

# HISTORY

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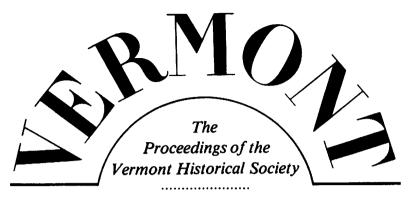
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## The Joseph Smith Memorial Monument and Royalton's "Mormon Affair": Religion, Community, Memory, and Politics in Progressive Vermont

In a state with a history of ambivalence toward outsiders, the story of the Mormon monument's mediation in the local rivalry between Royalton and South Royalton is ultimately a story about transformation, religion, community, memory, and politics. Along the way—and in this case entangled with the Mormon monument—a generation reshaped town affairs.

## By Keith A. Erekson

n December 23, 1905, over fifty members of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) gathered to dedicate a monument to their church's founder, Joseph Smith, near the site of his birth on a hill in the White River Valley. During the previous six months, the monument's designer and project managers had marshaled the vast resources of Vermont's granite industry to quarry and polish half a dozen granite blocks and transport them by rail and horse power; they surmounted all odds by shoring up sagging

KEITH A. EREKSON is a Ph.D. candidate in history at Indiana University and is the assistant editor of the *Indiana Magazine of History*.

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Joseph Smith Memorial Monument (Lovejoy, History, facing 648).

bridges, crossing frozen mud holes, and beating winter storms to erect a fifty-foot, one-hundred-ton monument considered to be the largest of its kind in the world. Since 1905, Vermont histories and travel literature, when they have acknowledged the monument's presence, have generally referred to it as a remarkable engineering feat representative of the state's prized granite industry.<sup>1</sup>

What these accounts have omitted is any indication of the monument's impact upon the local community in which it was erected. Though once ignored or considered merely as artifacts, monuments have been increasingly viewed as exerting a transformative influence—upon our perceptions of the past, certainly, but also upon the very definitions of our selves and our communities. Modern "culture wars" over public school history curricula or the content of museum exhibits demonstrate the impassioned contestability of the past, and cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinsky has argued that because changes in the landscape (such as monuments) are the most durable, they are the most contested. For historians, the contours of such contests not only describe the origins of

historical monuments, but, more significantly, they reveal the values and aspirations of the participants in the debate, ultimately telling us far more about the rememberers than the remembered. Some studies of historical monuments have sought broad national or international comparisons; however, monuments are created through the interaction of local people in local communities.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, the Joseph Smith Monument produced its greatest impact in Royalton Township, which contained most of the memorial property and all of the major transportation routes to it. The Mormons and their monument arrived in the township at a time when residents of its two villages-Royalton and South Royalton—were competing with each other for control of the township's economic, political, and cultural affairs. The interposition of the monument into the existing debates galvanized the rivals, refocused their cultural conflict on historical issues, and ultimately became central to a controversy over funding the town library—the issue that settled the contest once and for all in favor of South Royalton.3

But a monument of this size and character also influenced earlytwentieth-century Vermont. The multi-thousand-dollar project employed firms and workmen throughout the state, and the presence of the monument sparked reflection, reaction, and retribution. In an era when people throughout Vermont (and the nation) began to experience the challenges associated with urbanization, industrialization, immigration, family disruption, religious change, and deepening class divisions, the past came to be considered a static place of peace and agrarian ideals. The budding Vermont tourism industry sought to capitalize on these feelings by promoting Vermont's farms and maple sugar products as emblematic of "what America was"—and the idea worked. In 1905, the year the Joseph Smith Monument was erected. Vermont witnessed its largest tourist season in history. 4 The resulting influx of outside ideas, influences, tourists, and money sparked deep controversy among Vermonters. Some reached out to the technologies, such as the railroad, telephone, and automobile, that promised to connect their "island communities" with the broader national culture. Others argued that local autonomy must be preserved, however quick or seemingly irreversible the pace of change.5

Royalton is an ideal place to witness Progressive-Era transitions, reactions, and implications because the division between advocates for connection and isolation mirrors geographic divisions within the township: Residents of the older village of Royalton urged moderation and tradition while those of the newer village of South Royalton welcomed stronger connections to outside communities. Religion and history also enrich this story because while residents of both villages debated the

propriety of reaching out to the world, the world reached back in the form of Mormons and their monument. Developments in Royalton Township also reflect the significant impact of women in the Progressive Era. Once seen only as settlement workers or suffragettes, recent historical scholarship has found women of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries actively engaged with public issues through a variety of women's clubs. Through these clubs women not only emphasized education and reform, they "domesticated" politics, worked in opposition to men, and reshaped American life.<sup>6</sup> In Royalton, women from both villages actively shaped public debates about the meaning of their town's past, the tensions between free religious expression and the tenets of Mormonism (especially polygamy), and the place of Mormons within their present community.

In a state with a history of ambivalence toward outsiders, the story of the Mormon monument's mediation in the local rivalry between Royalton and South Royalton is ultimately a story about transformation, religion, community, memory, and politics. Along the way—and in this case, entangled with the Mormon monument—a generation reshaped township affairs. What follows is a story of the contest between farmers and professionals, lawyers and women's club presidents, outsiders and old-timers who, as a result of the construction of a monument to Joseph Smith in their backyards, were compelled to answer for themselves and with their neighbors what their town's past was and what it meant for their present and future. The construction of the monument forced Royalton residents to reflect on the meaning of their past, and set the terms of contemporary cultural and political debates. With stakes so high, the tide of events shifted at the whim of seemingly unrelated and insignificant events, such as property purchases, Old Home Week festivities, and unexpected but timely deaths. The uncertainty and contingency make this an engaging story about Vermont in the Progressive Era, set in Royalton, with a Mormon twist.

## RIVAL VILLAGES

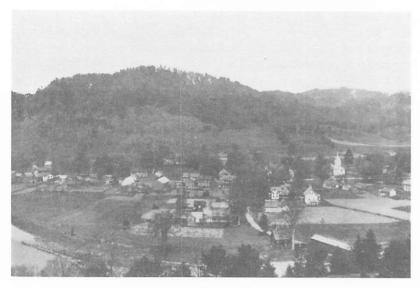
Like many central Vermont towns, Royalton's roots date to before the Revolutionary War. In 1771, a settler first stopped in what would become Royalton, and while the township was formally organized ten years later, the first building was not erected in Royalton village until 1784. During the War, a British-led band of Indians raided the settlement, burning homes, killing residents, and carrying others away captive. By 1800 the blossoming little village of Royalton supported five merchants and a lawyer, and by 1810 "the great forest trees that had shut out the sun were disappearing fast. Good dirt roads ran between

fields walled in stone, past neat frame houses with long open ells filled with wood and barns filled with hay." In 1807, Royalton Academy opened, and throughout the nineteenth century it grew into a renowned teaching institution. The opening of the Vermont Central Railroad in 1848 brought a train station to Royalton village and put the township squarely on the major overland transportation route through the state.

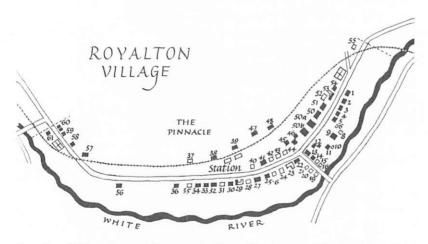
Unfortunately for Royalton's long-time residents, the railroad also created an invitation for outsiders. As the new rail line was being laid, Daniel Tarbell of neighboring Tunbridge to the north and Lyman Benson of neighboring Sharon to the south collaborated on the most successful railroad speculation in Windsor County. Near the mouth of the White River's First Branch, the pair built a bridge over the White River, set up a store and railroad station, and Tarbell built a hotel across the street. Soon a church, school, and several houses were constructed and by the end of 1848 South Royalton had sprung up "like a mushroom overnight."

In contrast to Royalton village, whose farming families had lived in the township since the 1780s, South Royalton invited a new wave of settlers attracted by the prospects of a blossoming railroad town. By the opening of the twentieth century, South Royalton's population had grown to nearly three times the size of Royalton's, supporting two lawyers, two doctors, a dentist, a hotel, livery stable, and several merchant operations. In 1900, the village installed electric lights, and the original bridge over the White River was replaced by a steel one in 1903. Three fires (the most recent in 1886) had gutted the original village and most of the buildings had been rebuilt in a modest style of Greek revival architecture, featuring "money and fashion, gingerbread and lacework, turrets and towers and verandas and trim." Thus, in half a century, South Royalton had clearly established itself as the economic center of the township, characterized by local historian, Hope Nash, as the "village of trade."

While South Royalton grew and prospered economically, Royalton residents clung tenaciously to their long-timer status and prominence as the "village of culture." Royalton Academy maintained its tradition in education, and hosted a library for students and residents. The village's Congregational Church (founded in 1777) began to gather books before the Civil War, and a small library association arose in the postwar years. But in 1893, a new graded school opened in South Royalton, and the following year the books previously gathered into various places were turned over to the school. That same year, however, the legislature passed a law providing state aid for towns that elected trustees



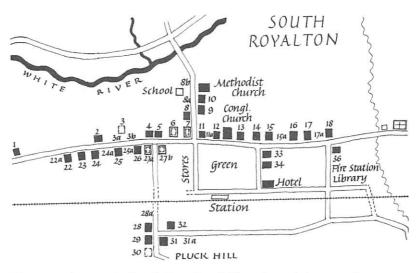
Royalton, the "village of culture" (Lovejoy, History, facing 602).



Royalton Village hosted the town hall (no. 9), the town clerk's office (45), Royalton Academy (50b), and Congregational (50a) and Episcopal (13) churches. Residents Levi and Emily Wild (28), George and Gertrude Laird (39), Clara McClellan Denison (50), and Rev. Joel Whitney (48) had houses nearby (Nash, Royalton, Vermont, 119). Printed by permission of the family of Hope Nash, August 2005.



South Royalton, the "village of trade" (Lovejoy, History, facing 616).



The row of stores in South Royalton Village hosted five merchants, two barbers, two lawyers, a jeweler, a dentist, a grocer, a photographer, and the post office. Residents Marvin H. Hazen (no. 15a), Edgar J. Fish (13), Evelyn Lovejoy (18), Charles Tarbell (right and down from the Library), and Perley Belknap (right of 36) had houses nearby (Nash, Royalton, Vermont, 122). Printed by permission of the family of Hope Nash, August 2005.

and appropriated money toward a town library. In 1896, the township met the requirements and the Royalton Free Public Library was born, though it did not actually open its doors for two more years.<sup>12</sup> Seven months after voting on the library, the women of Royalton village organized a women's club to provide for their "mental culture and intellectual improvement." Over the next ten years the women studied current events, the history of Rome and the British Isles, English and American literature, and practical sciences of art, forestry, household science, and civil service. In their community they installed first kerosene and then electric street lamps, furnished supplies for schools and the town library, and coordinated memorial services for President McKinley. But their primary purpose was to promote the history and heritage of Royalton. Their meetings were called to order by the rap of a gavel made of charred wood that had survived the Indian raid of 1780, and they spearheaded a project to restore the original town charter and to repair the aging Academy building, two tangible symbols of the heritage and cultural significance of Royalton.<sup>13</sup>

The rivalry between the village of trade and the village of culture surfaced in township politics. As South Royalton grew, its residents introduced motions at town meeting to move the meeting place and clerk's office to their village, though Royalton residents consistently and successfully argued that it should stay where it was-in their village. Over the years, a few South Royalton men had been elected to local office, but Royalton residents had generally held two-thirds of the total public offices and always maintained a majority of the seven most influential positions—three selectmen, town clerk, treasurer, moderator, and constable. But when long-time Royalton resident and moderator Dudley Chase Denison died in February 1905, he was succeeded the following month by South Royalton resident Marvin H. Hazen. At that same meeting, voters elected two South Royalton selectmen and gave the newer village its first majority in township history, a majority that Royalton never recaptured. 14 Town historian Evelyn Lovejoy described this period as "a critical time in [the township's] history." 15 The upstart village of South Royalton dominated trade and now held its first majority in local politics. Royalton residents clung to the status derived from their traditions of education, religion, and, history, but the new school in South Royalton provided an opening for a threat. Longtime residents recognized (and some probably feared) that the shifting of political power in March 1905 could possibly unsettle the balance between the rival villages; but no one knew that while they squabbled at town meeting, a Mormon designer and a Montpelier businessman were in Boston laying plans that would change the township's history forever.

## COMPETING RESPONSES TO THE MORMON MONUMENT

The Joseph Smith Memorial Monument was designed by Junius F. Wells, a Utah-born Mormon who dabbled in mining, publishing, and politics. In the words of a Boston journalist, Wells was "a typical western man, quiet, resourceful, interested, vivid in speech" and "most courteous, but he does things when things are to be done." At a Boston meeting in March 1905, Wells shared his idea with Riley C. Bowers, a businessman and granite industry insider from Montpelier. Even though they would be hard pressed to complete the monument in time for the one hundredth anniversary of Joseph Smith's birth in December, Bowers thought it a workable idea and accepted the proposition. The pair traveled to South Royalton in May where, drawing upon the town records of Royalton and Sharon, they identified the site of Smith's birth and purchased the property on behalf of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.<sup>17</sup>

The purchased property straddled the township border with Sharon, though most of the property—and specifically the site where the monument was to be erected—lay in Royalton, a few miles outside of South Royalton village. Two days after the sale, South Royalton's local editor of the Randolph Herald and Times (each village had its own local editor, of course) reported the transaction and Wells's intention "to erect a monument and shrine, lay out walks and otherwise beautify the place."18 Sharon's local editor remained silent about the monument, but perhaps an Associated Press report that circulated a month later captured the tenor of that township's reaction. The report described the action of secret agents who purchased the birthplace of Joseph Smith in Sharon and "greatly amused the Royalton People and they gently chaffed the Sharonites." Then the Sharon selectmen hired a surveyor who found "that the whole of the [purchased] property was in Royalton. Now the Sharonites are gloating and Royalton folk are preparing to give the Mormons a warm reception."19 While the details of the survey are erroneous and contemporary local records do not corroborate the story, it is true that Sharon residents paid little attention to the monument, to this day considering it Royalton's affair.20

Though Sharon and Royalton did not openly disagree about the monument, its announcement and construction did provoke three distinct reactions from Vermonters in general and Royalton residents in particular. On one hand, a large number of Vermonters stood to benefit, at least a little, from the \$15,000 construction project. Bowers contracted the quarrying work out to one Barre firm and the polishing to another, and the railroads collected their fees for laying new lines and transporting the granite pieces to Royalton.<sup>21</sup> In South Royalton, Wells

noticed "an undercurrent.of genuine interest" as he employed several local young men in addition to outside crews, paid seven local families to provide meals for all of the workers, and hired oxen and wagon teams as they were needed.<sup>22</sup>

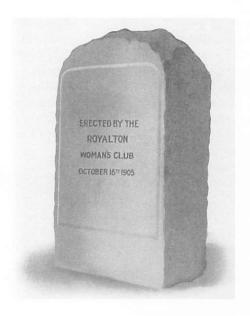
On the other hand, many Vermonters held little regard for Mormons and were ashamed that their state had anything to do with them. In the nineteenth century, Vermont congressmen had sponsored tough antipolygamy legislation, and a local study of notable men of Vermont had relegated three Vermont-born Mormon leaders—Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball—to a short list of "Queer Characters" from Vermont's past.<sup>23</sup> Since 1903, national presses had carried reports of the hearings over the propriety of allowing Reed Smoot, a Mormon Apostle and senator-elect from Utah, to take his seat in the nation's highest legislative body.<sup>24</sup> In June 1905 the *Interstate Journal* described "Mormonism as a species of deep-sea octopus, with ever-reaching tentacles, seeking whom it may devour." The following month The Burlington Free Press reprinted Wells's summary of the project, adding "this reads finely, nevertheless Joseph Smith was an imposter, and the religion he founded a delusion and a snare."25 Throughout the state, Congregational circuit speakers found increasing success in their anti-Mormon lectures, especially those speakers who could share firsthand accounts of the shameful moral and educational conditions in Utah.26

Both reactions found expression in Royalton Township, and, interestingly, residents split along village rivalry lines. During the first week of December, Reverend Levi Wild of Royalton village wrote to the editor of the local paper on behalf of those "who regard with deep concern the present Mormon invasion of our community." Wild introduced a leaflet prepared by the Woman's Home Missionary Union of Vermont that decried the church and claimed the monument would provide a foothold in Vermont for Mormon missionary work. The women also condemned all who had a hand in the monument, those locally who were "tempted" to sell their land or to accept employment on Wells's "liberal payroll," as well as the "owners of those granite hills" and the "people at our state capital" who were duped into supporting the project. The monument, they announced, "marks the grave of the virtue of women" and "is an insult to the womanhood of Vermont, of our country, and of the world."27 South Royalton lawyer Charles Tarbell challenged the professed piety of Wild and the women, asserting that "the Mormons have the same right to worship God that we claim for ourselves," and that "they may exercise that right wherever and whenever they please, provided they do not violate the law or interfere with like vested rights in other people."28 Tarbell's polished public reply was seconded by the other citizens of the township, men and women, who signed a petition welcoming visiting Mormons to their town. The petitioners included most of the prominent citizens of South Royalton (thirty-three of the forty-three signers), and three out of four elected township officials.<sup>29</sup> A few weeks later, South Royalton resident and state senator Edgar J. Fish spoke at the monument's dedication ceremony, and the guest register on that occasion reflected the same township divide in starker contrast: sixty South Royalton residents to four from Royalton (with only two from Sharon).<sup>30</sup>

A third reaction to the monument turned Vermonters away from the present toward the celebration of their own past. One week after the property purchase, an editorial in the *St. Albans Messenger* predicted that "attention again will be directed to the fact that not a few of the sons of the commonwealth, who 'fought a good fight' and who 'kept the faith' have no memorial." Another local journal noted that "Vermont has too few memorials to the great men of her past but a movement to establish such seems to be gaining headway." Monument building was not a new endeavor in Vermont. In 1799 Vermonters marked the site of a baby born to an Indian captive with two slate slabs, and during the nineteenth century they had erected monuments to the memory of Ethan Allen and two Revolutionary War battles. Most recently, they had constructed a remarkable 306-foot limestone monument at the site of the Battle of Bennington (1891) and identified and marked the birthplace of Chester A. Arthur (1903).<sup>31</sup>

Residents of Royalton township needed little persuasion to celebrate their township's heritage—they had hosted celebrations throughout the nineteenth century—but the arrival of the Mormon monument and the claims it made on their past changed the contours of their endeavor. Arriving in the midst of a fractious and wavering village rivalry, the monument foregrounded history in the township's cultural contest, and galvanized residents along village lines in what became a decadelong race to celebrate Royalton's past. Many Progressive Era towns experienced cultural debates over dance halls, theater performances, public zoos, or science exhibits, but the Mormon monument turned Royalton's past into present politics, giving the upstart "village of trade" new grounds on which to challenge the fading "village of culture"; but the first move, ironically, came from the outside.

The first native of Royalton to propose a monument to Royalton's past had moved away almost fifty years earlier. Daniel G. Wild, retired lawyer and uncle of Royalton's outspoken reverend, contacted the Woman's Club from his home in New York and offered \$1,000, half of which he directed to be used to erect a monument to Royalton's heri-



The Royalton Woman's Club erected a monument to the 1780 Indian Raid in 1906 (Dunklee, Burning of Royalton, 76).

tage.<sup>32</sup> The club members quickly decided to commemorate the white survivors of the 1780 Indian raid, an event that made Royalton unique among Vermont towns (a uniqueness certified by the Marquis de Lafayette's tributary visit to the village in 1825). The decision combined the veneration of hardy pioneer ancestors with Vermont's tradition of individualism and frontier democracy, all part of what made Royalton inheritor of "New England's true heritage." Though the raid had been celebrated by a parade and speeches on its centennial in 1880, now it could be commemorated in stone.<sup>34</sup>

On October 16, 1905, on the one hundred twenty-fifth anniversary of the raid (and while Wells was still only transporting the pieces of the Mormon monument to the site), Royalton's selectmen officially granted the right to erect a monument. That afternoon the Woman's Club hosted a groundbreaking ceremony that included a recitation of the raid story to the children.<sup>35</sup> The contract for the monument was announced the following month, and, like the monument to Joseph Smith, the raid monument would be of Barre granite.<sup>36</sup> However, the onset of winter weather delayed the construction and dedication until May.

While the Indian Raid Monument construction crew waited for the ground to thaw, the Woman's Club turned up the heat. At town meeting in March 1906, club president Frances Joiner addressed the assembled citizens, "an unheard of thing" for the time.<sup>37</sup> In what the town

clerk described as "well chosen and deserved comments," Joiner described Wild's gift and announced that \$500 was given "for the purpose of writing and publishing a History of Royalton." R. B. Galusha, Royalton's representative to the state legislature, moved, and it was voted unanimously, that the town match Wild's donation and recommended the establishment of a committee to oversee the project. In the coming weeks the committee shifted into shape, four members appointed by the Woman's Club and eight by the town. The committee elected Joiner president and Galusha treasurer, but Joiner died unexpectedly and Levi Wild resigned without recorded explanation.<sup>38</sup>

The Woman's Club successfully lobbied the town for additional money, but in so doing they compromised their exclusive control over future local commemoration. Nevertheless, they retained control of the monument's dedicatory exercises. On May 23, 1906, over seven hundred people—residents, former residents, and descendants of those captured by the Indians—gathered on the Royalton village green to witness the monument's unveiling. Proceedings in the Congregational church included prayers, hymns, a poem read by Rev. Levi Wild, and an address by Governor Charles Bell. After the ceremony, the Woman's Club hosted an exclusive reception for the friends and families of the township's oldest village.<sup>39</sup> The monument to the Indian raid in the heart of Royalton village was clearly a response to the Joseph Smith monument, but, in the context of the rivalry with South Royalton, it was also a statement about the historical preeminence of the northern village. In culture wars with political implications, such calls never go unheeded.

Three days after dedicating their monument, the historical committee voted that work on the town history should begin at once, and that the only person for the job was Evelyn Lovejoy. Born in the adjoining township of Pomfret, Evelyn M. Wood received training at the Royalton Academy and the Randolph Normal School. In 1874, she married into the Lovejoy family, one of Royalton's most distinguished founding families, but within six years both her husband Daniel Webster and her first and only child died. Lovejoy stayed in Royalton as principal of Royalton Academy and superintendent of schools, but in 1886 she went west. After eight years of teaching in South Dakota, Lovejoy enrolled at the University of Chicago, graduating with an A.B. degree in 1897. She taught for two years at St. Cloud Normal School in central Minnesota, where she devoted her spare time to writing a novel, Dandelion, published in 1899.40 By 1906, Lovejoy had been teaching high school grammar and literature in the Helena, Montana, schools for five years. She most likely would have stayed in the West had she not been invited to return to Royalton.41



Educator, author, South Royalton Woman's Club president Evelyn M. Lovejoy (1847–1928) (Lovejoy, History, facing 331).

During the summer of 1906, Lovejoy made her residence in South Royalton and set to work on the town history, a project that took five years to complete. She personally "visited and examined the records of all the neighboring towns," and pored through "hundreds of genealogies, town histories, and State papers." She marshaled the members of the Woman's Club into a force of research assistants who scoured local cemeteries. Leaving no stone unturned she filled thirty-one 8½-by-7-inch composition books with information about deeds, cemeteries, vital records, probate records, and family information. Additionally, she sent out hundreds of handwritten letters requesting genealogical and historical information, and received responses from people throughout New England and the Midwest. The resultant *History of Royalton, Vermont* is a one thousand-page history with over one hundred illustrations, maps, genealogical records, and a comprehensive index.

Despite its impetus to commemoration in Royalton, the Joseph Smith Monument and the Smith family received guarded coverage in Love-joy's *History*. The project is announced as having risen out of the "active, successful" work of the Royalton Woman's Club and the generosity of Daniel G. Wild simply "because [Royalton] is one of the most pro-

gressive, up-to-date towns in the State of Vermont." Notwithstanding contemporary local knowledge to the contrary, Smith's birthplace is stated as lying outside of their township, and he is not mentioned in the section on religion. Lovejoy did include a description of the monument and the Smith family, placed in the front matter of the genealogical section where it was safely disconnected from both the town's history and its residents' genealogies.<sup>43</sup>

Her research made Lovejoy one of the foremost experts on Vermont's early history and the leading expert on the township's past, though it did not convert readily into economic well-being. For the first three years, Lovejoy did not receive any monetary compensation for her work other than an occasional reimbursement for her traveling or material expenses, though she supplemented her income from 1906 to 1908 by working as principal of the Royalton Academy. In 1908, Lovejoy began a campaign to collect five hundred advance subscriptions of five dollars to help cover the costs.44 Daniel Wild's \$500 donation was not made available until 1909, at which time Lovejov finally received \$100 "in partial payment of services as historian." At the 1909 town meeting, residents reluctantly approved an interest-free loan to the Historical Association, allowing it to draw up to fifteen dollars from the town "to complete the printing, writing, binding and publication of the History of Royalton." This loan was granted, however, on the condition that proceeds from the history go to pay off the town loan first.46 With enough money to continue, Lovejoy finished the history, and made all the arrangements for publication, although she acknowledged in the preface that her work was "in large part a labor of love." 47 Six hundred volumes were printed in 1911, and by 1913. Lovejov received six hundred dollars for her work.48

While Lovejoy studied the town's past, her contemporaries in South Royalton organized themselves. In the summer of 1906, the women of the newer village, upset with their exclusion from Royalton's woman's club, organized their own association for "mutual improvement and social ability" with a motto promoting "Lofty Thoughts and Noble Deeds." Over the next two years the South Royalton Woman's Club studied history, geology, industry, public institutions, persons, buildings, and the influence of women. 49 Yet, for all their studying, they remained open to criticism from the Royalton women whose club, the northerners announced, "has proved its right to existence by the good works it has done." 50

As her *History* rolled off the press, Evelyn Lovejoy was elected president of the South Royalton Woman's Club. Once all the publishing debts had been paid, members of the Historical Committee wanted to



Proceeds from Evelyn Lovejoy's History of Royalton paid for a monument to Hannah Handy in South Royalton. Photograph by author, 2001.

give the profits to Lovejoy, but she instead recommended that the committee "set aside 125 copies, the sales of which shall be used in erecting a fitting memorial" in South Royalton village.51 Like Royalton's monument, this monument would be placed on the village green, but there would be several significant differences. Rather than celebrating the raid survivors generally, South Royalton's monument emphasized two people: Hannah Handy, a mother who pleaded for the freedom of herself and nine children, and Phineas Parkhurst, "Vermont's Paul Revere" who rode off on horseback to Sharon to sound the alarm. 52 The monument design featured a stone archway with the front inscriptions memorializing Handy and Parkhurst and the rear inscriptions listing the names of the four men killed, the twenty-five people taken prisoner, and the nine children rescued during the raid.<sup>53</sup> And while the aging Daniel Wild agreed with Lovejoy's recommendation, money for the monument was raised not by private contribution but by soliciting subscriptions from local (South Royalton) residents, the list of donors being published in the local paper and sealed in the base of the monument.54 Though both Royalton's 1905 monument and South Royalton's 1915 arch drew their inspiration from the same event, the celebrated messages could not have been more divergent: The former idealized an innocent community savagely attacked by the outside world, while the latter recognized individuals who reached out to others in a time of stress; one an island community, the other part of a larger society.

One final difference is also revealing. Rather than dedicating the monument on the raid's anniversary in October, the committee hosted services in August during Royalton's Old Home Week.55 The week-long festival was the largest in township history, drawing over 3,500 visitors who more than tripled the township's population. The week opened with a community religious service and parade in South Royalton. Tuesday was designated as "Royalton's Day," but rain forced the poetry reading and storytelling indoors. On Wednesday, festivities resumed in South Royalton with another parade, the monument's unveiling, a motion picture show, concerts, a baseball game, a theatrical presentation depicting the "Burning of Royalton," and a historical pageant in which the horn that heralded Lafayette's arrival in 1825 sounded again, announcing an old stage coach pulled by four white horses who brought the Lafavette reenactor not to Royalton village as he had come nine decades earlier, but to South Royalton. The theatrical presentation was repeated and visitors danced until 2:30 A.M.<sup>56</sup> The celebration proved an overwhelming success, and the local paper noted Lovejoy's efforts both organizational and financial.<sup>57</sup> Congressman Frank L. Greene, who had spoken at the monument's dedication ceremony, was likewise impressed, writing privately to Lovejoy: "I only wish more towns in Vermont would follow your example, more women of gifted nature would emulate you in your untiring energy and public spirit, and that we would all be more frequently brought to 'Remember the days of old.""58

Thus, by August 1915, Royalton Township had dedicated two monuments, published a history, and initiated a new Old Home Week tradition. The festivities padded the pockets of South Royalton residents primarily, but they also gave the village added cultural prominence as both villages now featured active woman's clubs and monuments to the 1780 Indian raid. In the ten short years since construction of the Joseph Smith Monument, South Royalton's cultural reputation grew to rival the elder village, and the statewide renown of Evelyn Lovejoy threatened to tip the scale in favor of her younger village. In the meantime, South Royalton residents continued to hold the majority of elected public offices, and South Royalton, finally, found itself in a position to exert total dominance over township affairs—economic, political, and cultural. The final confrontation came over plans for a new memorial library.

## "THE MORMON AFFAIR"

While South Royalton flourished culturally, Royalton residents increasingly focused their attention on the township's Free Public Library where, once again, a cultural issue became historical and political. Local residents selected library trustees alternately each year for five-year terms at town meeting, and for the first twenty years after 1896 they overwhelmingly elected trustees from the older village. In 1909, as Lovejoy brought her research toward its conclusion, Rev. Joel F. Whitney of the Royalton Congregational Church became chair of the trustees and began an active campaign to expand the library, purchase books, prepare a catalog, and open two branches (one in each village). Whitney successfully petitioned the town to increase its annual allocation eightfold and by 1911 there were 1,200 books in the collection.<sup>59</sup>

However, at the 1912 town meeting, residents voted Evelyn Lovejoy to the board of library trustees, and she immediately made her presence felt. Lovejoy, who had just completed her *History* and was just beginning to think about the Handy monument, became the first woman elected to public office in Royalton. Over the next few years, the reverend's collection of primarily patriotic and religious books blossomed with the addition of over 700 works on literature, history, and biography. Significantly, after Lovejoy's first year of service, the annual town report began to list the holdings for each village's library branch separately. The village rivalry, first geographic, then economic and monumental, appeared once again in township library politics.

Several unexpected events in 1917 dramatically changed the library's course forever, and the Mormon monument carried several uncanny ties to the town's past and its present developments. That year, Levi Wild, who had introduced the Vermont Woman's Missionary Union letter opposing the Joseph Smith Monument in 1905, was not reelected as a trustee, so his Royalton neighbor and fellow trustee, George A. Laird, resigned. Two South Royalton residents-Charles Tarbell, who had responded to Wild's anti-Mormon letter in 1905, and Emma Hubbard were elected, and Lovejoy assumed Laird's position as library treasurer. Overnight, the trustee board composition changed from threeto-two in Royalton's favor to four-to-one for South Royalton, with Rev. Whitney the only remaining voice from the older village. In addition to Lovejoy, Hubbard, and Tarbell, South Royalton was also represented on the board by postmaster and South Royalton's local newspaper correspondent Perley Belknap, who maintained correspondence with the monument's designer, Junius Wells, wore an inch-high replica of the Joseph Smith Monument on a chain strung across his vest, and visited the Mormon monument each summer with his family.63

Simultaneously as trustee representation shifted toward the newer village, a \$360 bequest from the Ella C. Latham Estate to the Royalton Free Public Library finally became available. Latham, who died in 1901 before the arrival of the Mormon monument, had been a teacher in the South Royalton schools for several years, but she had grown up on the property on which the monument was later erected, her father having owned the land and testified to Wells that it was the site of the Mormon founder's birth.<sup>64</sup>

Thus, in 1917, the Library Committee found itself dominated by South Royalton residents and holding a substantial sum of disposable money. The committee acted quickly on the Latham bequest by merging with the township's Historical Association to form the Royalton Memorial Library Association—composed of the five library trustees and three representatives from the Historical Association, only one of whom, President Laura Dutton, lived in Royalton village. The new association proposed to raise money through subscriptions to build a permanent library building. In recognition of their subscriptions, donors could memorialize their ancestors on a special memorial tablet. On May 25, 1917, the group (except Dutton) gathered at Lovejoy's home in South Royalton to discuss the construction of a library building. Six sites were recommended, "to all of which objections were raised" before Perley Belknap offered a piece of property he owned located in South Royalton at the corner of Stafford Street and Pleasant Street, one block from the village green. The property was worth \$500, but Belknap offered it to the library for \$200, and the committee voted unanimously to purchase it.65

Over the next few years the library began to take shape. By 1919 the cement basement was in place and by the end of 1921 the frame exterior was nearly complete. However, the tangible progress of construction paralleled ever-growing expenses. In 1920 the association spent more than it received in pledges, and by 1921 it was in debt. Lovejoy, secretary of the Memorial Library Association, felt the financial pinch personally, paying the workers out of her own pocket at one time when funds were scarce. She probably reflected on the similar difficulties she had surmounted in preparing her *History*, and knew that now, as before, she had to take action or the project would fail.

Late in 1921, the seventy-four-year-old Lovejoy accepted a friend's offer of a car and chauffeur and "canvassed" the township "from house to house" soliciting contributions to the library. Since the dedication of the Joseph Smith Monument sixteen years earlier, Mormons had resided at the site, but when Lovejoy called the on site director, Heber C. Smith, he was away, so she simply left a flyer. During the winter Smith

sent her a large maple log for fuel. Early in the summer of 1922, Lovejoy continued "striving to get funds to pay our bills," and she wrote to Smith suggesting that in addition to a log he might be interested in making a monetary contribution as well. Smith replied that he would think about it, and a few weeks later he appeared with a \$200 contribution in hand. Having "no authority as secretary to refuse money," Lovejoy accepted the donation and informed Smith of his commemorative privilege, to which he replied that he wanted to place Joseph Smith's name on the memorial.<sup>67</sup> "As soon as he handed me what he wished placed on the tablet," Lovejoy recalled, "I told him the matter would have to be decided by the Association." Lovejoy had no objection to accepting the money or including Joseph Smith's name, so she contacted other association members and library donors until she found that a majority approved and deposited Smith's donation in the association account.<sup>68</sup>

The fact that Lovejoy and a majority of Library Association members approved can by no means be generalized to Vermonters in the 1920s. The Burlington Free Press decried Mormon missionaries who traveled from village to village "passing out Godless tracts, and holding their heathen revival meetings."69 Local papers throughout the state had reprinted a 1916 warning that "this cult is growing in the state. Speakers from abroad skilled in dialectical sophistry will strive to make their doctrines innocuous and attractive, and lure the unwary by their specious presentations of this insidious American menace. Between their permanent home with its basis of real estate at Sharon, their sporadic conferences at Barre and elsewhere and their peripatetic missionaries going into homes and poisoning the minds of those who listen to them, Mormonism is making some dangerous inroads into the religious life of the state."70 While some Vermont promotional literature did acknowledge the Joseph Smith Monument as a fine representation of the state's granite industry, it would require another decade before Charles Edward Crane dared link Smith with John Dewey as two examples "of the eccentric pattern which flourished so well in Vermont."71 And it would be thirty years before Joseph Smith could be briefly included in A Treasury of Vermont Life, over Dorothy Canfield Fisher's emphatic contemporary protest that though Smith was "born here, geographically, [he was] certainly not produced by Vermont tradition."72

Antipathy for Joseph Smith and the Mormons ran deep in the 1920s, expressing itself in a variety of ways. Perhaps future hotel giant, J. Willard Marriott, experienced the most extreme manifestation of this sentiment when he, as a young Mormon missionary in Colchester, was run out of town and shot at.<sup>73</sup> More typically, Vermonters throughout the

state sponsored Congregational circuit riders who educated them about the evils of Mormonism. Though the results of the Reed Smoot hearings in 1904-1905 had generally settled the contemporary threat of polygamy, speakers continued to warn against the "America's Greatest Peril" and to promote the passage of an anti-polygamy amendment to the Constitution—just in case Mormons should change their minds. Referring to the Mormon senator, one speaker warned Vermonters that "the Mormon system is a cancer eating its deadly way into the very heart of the nation, which it has already poisoned at the fountainhead."74 One of the most successful speakers in New England (and the nation) was Lulu Loveland Shepard who, as the former president of the Utah chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union for twelve years, presented a lurid exposé of Mormon doctrines and temple marriage ceremonies and alleged the existence of vast fortunes amassed from liquor trafficking. Shepard's writings frequently appeared in periodicals of the pre- and post-World War I era that also addressed temperance, divorce, war, and education—issues that interested a wide nexus of the nation's Progressives.75

In the summer of 1922, Shepard spoke in Barre, Randolph, Bethel, and South Royalton, the latter presentation drawing out several residents of the township. Thus, when Evelyn Lovejoy mentioned Smith's generous donation to Royalton residents Gertrude Laird and Levi and Emily Wild, the former made a "courteous protest," but the Wilds were alarmed that the association members even considered including Smith's name with "those whom Royalton delights to honor." They decided that the library meant too much and that "something more than a simple protest was needed if Joseph Smith's name was to be kept from appearing on it."

Rev. Wild acted first, penning a brief note to Lovejoy on July 22, 1922. "I am told that it is proposed to memorialize the name of Joseph Smith in connection with our Library building," he began formally. "If this is the case I hereby enter my earnest protest against doing so. If it is done the name of my father, John Wild, must be left out." Lovejoy recalled that none of the association members "objected until after Mr. Wild did, then John Waterman did." Waterman had replaced Rev. Whitney on the board of trustees and was Wild's neighbor. But Wild did not stop with the trustees; he and his wife spread their influence throughout their social circle in Royalton village, primarily members of the Congregational Church and the Woman's Club. Former town representative, George Ellis, is reported to have predicted "that if money was accepted the library was ruined." William Pierce's daughters "were thinking of giving \$100 to memorialize their father when they heard

that Joseph Smith's name might be placed on the tablet they decided to wait." One woman wrote to Lovejoy that when she told her husband of the prospect he answered, "Thunder. No. I wouldn't memorialize Joseph Smith." She agreed with her husband. "We both think it. No money from the Church of the Latter Day Saints and no honoring of Joseph Smith." Through Levi and Emily Wild's persuasive influence several other families were likely involved.

The exact details of the resulting explosion of opinion were not recorded. Much of the discussion went on in parlor rooms and pastures where only the participants and cattle bore record. Lovejoy insisted on keeping the matter quiet to "avoid as much publicity as possible." "I appreciated the fact," she recalled, "that Mr. Smith was brought up in a Mormon household, that he loved and revered Joseph Smith, and I wished to spare his feelings as much as I could." Her wishes were largely fulfilled, as the local paper made only oblique references to Mormons during the summer months, showing more interest in the feared spread of the Ku Klux Klan into Maine.<sup>79</sup>

In private, however, the issue raged. Two months after the excitement subsided, Lovejoy and Gertrude Laird exchanged correspondence in which they restated their cases. Laird, the wife of the former library committee treasurer succeeded by Lovejoy, was a member of the Congregational Church and the Royalton Woman's Club. Though she struggled to accept Mormons into the community, her curiosity had drawn her out to visit the Joseph Smith Monument at least twice.80 The correspondence indicates that the debate covered a range of doctrinal, historical, and contemporary concerns. Additionally, the style of the debate possessed significant implications for its resolution: Laird wrote about "the library affair" in a generalized manner that both detached her personally from the negative sentiment and suggested that all of her social circle shared the expressed opinions. Lovejoy, on the other hand, refuted their claims regarding "the Mormon affair" with personal knowledge and experience. To Laird's charge that Mormon money was tainted by their doctrinal beliefs in polygamy, the Book of Mormon, or reverence for Joseph Smith, Lovejoy responded, "When our churches refuse tainted money from brewers, saloon keepers, harmful trust magnates, etc., they can talk about taking no money from a Mormon." Other charges were historical in nature—the Smith family was disreputable, Joseph Smith was a bad child, and a fraudulent man-but to these Lovejoy spoke from her experience in preparing the History of Royalton. "I have seen, as I suppose, all the early records of Sharon, Tunbridge, and Royalton, and never found anything derogatory to this family."81



Royalton Woman's Club president Gertrude Laird (1862–1940) (Lovejoy, History, facing 603).

Doctrinal and historical questions also possessed present implications. Laird asserted, on the testimony of Levi Wild's brother-in-law, that twentieth-century Mormons were deceptive lawbreakers: There was not "one home only but . . . hundreds of homes in Idaho where polygamy is practiced and . . . some government officials in Washington have plural wives." For Lovejoy, on the other hand, the question of modern Mormon character need not rely on secondhand perceptions, as there were Mormons in the township. A succession of Memorial directors and their families had lived in the community for seventeen years. "Their children have been and are in our schools," Lovejoy reminded Laird, "they used to come to our church and Sunday School until some unpleasant remarks were made about it." The wife of one of the directors "was a member of the 'Parent-Teacher Association' and active in it, and used her exceptional talents to further many good enterprises here." 82

Laird agreed that the Mormons "who have been sent to So. Royalton are charming people. The church would never have attained its present power had it not shown more sagacity than to send among Gentiles those who would antagonize." For Royalton residents there existed no clearer example of this than Junius F. Wells, who had established

friendships with many South Royalton residents, including Tarbell and Belknap of the Library Association. In a form of scare rhetoric that persists into the twenty-first century, Laird compared Mormons to the "Mohammadans" of the mysterious Middle East. "You have read in the last month what a perfect gentleman the Turk is and what winning personalities Turkish people when foreigners have shown." The daily paper to which Laird referred concluded that it was an "illusion that the Turkish nature in mass is to be judged from the personal characteristics of a few picked Muslims of the higher life," and she added in emphasis, "This might have been written of the Mormons."

Lovejoy countered that only the Monument's director and his family were Mormons, but Laird explained, "You must then understand when I said South Royalton is largely Mormon, or something to this effect, I did not mean that the residents had joined the Mormon church. Two days before you were here two residents of South Royalton, neither of them church members so far as I know, said I would be astounded if I knew how many and who then in So. Rov. were dominated by Mormon influence." As evidence, she pointed out that local newspaper editor and library committee member Perley Belknap had not published an announcement for Lulu Shepard's presentation. To which Lovejoy countered specifically that Belknap had reported on the event, and generally, "I do not think it is right to call So. Royalton people Mormons, because they have friendly relations with the Mormons here." In fact, Lovejoy recalled, "I said to Mr. Smith the day he gave me the check, 'You and I could never agree on religious matters, but we can have friendly relations." And she pleaded, "if you quote me as praising the teachings of the Mormons, do not leave it to be inferred that I approve the Mormon doctrine in full or many of its practices, or believe in the revelation of Joseph Smith. I do admire, and said so years ago, their insistence upon abstinence from alcohol as a beverage, tobacco, and profanity, and their practice of thrift and cleanliness." Perhaps in playful jest toward the Royalton residents' expressions of personal piety, she added, "This all tends [to the] development of a strong people physically, and intellectually, and they will get ahead of us, if we do not practice these virtues."84

Her back against the wall, Lovejoy invited Heber Smith to call on her and she "told him the situation." Though Smith "said he would be glad to talk with any of the protestants," Lovejoy "felt it was not wise to have a conference. Things might be said on both sides that had better not be said." Smith "at once proposed to withdraw the \$200, showed no bitterness of spirit, and wished [Lovejoy] to express to the objectors his regret at their attitude." Lovejoy returned the money with a diplo-

matically written statement: "As the Royalton Memorial Library Association solicits subscriptions from no church, and as the invitation of its secretary to Mr. Heber C. Smith, agent for the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints, to subscribe to the library fund was construed by Mr. Smith as a solicitation from said church, and \$200 was given by said church for the new library building, the said Association, to avoid any disharmony among its members and the supporters of the Memorial library, gratefully accepts the proposal of Mr. Heber C. Smith, offered in a truly Christian spirit, to withdraw the \$200, and at the same time the Association expresses its appreciation of the interest shown by the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints in the cause of education and its promotion in Royalton."

By returning the money, Evelyn Lovejoy hoped to put the protest behind her, but in reality, the most difficult part of the whole affair lay ahead. While most accusations were made in private conversation, one Royalton resident, Clara Denison McClellan, "advocated telling the whole world."87 Clara's grandfather, doctor Jo Adam Denison, delivered the future Mormon founder in 1805. A century later, while the Joseph Smith Monument was under construction, the local paper announced Denison's Mormon connection, but Clara, in writing the family genealogy for Lovejoy's History, flatly denied the connection. Perhaps it was Clara and not her grandfather who wrote in the margin of his account book, "If I had known how he was going to turn out I'd have smothered the little cuss."88 McClellan also harbored antagonistic feelings toward industrial expansion in general and South Royalton in particular. When she was only four years old, her father, also a doctor, was thrown from his wagon and fatally injured, but the railroad that gave birth to South Royalton "now obliterates the spot," she wrote coolly in 1911.89 An artist, writer, and witty conversationalist, in 1922 Clara was a seventy-eight-year-old widow who lived with her daughter in New York during the winters and alone in the "Old Denison Place" in Royalton during the summers.90

Writing in August 1922, McClellan offered two hundred dollars—available immediately—to memorialize her grandfather and brother "upon condition of a statement signed by the president and secry. of the Library Board that the name of the Founder of the Mormon Church is debarred for ever from the memorial list." Lovejoy and Tarbell responded that as publicly elected officials they could only affirm that they personally would not commit to including Smith's name in the current tablet. On August 21, 1922, Lovejoy sent McClellan a formal "statement which, I trust, will be satisfactory to you, though I regret that you deemed it necessary." She also requested that McClellan submit

"a concise formal statement giving your reason or reasons why you object to the name of Joseph Smith on the tablet" so that it might be filed in their records for future reference. She also suggested that Mc-Clellan ask Levi Wild "to send in his formal reasons. You two were the only memorialists who said that names of friends you memorialized could not be on the tablet if Joseph Smith's was." The following week McClellan responded with a curt handwritten note: "My opinion as to the unfitness of placing Joseph Smith's name upon a tablet dedicated to the Memory of Citizens worthy of the town, being that of the majority of Royalton People," she began, made it "unnecessary to make a 'concise formal statement' of the same," though she approved of Lovejoy's statement and submitted her two-hundred-dollar pledge. 93

Recognizing that she and Wild did not constitute a majority of Royalton residents, McClellan plied her friends to submit formal protests. Within weeks, Sarah C. Doubleday, a founding member of the Royalton Woman's Club, expressed her written opposition to including Smith's name and a request for a signed statement before making her donation. But by this point, Lovejoy took the matter personally: "I judge you must have known the statement we gave Mrs. McClellan, which is all we have the authority to do," she wrote to Doubleday, "and it seems entirely unnecessary to repeat the same thing, unless our integrity is in doubt." Offended, Lovejoy suggested to Doubleday that the best way to assure that Smith's name would never appear on the tablet would be to fill the entire tablet with other names, thereby making it "practically certain that the prophet's name will not be on the list." "94"

Sensing that the problem had been resolved, and not wanting to further antagonize Lovejoy, Royalton residents dropped the issue. Laird wrote to assure Lovejoy that her "Royalton friends would regret exceedingly any separation," as "[w]e all admire you too much to needlessly hurt you," adding that she personally had "never doubted your 'honesty.' "95 For her part, Lovejoy "once more realized how easy it is to lose one's friends."% She confided to Laird that "[t]he simple protest did not hurt me. It was the feeling exhibited along with it, the lack of confidence in our sincerity . . . . I knew from the first that I should be blamed by one side or the other or by both, and so it proves .... I was in a difficult position. No doubt some one else would have handled the matter more judicially and wisely." With feelings however placated, Lovejoy still needed money to finish the library. "If those who informed the Pierce daughters about the Mormon gift will be equally zealous in informing them that there is not the least danger of Joseph Smith's name being on the tablet, the favor will be appreciated." Lovejoy



Royalton Memorial Library Postcard, 1924. Author's collection.

closed her letter to Laird, and ended her private commentary on "the Mormon Affair" by simply noting that Clara McClellan, who died within a month of making her protest and donation, now "knows more than any one of us." The only public reference Lovejoy ever made to "the Mormon Affair" came five months later in the annual Town Report, where she reported that her financial report did "not include a subscription of \$200 which was returned."

The "Mormon Affair" debate over the Memorial Library marked the end of Royalton's claim to exclusive cultural influence and thus, effectively, ended the village rivalry. In the coming months, donations trickled in and the Memorial Library was dedicated one year later during Old Home Week in August 1923.99 The memorial tablet—still hanging in the library—never memorialized Joseph Smith; though, in time, the names of Clara Denison McClellan and Evelyn Lovejoy were added. 100 Exerting their all to bar Joseph Smith's name from the library tablet, Royalton residents had made their last effectual stand. Levi Wild and his associates continued to sound a voice of moral warning against the "public nuisance" of dance halls and liquor sales, but never again were their efforts sufficient to overrule their upstart counterparts in South Royalton.<sup>101</sup> The Flood of 1927 that devastated so many Vermont communities swept through the older village, taking an entire street with it—a physical loss paralleling the symbolic loss of influence in township life: The Royalton Woman's Club disbanded, Royalton Academy closed

its doors, Gertrude Laird and Levi Wild passed away, and the Denison house was sold at auction. The economic, political, and cultural transformations left Royalton "just a string of houses" along the roadside. 102

In time, town meeting moved to South Royalton's new high school gymnasium, and in 1957 residents converted the Memorial Library's unfinished basement into the town clerk's office. <sup>103</sup> In 1976, the core of South Royalton village—including the library and the Handy monument—was entered on the National Register of Historic Places as a "reflect[ion of] the nineteenth century development of a railroad community." Three years later this "town that never changed" served as the set for a Public Broadcasting System film of Mark Twain's *The Man Who Corrupted Hadleyburg*, the 1890s railroad town of Fredonia, New York. Barred from contributing to the Memorial Library in 1922, Mormons remained in the community, where they established a congregation (1945), constructed a chapel (1965), and have been elected to a variety of public offices, including the presidency of the South Royalton Woman's Club (1980). <sup>104</sup>

By paring away the personal and religious issues of the "Mormon Affair," Evelyn Lovejoy identified the motivating concern of Royalton residents: Their fears about commemoration and the Mormon presence were intertwined with their anxiety over South Royalton's increasing influence. Over the previous half century, South Royalton had grown until it surpassed Royalton in population, trade, political representation, and, finally, cultural prominence. As modernizing America wrenched these isolated communities into contact with national society, the changes threatened previously considered stabilities. Many Royalton residents linked these economic and social transformations with the arrival of the Mormons and their monument to Joseph Smith. Without fully comprehending the nature or extent of the shifting, residents of the older village made sense of their changing world by personifying structural changes into Mormon actors. This subtle conspiracy theory—from the published suspicion of secret agents who purchased the birthplace property in 1905, to the circuit preacher warnings of Mormon infiltration of the nation's capital, to the rumors of South Royalton residents dominated by Mormon influence—provided an interpretive framework that both identified the source of stress and provided a rallying point for its attempted removal. Arriving in the midst of the community rivalry between Royalton and South Royalton, the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument became integral to the township's economic, political, and cultural affairs. Its presence fused memory, history, religion, and politics in the story of a community forced to reconcile the profound transformations of Progressive Era Vermont.

#### Notes

¹ A sampling of Vermont perspectives includes: Stanley F. Blomfield, "James M. Boutwell—Man and Mayor," *The Vermonter* 22 (April 1917): 57–67; Barbara Brainerd, "A Winding Route in Vermont," *The Vermonter* 47 (March 1942): cover, 33–36; *A Guide to New Hampshire-Vermont Heartland* (South Royalton, Vt.: Manning House, 1960), 8; Ken Bush, "Joseph Smith: Memorial Vermont Ingenuity," *Barre Life* (Winter 1997): 4–5. On the place of the monument in Mormon histories and their relation to Vermont accounts see Keith A. Erekson, "American Prophet, New England Town: The Memory of Joseph Smith in Vermont" (master's thesis, Brigham Young University, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> Wilbur Zelinsky, Nation into State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundations of American Nationalism (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), especially chapter 5. For a national outline with international comparisons see Michael Kammen, Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991). John Bodnar highlights local power structures in Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992). Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen interviewed hundreds of Americans and concluded that most people do not use national narratives to frame their view of the past, employing personal, local, or family-based narratives instead, The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> Fortunately, the history of Royalton has been carefully preserved by local record keepers, journalists, and historians. Past guardians of Royalton's records are acknowledged throughout the article in the notes. For assistance with my research I am indebted to Royalton's present keepers of the past: town historian John Dumville, who introduced me to the Mormon Affair correspondence between Lovejoy and Laird; Theresa M. Harrington, Alison S. Gravel, and Janfra D. Tompkins of the Royalton Town Clerk's Office; Elaina Griffith and Karen Anderson of the Royalton Memorial Library; Dick Drysdale and Bob Eddy of the Herald of Randolph; Beverly Thomas of the South Royalton Woman's Club; and G. Lester Corwin, II, and Judson H. Flower, Jr., who privately collected much regarding the town's past and present Latter-day Saints. Paul Carnahan and Marjorie Strong from the Vermont Historical Society and the staff at the Bailey/Howe Library at the University of Vermont provided valuable and timely assistance.

Dona Brown, Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 135-167; Andrea Rebek, "The Selling of Vermont:

From Agriculture to Tourism, 1860-1910," Vermont History 44 (Winter 1976): 14-27.

<sup>5</sup> Robert H. Wiebe characterized the period from the 1880s to the 1920s as "a way station between agrarian and urban America" in which "island communities" became an organized nation, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), xiii; Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944).

<sup>6</sup> See Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics," The American Historical Review 89 (June 1984): 620-647; Anne Firor Scott, Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1991); Maureen Flanagan, Seeing With Their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871-1933 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press,

2002).

<sup>7</sup> Hope Nash, Royalton Vermont (Lunenburg, Vt.: The Stinehour Press, 1975), 3–12; see also Evelyn M. Wood Lovejoy, History of Royalton, Vermont, with Family Genealogies, 1769–1911 (Burlington, Vt.: Burlington Free Press Printing Company, 1911), 79; "Centennial at Royalton: Commemorative Exercises at the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Organization of the Congregational Church of Royalton, Vermont," 10 October 1877, Vermont Historical Society; Royalton Town Reports, 1885–1925.

- 8 Nash, Royalton, 30-31. Tarbell unsuccessfully tried his hand at a steam mill and bank.
- <sup>9</sup> Ibid., 41.
- 10 Ibid., 40.
- 11 Ibid., 40
- <sup>12</sup> Minutes of 3 March 1896 Town Meeting, Royalton Town Records, 1880–1916, 101. Residents donated books and the state sent one hundred dollars worth of books, enough so that when the library opened in 1898, some of the books were housed in the town clerk's office in Royalton and the rest at the graded school in South Royalton. The library opened once every other week, Lovejoy, History, 627–629; Patricia W. Belding, Where the Books Are: The History and Architecture of Vermont's Public Libraries with Photos and Anecdotes (Barre, Vt.: Potash Brook Publishing, 1996), 145–146.
- <sup>13</sup> "Royalton Woman's Club, 1896-1936," *The Vermonter* 41 (Oct 1936): 189-190; Ivah Dunklee, *Burning of Royalton, Vermont, By Indians* (Boston: Geo. H. Ellis Co., 1906), 53-54.
- <sup>14</sup> The annual town reports list the names of public officers elected to service, Royalton Town Reports, 1885–1935. Using the genealogical information in the local histories by Lovejoy and Nash,

as well as U.S. Census data, it is possible to identify the village residence of town officers, *Fourteenth Census* (1920). In 1905, Royalton residents held the offices of clerk (W. Skinner), one selectman (H. C. Benson), and treasurer (E. Winslow) while South Royalton held moderator (M. H. Hazen), two selectmen (E. B. Doyle, C. E. Black), and constable (M. H. Hazen).

- 15 Lovejoy, History, vii.
- 16 Boston Sunday Globe, 17 December 1905.
- <sup>17</sup> The official record of the monument's construction and dedication is [Joseph Fielding Smith, comp.], *Proceedings at the Dedication of the Joseph Smith Memorial Monument* ([Salt Lake City, Ut.], 1906), hereafter *Proceedings*. The uncatalogued papers of Junius F. Wells are collected and housed in the LDS Church Archives, Salt Lake City, Utah., hereafter, Wells Collection.
- Is Randolph Herald and Times, 25 May 1905, 7, hereafter RH. There has been a newspaper in Randolph, Vermont, since 1801, though it has gone by different names: the Weekly Wanderer, the Green Mountain Aegis, the Orange County Eagle (1865), the Green Mountain Herald (1873). L. P. Thayer purchased the paper in 1874 and began providing a local section for the communities in the White River Valley, thus it was titled Herald and News. This local edition was later named The White River Valley Herald (1941) and The Herald of Randolph (1989). All Randolph newspapers have been microfilmed and catalogued in the Vermont library system under the White River Herald. During the period examined in this article, the sections of the paper containing information about Royalton and South Royalton were prepared by local correspondents Mark J. Sargent and Perley Belknap, and I refer to the paper in the text as the "local paper."
  - 19 Salt Lake Tribune, 26 June 1905, 1.
- <sup>20</sup> One week after the purchase was announced the local paper clarified: "So far as can be ascertained by records and surveys, after careful examination in the clerk's office in Royalton and Sharon made by J. [F]. Wells, an attorney representing the Mormon church at Salt Lake city, Messrs. Tarbell & Whitham, attorneys of this village, and F. A. Walker of Montpelier, surveyor, it was determined that the house in which Smith was born, stood in Royalton and within six feet of the Sharon town line and the deed was made accordingly," *RH*, 1 June 1905, 7.
- <sup>21</sup> Initial quarry work was performed by Marr & Gordon Quarry in Barre, before it was bought out by Boutwell, Milne & Varnum, Boutwell being Barre's mayor at the time. The pieces were polished at the Barclay Brothers shed in Barre. The Vermont Central Railroad built new rail spurs in Barre and Royalton. Montpelier surveyors Walker and Gallison laid out the site landscape and the roads connecting the monument to existing local roads. The construction is treated in Erekson, "American Prophet, New England Town," 51–101.
  - <sup>22</sup> Proceedings, 13; RH, 16 November 1905, 7.
- 23 Jacob G. Üllery rounded out his list with John Humphrey Noyes, Men of Vermont: An Illustrated Biographical History of Vermonters and Sons of Vermont (Brattleboro, Vt.: Transcript Publishing Company, 1894), 197-201. Vermonters Justin Morrill (1862), Luke Poland (1874), and George Edmunds (1882, 1887) sponsored the legislation, see Edward Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Sarah Barringer Gordon, The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002). On Morrill see William B. Parker, The Life and Public Services of Justin Smith Morrill (1924; New York: Da Capo Press, 1971); Coy F. Cross II, Justin Smith Morrill: Father of the Land-Grant Colleges (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999). On Edmunds see Walter Hill Crockett, "George F. Edmunds," The Vermonter 24 (1919): 28-42.
- <sup>24</sup> Kathleen Flake makes a strong case for the religious significance of, and a weaker case for the Joseph Smith Monument's connection to, the Smoot hearings, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
- 25 "Mormon Shrine in Vermont," Interstate Journal 10 (June 1905); Burlington Free Press, 10 July 1905
  - <sup>26</sup> See RH, 16 November 1905, 21 December 1905.
- <sup>27</sup> Levi Wild to RH editor, 4 December 1905 and "A Protest from the Woman's Home Missionary Union of Vermont" printed in RH, 7 December 1905, 7. The tract continued to be printed for several years, and a post-1944 copy may be found in the LDS Church Archives.
  - <sup>28</sup> Charles P. Tarbell to RH editor, 9 December 1905, printed in RH, 14 December 1905, 7.
- <sup>29</sup> Seven Royalton residents signed the petition, including the town clerk, treasurer, and selectman. The original petition is in Wells Collection, LDS Church Archives. A transcribed list was published in *Proceedings*, 6, however it contains several errors that vary from the original. A corrected list may be found in Erekson, "American Prophet, New England Town," 312–313.
- Jo Edgar J. Fish, RH, 28 December 1905, 5; "Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith's Birthplace," 1-6, LDS Archives; sorted by residence in Erekson, "American Prophet, New England Town," 316.

There were also seven Vermonters with ties to the granite industry in attendance, including Bowers and Boutwell, Milne, and Varnum, owners of the granite quarry.

<sup>31</sup> Reprinted in RH, 1 June 1905, 2; "Ethan Allen Memorial," Inter-State Journal 10 (June 1905): n.p. See Edward Conant, Conant's Vermont: Geography, History, and Civil Government of Vermont, revised by Mason S. Stone (Rutland, Vt.: The Tuttle Company, 1908); Deane C. Davis, "Ethan Allen, An Address," Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society 10 (September 1942): 137–147; John Spargo, The Bennington Battle Monument: Its Story and Its Meaning (Rutland, Vt.: The Tuttle Company, 1925); Thomas C. Reeves, "The Mystery of Chester Alan Arthur's Birthplace," Vermont History 38 (Autumn 1970): 291–304.

<sup>32</sup> Wild was born in Royalton in 1833, studied at the Royalton Academy, graduated from Dartmouth, then moved to New York City where he established a successful law practice. He possessed "a total indifference to political and social ambitions," and in his spare time he made several trips to Canada, the south, and the west, even visiting Utah in 1898. The following year Wild retired comfortably, spending his time reading, driving, walking, and admiring botanical gardens, see Frank G. Wild, "Ancestor Book," 34–36, Vermont Historical Society, Barre. His maternal grandfather, Garner Rix (1769-1854), had been taken captive during the Indian raid of 1780, and one year later

became one of the original grantees of Royalton, see Lovejoy, History, 924-925.

33 Brown, Inventing New England, 135-167. See also Michael Sherman, "Memory, Commemoration, and the Storyteller's Creed: Lessons about History and a Bicentennial Celebration," in A More Perfect Union: Vermont Becomes a State, 1777-1816, ed. Michael Sherman (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society and Vermont Statehood Bicentennial Commission, 1991), 172-183. On the peculiarities of Vermont character see Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Vermont Tradition: The Biography of an Outlook on Life (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1953). See also Charles Edward Crane, Let Me Show You Vermont (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937); A Treasury of Vermont Life, ed. Stephen Greene, Arthur W. Peach, Ralph N. Hill, and Walter Hard, Jr. (Woodstock, Vt.: The Countryman Press, 1956); Cora Cheney, Profiles from the Past: An Uncommon History of Vermont (Taftsville, Vt.: The Countryman Press, 1973). In commemorating the Indian Raid, Royalton residents did not celebrate the Indians, but the colonial survivors who bested the Indians in a contest for "an absolutely uninhabited wilderness" (Peter S. Jennison, ed., The 1976-77 Official Vermont Bicentennial Guide [Taftsville, Vt.: The Countryman Press, Inc., 1976], 5). See also John Hayward, A Gazetteer of Vermont (Boston: Tappan, Whittemore, and Mason, 1849; reprinted Bowie, Md.: Heritage Books, 1990), 7. Recent scholarship is showing the inaccuracy of this belief: Francis Jennings, The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); Colin G. Calloway, The Western Abenakis of Vermont, 1600-1800: War, Migration, and the Survival of an Indian People (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990); Colin G. Calloway, Dawnland Encounters: Indians and Europeans in Northern New England (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1991); William A. Haviland and Marjory W. Power, The Original Vermonters: Natives Inhabitants, Past and Present, revised and expanded edition (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1994).

<sup>34</sup> See Dunklee, *Burning of Royalton*, 40; Nash, *Royalton*, 18; Lovejoy, *History*, 176–177; Daniel L. Burnett, "The Burning of Royalton," *Inter-State Journal* 7 (October 1903), n.p.

35 Dunklee, Burning of Royalton, 51-52.

<sup>36</sup> RH, 23 November 1905, 7.

37 Nash, Royalton, xiii.

38 Royalton Town Records, 1880-1916, 222-223.

39 Dunklee, Burning of Royalton, 55-74; Lovejoy, History, 177-182; RH, 31 May 1906.

<sup>40</sup> Mary Evelyn Wood Lovejoy, Dandelion; or, Out of the Shadows (London, New York, and Chicago: F. Tennyson Neely, 1899). The novel is about a young schoolteacher, abandoned at birth, who strives to discover her true parents and thus her true identity. The work provides a striking window on Lovejoy's personal experience. The school teacher (like Lovejoy) heroine marries a doctor (as Lovejoy had). The primary setting is the village of Stockweed, Rockmore County, Vermont, though the characters travel to Chicago, South Dakota, and Europe (as Lovejoy had). Along the way, Lovejoy shares through the narrator (a widow like Lovejoy), her opinions about the philosophy of education, the education of women, Progressive reform, higher criticism, and Christian morality. The mystery/adventure/romance ends with a twist of fate and brims with literary allusions to the likes of Lowell, Hawthorne, Shakespeare, and Greek literature.

"Lovejoy, History, 336-339, 858; Nash, Royalton, xiii, 61, 228. Lovejoy's papers were sorted by Nash and are stored in the attic of the Royalton Memorial Library. There is only one diary in the Lovejoy Collection, labeled "#3," which begins 7 May of an unstated year, describes a trip to Europe, and ends with her return to South Royalton on 24 June of the same year. Lovejoy's papers also include notes from town records, plates of illustrations, letters about families, a typed copy of History, correspondence with printer and engraver, letters about the library.

- <sup>42</sup> Lovejoy visited town clerks in Royalton, Bethel, Woodstock, Hartford, Pomfret, Sharon, Tunbridge, Chelsea, Barnard, Hartland, Norwich, Thetford, and Randolph in Vermont, as well as Hanover and Lebanon, New Hampshire. She also visited the New England Genealogical and Historical Association, the Vermont Historical Society, and the Dominion Archive in Ottawa, Canada. Lovejoy. *History*. v-vi.
- <sup>43</sup> Lovejoy, *History*, vi, 25, 193-244, 644-648. The Smith insert was prepared by the monument's designer, Junius F. Wells.

4 A copy of the advance subscription flyer is in the Lovejoy Collection.

<sup>45</sup> Alice D. Grant, "Report of the Treasurer of the Royalton Historical Society, 9 Feb 1909," Royalton Town Records, 1880–1916, 280–281.

46 Royalton Town Records, 1880-1916, 269-270.

<sup>47</sup> Lovejoy, *History*, vii. In the Lovejoy Collection there is a large wooden crate containing indexing note cards, correspondence with the publisher and other letters about errors, and a complete manuscript of the *History*. Another crate contains more index cards, two more copies of the manuscript, page proofs, and correspondence about the proofs and subscriptions. Another crate holds all of the original blocks used with the photos.

48 "Report of Royalton Historical Association," Royalton Town Report, 1912, 61-62.

<sup>49</sup> "South Royalton Women's Club Calendar, 1906 & 1907," Wilbur Collection, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont; Lovejoy, *History*, 603–604.

50 From the submission, prepared by the Royalton women for Lovejoy, History, 602-603.

51 Evelyn M. Lovejoy (hereafter EML) to Daniel Burnett, 1 April 1912, Daniel Burnett to EML, 5 April 1912, Royalton Historical Society.

<sup>52</sup> Lovejoy, *History*, 97–182.

53 Charles P. Tarbell, Perley Belknap, Evelyn Lovejoy, and Laura Dutton composed the subcommittee that reviewed various estimates, Royalton Historical Society. The contract was awarded to Adams and McNichol for \$245, Adams and McNichol to EML, 7 September 1914, Royalton Historical Society.

54 RH. 5 August 1915, 5; Daniel G. Wild to EML, 14 April 1912, Lovejoy Collection.

- 35 New Hampshire Governor Frank Rollins invented Old Home Week in 1899. In the face of economic trouble caused in part by a decline of farming, Rollins created the week-long celebration to raise spirits, foster a sense of pride, and to encourage former residents to return with their money and spend it in the state. In 1901, the occasion was celebrated in Vermont and by 1904 every state in New England had adopted the practice. Royalton had acknowledged the practice in the 1910s, but the 1915 celebration was easily the largest in the town's history. See Brown, *Inventing New England*, 135–50; J. Kevin Graffagnino, "Arcadia in New England: Divergent Visions of a Changing Vermont, 1850–1920," in Nancy Price Graff, ed., *Celebrating Vermont: Myths and Realities* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1991), 45–59; "Vermont Old Home Week," *The Vermonter* 6 (May 1901): 166–67; "The First Observance of Old Home Week," *The Vermonter* 7 (September 1901): 1.
- % RH, 19 August 1915, 6; 26 August 1915, 5; "Royalton's Old Home Week," The Vermonter 20 (August 1915): 153.

57 RH, 26 August 1915, 5.

- 58 Frank L. Greene to EML, 19 August 1915, Royalton Historical Society.
- 59 The allocation increased from \$25 to \$200 annually, Royalton Town Report, 1910, 34–36; 1911, 32–36; 1912, 55–59.
- 60 In 1870, the women of school district no. 14 in Royalton held a vote on woman suffrage—only two of the sixty-seven women voted for it. Women in the town kept account books, wrote novels and poetry, painted and took photographs, and worked in the neighborhood schools, but had not shown much interest in public office, Nash, Royalton, 61.
- of In Whitney's collection titles such as The Voice of the People, Men Who Found America, and Poems of American History found their place on the library shelves next to The Sword of the Lord, Priscilla of Good Intent, The Road to Providence, and Moral Instruction of Children. Also collected were books dealing with social gospel issues, A Woman for Mayor, Uncle Tom's Cabin, and Booker T. Washington's Up from Slavery. Lovejoy's years brought works by Hawthorne, Churchill. Dickens, Hugo, London, Greeley, Bunyan, Louisa May Alcott, Shakespeare, Tenneyson, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Sir Walter Scott. Keller, The Story of My Life and Life of Florence Nightingale were added along with History of the Roman Empire, and The Civil War Through Camera. See Royalton Town Report, 1910, 34–36; 1911, 32–36; 1912, 55–59.

62 Royalton Town Report, 1912, 55-59; 1913, 43-52.

<sup>63</sup> Correspondence between Wells and Belknap is preserved in the Wells Collection; the Belknap family signatures appear regularly in "Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith's Birthplace," LDS Church Archives; the inch-high replica was a gift from Wells, Alice Vesper to Mrs. Robert [Helen] Dumville, 28 January 1990, Royalton Historical Society.

- <sup>64</sup> Calculating for inflation places the 2005 value of the bequest between \$5,000 and \$6,000. On Lathan, see Lovejoy, *History*, 848.
  - 65 Meeting minutes recorded by EML in Royalton Town Records, 1916-1937, 39.
- 6 "Report of Royalton Memorial Library Association," Royalton Town Report, 1919, 26; 1920, 33; 1921, 29; EML to Clara Denison McClellan, 9 August 1922, Royalton Historical Society.
- <sup>67</sup> EML, to Gertrude S. J. Laird (hereafter GL), Royalton, 6 October 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence, Royalton Historical Society; Receipt worded "Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, per Heber C. Smith 200.<sup>60</sup> [sic]," Lovejoy Library Correspondence. Smith was the adopted son of former Church president Joseph F. Smith, son of the Prophet's brother Hyrum.
  - 68 EML to GL, 9 August 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.
- 69 Burlington Free Press, cited in Robert O'Brien, Marriott: The J. Willard Marriott Story (Salt Lake City, Ut.: Deseret Book Company, 1977), 81.
  - <sup>70</sup> RH, 17 February 1916.
- <sup>71</sup> Crane, Let Me Show You Vermont, 25-26. The monument's construction is mentioned in Blomfield, "James M. Boutwell;" Walter and Margaret Hard, This is Vermont (Brattleboro, Vt.: Stephen Daye Press, 1936), 274; Brainerd, "A Winding Route in Vermont;" and Ralph Nading Hill, The Winooski: Heartway of Vermont (New York: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1949), 183.
- <sup>72</sup> Greene, et al., A Treasury of Vermont Life, 155; Fisher, Vermont Tradition, 343-44. "Our tradition can claim no credit for the extraordinary Mormon achievement," she wrote, because Joseph Smith and Brigham Young "shook off that tradition like dust from their feet" by moving away in their childhood (343-344). Similarly, John Noyes "was connected with Vermont but not in any way produced by the State" (344). Instead, as "typical of Vermont," Fisher favored Senator Justin Smith Morrill, though she made no mention of his role in anti-polygamy legislation. Fisher also included Republican Party founder Horace Greeley who, though born in New Hampshire, "lived happily for five formative years of his youth in Poultney, Vermont" (343-357).
  - <sup>73</sup> O'Brien, *Marriott*, 81–84.
- <sup>74</sup> J. M. Tibbets, of Boston, spoke at Royalton's Congregational Church on behalf of the National Reform Association and against Mormonism on "America's Greatest Peril" and "Womanhood and America," RH, 7 Sepember 1922, 10; "Mormonism is Ripped Open," Newport, Vt., News, reprinted in RH, September 7, 1922, 10.
- 75 Shepard's writings frequently appeared in The Christian Statesman, a periodical initiated in 1866; see, for example, "The Mormon Church and the Liquor Traffic," 50 (February 1916): 67-68. A summary of her work and a photograph of Shepard are published in "The Campaign Against Mormonism," The Christian Statesman 50 (February 1916): 84-85. Speaking to an audience in Maine, Shepard boasted that she "is more cordially disliked by [Mormons] than any other individual." Shepard, "Mormonism in Puritan New England," The Christian Statesman 55 (September 1921): 23. Shepard's 14-page pamphlet Getting Their Eyes Open might have interested Royalton readers as it featured an informal conversation between women, perhaps at a woman's club meeting, Mrs. Studious, Mrs. Superficial, Mrs. Muchtravel, Mrs. Wideawake, Mrs. Stillamaid, and Mrs. Everready debated Mormon doctrines and practices before calling for an anti-polygamy amendment to punish the "un-American and disloyal" Mormons. Shepard, Getting Their Eyes Open (Pittsburgh, Pa.: National Reform Association, n.d.), 12; L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. In 1921, Shepard reportedly paid taxes on a personal income of \$11,000, RH, 13 July 1922, 1.
- <sup>76</sup> RH, 13 July 1922, 1; EML to GL, 9 August 1922; GL to EML, 17 October 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

"Levi Wild, to EML, 22 July 1922; EML to GL, 6 October 1922; GL to EML, 18 September 1922; E[llen] W[est] Ainsworth to EML, 27 July 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

- <sup>78</sup> Wild and Laird attended a Sunday School convention in Bethel with Rev. Joel Whitney, RH, 30 November 1922, 4; Emily Wild traveled with the Watermans, RH, 1 June 1922, 5, and held missionary meetings in her home, RH, 15 June 1922, 8. In the fall, Mrs. Bigelow hosted a bridal shower for Beatrice Joy attended by Mrs. Culver, Laird, Roundy, Stafford, Wild, Waterman, Whitney, and Woodward, RH, 14 September 1922, 3.
- <sup>79</sup> A front-page story invited people to visit the Joseph Smith Monument to meet the caretakers who were "quite normal persons" (*RH*, 13 July 1922, 1), while another issue featured a bland plea for contributions: "If any are planning to memorialize friends in this building they should communicate with the committee before the order is given" (*RH*, 17 August, 1922, 5). Fears of the Klan escalated in the fall, *RH* 19 October, 2 November, 9 November 1922.
- 80 GL, 25 July 1906, 16 August 1906, in "Register of Visitors to Joseph Smith's Birthplace," LDS Church Archives.
  - 81 EML to GL, 6 October 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.
  - 82 GL to EML, 17 October 1922, EML to GL, 6 October 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.
  - 83 GL to EML, 17 October 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence. A recent and widely popular

rhetorical linkage of Mormons and Muslims occurs in Jon Krakauer, Under the Banner of Heaven: A Story of Violent Faith (New York: Doubleday, 2003).

\*\* EML to GL, 6 October 1922 and GL to EML, 17 October 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

85 EML to GL, 6 October 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

<sup>86</sup> EML to Clara Denison McClellan (CDM), 9 August 1922; EML to GL, 9 August 1922; retained copy of the return statement to Heber Smith, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

87 EML to GL, 6 October 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

\*\* From RH, 28 December 1905, 3. "A notable fact confirming the date of the birth came to light when a search of the account books of old Dr. Joseph Denison, of Royalton, father of the late Dudley C. Denison of Randolph, which had been preserved all these years, proved that he was the attending physician at the prophet's birth a century ago." The same information had been published eleven years earlier, see Ullery, Men of Vermont, 198. Had the marginal comment been in the original record at the time of Ullery's writing, he certainly would have included it in his discussion of Smith and the other "Queer Characters."

Denison's contribution is in Lovejoy, *History*, 749–758. "Tradition says that he was the attending physician at the birth of the so-called prophet, Joseph Smith, but investigation fails to verify the story" (751). The published version says only that the history was contributed; that Clara wrote it is found in the Lovejoy Collection, Royalton Memorial Library.

Six decades later, Larry C. Porter reported that the original record book had been "thrown away" and quotes the statement from a descendant of Dr. Denison who had only heard the story passed down through family lore, "A Study of the Origins of The Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints in the States of New York and Pennsylvania, 1816–1831." (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 1971; reprinted Provo, Ut.: Joseph Fielding Smith Institute, 2000), 13.

89 In Lovejoy, History, 754.

<sup>90</sup> In 1870 she married a Syracuse, New York, native in Royalton, and nine years later she married Robert H. McClellan in Florida. She followed her second husband to his home state of Illinois, living in Galena for several years. When her husband died, Clara moved to New York to live near her only daughter, but she returned to the old Denison home in Royalton each summer, "which had been owned by her grandfather, father, and his heirs for more than a hundred years, and which was very dear to her." Her Royalton village neighbors noted that Clara "was always loyal to the town of her birth." Clara possessed "marked intellectual ability, a strong artistic sense, was a brilliant conversationalist, and had the pen of a ready writer," RH, 28 September 1922, 3. Her personal stationary featured simply the printed letterhead "Old Denison Place."

91 CDM to EML, 14 August 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

92 The statement reads, "At the request of Mrs. Clara Denison McClellan, and as a condition of receiving \$200 for memorializing Dr. Joseph A. Denison, Sr., and Dr. Charles Denison, we, the undersigned officers of the Royalton Memorial Library Association, Inc., qualified by the charter of said Association to sign legal papers, hereby state that the name of the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith, by no act or consent of ours shall ever be inscribed upon the Memorial tablet which said Association is preparing for a permanent place in the Memorial library building, and on which names of the Denison family are to appear." EML to CDM, 21 August 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

93 CDM to EML, 30 August 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

- 44 EML to Miss [Sarah C.] Doubleday, 13 September 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.
- 95 GL to EML, 18 September 1922 and 6 October 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

% EML to GL, 9 August 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence.

<sup>97</sup> EML to GL, 6 October 1922, Lovejoy Library Correspondence. On September 7, McClellan left Royalton to return to her home in New York. Waiting with her friends at the Royalton train station, she "spoke of her own vigor and exceptionally good health"; ten days later she died, RH, 7 September 1922, 6; 28 September 1922, 3, 5.

98 "Report of Royalton Memorial Library Association," Royalton Town Report, 1922, 38,

- " Ibid.; RH, 16 August 1922, 13. After the dedication, donations virtually ceased, but the library remained in debt. Lovejoy spent the next several years soliciting contributions, celebrating an annual Library Day, and selling postcards autographed by notable Americans, Royalton Town Report, 1924, 54–56. When Lovejoy died in 1928 she left a bequest of \$1,000 that finally paid off all of the debts. Charles Tarbell left \$500 at his death in 1934 that provided the library with operating funds, "Library Report," Royalton Town Report, 1934, 37.
- 100 The bronze tablet, still hanging in the library, provides a telling commentary on town affairs. The tablet lists two columns of corresponding names, the lefthand column listing the donor and the right the person memorialized. Evelyn Lovejoy, Charles Tarbell, and Perley Belknap of the Library Committee memorialized a husband, mother, and father, respectively. Levi Wild made a contribution to commemorate his father, and the Lairds and Sarah Doubleday honored their ancestors. The

Royalton Woman's Club made a donation to remember former club president, Francis Joiner, who had helped initiate the celebration of Royalton's heritage in 1905. The Royalton Historical Association, formed at Joiner's request, memorialized Royalton's first patron, Daniel Wild. Four Denison men were celebrated by their descendants. Clara Denison McClellan, who so adamantly opposed the inclusion of Joseph Smith's name, was memorialized by her daughter. The South Royalton Woman's Club, not content to celebrate one person, memorialized themselves, all club members from 1906 to 1934. Joseph Smith's name, of course, did not appear on the tablet, but neither was the tablet completely filled. In time, though the Mormon prophet's name has not been added, several South Royalton residents who had befriended Junius Wells and aided the monument project were memorialized, including Perley Belknap, his father Julius O. Belknap, Mark J. Sargent, and Edgar J. Fish.

<sup>101</sup> Wild, Waterman, Roundy, and Laird submitted a petition against the public dance hall on 2 July 1928, see Royalton Town Records, 1916–1937, 339. At a town meeting on 19 July, the petition was discussed, denied, and dismissed.

<sup>102</sup> Nash, *Royalton*, 69; Mary E. Whitney, "Royalton's Flood," *The Vermonter* 34 (July 1929): 110-111. The flood drove 9,000 Vermonters from their homes and left eighty-four people dead and over one hundred million dollars worth of damage, Jennison, ed., *Vermont Bicentennial Guide*, 13.

<sup>103</sup> Nash, Royalton, 68-69, 76; Royalton Town Records, 1937-1972, 371.

<sup>104</sup> "National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form" for the South Royalton Historic District, Royalton Memorial Library; Michael McDermott and Sarah Hall, "This New England: Royalton, Vermont," *Yankee* 47 (March 1983): 60-67, 140-143. In 2005, most of the historic buildings are owned by the Vermont Law School. By 1970, local historian Hope Nash found only one resident "who doesn't like the Mormons." *Royalton*, 80 fn 6.



# A Late-Nineteenth-Century Childhood in East Calais: Recollections of Ida Clee Bemis

Ida Clee Bemis, my grandmother, was born in East Calais in 1878, a descendant of Moses Haskell, one of the early settlers of the town. Though she lived there only thirteen years, her heart never left the land of her ancestors. She often regaled us with stories of her life there, and in the 1950s, urged on by Sylvia Bernard Larson, her oldest grandchild, she wrote down the narrative that follows. The text appears as she wrote it, with no corrections to the grammar or punctuation.

# Transcribed by Judith M. Adams

y family consisted of my father and mother, Bernice and myself. My paternal grandparents were Lewis Bemis and Serepta Dwinnell Bemis. They lived in Marshfield and had three children: Luther, who was my father, born December 7, 1847; Ida, for whom I was named; and Abijah. My grandfather was a farmer. He had asthma very badly, which prevented him from going to the Civil War.

JUDITH M. ADAMS has been a teacher, librarian, organist, and organ builder. She is currently a librarian, living in Groton, Mass. Her interest in Vermont history, begun at her grandmother's knee, was revived by her cousin, Sylvia Larson, who wrote a brief history of Calais (1991).

Vermont History 73 (Summer/Fall 2005): 152-159.

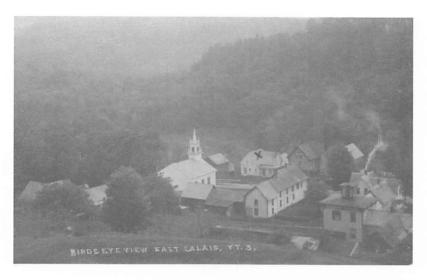
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Ida Clee Bemis, age about 13 years (ca. 1891). Courtesy of Sylvia B. Larson.

My maternal grandparents were Willard Rideout and Lydia Haskell Rideout. They lived in East Calais and had three children: Irene, Willard and Lydia, my mother, born March 2, 1851. My grandfather also had five children from an earlier marriage and Bernice was the daughter of his son Frank. Her mother died when she was a baby and Uncle Frank married a widow with two small children. Aunt Ellen showed a great deal of partiality to her own children and my mother persuaded Uncle Frank to give Bernice to her. For a long time he held out against it, but at last he felt so badly about the way Bernice was treated, he told my mother to come for her one day when he went to Montpelier. So my parents took her when she was three years old; it was two years before I was born. We were always on friendly terms with Uncle Frank and Aunt Ellen. After my grandfather gave up the farm in East Calais, they moved to a farm in Gospel Hollow. Bernice and I used to visit them when we got older and had good times with Aunt Ellen's children.

My mother learned the millinery trade in Marshfield and that is where she met my father. He had been up in the woods cooking in a lumber camp all winter and had a red beard all over his face when they were introduced. She said she thought he was the homeliest man she had ever seen.





Ida Bemis's family home in East Calais (marked with an X), from an undated post card. The house in 1977. Courtesy of Sylvia B. Larson.

My father learned the shoemakers trade and had a shop after he married in East Calais. He made high boots for men. They came nearly to the knees. The heavy leather soles were put together with wooden pegs. I used to amuse myself by driving the pegs into a soft wood board when I was in the shop. After they began wearing factory-made boots, there was very little work, just repairing shoes, and my father did what little jobs around town that he was able to.

One thing he did was buying and selling calf skins. He bought them from the farmers and when he got enough, he would bundle them up and ship them to ex-Governor Carroll Paige [Page] in Hyde Park. Sometimes he would get a team and take them to Hardwick to the train and he would take me with him. It was a great treat sitting on the seat with him on that high lumber wagon. He always stopped at Woodbury Center and bought bananas, and visited with the man who owned the store. He liked to visit and people liked him. Bananas were a great treat, too, as we seldom had them.

I don't know how old I was when my father began working as hotel chef. I think the first place was in Stowe. My mother worked in the hotel, too. The first summer we were there Bernice and I lived outside the hotel, and my parents stayed with us nights and what time they had off in the afternoons. The next summer we lived in the hotel and Bernice sold little bouquets of flowers to the ladies as they sat on the hotel piazza in their rocking chairs in the afternoon. It was the Mount Mansfield Hotel and has since burned.

One winter we went to Orlando, Florida to work in the San Juan Hotel. It was a new hotel and the first one ever to be staffed by northern help. All the help went down together on the boat. We went down the St. John's River from Jacksonville on an old fashioned side wheel steamer. The river was very winding and narrow so that going around some of the bends, the boat would almost touch the river banks. It was a very interesting winter. We went to orange groves and saw our first grapefruits. They were not eaten then, and were called bitter oranges. I used to play with some children living near the hotel. One day they had company, two girls from Georgia, who called me a Yankee and would not play with me. I was very much puzzled and embarrassed.

One winter we went to Hardwick where my parents worked in the hotel. One summer my father cooked at the Roger's Rock Hotel on Lake George, NY and my mother and I boarded at a farm near the hotel for two weeks. For two seasons, while the Vermont Legislature was in session, my father was head chef at the Pavilion Hotel in Montpelier. My mother did chamber work and worked in the linen closet. Bernice waited on table and I went to school. The Legislature met every two

years beginning in the fall and lasting until spring. The Pavilion was the best hotel in the town and all the "big shots" lived there.

I think we children enjoyed ourselves as much and perhaps more than children of today and with comparatively few toys. We girls all had a doll and doll carriage but most of all we played paper dolls, which we cut out of old fashion books given us by the local dress maker.

Another favorite pastime was mud cake making. We each had our mud cake house in the wood shed. We prepared regular meals using different kinds of leaves for beefsteak and pork chops, and frosted our cakes with sawdust. How we treasured the handleless cups and pitchers and cracked plates we collected from all the neighbors! When summer was over, we packed them away until the next year.

We all liked to read and took books from the library. Every Christmas and birthday I received a book. I also took "The Youth's Companion." We liked games, too: Old Maid, Anthose Backgammon and Parchese.

In winter our favorite sport was coasting. The skating season was short as it usually snowed as soon as the mill pond froze over. We made the most of it while it lasted, the boys building a fire on the island so we could get warm. But coasting was something else again. We coasted from the day of the first snow until spring. Our favorite place was the road up the East Hill. We started almost up to the cemetery and coasted down to the church in the village, a good quarter of a mile. Once in a while some of the big boys would pass the church and go down the hill on the Plainfield Road, but that was too far to walk back up very often. We coasted day after day all winter. Sometimes the men would be drawing logs down from the East Hill to the mill in East Calais and would go back with empty sleds drawn by two horses. We would all pile on the sled and get a ride up the hill, laughing and talking with the sleigh bells ringing. I don't know why we never had an accident as the road was narrow and there was one bad curve just before we got to [my friend] Mabel's house. There wasn't much traffic, but when we did meet a team, we had to steer into the snow bank.

In the spring, when the snow would thaw during the day and freeze at night, we would be out early to slide on the crust. Sometimes the parents would go too and slide until the crust melted. One time Bernice and I stayed overnight on East Hill and the next morning we coasted all the way home through the fields, over fences and stonewalls covered with snow. It was over a mile and would have been over two miles by the road. It was great fun and very exciting.

We never had but one sled between us. Bernice sat in front and steered with her feet and I sat behind her hanging on for dear life! Girls all used high sleds and sat on them and boys used low sleds and slid "belly bumps." Sometimes the boys made double-runners which were called traverse sleds.

In the fall we went to husking bees. On the barn floor, dimly lighted with lanterns, the sweet smelling hays in mows above, there would be two rows of people sitting facing each other with the corn in the husks piled between them, and everybody husking and talking and laughing. Anyone finding a red ear of corn was supposed to throw it to the person they had a "crush on," and that person was supposed to catch the thrower and kiss him or her. Sometimes it would hit the wrong person, perhaps an old man with whiskers stained with tobacco juice. He would be only too glad to kiss a young girl and then how everyone would laugh and holler! After the corn was husked, everybody went into the house to supper. There would be baked beans and brown bread and all kinds of pies and cheese and new cider.

In the spring there would be sugar off. They put the maple sap in a large square pan which fitted on top of a brick arch with a fire under it. The sap was boiled until it turned to syrup. When it was nearly done, it would boil up to the top of the pan and they would put large spoonfuls of cream into it to keep it from boiling over. I would hold my breath thinking it would surely boil over, but it never did. Just before the syrup was ready we would dip some out into dishes and pour it out on pans of hard packed snow. Then eat and eat, then eat a pickle, then more sugar and so on ad infinitum. They used to whittle out little paddles to eat the sugar with. Of course, we could have used spoons, but it tasted better with paddles. When the syrup was ready, it was poured into pails and tubs. They used mostly ten pound pails and sold it for \$1.00 a pail.

Some of my happiest days were spent on my Aunt Rene's farm in Pekin. They had a herd of twenty-five milk cows, three or four horses, a pair of oxen, pigs, hens, turkeys and geese. In sugaring time my cousin Phila and I stood on the oxen drawn sled and hung onto the edge of the huge round sap container for dear life as the road was very uneven and rough. We used to hunt for hen eggs in the hay mow every day just before supper. And in the fall we liked to ride out into the corn fields every night when the men took the hay wagon and brought it in filled with corn stalks that they had just cut. It smelled so good. Then they drove into the pasture and dumped the corn stalks in piles for the cows to eat. They had a very clever shepherd dog named Diamond who drove the cows in at milking time. Then there was a fine brook across the road in front of the house. It was about six feet wide and not over a foot deep with the bottom covered with pebbles and sand, a dandy place to wade and play.

Every September my mother's brother, my Uncle Will, who was a



The camp at Greensboro, 1900–1910. Lydia and Luther Bemis are seated on the porch; Ida and her husband, Anderson Bernard, are in the foreground. The boy holding the sailboat is unidentified. Courtesy of Sylvia B. Larson.

policeman in Boston, came to Vermont on his vacation. He would get off the train at Plainfield and hire a horse and covered buggy at the livery stable and drive up to Calais. He always took my mother and me to visit friends and relatives in Woodbury and Cabot. We visited my Uncle Clarke Rideout in West Woodbury and my Aunt Mary Rideout Noyes in Cabot and friends, and would be gone several days. I used to think my Uncle Will was rich to be able to hire a livery team that long.

Every fall the B&M Railroad used to run an excursion train to Boston, and a great many people took advantage of the low fare to visit the "Big City." I think the low fares lasted ten days. We went down several times as my mother loved the city and my father had lots of cousins he liked to visit.

I think I was seven or eight years old the first time I went to Greensboro. My father had been there several times with Mr. White, Mabel's father, who owned a camp there. At the time there were three camps on that side of Greensboro Pond, as it was called then. It was all dense woods there, with lots of low thick cedars among the tall beeches, ash and maple trees. Only fishermen went there then and that is how my father happened to go. He and Mr. White both liked to fish. One summer

my parents, Bernice and I planned to be real campers and live in a tent and cook outside. My father set up the tent on a knoll. It was large enough for two double beds and a shelf for dishes. He set up an old iron cook stove out doors. It would have been just fine except that soon the regular Greensboro rains set in, which ended our outdoor cooking. We slept in the tent and got our meals at Mr. White's.

My father and Abe George built the fourth cottage in those woods. At the time it was the best one there. It had two rooms downstairs and two upstairs. The stairs had a handrail and balusters made of branches of cedar trees with the bark taken off. Everybody thought that was very clever. None of the other camps had handrails on their stairs. My father also made a head and footboard of a bed from bent branches of cedar trees. The entire front of the downstairs part of the house was hinged so that it could be let down to form a piazza, lowered and raised with a rope and pulley. It made it very pleasant on fine, warm days, but not so good on cold rainy days, as, of course, there was no window in the front of the house, and it got very dirty being used as a floor so much. The camp was sold when we came to Boston to live.

It was getting hard for my father being on his feet so much as he had to in cooking. My mother didn't like living in the country. I was getting to the age when my friends, Maude and Mabel, were making plans to go to Goddard Seminary in Barre. My parents couldn't afford to send me, so they decided to sell the house in East Calais and move to the city so I could go to school.

This, as I remember it, is the story of East Calais and the people there from 1878 to 1891. Of course, I might have made it more exciting by adding some of the spicy village scandals, but you said you didn't want to hear them, so this is "The End."



# When the Veterans Came to Vermont: The Civilian Conservation Corps and the Winooski River Flood Control Project

Three events converged to bring the Civilian Conservation Corps to the Winooski Valley: the 1927 flood, the Great Depression, and the Bonus Army march of 1933.

By THOMAS W. PATTON

Rain, beautiful rain. So say the poets, so say the farmers, so say the dam workers, when it means a day off.

—The Eavesdropper<sup>1</sup>

he Little River of Vermont winds north from its junction with the Winooski River two miles west of the village of Waterbury, draining over 100 square miles including the western slope of Mount Worcester and a section of the eastern slope of the Green Mountains. After paralleling the stream for 2.5 miles, Little River Road turns sharply west and begins a steep ascent. Directly north, straddling and looming over the Little River valley, is the Waterbury Dam, 1,845 feet long and 187 feet high. The physical presence of the Waterbury Dam and two smaller earthen dams at East Barre and Wrightsville are

THOMAS PATTON is a professional historian and an amateur forester. Among the journals his articles have appeared in are New York History, The Journal of American Forestry, The Conservationist, and The View From Hyde Park.

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startling. How they were built is important to the history of Vermont and the Civilian Conservation Corps.

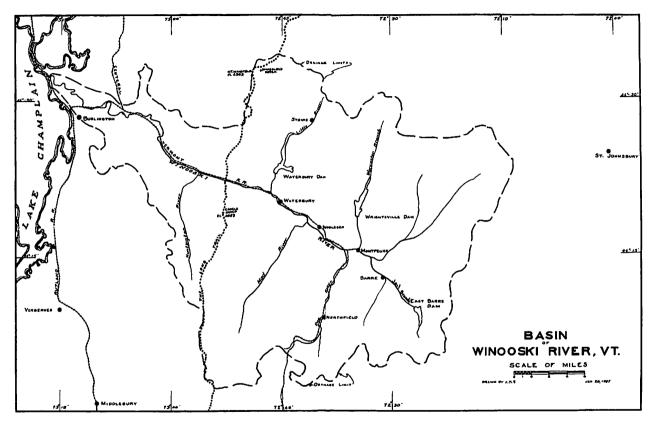
During the first week of November 1927 a tropical storm collided with a frontal system from the west to produce the most damaging flood in Vermont's history. Rivers throughout the state overflowed, resulting in eighty-four deaths, fifty-five of them in the relatively compact area of the watershed of the Winooski River.<sup>2</sup>

Responding to the 1927 flood, Vermont followed "[t]he most popular solution for the flood control problem in New England [which] was to encourage the private utilities to build more storage reservoirs." Working with the state's power companies, Vermont's Public Service Commission issued a preliminary report in 1928 that identified fourteen "storage Reservoir Sites" in the Winooski River Basin. In the final report of 1930, the Public Service Commission reduced its recommendations regarding the Winooski watershed to five, including lowering the height of the U.S. Clothespin Company dam in Montpelier and clearing the channel at Middlesex Gorge. The report also endorsed the Green Mountain Power Company's proposal to build a new dam on the Little River at Bolton Gorge to replace the dam destroyed by the 1927 flood.<sup>4</sup>

Legislation authorizing the Public Service Commission's recommendations died in committee after it was attacked by Governor Stanley C. Wilson, who criticized the proposals for "giving to public service corporations, under the guise of flood control, rights in our valleys, without adequate compensation both to the individuals concerned and to the state." Future governor and U.S. senator, George D. Aiken, then a leader of the legislature, also opposed the legislation. Aiken later explained his position, writing, "Careful examination of the bill made it evident that, in effect, it would give the power companies control of the destiny of the State. For this reason it was defeated in the legislative committee, of which I was a member."

In 1931 The U.S. Army Corps of Engineers submitted a flood control plan for the Winooski River to Congress. The plan recommended storage reservoirs at East Montpelier (Winooski River), East Barre (Jail Branch), South Barre (Stevens Branch), Wrightsville (North Branch), Moretown (Mad River), Waterbury (Little River), and Huntington (Huntington River), as well as clearing the channel of obstructions in the Middlesex Gorge and in the city of Montpelier. With the cost estimated at \$10,000,000 "a lack of funds delayed its implementation."

As a result of Vermont's flood control-power controversy and congressional parsimony, no flood control work was done in the Winooski watershed except by the State of Vermont, which raised bridges and repaired damage from the 1927 flood.



Winooski River Basin, manuscript map, January 20, 1937.

## THE VETERANS DIVISION OF THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS

When legislation authorizing the Civilian Conservation Corps passed Congress on March 31, 1933, the purpose was to put unemployed young men to work in the nation's forests. Initially, there was no provision for a veterans division. The need for such a program became apparent to the Roosevelt Administration when veterans started arriving in Washington in May 1933 to press for payment of their World War Bonus. The previous July, President Hoover had directed Chief of Staff of the Army General Douglas MacArthur to remove a much larger group of veterans from the capital, an action that was recorded by the newsreel cameras and resonated in the 1932 presidential election. Contrasting the Hoover Administration, Roosevelt and his advisor Louis Howe. who was delegated to deal with the veterans, decided they should be "conquered with kindness." On May 9 the White House announced that it would make Fort Hunt, Virginia, ten miles down the Potomac from the capital, available as a short-term location for a veterans' camp. Food, tents, medical care, and transportation to and from the Capitol so the veterans could lobby were included in the offer and, as an unannounced bonus, Eleanor Roosevelt visited the veteran camp.8

While the veterans were being relocated to Fort Hunt, Roosevelt and Howe decided that the best long-term solution was to convince the veterans to join a separate division of the Civilian Conservation Corps. Historian Roger Daniels credits the idea to General Frank Hines, director of the Veterans Administration (1923–45) adding that Robert E. Fechner, the director of Emergency Conservation Work (the CCC), who did not want the veterans in the Corps, was "particularly bitter" about the proposal. On May 11, Roosevelt amended Executive Order No. 6101 of April 5, 1933, which implemented the Civilian Conservation Corps, outlining the procedures for the enrollment of "25,000 veterans of the World War" in "a separate part" of the CCC: "The executive order issued today prescribes that only veterans holding honorable discharges will be permitted to enter the reforestation camps, where they are to receive \$30 a month as well as food and shelter." 10

The initial reaction of the veterans to the Administration's offer of a dollar a day for reforestation work while abandoning lobbying for the bonus, was distinctly negative. As would be revealed in Vermont, a high percentage of the veterans had trades, which before the Depression, had paid much more. When it became clear, however, that the Administration was going to close Fort Hunt, the veterans started to enlist in the reforestation army. A small group of "die hards" tried to dissuade them but "the splendid food supplied to the men during their stay here

and the other comforts provided have proved too strong an argument to men who formerly had been accepting charity."11

To make it clear that Fort Hunt was not going to become a permanent veterans camp, when the veterans enlisted in the Corps they were sent to Fort Humpreys, Virginia (an engineering camp), Fort Meade, Maryland (between Washington and Baltimore), or Langley Field, Virginia (close to the future site of the Pentagon). On May 23, presidential assistant Stephen Early reported to Roosevelt that 1,200 veterans had been moved from Fort Hunt to the "Forest Conservation Conditioning Camp at Langley Field, Virginia," and only 400 veterans who declined to join the CCC were given tickets home. "The bonus camp at Fort Hunt is being struck tonight and all is peaceful on the Potomac." 12

While the Administration originally planned to limit service in the CCC to six months, by the fall of 1933 it was clear that separation from the Corps almost always meant unemployment. This was confirmed in September 1933, when the Ford Motor Company announced plans to hire 5,000 world war veterans and its Dearborn, Michigan, hiring center was overwhelmed by former soldiers. Faced with the possibility that discharged and then unemployed CCC veterans would bivouac in Washington for a third time, rather than remaining in locations like Vermont, where they were welcome and doing productive work, the Administration extended the veterans' time limit for service in the CCC. Late in 1933 the service limit was extended to nine months and in March 1934 when an "April exodus" was expected, the Administration extended service to a year. 13

As the veterans' nine-month limit of CCC service approached, "The Eavesdropper" presented the case for extending the length of veteran service in the CCC:

With only 25,000 veterans, from the original 4,000,000, allowed to enroll, less than one per cent [of World War veterans], and now this handful must go.

The veterans in many cases are partially incapacitated for usual employment, as a result of what the war did to them.

Right in this vicinity, there are about 6,000 veterans, winning back their self respect. A few dollars again in their pockets.

A smile again on their faces and a song in their hearts. Why not leave us alone?<sup>14</sup>

The nine-month service deadline for Company 1352, a 1933 bonus march company working on the Winooski project, was due to expire on March 26, 1934. A week before the scheduled discharge George A. Koryski, a company leader, told the *Barre Daily Times* that when the enlistments expired, he intended to lead 500 men from Winooski on a

"new bonus march," and that "veterans from other states will rapidly appoint leaders and start their delegations towards the national capitol." Koryski, who had served in the veterans police force at Camp Wilson in East Barre, had been "a sectional leader in the famous bonus march of 1932." The Baltimore resident was not alone, as "the proposed new bonus invasion is one of the chief topics for conversation when veterans gather at the various company barracks." "The Eavesdropper" echoed Koryski's threat to the Administration: "The watch word among those going out by June 30 is 'Washington by July 4.' The main topic of conversation is the second bonus march." 15

A few days later, following a communication from Congressman Wright Patman of Texas, the sponsor of legislation for immediate payment of the World War bonus, who advised against such a march, George Koryski changed his position and "announced that he would do everything possible to stop the proposed march." Even without Koryski, the idea was still alive, as another veteran wrote to the *Barre Daily Times*, "Furthermore, the movement towards Washington is still planned for July 30 if we are forced out." Patman's "communication" indicates that Washington knew and was concerned about another veterans march on the Capitol. In the midst of the debate over another march on Washington, word reached Vermont that the enlistment of veterans in the CCC was extended to one year. 16

Three months later on June 27, 1934, the following information was placed in the minutes of the CCC Advisory Council by Robert E. Fechner: "President Roosevelt authorized me to suspend the yearly limitation on veterans. There will be no limitation on war veterans."

## CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS VETERANS COME TO VERMONT

While the Bonus Army was evolving into the Veterans Division of the Civilian Conservation Corps, Vermont officials were quick to realize that the veterans might be sent to Vermont to work on a Winooski River flood control project. State Forester Perry Merrill recalled: "In 1933 when there was trouble in Washington with the veterans of WWI marching on the Capitol to get their war bonus, Governor [Stanley C.] Wilson contacted President Franklin D. Roosevelt and informed him that Vermont had a place and plans ready where the Bonus could immediately be employed." According to at least one source, Governor Wilson traveled to Washington several times to meet with the president and Robert Fechner to lobby for a Winooski project. 18

On June 2, 1933, Fechner authorized a Winooski watershed project designed and directed by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. As originally planned, it would entail the construction of large earthen dams at



Poster for Camp Greene, CCC (veterans unit), Wrightsville, Vermont. From Sixth District Gazette, 2:1 (Saturday, 24 August 1935).

East Barre, South Barre, and Wrightsville, the reconstruction of a fixed timber dam at Montpelier, and channel clearing and enlargement of a fifteen-mile section of the Winooski River between Middlesex and Montpelier. At Middlesex Gorge a rock ledge of 14,000 cubic yards would be removed from the river, while at Montpelier a bend would be straightened and the banks rip-rapped. These projects would employ 7,725 men under the Corps of Engineers: "Immediate control of the work of the veterans will be vested in the district engineer of the First New York District, [while] War Department personnel will have charge of the camps." The project was "the first work by the Corps of Engineers towards controlling floods in New England."

Vermont residents witnessed an unusual sight on the morning of July 2, 1933. Company 1351, the first unit of the Civilian Conservation Corps veterans division, an African-American company, arrived at the Barre railroad station from Langley Field, Virginia, to work on the Winooski River Flood Control Project. Most of the company's 128 veterans, who had come to Washington as part of the 1933 Bonus March, were from Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Virginia. As described by the CCC Yearbook, perhaps with some exaggeration, when the black veterans

left the train local Vermonters "stood around with wide eyes and open mouths, amazed at the unexpected sight before them. Most of the children had never seen a colored man before." Later in the week, two white companies, 1105 and 1107, arrived from Fort Devens, Massachusetts. Organized at Devens on May 23, 1933, Company 1105 was New England's first CCC company of veterans. Company 349, a second African-American unit, arrived on July 13, 1933. Company 349 was also a Bonus Army company, having been organized at Fort Meade, Maryland, on June 27, 1933. Some of the members of Company 1351 were veterans of the 369th Infantry, one of the first American units to arrive in France and the only American unit awarded the French Croix de Guerre. On February 17, 1919, the 369th marched through Manhattan to Harlem, receiving a heroes' welcome. 22

# THE EAST BARRE DAM AND CAMP WILSON

The first project the veterans undertook was the East Barre Dam, which is now 1,460 feet long, 400 feet wide at the base, 65 feet high, and has a 100-foot spillway. A-four-by-seven-foot concrete conduit runs under the dam to carry the normal flow of the Jail Branch of the Winooski River. The dam impounds water during periods of flooding in a 2.5-mile, 675-acre basin. It is comprised of 308,000 cubic yards of earth, 84,000 cubic yards of rock fill, 200 cubic yards of concrete and 1,300 tons of steel.<sup>23</sup>

The first veterans to arrive at East Barre pitched tents for temporary shelter and worked on the camp site, preparing it for the ten companies, totaling 2,500 men, who would soon arrive. "Armed with axes, shovels, picks, grub-hoes and bars," the veterans went to work removing trees, brush, rocks, and soil "until a layer of impervious material is reached on which the foundation for the dam can actually be started." Four companies of about 200 men each, dug a 600-foot trench for the conduit. Hand labor predominated; the men used 600 wheelbarrows as well as picks, shovels, sledges, and drills.<sup>24</sup>

By the end of October the veterans were assembling the steel base for the dam's outlet and had started pouring cement. As work progressed, in January 1934, Companies 1106, 1108, and 1111 were transferred to the Websterville quarries where they worked four-hour shifts through the exceptionally cold days of that winter, cutting, breaking, and loading granite for the spillway, interior, and face of the dam. The veterans rode in open trucks three miles uphill from East Barre to the quarry. Along the way the "kids in East Barre pelt the men riding on open trucks with snowballs." <sup>25</sup>

That season's weather and the trip to the quarries were documented by "The Eavesdropper," an East Barre veteran who contributed regularly to the *Barre Daily Times*:

The winter of 1933-4 will linger long in retrospect when most of us are tottering old men. Thursday last will not merely loom up as the seventh consecutive day of the month when the mercury shrunk like a red worm. Forty degrees below conjure up no bitter memories. Twenty below is a daily occurrence. There are other things deeper than any temperature reading, which will quicken the pulse of memory.

How many of us can forget in a hurry that ride, vicious in its brevity to make even the angels weep, over hill and dale, right up into hyperborean vastness of the quarries.

Who can fail to remember the memorable winter of 1933-4!26

In the spring the Corps of Engineers leased 184 dump trucks, sixteen shovels and four dragline excavators to move the fill for the East Barre and Wrightsville dams. As the fill was placed on the dam it was rolled to make it compact and level. "The Eavesdropper" welcomed the machines that performed this work: "These two modern robots combined to save the men time and arduous labor—first the bulldozer goes about, spreading the dirt in an efficient manner, after which the huge roller flattens it to a pancake mass, hard and strong, performing this work in a few minutes, which would require hours of perspiration by manual labor."<sup>27</sup>

When the main structures of the dams were finished the faces were rip-rapped with stone to stabilize them. At East Barre the stone came from the granite waste piles at Websterville. At Wrightsville and Waterbury the veterans quarried the granite. The granite was lowered down the face of the dams and positioned by hand. The veterans became quite skilled at this task and the surface of the rip-rapping on the three dams is still very level and stable. The East Barre Dam was completed in November 1935.

The CCC camp at East Barre, named in honor Governor Stanley C. Wilson, was on leased land of the Nelson Farm, at the present intersection of Route 302 and Reservoir Road. By the end of August 1933 there were over 2,000 men at Camp Wilson, when it was inspected by Major General Fox Connor, commander of the Army's 1st. Corps, headquartered in Boston. General Connor "spent considerable time talking to men in the company recruited from the Washington bonus marchers," concluding "that they had no complaints to make, the men expressing their content with the treatment being accorded them at the camp. He was also assured that they were getting plenty of well-cooked food."<sup>28</sup>

At the end of August it was announced that the Winooski CCC contingent would spend the winter in Vermont and by the middle of

September the men started moving from their tents to heated wooden barracks, as twelve buildings were completed and twelve more were under construction. However, at the end of October, Company 2215 was still in tents. Each company had five barracks and shared a recreation and lavatory-shower building with another company. By December, \$185,752 had been paid to civilian laborers to build barracks and other buildings at Barre and the small camp at Montpelier.<sup>29</sup> Water, sewer, telephone, and electric lines were installed. The installation of the telephone and electric poles provided "The Eavesdropper" with a literary opportunity: "Tommy Mullins, noisy but popular member of our company, is hard at work these days, putting up telephone poles. Note: He is a flag pole sitter by occupation."

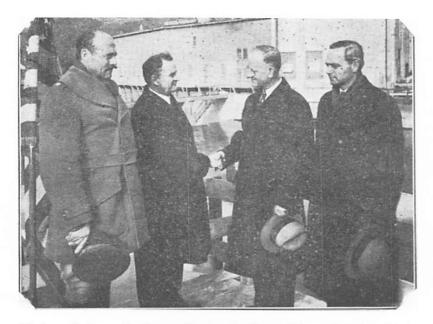
Every CCC camp had a canteen or post exchange and the large veterans camps had a beer parlor. "The beer parlor area on Saturday night after pay day was a lively place." The East Barre Camp also had a jail.

With over 2,000 veterans at Camp Wilson, "A little city is springing up in the vicinity of the camp grounds. . . . refreshment and supply stands. . . . A 3.2 beer canteen has been set up nearby and even a filling station sprung up near the roadside over night to take care of curious motorists who visit the camp." Ernest Bisson who had a farm across the road from the camp, had a stand. A "Palatial Hubla Night Club" was located on what "The Eavesdropper" called "Grappa Boulevard" (Plainfield Road). "Best Recreation—sitting in one of the joints on Grappa Boulevard, guzzling beer and swapping stories." In January 1935 the owner of the "Orange Hut" on the East Barre-Groton Road near the CCC camp was charged with violating federal liquor laws for having untaxed liquor on the premises.<sup>32</sup>

#### THE CLOTHESPIN DAM AND CAMP MCKEE

The second veterans' camp the CCC established in the Winooski watershed was named after the mayor of Montpelier, William L. McKee, and was located in a cornfield on the Barre Road in Berlin, overlooking Montpelier. Veterans' Companies 1109 and 1112, which arrived from Fort Devens, Massachusetts, on July 11 and 12, 1933, camped at McKee while they worked on what was called the "Clothespin Dam" in Montpelier. The dam was named after the U.S. Clothes Pin Company, which had a factory next to the dam. They also cleared the Winooski River channel and placed rip-rapping on its banks. The veterans lived in tents at McKee until December 15, when they were moved to Camp Cushing at Wrightsville.

By far the smallest dam the CCC veterans built in the Winooski



"Robert Fechner Dedicates Clothespin Dam, [November 26, 1934]" Sixth District Gazette, 2:1 (Saturday, 24 August 1935). Left to right: Lt. Col. R. E. Lee; Vermont Governor Stanley C. Wilson; Robert Fechner, national director, Civilian Conservation Corps; Maj. E. E. Gesler, chief U.S. Army engineer, Winooski dams.

watershed, the "Clothespin Dam" replaced a timber crib dam. It was topped by tainter gates that could be opened and shut. "Its purpose was to increase the channel capacity to Montpelier by diverting flood waters down-stream, and it doubled the amount of flow."<sup>33</sup>

Robert Fechner spoke at the dedication of the dam on November 26, 1934, praising the morale of the men and their work output, which was "more than expected." He also "stressed the fact that the Winooski valley flood control project is the largest single project in the country. No other individual CCC project equals it in size or importance. [The men] had justified the faith of the President in them." On the negative side, less than two months later the *Barre Daily Times* reported that an "Ice Jam on North Side of Clothespin Dam" had to be dislodged with dynamite, and later that year some Montpelier citizens and city officials were saying that "type of structure was not adapted to a northern climate." The dam is just north of Route 12 where it crosses the Winooski River.

### THE WRIGHTSVILLE DAM

In July 1933, the CCC veterans and the Corps of Engineers started work on the Wrightsville dam and reservoir, located on the North Branch of the Winooski River three miles north of Montpelier on Route 12. In contrast with the sites for the East Barre and Waterbury dams, acquired from the Green Mountain Power Company, which had purchased them during the 1920s, the Wrightsville site was acquired from individual owners. The State of Vermont obtained the property, some through condemnation, then deeded it to the federal government for the period of construction, after which it was returned to Vermont. By July 9, 1936, Vermont had expended \$375,000 "for the purchase of land rights and easements." Altogether the federal government would spend \$13,700,000 constructing the four Winooski dams.<sup>36</sup>

The main road from Montpelier to Worcester ran through the Wrightsville dam and reservoir site, necessitating the construction of a new road, which opened in 1934 on the western side of the reservoir. A settlement of houses, cemetery, and local roads were removed, and a stream that entered the North Branch at the dam site was diverted upstream.

The Wrightsville Dam is also earth filled and faced with stone riprap. It is now 1,525 feet long and 115 feet high, with a 645-foot concrete tunnel running underneath the dam. Recreational facilities and a hydroelectric generation station have been added since construction.<sup>37</sup>

As at East Barre, the first task of the veterans was to clear the reservoir area of trees and brush. Then, using 400 pound charges of dyna-



Wrightsville dam under construction, no date.

mite, the dam site was cleared to base rock. The detonations at noon and seven P.M. could be heard for many miles. By August over 1,000 men were clearing the reservoir and dam area and another thousand were relocating what is now Route 12 around the reservoir. The same shift to power equipment to move fill for the dam that occurred at East Barre also occurred at Wrightsville. Over 1,115,000 cubic yards of earth and rock fill, over 5,000 cubic yards of concrete, and 1,200 tons of steel were used in the dam.<sup>38</sup>

On May 7, 1935, the Engineers directed the detonation of five tons of dynamite in tunnels under Culver Hill to loosen the tightly packed clay and gravel "laid down by nature. The main tunnel extended 160 feet under the ridge, which was blasted with four 'cross cuts' at each side." The blast loosened 30,000 cubic yards of "material which will be used for the completion of the crest of the huge earth dam." 39

The dam was completed in October 1935 and on August 1, 1936, President Roosevelt came to inspect. Leaving his train at Waterbury, FDR first viewed construction of the Waterbury River Dam, where the veterans maintained regular construction operations even though it was a Saturday. Then the president's entourage of nearly fifty cars drove through Montpelier, where the fire whistle blew once signaling stores to close "so that merchants and clerks may have the opportunity to watch the procession," and on to the Wrightsville Dam. The president's car stopped on the road crossing the dam, where Major Paul M. Ellman, the Corps of Engineers' officer in charge of the Winooski project, described how the dam had withstood a major test during flooding the previous March. Then the president outlined the history of the dam to the newspapermen, concluding with the "laughing remark, 'It's an excellent example of cooperation in boondoggling between the State and Federal government." Turning to his "'hobby of reforestation," Roosevelt "questioned Vermont and New Hampshire officials as to progress in 'upstream engineering,' including the planting of trees on steep slopes to check erosion. State Forester Perry H. Merrill responded by outlining state forest conservation policies." Apparently the president was not impressed, as the New York Times, reported that FDR "was disappointed to find neither state doing very much."40

#### THE WATERBURY DAM

The third and largest earthen dam the veterans constructed was the Waterbury Dam on the Little River at Bolton Gorge. Over two million cubic yards of earth fill were required to construct the dam, which at completion was 1,845 feet long, 175 feet high (it is now 187 feet high),

and nearly 900 feet wide at its base. A six-mile storage reservoir totaling 1,330 acres contains the water.<sup>41</sup>

By the end of 1934, with the Montpelier, East Barre, and Wrights-ville dams rapidly moving toward completion, Governor Wilson was lobbying the Administration for a dam at Waterbury. During the 1927 flood, water from the Little River, which enters the Winooski below the village, caused the Winooski to back up into the village, killing eleven residents. The Corps of Engineers 1931 flood-control plan had recommended a dam on the Little River.

Accompanied by Governor Wilson and Colonel R. E. Lee, commander of the sixth CCC district, Robert Fechner inspected the proposed dam site on November 26, 1934, and endorsed the project. Two weeks later Governor Wilson traveled to Washington, where he met with Fechner and representatives of the Corps of Engineers, and the following morning, December 13, 1934, met with President Roosevelt. According to the Waterbury Record, Wilson was scheduled for a fiveminute appointment with the president but it lasted for thirty minutes, demonstrating "the President's interest in the local flood control project." The Barre Daily Times reported: "Governor Wilson was granted a very satisfactory interview with President Roosevelt who personally favors this flood control project, realizing that it is one of the outstanding achievements of the CCC corps in the whole country."42 By the first of the year plans for the Waterbury Dam were on Roosevelt's desk along with Fechner's recommendation that it be approved, but a complication developed when it was realized that the Emergency Conservation Work (CCC) and the Public Works Administration had only been extended for two more years while the Waterbury project was estimated to take three years. "It is foreseen that the work if not completed on March 31, 1937 [it was finished in October 1938], will be so near it that funds will be forthcoming for its final stages." . . . "President Roosevelt, however, says 'Go ahead.' "43

In March 1935 Vermont's two Republican senators, Warren R. Austin and Ernest W. Gibson, changed their position and cast the deciding votes with the Administration opposing the McCarran amendment to the appropriation bill, which would have required that relief workers be paid at the prevailing wage rate. The *Waterbury Record* reported "Their willingness to go ahead with the Administration is reported as due largely to the adoption of an amendment allocating funds for flood relief in Vermont." Later in the month, both senators voted with Roosevelt on the passage of the entire \$4,880,000,000 relief appropriations bill, which included funding for the Waterbury Dam.<sup>44</sup>

A small settlement known as Robert's Mill, with the remnants of a mill, a well-cared-for school, several large farmhouses, barns, and a church, were removed for the Waterbury dam and reservoir. While most of the property, approximately 10,000 acres, was bought by the State of Vermont from Green Mountain Power, which had acquired it in the 1920s in anticipation of building a power plant, approximately forty smaller landowners also sold their property to the state.<sup>45</sup>

Clearing the dam site began in April 1935 by Company 1110, which had transferred from Camp Meade at Middlesex Gorge. By the end of the year thirteen companies were clearing area for the reservoir and dam as well as establishing the borrow pits for material for the dam. The following January four junior companies joined the veterans. This was the first time they were used on the Winooski dams and apparently they worked successfully. While they were clearing the reservoir area, the veterans started excavation for the base of the dam to solid rock and an outlet tunnel to carry the normal flow of the Little River. The 900-foot-long concrete steel-reinforced semicircular conduit is ten and a half feet in diameter. Since the tunnel had to be completed before construction of the dam could start, work proceeded through the winter of 1935-6 by heating the tunnel to seventy degrees so concrete could be poured. Two 48-inch needle valves were installed in the completed tunnel to regulate the flow of water to a maximum of 1,500 cubic feet per second.46

In February 1936, with the work on the conduit "well advanced," gravel and rock were being placed for the "heel and toe of the dam." The following month a heavy rain and snow melt caused the Little River to go on a rampage and overflow its banks. While the dam site escaped serious damage, fear of an even worse flood heightened the need to complete the project as soon as possible, and by midsummer of 1936 three shifts of 1,900 CCC veterans and 200 civilians combined to work on the river for eighteen hours each day.<sup>47</sup> Water was diverted from the gorge through which the Little River flowed and it was "stripped, cleaned and dried." By summer, the gorge was "plugged" with concrete and the dam was rising." A total of 170 trucks, most of four yards capacity, operated by private contractors and veterans, hauled the 2,000,000 cubic yards of earth to the dam from borrow pits up the valley. In one pit south of Moscow, Vermont, labeled "Siberia," earth was excavated by fourteen large power shovels. "A steam shovel gets more attention than a lady in a beauty parlor," wrote Eavesdropper. 48

To maintain a smooth and safe flow of trucks into the pits and on the rising dam (truck accidents were a frequent cause of injury and death in the CCC), a carefully drawn and maintained traffic pattern was estab-

lished. As described by the *Waterbury Record* "Truck speed is strictly regulated. Distance between trucks is definitely governed at three lengths and gear to be used in ascending the grades is specified. At the approaches to the dam, spotters are stationed to direct the trucks to their dumping locations." <sup>49</sup>

With three shifts working, a record 26,500 cubic yards of "selected material" was added to the dam on July 7 and nearly a million cubic yards were placed that month. As fill was placed on the dam it was compressed by cement rollers. Progress was so rapid that the third shift was discontinued at the end of September 1937.<sup>50</sup>

When the structure of the dam had been completed, in the cold of early January 1937, Companies 1107, 1110, and 1181 began the work of placing stone rip-rap on both faces of the dam. The *Waterbury Record* reported that the men "are becoming quite expert with continued practice, and are turning out an excellent grade of work." <sup>51</sup>

The construction of the Waterbury Dam was spectacular enough to become a tourist attraction. The dam was illuminated at night and an observation terrace was built at the western end with a twelve-foot signboard describing the project. "Many visitors and tourists from all parts of the country visit the project day and night and evince considerable interest." Signs built by the veterans were also placed at the East Barre and Wrightsville dam sites.

The Waterbury Dam was dedicated and delivered to Vermont on October 19, 1938, with Robert Fechner delivering a message from the president. Green Mountain Power built a hydroelectric plant at the base of the dam in 1953.<sup>53</sup>

### CAMP SMITH

While most CCC camps housed approximately 200 men, Camp Charles M. Smith at the Waterbury dam site served 2,000. Named in honor of Vermont's governor when construction started, the camp was located on both sides of Little River Road, about a quarter of a mile southwest of the dam. Camp Smith "operated as a self-sufficient village, with its own waste and sewerage system, police and fire departments, medical dispensary, three stores, a library that contained over 6,000 books, and a 462-seat theater." The "village" had about 100 buildings, sixteen U- or L-shaped barracks that were brought from East Barre and Wrightsville and combined, eight T-shaped mess halls, a "theater, library, skating rink, chapel, 'Swiss Chalet,' officers' quarters," a large infirmary, a school, and camp garden. 54 Except for a collection of stone chimneys (the surviving artifact at many CCC camp locations), a stone step with "Company 1110" carved in, cement-filled rollers for

leveling and compacting the dam, and remnants of a wooden dam on the stream running by the camp, little remains. The open plateau the camp occupied is now forested.

The echo of a macabre episode reached Vermont in October 1935, when "40 survivors of the Florida hurricane arrived last week at Camp Smith in Waterbury." About 300 veterans working on highway construction in the Florida Keys at a Federal Emergency Relief Administration camp had been killed on September 2, when a hurricane struck and they were not evacuated. Ernest Hemingway wrote an account of the tragedy for the Communist magazine *New Masses*, describing the veterans as "husky, hard-working and simply out of luck, but many of them close to the border of pathological cases." 55

Camp Smith had its own disaster a short time later. At 3:00 A.M. on December 26, 1935, a fire that "spread with unusual rapidity—these buildings being made entirely of wood—" trapped and killed four Army officers. Fortunately more than half the officers assigned to the L-shaped building were on leave, preventing even more loss of life. An article in the *Waterbury Record* the previous fall had described the hydrant system at Smith as capable of delivering "2,500 gallons per hour" and reported that "the engineers point with pride to the fact that no serious fire has ever occurred in the camps they have erected." 56

But the standard CCC wooden barracks with tar paper roofs, coal stoves, and inadequate fire exits, were fire hazards. On November 27, 1934, fire had destroyed the barracks building at the Camel's Hump



Inside CCC barracks, Camp Greene, Wrightsville, Vt., 1934.

side camp of the Waterbury village forestry camp, with "The boys who had been quartered there losing all their clothing and personal effects in the blaze," and the same day as the Camp Smith fire, a barracks was destroyed by fire at the Jericho, Vermont, camp, again with "the loss of the possessions of the men quartered there." Sixth District Chaplain Lewis W. Sanford conducted the funeral service for the officers in the Camp Smith chapel and an Army board of inquiry comprised of local officers was quickly assembled and "found no evidence of incendiarism." <sup>57</sup>

A different kind of problem arose at Smith in 1937. Company 1108, a white junior company went astray after the company commander encouraged a group of "night riders" to force other junior whites through intimidation that included beatings to follow company rules. After Robert Fechner was made aware of the company's aberrant behavior, the company commander and company leaders were relieved, and six company members were transferred.<sup>58</sup>

# THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS VETERANS IN VERMONT

The Winooski project was described as "the greatest reunion of veterans yet held" with all the services represented: "Men from veterans' homes and hospitals, men who have been on the bum, some since the war; college men, National Guard officers, all trades and all professions; all colors and many different nationalities, all the drift and wreckage of the depression." But there was "one great difference from other conventions and that is that everybody is broke. One man raking the street the other day found a quarter and was nearly mobbed." 59

Due to the size of the project and the high turnover of men, which the *Waterbury Record* estimated at an annual rate of 40 percent, a large number of veterans worked on the Winooski project. At the dedication of the Clothespin Dam in November 1934, Lt. Colonel R. E. Lee, the commanding officer, estimated that over 15,000 veterans had already worked on the project and the largest dam had yet to be started. Captain J. Willington Glover, who commanded Company 1105 for almost four years, characterized the veterans as being from thirty-six to sixty-eight years old, from illiterate to having a college degree, and with backgrounds in everything from unskilled laborers to ministers. They displayed "a marked similarity in type, to the average man of any small community: married, has an education that extends through one year of high school, is familiar with a trade or job, mature, and with the same view points and minor vices of a corresponding individual on the outside." 60

An article in the *Barre Daily Times* on July 25, 1933, documented the wide impact of the depression by listing the former occupations of

the men of just one company, 2215, which was organized in New York and probably numbered about 240 men:

There are over 32 trades, 17 professions, 20 skilled workers, 10 laborers, nine specialists and four seamen. . . . artists, bakers, blacksmiths, boilermakers, bricklayers, bookbinders, carpenters, clerks, accountants, chauffeurs, well driller, elevator operator, embalmer, firemen, furrier, landscape gardeners, iron workers, skilled laborers, laborers, laundrymen, lumberjacks, miners, machinists, marble setter, metal caster, cement masons, mechanics, nurse (male), painters, pipe-fitters, plasters, sheet metal worker, printer, punch press operator, riggers, steam fitters, steel workers, teamsters, truck drivers, welders, engineers (explosive, stationary and marine), draftsmen, surveyors, farmer, policemen, film inspector, salesmen, sign painter, telegrapher, teachers, waiter, musicians, seamen, medical attendants, railroad dispatcher, shipping clerks, and ship worker.<sup>61</sup>

African Americans served in the CCC in approximate proportion to their percentage of the population, but almost always in segregated companies and camps. As black units were difficult to place, they were frequently clustered in locations that accepted them. If an area resisted having black units, they were generally removed, as happened in central New York in July 1933, the same month African-American veterans arrived in Vermont.

The East Barre and Waterbury camps each had two African-American companies: at Barre, Companies 1351 and 349, and at Waterbury, companies 1105 and 1111. At Waterbury the black units were "segregated from the rest of the camp, in a U-shaped barracks with its own mess hall, both located on the west side of the road in the southern end of the camp, between two garages." 62

Although the black veterans were welcomed to Vermont, some stereotyping and segregation occurred within the Corps. At the end of the first month a veteran wrote in one of the nation's most important black newspapers, the *Afro-American*: "We find Vermont to be a beautiful state. Most of the residents are old settlers of New England. Hardly knowing what Jim Crows is, and caring less, we have eight companies of white vets here and two colored companies." In a previous issue, the *Afro-American* described how Thomas A. Lemon, principal of Potomac High School in Hague, Virginia, had enlisted in the CCC (probably in Company 1351) as a personnel clerk and traveled to Barre in July 1933. He reported that "there was no discrimination as to type of work done." But he described an episode at the Barre worksite and the reaction it brought forth. A Southern officer said: "When you want to find a n\_\_\_\_\_ he isn't there." The remark was overheard and immediately the

black veterans went on strike. The commanding officer quickly transferred the offending officer.<sup>63</sup>

Baseball helped circulate the African-American CCC-vets around the region and drew large crowds "All [towns] have baseball teams and we are in demand as much as if we were the K.C. Monarchs or Baltimore Black Sox. We play some small town every Saturday and Sunday. There is a lot of competition between athletic clubs, but we are weathering the storm, losing only one game out of five. Just beat the little town of Washington, Vermont, Sunday, by a 12 to 2 score and they wanted to book a return game but at present we have games until August 13."64

On several occasions, Chaplain Lewis W. Sanford directed what was then a widely presented (at least in white communities), stereotypical view of African Americans, a minstrel show with the black-faced characters "Checkers," "Onions," "Amos," "Cider" and "Bones." A minstrel show was performed for Robert Fechner at Camp Smith when he came for the formal start of the Waterbury Dam project. The Sixth District Yearbook presented the Hollywood stereotype of Blacks in the 1930s: "Humor, spontaneous and unaffected, is always the dominant trait of the Negro." However, "The Eavesdropper" had some poetic words about African Americans working on the East Barre Dam: "The huskie, duskie sons of Dixie are each prepared to do his share of work on the new flood control dam under construction here."

While the extent of alcohol abuse by veterans at Winooski cannot be measured, it appears that alcohol was a problem for a considerable number. The court report in the *Montpelier Evening Argus* lists the arrest of numerous veterans for public intoxication. A description of Camp Wilson just before the first payday noted how the camp was "considerably quieter than is the case with the CCC camps for boys." But, the article went on, "Pay day may be different. We are looking forward to a big time pay day."

That prediction that "Pay day may be different." proved true and alcohol was blamed for two-day free-for-alls in Montpelier and East Barre after the veterans were paid on July 31, 1933. In East Barre, Sheriff Henry C. Lawson and two deputies were attacked by veterans after they were called to investigate an assault. The unarmed officers only managed to escape after struggling to get back to their car. In Montpelier, additional CCC police were sworn in to control the veterans after a local police officer suffered "a severe blow to the forehead." 66

In Montpelier City Court, veterans usually paid fines of \$5 or \$7 plus court costs of \$7-\$9 for public intoxication. One veteran was sentenced to twenty days in jail after he told Judge A. C. Theriault that he could pay his fine but would rather serve jail time. After the first CCC payday

the Barre City council followed the police chief's recommendation and required the beer halls to close at midnight and not have closed curtains that limited visibility from the street.<sup>67</sup>

The second payday was quieter. The *Barre Daily Times* reported "C.C.C. Men For Most Part Well Behaved" and "Only a few of the veterans imbibed too freely of liquor during the evening and they were taken back to camp as quickly as possible." However, as the Waterbury project was starting in the summer of 1935, "The number of men on a spree was larger than usual and at one time last evening a load of seven men rather badly under the influence of intoxicants was rounded up. All of the men were returned to camp for punishment by the authorities there."

The veteran column in the *Barre Daily Times* had differing comments about alcohol. Chaplain Sanford reminded the camp that three men had been sent home for drinking excessively, "forfeiting all pay and allowances. Think it over gang, think it over." Arthur O'Hara, "the Eavesdropper," who had served in France, sometimes made fun of drinking: "I never drink intoxicating liquor regularly. Some days I drink more than others. Some days I don't drink at all." But some of O'Hara's comments were more serious: "We let down once a month—on pay day—and how we let down. (Sometimes we fell down.)" 69

Judging from the newspapers, very few CCC veterans were arrested on any charge other than public intoxication. The exceptions included a veteran who was sentenced to six months hard labor for assaulting an eighty-year-old man and another who got fourteen months for entering and wandering around a house.<sup>70</sup>

It appears that the CCC had a high accident rate. At least two veterans died in truck accidents, in separate accidents two others died after falling off a Montpelier railroad bridge, a veteran was killed by a train in Montpelier, another drowned in the Winooski River, and four officers were killed in the fire at the Waterbury camp. In December 1933 the *Montpelier Evening Argus* reported, "There have been five deaths to date, or at an annual rate of 3.75 per 1,000 which compares most favorably with a small city or town which annually has a death rate of 12 to 14 per thousand."<sup>71</sup>

A favorable relationship quickly developed between the CCC veterans and Vermont residents, in spite of some abusive drinking and an occasional theft by the veterans, including a local resident's prize chicken.<sup>72</sup> The first month the veterans were at East Barre, Chaplain Lewis W. Sanford, a Barre native, started several programs that promoted interaction between the camps and the Vermont community. A few weeks after the CCC's arrival, Captain (Reserve) Sanford started

writing a near-daily column for the *Barre Daily Times* "With the Men of the C.C.C.-V.C." Regular contributions from Arthur O'Hara's "Eavesdropper," describing the life of the veterans at work and off duty, provided an excellent chronicle of the East Barre camp. An early item about the menu at the East Barre camp may have caused resentment among some Vermonters struggling through the Depression: "Sunday noon, for the first time, the boys ate a chicken dinner on the new mess tables. The dinner with all the trimmings, was topped off with pineapple ice cream." But Sanford sought to make amends and quickly invited the public to the camp, "to our open air entertainments on Sunday evenings when we have a get-together sing and entertainment program, and also on other nights of the week when we shall have entertainments as often as possible."

By the end of the first month, a covered stage with a piano had been constructed at Camp Wilson and every Sunday night veterans and community residents performed. Miss Lila Culver, of Barre, "the Kate Smith of Vermont," was a regular visitor the veterans appreciated. She appeared regularly on Waterbury radio station WDEV: "Miss Culver, whose mellow voice soothes radio listeners, drew the heaviest applause. She goes big with the veterans." The Barre City band visited the camps and the Drum and Bugle Corps of American Legion Post No. 3 entertained at Wrightsville. "When 'Tammany' was played the crowd roared. Many of the CCC members took this as a salute to the boys from the 'sidewalks of New York,' who constitute the majority of the Wrightsville area." The Mary Stage Stag

Chaplain Sanford also arranged for the veterans to visit local churches and veterans' posts. A state officer of the American Legion came to East Barre to counsel the men on their status with the Veterans Administration, and in 1935 the veterans of Camp Wilson were invited by the Barre American Legion post to participate in their Memorial Day parade and ceremony. Chaplain Sanford was "asked to read the General Orders and a poem to the memory of the Unknown Soldier." At Wilson, Sanford directed the Sunday night talent show, a Christmas pageant at the Barre Opera House attended by 300 veterans, and the touring minstrel show, which was revived several times.

On Washington's birthday in 1934, a winter sports carnival was held at the Wrightsville Camp, drawing over 10,000 people. Buses brought outside junior CCC units and local residents from Montpelier, while cars were provided for Army officers. Events included a ski competition, a tug of war, a sledge hammer competition, a toboggan slide, and a spaghetti dinner for CCCs and guests: "All were given dinner from dining halls."



Christmas dinner, Company 1112, CCC Camp Greene, Wrightsville, Vt., 1933.

With Vermont struggling under the impact of the Depression, the realization that the presence of the CCC provided a major economic stimulus to the Winooski Valley undoubtedly tempered any negative feelings Vermont residents might have had toward the CCC veterans. According to the Census Bureau of the Department of Commerce the number of business establishments in Barre had declined from 97 in 1929 to 63 in 1933, and the number of wage earners from 1,827 to 803; total wages had fallen from \$3,449,650 to \$1,097,752, and the value of products produced from \$10,423,266 to \$3,684,583.78 In February 1934, the Barre Daily Times estimated that civilian workers at the Barre-Montpelier-area CCC camps, which included the forestry camps, had been paid a total of \$285,000 since early September, which "has done much to tide over many families," and that "A considerable amount of the supplies needed by the camps have been purchased locally and thousands of dollars put into circulation in this territory." The paper also estimated that each CCC company resulted in \$3-\$5,000 a month spending in the local community and that "more than \$3,000,000 will be expended over the next few years on the Waterbury project."79

The men of several companies complained about the temperature just after they arrived in Vermont in July, 1933. Veterans of Company 1352, comprised primarily of men from the Baltimore area who participated in the 1933 Bonus March, were issued a total of four blankets

when they arrived. Company 1105, which had been organized at Fort Devens, Massachusetts; also complained about the temperature: "The last few nights have been so cold in the city of tents that we have lost all sympathy for Admiral Byrd in his visits to the polar region. In spite of the four heavy blankets, the men spread everything they have on the beds, except for their hob-nail shoes, to try to keep warm." 80

In mid-August the weather was excellent, but ominously cold by mid-October when most of the men were still in tents where some units would remain into December. On October 25, twelve inches of snow fell in the area collapsing the tents, there was a severe blizzard on February 21, 1934, and the winter of 1933–4 turned out to be "One of the worst winters suffered in this section of the country in many years." The temperature was reported to be 41 degrees below zero in December and on February 8, 1934, the *Barre Daily Times* reported that "Below Zero Is Making Record," as "This is the 33rd day since the middle of October, the 16th day of the year, and the sixth consecutive day this month on which the official temperature in Barre was zero or below. [It is] the coldest winter in the memory of some older inhabitants." <sup>81</sup>

Mud was also a problem. At the end of August, 1933 a rainy spell occurred and the resulting mud reminded the vets of the war in Europe. The newly laid out camps were muddy and as they removed the trees, dirt, and rocks from the dam sites, the work areas turned to mud: "The weather the past day or two certainly did make the gang sort of homesick for those 'quiet' days back in 1917. Rain-mud-rain and more mud then rain, more mud, then rain some more just like those good old days. Why you could almost feel the cooties and smell the cognac. Look Mr. and Mrs. Vermonter, you must serve us better weather than this or we will feel that you don't want us in your midst." And the mud did not go away. "We had a fine warm day for Thanksgiving. The mud, however, reminded one of Flanders fields."

Each of the Winooski camps had an educational program with an educational advisor and assistants. Camp Smith's had a separate school building with an annex and offered a wide range of courses, including: music, journalism (veterans produced the *Goldbricker* and its successor *Sixth District Gazette*, and broadcast a weekly CCC radio show over the Waterbury station WDEV), arts and crafts (leather craft, plastics, weaving with two looms), woodworking, auto mechanics, clerical skills, sign painting, typing (there were twenty typewriters), elementary and advanced English, mechanical drawing (which was "very popular with veteran members"), photography, civil service, forestry, first aid, preparation for civil service exams, motion picture projection, and agricultural classes. John Weibe, an assistant to the education advisor at Camp

Meade in Middlesex, then at Camp Smith Waterbury, was testimony to the educational background of the CCC instructors, and the wide sweep of unemployment during the 1930s. Weibe had an M.A. degree from Stanford University and was a certified public accountant.<sup>83</sup>

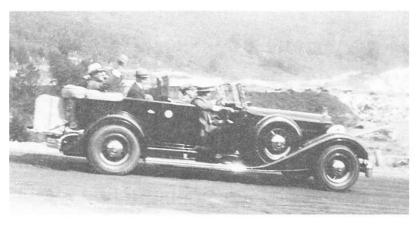
As part of the educational program an "experimental farm" complete with hogs, cattle, sheep, ducks, pigeons, and other animals was started at the Wrightsville Camp and moved with the veterans to Camp Smith. The hogs at Wrightsville caused a minor political scuffle that reached Washington when local farmers complained to newly elected U.S. Representative Charles A. Plumley that the 100 CCC pigs were unfairly competing with the pigs they raised. Plumley discussed the matter with James McEntee, assistant director of the CCC, and demanded an investigation, which failed to materialize. In an editorial the Waterbury Record praised feeding pigs the camps' garbage as being economically and ecologically sound, and presumably the pigs stayed.84

#### Conclusion

After their experience of the war and falling into unemployment, it appears that working on the Winooski Project was a positive experience for most CCC veterans. They enjoyed meeting the people of Vermont, the camaraderie of a facsimile military camp with regular food and pay, and Vermont's environment. Just after they came to East Barre the veterans found a swimming hole, which "refreshed our memories of our boyhood days," as well as a place in "the creek up back of the camp" where "there were so many trout that it was almost impossible to wade the brook without stepping on one." The Eavesdropper's swan song, however, indicates one aspect of life in Vermont that the veterans found difficult: "I'm goin' where the weather suits my clothes. I'm goin' where the North Wind never blows."

Nonetheless, when the six-, nine-, and twelve-month time limits of veteran enrollment in the CCC were due to expire, the Winooski veterans threatened to organize a third march on Washington. This threat, combined with the success of the Winooski project, made it clear to the Administration that it was better to have the veterans working in Vermont than unemployed and marching in Washington.

Vermonters, President Roosevelt, and CCC Director Robert Fechner, had cause to recognize the successes of the Winooski project: the work the veterans performed, little crime considering 15,000 veterans participating in the first eighteen months alone, that African-American veterans felt welcome, excellent veteran-community relations, and no repeat of the first payday near-riots in both Barre and Montpelier.



President Franklin D. Roosevelt at Camp Charles M. Smith, CCC, Waterbury, Vt., on his tour of inspection of Vermont's flood control project, July 25, 1936.

Today, the three large earthen dams in central Vermont stand as monuments to the work of the veterans division of the Civilian Conservation Corps, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, and the State of Vermont. President Roosevelt's comment while watching the CCC veterans working on the Waterbury Dam applies to each of the three dams today: "It's a great sight, a great sight." 87

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> "The Eavesdropper" was Arthur J. O'Hara, a CCC veteran who came to East Barre in January, 1934 and stayed. "The Eavesdropper" (the names was credited to the 15th-century Parisian poet François Villon) appeared regularly in the *Barre Daily Times* and O'Hara went on to edit "The Sixth District Yearbook," "The Goldbricker," and its successor "The Sixth District Gazette." *Barre Daily Times* (hereafter *BDT*), 26 August, 1933, 8. A sample of "The Eavesdropper's" humor: "It would have been cheaper for the government, instead of building a dam, to teach everybody in Barre how to swim." Ibid., 7 July 1934, 8.

<sup>2</sup> In 1931 the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers determined that compared to the 1927 flood the 1869 Winooski flood was only 65 percent as severe, and the 1930 flood only 80 percent as severe. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, "Winooski River," Report to 71st Cong., 3d Sess., *House Document* 785, 27 February 1931, 22.

<sup>3</sup> William E. Leuchtenburg, Flood Control Politics: The Connecticut Valley Problem, 1927–30 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press 1953), 32.

<sup>4</sup> Harold Kilbrith Barrows, *Advisory Committee of Engineers of Flood Control-Vermont* (Montpelier: Vermont Public Service Commission, 15 December 1928), 50. H. K. Barrows, *Flood Control, Power and Storage Projects for the Rivers of Vermont* (Montpelier: Vermont Public Service Commission, 15 December 1930), 228–231.

<sup>5</sup> Leuchtenburg, Flood Control Politics, 34.

<sup>6</sup> George D. Aiken, Speaking From Vermont (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1938), 168.

<sup>7</sup> U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, "Winooski River," p. 138. Suzanne G. Cherau and Kristen Heiter, Intensive Archeological Survey Dam Reconstruction Work Areas Waterbury Dam and Reservoir (Concord, Mass.: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New England District, 2002), 31.

8 The first action of the Roosevelt Administration relating to veterans was to propose the

Economy Act, which cut veterans' benefits so substantially that even after Roosevelt reduced the cuts, the average benefit had decreased by 18 percent and some were eliminated entirely. White House Statement on Amelioration of Cuts in Veterans' Allowances, 6 June 1933, in Samuel I. Rosenman, ed., The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt (New York: Random House, 1938), II, 219. President Roosevelt opposed Representative Wright Patman's bill that would have paid the World War bonus due in 1945, which he would veto in 1935 and 1936, believing it represented special interest legislation. He told the American Legion Convention in 1933, "no person, because he wore a uniform, must thereafter be placed in a special class of beneficiaries over and above all other citizens," and that veterans as a group were not in need of special help. Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Address before the American Legion Convention, Chicago, 2 October 1933," in Rosenman Public Papers of FDR, 375–377. For Howe quote see Washington Post (hereafter WP), 15 May, 1933, 1.

<sup>9</sup> Roger Daniels, *The Bonus March: An Episode of the Great Depression* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1971), 220, 232.

The Civilian Conservation Corps had two major divisions, the veterans division and the "junior" division, comprised of unemployed young men. Following President Roosevelt's directive, this much larger division concentrated on improving the nation's forests. They built fire towers, truck roads, firebreaks, planted more trees than had been planted before and possibly since, fought forest fires, worked on forest insect and disease control, salvaged timber, built parks and campgrounds, and improved fish and wildlife habitats. For a view of what the junior units accomplished in Vermont see Perry H. Merrill. Roosevelt's Forest Army: A History of the Civilian Conservation Corps, 1933–1942 (Montpelier: privately published, 1981).

Waterbury was home to one of Vermont's first forestry camps. Vermont Forestry Commissioner Perry Merrill wrote to presidential aide Louis Howe five days after FDR implemented the CCC: "Urgent that you authorize enrollment for state camp Waterbury, Vt., immediately... I have men enrolled, camp site picked. Awaiting instructions." Perry H. Merrill to Louis Howe, 13 April 1933, Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library (hereafter FDRL), Hyde Park, New York, Official File 268, CCC, Box 1. The federal camp was established on June 19, 1933, in a field north of the village of Waterbury at the intersection of Vermont Routes 100 and 2. The men worked on state parks at Mount Philo and Hubbard Park, and from side camps at Camel's Hump and Mount Mansfield they worked on forest stand improvement. On July 10, 1933, Eleanor Roosevelt visited the Waterbury Camp. Characteristically she was "Much interested in the kitchen of the camp, she inspected all the equipment and looked over the menus. She talked with the boys, all of whom were recruited in Vermont, and listened to their comments on camp life." Several buildings and a swimming pool the CCC built at Waterbury are still used. BDT, 10 July 1933, p. 1, Waterbury Record (hereafter WR), 21 June 1933, 1, 12 July 1933, 1.

- <sup>10</sup> New York Times (hereafter NYT), 12 May 1933, 1. Veterans of the Spanish American War and smaller conflicts would also be enrolled.
  - " NYT, 22 May 1933, 3.
- <sup>12</sup> "Memorandum," Stephen Early to FDR, 23 May 1933, FDRL, Official File 268, CCC, Box 1, May 16-31 folder.
- <sup>13</sup> BDT, 20 September, 1933, 6, Montpelier Evening Argus (hereafter MEA), 20 March 1934, 4, BDT, 21 March 1934, 8, 28 March 1934, 1. Consistently, about 20 percent of the veterans left Vermont when their enrollment was up.
  - 14 BDT, 21 March 1934, 8.
  - 15 Ibid., 19 March 1934, 1, 21 March 1934, 8.
  - 16 Ibid., 23 March, 1934, 1, 21 March, 1934, 8.
  - 17 "Minutes, CCC Advisory Council, 27 June 1934," FDRL, OF-268, 2.
- <sup>18</sup> Merrill, Roosevelt's Forest Army, 25. Throughout the history of the CCC, Vermont Forest Commissioner and State Forester Perry H. Merrill aggressively and successfully lobbied for the placement of forestry camps in Vermont. He had graduated from the College of Forestry at Syracuse University in 1917 with a B.S. in forest resource management and studied at the Yale Forest School. He started working with the Vermont Forest Service in 1916, was a World War I veteran, and was named state forester in 1935. He also served as mayor of Montpelier during the Winooski Flood Control Project. BDT, 8 June 1935. 1.

For Governor Wilson see *Intensive Archeological Survey*, 32. No record of any meeting between FDR and Governor Wilson in the spring of 1933 was found in the "Day-By-Day Record" of President Roosevelt in the FDRL, Vermont newspapers, *New York Times*, or, *Washington Post*.

- 19 WR, 3 June 1933, 1, 7 June 1933, 1.
- <sup>20</sup> H.J. Woodbury, "Flood Control in New England," *Military Engineer*, XXXII, No. 186 (Nov.-Dec. 1940), 397.
- <sup>21</sup> Arthur O'Hara, literary editor, "Yearbook, Sixth District, First Corps Area, Civilian Conservation Corps" (hereafter "Yearbook"), 1937, 7.

- <sup>22</sup> David Levering Lewis, When Harlem Was in Vogue (New York: Penguin 1997), 4.
- <sup>23</sup> U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, New England Division, Water Resources Development: Vermont (Concord, Mass., 1995), 31.
- <sup>24</sup> The Winooski Project was organized as the Sixth CCC District, U.S. Army First Corps Area (New England), with headquarters in Montpelier, while the junior forestry companies in Vermont were organized as the Second District. Headquarters was located on State Street, off what is now Gov. Davis Ave., in Montpelier, until November 1935, when it was moved to Camp Smith at Waterbury. At Montpelier some dignitaries were treated to lunch next door at the Pavilion Hotel, while others had lunch at the camps. With the exterior remarkably unchanged, the headquarters building is now occupied by the Thrush Tavern. Quote from BDT, 7 July 1933, 1.
  - 25 Ibid., 9 October 1934, 2.
  - <sup>26</sup> Ibid., "The Eavesdropper," 10 February 1934, 2.
  - 27 20 June 1934, 2.
  - 28 Ibid., 18 August 1933, 1.
  - <sup>29</sup> Ibid., 31 August 1933, 1, 14 September 1933, 8, 28 October 1933, 8, 2 December 1933, 1.
  - 30 Ibid., 10 July 1933, 8.
  - 31 Timothy Cleary (Reserve Army Officer), quoted in Merrill, Roosvelt's Forest Army, 24.
- <sup>32</sup> BDT, 7 July 1933, 1, 16 August 1933, 8, 19 September 1934, 2, 14 September 1934, 2, MEA, 16 January 1935, 3. By a three to one vote, East Barre voted to permit the sale of alcohol. BDT, 19 May 1934, 2.
- <sup>33</sup> Joanna M. Doherty and Jeffrey D. Emidy, *Historic and Photographic Documentation Water-bury Dam* (Concord, Mass.: U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, New England District, 2001), p. 17.
- is BDT, 26 November 1934, 1, MEA, 26 November 1934, 2. Robert Fechner took a personal interest in the Winooski project. Reference was found to the CCC director visiting seven times. He lived in Quincy, Massachusetts, and the Barre Daily Times reported that he had visited after the region after the 1927 flood (BDT, 14 December 1934, 1). When he visited, Fechner made a point of eating with the veterans and watching their entertainment. Fechner's frequent visits, the visit of President Roosevelt, and the praise both men had for the project indicate that the Administration considered the veteran work at Winooski to be a success. Fechner could be critical of Corps projects, as he was of the CCC-Corps of Engineers, Wallkill, New York project, which neither he nor the president ever visited.
- <sup>35</sup> BDT, 22 January 1935, 8. Ibid., 29 August 1935, 1. In 1975 the Corps of Engineers removed the gates from the dam and lowered it.
  - ies from the dam and lowered it.

    36 Ibid., 7 September, 1933, 1, Corps of Engineers, Water Resources Development-Vermont, 38.
  - 37 Corps of Engineers, Water Resources Development-Vermont, 37-38.
  - 38 WR, 17 July 1935, 1, MEA, 9 August 1933, p 8, Merrill, Roosevelt's Forest Army, 26.
  - 39 BDT, 8 May 1935, 1.
- <sup>40</sup> MEA, 31 July 1936, 5, Burlington Free Press (hereafter BFP), 3 August 1936, 1, NYT, 2 August, 1936, 1.
  - <sup>41</sup> Doherty and Emidy, Historic Documentation, 19, Corps of Engineers, Water Resources, 36.
- <sup>42</sup> WR, 19 December 1934, 2, BDT, 14 December 1934, p. 1. The "Day-By-Day Record" of President Roosevelt at the Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York confirms that FDR met with Governor Wilson on December 13, 1934, from 10:50 to 11:15 A.M. FDRL, "Day-By-Day Record," 13 December, 1934. Roosevelt and Fechner did not always act favorably regarding flood control projects. In lobbying for the CCC-Corps of Engineers Wallkill River Flood Control Program in southern New York, Senator Royal S. Copeland, the program's primary congressional advocate, frequently referred to "recent and destructive floods" (NYT, 5 February 1937, 14). After a local resident sent an anonymous letter to Fechner, which he forwarded to the President, refuting the Senator's claim of recent flood damage, Roosevelt ended funding for the project and the CCC veterans, some of whom had worked at Winooski, were pulled out, leaving an incomplete project. ("A Taxpayer" to Fechner, FDRL, 5 February 1937, OF 132, "Flood Control," Box 4.)
  - <sup>43</sup> WR, 23 January 1935, 1 and BDT, 24 January 1935, 3.
  - 44 WR, 6 March 1935, 1, and 27 March 1935, 1.
- <sup>45</sup> BFP, 1 May 1935, 1, Doherty and Emidy, Historic Documentation, 18-9. On August 18, 1935, an overflow crowd attended the last service held at the Little River Baptist Church. The church had been formed in 1840 and the building completed in 1845 (BDT, 19 August 1935, 1).
  - 46 WR, 12 February 1936, 1. Merrill, Roosevelt's Forest Army, 26.
- <sup>47</sup> Arthur O'Hara, Editor, Sixth District Gazette (hereafter Gazette), 22 February 1936, 1. The Connecticut Valley was not as fortunate, 24 lives were lost and 77,000 were left homeless. At the Wrightsville Dam several roads were flooded, a barn and house were washed away, while the reservoir was described as being half full with forty feet of water (MEA, 18 March 1936, 1) Elsie Beard, who lives in Orange, said that the water has never gone over the spillway of the East Barre Dam but came closest in 1936 when waves were splashing on to the spillway. (Elsie Beard, interview, 29 January

2004). Local residents concluded, "Montpelier and Barre benefited definitely from the construction of the East Barre and Wrightsville Dams" (MEA, 31 March 1936, 4). MEA, 1 June 1935, p. 1, 25 July 1936, p. 6 and Gazette, 21 March 1936, p. 1.

<sup>48</sup> MEA, 1 June 1935, 1, and 25 July 1936, 6, Gazette, 21 March 1936, 4, WR, 7, July 1937, 1, and 14 July 1937, 1, BDT, 15 June 1935, 2. Today's regular "dump" trucks carry 7 cubic yards and the larger 10-wheel trucks carry 14 yards.

- 49 WR, 14 July 1937, 1.
- 50 Ibid., 4 August 1937, 1.
- 51 Ibid., 13 January 1937, 1.
- 52 Ibid., 7, July 1937, 1.
- <sup>53</sup> Following a 1944 Corps of Engineers' report that concluded, "based on these data now indicate that by the combination of certain conditions, nature could, produce a flood of such magnitude in the Winooski watershed that the dams could be over-topped and destroyed" (U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, "Examinations of Rivers and Harbors," *House Documents*, Vol. 3, 78th Cong., 2nd. Sess., 1944, 4), the three earthen dams were raised and their discharge capacity increased. Work was undertaken in 1985 to control seepage through the Wrightsville Dam and is now being undertaken again. U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, *Water Resources*, 37.
- <sup>54</sup> Doherty and Emidy, *Historic Documentation*, 22, communication with Brian Lindner, a local historian who grew up on Little River Road.
- S BDT, 12 October 1935, 2, Aubrey Williams (FERA) to FDR, "Memorandum," NACP, RG 69, FERA, "New Gen. Subject Series," Florida Hurricane, Box 8, 11 September 1935, 1-14. Ernest Hemingway, "Who Murdered the Vets? A First-Hand Report on the Florida Hurricane," New Masses, Vol. XVI, No. 12, 9-1. "The Eavesdropper" reported that names of four former Winooski CCC veterans appeared on the casualty lists (BDT, 21 September 1935, 2).
  - 56 WR, 1 January 1936, 1, 30 October 1935, 1.
- <sup>57</sup> WR, 28 November 1934, 1, BFP, 27 December 1935, 1. MEA, 29 December 1935, 1. Lewis W. Sanford, a Barre native, became the senior chaplain of the CCC 6th District. Sanford graduated from the Chaplin Training School at Camp Taylor, Kentucky, and shipped overseas in 1918. Following the war Captain Sanford stayed in the reserves and came to Camp Wilson in July 1933.
- 58 Ross Abare to Robert Fechner, 11 September 1937, Records of CCC, National Archives, College Park, Maryland (hereafter NACP), RAG 35, Box 219.
  - 59 BDT, 22 July 1933, 8.
- <sup>60</sup> WR, 9 February 1938, 1, Gazette, 1 December 1934, WR, 23 March 1938, 1. George Walker, 72 years old, was recognized as the oldest member of the CCC at Winooski, and Francis Wilcox at 23, "a veteran of the Nicaraguan campaign," the youngest." MEA, 4 November 1933, 8, BDT, 23 April 1934, 8.
  - 61 BDT, 25 July 1933, 8.
  - 62 Doherty and Emidy, Historic Documentation, 22.
  - 63 Afro-American (Baltimore), 29 July 1933, 23, 23 September, 1933, 14.
  - 64 Ibid., 29 July 1933, 23.
  - 65 "Yearbook," 36, BDT, 20 June 1934, 2.
  - 66 MEA, 22 July 1933, 8, 1 August 1933, 1.
  - 67 Ibid., 14 July 1934, 8, BDT, 21 August. 1933, 1.
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid., 1 September, 1933, 1 June 1935, 8. By March, 1934, the Barre police were also sending the intoxicated men back to camp, March 12, 1934.
- <sup>69</sup> Ibid., 24 November 1933, 8, Arthur O'Hara, editor, Goldbricker, 5 November 1934, 3, BDT, 15 March 1934, 8.
  - 70 BDT, 12 April 1934, 1 and 13 November 1933, 1.
- <sup>71</sup> "Members of C.C.C. Who Died in Service," Vermont CCC Collection, Norwich University, p. 1. One of the men killed, "Freddy" Ives of Torrington, Connecticut, was an orderly at the district headquarters in Montpelier who fell off the Main Street Railroad bridge while returning to camp on a Saturday night. "The Eavesdropper" described Ives as being a comedian and friend of dogs who missed him. He was survived by a wife and a 12 year-old daughter (BDT, 3 September 1935, 1, and 14 September 1935, 2, MEA, 1 December 1933, 2).
  - <sup>72</sup> Interview with Elsie Beard, 22 January 2004.
  - <sup>73</sup> BDT, 19 July 1933, 8.
- <sup>74</sup> Ibid., "Eavesdropper," 27 June 1934, 2. The author would enjoy learning what became of Lila Culver.
  - 75 MEA, 23 August, 2.
  - 76 BDT, 29 May 1935, 2
  - 77 Ibid., 22 February 1934, 1.
- <sup>78</sup> Numbers for the entire state: 927 businesses in 1929, 530 in 1933; 27.421 wage earners in 1929, 15,038 in 1933; wages paid in 1929, \$33,809,987, down to \$12,346,113 in 1933; value of products produced in 1929 \$143,522,547, to \$56,623,538 in 1933 (Ibid., 6 May 1935, 1).

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 4 February 1934, 4, 5 June 1935, 6.

80 Ibid., 20 July 1933, 8, 21 July 1933, 8.

- 81 Merrill, Roosevelt's Forest Army, 23, BDT, 25 October 1933, 1, MEA, 21 February 1934, 1, Gazette, 17 November, 1, BDT, 20 December 1933, 1, 8 February 1934, 1.
  - <sup>82</sup> BDT, "Eavesdropper," 26 August 1933, 8, 2 December 1933, 2. <sup>83</sup> Yearbook, 55-67, BDT, 7 March 1935, 5.

84 Republican Representative Charles A. Plumley, whose father had also been a member of Congress, served from January 1934 to January 1951. He graduated from Norwich University and served as its president from 1920-1934. In 1934 he "described President Roosevelt as the 'most selfish' man who ever sat in the White House." (BDT, 24 August 1934, 1), WR, 7 August 1935, 2.

85 BDT, 27 July 1933, 8. Rather reticently, the Barre Daily Times reported: "On their part, the people of Barre and vicinity will miss the colorful life furnished by the presence of the C.C.C.'s."(7

December 1935, 4).

86 Ibid., "Eavesdropper," 3 November, 1934, 2.

87 BFP, 3 August 1936, 1.

#### **BOOK REVIEWS**



The Worlds of Children, 1620–1920. Annual Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Volume 27.

Edited by Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University Press, 2004, pp. 243, paper, \$25.00).

Since 1976 directors of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife at Boston University have preserved the memory of New England's traditional culture by stimulating and publishing new research on everyday life and material culture in the past. The Worlds of Children, 1620–1920 is the seminar's twenty-seventh volume of proceedings and a testament to the success of the project under the leadership of editor Peter Benes. It is also the second volume with a focus on childhood, following Families and Children (Dublin Seminar, 1985).

The Worlds of Children includes twelve essays related to the history of childhood in New England, plus notes on Boston's Pope Day, which involved young participants, and an extensive bibliography. Ever since the French historian Philippe Ariès proved that childhood was a fitting topic for professional historical inquiry in his landmark work, Centuries of Childhood (1962), social historians have debated the qualitative changes in the experience of childhood, when those changes took place, and the historical consequences of different child-rearing practices. Authors in this volume, specializing in history, American studies, religion, and material culture, contribute to that debate by exploring the socialization of children through focus on games, sport, schooling, literature, performance, and social policy. They use a variety of evidence, from

journals, lithographs, picture books, and dolls, to newspapers, association records, and public documents. Three of the essays explore aspects of eighteenth-century childhood while nine cover nineteenth-century top-

ics, making the 1620-1920 era identified in the title a bit misleading. In essays based on boys' journals, Douglas Winiarski and Rebecca Noel address questions about adolescence. Winiarski's exploration of Joseph Prince's commonplace book from early eighteenth-century Massachusetts not only reveals the quality of Prince's home-based education but also how adolescent reading could become a form of subtle rebellion. While his father sought to prepare Prince for his future social position through religious and legal texts, the boy devoured accounts of celestial sightings, astrological wonders, and romantic poetry. Eventually, he became a sailor of sorts himself, plying his merchant sloop in the coastal waters of New England. More than a century later when schoolbased education predominated, Noel's subject, James Edward Wright of Montpelier and Boston, struggled to balance the demands of Boston Latin School with his parents' concerns about his health. Driven by commonly held fears of adolescent death from consumption and their desire for upward mobility, Wright's parents ensured that he would participate in typically middle-class exercise and sport activities. While both youths struggled through a period of adolescence, their educations and parental influence differed markedly.

Other than James Wright, who left Montpelier in 1852 and returned to minister in its Unitarian Church, the mathematical prodigy Zerah Coburn of Cabot is the only other Vermont example in this collection. In an essay on child performers, Peter Benes concludes that Coburn's parents, like some others in the early nineteenth century who could not afford private education, exploited their child's precocity by displaying him as a public spectacle in traveling shows.

In addition to boys' experiences, the volume provides good examples of girls' education and play, revealing some of the ways gender made a difference. In an essay on girls' play with dolls, Sarah Anne Carter explores how play reinforced women's healing and nurturing roles. Two essays based upon girls' school journals from the early nineteenth century uncover the social and psychological aspects of girls' educational experiences away from home. At Litchfield Female Academy, Charlotte Hopper Newcomb learned skills that helped assure her success in the middle-class marriage market. Mary Ware Allen, on the other hand, struggled with the tensions inherent in a transcendental education; scrutiny of Allen's school journal limited her ability to achieve the school's goal of developing students' freedom of expression. In an impressive, longitudinal study of the treatment and lives of Boston's orphan and

poor children, Susan L. Porter shows how the ideas and values of separate male and female benevolent associations resulted in better long-term outcomes for girls than for boys, who were often apprenticed in obsolescent farm trades in the countryside.

Other essays on the socialization of nineteenth-century, middle-class boys and girls through picture books, didactic prints, and singing schools suggest that class made as significant a difference in childhood as gender. Boys pictured in sentimental prints, either at play, prayer, or reading, portray a leisured childhood far removed from the physical labor demanded of poor boys or even from the kind of apprenticeships common for boys a century earlier. In an essay on carrier boys and post-riders, Vincent DiGirolamo details the labor of youths who speeded political newspapers and mail to an eager public and in the process participated in the print revolution of the late eighteenth century.

Indeed, some readers may conclude that children were largely instruments in the hands of manipulative adults, whether through pampering or sweated labor. As transcendentalist Amos Bronson Alcott remarked, "Our children are our best works" (p. 78). That said, *The Worlds of Children* provides not only a delightful smorgasbord of topics for further investigation, but also sufficient proof that the experience of childhood varied significantly through time and culture.

MARILYN S. BLACKWELL

Marilyn S. Blackwell teaches history at Community College of Vermont and has published articles on women's and Vermont history.

### Land and Liberty: Hudson Valley Riots in the Age of Revolution

By Thomas J. Humphrey (DeKalb, Ill., Northern Illinois University Press, 2004, pp. ix, 191, \$37.00).

Thomas Humphrey's Land and Liberty focuses on the land rioters in New York's Hudson River Valley from the 1750s to the 1790s. Its themes of class conflict, socioeconomic struggle, and agrarian warfare place it in the New Left tradition of American Revolutionary-era historiography. The work's noted authorities reveal the strong influence of prominent Neo-Progressive (and "proto-Marxist") historians: Staughton Lynd, Edward Countryman, Alfred F. Young, and Allan Kulikoff. Accordingly, the book's overall socioeconomic frame of reference is

that of "possessive individualism": a term for the transition of peasant farmers from feudalism to yeomen farmers, and thence to rampant American capitalism. To these motifs Humphrey adds an overlay of radical, multicultural political activism, embracing ethnic, racial, and even gendered riotous participation.

Humphrey's thesis is that landless, "cash-poor" migrants to the valley (though forced into oppressive manorial tenancy) really sought yeoman freeholder status to provide their families a respectable competency and used riotous violence to possess the land throughout the period. The protagonists of this class struggle are an amalgam of marginalized British (Welsh, Irish, and Scots), Dutch, Germans, and Indians. Developing dialectically, the thesis progresses through five chapters: 1) "Landlords and Tenants before American Independence"; 2) "Property and Power in the Northern Valley"; 3) "Discontent in the Southern Valley"; 4) "Land in the American Revolution"; and 5) "The Revolutionary Settlement." Their organization flows logically: chapter one, on the core socioeconomic argument; chapters two and three, developing the multicultural themes; and the last two, pursuing the story through the Revolution and early National period.

Chapter one, concentrating on the terms and conditions of leasehold tenure throughout the valley, contains three interrelated themes. First, Humphrey contends that a united, aristocratic landlord class standardized an expropriative leasehold system, which extracted maximum amounts of tenant services, rents, produce, and land improvements. Hence, in this exploitive manorial economy, oppressive, expensive short leases in combination with the feudal incidents of the *corvee*, quartersale alienation fees, and mandatory produce sales to landlords created a frustrated tenant underclass. Stark contrasts emerged between independent yeoman freeholders and poor tenant farmers. Second, agricultural profit maximization from tenant produce provided the capital for landlord ventures in mercantile capitalism. And, thirdly, from these dual foundations arose the landlord class's domination of New York's political and legal structures, closing all peaceful avenues for tenants to amerliorate their condition.

In the two multicultural chapters, Humphrey uses introductory ethnic set pieces to set the tone: one on the murdered Welsh riot leader William Rees in the north (Albany County), and another on William Prendergast, the expatriate Irish southern riot leader in Dutchess County. Rees is but a victim in the violent northern struggle of oppressed Dutch, German, English, Welsh, Scottish, and Stockbridge Indians to obtain freeholds by eliminating tenancy, eradicating landlordism, and expropriating manorial property. Thus multicultural unity at once eliminates

Massachusetts' complicity in this movement, as well as any notion of captalistic Yankee migrant influence. For the tenants cared not what colony gave them freehold land, but only that it remove landlordism.

Here, two caveats are required. First, Provincial Massachusetts' complicity in the northern rioting is an unaviodable historical fact. That government funded the rioters' legal defense purses, issued them land charters on New York lands, provided western Massachusetts sheriffs to arrest New York possemen, and issued the rioters blank militia commissions with which to field their riotous military forces. Second, the old argument about capitalistic Yankee migrants to New York's manor lands and their conjunctive riotous conspiracy with Yankees over the border in Massachusetts comes from an old work by Dixon Ryan Fox: Yankees and Yorkers (New York: New York University Press, 1940). Fox's counterfactual thesis of inherent Yankee economic acquisitiveness is not subject to proof or disproof, but is renewed by Sung Bok Kim (see below).

The same motives actuate the unsuccessful southern rioters, led by Prendergast, and whose coadjutors were of the same ethnic makeup, to include the Wappinger Indians.

The last two chapters portray a modified dual revolution and its aftermath. Chapter four reduces the dynamics of patriotism and loyalism to the continuing matter of land struggles in a four-cornered contest. Northern landlords become Patriots to secure landed rule, while allowing the patriotic former southern tenant rioters to expropriate their Loyalist landlords (by Tory land confiscations): a "social revolution." However, Toryism and neutralism adopted by the northern tenant rioters are merely flip-side strategies to maintain landed continuity in the face of their landlords' patriotic stance. And, when forced to embrace the Patriot cause, the recalcitrants merely adopt democratic precepts and exhange allegiance in a futile attempt to get land. Failing that, in Chapter five the northern struggle of former rioters and their descendants and political allies to eliminate landlordism continues with more rioting in the 1790s.

Humphrey's economic argument encounters two critical pitfalls. First, the onerous leasehold brief collides with a previous consensus study it attempts to supplant: Sung Bok Kim's Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1978). Kim's large work argues the reality (versus the theory) of how leasehold tenures worked in actual practice; and in it he methodically deconstructs the effectiveness of all leftover feudal incidents such as those cited by Humphrey. Consequently, Kim argues that tenancy was a viable avenue to advance expectant bourgeoisie plans for freehold acquisition. This fact then presents the dilemma of revisionary engagement with the terms

set by Kim, one that Humphrey never surmounts. At a minimum, refuting Kim requires a number of counterfactual tables coordinating oppositional matchups: a demonstration of the concurrence of all phases of economic deprivation in oppressive leases with the actual rioters. Quite laudable is Humphrey's use of 2,038 leases for the whole valley, but they represent exactly the theory Kim deconstructs. Lacking the necessary matchups, it is Humphrey's word against Kim's, and the reader in the middle.

Secondly, Humphrey does not prove migrant tenant poverty but, rather, assumes it, an assumption stemming from failure to trace the rioters' geographical and genealogical origins. Family networks of close relatives in New England had heavy investments in New York lands in Poughkeepsie, Hudson, Amenia and the Great Nine Partners Patent, and Queensbury and Kingsbury. And, among the actual rioters, at least 166 held shares in land investment schemes prevalent throughout the region: particularly, Susquehanna Company tracts in Pennsylvania's Wyoming Valley, and New Hampshire Grants in Vermont. Prendergast, himself, held a half share in the Susquehanna Company. Indeed, twenty Quaker lead speculator/dispersers of such shares were either rioters or their coadjutors. Thus, the cash poverty argument depreciates accordingly. Further afield in the same economic vein, Humphrey's claim of former tenant rioters expropriating their southern Loyalist landlords founders on the same matchup problem: only five appear in the text and notes.

My own research (covering over 2,000 land rioters in Maine, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, Vermont's Green Mountain Boys, and Pennsylvania's Susquehanna Rebels) suggests an alternative version to economic determinism, one that might have emerged from tracing the rioters' religious affiliations. But Humphrey studiously avoids this route, despite the central clue of Prendergast's Quaker wife, Mehitable Wing. She provides a vital link to the radical New England religious origins of these southern agitators. At least thirteen Quakers, for example, sat on boards of the rioters' political committees, while leaving the execution of ritual violence to their less pacifistic Separate and Baptist kin and neighbors. Moreover, the religious contrasts between north and south were stark. Overall radical religious affiliation for the southern riot party amounted to over 78 percent (290) of the 317 total: New Lights, Separates, Baptists, Rogerines, and Quakers. Their agrarian struggle was a standard, radical religion-induced clubman operation. By contrast, the near reverse existed in the north, where liturgical Lutherans and Anglicans prevailed: among the total northern riot party of 178 men, 127 (over 71 percent) were members or attenders of those churches. Their religious identity unfied their opposition to the Presbyterian (or

persecuting Dutch Reformed) manorlords. Palatine Lutherans also recalled their virtual enslavement as indentured workers at the Livingstons' Ancrum Ironworks (ca., 1718). Consequently, their land war against them was, by contrast, a violent frontier, marchland operation: little inspired by clubman tactics, and heavily impacted by bush warfare with the retainer posses of the marcher barons of the Livingston and Van Rensselaer clans. Revolutionary-era Toryism was, on the other hand, mainly a separate political issue in which the few former rioters who embraced Loyalism in both south and north had a conservative or pacifistic religious orientation: in the south, Tories were Anglicans and Lutherans, and/or accused and fleeing pacifistic Quakers; in the north, equally persecuted Lutherans and Anglicans.

Humphrey's multicultural analysis, while intuitively correct, also presents methodological flaws. To begin with, his heavy reliance upon average percentages of ethnic surnames as proof of rioter diversity is on tenuous ground because ethnicity is highly permeable; and British surnames are not place-specific. (See also his recognition of this problem, with various disclaimers and reclaimers of surname evidence on p. 153. n.43 and p. #96 with n.35 found on p. #167.) His surname analysis also, in the main, lacks supporting genealogical documentation and, thus, borders upon speculation. For example, rather than hundreds of marginalized British, my data reveal only thirty-one documented Irish, Scots-Irish, and Scots among the southerners; and only twenty-four Welsh, Irish, Scots, and Scots-Irish among the northerners. Absence of genealogical research thus leads to misidentifications, misunderstandings, and even missed data. For instance, one missed Irish northern riot leader was the inveterate Robert Noble (b. Enniskillen, Ireland, ca., 1722, and married to Lydia Ryd at Zion Lutheran Church, Athens, New York). Noble, one of the chief founders of the Anglican missionary church of St. James Parish in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, was also the major recruiter of persecuted northern German Palatine Lutheran rioters to that church. Likewise, the Welsh Rees family of Claverack was so subsumed by intermarriage into the Palatine German community that they took German Christian names and wed, baptized, and attended Zion Lutheran church. Similarly, James Secord, a southern rioter indicted for treason in 1766, is misidentified as an Anglo, when he was really a secondgeneration French Huguenot of New Rochelle (p. 77). He, along with twenty-five other southern rioters, escaped to Wyoming, Pennsylvania, where they joined the Susquehanna land rioters against the "Pennamites." Finally, Micah Vail—a mob captain on Beekman Patent similarly indicted—was not Dutch but, rather, of Anglo-Irish descent from a long line of Quaker refugees out of Massachusetts Bay to Long Island in the

1650s. Vail, in fact, was just one of sixty former rioters who moved to Vermont, joined the Green Mountain Boys, and perpetuated New York's land war further north. Moreover, and in this light, Humphrey's sections (pp. 56–59 and 101–102) on the Green Mountain Boys are so misconstrued that they cannot be unravelled in this space. Similarly, women's riotous roles (pp. 60 and 70–71) appear very strained. Equally unconvincing is the social banditry section (pp. 107–110), with one tried bandit.

In sum, when the loose overlay of unconvincing multiculturalism falls away, Humphrey's relentless economic determinism and the scramble of materialistic automatons seeking land predominate the work.

DONALD A. SMITH

Don Smith is an independent historian (Ph.D., Clark University, 1981) and author of "Green Mountain Inusrgency: Transformation of New York's Forty-Year Land War," Vermont History, 64 (Fall, 1996), No. 4, 197–235.

### The Other New York: The American Revolution beyond New York City, 1763–1787

Edited by Joseph S. Tiedemann and Eugene R. Fingerhut (Albany: University of New York Press, 2005, pp. 246, \$60.00).

Asserting that historiography of the American Revolution in northern states has emphasized events in the major port cities and tends to eclipse the experience of the ninety percent of the population who did not live there, the editors have assembled a volume of essays by nine authors on each New York county beyond New York City. They combined the three counties of Dutchess, Orange, and Ulster, situated astride the central Hudson river between Westchester and Albany counties, in one chapter, and they did not include Cumberland (1768) and Gloucester (1770) counties, which lay wholly within the district that would become Vermont.

The essays vary in the clarity of synthesis, suggesting a light editorial hand. Robert W. Venables on Tryon County, Stefan Bielinski on Albany County, and Phillip Pappas on Richmond County stand out, and Thomas S. Wermuth does a good job integrating the somewhat different experiences in the three central Hudson River counties. Taken as a whole, the essays develop some themes common to these eleven outlying counties and their different revolutionary experience from New York City under control of the British from 1776 to 1783. Generally, the

strength of Loyalism declined as distance from the City increased, remaining especially strong on nearby Staten Island. In Tryon County, along the Mohawk River west of Albany, settlers on military patents under the sway of Sir William Johnson and his clan created another strong pocket of Loyalism. As the conflict wore on, often with the nasty characteristics of a bitter civil war, the depredations of the British and their Loyalist and Indian allies strengthened the popular support for independence.

Initial disposition to support the Patriot cause or to remain loyal to the British frequently turned on prewar divisions and disputes. Entrenched congregations, landlords, and political oligarchs tended to remain loyal, while "dissenting" and weaker congregations, tenants, and ambitious and rising politicians joined the Revolution. In these years the New York landscape permanently changed, especially under the democratizing influence of the revolutionary experience. A new group of people took control of local and state government, and the break-up of the large estates of Tories and Hudson River landlords redistributed land ownership. While tens of thousands of Loyalists evacuated New York City, the outlying counties tended to integrate those who remained into the new, postwar society.

The treatment of Charlotte County (1772), which included all of Vermont west of the spine of the Green Mountains, the Champlain Valley, and the territory east of the Hudson River from roughly the Massachusetts line north, gets off to a shaky start when the editors declare that "There is no adequate survey of the Vermont-New York controversy." They go on to cite Dixon Ryan Fox, Yankees and Yorkers (New York: New York University Press, 1940) as the best account from the New York vantage point, and "for the Vermont side of the issue," Frederick F. VanDeWater, The Reluctant Republic: Vermont, 1724–1791 (New York: The John Day Company, 1941) (p. 14, fn. 25). This uninformed assertion ignores over six decades of scholarship, much among the best of Vermont historiography, by Robert E. Shalhope, Samuel B. Hand, J. Kevin Graffagnino, Charles A. Jellison, Donald A. Smith, Michael A. Bellesiles, Chilton Williamson, and others.

Paul Huey, currently working in archaeology for the Bureau of Historic Sites of the New York State Office of Parks, Recreation & Historic Preservation, and the author of the essay on Charlotte County, also neglects to cite the latest Vermont historiography. But his perspective on the controversy from the New York side adds texture to the fabric of the understanding of the Revolution there. Early settlement that brought "an explosive mixture of people" (p. 199) to the region, the references to the "New Hampshire Rioters" (p. 203) in preference to the "Green Mountain Boys," and mentioning the rumor that "New England People"

(p. 203) started the 1773 fire that began in the barracks at Crown Point, spread to explode the magazine bastion, and culminated in the looting of the ruins, would not appear in the accounts from the Vermont side. But Huey repeats the flawed reports of a spy who claimed that Ethan Allen surreptitiously met with British officials in New York City in July 1780 during the Haldimand Negotiations, curiously citing John Pell's 1929 Ethan Allen, which emphatically disproves the juicy rumor that Yorker Governor Clinton and his ilk too eagerly accepted.

Repeated references to Vermont's claims to all of the territory east of the Hudson River including a large portion of the Adirondack region, demonstrates how the view from New York differed from that of the Green Mountains. The "east of the Hudson River" claim does appear in the boilerplate of Vermont assertions of independence and in Governor Chittenden's annexation proclamation, but the fact that the river jogs well to the west of the northward projection of the New York-Massachusetts border did not register in the actions of the Vermont leadership. The short-lived "West Union" of fifteen New York towns that joined Vermont in 1781 did not extend much beyond towns dissatisfied with New York authority that abutted Vermont. Often portrayed by Vermont historians as a ploy, readily abandoned in early 1782, to secure Congress's attention and recognition, the West Union became a deadly serious action to annex New York territory in the view of Clinton—whose dislike of and enmity toward Vermont endured long after it joined the nation in 1791—his henchmen, and Huey in this essay. They also view the military standoff between New York and Vermont militia units facing each other across the Walloomsac River, which Vermont historians tend to treat as a comic opera episode, as very serious business.

Demonstrating a familiarity with recent Vermont historiography would have improved the chapter on Charlotte County. Conversely, greater attention by Vermont historians to the New York experience would give their work more depth. In the end, Huey correctly concludes that "even though most Charlotte [County] residents had been more concerned at the outset of the Revolution with their land disputes than they had been with the imperial crisis, the Revolution did fortuitously help settle many outstanding claims and thus promote peace throughout the region" (p. 215).

The Other New York provides a useful synthesis of the events in the New York counties beyond Manhattan Island during the American Revolution, with appropriate emphasis on social, political, and economic matters rather than the more widely understood military history. Local circumstances tended to determine both personal allegiances and how

New York emerged from the revolutionary experience as a very different place.

#### H. NICHOLAS MULLER III

A former editor of Vermont History, a trustee of the Vermont Historical Society, and the author of works on Vermont during the revolutionary era, H. Nicholas Muller III has recently returned to the Champlain Valley and lives on the west shore of Lake Champlain in a town, once part of Charlotte County, that did not become embroiled in the Vermont-New York controversy.

### The Blind African Slave, or Memoirs of Boyrereau Brinch, Nicknamed Jeffrey Brace

Edited by Kari J. Winter (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2004, pp. xvi, 244, paper \$19.95).

Jeffrey Brace's autobiography is a remarkable story and a remarkable book. Born Boyrereau Brinch (the editor's best-guess phonetic spelling) in West Africa in the 1740s, he was kidnapped into slavery at age sixteen and died in St. Albans, Vermont in 1827. Blind and nearly seventy years old, Brace narrated the story of his life to attorney Benjamin Prentiss in 1810. The Blind African Slave has been brought out of obscurity and back into print thanks to Kari Winter, who discovered a copy in Special Collections at the University of Vermont Library.

Slave narratives are complex documents, influenced—some more, some less—by their white, usually abolitionist, editors or publishers. An "as told to" autobiography, this one opens in the voice of its white editor, who supplies information on the natural history, geography, and customs of Brace's homeland (Mali). But Prentiss soon turns the story over to Brace, and the first-person narration builds from there into a strong and distinct voice.

Brace recalls his home in Africa as an Eden from which he was snatched by white demons. Crammed on board ship with 300 other captives, he gives an inside view of the Middle Passage—and of the tremendous physical and psychological toll it took on survivors. His relief at being released from the cramped shiphold in Barbados was short-lived, however, as life in the slave-breaking prison was, if possible, even worse. "We suffered for food in a manner and to a degree of which even a faint description would be considered as fabulous, therefore I forbear to disclose it. I was . . . starved, whipped and tortured in the most shameful

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manner, obliged to work unceasingly in order ... that the heathen spirit of an African boy of noble birth should be sufficiently subdued, rendered tame, docile and submissive ... and thereby become a tame, profitable and honest slave" (p. 137).

Brace was sold to English ship captain Isaac Mills (who nicknamed him Jeffrey), participated in several skirmishes in the Seven Years' War, and sailed from Havana to Dublin to New Haven, where he was sold again in 1763. A succession of Connecticut owners treated Brace with remarkable cruelty. (This section reminded me of *Our Nig*, Harriet Wilson's story of the abuse she endured as an indentured servant in New Hampshire.) Winter notes in the introduction that "Brace makes it clear he was not a passive victim" (p. 38), suggesting that owners may have been eager to be rid of the proud young African. Brace is quick to criticize the sadism, irrationality, and religious hypocrisy of his owners, adopting an implicitly superior stance in the process.

Finally, Brace's fortunes changed. In 1768 he was purchased by the kindly widow Mary Stiles, who taught him to read and write and fostered his religious conversion. He passed to her son on her death and soon after enlisted in the Continental Army, which promised manumission in exchange for service, the irony of which was not lost on Brace: "I also entered the banners of freedom. Alas! Poor African Slave, to liberate the freemen, my tyrants" (p. 159).

Having secured his freedom and "Hearing flattering accounts of the new state of Vermont" (p. 166), Brace moved north in 1784. Here he met and married Susannah Dublin, a widowed mother and native African. Although prospering, Brace's troubles were not over. His wife's former mistress and a selectman in Manchester conspired to take Dublin's children as indentured servants. The couple resisted as best they could but were powerless. "I could get no redress—for what lawyer would undertake the cause of an old African Negro against a respectable widow . . . None, for . . . he would have been flung out of business for taking up so dirty a cause" (p. 171).

This incident is only one of several Brace relates that suggest that the "flattering accounts" he had heard were overstated. He was cheated and mistreated repeatedly, once explaining the essence of his situation this way: "The complaint amounted to this, that I was a black man" (p. 170). After a futile seven-year land battle with a neighbor in Poultney, Brace set out once more to find a home, purchasing land in Georgia with his son-in-law. His narrative ends there with the death of his beloved wife in 1807.

Brace adds a final chapter to his brief, episodic narrative to describe his religious stirrings and conversion to Christianity. Although he harbored a small hope of earning some money from the book, he explains that, "above all it is my anxious wish that this simple narrative may be the means of opening the hearts of those who hold slaves and move them to ... give them that freedom which they themselves enjoy, and which all mankind have an equal right to possess" (p. 182). Published decades before slave narratives blossomed into a whole new genre of popular literature, The Blind African Slave nevertheless shared their abolitionist intentions. Unlike the others, however, Brace's book slipped into complete obscurity (even the Library of Congress doesn't have a copy!), and the few scholars who've mentioned it have doubted its authenticity.

Winter's impressive detective work should help put those doubts to rest—she has documented every name and place Brace remembered. Her introduction, however, is uneven, veering off on some odd tangents, the imagined influence of witchcraft on Mary Stiles, for example. She overstates Brace's role in what she calls at one point an "emerging mixed-race abolitionist matrix in Vermont," of which there is little evidence. But she is frequently eloquent in her understanding of Brace and his life, and these complaints in no way obscure the importance of this book for Vermont history. To those who wish to understand the lives of Vermonters of color in the past, *The Blind African Slave* is a gift.

JANE WILLIAMSON

Jane Williamson is the director of Rokeby Museum, a National Historic Landmark Underground Railroad site in Ferrisburgh, Vermont.

## Bound for Canaan: The Underground Railroad and the War for the Soul of America

By Fergus M. Bordewich (New York: HarperCollins, 2005, pp. 510, \$27.95).

An old joke goes, who won the American Civil War? Answer: the American Book Sellers Association. Each year a large number of titles examine some new aspect of the old war that has become our national epic. Should it give us pause that the average reader of history may be conversant with the Confederate chain of command at the Battle of Gettysburg, but has only vague notions concerning the Underground Railroad?

During the antebellum period, hundreds of men and women—free and fugitive blacks, Quakers, evangelical Methodists and Baptists, social

reformers, and eccentrics—acting individually and in groups and networks, took part in an extraordinary, decades long act of civil disobedience against federal law and the institutionalized racism of their communities. Most took part out of deep antislavery convictions, and were inspired by the actions of the fugitives they aided.

Bound for Canaan shares the recent focus in Underground Railroad studies on the contributions and experiences of free black activists David Ruggles, George DeBaptiste, and William Still, and fugitives-turned-activists Louis Hayden, Josiah Henson, Jeremiah Loguen, and William Parker—along with familiar figures Fredrick Douglass and Harriet Tubman. There are also memorable portraits of white activists John Rankin, Levi Coffin, Calvin Fairbanks, Jonathan Walker, and others. The initial section of the book provides a history of slavery and the Quaker abolitionists of the young American republic. The next three sections describe the progress of the UR, decade by decade, from the 1830s to the Civil War.

Bound for Canaan is neither an exhaustive history nor a complete catalog of regional activities. Rather, it captures the everyday workings of the UR, its defining moments, and the experience of different races working together in a common cause in the Midwest, border states, and the Atlantic seaboard. America saw tremendous change during the antebellum era and the UR both drove and was an effect of this change. Urbanization and the increase in free black populations allowed fugitives to "disappear" into cities like Albany, Detroit, Boston, and Philadelphia. Immigration and industry encouraged the free labor movement. The pace of the UR literally accelerated as steamships and railroads accommodated more fugitive traffic. Just four days after his dramatic rescue from Boston Courthouse in defiance of the Fugitive Slave Act on February 15, 1851, Shadrach Minkins was safe in Montreal, having traveled by rail through New Hampshire and Vermont.

A dramatic subtext to the history of national transformation is the story of individual transformation. Slaves transformed themselves by seizing their freedom; whites became abolitionists as they witnessed acts of courage or cruelty.

Fugitives stood at the crux of agonizing and fateful decisions. In 1830, Josiah Henson, having evaded being sold South, determined to escape from Kentucky and, most dangerous of all, to take his family with him. He purchased weapons. He and his wife practiced carrying their two youngest sons, who would not be able to keep up. Bound for Canaan captures the daunting position and do-or-die commitment of the Henson family: "Escape from the Ripley (Kentucky) plantation had been imperative: had they not run away, they would have been sold and separated

from each other forever. But flight was a psychological, as well as geographical, odyssey, a journey of self-discovery and self-realization" (p. 117).

Similarly, major UR veterans and unnamed bystanders, boatmen, and tradesmen, experience their moments of epiphany. A Lake Erie barge captain, aggravated because fugitives hid aboard his vessel, watched the group kneel to pray and kiss the ground in Canada: "I thought to myself, 'My God! Is it possible that human beings are kept in such a condition that they are made perfectly happy by being landed and left alone in a strange land with no human beings or habitations in sight . . . Before I stepped upon my deck I had determined to never again be identified with any party that sustained the system of slavery" (p. 256).

White activists displayed the innocence of their social standing. In 1835, John Rankin, pelted with eggs and street gravel while speaking in Ohio, could face down the young street toughs who accosted him. Black fugitives and activists could not afford to take such chances. Readers familiar with post-Civil War reminiscences of frightened and "panting" escaped slaves, will here meet fugitives armed with knives, pistols, and a steely resolve not to be taken alive. The Christiana "Riot" of 1851 ends with a brawling shootout when slave hunters demand entrance to the UR house of William and Eliza Parker—themselves escaped slaves. The book notes the growing polarization and acceptance of violence by white activists. By 1849, John Rankin vowed to protect himself by any means necessary after an attempted bushwhacking.

Underground Railroad history runs the risk of hagiography. Passing notice is given to the racism of white activists, bitter infighting that bedeviled the abolition movement, and a growing acceptance of violent resistance, but these are viewed as minor issues.

Vermonters will appreciate the significant mention of Rowland T. Robinson, fellow Quakers Joseph Hoag, Timothy Rogers, and Oliver Johnson, and Delia Webster.

#### RAYMOND PAUL ZIRBLIS

Ray Zirblis lives in Northfield and teaches history as an adjunct professor at Norwich University. He wrote Friends of Freedom: The Vermont Underground Railroad Survey Report in 1996.

### The John Deere Story: A Biography of Plowmakers John & Charles Deere

By Neil Dahlstrom and Jeremy Dahlstrom (DeKalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 2005, pp. xix, 204, \$24.00).

The name John Deere is known to anyone familiar with the green and yellow farm and yard equipment by that name. Yet *The John Deere Story* is neither merely about John Deere, the man, nor a comprehensive corporate history. The subtitle gives a clearer picture of the nature of this book. In the acknowledgments, the authors state that the book started out as a biography of John Deere's son, Charles, who "has clearly been an overlooked historical figure," but they soon realized that "the story of one could not be told apart from that of the other" (p. ix). In fact, the Dahlstroms have given us a clearer portrait of Charles Deere and his impact on the development of Deere and Company than of his more famous father.

Those who have seen the historic marker in Middlebury, Vermont, know that John Deere learned the blacksmithing craft in that town. John Deere was born in Rutland in 1804. Raised by his mother after his father disappeared on a trip to England, Deere apprenticed to a blacksmith and, at majority, began a less than successful blacksmithing career in various Vermont towns.

In 1836, one step ahead of the debt collector, John Deere headed west, leaving his pregnant wife and four children in Vermont until he was established. Ending up in Grand Detour, Illinois, he experimented with steel plowshares that worked much better than iron plows in heavy prairie soils. By 1840, Deere had focused his efforts on plow manufacturing, producing forty plows that year. In 1848, the transportation handicaps of Grand Detour and conflict with his partner caused him to relocate to Moline, Illinois, on the Mississippi River. Moline was ideal for his purposes as it had waterpower, abundant coal, and water navigation. In partnership with two former employers, Deere, Tate, & Gould, with twenty workmen, produced 2,300 plows in less than a year. Moline's prospects improved when the railroad arrived in 1854. In 1856, the company, now known as John Deere & Company, produced 13,400 plows, recognized as among the best made.

The Panic of 1857 found the company sound, yet creditors' demands for cash and customers' inability to pay on accounts "continued to squeeze the company's finances" (p. 35). As the company grew, Deere invited his son, sons-in-law, and nephew to join the firm. In 1857, his son

Charles, age twenty, was made a partner. From this point on in the narrative, Charles Deere increasingly comes to the fore and John Deere recedes into the background.

The company advertised and marketed under several names, sometimes as the Moline Plow, or the Moline Plow Works. As the firm's reputation grew, a competitive challenge arose that had to be faced. A disgruntled former employee went to work for another Moline manufacturer, Candee, Swan & Company, which began marketing plows that were exact copies of Deere plows, including part numbers and paint job, advertised as "the Moline Plow." The competitor even changed its name to the Moline Plow Company. After years of litigation, a court ruled that "the Moline Plow" was not a Deere trademark.

Despite this setback, Deere & Company continued to prosper as the nation experienced cycles of boom and depression, farmers faced a financial squeeze, and industrial workers began to organize. The Dahlstroms sympathetically relate Charles's efforts to juggle the conflicting demands of his customers, his workers, and the financial interests of himself and the company. Cutthroat competition caused Charles to contemplate establishing a trust in the agricultural implement industry, against both his long-held belief in competition and the platform of the Republican Party, which he supported. In the end, consolidation of plow manufacturers came to nought. All these stresses adversely affected Charles Deere's health, eventually contributing to his death in 1907.

It is refreshing that the biographers make it clear that John Deere was not the first to produce a steel plow, which the company publicly acknowledged in 1913 when it changed the slogan "Inventor of the Steel Plow" to "He Gave to the World the Steel Plow." This more appropriately acknowledges the contributions of father and son in developing an idea and marketing it to a dominant position in the industry.

The reviewer wishes that the authors had acknowledged Charles Deere's Vermont nativity. They identify neither where nor when he was born, which was apparently in Vermont in 1837, after his father had removed to Grand Detour, but before his mother and her other children followed.

In the end, the Dahlstroms succeed in their original intent of resurrecting the story of Charles Deere. Yet by including the context of his father and the origins of this important industry, the authors help readers appreciate that not only do the founders of an industry deserve credit, but often a subsequent leader also contributes greatly to the success of the firm.

ALLEN R. YALE, JR.

Allen R. Yale is recently retired as associate professor of history from Lyndon State College.

## Envisioning New England: Treasures from Community Art Museums

Edited by Pamela J. Belanger (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, in association with the Consortium of New England Community Art Museums, 2004, pp. 79, \$24.95, paper).

New England has a rich and unique museum heritage. Many towns have small galleries, libraries, historical societies, and other repositories treasured and appreciated by their citizens. Like most cultural institutions, museums and other art centers operate with meager resources and work hard to raise the funds they need to survive. In 1993, fourteen community art museums and cultural institutions in five states in New England banded to together to form the Consortium of New England Community Art Museums. The consortium has served as a forum and resource for repositories that contain some exceptional collections and has no doubt aided in their growth and survival. Now, ten years later, this group of institutions has pooled items from their collections in a traveling exhibition and accompanying catalogue, Envisioning New England: Treasures from Community Art Museums.

Drawing from artwork produced between 1850 and 1950, Envisioning New England is edited by Pamela Belanger. The traveling exhibition was curated by Nancy Grinnell (curator of the Newport Art Museum, Rhode Island) and Jack Becker (former curator of the Florence Griswold Museum, Connecticut, now director of the Cheekwood Museum of Art, Tennessee). With forty-seven works from all fourteen institutions, the exhibition is a beautiful selection of New England-made and New England inspired painting. Both catalog and exhibition not only highlight the importance of New England's art repositories, but also emphasize the relevance of these collections to national history and culture. As the catalog and its essays prove, New England's culture and history at times represent a microcosm of the history and art of the United States.

The catalog's introduction, by William Truettner of the Smithsonian Museum of American Art, nicely places New England's community museums within their national context. Truettner describes New England's strong influence on the presentation and celebration of United States history, and how New England images were "the models for history-making" even for other very different parts of the country. Nancy Grinnell's essay on the evolution of New England's community art museums is an overview of the development of the cultural institutions that form

the consortium. She describes the diverse and sometimes idiosyncratic origins of these repositories, from the Fitchburg Art Museum in Massachusetts (founded in 1927 by Eleanor Norcross, one of the first women to found an art museum) to the growth of the Bennington Museum from the Bennington Historical Society in Vermont (founded in 1875). Jack Becker's essay on the American artist in New England explains New England's special place in American art. Major (and minor) artists were drawn to the New England wilderness, its coastline and mountains, and its picturesque towns and diverse inhabitants. Artists with connections to many major movements from the Hudson River School to the Ashcan School lived or worked in New England, and their work reflects their experience in everything they paint, from celebrations of the virtues of rural life to dramatic seascapes and intimate portraits. The proliferation of artists' colonies in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries drew more artists to the area. Nineteenth-century fascinations with wilderness and human interactions with nature (covered bridges, fishing shacks, church steeples) continued into the 1900s, culminating with a new focus on urban and industrial scenes. Artists such as Albert Bierstadt, Eastman Johnson, and George Bellows are among those represented in the catalog.

Stephanie Upton's compilation of the histories of the fourteen community art museums that form the consortium is a helpful resource. With their varied origins and diverse collections, all fourteen institutions can be appreciated separately, and the brief descriptions of the histories and collections within each one make visits to them all irresistible. The beautiful reproductions contained in *Envisioning New England*, including fifty-two color plates, present a fine selection of some of the best works from each institution.

As noted in Nancy Grinnell's introduction and Upton's capsule histories, New England's communities have changed over the past one hundred years, as have their community museums. Some institutions founded in the nineteenth century have adjusted their missions and collecting goals, while nearly all have come to emphasize the importance of education and have turned to local community members for support and involvement. Many have coped with aging, beautiful buildings bequeathed by "dutiful daughters" and proud collectors, which have been updated and improved at great expense for the protection of their collections. Projects such as this exhibition, with the production of a catalog that will serve as a helpful guide to some of New England's best collections, remind us of the importance of New England within the history of American art. It is also one of the more public results of organizations such as the Consortium of New England Community Art Museums. Obviously,

collaborations are not only beneficial for the participants, but for community members, visitors, and readers as well.

MARGARET M. TAMULONIS

Margaret Tamulonis is Manager of Collections and Exhibitions at the Robert Hull Fleming Museum, University of Vermont.

## Music in Rural New England: Family and Community Life, 1870–1940

By Jennifer C. Post (Lebanon, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2005, pp. xiv, 314, CD, \$45.00).

Music in Rural New England is an ambitious book, covering a body of music that has up to now had no such coverage. Taking the years 1870–1940 as a time when rural communities were still dependent on their own music resources, and limiting herself to an inland area of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, the author gives us a comprehensive view of the area's oral musical traditions. Earlier attempts at such a view limited their discussions to a specific form of music, notably the ballad or even a special kind of ballad. Post is far more inclusive, extending her discussion to include religious music, dance and social music, and even instrumental music, and she carries it all off very well.

The early chapters are essentially descriptive, covering the various genres named above, but in her chapter 5 ("The Social Landscape: Gendered Spaces") she cross-cuts general description by taking up the vexed question of gender: Was there a women's as opposed to a men's tradition? She shows that the question is more complicated than it first appears by extending the word "song" to include more than text alone, and she ends the chapter with the example of a daughter singing to her children a lumberwoods ballad she learned from her father: "The words may remain nearly the same, yet the ways of singing change" (p. 138).

In "Family Song Traditions" (chapter 8) Post presents still another perspective by examining the memories of one woman (Marjorie Pierce of North Shrewsbury, Vermont) through an extended series of recorded interviews on the part music played in her family some seventy years before. Post contrasts what she found with what earlier collections (notably the Flanders Collection) seemed to imply: "While Flanders's initial collections of songs from her [Marjorie's] family . . . created an impression that music in families like Marjorie's was limited to the 'old Songs,'

the interviews reveal a considerably more diverse repertoire. A variety of music genres was represented, including locally created songs, religious songs, and a wide repertoire of American popular songs" (p. 158). The point is well taken, and it emphasizes for both fieldworker and scholar the necessity of paying close attention to ill-remembered fragments and even songs remembered by title only. It is further emphasized in the following chapter, "Reconstructing Community Traditions": "Today people struggle to recall lines or verses of ballads, popular songs, and hymns. Yet they smile as they remember the singers and the way the songs were sung, their stories, and the social times they accompanied" (p. 169).

After a brief chapter on "Landscape and Memory," the analytical part of the book pretty much comes to an end. What follows is a long (forty pages) appendix: thirty songs with full notes and controlling data. Post describes their two sources in a headnote:

The following is a representative selection of songs and tunes drawn from the repertoires of northern New England residents between 1870 and 1940; many are referred to in the preceding text. The songs and tunes are drawn primarily from the Helen Hartness Flanders Collection, recorded between 1930 and 1965, and field recordings made in New Hampshire and Vermont during the 1970s, 1980s, and early 1990s that document traditions dating to before the middle of the twentieth century (p. 239).

This appendix is more than an appendix: It is a songbook, a work in its own right, different enough in tone and direction to merit being set on separate but equal footing from the preceding part of the book, say as "Part I" and "Part II." But it's all right as it is, a good selection of traditional songs, carefully done and well annotated.

Finally, almost a lagniappe, the book includes a CD with twenty-seven sterling examples of traditional North Country singing style, again mostly drawn from the Flanders Collection.

This is a rich and thought-provoking volume. If I have one complaint, it is Post's frequent use in her musical transcriptions of the bass rather than the treble or g-clef throughout. She's "right," of course, but I fear that many interested readers—and readers who should be interested—will find it off-putting. Even so, I have no hesitation in recommending this book to one and all.

EDWARD D. IVES

Edward D. (Sandy) Ives is professor emeritus of folklore (Department of Anthropology) and director emeritus of the Maine Folklife Center at the University of Maine.

#### The Essential Aiken, A Life in Public Service

Compiled by Samuel B. Hand and Stephen C. Terry (Burlington: Center for Research on Vermont, University of Vermont, 2004; pp. 111).

In 1936 George Aiken reflected on a cellar hole near his home. He remembered the original farm house, identified the farm's legacy plants and shrubs, noted what flora and fauna now claimed the site, and speculated on whether an emerging back to land movement would re-populate Vermont's abandoned hillsides.

Readers may find themselves weaving a similar pattern of memory, observation, and speculation as they read *The Essential Aiken*. Your particular weave may depend on when and where you were born, or, for a sadly shrinking group, on how well you knew the Governor (Aiken's preferred appellation).

Time passes. Thirty years ago the need to introduce George Aiken to Vermont readers would have been inconceivable; but Vermont and Vermonters have changed since the time when George Aiken was not only Vermont's quintessential politician, but also its quintessential Vermonter. George David Aiken was born in Dummerston, Vermont on August 20, 1892. Known for cultivating wild flowers, Aiken established a successful nursery in Putney. After holding local offices, Aiken quickly climbed Vermont's political ladder, serving as Putney town representative (1931–35); speaker of the house (1933–35); lieutenant governor (1935–37); governor (1937–41); and U.S. Senator (1941–1975). He died in Montpelier in 1984.

With friend and collaborator Ernest Gibson Jr., Aiken forged a farmer/worker alliance within the Vermont Republican Party. Aiken balanced selective support for social programs and the regulation of certain businesses with opposition to the centralization, expansion, and expense of the federal government.

It is, in large measure, the contours of Aiken's political philosophy that *The Essential Aiken* seeks to map. It does so through a sampling of Aiken's own words, frequently, but not exclusively, plucked from his most visible moments: his 1937 open letter to the Republican National Committee (RNC); his 1941 Senate speech against Lend-Lease; his 1964 nomination of Senator Margaret Chase Smith for president; his championing of "Mrs. Murphy" in the debate over the Civil Rights Act of 1964; his 1966 Vietnam proposal, popularized as "declare a victory and get out;" and his charge to Congress to impeach Nixon or "get off his back."

Neither history nor biography, *The Essential Aiken* challenges the reader to identify the philosophic threads of Aiken's progressive Republicanism from his horticultural writings of the 1930s to his 1975 Senate farewell. In doing so the compilers explicitly confront the reader with a question; what is, what became of, progressive Republicanism?

Which goes back to how each of us will read this book. Aiken intimates and scholars will read with an understanding of a selection's context. They will understand why it was "essential" to include remarks on rural electrification (Aiken's 1961 speech to the Indiana Electric Cooperative), or even how that speech is anticipated by Aiken's 1937 open letter to the RNC.

Readers of a certain age, whether Vermonter by birth or choice, will place some selections within their own personal contexts of the civil rights movement, Vietnam, and Nixon. While "Mrs. Murphy" or "impeach him or get off his back" may not personally resonate, they will stir memories and stimulate understanding. The mythic short-hand, "declare a victory and get out" will be more widely familiar. From those personal points readers may begin to unravel the threads that hold the selections together; they may well perceive the thread connecting the values that underlie the selections from the 'Sixties and the 'Thirties.

But this book is not an insider's game. Even if you have no background in Vermont history or knowledge of Aiken, some selections will give you pause; that was the compilers' intent. They want you to read Aiken's farewell address and think about the evolving health care debate. They defy you to read Aiken's open letter to the RNC and not think of Howard Dean and the need for a competitive national party that can give Vermont's perspectives an effective voice. And they invite you to read Aiken on Lend Lease and think of Iraq.

Having said that, the compilers' invitation to read Aiken's words largely unencumbered with accompanying explanations may not work well for the causal reader. Other readers, more familiar with Aiken's career, may question the selections; why the 1937 open letter instead of Aiken's 1938 Lincoln Day address, for example? Thus it always is with compilations.

Beneath all of this is a question beyond the scope of this short review: how do we capture the essence of an individual? Can it be exclusively drawn from the individual's own words, extracted from texts specifically created for public consumption? Does part of that essence lie outside the individual in the thoughts, memories, and perspectives of contemporaries? And, for modern public figures, who may be documented in a variety of media and formats, from written text to news footage to recorded recollections, where does one turn for what is essential?

Again, such questions are beyond the scope of this review. Most of us will appreciate the offerings and challenges of *The Essential Aiken* and anticipate the fuller treatments promised by the Aiken biography being written by Steve Terry and Bill Porter.

GREGORY SANFORD

Gregory Sanford is the Vermont State Archivist. He was assistant director of the George Aiken Oral History Project from 1976–77 and 1978–79. "Carrying Water on Both Shoulders: George Aiken's 1936 Gubernatorial Campaign" (with Sam Hand) appeared in Vermont History in 1975 and received the Ben Lane Award. His 1977 Masters thesis (University of Vermont) was "You Can't Get There From Here: The Presidential Boomlet for George D. Aiken."

### All Those in Favor: Rediscovering the Secrets of Town Meeting and Community

By Susan Clark and Frank Bryan (Montpelier: RavenMark, 2005, pp. 87, paper \$9.95)

The duo of Frank Bryan and Susan Clark has created an unabashed paean to town meeting. Don't expect to find any criticisms of local direct democracy or praise for the Australian ballot here!

Focusing entirely on Vermont, the book moves from a short history of this uniquely New England institution, with quotes from some of its strongest supporters, to a brief list of its attributes and benefits (for example, of all legislative bodies, town meeting best reflects relative proportions of gender in the population), and finally to some suggestions for its improvement. Without question the last is the volume's principal contribution to literature on town meeting. In tone, the book reads like a speech intended to motivate, encourage, and convince.

For a mechanism so central to New England's (and Vermont's) social psyche, town meeting has received little analysis from political scientists. Frank Bryan's recent Real Democracy: The New England Town Meeting and How It Works (University of Chicago Press, 2004; reviewed in Vermont History, 73 [Winter/Spring 2005]: 97–99) has done a lot to fill that void. In comparison, All Those in Favor is like the frosting without the cake, and one sometimes wishes for a bit more support between the front and back covers. Saying that "every additional hour of television viewing per day means about a 10 percent reduction in civic engagement" (p. 83) without a footnote to the sources is, well, surprising from

two academics (Bryan teaches political science at the University of Vermont and Clark is an adjunct professor at Woodbury College).

Nonetheless, let's recognize for whom All Those in Favor was written: town clerks, moderators, selectboards, high school students, legislators—anyone who believes in town meeting and wants to see it prosper. Involving young people in town meeting, encouraging businesses to give employees the day off, holding town and school meetings the same day, and requiring "democracy impact statements" whenever a new law is proposed are among a host of steps the authors believe are being or could be taken to strengthen the institution.

As Clark and Bryan realize, the threats to town meeting are many: population growth; two-income families; sprawl; dwindling town authority; and the "worse than deadly" (p. 36) Australian ballot. All these reduce civic involvement and town meeting attendance. In fact, the authors recommend that any town with more than 5,000 population consider or adopt representative town meeting, in which neighborhoods would elect representatives to attend town meeting as proxies. As for the Australian ballot, the authors recommend it, if at all, only for election of officers; any other use destroys the voters' legislative authority and is, they say, like using a sledgehammer rather than a chisel to carve an ice sculpture (p. 36). The greatest asset of town meeting, they suggest, is the ability to amend resolutions from the floor.

Despite its suburban growth, Vermont is still an agricultural state, and Vermonters know that crops must be cultivated to survive. Clark and Bryan remind us that the same is true for town meeting, and they just want to see that happen.

Josh Fitzhugh

Josh Fitzhugh is general counsel of Union Mutual Fire Insurance Company and lives in Berlin.

**Correction:** In William Osgood's review of Jeffrey R. Leich, *Tales of the 10th (Vermont History 73* [Winter/Spring 2005]: 93), the reference to Manchester should be Vermont. Mr. Osgood got it right in his manuscript. The editor regrets this error on his part.

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Prepared by Reidun Dahle Nuquist

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