lewis A. Grant and the Old Vermont Brigade at the final breakthrough of Petersburg's formidable defenses on April 2, 1865.[3]

Regimental morning reports, forwarded bi-weekly to the adjutant general, and monthly returns of alterations, bear witness to year-round casualty and illness rates. Ordnance store and quartermasters' vouchers inform in detail of military supply and consumption. And the multi-faceted richness of the adjutant general's correspondence alone contains material enough for numerous Civil War dissertations.

Quantifiable data from the thousands of muster, descriptive, and pay rolls provide new insights into regimental demographics and literacy levels. Enlistment contracts and rolls, as well as medical inspection certificates, yield information on both the individual and collective physical characteristics of Vermont's Civil War volunteers. Forwarding rolls

of substitutes and conscripted men describe the manpower contributions of various areas within our state. Guardian consent forms illustrate in very human terms the impact of war on mid-nineteenth-century families. Accompanying many of the remaining enlistment contracts are hundreds, perhaps thousands, of small slips of paper bearing the handwritten permission of parents allowing their underage sons to enlist in the service of the United States. Later in the war, when printed consent forms became more widely available and enlistment contracts themselves contained an appropriate section to be completed by those under twenty-one years of age, much of the simple charm of these informal documents was sacrificed to the new convenience.

Sometimes the homely character of a parent's written consent reflected the very human nature of the sacrifice asked of Civil War-era families. In perusing the consent forms it is quite easy to sympathize with the emotions these parents must have experienced as they signed a legal document ceding the remainder of their sons' minorities to the service of their country, even though they must have well understood that service threatened an all-too-brief future for their boys. A letter from a Sherburne selectman gives voice to what must have been a very common sentiment: "The father of Wm P Henry, whose name is upon the roll [of Company H, 14th Vermont] hereunto attached, I am informed from good authority is willing that his son should enlist, and will make no effort to get him released, but objects to signing a paper signifying his consent fearing that his son will be killed and that he will regret that his name is signed to such a paper."[4]

The rules were very clear about accepting minors into federal service, and for the most part recruiting officers took them seriously. The saga of one sixteen-year-old's enlistment in the 17th Vermont Regiment in December 1863 survives as an example of the trouble that could result from underage enlistments. In the company of friends on a spree, Hubert Worcester apparently traveled to Burlington and enlisted in the 17th Regiment without the knowledge or consent of his parents. Upon learning of the enlistment, Mr. and Mrs. Worcester notified the recruiting officer and asked that their son be released from his contract and returned home to Warren. They reiterated those facts in a letter to the adjutant general and again urged the speedy release of their son. Then, almost matter-of-factly, Emmaline and Almond Worcester added: "We have had 5 sons in the army. One has been honorably discharged, and 4 are now in active service. Hubert is our youngest son, and we would be exceedingly glad to keep him at home with us. We therefore petition and pray you to release him from any further obligation as a soldier under his present contract. . . . Have we not given our share of sons to

the service of the country? And shall not we be allowed to keep this our youngest with us . . . We hope Sir that you will say that we may."[5] The Worcesters' contribution to the war effort was obviously deemed sufficient, for there is no evidence that Hubert, once released from his contract, reenlisted. And all five Worcester boys who saw active service returned home to Warren alive.

All prospective recruits underwent a medical examination prior to being accepted into the United States service. The so-called "Form for examining a Recruit" today seems at least moderately humorous in its attempt to be thorough yet concise. The one-page form begins with the name of the recruit, his age, occupation, and place of birth. A series of questions follows requiring appropriate commentary on the soundness of various limbs and organs. The form was probably devised to infuse a bit of rigor into a notoriously lax system of physical examination. But rather than taking a recruit's medical history piecemeal, the form got right down to business with its first question: "Have you ever been sick?"[6] which we can only imagine left the door wide open to the personal agenda of the particular recruit. If one was absolutely aching to fight, the answer presumably would be "no, I've never been sick, not once, nary a sniffle nor case of the ague." While if one shuddered at the very thought of military service, the question would likely provoke an emphatic "yes!" and the catalog of complaints would go on and on in an effort to demonstrate that the recruit had never spent a well day in his entire miserable life. Of course, on a serious note, physical examinations were conducted primarily to detect epilepsy, head trauma, fractures, or intemperance. Also, according to the records, many Vermonters were rejected for suspicion of tender age, ominous chest symptoms, feeble-mindedness, running sores or other obvious infections and, as Charles Spends found upon attempting to enlist into the ranks of the all-white 10th Vermont Regiment, African-American parentage.[7]

Each regiment generated its own series of correspondence, much of it a faithful reflection of the very political nature of the Civil War volunteer service. Many commanding officers corresponded with state authorities like proud parents clamoring for attention to be drawn to their particular child who, for one reason or another, was the most efficient in this or the most proficient in that.

Recommendations for promotion provided a forum in which to relate little-known and unsung acts of bravery. They tell of officers devoting special attention to the wounded while under fire, or individual soldiers being present with their units in battle though entitled by illness to be confined to quarters. This kind of pride seems pardonable and even endearing; however, within the regimental correspondence can be

found a generous number of letters relating to issues of promotion or the commissioning of officers which, it might be assumed, the adjutant general found anything but endearing. In fact, judging by the volume of evidence at hand, the widespread squabbling over promotion must have driven Peter Washburn nearly to distraction at times. It is certainly fascinating after so many years to be privy to the regimental feuds and favoritism revealed in these official recommendations.

For instance, Captain Seaton, Company F, 1st United States Sharpshooters, wrote expressing concern that a couple of unfit favorites of regimental commander Colonel Hiram Berdan might be recommended for the vacant 2nd lieutenancy over the "sturdy stalwart Green Mountain Boy" Seaton advocated. Not only are Berdan's men not of the Vermont Company, Seaton informs General Washburn, they are unpopular, ignorant of tactics, and of poor educational background. His man, on the other hand, was faithful, intelligent, and brave, and should have received honorable mention in Berdan's after-action report on the Battle of Bull Run had not Colonel Berdan, Seaton claims, been too far in the rear to observe his gallantry. Colonel Berdan also wrote to General Washburn, defending his preference. Thanks to the machinations of a Company clique, he asserted, his own choice for the commission had been recently passed over for promotion during his, their commander's, absence from the regiment. Berdan did not intend the slight should happen again. Incidental to this particular episode of military infighting is the fact that Captain Seaton wrote while under arrest and awaiting court-martial proceedings on unspecified charges brought against him by Colonel Berdan.[8]

Things were little better in the 8th Vermont Regiment, where there was apparently no love lost between Lt. Colonel Henry Dutton and Colonel Stephen Thomas. A bone of particular contention was the appointment of major in the regiment. Thomas obviously did not approve of Dutton's choice and Dutton felt it his duty to inform the adjutant general that, quite frankly, Colonel Thomas would not approve the recommendation of his second-in-command simply because Colonel Thomas could not "own" the man.[9]

Meanwhile, Colonel Breed Hyde was busy vetoing Major Thomas Seaver's recommendations for promotion in the 3rd Vermont Regiment. Hyde wrote that Major Seaver had presumed on his colonel's absence to seize the opportunity to forward his preferences to Vermont, and to add insult to injury, Seaver's preferences were gratuitous and just happened to be very much at variance with his own choices. Colonel Hyde claimed that Major Seaver held a grudge against his commanding officer, and what he felt was far worse, possessed an "extreme love of command."[10]

In the 10th Vermont, a war of wills raged between Major Chandler and Lt. Col. Henry. It seems a petition had been circulated among the men, apparently at the instigation of Major Chandler, to promote one captain to the office of major over the ranking company commander, which Col. Henry felt to be a great injustice. After performing his own informal verbal survey of the men, Henry found that they held no grudge against the senior captain and were guilty only of a desire to please their major by affirming his choice. Colonel Henry implored the adjutant general not to allow his preference to be overruled, for if the major held sway, the colonel's command of the men "would not be worth a straw." Worse, whenever Henry did not please his officers they would hold what he referred to as a "town meeting" to try to impel their commanding officer to do their bidding. This was the beginning of the end with Major Chandler, Colonel Henry vowed; "one of us will have to leave," and he assured General Washburn it would not be he, though he did admit to being just a little concerned over the fact that Major Chandler was Governor John Gregory Smith's cousin.[11]

Among the most interesting records in the adjutant general's archive are those generated by Vermont's three state agents, or commissioners, assigned by Governor Frederick Holbrook shortly after McClellan's Peninsula Campaign in 1862 to three of the north's largest cities to attend to the needs of Vermont's war casualties. These agents were responsible for reporting information on soldiers admitted to hospitals within their respective jurisdictions. They sent the governor and adjutant general regular detailed casualty and recuperation reports on individual soldiers that included not only name, military unit, and nature of the wound or illness, but also provided personal details such as existing family, residence, status of the soldier's finances, his prospect for recovery, and sometimes his frame of mind. The hospital commissioners were also responsible for ensuring that all of Vermont's sick or wounded stable enough to withstand the journey were forwarded to one of the state's three general hospitals, at Burlington, Brattleboro, or Montpelier, whichever was nearest to the particular soldier's home town. These state agents kept the folks at home informed of the welfare of their soldiers. They issued writing paper, stamps, small gifts of food, pocket change, and transportation passes. They fulfilled what must have been one of the war's most difficult jobs, both physically and emotionally; 140 years later their many acts of kindness still stand out as shining examples of the war's (and Vermont's) compassionate and humane side.

Commissioner Frank F. Holbrook, son of Governor Holbrook, left a remarkably rich archive documenting his work on behalf of the sick or

wounded in Washington, D.C. The series contains not only Holbrook's voluminous and detailed official reports but also much of his wartime correspondence with the family and friends of Vermont soldiers. In the nation's capital alone, Frank Holbrook had oversight of thousands of Vermont casualties distributed among more than 100 military hospitals.

Requests to the commissioner for transfers to Vermont hospitals competed in number with letters from worried friends and relatives pleading for information about a sick or wounded loved one. Most of the requests were both humble and stilted in their awkward attempt at formal military parlance; however, no matter the spelling, the wording, or the literacy level of the favorseeker, the unspoken bottom line remained consistent: Please, sir, send me home. One of the most endearing is a letter from a Sheldon soldier, Lewis Reyea of the 5th Vermont Volunteers, wounded in the fighting at the Battle of the Wilderness. Reyea wrote at a time when thousands of new casualties from Grant's Overland Campaign poured into the major cities lining the rail route north. Reyea must have known that the recent influx of wounded made time dear to the extremely busy man he solicited for help. It must have been frustrating to know that Commissioner Holbrook received hundreds of similar requests during times of active campaign; difficult, too, for the soldier to realize that a complete stranger held such power, could confer a personal favor of such consequence, that a simple "ok" scrawled by the commissioner upon his letter of request could profoundly affect the quality of his physical and mental well-being. From bed no.16, Wolfe Street Hospital, in Alexandria, Virginia, Lewis Reyea wrote: "Dear Sir, take opptunity to inform you I am able to be trancefur to Vermont State At any, now. I belive you was over to the hospital week or two ago. you said whenever I was able to go Let you know, so I do so. I Like to be trancefur to Burlington hospital . . . if it come handy . . . Please do the Best."[12]

If anything could persuade a reluctant writer to commit his or her thoughts to paper that impetus would be war's impact on the welfare of a child. Dan Johnson of Williston probably didn't write many letters, but in August 1864 he sent Commissioner Holbrook a heartfelt request that his son Nathan be transferred to a Vermont hospital. Nathan's malady, he wrote, was "infermation on the lungs."[13]

Occasionally worried constituents solicited a town or government official to commit the necessary words to paper. In June 1864 a town selectman intervened on behalf of the concerned father of William Mitchell, wounded in service with the 10th Vermont Regiment. Would Commissioner Holbrook see to it that young Mitchell either receives a furlough home to Pittsfield or is transferred to a hospital in his native

state? Although he was writing on behalf of the soldier's father, the selectman could not be restrained from qualifying the request by adding, "I understand that many have shot off their own fingers, if he is one of that kind keep him where he is & send him to the front."[14]

Sometimes requests for transfer to a Vermont hospital came from the pen of a sympathetic stranger, often a hospital attendant or nurse. In the summer of 1864, a military courier wrote Holbrook that a Miss Bostwick of Alexandria Hospital had charge of a Vermont soldier identified only by the Christian name, Loyal, who would certainly die if left there. The surgeon in charge was willing the soldier be transferred if someone could attend him on the journey north. The courier set forth a reasonable travel itinerary, volunteering to see Loyal to the train, and claiming that the station manager would provide the Vermonter transportation via sleeping car *if* (the emphasis is the writer's) the soldier "is not offensive from wound or disease," in which case he would have to make the journey home by hospital car.[15] It is difficult to imagine having to be concerned with offending the sensibilities of the general public with the visual violence of war amid the bloody aftermath of Grant's Overland Campaign.

Vermont's hospital commissioners were overwhelmed at times by requests for information from concerned relatives and friends who had been otherwise unable to learn the fate of loved ones in the service. One example relates the story of a very worried father trying to learn the fate of his wounded son. The correspondence remains as compelling today as Commissioner Holbrook must have found it 140 years ago. In June of 1864, Reverend Bidwell of East Middlebury wrote that he had a son serving in the 5th Vermont Regiment who, so his comrades informed him, had been mortally wounded. A recently published list of casualties confirmed the report. Such was the full extent of his knowledge of the matter. Could Holbrook give him any further information, even if only whether Emery was living or dead? Perhaps not surprisingly, given the size of his jurisdiction, Holbrook was unable to locate the soldier and so informed the anxious father. Reverend Bidwell replied that since he last wrote he had received new information in the form of a letter from the chaplain of Harewood Hospital, northwest of the city. The chaplain wrote that Bidwell's son was there, that though he personally believed young Bidwell might get well, Emery himself claimed to be "feeling badly." Reverend Bidwell further informed Holbrook that he had sent his son two letters within the past five days but had had no response and he continued to hear rumors that his son was dead. Please, he implored the commissioner, ascertain the facts for an anxious parent: Did Emery receive his letters (if living)? How is he, and

how does he fare? "If I can get an expression of his (if living) through some one, I shall feel very much obliged." At the bottom of this letter Holbrook made the following notation: "Telegraphed June 22. Saw your son today–comfortable–much improved. Letters sent you." Nearly 140 years later Reverend Bidwell's sigh of relief is still almost audible.[16]

Hospital commissioners were called upon for every kind of soldier's aid imaginable, their capacity for kindness at times seemingly inexhaustible. George Sherman, formerly of the 11th Vermont Regiment/ 1st Heavy Artillery wrote to inform Commissioner Holbrook that he was becoming increasingly frustrated trying to collect two months pay due him for time served while a prisoner of war. Would Mr. Holbrook be so kind as to attend to the matter? And by the way, Sherman wrote, what would be the commissioner's fee for assisting him? In reply, Holbrook penciled the following directives on Sherman's letter "*No charge* [boldly underscored]. Send discharge and account of where he has been and sign blank." Unfortunately, the latter directive, "sign blank," apparently impelled poor George Sherman to write another letter a couple of weeks later reiterating an ageless frustration with the government's penchant for complicated forms. "Yours with Blanks is Rec'd, &c. I don't know how to fill them out So as to have them appear correct . . . I hardly understand them." Then, as if detail would somehow compensate for his ignorance, he followed with a two-page catalog of facts bearing upon his claim for back pay. Commissioner Holbrook obviously got the point and probably felt that further correspondence with the frustrated veteran would simply waste more time, for the second letter bears his own penciled calculations of payment due. Within two months, George Sherman's accounts were finally settled.[17]

Later in the war, Vermont's hospital commissioners also assumed responsibility for attending to the formidable needs of returning prisoners of war. One of the more remarkable items in Holbrook's correspondence is a letter he sent to Adjutant General Washburn in December 1864. After noting the enclosure of his regular report of hospital arrivals, releases, and transfers he added, "I now enclose duplicate of the tickets pinned to the clothing of Vermont Soldiers buried at Andersonville Ga." That these small items somehow survived Andersonville, the Civil War, and the arsenal fire seems almost miraculous. Essentially they contain little more than name, rank, military unit, and grave number; it is left to the reader to imagine the compelling stories that concluded in these fragile and faded pieces of pale blue paper.[18]

The Vermont Military Records Project has also made available primary source material documenting the state's response to the St. Albans

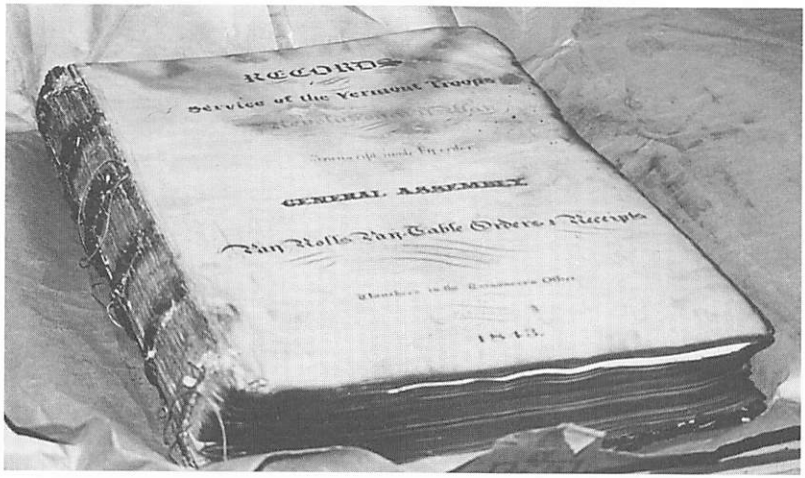
Raid in October 1864. Hundreds of telegrams, letters, and dispatches were sent and received as the alarm spread. Discrete and vigilant agents were hastily dispatched to posts throughout the state, particularly along the Canadian frontier and the towns bordering Lake Champlain, to keep watch for suspicious activity or persons. Rumors abounded as hundreds of excitable and not very well-informed citizens tried to assist state officials with their surveillance. A letter from a Mr. Richmond, officially appointed by the adjutant general to keep watch over the town of Woodstock, warned Washburn that exaggeration and what he termed "bugbear" stories abounded. The latest story, he wrote, reported that *"40 Robbers encamped on Hosea Bensons and Lockwoods Farms"* [emphasis in original]. With the voice of reason Richmond explained that the story was born when an unthinking Hosea Benson remarked that there could be any number of desperadoes secreted in the town's plentiful sugarhouses and back barns. Benson mentioned that he himself had buildings where such outlaws might encamp for many days without fear of discovery. Apparently, within three days his remarks evolved into a rumor that meandered its way to Burlington. With tongue in cheek Richmond warned the adjutant general, whose home and office were both in Woodstock, "if rumors should enlarge as much in going to Montpelier as they do in traveling to our nearest neighboring villages I don't think you will dare to come to Woodstock until peace is declared."[19]

The alarm within its own borders provided Vermont's dormant militia organization a powerful shot in the arm. The adjutant general had been attempting to direct official attention and state resources to beefing up home forces for some time, but Vermonters widely believed that all available manpower was currently being funneled into active U. S. service. However, in response to the St. Albans Raid provisional infantry and cavalry units sprang up in northern towns almost overnight. The 26th New York Cavalry, better known to Vermonters as the Frontier Cavalry, was the federal government's official response to monitoring traffic across the Canadian border and to securing the communities in proximity to it. State agents were sent from town to town to oversee the raising and equipping of these provisional military units. Within the records of the adjutant general a great deal of correspondence in regard to these efforts has survived. It appears that most Vermont communities complied willingly and promptly in raising these temporary units, although apparently Derby Line was not moving quickly enough in mobilizing its home guard to suit state officials, and in November 1864, William Grout faced some unique difficulties attempting to mobilize the manpower of Island Pond. The customhouse there had recently

seized a rebel staff officer's uniform purported to be on its way from Halifax to Quebec. As a major station on the rail route running from the Atlantic to Canada, Grout felt that Island Pond might prove an important point for gaining information and recommended a detective system be established there. But as for raising a mounted force, the outlook was dismal. Island Pond's population consisted mainly of railroad employees who altogether could not muster more than half a dozen horses. As an alternative he thought perhaps an infantry guard might prove more practical; however, thirty antiquated French muskets represented the extent of the available small arms and, moreover, the residents had opted against organization, deciding instead, he wrote, to "resist each man on his own hook." Grout must have been sorely tempted to allow them to do just that, for in his letter to the adjutant general he tried to rationalize his growing frustration. The town of Brighton was situated in a densely wooded country with few, very well-defined approaches, and besides, he wrote with more than a little cynicism, "all there is here is in the interest of the Grand Trunk Railway, which we all know is a British concern"[20]

In July of 1866, the adjutant general sent letters to all of Vermont's former regimental commanders requesting a list of engagements in which their particular units took part. The letter returned by Edward Hastings Ripley, commander of the 9th Vermont Regiment, along with the requested listing, is thoughtful, almost melancholy, in tone. Ripley wrote, "The regrets that I often used to feel struggling with the pride I felt in looking at the numerical & physical strength of the Regt. are felt now oftener and deeper than ever, that the 9th's name is not more intricately woven into the historic pages of the past 4 years by association with the names of some of our great successes. The Regt has passed away, & with it most probably will pass away its ephemeral brilliancy & perfection, but not so those upon whose colors are placed such memorializing names as cover the flags of the old Brigade. The contrast now is without relief a sad one, as though between mortality and immortality. And yet there is a satisfaction, a deep one that I feel, that in the records of your office the testimony is borne & *you* cannot forget that the 9th strove to do its whole duty."[21]

"In the records of your office the testimony is borne." Those words must have haunted Adjutant General Peter Washburn, for a few months later he again reminded the General Assembly: "These [military] records and files are of inestimable value to the State, to every officer and soldier from the State, and to the representatives of those who have died in the service, as well as to the future historian. If destroyed, they could not be replaced; and the proper measures to be adopted for



A hand lettered roster created in 1843, recording the service of Vermont troops during the American Revolution, damaged in the arsenal fire of 1945. Photo by the author.

their care and preservation require serious attention. . . . If, as has been the custom hitherto, the place of their location shall continue to be the place of residence of the Adjutant and Inspector General, and change with each successive change in the office, not only is the risk of their destruction by fire, or other casualty greatly increased, but they will in time become dilapidated, scattered and lost, and the archives of the State will be as destitute of records pertaining to the war of 1861, as they now are of records of the war of 1812 and of the Revolutionary war."[22] General Washburn was correct. Less than one carton of material documenting Vermont's part in the War of 1812 and very little more than that for the American Revolution has survived in the archive. Historians must be grateful that a considerable portion of the Civil War archive survived its ordeal by fire. But Vermonters must also always be left to wonder what other secrets and stories must have lain in ashes among the rubble in 1945.

Cataloging information: All citations are from the Records of the Adjutant and Inspector General, 1775–1919, microfilm record series PRA 364, 141 reels of microfilm. Held by the Public Records Division of the Department of Buildings and General Services, Middlesex, Vt. The finding aid is available online at http://www.bgs.state.vt.us/gsc/pubrec/referen/finding_aid.htm

NOTES

[1] *Report of the Adjutant & Inspector General of the State of Vermont, from Oct. 1, 1864, to Oct. 1, 1865* (Montpelier: Walton's Steam Printing Establishment, 1865), 124–125.

[2] *Report of the Adjutant & Inspector General of the State of Vermont, from October 1, 1863, to October 1, 1864* (Montpelier: Walton's Steam Press, 1864), 105.

[3] Homer Stoughton's account, 27 January 1891, Francis Randall's account, 13 July 1869, and Merritt Barber's account, 4 November 1892, all on reel F26101. The 9th Vermont testimony, including letter of Joel Baker, 11 February 1893, on reel F26151.

[4] 14th Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, original enlistment rolls including guardian consents, reel F26079.

[5] Letter, 16 December 1863. 17th Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, correspondence, on reel F26085.

[6] 1st Battery, Vermont Light Artillery, medical inspection roll, c. February 1862, and physical examination form for P. LaClair, 17 January 1862, on reel F26090.

[7] 10th Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, descriptive rolls, Company D, 7 August 1862, reel F26068.

[8] Letter of Captain Seaton, 25 February 1863. Company F, 1st United States Sharpshooters, correspondence, on reel F26087.

[9] Letter of Henry Dutton, 29 December 1864. 8th Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, correspondence, reel F26052.

[10] Letter of B. N. Hyde, 20 September 1862. 3rd Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, correspondence, reel F26019.

[11] Letter of W. Henry, 27 April 1864. 10th Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, correspondence, reel F26066.

[12] Letter of Lewis Reyea, 3 July [1864]. Hospital records, correspondence of F. Holbrook, reel F26102.

[13] Letter of Dan Johnson, 2 August 1864. Hospital records, correspondence of F. Holbrook, reel F26102.

[14] Letter of A. Keith regarding W. Mitchell, 16 June 1864. Hospital records, correspondence of F. Holbrook, reel F26102.

[15] Letter of A. Trigo, 24 June 1864. Hospital records, correspondence of F. Holbrook, reel F26102.

[16] Letters of Rev. S. Bidwell, 2 and 20 June 1864. Hospital records, correspondence of F. Holbrook, reel F26102. Emery Bidwell's luck did not improve. After recovering from his wounding at the Battle of the Wilderness, Bidwell rejoined his regiment. He was captured by Confederate guerillas on 7 October 1864 while on picket duty and hanged.

[17] Letters of George Sherman, 10 and 24 July 1865. Hospital records, correspondence of F. Holbrook, reel F26103.

[18] Letter of F. Holbrook containing Andersonville clothing tags, 5 December 1864. Hospital records, hospital reports, reel F26104.

[19] Letter of O. Richmond, 11 November 1864. Correspondence relating to the St. Albans Raid, reel F26101.

[20] Letter from W. Grout, 2 November 1864. Correspondence relating to the St. Albans Raid, reel F26100.

[21] Letter of Edward H. Ripley, 9 July 1866. 9th Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, general correspondence, reel F26058.

[22] *Report of the Adjutant & Inspector General of the State of Vermont, from Oct. 1, 1865, to Oct. 1, 1866* (Montpelier: Walton's Steam Printing Establishment, 1866), 18–19.

BOOK REVIEWS

Gods of War, Gods of Peace: How the Meeting of Native and Colonial Religions Shaped Early America

By Russell Bourne (New York: Harcourt Brace, 2002, pp. xv, 425, $28.00).

Russell Bourne's purpose in *Gods of War, Gods of Peace* is to position faith at the center of the story of the encounters between Europeans and native peoples in northeastern North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Bourne sees colonization as a meeting of ideologies. He focuses on spiritual leaders, sachems, and ministers from both camps who crossed the borders into the other, seeing in the other race "elements of the divine" (p. 132). Bourne explores the careers of Squanto, Massasoit, Hobomock, Passaconaway, Samoset, John Eliot, Cotton Mather, and Jonathan Edwards. Native leaders prominent enough to be mentioned in the English records of the period often had a dual role in native society: political/administrative and spiritual leadership. The English colonists' inability to perceive the breadth of the powers, both secular and sacred, that these native leaders embodied, led to the most painful passages in the annals of the colonial period.

The thesis is controversial. For instance, Bourne states that the critical spiritual issue for the English colonists of the seventeenth century was to decide whether to respect the American landscape and native peoples or to fear them (p. 32). From a twenty-first century perspective, imbued with a heightened sense of native earth-based spirituality and growing knowledge about environmental degradation, this claim at first seems self-evident. However, English colonists would not have seen this as their major spiritual task; they might have put saving their souls first. Further, respecting and fearing are not mutually exclusive attitudes. Bourne contrasts this challenge with the task facing the native peoples:

the choice of mustering hostilitiy against European domination or attempting to assimilate with colonial society. Here he is on firmer ground, as native leaders quickly saw the spiritual conflict they faced, and struggled with the range of possible responses, most of which gravely affected their ability to sustain their spiritual beliefs. Bourne's analysis foregrounds the enormity of the consequences of these early choices.

Neal Salisbury's seminal *Manitou and Providence* (1982) remains the best work about the meanings native people and Europeans ascribed to the tumult of colonization. Bourne describes himself as "an editor of historical books, but no historian" (*Red King's Rebellion,* p. xiii) who owes a scholarly debt to his mentor Salisbury. With Salisbury's assistance, Bourne decided to craft his histories as personal narratives, with information gathered as a visitor among the peoples. His drift is ever eastward, relying mainly on sources from English colonists. This book provides little information on the Dutch and French spiritual interactions with native peoples, apart from an account of the 1650 meeting between Père Gabriel Druillettes and John Eliot in Roxbury and a narrative of Jean de Brébeuf, an early Jesuit martyr in Iroquoia whom Bourne describes as a good example of "intercultural compassion" (p. 117).

Bourne's earlier work demonstrates an interest in the Northeast and the travellers on the land and water. *View from Front Street: Travels through New England's Historic Fishing Communities* (1989) is a travelogue filled with significant historical detail and graced by archival photos. However, it is a travelogue with a theme. The communities he chose, not coincidentally, have significant native, black, and Cape Verdean populations. The focus on intercultural cooperation and conflict was extended in *The Red King's Rebellion: Racial Politics in New England, 1675–1678* (1990). In this work, Bourne set out "in quest of the peculiar social harmony that was destroyed" by King Philip's War (p. xiv). The research for this work, he writes in the preface, also required considerable travel in New England: "the decision to become a rover among New England's affected communities . . . appealed to me greatly," (p. xiii). Indeed, Bourne was perhaps reenacting his own family's history. Bourne is related to Jonathan Bourne, a wealthy New Bedford whaling shipowner and textile entrepreneur (fl. 1840–1860). A lay reader in the Episcopal church, Bourne is also a descendant of Richard and son Shearjashub Bourne (fl. 1675), early Christian ministers to the Mashpee of Cape Cod. Bourne chose New York as the setting for *Floating West: The Erie and Other American Canals* (1992), an overview history of the vision and engineering that opened Iroquois country to commerce and

industry in the first half of the nineteenth century. He has also authored books on American riverine culture.

Taken as a whole, these works indicate an author in search of something important, not simply to him personally, but to all who are interested in how local populations emerged in New England. In the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, wharves, frontier settlements, churches, and markets were the meeting points for Dutch, English, Swedish, French, German, and Flemish newcomers, but also for Wampanoag, Mashpee, Abenaki, MicMac, Schagticoke, Mohawk, Oneida, and other Iroquois indians. Bourne's work points to early "harmony" (uneasy and short-lived accommodation might be a better term) "destroyed" by King Philip's War. Here he has touched on the puzzle that many scholars have tackled, one that has generated an explosion of historical analyses in the past decade.

Bourne's methods, however, have limited his depth. Relying on his travels provides his work with the interpretive framework developed by nineteenth-century antiquarians, whose voluminous, painstaking, and invaluable research forms the backbone of many local historical societies' collections. It is clear that some information would not be available to historians today if these collectors had not accumulated stories, reported place names, and recorded landmarks 150 years ago. However, recent work has expanded on these sources, developing new paradigms for the interaction they described. Questions of identity, nationality, ethnicity, and gender have opened new avenues of interpretation, and led to startling conclusions about the nature of life in the "new" world. Discussions of leadership, power, diplomacy, currency, trade, and religious views have moved beyond the view of the God-fearing Europeans versus the ready-to-be-converted 'heathens'.

Jill Lepore, in *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity* (1998), heralds a new framework for conceptualizing the effect of war on later histories. James D. Drake's *King Philip's War* (1999) proposes that this conflict was actually a civil war between a newly unified people, a terrible breach in a unique society. Jean M. O'Brien's *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1670–1790* (1997), Richard White's *The Middle Ground* (1994), Patricia Seed's *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World* (1995), Olive Patricia Dickason's *The Myth of the Savage and the Beginnings of French Colonialism in the Americas* (1984), and Daniel K. Richter's *The Ordeal of the Longhouse* (1992) as well as his "Iroquois versus Iroquois: Jesuit missions and Christianity in village politics, 1642–1686," *Ethnohistory* (1985), and Colin Calloway's *New Worlds for All* (1997) and *After King Philip's War* (1997) all analyze in

exhaustive detail the nuances of exchange, spiritual understandings, power relationships, negotiation, and compromise inherent in native-European relations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Bourne's thesis about the paucity of scholarly work on religious encounters, however, stands. There are few works of interpretation that address religious views of natives and Europeans as their primary theme. In fact, most histories of this period are works of political, social, military, or economic history. The ideological struggles, the internal questions of faith, may be less fully revealed in the sources than the military and commercial conflicts, yet they are there. This readable book will serve to whet the appetite for more comprehensive and incisive histories of this turbulent time.

LINDA B. GRAY

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Massacre at Fort William Henry

By David R. Starbuck (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2002, pp. xiii, 131, paper, $16.95).

Writing after four years of excavating (1997–2001) at Fort William Henry, archaeologist David R. Starbuck promises his readers a new interpretation of the French and Indian siege and subsequent massacre of the British garrison in August 1757. The author has assembled in one compact volume an eclectic mix of historiographical analysis, firsthand narrative, technical reports of archaeological data, film criticism, and a rich array of photographs. This is a useful introduction to the many ways in which Fort William Henry has occupied Americans' historical attention since the eighteenth century. The tension between "history" and "memory" of the notorious massacre that exists throughout the book represents its most compelling aspect.

The author leaves no stone unturned in his effort to present the reader with as much information as possible regarding the history of Fort William Henry before and after 1757. We learn that the post-massacre destruction and burning of the fort by the French and Indians in 1757 created a "sealed time capsule" (p. 36), ideal for future archaeological work. Although the area was frequented by visitors and had a hotel as early as 1854, nearly two centuries passed before professional archaeo-

logical investigation occurred at the site, beginning with the efforts of Stanley Gifford in the 1950s. According to Starbuck, however, Gifford's activities were rushed, and considered subordinate to the goal of constructing a replica fort to attract tourist dollars.

Starbuck's recent investigation tested the accuracy of the reconstructed fort, and applied up-to-date archaeological analysis to undisturbed areas of the site. The majority of Starbuck's new findings consisted of "everyday" materials (nails, brick fragments, ceramics, butchered animal bones, buttons, glass, and exploded ammunition fragments); his exploratory digging yielded no traces of new massacre victims. He does, however, include an extended discussion of recent forensic anthropological analysis on the remains of five massacre victims that had been unearthed in the 1950s (pp. 59–68). Detailing the significant evidence of mutilation on these skeletons, Starbuck seeks to revise what he identifies as a problem in recent scholarly analysis of the 1757 massacre at Fort William Henry: the notion that the killing of occupants of the fort (both soldiers and civilians) by the Native American allies of New France after the formal terms of surrender constituted acceptable behavior. "The 'need' of Native warriors who had joined Montcalm's army to obtain booty," Starbuck contends, "cannot in some sense make them less accountable for their own behavior" (p. 112). Yet in attempting to assign blame for what was undeniably a tragic event, Starbuck's interpretation comes across as more of an echo of nineteenth-century condemnations of the "savage" Indians and their "perfidious" French allies by James Fenimore Cooper and Francis Parkman than as a convincing or culturally sensitive analysis of existing or new evidence.

Even while acknowledging the fictional status of Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* (1826), Starbuck makes it the point of intellectual departure for his study, justifying his decision on Cooper's literary merits. Asserting that Cooper's version of the massacre at Fort William Henry (complete with invented characters and inflated estimates of casualties) "will always be best remembered" (p. 16), the author raises important questions about the distinction between remembering and historicizing the event. Why should we be satisfied with a sensationalized memory of the massacre, as opposed to critical historical analysis of it? Starbuck is aware of historian Ian Steele's recent study (*Betrayals: Fort William Henry and the "Massacre"* [1990]), and even points out Steele's "exceptionally low" (p. 13) estimate of 185 people killed and approximately 200 taken prisoner after the surrender of Fort William Henry. But instead of challenging Steele's research (indeed, none of the archaeological evidence presented in the book, new or old, directly contravenes the body count Steele compiled), the author seems to adopt

Cooper's literary device of "unleashing a torrent of venom on the Indians" (p. 31).

Rather than attempting to understand the objectives underlying the fateful actions undertaken by the Native American allies of Montcalm on 9–10 August 1757 at Fort William Henry (which would not necessarily imply an endorsement of their actions), Starbuck prefers to highlight grisly archaeological evidence that demonstrates the Indians' savagery. In doing so, he presents a one-sided story of brutality in the Seven Years' War, and also works to preserve the mythical memory of the massacre at Fort William Henry as an event "every bit as dramatic and inspirational as was the fall of the Alamo nearly a century later or the destruction of Pearl Harbor almost two centuries later" (pp. 1–2). At one level, Starbuck's point is well taken: Americans' memory of the "massacre" at Fort William Henry certainly contributed to future justifications for the conquest of Native American peoples, much as the Alamo and Pearl Harbor did for the Mexicans and Japanese. It remains open to question, however, what purposes the perpetuation of this sort of memory might serve as we enter the twenty-first century.

JON W. PARMENTER

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Steamboat Connections: Montreal to Upper Canada, 1816–1848

By Frank Mackey (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2000, pp. xix, 383, $44.95 Canadian).

As the title indicates, *Steamboat Connections* traces the development of steamboat service between Montreal and the region to the west known as "Upper Canada" (now the Province of Ontario). This river corridor is one of the vital waterways of the Western Hemisphere; in the early nineteenth century it was the only practical route for people, goods, and information to travel from the lower St. Lawrence River and the outside world to the interior of Canada. Steam technology had the same impact here as it did elsewhere on the continent, speeding the pace of transportation, shrinking distances and costs, and changing perceptions of time and space. It is this early and dynamic era in North America's "transportation revolution" that Frank Mackey examines under his close-up lens.

The book is a chronological account of steam's introduction to the waterways between Montreal, Ottawa, and Lake Ontario, of its technological and commercial successes and failures, and of its cooperative ventures and bitter rivalries. Steamboats provide the focal point of the narrative, but the book discusses other transportation systems that linked Upper and Lower Canada. These included stagecoaches and the Rideau Canal, which after 1832 provided an alternative to the St. Lawrence as a water passage between Montreal and Lake Ontario.

Perhaps most importantly, Mackey tells the story of the people whose lives intertwined with the creation and operation of the transportation lines. As Mackey explains in the preface, the word "connections" in the title was intentionally chosen: "it refers, of course, to the connections between different boats along a watercourse, but also to the connections between a succession of boats over time, between steamers and stages, between villages and cities served by the boats, between the owners and the makers of boats, between these people and the communities and times they lived in and the businesses and institutions they helped to establish, between the Canadas and the northeastern United States" (p. ix).

Mackey's narrative is of interest to Vermont readers not only for its account of transportation history in a nearby region, but also for the many connections to the state of Vermont. Several of the early steam entrepreneurs in Canada were emigres from the Champlain Valley, inventors, engineers, ship captains, and investors who, in the wake of the War of 1812, saw opportunities awaiting them just across the border. And, as the book makes abundantly clear, the development of steam along the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers was but one part of an overall pattern of growth in the transportation infrastructure of northeastern North America, a pattern in which Lake Champlain played a key role. The lake's mariners never faced the rapids and powerful currents that plagued their Canadian counterparts, but the travails of the St. Lawrence-Ottawa River steamboat promoters otherwise parallel those experienced on Champlain's waters.

The preparation of this book was clearly a labor of love on the part of the author, and a testament to his considerable skills as a scholar. Mackey reviewed scores of primary document collections left by the steamboat builders and promoters, as well as a wide range of contemporary newspapers. He struck an especially rich vein of material in the notary records at the Archives Nationales du Québec à Montréal, for these not only identified the individuals involved in steamboat partnerships, but also yielded detailed contracts for the construction of steam engines and steamship hulls. The book's thorough documentation is evident in

its ratio of 130 pages of notes and 20 pages of bibliography for the 205 pages of text. An extensive index is included. Illustrations abound in the form of maps, steamboat sketches and prints, handbills, and portraits of individuals. *Steamboat Connections* will remain the standard source on its subject, and offers a model to be emulated by other scholars writing transportation history.

KEVIN J. CRISMAN

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Army Life in Virginia: The Civil War Letters of George G. Benedict

Edited by Eric Ward (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: Stackpole Books, 2002, pp. x, 246, $26.95).

It has become customary in reviews of recently published compilations of Civil War letters or diaries to begin by asking what unique contribution yet another addition to the already formidable library of such collections the latest book makes to our overall understanding of the war. In the relatively limited field of Vermont's Civil War historiography, the figure of George Grenville Benedict (1826–1907) looms too large to permit that question much relevance here. In 1878, Benedict was appointed state historian for the special purpose of compiling a history of Vermont's participation in the Civil War. The publication of the second volume of the two-volume *Vermont in the Civil War: A History of the Part Taken by the Vermont Soldiers and Sailors in the War for the Union, 1861–1865* (Burlington, Vt.: The Free Press Association, 1886, 1888) ten years later represented the fulfillment of Benedict's important charge (Eric Ward's bibliography erroneously gives the dates as 1883 and 1886). George Benedict's history remains unsurpassed in both the overall compass of its subject and in its meticulously researched, scholarly detail. All subsequent histories touching upon Vermont's participation in the Civil War stand in debt to Benedict and historians ignore his work at the peril of their own.

In August 1862, George Benedict enlisted as a private in Company C, 12th Regiment Vermont Volunteer Infantry, rose to the rank of 2nd lieutenant several months later, and was subsequently appointed

aide-de-camp on the staff of General George Stannard, commander of the 2nd Vermont Brigade. His position as a junior editor of the *Burlington Free Press* well fitted him for the position of observant and articulate army correspondent. During the period September 26, 1862, to July 14, 1863, Benedict wrote approximately thirty letters to the *Free Press.* In 1895, at the urging of comrades, Benedict republished those letters in a collection entitled *Army Life in Virginia: Letters from the Twelfth Vermont Regiment and Personal Experiences of Volunteer Service in the War for the Union, 1862–63* (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Association, 1895; recently reprinted and available from Vermont Civil War Enterprises, 93 Leo Lane, Newport, VT 05855. (802)766-4747; vtcwe@hotmail.com). Now, nearly 100 years later, Eric Ward has compiled and republished Benedict's letters.

It would be difficult to review Ward's book without making frequent reference to Benedict's own published compilation. Mr. Ward has done us a great service by publishing Benedict's letters unedited. That Benedict liberally edited and revised his own letters is immediately apparent when comparing the two books. The historian of 1895 had become much more politic than the soldier of 1862–1863 had been and, therefore, one must turn to Ward's book to rediscover many of the small, personal details that go far to restore the heartbeat to history.

In the 1895 version of his letters, Benedict chose to omit or to sanitize many of his original observations, and youthful high spirits have been considerably tempered by more judicious wording. Lacking from Benedict's later compilation is much of his personal opinion on recent promotions within the regiment, on the unit's daily routine, and on other small but interesting details of life as a volunteer soldier. Possibly generalized to appeal to a broader veteran public, Benedict also removed from his book details of a purely local nature, such as news of visitors from Burlington or particular kindnesses rendered by those at home to their Chittenden County friends in service. Gone, too, is the laudatory narrative of Company C's soldierly qualities, as well as other unflattering commentary that might reflect negatively on his fellow soldiers (many of whom were still alive in 1895). Original misstatements or rumors current at the time of the war, which we now understand to have been erroneous, were excised by Benedict the historian in preparing his letters for publication. He decisively trimmed adjectives and adverbs, and, although Benedict's wry good-humor comes through clearly in both books, all in all, the 1895 collection lacks much of the freshness and charm that readers have come to expect and appreciate in more recent compilations of soldiers' writings. As most of us will not have easy access to the original letters as they appeared over many months in the

Free Press, it is fortunate that we may now turn to Eric Ward's book to regain the sense of immediacy lost in Benedict's revised edition of his own letters.

It is interesting to compare the original version (in Ward's book) with the edited version (as published by Benedict in 1895) of the letters Benedict wrote on July 4 and July 14, 1863, relaying news of the battle of Gettysburg and its aftermath. The wounded left to languish on the Gettysburg battlefield following the fighting on July 2 grow from hundreds (original letter in Ward, p. 192) to thousands (Benedict's 1895 version, p. 169); the tremendous musketry fire heard on the morning of July 3 lasts six hours in the 1895 compilation (p. 174) and seven hours in the original letter (Ward, p. 194); the stunning artillery barrage that signaled the prelude to Pickett's Charge begins at one o'clock in the 1895 version (p. 175) and at two o'clock in the original letter (Ward, p. 194); it took the Confederate line in front of the 2nd Vermont Brigade less than three minutes to break in Benedict's 1863 letter (Ward, p. 195) and less than five minutes in his 1895 version (p. 178); and Benedict writes of touring the battlefield on Sunday (July 5) noting that burial parties had been at work 10 or 12 hours (Ward, p. 211) while in the 1895 compilation, burial details had been at work for 24 hours (p. 190). These details rather graphically illustrate the transformation of soldier to historian, providing a fascinating window into how military history often gets written.

However, the book is not without problems. A liberal sprinkling of small typographical errors as well as a few more significant errors detract from the book's value as a reference. The famous St. Albans raid occurred on October 19, not November 18, 1864, as Ward writes on page 225. Norwich University's Alonzo Jackman did not serve as adjutant general of Vermont during the first year of the Civil War (p. 17); that position belonged to H. Henry Baxter until October of 1861, when the office passed to Peter T. Washburn.

At times, some of Ward's assertions seem prone to generalization. Bounties were certainly not a standardized $50 in Vermont as one is led to believe on page 2, but were considerably more varied, creating a host of problems for Adjutant General Washburn, in many cases forcing smaller, poorer towns into direct competition for recruits with larger, richer ones. On page 48 Ward claims that Civil War infantry officers employed horses only on review or for other non-combatant transportation purposes, thereby ignoring a large body of historical narrative and first-person accounts of horses being shot out from under infantry officers while in action. Benedict's own letter of July 4, 1863 refers to Colonel Francis Randall's horse being shot from under him at Gettysburg (p. 192). It is also difficult to agree with Ward's assertion that most officers'

mounts were gifts (p. 48). Many field officers who had the means arranged to have family horses forwarded to them from home.

At times a complex event or series of events is oversimplified in Ward's commentary. On page 43, he dismisses the results of J. E. B. Stuart's raid on Chambersburg in October 1862 stating that the Confederate troopers "merely burned" a confiscated ordnance train when, according to Stephen W. Sears on page 328 of *Landscape Turned Red: The Battle of Antietam* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1983), Stuart captured hundreds of horses and destroyed $250,000 worth of government property. Ward claims the dismissal of General Burnside from command of the Army of the Potomac on January 25, 1863 was "caused" by the "Mud March" of January 1863 (p. 130). The poor timing coupled with an unfortunate spell of rainy weather that contributed to the disastrous move were perhaps key factors in the general's reassignment, but political infighting among the army's top command and a general loss of confidence in him were weighty, if not the deciding factors in Burnside's removal. It is also difficult to agree with Ward that, to soldiers, "death by disease was unexpected" (pp. 42, 62). It took very little time in active service for most recruits to witness (and indeed experience) for themselves the devastating impact that thousands of men living together in close, unsanitary conditions had on the health of the troops.

Ward makes very good use of primary source material such as the regimental descriptive book of the 12th Vermont, pension and Medal of Honor files, and related newspaper accounts. The descriptive book, in particular, supplies very interesting personal details that humanize the unit's individual members. Most of the illustrations are well chosen, with the exception of the map of Washington's defenses on p. 75, which is reproduced at too small a scale to be readable without magnification. Ward also makes judicious use of other manuscript letter collections in Vermont repositories, notably the University of Vermont's collections of letters from two other Company C soldiers, Richard J. Irwin and George I. Hagar. These well-chosen collections supplement and support Benedict's own narrative of events, as does Ward's own extensive commentary.

All in all, Eric Ward has done an admirable job of compiling the "hasty and unstudied sketches" of George Grenville Benedict (p. 213). Read in conjunction with Benedict's 1895 edition of his own letters, we are given interesting insight into the Civil War service of a young volunteer soldier and his evolution into Vermont's premier military historian.

KELLY NOLIN

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The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America

By Louis Menand (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2001, pp. xii, 546, $27.00; paper, $15.00).

In this illuminating book, which should be required reading for all American history students, Louis Menand discusses with engaging clarity the immensely complicated subject of changing intellectual assumptions in the post Civil War era. He succeeds principally because he tells his story through a wide and lively cast of characters, ranging from Hetty Robinson Green, the "Witch of Wall Street," to the renowned Harvard scientist, Louis Agassiz. Menand focuses primarily on the lives of four influential Northerners—Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., William James, Charles Peirce, and John Dewey—whom he credits with bringing late-nineteenth-century American thought into the modern world. The story itself traces the development of pragmatism, a set of ideas that met the needs of the postwar nation's fractured society.

"Certitude leads to violence"(p. 61) sums up the conclusion Holmes reached after being wounded in three separate Civil War battles. What was needed, he felt—as did others who had lived through the war—was a modus operandi that made it harder for people to be driven to violence by their beliefs. As it developed, pragmatism came to view ideas and beliefs as instruments for coping with the modern world, not as "finished cosmologies"(p. 372). William James saw pragmatism as enabling people "to make good choices among philosophical options"(p. 75).

The book's title refers to a short-lived philosophical society formed in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1872, with a membership that included James, Holmes, and Peirce. In the years before the emergence of the modern university, such private societies were the principal locales where intellectual work was accomplished in the United States. Menand demonstrates that pragmatism took shape precisely out of the discussions of such groups, evolving as the members of the Metaphysical Club and other similar societies shared and criticized each other's philosophical ideas.

For Vermont readers the chief interest of this book will lie both in its account of the Vermont transcendentalists—a handful of University of Vermont professors whose educational philosophy would have a profound influence on the young John Dewey—and for its discussion of Dewey's part in the growth of pragmatism.

This story begins in Burlington in the early 1830s with James Marsh, the founder of Vermont transcendentalism and president of the University of Vermont from 1830 to 1833. A professor of philosophy and an evangelical Christian, Marsh had published an edition of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection* (1829) that proved to be a seminal text for American transcendentalists and helped launch the romantic movement in this country. There was, however, little connection between Marsh and the Emersonian transcendentalists, for Marsh was at bottom a conservative who believed in a logically sound philosophical system and in preserving institutions, rather than subjecting them to radical criticism.

Marsh's progressivism lay in his effort to reform the struggling University of Vermont on the principles of what Menand calls "educational organicism," or the unity of all knowledge. This meant integrating the curriculum so that, in the words of a university publication, all that was taught formed "but one ample course, the several parts of which may be acquired in any number and to any extent that the purposes of the individual may require"(p. 248). By the time Marsh stepped down as president in 1833, the University of Vermont was being lauded as one of the most respected institutions of higher education in New England.

John Dewey came to this university in the early 1870s, where his mentor was Henry Torrey, a professor of philosophy, and the last of the Vermont transcendentalists. Dewey imbibed Marsh's organicism through Torrey, and this remained one of the important strands of thought that we have come to identify with Dewey's pragmatism. Thanks in part to the success of his Laboratory School in Chicago, founded in 1896, his philosophy came to have a far-reaching influence on American education, and helped to change the way children are taught. As Menand tells us, the school allowed Dewey to test the validity of his theory of the unity of knowledge, his hypothesis that "thinking and acting are just two names for a single process—the process of making our way as best we can in a universe shot through with contingency"(p. 360). Ideas and beliefs were for Dewey, as they were for Holmes, simply tools for coping.

This book, which won the Pulitzer Prize for history in 2002, is not only highly rewarding for its own sake, but particularly of interest to readers of this review because of the formative influence of Vermont thinkers.

DEBORAH P. CLIFFORD

Deborah P. Clifford, historian and biographer, is the author of The Passion of Abby Hemenway: Memory, Spirit, and the Making of History, *published by the Vermont Historical Society in 2001.*

Women and the Republican Party, 1854–1924

By Melanie Susan Gustafson (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2001, pp. ix, 288, $34.95).

In her 1994 memoir, former Vermont Governor Madeleine Kunin articulated the problem of the "female politician." She is "unexpected," Kunin noted; the presence of a woman in a man's role is the cause of speculation, for she is "like a man and yet not like a man" (p. 4). For Kunin, the knowledge that Consuelo Northrup Bailey had held the second highest office in the state helped legitimate her own pathway to female political leadership. In an effort to redefine the woman politician, Melanie Gustafson, associate professor of history at the University of Vermont, has documented women's participation in party politics, not after but before the Nineteenth Amendment guaranteed woman suffrage. Hoping to spur a reassessment of the amendment, Gustafson places the suffrage movement in the context of Republican Party politics. If the GOP was the great hope of African-Americans in the nineteenth century, it was also the great disappointment for many leaders in the woman's movement.

In *Women and the Republican Party,* Gustafson not only succeeds admirably in her goal of reevaluating the Nineteenth Amendment, but she also resurrects a cadre of female actors who until now have been buried in the backrooms of Republican parlors and convention halls. Despite the fact of their disfranchisement, middle-class white and black women were hardly absent from party politics in the nineteenth century. In fact, their activities as organizers, speakers, and fundraisers suggest that the federal amendment represented a benchmark rather than a finish line or a new beginning in women's politics.

Whether to adhere to their reform agendas or capitulate to party goals proved a key source of tension for political women. Early in the nineteenth century, the association of private virtues with womanhood meant that women's presence at party events would testify to the loyalty of their husbands and the lofty principles of party members. But as Gustafson shows, during and after the Civil War, when women became active as speakers and organizers hoping to influence party goals, their efforts to pursue principle clashed repeatedly with partisanship. Abolitionist Anna Dickinson of Pennsylvania, for example, became the party's most popular stump speaker during the war years, but President Lincoln's moderation on Reconstruction and the party's failure to adequately pay her, drove her to the sidelines.

Throughout her analysis, Gustafson interweaves lively stories of women like Dickinson who viewed the Republican Party as a pathway to political participation with those who spurned partisanship, pursuing suffrage and reform goals through women's voluntary organizations instead. In the process, she sheds new light on the long history of women's reform efforts. We learn, for example, of the frustrations of well-known figures Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Jane Addams, and Frances Willard, all of whom engaged with the Republican Party to varying degrees and then abandoned it either for nonpartisanship or third-party campaigns. For African-American women, who often viewed race as the dominant issue, party loyalty vied with race and gender priorities to dilute their influence. Lawyer and temperance advocate Judith Ellen Foster, who organized the first women's association within Republican ranks in 1888, attempted to balance partisanship with her efforts to seek direct political power for women. The Woman's National Republican Association institutionalized Foster's belief "that women needed to rely on each other in politics," but the establishment of separate political clubs also relegated women to subordinate positions within the party (p. 88). Women reformers such as Jane Addams, who sought an alternative pathway to power in Progressive Party politics, faced equally difficult challenges, as they continued to represent "symbols of political virtue" while having to compromise with the party's exclusionary racial strategies (p. 115).

By uncovering the debate among women activists over partisan activities, Gustafson not only provides a new look at woman suffrage and party politics, but also reveals the long-term consequences of women's disfranchisement. After 1920, their strategies to gain political power would continue to divide their political efforts and limit their partisan experience. The organization and strength of the nonpartisan League of Women Voters indicated that gender remained important in political organizing because women lacked party influence. Caught between separatism and compromise, women remained unequal to men in political power.

Like all good histories, *Women and the Republican Party* raises as many questions as it answers. Most readers will want to know how women fared in the Democratic and Populist Parties, a question partially addressed in *We Have Come to Stay: American Women and Political Parties, 1880–1960,* a recent collection of essays Gustafson helped edit. For readers interested in Vermont history, the volume offers tantalizing tidbits about Clarina Howard Nichols as a Republican speaker in 1856 and Progressive Party organizing in Stowe during the 1912 campaign. Did local women become as active in Vermont's Republican Party

as their counterparts did nationally? The answers to these and other questions about women in politics will surely be enriched by Gustafson's lead in connecting the politics of party and the politics of gender.

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A History of the Town of Orwell, Vermont: Past and Present, 3rd edition

Edited by David H. Bain (Orwell, Vt.: Orwell Historical Society, 2001, pp. 252, paper, $15.00).

Talk of the Town: 1925. Highlights from Vermont's Popular Column in the Barre Daily Times

Compiled and edited by Patricia W. Belding (Barre, Vt.: Potash Brook Publishing, 2001, pp. 144, paper, $13.00).

A History of the Richmond, Vermont Congregational Church, United Church of Christ 1801–2001. Two Hundred Years of Trials and Triumphs Serving the Lord.

By Harriet Wheatley Riggs (Richmond, Vt.: Richmond United Church of Christ, 2001, pp. 64, paper, $10.00).

Local history is primarily written for a local audience. It is most meaningful to individuals who have an intimate familiarity with the names and places mentioned. Yet local history can also be a gold mine of information for the general historian who is exploring a topic that involves a particular community or specific details from several communities. This review covers three works of local history: One is a conventional town history, while the other two are more focused in either topic or time.

A History of the Town of Orwell, Vermont: Past and Present is the most conventional and substantial of the books under review. It is the latest revision of a town history written in 1963. It is significant that the local historical society recognizes the importance of keeping the town's history current rather than simply resting on the laurels of having published one.

This volume contains all the topics ones would expect to find in a local history: early settlers, religious and educational institutions, agriculture, business, transportation, community organizations, veterans, notable people, and interesting stories. The history of Orwell is significant to a larger audience because the town is the location of one of Vermont's most important historic sites, Mount Independence. And this book does a good job of covering "the Mount," both its historic significance during the Revolution and its gradual development into an important Vermont Historic Site.

Some local histories err by identifying a place by either a historic or current owner, leaving the reader of the future to figure out the location after the property has changed hands. Orwell avoids this problem by using, in many cases, the names of both historic and current owners, and a number keyed to a map. One potential weakness to this excellent system is that, when I received the review copy, the map was loose. Currently it has adhered itself inside the front cover. Loose maps have a way of becoming lost, so that in the future, this volume may be missing this very useful finding aid.

Other commendable features of the Orwell history are the inclusion of sixty-two historic photographs and an index. An interesting and helpful feature is the practice of putting names in bold the first time they appear. Unfortunately, the editor applied this system only in the chapters on "Early Settlers" and "Doctors of the Town."

One suggestion for improvement would be to relocate some of the lists found in the body of the work, such as town clerks or Grand Lists, to the end in the form of appendices. I also found it strange that the population trends chart on page 12 contains no data between 1800 and 1880. This information could easily have been obtained from the U. S. Census records. On the whole, *A History of the Town of Orwell* will serve its residents and historians well.

Talk of the Town: 1925 makes no claim to being a comprehensive town history. It is not arranged topically and provides no analysis, as none of these were the intent of the compiler. Yet this reviewer was enchanted by the insights into the daily life of Barre reflected in excerpts from the "Talk of the Town" column of *The Barre Daily Times.* Patricia Belding provides the reader with an almost daily glimpse of the social life of a Vermont community from January 2, 1925 to December 30, 1925. Why 1925? As Belding recounts: "What I *did* find was a fascinating account of Barre in the Middle of the Roaring Twenties, when Prohibition was at its height and rum raids were in the news daily."(2)

In addition to selecting excerpts for inclusion, Belding provides the reader with international, national, and statewide context at the beginning of each month. These provide no analysis, but merely list natural

and manmade disasters, and political and social events that inform the reader what else was happening at the time outside of Barre.

Talk of the Town: 1925 provides a full gamut of events: a cross burning by the KKK, the birthday party for four-year-old Geraldine Bixby, sledding accidents, and school plays. As an educator, I can see this book being an excellent primary source document in the classroom for students who select a research topic such as crime, social class, recreation, spousal abuse. Residents of Barre and any individual wishing to get a sense of what life was like in urban Vermont in the 1920s will find *Talk of the Town: 1925* an interesting read.

A History of the Richmond, Vermont Congregational Church focuses on just one institution within one community, the history of the Richmond United Church of Christ. While I do not expect this book to become a best seller, I feel that each church in Vermont owes itself and posterity an attempt to accomplish what the Richmond church has. Written to commemorate the bicentennial of the church's founding, the book does an excellent job of reconstructing its past. After a dozen years without a meetinghouse, the Congregationalists joined with the Methodists, Baptists, Universalists, and other Christians of Richmond to build the Old Round Church. In 1849, the Congregationalists left the union meetinghouse and built their own church. In 1901 this was replaced by the current building.

In addition to tracing the history of the construction, repairs, and modifications to these structures, this work does an excellent job of documenting the thirty-five ministers who have served this congregation. Especially appealing is the documentation of the social life and benevolent activities of the church since 1940: the women's fellowship, sixty years of chicken pie suppers, men's breakfasts, refugee sponsorship, ecumenical Thanksgiving Eve services, and social activism. This narrative also demonstrates how institutional histories often reflect the times. It notes that in 1973 the first female deacon served communion, and in the 1980s the wife of the minister studied theology and was ordained in 1984, becoming the first female to serve as minister to the Richmond congregation.

This interesting little book provides insight into two hundred years of trials and triumphs of one denomination in one town in the Winooski Valley. It is a model that should be emulated by those churches in the state that do not have a published history.

ALLEN RICE YALE, JR.

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Morgan, Vincent L., and Spencer G. Lucas, *Walter Granger, 1872–1941, Paleontologist.* Albuquerque, N.M.: New Mexico Museum of Natural History and Science, 2002. 58p. Source: The publisher, 1801 Mountain Road NW, Albuquerque, NM 87104. List: $13.00 (paper). Biography of Rutland native who became "one of the finest fossil collectors and vertebrate paleontologists in the world."

Raabe, Emily, *Ethan Allen, the Green Mountain Boys, and Vermont's Path to Statehood.* New York: Power Plus Books, 2002. 112 p. List: $23.95. Book for students.

ARTICLES

Mead, Charles B., compiled and edited by Elaine G. Purdy, "The Final Civil War Diary of Charles B. Mead of Company F., First U.S. Sharpshooters," *Rutland Historical Society Quarterly,* 32, 1 (2002): 2–31.

*Sharrow, Gregory L., "A Monumental Era: Two Carvers and a Former Executive Recall the Halcyon Days of the Vermont Marble Company," *Visit'n: Conversations with Vermonters,* 6 (Nov. 2000): 12–23. List: $7.50 (paper).

*Sharrow, Gregory L., "Out of Italy: The Sagas of Two Young Men from the Carrara Marble Area Who Came to Vermont to Carve and Ended up Staying Here," *Visit'n: Conversations with Vermonters,* 6 (Nov. 2000): 24–33. List: $7.50 (paper).

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The trustees of the Vermont Historical Society
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