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In This Issue

Book Reviews

Why Historical Fiction?

History gives us a pair of powerful eyeglasses with which to examine our own times. It is hard to look directly at our present reality because we are both too myopic and too faint-hearted.

By KATHERINE PATERSON*

I can't remember when I wasn't interested in the past. Like many children, I loved to hear stories of my parents' childhoods. I referred to that time long past my imagining as "the olden days." When my own children began to ask about my childhood, they used a different expression: "Back when you were alive, Mom . . ." "I'm alive! I'm alive!" I'd exclaim, but my children were not convinced. The era of my childhood was as remote to them as the Ice Age.

A few years back I was reading a list of recommended historical fiction and found on it, not my novels set in twelfth- and eighteenth-century Japan or nineteenth-century China, much less nineteenth-century New England, but *Jacob, Have I Loved.* "How could Jacob be classified as historical fiction," I asked myself, "why that takes place back when I was alive." Well now, of course, even *Bridge to Terabithia* and *The Great Gilly Hopkins,* which are set in the mid-1970s are rapidly heading toward historical status.

Fortunately for me, and writers like me who continue to write years

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* *Ed. Note*: Katherine Paterson presented this text as the keynote address for the annual meeting of the Vermont Historical Society, September 18, 2004.

KATHERINE PATERSON, the author of fourteen novels for young people, has twice won both the Newbery Medal and the National Book Award. In 1998, in recognition of the body of her work she received the most prestigious international award for children's literature, the Hans Christian Andersen Medal. The Patersons live in Barre, Vermont.

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after they were alive, historical fiction is gaining a bit more respect than it had when I started out as a writer. It was not always so. I remember one conversation with a librarian who lamented that fact that *The Master Puppeteer* was set in eighteenth-century Japan. "If you'd just taken that same story," she said, "and set it in this country, children would be able to enjoy it so much more." I tried to imagine how I might have set a story that takes place in the Bunraku theater of eighteenth-century Osaka in today's Chicago, but my mind boggled. I know Leonard Bernstein set *Romeo and Juliet* in twentieth-century New York City but that seemed different, somehow.

That conversation reminded me of another friend who chided me for making Gilly Hopkins eleven. "If you hadn't given her a specific age," my friend said, "so many more children could have identified with her." Now my feeling is that there are certain givens in life, one of which is that everyone has a birthday. A character with no birthday cannot exist as a human being. If Gilly had had no birthday, no one would have been able to identify with her, because she would have been totally unreal. Real characters not only have birthdays, they live in real periods of history. The more details we seek to remove from a novel in order to keep it from seeming dated, the more likely we are to remove elements that make the story ring true to the reader. Futuristic fantasy or science fiction aside, if what I have written is real, by the time I lift my pen from the final page or type "The end" on the screen, my story is already on the way to becoming historical fiction.

This came home to me in the fall of 2001. In August I had sent a book to my editor, Virginia Buckley, which by my definition was contemporary fiction, set in Vermont in the summer, fall, and winter of 2001. I had no idea when I wrote it that the fall of 2001 would be a watershed of history—that any book set during those months would have to deal somehow with the tragic events of September the eleventh. But those events were so horrendous that they would take over the story, and the book I was trying to write would no longer be possible. So I took the easy way out. When I revised, I pushed my story back to the summer of 2000. I wasn't ready to write about the effect of the terrorist attacks on children. That wrenching story would, no doubt, be tackled by other writers in the near future, but not by me in that particular book.

And if I look at the way I write, I most probably will not deal directly with the events that are so close to us. I will, instead, look at them through what I have called the spectacles of historical fiction. History gives us a pair of powerful eyeglasses with which to examine our own times. It is hard to look directly at our present reality because we are both too myopic and too faint-hearted. I began my career writing about

feudal Japan. My first two books are set in that momentous period of Japanese history when civil war is tearing the nation apart. It was a time of political intrigue, assassination, and corrupting power. My third book is set in a period of plagues and famines where the rich are becoming richer and the poor are rising up in violent street rebellions. These books were written between the years 1968 and 1975. Some of you can remember what was going on in our own country during that time. For those of you too young to recall those good old days, let me give you a brief review: The Vietnam War had become such a national nightmare that both Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy announced their intention to run against Lyndon Johnson for the Democratic nomination for president. On March 31, 1968, Johnson announced his decision not to run again. Four days later Martin Luther King, Jr. was shot. Within hours Washington, D.C., where I then lived, exploded into riots. Federal troops were ordered into Washington, Chicago, and Baltimore. We were still in shock when a Jordanian Arab assassinated Bobby Kennedy on network television. Soviet tanks rolled into Czechoslovakia and were met by rock-throwing students. In Chicago police and demonstrators clashed, disrupting the Democratic National Convention, somehow making the gallant warrior of the oppressed, Hubert Humphrey, seem like a villainous warmonger, and the country, writhing in what seemed like mortal agony, chose Richard Nixon to lead us into health and wholeness. And that, friends, was only the first year of that tumultuous period.

I've never written a book set in 1968. How could I? I can hardly bear to recite the events that occurred that year. But when I began my first novel, the book I was writing because I was homesick for Japan, I chose to set it in the middle of the twelfth century, a time of devastating civil disturbance and wasteful war. If I was writing out of love for Japan, why didn't I write about the eleventh century—the golden age of literature and the arts? I could have shared with young Americans the wonders of that period. But instead I set my books at the end of the Heian period when the sword had gained dominance over the chrysanthemum—when the warrior had more honor than the artist.

The word *Heian* is made up of two Chinese characters, both of which carry the meaning of the English word "peace." And most of the Heian Era was peaceful and prosperous and represented the flowering of a great civilization. But I didn't choose to write about that, and the fact that I didn't betrays me. It wasn't Japan that I loved so much as it was my own country. My own country was tearing itself to shreds. Somehow, I had to look at that. So out of the history of Japan, I chose the periods that might help me make sense of my own time and place.

The same thing happened when I began to write about China. I was born in China and spent most of my first eight years there, but I wasn't ready to set a book in China until the early 1980s. So why, out of the more than 4000 years of Chinese recorded history, did I choose that brief less-than-half century of the Taiping Rebellion when I finally decided to set a book in the country of my birth?

Since *Rebels of the Heavenly Kingdom* is one of my least read books, perhaps I need to tell you about the Taiping Rebellion of the late nineteenth century. The Taiping were first of all a religious movement, a mixture of Christianity and native Chinese religions. They were opposed to any sort of oppression—slavery, footbinding, prostitution, polygamy. They did not kill, steal, use alcohol or opium, or bow down to graven images. They believed that every child, male or female, had a right to education and that women as well as men could own property and hold positions of leadership. All of this in 1850 when in America we were arguing whether or not God had ordained some to be slave-owners and others to be slaves.

I was fascinated by the Taiping. Where had they gotten these ideals and what had become of them? I was led into the tragic story of what happens when persons of high ideals take them into a holy crusade.

One of the early and basic declarations of the Taiping was: "You should not kill one innocent person or do one unrighteous act, even though it be to acquire an empire." When they embarked on their campaign to conquer China, which, of course, entailed the killing of many innocent people and the committing of untold unrighteous acts, they had to devise some justification of this behavior. The simplest justification was to regard their enemies as less than human, and therefore, outside the province of the High God. Chinese had traditionally regarded non-Chinese as less than human. The Taiping followed this old prejudice. The Manchu, and then whoever supported or sided with the Manchu Dynasty, were less than human, demons, in fact. One cannot be faulted for ridding the world of demons. They are by definition enemies of God, and whoever would honor God must hate God's enemies. Or so the reasoning goes.

I don't have to fill in for you the consequences of such thinking. History has supplied it over and over again. But this is not just the problem of the Taiping or, more currently, Islamic terrorists. Remember, I was writing the book back in the days when the Soviet Union was the "evil empire" and this appellation was justifying many covert operations by the CIA around the world. It sent us into Central and South America to overthrow governments. This is why we supported Muslim fundamentalist guerrilla fighters in Afghanistan, abandoned the devastated

populace once the Soviets withdrew, and reaped the whirlwind less than ten years later. Every person, as well as every nation, seeks to dehumanize the adversary. We kill the nameless foe and discover, all too late, as Oedipus did, that we have killed members of our own family.

In the novel *Lyddie* I moved from Asia to nineteenth-century New England. I began to write *Lyddie,* as I begin to write most of my books, because I was excited, not because I knew anything about Vermont in the 1840s or about the mills of Lowell, Massachusetts, during that period. One of the earliest dictums beginning writers hear is: "Write about what you know." But if I wrote only about what I know, I would never write. I write to find out.

The question people ask me most often is: Where do you get your ideas? And the answer is: Anywhere I can. Ideas are always a problem for me. I'm not like some of my writer friends who have drawers full of ideas—so many ideas that they will never live long enough to put them into books. When I finish a book, I think: "Well, that was a nice career—while it lasted." Then, if by some miracle an idea does flit across my mind, I snatch at it and examine it closely. "Is it worth all the trees?" I ask. Someone told me years ago how many trees it takes to issue a modest print run of a book, and I was so appalled I immediately forgot the figure. But I do remember that it was such a forest that I do not dare toss off any old thing. Trees are far too valuable to take their loss lightly.

And then there's my own life. When I turned sixty, my friend Stephanie Tolan sent me a birthday card that said: "On your One Hundredth Birthday with congratulations and best wishes for your happiness" and inside she'd written "What? You say this is not your 100th birthday? Sorry, My mistake! Put this card someplace safe until it is appropriate to the year."

Well, the appropriate year is getting closer all the time. So in addition to the trees that will be used up when my book is published, I have to think of the years it will take for me to write it. This cuts down considerably on the ideas I am willing to tackle. After I had finished *Park's Quest* and was searching for another idea that would meet my standards, I saw in the local paper a notice of a conference that looked promising. The Vermont Women's History Project was sponsoring a day-long meeting to encourage people to commit themselves to projects that would highlight the place of women in Vermont's history. Vermont would be celebrating its bicentennial in 1991, and the idea was that these projects would be published or presented in time for the Bicentennial Year. The current governor, Madeleine Kunin, was scheduled to be the luncheon speaker.

When I move to a new place, as I have more times than I care to remember, I'm always desperate for friends. I went to the conference, not only because Madeleine Kunin was to speak, but secretly hoping to meet congenial women and secondarily to learn more about my adopted state. But there was a tickle in the back of my mind that, maybe, just maybe, I might stumble upon a book worth writing.

One of the workshops was on the topic of primary resources. It was being co-led by a teacher in whose class I had spoken, so I knew she'd be nice to me if I came to her group.

During the course of the afternoon, one of the other leaders read some letters written by Vermont farm girls who had gone to the factories of Massachusetts and New Hampshire to work. They were wonderful letters, full of homesick longing for the mountains and farms of Vermont, and rich with vivid detail about their new lives. The spelling was what we call today "inventive." I heard those letters and my flesh literally crawled. Live young women jumped out of them at me.

"Why hasn't anyone written a novel about these wonderful women?" I asked myself, and then was very careful not to check *Books in Print* to see if anybody had. Well, excitement over a book idea lasts just until I hit the brick wall of reality, which for me is when I realize that this is a wonderful idea, for someone else—someone who knows something about the subject at hand. Time out for a few days of cleaning up the old mail pile or making pies while I wonder why I ever went into the book business. Then, with a deep sigh, I make a trip to the library to try to find out something, anything, about the subject. Also to prove to myself that living where I do, research will be all but impossible.

At this stage I have a terrible handicap. I cannot bring myself to discuss my project with another human being. So when I went to the library to begin to work on *Lyddie,* I could not talk even with the librarian about what I was looking for. This problem means I wasted a lot of time. It also meant that in the basement of the Pavilion building, I met Abby Hemenway, who related a story about a bear that got transformed into the bear story in *Lyddie.* No one would have sent me to that particular book if I could have explained exactly what I was looking for. So there is an upside to being dense and inarticulate. You find things quite by accident that turn out to be very valuable.

By making it as hard for myself as I possibly can, I do this research. Then I sweat through the initial draft. Now, the only way I can trick myself into doing the first draft of a book is to do it by hand or on a typewriter where I can allow myself to be horribly messy. A computer doesn't allow for messiness and mistakes. It's always seducing you to attempt perfection. "Just once more through," it whispers. "Then it will be perfect."

But in order to get through the blinking thing at all I have to say, "Look—Relax! This isn't it. This is only the stupid first draft. It's guaranteed to be awful. It's supposed to be awful. The only requirement is to get it down at all—anyway you can do it is okay. Just get to the end. And, actually, any end will do for now. Just get there."

There are days when I am absolutely stuck, either because the material is too painful or I am sure beyond a doubt that I am not and will never be worthy of this magnificent idea. Those days I just say, "Two pages—that's all you have to do. No requirement as to quality. They do not have to be even remotely good. The margins can be as wide as you like. Just get down two pages and you can get up and do something else."

Finally, by tricking myself on a regular basis, I've got this big messy pile of paper—this lump of a book. Now I know how awful it is, but by this time I've been working on it for a year—sometimes two—and my husband, John, has only vague hints even as to the general subject matter when I tremblingly hand it over to him to read. It finally dawned on me how frightening this occasion must be for John. I mean, suppose he has to come out of the den and announce to me that I have spent the last year or so of my life producing garbage? Well, anyhow, he didn't. Not that time. Thank God. And, as my grandmother used to say, I speak reverently. But he did come out of the study with several pages of notes. I already had been to the Shelburne Museum and to the National Industrial Park in Lowell. But I will have to go back again to the American Textile Museum, where I will actually learn how to tie a weaver's knot and go through the motions of starting a mid-nineteenth century loom.

All of the notes will set me on the rewriting that must be done before the book will be sent to Virginia Buckley, my editor—who doesn't know anything about this book yet. I have managed to say I'm working on something, which because it is connected to Vermont's bicentennial, I hope will be done in time for publication in 1991. That's far more than she usually knows about a work in progress, poor dear.

When Virginia finally saw *Lyddie* she wrote me a letter—six full, single-spaced pages—in addition to all the notes written directly on the manuscript. I reread most of that letter while I was writing this speech and realized how much rewriting I did of this book. One thing I think I've learned over the last thirty-plus years is that historical fiction stands or falls on the rewriting. The more research you've done, the more you have to rewrite to bury that research. In the early stages the writer is still making the scene clear to herself, but the manuscript is very awkward—all knees and elbows sticking out. If the reader is impressed by the amount of research the writer has done, then the writer has, in a real sense, failed. I want the reader to be so caught up in the story—to

have people and place so alive to the reader—that she will race to the end of the book to find out what happens to these people. If she stumbles on the furniture, it won't matter if it's authentic—although she's sure to stumble if the writer is not comfortable or got it wrong.

And there always seems to be that one vital bit of information that no expert quite knows. I had to find out—the entire plot depended on it—when in 1846 the petition for the ten-hour workday was presented to the Massachusetts legislature. If any of the authors of the books I read knew, they weren't telling. No one at the textile museum knew. They sent me to the Massachusetts state library, who sent me to the state archives, who sent me to the state university. The document was in the archives—but without a date. I spent at least two days on the phone. Finally, the researcher at the university library said, "Well, you have to figure it was before May. Those were all citizen legislators. They'd have to go home to plant their crops come spring. There'd be no point in presenting a petition after the legislature had adjourned for the year." This made perfect sense. The Vermont legislature is still run on this pattern.

And that is why Lyddie did not sign that petition after all. She would have if it had been presented in the fall. But I could not fight history.

After *Lyddie* I wrote *Flip-Flop Girl* which took me back to late-twentieth-century Virginia, but then, in those dark days of no ideas, a strange image came into my mind out of nowhere. It was the picture of a small child falling off a wagon and no one comes back to look for him.

After that book was finished but before it was published, a lady asked me what my new book was about. It was time, I realized, that I would have to start talking about my new book. I find being a grown-up in these matters exceedingly difficult, so I have to practice answering politely.

"So what's your new book about?" I shuddered, then pulled myself together. Okay, here goes, I thought, but the words didn't come out nearly as politely as I meant for them to. "I guess I have to start talking about it sooner or later," I said. Now, oh dear, what should I say that won't make my beloved book sound totally stupid. "Okay," I said, finally. "I guess I can tell you where it came from." The questioner perked up with great interest, so I went on. "I had this image of a child tumbling off the back of a wagon and nobody comes back to look for him."

"Oh," she said brightly. "There's another book that starts just like that."

I froze. See? That's why you should never talk about what you're working on. I was crushed. Another book that begins just like my dear, fragile, yet unborn one. How could that be?

She searched around in her mind for the title. "*Pecos Bill,*" she said finally. "Doesn't it begin just like that? The child falls off the back of the wagon, then is rescued by the coyotes and raised by them."

I don't know what I said after that. At least there were no coyotes in my book. Ah well, the question of where a book comes from is not one that can be answered in a sentence or two. One idea, as I often say to school classes, one idea doth not a novel make. Not even *Jip.* It started with the boy tumbling off the back of the wagon, but that led into an investigation of why such a thing should happen. When I began working on *Jip,* I had the hope of writing an adventure story. It seemed to me, when I had on my critic's rather than my writer's hat, that there was a dearth of really good adventure stories around.

I went back to reread some of the classics—books the like of which we haven't seen for a long time. I started with *Huckleberry Finn* and went on to *Great Expectations, Treasure Island,* and finally to *Kidnapped.* It was *Kidnapped* that simply drove me back to my own book. What a story! Stevenson really knew how to do it. And for days I floated about, inflated with Stevenson's language, pacing, characterization, wild highland setting. I was little more than a Stevenson wanna-be.

But then I came thudding down to earth. I was not Robert Louis Stevenson. I could not write like him, nor, in truth, did I want to. As much as I admired *Kidnapped* I did not want to rewrite it. I wanted to write a book that only I could write. I wanted to set my book in the hill country of Vermont, not the Scottish Highlands. I wanted to bring to life that child who rolled off the wagon—the child no one came back to look for. Who was he? Why had he been abandoned? And why did he seem so precious to me? As I wrote I learned more of him, his almost mystical way with animals and people in need, his common sense, his hardworking nature.

And then, reading for setting and atmosphere, I met another person in the basement of the Pavilion building so compelling that I knew his story and Jip's were meant to entwine.

I was reading a town history of Hartford, Vermont, when, in a section telling about the town poor farm, I came across a paragraph about a man named Putnam Proctor Wilson. Wilson was one of two "lunatics" for whom the town had built wooden cages. "These men," the writer says, "were raving crazy most of the time, and there caged up like wild beasts in narrow filthy cells, [I] often saw them and their pitiable condition, was impressed with the conviction that the inhuman treatment to which they were subjected, was sufficient of itself to make lunatics of all men. Poor old Put.[nam] had some rational moments and was always pleased to see children to whom he would sing the old song, 'Friendship to every willing mind,' etc., as often as requested."

So I took poor Putnam Wilson, named him Put Nelson, and gave him a new song and my already beloved boy Jip. I knew Jip would give Put not just pity but genuine love and friendship.

At some point, and I'm not sure just when it was, characters from my other Vermont novel quietly began to congregate. I was glad to see them again, of course, but since I don't write sequels, I felt the need to tell them that it wasn't their story, and there probably wasn't a place for them in it. They were very pleasant about it all, just hung around the edges and watched.

For a long time I worked, doing more research than actual writing, still unable to figure out where Jip had come from, and thus, what must happen to him for the mystery of his beginnings to be solved. One morning I woke up and I knew. At last, I had a plot. You'd think I'd rejoice. But no. My first reaction was surprised irritation—almost anger. How could that be the explanation? That would not be the rollicking adventure story I'd planned to write. I struggled against the revelation for a while and finally gave up.

People think writers have infinite choices to make when constructing a book. In truth, I feel that we have very few. Usually, the choice is whether to complete this story or not. I chose to write it. I was too much in love with Jip and Put to let them go. It was at this point that Luke Stevens and Lyddie Worthen stepped out of the wings, saying, in effect, "There, there, don't take on so. We're here. We'll help. And don't think of it as a sequel. This is Jip's story, not ours."

And finally, there's *Preacher's Boy,* my tip of the hat this time not to Stevenson but to Mark Twain, who happens to be my first cousin three or four times removed. When I began to write my America was in the middle of millennium madness. What, I wondered, was happening at the turn of the last century? I read memoirs of that time and went through so many newspapers on microfiche that my eyes blurred and my head pounded. What I found, sadly, was that many of the problems facing Vermonters in 1899 had not gone away in the past one hundred years of civilization's halting march. War, poverty, homelessness, ignorance, and all the attendant prejudices still flourished. The marvelous utilization of electricity, the telegraph, the telephone, even the automobile, had not made the world a better or safer place. I put my boy into the midst of that imperfect but hope-filled setting and gave him something every child needs but too few possess, a pair of wise and loving parents. His father is a preacher, and here I was playing against stereotypes. For not only are good fathers rare in today's fiction, a wise and loving Christian minister belongs to an endangered species. By the way, some of you may know that I am the daughter of a minister and that my husband is the son and grandson of ministers. I have been married to a minister for forty-two years. We have four children, all of whom grew up as children of a minister, but in case you're wondering, *Preacher's*

Boy is entirely a work of fiction, and any resemblance to actual persons living or dead is purely coincidental.

A young reader once asked me: What makes you write a book? Do you write it to make things happen, or do you write it for the people? On the surface, a writer who loves historical fiction might be thought to be more interested in the "what happened" of her books. Not me. No matter what it looks like, as I said to that student, you can put your money on it: I'm writing for the people every time.

Adults often object to me that young readers can only identify with characters like themselves, but that has not been my observation nor my experience. If the author is truly writing for the people, both those in the book and those who might read the book, identification happens across oceans, across centuries, even across species—consider for a moment *Black Beauty* and *Charlotte's Web.*

Not long after *Preacher's Boy* was published, I was invited to talk with a group of young people about the book. In response to a question, I spoke about Robbie's tangled attitude toward his brother, Elliot. How could his parents love Elliot so much? He, Robbie, was bright, funny, handsome, everything a parent could wish for. Shouldn't they love him more than they love his damaged brother? Wasn't he more worthy of their love?

Later, when no one else could hear her, a lovely articulate fifth-grade girl spoke to me. "You know what you said about Robbie and Elliot? My brother is autistic. I know just how Robbie feels."

So this finally is my answer to those who ask why I write historical fiction. Yes, I wrote about Japan and China because I lived there, and about Vermont because it is the place I now call home. Yes, I write about particular times in those settings because I want better to understand my own country and my own time. But most of all, I write historical fiction for the same reason I write any story: for the people I meet there.

If I hadn't written about ancient Japan, I would never have met the orphaned Muna or vain Takiko or ambitious Jiro. If I hadn't written about nineteenth-century China, I would never have met Wang Lee the peasant who turns into a zealot, or brave Mei Lin or San-niang, the glorious woman warrior. If I hadn't cared about nineteenth-century Vermont I wouldn't know my wonderful, stubborn Lyddie or gentle Jip or beloved Put or even my rascally Robbie, and I would be immeasurably the poorer.

I would like to believe that these people I love have the power to enrich other lives as well, but that is not something I can control. You are the readers. Their lives are in your hands.

Vermont Incorporated Villages: A Vanishing Institution

As the number of village governments continues to decline, it is important to recognize that they have been—and remain—an integral part of the structure of local governmental units in Vermont. In addition, many of them have served as the setting for several aspects of growth within the state, particularly its economic development.

By EDWARD T. HOWE

On October 30, 2003, village and town voters in separate meetings in Bradford (Orange County) approved the merger of their two local governments. Under terms of the proposal, the incorporated village of Bradford—created in 1891 with broad functional and regulatory powers—ceased to exist as of December 1, 2004.[1] Shortly before the Bradford voters went to the polls, the incorporated village of Milton (created in 1905 in Chittenden County) dissolved in April 2003.[2] These recent dissolutions are the latest in a long trend that has seen the disappearance of almost one-half of the total number of incorporated villages ever created in the State of Vermont. As a result of this decline, only forty village governments currently remain in existence.

The disappearance of these incorporated villages and their predecessors represents a loss of a unique form of local government for both Vermont and the New England region. Several other New England

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states do have some form of village government. However, boroughs (except Naugatuck) in Connecticut, village corporations in Maine, and village districts in New Hampshire generally provide more limited functional services within respective town areas. Massachusetts and Rhode Island, on the other hand, never created borough or village governments. Outside New England, incorporated villages currently exist in eighteen states across the country. For instance, neighboring New York State has had these local governmental entities since the end of the eighteenth century.[3]

Towns have traditionally served as the basic unit of organized local government in Vermont since the first town (Bennington) was chartered in the future state in 1749. Given that town governments would not, or could not afford to, offer certain public services in densely populated areas, a new governmental unit—the incorporated village—was created in the early nineteenth century. The formation of incorporated villages continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, though by the 1930s village incorporations had become a rare event. By the mid-twentieth century the process of incorporating villages had ceased, but a new phase in the history of these villages was becoming more evident: mergers with towns.

As the number of village governments continues to decline, it is important to recognize that they have been—and remain—an integral part of the structure of local governmental units in Vermont. In addition, many of them have served as the setting for several aspects of growth within the state, particularly its economic development. Accordingly, this article examines the origins, powers, heyday, demise, and possibilities for the future existence of the remaining incorporated villages.

Table 1 shows that the structure of local government in Vermont in 2004 consisted of fourteen counties, nine cities, 237 organized towns, forty incorporated villages, five unorganized towns (Averill, Ferdinand, and Lewis in Essex County; Glastenbury in Bennington County; and Somerset in Windham County), three gores or irregular parcels of land that were left after towns were surveyed (Avery's Gore and Warren's Gore in Essex County and Buel's Gore in Chittenden County), and one grant (Warner's Grant in Essex County). In addition, there were 112 special districts, excluding school districts, that operated either within a town (e.g., fire or water district) or on a regional level (e.g., solid waste district).

The county governments do not have major functional responsibilities, being limited to local law enforcement and administering certain units of the state court system. Supervisors and appraisers, appointed by the governor, administer unorganized towns and gores. An exception exists in Essex County, where an elected board of governors makes these

TABLE 1 Vermont Local Governmental Structure, 2004

Unit	*Number*
Counties	14
Cities	9
Towns	237
Incorporated Villages	40
Unorganized Towns	5
Gores	3
Grants	1
Special Districts	112

Sources: Population and Local Government (Montpelier, Vt.: Office of the Secretary of State, 2001); U.S. Census Bureau, *1997 Census of Governments, Volume 1, Government Organization,* Table 5 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1999).

appointments. Supervisors perform a variety of functional duties including truant officer, constable, and tax collector. Avery's Gore and Warner's exist as legal entities, but have had no inhabitants for decades.

Town and Village Origins (1724–1791)

The French were the first Europeans to reach the future state of Vermont, when they came to the northern Champlain Valley region in the seventeenth century. They focused primarily on exploration and fur trading, not on colonization. In contrast, New England settlers were committed to permanent agricultural communities. Arriving in the southern Vermont territory, farmers from Massachusetts established Fort Dummer (near Brattleboro) as the first English settlement in 1724. After Massachusetts leaders granted settlements for the current towns of Rockingham and Westminster in 1735, a disagreement erupted over jurisdiction of the southern Vermont territory between Massachusetts and New Hampshire. Following an appeal by New Hampshire to King George II to settle the matter, New Hampshire gained control of the disputed area by 1740.[4]

Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire proceeded to initiate settlement of the southern Vermont territory in 1749 with a grant for the town of Bennington. By 1764 he had issued 135 land grants that covered about one-half of the territory of the future state. Six of these grants were for military purposes. One grant (Dunbar) was forfeited because the land had previously been legally conferred as another town. The result, including Bennington, was that 128 grants were issued for town formations. Each of these towns, as well as those created later by the colony of New York and the independent state of Vermont, was

thirty-six square miles in area. In 1765 New York decided to issue its own grants, or patents, after a British decree put an end to the authority of Wentworth to grant charters by setting the eastern boundary of Vermont at the west bank of the Connecticut River. Between 1765 and 1776 New York issued 107 patents, twenty-four without town names given to single individuals or families and eighty-three assigned town names. After Vermont created itself as an independent state in 1777, it recognized the 128 New Hampshire town grants and five New York patents—the only New York patents from which present towns originated. Between 1779 and 1791 the independent state issued another 128 charters that covered almost all the remaining land without previous ownership.[5] These grants, patents, and charters set forth the boundaries and terms of settlement of a town and were conferred by the governing authority to the original owner(s) or proprietor(s) willing to pay fees.

Although all towns were chartered, the date they were organized—i.e., held their first meeting to enact laws—marks the real beginning of their existence. Town meeting laws in the early decades of statehood, traceable to those for Bennington in 1762, provided for an annual meeting at which town voters elected a moderator, clerk, treasurer, collector of taxes, three to five selectmen, tything men, grand jurors, property listers, highway surveyors, and overseers of the poor. Other residents were elected to serve as sealers of weights and measures, sealers of leather, pound keepers, haywards for impounding swine, fence viewers, and constables.[6] In essence, the elective positions indicated the major responsibilities of the town government: general administration, law enforcement, and certain regulatory activities. All of these activities were primarily financed through taxation of the "grand list" of ratable property. After holding elections, the town meeting then considered miscellaneous business items (e.g., rules governing the behavior of various animals).

In addition to towns, the Constitution of 1777 gave the legislature of the new state the power to create counties, cities, and boroughs.[7] Beginning with Bennington County in 1779, six additional counties (Addison, Chittenden, Orange, Rutland, Windham, and Windsor) were chartered prior to 1791. One city, Vergennes, was created in 1788. No boroughs, or incorporated villages, were chartered before Vermont became the fourteenth state of the United States in 1791.

The grants, patents, and charters were generally sold to politically connected speculators, who usually resold them to settlers for profit. Unlike other New England colonists, who lived in towns and went to work in their fields, the early Vermont settlers lived on their scattered

farms and traveled to nearby unincorporated villages to acquire goods for numerous needs.[8] Although these small villages were without governmental powers, they generally had a meetinghouse, church, tavern, general store, artisan shops (e.g., a cooperage or blacksmith), and various mills that catered to divergent needs. A town could have one or more of these villages, often located at a convenient crossroads or waterway.[9]

One of the earliest unincorporated villages to benefit from being located at the convergence of major roads was in the town of Bennington (Bennington County). The significance of the village as an early regional commercial center was enhanced when a major road opened in 1791 that gave local farmers access to markets in Albany and, ultimately, to New York City. The increasing commercialization of farming activity in the Bennington area not only benefited village merchants, who bought output from regional farmers and sold them a variety of nonfarm goods from distant areas, but an array of artisans that also included wheelwrights, goldsmiths, watchmakers, and tailors. Nevertheless, many of the original settlers, whose vast property holdings made them rich and influential, continued to hold sway over town government operations throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Despite a growing convergence of economic interests based on the profit motive, the wealthy farmers continued to view the merchants as unproductive and aristocratic.[10]

Other unincorporated villages emerged near a stream, where abundant waterpower was available for milling activities, or at a point along a river that served as a transport center for goods entering or leaving interior locations. The town of Barnet (chartered in Caledonia County in 1763) had two of these villages, both of which emerged in the 1770s. Sawmills, gristmills, and cloth-making mills operated in Stevens Village, which was adjacent to a stream that flowed to the Connecticut River. McIndoes Falls Village, a more commercially oriented settlement, was located at the last site on the Connecticut River that could be navigated by flatboats.[11]

Early Incorporated Villages (1816–1870)

As the state population increased from 85,341 in 1791 to 291,948 by 1840, unincorporated villages continued to spread across Vermont, particularly within some of the faster-growing towns. One of these villages appeared near the falls in the town of Middlebury (Addison County) about 1794. The falls provided the waterpower for several mills, with an unspecified number of "mechanics shops" located nearby to assist in their operation. The village also had a bookstore, printing shop, several offices for merchants, and a college that was founded in 1800. Communal problems in the early years of village settlement, here and elsewhere, were handled through volunteerism before the advent of a private or

governmental organization. Fire was the greatest danger that town residents faced. After a series of fires had destroyed a large amount of property, a private Fire Society was incorporated in Middlebury in 1808. Its members appeared to lose interest in its operation, though, as it ceased functioning within a few years.[12]

After the demise of the Fire Society, village residents increasingly demanded a variety of special public services that the town government was unwilling or financially unable to provide. The Vermont Constitution of 1793, retaining a provision of the 1777 constitution, gave the General Assembly the power to create local units of government.[13] Acceding to the wishes of its citizens, the legislature created the "Borough of Middlebury" by special act in 1816—the first incorporated village in the state. Under the terms of incorporation, the residents of the borough were declared a "body politic," who would remain town residents. As a corporate body, the borough was capable in law of "suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, answering and being answered unto, defending and being defended, in all courts and places whatever; having a common seal; and capable in law of purchasing, holding, and conveying estate both real and personal, for the use of said borough." The corporation had the power to enact bylaws, rules, and regulations relative to maintaining public buildings; repairing and improving the commons; providing a watch and lighting for the streets, alleys, and highways; operating public markets, slaughterhouses, and hayscales; restraining animals from running at large; providing fire protection; and generally doing whatever would lead to the improvement of the borough. Taxes could be levied for the purchase of real and personal property, the erection of public buildings, and the creation of useful improvements. The borough was to hold an annual meeting to transact business and elect a clerk, treasurer and collector of taxes, and five bailiffs.[14] Voter approval was not necessary for the act to take effect, a requirement for later village incorporations. After operations began, opposition to tax payments became so strong that the borough ceased to function within a few years. However, support for a subtown government later reappeared and in 1832 the legislature incorporated a "Village of Middlebury" with essentially the same powers.[15]

Situated in the geographic center of the state, another commercial village emerged after 1787 along the Onion (Winooski) River in the town of Montpelier (Washington County). It featured various mills, a distillery, a footwear manufactory, and a saddlery.[16] By 1805 the town had become the state capital. In 1818 the "Village of Montpelier" was incorporated, by special act, and was given specified powers similar to the borough of Middlebury, except it did not provide fire protection.[17]

While the legislature retained the right to create villages by special act, it also gave town selectmen the power to establish villages through general authority.[18] General authority to create a village without legislative approval, effective in 1819, required seven freeholders to make a written request to the town selectmen to establish the village boundaries. The only power granted to a village formed under the 1819 general statute was the ability to restrain certain animals from running at large from May to November.[19]

Four more commercial villages were incorporated, by special act, during the 1830s. Brattleboro (Windham County), incorporated in 1832, was a well-known trading center for lumber, grain, and other goods; Windsor (Windsor County), also incorporated in 1832, was the site of an expanding machine-tool industry; Bellows Falls (Windham County), incorporated in 1834, was already an established manufacturing locale that included one of the earliest paper mills in the state; and Woodstock (Windsor County), incorporated in 1836, was the location of several publishing firms.[20] While the charters of Brattleboro, Bellows Falls, and Woodstock provided for a specified set of elected officials, the Woodstock charter was the only one that provided for the election of "five trustees" as the governing board of the village. The Windsor Village charter specified only the election of fire wardens. These villages generally had the same powers as their predecessors, including the right to make bylaws, rules, and regulations regarding governmental services and business activities, and the right to levy taxes and fines.[21]

Up to 1832 fire protection was usually provided in a town by private companies created through special act (e.g., the Montpelier Fire Company in 1809).[22] In 1832 the state legislature amended the laws on incorporated villages and enacted a general law authorizing three-fourths of the freeholders of any village containing twenty or more houses to petition the town selectmen to create a fire society using the same boundaries as the village. The fire society could elect "officers deemed proper and necessary," including fire wardens, and had the power to regulate the "keeping of combustible materials within the limits of such village" and to impose fines for neglecting duties.[23] Since the fire society was an independent unit of government within the village, its existence partially undermined the authority of the trustees to control the provision of all public services.[24] Eventually, parts of the town outside the village also wanted more control over fire protection. In 1854 the legislature enacted a fire district law that was independent from the general village law. Town selectmen were authorized to establish a fire district, after receiving a petition from twenty freeholders in any part of the town, that was limited to one square mile (later increased to two square miles in 1870).[25]

Between 1840 and 1870 the state population expanded from 291,948 to 330,551 residents. However, two contrasting population trends emerged during this period. While many agricultural towns suffered a loss of population, other towns—oriented toward manufacturing and mining activities—experienced population gains. One of the main reasons for this internal population shift was the arrival of the railroads.[26] Three major railroad lines—the Vermont Central, the Rutland and Burlington, and the Connecticut and Passumpic River—were built, starting in 1848, from the southern to the northern areas of the state. The purpose of these networks was to integrate the economies of southern New England, Canada, and the Atlantic coast.

As the railroad lines spread across the state, new opportunities arose for industrial expansion. The population growth that accompanied this activity eventually led to an upsurge in new village incorporations, generally by special act. The Rutland County villages of Rutland, incorporated in 1847, and Fair Haven, incorporated in 1865, prospered from marble production. The villages of Bennington (Bennington County), incorporated in 1849, and North Bennington (Bennington County), incorporated in 1866, profited from their iron foundries and cotton and woolen mills.[27] St. Johnsbury Village (Caledonia County), incorporated in 1852, flourished with the growth of the Fairbanks Scales Co. Northfield Village (Washington County), incorporated in 1855, and St. Albans Village (Franklin County), incorporated in 1859, both benefited from their association with the Vermont Central Railroad. Newport Village (Orleans County), created under general statute in 1864, was a thriving northeastern rail center near the Canadian border. Wilmington Village (Windham County), incorporated in 1855, Cabot Village (Washington County), incorporated in 1866, and Plainfield Village (Washington County), incorporated in 1867, experienced increased activity from their mills and manufacturing firms. Winooski Village (Chittenden County), incorporated in 1866, was part of a growing woolen textile industry in the state.

All of these incorporated villages generally had the same powers as the villages created in prior years. A notable change in power occurred after 1860 regarding the construction, maintenance, and repair of streets and highways. Many charters were subsequently enacted or amended so that the boundaries of the entire village became a "highway district" to carry out these activities. The charters also indicated that a specified percentage of the highway taxes assessed upon the "polls and ratable estate" of the property of the village was for the use of the village (usually in excess of 50 percent) and the remainder for the benefit of the town. For example, 60 percent of the highway taxes collected in Cabot in 1866

was received by the village, while the remaining 40 percent was for town usage.[28] Highway districts were not separate municipalities in the village, unlike fire districts, but were under the control of village trustees.[29]

The nineteen incorporated villages that existed in 1870, before the heyday of expansive growth, were located in towns of widely varying population levels, according to federal census data. Rutland Town had the largest number of residents (9,834), while the town of Plainfield had the fewest (726). Nine of these villages—Bennington, Brattleboro, Middlebury, North Bennington, Northfield, Rutland, St. Albans, St. Johnsbury, and Winooski—were located in the ten most populous towns in the state.[30]

Table 2 shows the number, name, and date by decade, of the nineteen village incorporations that occurred up to 1870.

Although various powers had been granted to incorporated villages through original or amended special charters up to 1870, the General Assembly remained hesitant to provide additional powers to villages created under general authority. It was not until 1857 that incorporated villages were granted general authorization to enact property taxes.[31] Presumably, villages created under general authority did not require tax revenues prior to this date, but relied upon voluntary contributions of labor services. In 1865 and 1866 incorporated villages had general authorization to appoint a five-member police force and to purchase, construct, and maintain a jail.[32] However, since the powers authorized through general statutes remained limited, village residents felt compelled to incorporate through special acts. In Vermont there has been a long-standing belief that direct and explicit powers approved by the state legislature have a sound legal basis that avoids any question of improper delegation of authority to a political subdivision. Consequently, villages that were incorporated in later years through gen-

TABLE 2 Early Village Incorporations, by Decade

Decade	*Number*	*Name*
1810–1819	2	Middlebury, Montpelier
1820–1829	0	
1830–1839	4	Bellows Falls, Brattleboro, Windsor, Woodstock
1840–1849	2	Bennington, Rutland
1850–1859	4	Northfield, St. Albans, St. Johnsbury, Wilmington
1860–1869	7	Cabot, Fair Haven, Ludlow, Newport, N. Bennington, Plainfield, Winooski

Source: D. Gregory Sanford, ed., *Vermont Municipalities: An Index to Their Charters and Special Acts* (Montpelier, Vt.: Office of the Secretary of State, 1986).

eral authority—except for Albany Village—eventually asked the legislature for special charters or acts that would give them the powers needed to undertake certain activities.[33]

Heyday of Village Incorporations (1870–1910)

The flowering of the Industrial Revolution in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries dramatically transformed the economies of southern New England, the Middle Atlantic states, and the Midwest into major manufacturing centers. Some of the technological advancements enabled the construction of water, sewer, and electric systems that provided previously unimaginable conveniences. Technological and financial requirements, however, limited these large-scale projects to densely settled areas in Vermont and elsewhere.[34] Consequently, given the strong demand for these services and the desire for governmental participation in providing them, the pace of village incorporations quickened.

Between 1870 and 1910 forty-seven villages were incorporated, approximately two-thirds of all villages ever formed in Vermont. Table 3 shows the name, location, and date of incorporation of each village formed during each decade of the period. Twenty villages were created between 1900–1909, the most in a single decade.

Given the large amounts of expenditure needed to build water, sewer, and electric systems, the legislature authorized incorporated villages to use bond financing for these purposes. Rutland Village used bond financing to "relay, enlarge or extend" an aqueduct to improve its water supply as early as 1852.[35] However, many villages did not rely heavily on bonds for this purpose until the early 1870s. For example, the village of Montpelier won legislative approval in 1870 to issue bonds for a water supply to "extinguish fires and for sanitary and other purposes." In 1872 the village of St. Johnsbury was authorized to issue bonds to construct and maintain aqueducts and reservoirs.[36] Extensive use of bond financing to construct sewers and electric lighting systems appears to have been underway by the late 1880s. For example, in 1886 the village of Barre was granted the right to issue bonds for providing a water supply, electric lights, and sewers. In 1890 the village of Swanton received authorization to use bonds for financing a waterworks, lighting, and sewers and drains.[37]

Private electric utilities that operated in Vermont in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries found it more profitable to develop and send hydroelectric power to southern New England rather than to local communities in the state. Responding to constituent complaints that electricity from these sources was too expensive and unreliable, many

TABLE 3 Villages Incorporated 1870–1910, by Decade

Name	*County*	*Incorporation Date*
1870–1879		
Springfield	Windsor	1870
Barton	Orleans	1875
Randolph	Orange	1876
North Troy	Orleans	1877
Richford	Franklin	1878
Orleans	Orleans	1879
1880–1889		
Lyndonville	Caledonia	1880
Waterbury	Washington	1882
Proctor	Rutland	1884
Barre	Washington	1886
Enosburg Falls	Franklin	1887
Wells River	Orange	1888
Swanton	Franklin	1889
1890–1899		
Morrisville	Lamoille	1890
Hardwick	Caledonia	1890
Bradford	Orange	1891
Readsboro	Bennington	1892
Essex Junction	Chittenden	1893
Johnson	Lamoille	1894
West Derby	Orleans	1894
Hyde Park	Lamoille	1895
Stowe	Lamoille	1895
Lyndon Center	Caledonia	1896
Jeffersonville	Lamoille	1897
Derby Center	Orleans	1898
Derby Line	Orleans	1898
Lyndon	Caledonia	1899
1900–1909		
Manchester	Bennington	1900
Old Bennington	Bennington	1900
Richmond	Chittenden	1902
West Burke	Caledonia	1902
Bristol	Addison	1903
Concord	Essex	1904
Glover	Orleans	1905
Jacksonville	Windham	1905
Milton	Chittenden	1905
Newbury	Orange	1905
Saxtons River	Windham	1905
Chester	Windsor	1906
Groton	Caledonia	1907
Newfane	Windham	1907
Proctorsville	Windham	1907
Westminister	Windham	1907
Cambridge	Lamoille	1908
Newport Center	Orleans	1908
Poultney	Rutland	1908
South Ryegate Lighting District	Caledonia	1909

Source: D. Gregory Sanford, ed., *Vermont Municipalities: An Index to Their Charters and Special Acts* (Montpelier, Vt.: Office of the Secretary of State, 1986).

municipalities decided to provide their own sources of electric power.[38] Among the earliest incorporated villages to get legislative authorization to acquire or construct their own generating facilities were Barton, Johnson, Morrisville, Northfield, and Swanton in 1894; Enosburg Falls, Hyde Park, and Lyndonville in 1896; and Ludlow in 1900.[39] Jacksonville (1921) and Orleans (1925), however, created electric departments to purchase electricity from other suppliers. All of these municipal electricity providers are still in existence. Other municipally owned facilities that currently operate are located in Burlington, and the towns of Hardwick, Readsboro, and Stowe. All three towns acquired their electric plants from their previously incorporated villages. Many other villages, such as Rutland, were also authorized to build electric plants, but ultimately their facilities were taken over by private utility speculators in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Bonding authority was also granted for other endeavors. Prior to 1892 towns, cities, and incorporated villages relied on poll and property taxes to purchase labor, materials, and equipment for highway building. In 1892 these governmental units received authorization to issue bonds to buy equipment for highway construction, subject to voter approval.[40] Individual villages, through special acts, also gained broadened authority for bond issuance. For instance, in 1910 Bellows Falls had the right to use bonds to acquire land for a public park and to construct a building for street, water, and fire department usage.[41]

Outside of bonding authority, incorporated villages gained some additional powers through special acts during this period. For instance, in 1874 the villages of Rutland and St. Albans were authorized to establish municipal courts. In 1882 Bennington Village had the power to create a board of health. An unusual grant of authority was made to the village of Barton in 1906, when it received permission to advertise itself as an industrial center and to provide free water and electric lighting as an inducement to attract more business.[42]

Meanwhile, partly as a result of mechanization, which increased productivity and displaced farm labor, the state population continued its shift away from agricultural areas to burgeoning manufacturing and mining centers. This shift was aided by the construction of secondary railroad routes after 1870, mostly in westerly and easterly directions. Among the owners of these rail lines were the Montpelier and Barre Railroad, the Bennington and Glastenbury Railroad, and the Hoosac Tunnel and Wilmington Railroad.[43]

Most of the incorporated villages created in this period were focused on agricultural production, but several were engaged in other economic activities. The incorporated villages of Essex Junction, Lyndon-

ville, and Richford were significant transportation hubs; Old Bennington and Stowe had become popular resort areas; the village of Springfield was an important producer of machine tools; and the villages of Barre, Groton, Hardwick, and Swanton were located near various mining ventures.

The state legislature, weary of reviewing and approving proposed municipal charters and amendments, delegated this responsibility in 1910 to the Public Service Commission. However, the Vermont Supreme Court, in an advisory opinion in 1912, said it was an unconstitutional delegation of authority to allow the commission to determine the powers, functions, expenditures, and indebtedness of municipalities, given that the legislature was entrusted with the power to create local governments.[44] The Public Service Commission incorporated the village of Peacham in the interim period but, in view of the court opinion, it never came into existence. The General Assembly, through an amendment (Section 69) to the Vermont Constitution in 1913, did succeed in eliminating its responsibility for approving proposed charters and amendments of private corporations by special acts. General law provisions pertaining to private corporations allow these matters to be administratively handled by the Office of the Secretary of State.

The General Assembly tried again in 1963 to reduce its responsibilities regarding municipal charters by creating a "passive" review process. If locally approved charter amendments were submitted to the General Assembly sixty days before final adjournment, they would become law when the session formally ended as long as they were not amended or disapproved. In 1984 the state legislature abandoned this approach and adopted the present procedure, that again requires a more active role. A charter amendment now becomes effective when the General Assembly approves either a proposal agreed to by a majority of legal voters in a municipality or a version amended by the legislature, without a requirement for subsequent voter ratification.[45]

After the unprecedented increase in village formations that ended in 1910, the number of incorporations slowed considerably in subsequent decades. Ten villages were chartered between 1910 and 1949. They were generally located in small (less than 700 residents) agricultural communities. Six of these were created between 1910 and 1920: West Glover (Orleans County) in 1911, Marshfield (Washington County) in 1911, Pittsford (Rutland County) in 1913, Albany (Orleans County) in 1915, Alburg (Grand Isle County) in 1916, and Townshend (Windham County) in 1916. After general bonding authority was granted to all municipalities in 1917, only four additional village incorporations occurred. Two villages were formed in the 1920s—North Westminster (Windham

County) in 1925 and Perkinsville (Windsor County) in 1928. The 1933 incorporation of Jericho (Chittenden County) and the 1949 incorporation of Essex Center (Chittenden County) marked the end of the era of village government formations in Vermont.

Some additional powers were granted, through special acts and general authority, to the incorporated villages after 1910. For example, Springfield and Swanton, through special acts in 1919, were among the first villages permitted to license porters, cartmen, and the owners of coaches, cabs, carriages, and buses. As traffic problems became more numerous, special acts authorized police courts in the 1940s in many villages, including Essex Junction, Morrisville, and Waterbury. The last half of the twentieth century saw a significant reduction in new functional powers authorized through special acts. One notable power was granted to Bellows Falls Village, which was authorized to create a refuse disposal facility in 1992.[46]

Incorporated villages were among the beneficiaries as the powers of various levels of local government were significantly broadened through general authority after 1915 to meet various needs. Towns and incorporated villages obtained general authorization in 1917 to employ a manager to supervise daily operations. In 1919 cities, towns, and incorporated villages received authority to establish and maintain wood and coal fuel yards and ice plants for the purpose of selling these products at cost. In 1921 cities, towns, and incorporated villages were granted the right to create planning commissions and appoint wiring inspectors. In 1929 towns and villages were given general authority to issue bonds for building airports. Municipalities gained the power to organize water departments in 1945 and sewage systems in 1947 and to issue bonds for the construction, operation, maintenance, and repair of such facilities.[47]

Altogether, seventy-six villages were incorporated in Vermont between 1816 and 1949. The state legislature did vote affirmatively over the years for other proposed charters, but village residents did not subsequently grant the required approval that would have brought them into existence. Among the villages that failed to achieve incorporation were Benson, Castleton, Danby, Halifax, Hinesburg, Island Pond, South Shaftsbury, West Concord, and West Poultney.[48]

Vanishing Villages (1893–present)

Since the late nineteenth century, thirty-six incorporated villages have dissolved either by becoming cities, merging with town governments, or reverting to fire districts. Only three of the nine cities in Vermont did not have their origins in incorporated villages: Vergennes, Burlington, and South Burlington. Vergennes was formed from parts of three

towns (Ferrisburgh, New Haven, and Panton) in recognition of aid provided by the French Foreign Minister during the American Revolution. The City of Burlington, incorporated as the second city in Vermont in 1865, encompassed an unincorporated village and an adjoining area in the Town of Burlington. The Town of South Burlington was created from the remaining portion of the Town of Burlington in 1865. It became the latest incorporated city in 1971.

The first attempt to incorporate Burlington as a city, in the early 1850s, generated a heated debate—about whether or not a city government would best serve the interests of its citizens—that would set an important precedent for later city incorporation efforts. Advocates contended that an independent city could offer more services than a town and would be capable of attracting more businesses to the community. In addition, by giving a mayor strong control over administrative and financial affairs, the diffusion of responsibility exercised by town selectmen could be avoided. Finally, a representative legislature that met on a regular basis was in a better position to enact laws reflecting the views of a diverse population than an annual town meeting characterized by inconclusive debate. Opponents of city incorporation argued that a mayor-council system would result in the abolition of participatory democracy in deciding important issues. Moreover, corruption would inevitably permeate city affairs and lead to an increase in taxes. Although the effort to incorporate Burlington as a city was rejected by voters in 1853, another undertaking won approval in 1865. Its success depended on a compromise that allowed city residents to pay for an array of new services through higher taxes and bonds, which the town residents outside the city would not have to finance.[49]

Seven incorporated villages became cities between 1893 and 1922. Rutland Village, still thriving from the marble industry, was incorporated as a city in 1893. Barre Village, whose growth was based on granite quarrying, and Montpelier Village, which had also become an important insurance center, became cities in 1895. St. Albans Village, the railroad center in northwestern Vermont, became a city two years later. The villages of Newport and West Derby, rail and resort areas near the Canadian border, merged to form Newport City in 1918. Winooski Village, the woolen producer in the town of Colchester, was the last incorporated village to become a city in 1922.[50]

The state legislature approved all of the city charters through special acts. However, requirements varied as to whether final voter ratification was needed before actual operation could begin. The charter for St. Albans specified that both town and village residents had to approve it. Village residents of Winooski voted on city incorporation, but town res-

idents outside the village were restricted to deciding whether a school district should become part of the new city. Only the residents of the two villages that became Newport voted on its incorporation. The charters for the cities of Rutland, Montpelier, and Barre did not include procedures for final voter ratification.[51]

Two attempts by incorporated villages to become cities in the early twentieth century failed. Village voters in St. Johnsbury voted against a proposed city charter in 1902, with 196 ballots in favor and 296 against. Opponents had argued that direct control over village affairs, such as land records and debts, would be lost and that running a city would be more expensive than running a town. Advocates said these and other objections were already addressed in the charter.[52] The town selectmen decided not to have a vote on the incorporation issue, following the decision by the village electorate. A 1923 legislative act that would have created a city of Brattleboro and a new town of Brattleboro needed approval by a majority of legal voters in the town and village of Brattleboro and the town and village school districts. However, ratification by these entities never occurred and the city of Brattleboro failed to come into being. At a town meeting in 1926 voters approved a resolution to merge the village and town of Brattleboro and to abolish the Brattleboro Graded School District and the West Brattleboro Fire District.[53] The legislature approved the proposal and a special town meeting was held in 1927 that ratified the action of the General Assembly, but there is no record of the votes cast.

A successful town-village merger may be achieved by following procedures set forth in the state general statutes. The current general law requires a plan to be drawn up by a merger committee that includes provisions relating to governmental structure, functional and financial responsibilities, and any special charter provisions wanted by either merger party. After notice and hearing requirements, the plan must be approved by a majority of the voters in each jurisdiction. Following approval, the plan then becomes an act of legislation, with the merger taking place after enactment and the approval of the governor. Alternatively, the merger process may proceed under a special act authorizing the merger.[54]

When the village of Brattleboro merged with its town in 1927, a trend in consolidation began that continues to the present. The second and third villages to merge with town governments were Newport Center in 1931 and Springfield in 1947. Two more mergers occurred in the 1950s, involving the villages of Fair Haven in 1955 and Wilmington in 1959. Middlebury Village attempted to merge with the town government in 1955, but voters did not ratify it until 1966. The pace of activity

quickened over the following four decades with town-village mergers approved in St. Johnsbury in 1965; Chester, Proctor, and Windsor in 1967; Concord in 1969; Bennington in 1970; Glover and West Glover in 1973; Essex Center in 1977; Randolph in 1984; Plainfield in 1985; Readsboro in 1986; Proctorsville in 1987; Hardwick and Pittsford in 1988; Richmond in 1989; Bristol in 1994; Stowe in 1996; Richford in 1998; Milton in 2003; and Bradford in 2004.

The main driving force behind merger activity has been a desire to achieve governmental efficiency. When a village dissolves, both a layer of government and its supporting tax payments are eliminated. The town then becomes the sole provider of previously duplicated services. In many cases, another reason for merger support was the increasingly difficult task of recruiting elective and appointed village officials.

Two incorporated villages were abolished in favor of establishing a fire district. Voters in Lyndon approved a conversion of their incorporated village into a fire district in 1951, which required ratification by two-thirds of village voters. Ten years later West Barnet became a fire district, upon ratification by a majority of both village and town residents.

Table 4 shows the number of dissolutions of incorporated villages, by decade, from 1890 to the present.

Voter referenda in Townshend in 1961 and Groton in both 1965 and 1967 rendered the village governments inactive. Nevertheless, because legislative approval was not subsequently obtained, both village governments technically remain in existence.

TABLE 4 Dissolutions of Incorporated Villages, by Decade

Decade	*Number*
1890–1899	4
1900–1909	0
1910–1919	2
1920–1929	2
1930–1939	1
1940–1949	1
1950–1959	3
1960–1969	7
1970–1979	4
1980–1989	7
1990–1999	3
2000–	2

Source: Population and Local Government (Montpelier, Vt.: Office of the Secretary of State, 2000); Laws of 1951, No. 283; Laws of 1961, No. 335.

Not all proposed town-village mergers come to fruition. Waterbury residents voted on merger propositions five times between 1990 and 2005. Village residents approved a merger with the town in 2002, with 476 votes in favor and 176 against. However town voters narrowly disapproved of the move, with 1,076 in favor and 1,092 against. In November of 2004 the village voted again to approve the merger, and the town also approved on a vote of 1,498 in favor and 1,363 opposed. Opponents petitioned for a vote to rescind the merger, however, which passed in January 2005 by a narrow margin of 983 to 901, thus defeating the most recent attempt to merge village and town.[55] Attempts to merge other types of governmental units have also been rejected. Rutland Town voters turned down a proposal to consolidate the town and city governments in 1992, with 203 votes in favor and 1,496 opposed to the move.[56] In 2003 Bennington Town voters failed to support an advisory opinion favoring a change to a city form of government, with 1,062 ballots in favor and 1,730 against.[57]

A contentious situation between residents in the town of Essex and those in the incorporated village of Essex Junction, over alternative charter proposals regarding the formation of a city of Essex Junction, currently remains unresolved. In 1999 village voters barely approved a plan, with 1,266 ballots in favor and 1,229 against, to separate the village from the town and incorporate the village as the tenth city. Shortly thereafter, town voters (including village residents) approved an alternative proposal, with 3,284 votes in favor and 1,661 against (mainly village voters), to consolidate the village and town and convert the town into a city.[58]

Essex Village residents favoring separation cited the need to abolish tax payments to the town for several duplicative services (e.g., for fire and recreation departments), the desire to avoid future tax increases associated with town growth, and the confidence that a new city government would be more responsive than village trustees to important concerns (e.g., revitalization projects) within the 4.6-square-mile village area. Village residents opposed to separation said that the formation of a new city would only aggravate the strain in social relationships between former village and town residents caused by the divisive issues, severely limit the growth capabilities of the former village, and compel the former village to remain heavily dependent on IBM, its largest taxpayer. They argued that if a significant reduction or closure of IBM facilities were to occur, the financial impact on the new city budget would be enormous. They noted that the firm, at the time, accounted for almost 50 percent of total general fund revenues through property taxes on land and the subsidy tax on machinery and equipment—a tax currently being phased

out.[59] They also pointed out that Winooski once was similarly dependent on a major employer as its biggest taxpayer, and suffered a severe financial blow when the American Woolen Company closed in 1954. Meanwhile, town supporters of consolidation of the village and town governments said that it was the best way of providing quality services at the lowest cost, creating a better-balanced economy, and keeping the village area as the center of the new city.[60]

Although Essex town and village residents have considered plans for separation or consolidation since 1958, the latest charter proposals were the first to reach the Vermont legislature. The legislature, generally inclined to approve submissions when both governments are in common agreement, has so far been reluctant to choose between the competing plans with the parties so sharply divided.

The slowdown in village formations after 1925, and the subsequent failure of others to emerge after 1949, may partially be attributable to legislation enacted in 1917. In that year the General Assembly granted authority to all types of municipalities to issue bonds for public purposes, within prescribed financial limits, provided that two-thirds of the voters at a duly warned election gave their approval.[61] Town governments now had general authority to issue bonds for capital improvements, without the need for approval through special acts of the legislature. It is likely that voter approval of bonds for large-scale projects in towns experiencing rapid population growth may have forestalled proposals for new village formations.

Another possible reason for the failure to incorporate new villages may be related to expansion in the functions authorized for fire districts through general statutes. Fire districts may now encompass either a portion or an entire town, as the result of a general law passed in 1929.[62] Beyond providing fire protection, they have had authority to construct and maintain sewer and lighting systems since 1909; sprinkle and oil streets and construct and maintain sidewalks since 1912; construct and maintain public parks and sewage treatment plants since 1941; and adopt the town manager system since 1943.[63] Fire districts may use a property tax to finance current operations and issue approved bonds for capital expenditures. In addition, fire districts may regulate the manufacture and safekeeping of ashes, gunpowder, and combustibles, and take precautionary measures for the preservation of buildings.[64]

A town-village merger does not mean that certain services formerly received by village residents, such as police protection, will necessarily be terminated. A merger agreement may include a provision for the creation of a special-services district under the control of the town board. The expenses of these services, financed by a property tax, are borne

only by the taxpayers who receive them.[65] District residents benefit through receipt of a limited number of services that the town is not willing to offer and the town avoids the need to finance them. Several town and village merger agreements have taken advantage of this option. For example, after the town and village of Randolph merged in 1984, special-services districts were created for water usage, sewer facilities, and police protection. In some instances, a special service has eventually been extended to residents of the entire town (e.g., police protection in Richford) and the special-services district then ceased to exist. On a larger scale, two or more municipalities may form a consolidated water or sewer district or charter a solid-waste district to cope with regional issues.[66]

The Future

The future of the remaining forty incorporated villages in Vermont holds three possible outcomes. The most probable result is the occurrence of more town-village mergers. The likelihood of these mergers will increase as village residents become more willing to relinquish a controlling interest in their governmental affairs for efficiency gains, a special-services district is provided for the former area of the village, and town residents have already assumed or are willing to undertake services provided by the village. For example, when the town and village governments of Stowe merged in 1996, the town already was totally funding many of the services formerly provided by the village government (e.g., road repair). Town residents in Stowe did not view any additional post-merger expenses as financially burdensome. Similarly, Milton town residents, who were already fully funding ambulance and fire services for the village, appeared willing to assume the costs of village street lights and sidewalk maintenance when they approved merger plans in 2003.

Between 1960 and 2000 the state population surged from 389,881 to 608,827 residents. The dramatic growth resulted from improved transportation facilities, particularly the interstate highways, and the structural shift in the economy from less reliance on agriculture and natural resources production toward the faster-growing services sector (e.g., education, tourism, and health care) and light manufacturing (e.g., computer technology).[67] While towns in Chittenden County experienced the largest population increase in the period, medium-sized towns scattered across the state also grew. In many cases, sprawl development accompanied growth in the countryside, while village populations and their economic activity stagnated or declined.

Given these developments, a second possibility is that village residents will likely approve a merger proposal, but town residents outside

the village will be inclined to vote against it. Examples of this outcome occurred both in Waterbury in 2004–2005 and during a previously unsuccessful merger attempt in Bradford. Village voters in Bradford approved a merger plan in 1999, with 196 in favor and 14 against, that would have eliminated a village tax rate that was double that of the town tax rate. Town residents rejected the proposal, by a vote of 391 to 341, fearing higher postmerger taxes, partly associated with revitalizing the village infrastructure.[68] Similarly, town voters in Waterbury, fearing future tax increases for townwide services, narrowly rejected the aforementioned proposal for a town-village merger in 2000 and 2005.[69]

The third possible outcome is that a majority of residents in some incorporated villages will have no desire to merge with the town. These village residents have a strong preference for village government and are willing to pay for a level of services that suits their preferences. The prospects of survival for these village governments will be further enhanced if there is a sound economic base, good relations between village and town officials, and a strong commitment by village residents to the preservation of participatory democracy that is fostered by a shared sense of community identity.

The creation of incorporated villages in Vermont has been a unique local government experiment. Since coming into existence in the early nineteenth century, villages have provided a host of urban amenities to residents in settled town areas that greatly added to the safety and convenience of daily living. However, over the last several decades, a desire to achieve governmental efficiency has caused the demise of many village governments. As these incorporated villages have vanished, the town once again assumed its role as the basic unit of local government in meeting the public service needs of its citizens.[70]

Notes

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A Tale of Two Statues: The William Wells Statues at Gettysburg and Burlington, Vermont

This statue and bas-relief may remind future generations that Vermont raised men who dared to do even more desperate deeds than that famous charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava.[1]

By DAVID F. CROSS

Battery Park in Burlington, Vermont, overlooks Lake Champlain. During the War of 1812, an artillery emplacement consisting of embrasures for thirteen cannon was constructed to repel British warships coming up the lake from Canada, and these earthworks did withstand a harmless twenty-minute bombardment in 1813.[2] The only Civil War connection here is the arrival the same year of General Wade Hampton to command the force being assembled for an ill-fated invasion of Canada.[3] This Major General Hampton (1752–1835) was the grandfather of Confederate Major General Wade Hampton III (1818–1902), who organized the Hampton Legion and commanded the cavalry of the Army of Northern Virginia following J.E.B. Stuart's death at Yellow Tavern, Virginia.

It is, therefore, somewhat of a surprise and an anachronism to encounter in the center of Battery Park a large statue of a Federal Civil War cavalry officer. He stands eight feet five inches tall and is portrayed

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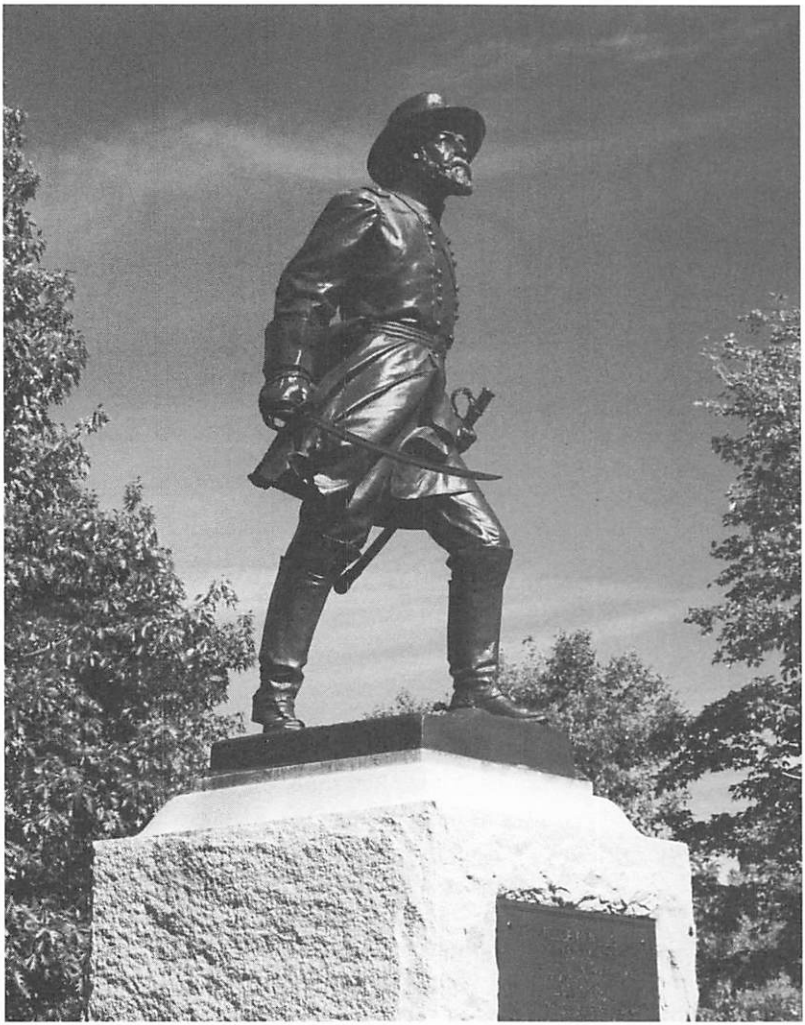
afoot, striding forward, sword in hand, wearing a double-breasted general's uniform, a wide-brimmed hat, sidearm, knee-high boots, and spurs. This bronze sculpture stands atop a seven-foot-square multitiered granite base. The figure is Brevet Major General William Wells of the First Regiment of Vermont Cavalry (FVC).

Four hundred miles to the south, visitors to the battlefield at Gettysburg can view this same statue because an identical sculpture occupies a conspicuous site on South Confederate Avenue where it crosses Plum Run. Actually, the Gettysburg statue is the original (by 11 months) while the Burlington version is the replica.[4] The prominent location at the base of Big Round Top of this statue of a lesser-known Civil War hero attracts the attention of many visitors to the park. One battlefield guide quips, "As we tell of Hood's hot, thirsty, tired men making their advance on Day 2, and are just beginning to cross Plum Rum, someone in the car, van, or bus invariably blurts out, 'Who's that guy?'" To which she replies, just 'Some Cavalry guy.'"[5]

Eight equestrian statues of specific individuals stand on the battlefield (Hancock, Howard, Lee, Longstreet, Meade, Reynolds, Sedgwick, and Slocum). The Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association (GBMA), perhaps John Bachelder[6] himself, is thought to have insisted that no one ranking below general at the time of the battle could have his own monument and only corps and army commanders could be portrayed mounted.[7] Hence, although cavalry commanders, both John Buford and George Custer are horseless while the Gregg Cavalry Shaft on East Cavalry Field bears no statue. Alfred Pleasonton[8] and David Gregg have individual nonequestrian statues as part of the Pennsylvania State Memorial group. An unidentified trooper on horseback surmounts the 8th Pennsylvania Cavalry Memorial. Sometimes the veterans circumvented the GBMA rules. Colonel A. Van Horne Ellis, with folded arms, stands atop the 124th New York Infantry monument at Devil's Den. His is the only full length statue of a regimental commander on the battlefield. Lt. Stephen Brown, without his hatchet,[9] surmounts the 13th Vermont Infantry Monument. He is the lowest-ranking officer depicted in bronze. The trooper portrayed on the 17th Pennsylvania Cavalry monument is George Ferree of Company L, and there are several other surreptitious depictions.[10] There are many images of generic enlisted men on regimental memorials. One woman, a pregnant Elizabeth Thorn, in the Gettysburg Civil War Women's Memorial dedicated in 2002, one chaplain, Father William Corby, one civilian, John Burns, one enlisted man, Albert Woolson, who was not at the battle but outlived all his Grand Army of the Republic (GAR) comrades, and one Delaware Indian warrior, Chief Tamenend, are depicted in bronze. But, excluding



Statue of Brevet Major General William Wells in Battery Park at Burlington, Vermont. Photograph by the author.

Statue of Brevet Major General William Wells in the Gettysburg Military Park at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. Photograph courtesy of Jack Anderson.

Lt. Brown, who was not a commander, Major William Wells is the lowest-ranking federal officer with a statue specifically to honor him.[11]

Who was this "Cavalry guy?" How does one explain the statue of a lowly major located on the Gettysburg battlefield and why a replica on a site in Vermont commemorating the War of 1812 ?

William Wells was arguably the most extraordinary Vermont soldier of the Civil War.[12] Few, if any, men endured more arduous service or took part in more engagements. Enlisting as a private in 1861, he was almost continuously in the field until the end of the war. After being elected the second lieutenant of Company C, he rose to brevet major general[13] and was the last commander of the Army of the Potomac's Cavalry Corps. Wells was captured by John Singleton Mosby and was wounded twice. He was in the engagements at Culpeper Court House, Brandy Station, and Ashland, and he commanded a battalion at Yellow Tavern. He took part in the Kilpatrick-Dahlgren Richmond Raid, Wilson's Raid, Third Winchester, and Cedar Creek. Of the seventy-six engagements credited to the FVC, Wells was involved in seventy. He commanded a brigade or division in eighteen battles. Following the death of General Elon Farnsworth during the ill-fated charge on the third day at Gettysburg, Wells led his battalion to safety. Licensed battlefield guide Andie Custer observes, "Most people think he [Wells] simply rode with Farnsworth, however, primary evidence (and Wells's own letters) reveal that Farnsworth was NOT with him when he broke into the meadow."[14] He was awarded the Medal of Honor in 1891 for leading his battalion in Farnsworth's Charge.[15] At the Grand Review in Washington on May 22, 1865, he commanded the 2nd Brigade, 3rd (Custer's) Division, Cavalry Corps, which led the advance of the Army of the Potomac.[16] Philip H. Sheridan is reputed to have said of Wells, "He was my ideal of a cavalryman."[17]

Wells was born in 1837 in Waterbury, Vermont, into an influential Vermont family. His father, William W. Wells, had graduated from the University of Vermont in 1827, was prominent in the pharmaceutical and other businesses, served in the state legislature and sent four (of six) sons to the Union armies.[18] An uncle, Paul Dillingham, Jr., was the lieutenant governor of Vermont from 1861–65. Young William was educated at the Vermont Academy in Saxtons River and Kimball Union Academy in Meriden, New Hampshire. From age nineteen until the outbreak of the Civil War, Wells worked for his father in his extensive business interests. In 1861 he assisted in raising Company C, FVC, and his company elected him its second lieutenant. Wells was commissioned a first lieutenant in October 1861 and captain a month later. In September 1862, he returned to Vermont to assist in regimental recruiting. In

January 1863, having been promoted to major while away, he returned to Virginia. All the officers of the regiment concurred in recommending his promotion to colonel of the regiment in June 1864. He was awarded the brevet rank of brigadier general of volunteers in February 1865 and brevet major general "for gallant and meritorious service" in March 1865. Upon the recommendation of Generals Sheridan and George A. Custer for his brilliant service, he was commissioned brigadier general in May 1865. Students of Vermont in the Civil War believe he received more promotions than any other Vermont officer during the war.[19]

The military career of Major Wells came close to being terminated by John Mosby in March 1863 at Herndon Station, Virginia. A month earlier, Mosby had embarrassed and ended the career of Brigadier General Edwin H. Stoughton when he rode into Fairfax Court House with twenty-nine of his partisan rangers and captured the commander of the Second Vermont Brigade arousing him from bed with a famous slap on the backside.[20] On March 17, 1863, Mosby raided the federal outpost at Herndon Station, Virginia. His Rangers surprised troopers of the FVC and captured two dozen Vermonters. It so happened that Wells was visiting the post to investigate complaints that federal troopers were stealing from the local citizenry. Major Wells, accompanied by Captain Robert Scofield, Jr. and Lt. Perley C. J. Cheney, was enjoying lunch across the road from the station at the home of Nat Hanna with the commander of the post, Lt. Alexander G. Watson. Mosby recalled,

> We saw four finely-equipped horses tied in front of a near-by house. My men at once rushed to find the riders. They found a table spread with lunch. One of the men ran up-stairs where it was pitch dark; he called but got no answer. As a pistol shot could do no harm, he fired into the darkness. The flash of the pistol in his face caused one of the Yankees to move, and he descended through the ceiling. He had stepped on the lathing and caved it in. After he was brushed off, we saw that he was a major. The three other officers who were with him came out of their holes and surrendered. My men appropriated the lunch by right of war.[21]

Wells's spectacular arrival from above into the midst of Mosby and his Rangers seems the stuff of Hollywood fiction, and in a lesser man might have been the end of his military career. The episode, however, did his reputation no harm. He spent seven weeks in Libby Prison until being paroled on May 5, 1863, and then returned to his regiment, where he distinguished himself in numerous engagements.

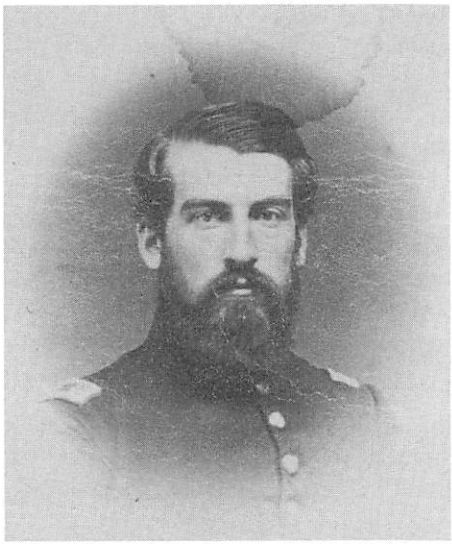
At Gettysburg, General Farnsworth led Wells's battalion on the charge associated with his name. Farnsworth was mortally wounded early, and when the Vermonters debouched into the meadow, he was probably already dead. It was Wells who broke through the line of

Confederate infantry, got cut off from the Union lines, reorganized and held his command together, and escaped with few casualties.[22] Wells wrote home describing the charge:

> Dear Parents
> In the afternoon My Battalion B. H. A & G made a charge. Also the 1st [West] Va made one on our left. Genl Farnsworth led my Battalion in the Charge. We charged over rocks over stone walls & fences. Drove in 200 Infantry. Captured 30 or 40 Prisoners. Genl F was dismounted. One of Co C Men gave up his horse to him. The Genl was wounded. I have not seen him since. It was reported that he was wounded but in our Lines. [It was not until July 5 that Farnsworth's body was discovered on the battlefield, pierced by five bullets.] He is a fine officer. We charged about 1 [written over with a "2"] miles until we ran onto a Brigade of Infantry stationed behind a Stone wall in the woods. They opened on us, killed some horses & Captured some men. When we fell back we met Cos L & E & F who were sent to support us. . . . Officers & men behaved themselves gallantly.[23]

Wells was wounded by saber cuts in a savage cavalry melee at Boonboro, Maryland, in July 1863 and wounded again in September by a shell fragment at Culpeper Court House, Virginia.[24] He commanded the 7th Michigan Cavalry during Kilpatrick's raid. Following the death of Colonel Addison W. Preston in June 1864, Wells succeeded to the command of the FVC. In August he led it into the Shenandoah Valley under General Sheridan. In September Wells assumed command of the brigade[25] and sometimes the entire Third Division. The Vermonters and the brigade performed creditably at Third Winchester and spectacularly at Cedar Creek, helping to reverse the rout of the morning and achieving a major victory at nightfall. Wells was the last commander of General Sheridan's Corps. He remained in the army until January 1866.[26]

Wells returned to Waterbury and to the family wholesale drug business of Henry & Company. The company moved to Burlington in 1868 and became Wells, Richardson & Co. pharmaceutical company in 1872.[27] He left the management of the company in that year to accept the office of collector of customs for the district of Vermont proffered to him by President Grant to replace the disgraced George Stannard. The *Burlington Free Press* commented, "But while we sorrow over Stannard's fall, we are pleased that the office is given to another soldier, Gen. Wm. Wells of Burlington."[28] After thirteen years as customs collector in Burlington, Wells resumed active management of Wells, Richardson & Co. By this time he had become one of the wealthiest men in Vermont.[29] His business interests were numerous. He was president of the Burlington Trust Company, the Burlington Gas Light Company, and the Burlington Board of Trade. He was a director in the Rutland Railroad and



Carte de visite of Major William Wells of the First Regiment Vermont Volunteer Cavalry in 1863. Courtesy of Special Collections, Bailey/ Howe Library, University of Vermont.

the Champlain Transportation Company, which operated steamboats on Lake Champlain. He served his community in numerous civic capacities, including being a major benefactor and trustee of the Burlington YMCA and a vestryman of St. Paul's Episcopal cathedral. Always an active veteran, he was a president of the Reunion Society of Vermont Officers, a president of the First Vermont Cavalry Society (FVCS), a member of the Gettysburg Monument Commission (1889–90), the first commander of the Vermont Commandery of the Loyal Legion, a member of GAR Stannard Post #2, and a founder and first president of the Vermont Veterans Home.

Wells represented Waterbury in the state legislature in 1865–66. In that year he was elected by the legislature to serve as Vermont's adjutant and inspector general and was reelected to this post consecutively for thirteen years. In 1886–88 he served as a State Senator from Chittenden County.

In 1891 the adjutant and inspector general of Vermont was Theodore S. Peck, once a trooper in the FVC and Wells's successor in the job. Peck wrote the secretary of war "respectfully call[ing] your attention to the record of the following named Vermont soldiers, and sincerely trust it may be your pleasure . . . to issue them medals of honor for distinguished services rendered during the war of the rebellion."[30] The secretary of war just happened to be a Vermonter, Redfield Proctor, previously colonel of the 15th Vermont Infantry. Peck listed several

Vermonters, including Wells, and cited his gallantry at Funkstown, Cedar Creek, Five Forks, and especially Gettysburg, where:

> Major Wm. Wells led the charge of the second battalion, First Vermont cavalry upon Round Top, Gettysburg, Pa. at the time Gen. Farnsworth was killed. This charge . . . was considered one of the most daring charges of the war of the rebellion, or any other war.[31]

The record does not reveal any investigation by a staff officer. Instead, there is an endorsement dated August 29, 1891, by the acting secretary of war, Lewis A. Grant (formally commander of the First Vermont Brigade), directing:

> Issue medal of honor to Brevet Major-General William Wells for distinguished gallantry at the battle of Gettysburg.[32]

Seven months before his death, an ill Wells received his Medal of Honor along with fellow Vermonters Col. Wheelock G. Veasey, Lt. Erastus W. Jewett, Adjutant Josiah G. Livingstone, and, not surprisingly, Lt. Theodore S. Peck.

Immediately upon his return from the army in 1865, Wells married Arahanna Richardson (1845–1905). They had two children, Franklin Richardson Wells (1871–1956) and Bertha Richardson Wells (1873–1954).[33] Because of his wife's health problems, Wells began spending winters in New York City, where he became ill with coronary disease in 1890. He died suddenly of "angina pectoris" in New York in 1892 at the age of 54. The *Burlington Free Press* in a lengthy editorial commented:

> In the death of Gen. Wells which . . . bought sorrow to so many hearts, the city of Burlington lost one of it foremost citizens and the State of Vermont one of its worthiest, best known and universally respected citizens.[34]

The funeral was directed by the Vermont Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. Business activity was suspended throughout Burlington, with flags flown at half-mast. The Cathedral of St. Paul was inadequate to accommodate the crowd wishing to attend the service. Dignitaries ranging from the governor to leaders of Vermont's business, social, fraternal, and veterans groups were present. The huge procession that accompanied the body on the 1½-mile route from the cathedral to Lake View Cemetery included a hundred employees from Wells, Richardson & Co., seventy-five veterans from Burlington's Stannard Post #2 GAR, seventy-five men from the Camp William Wells Post of the Sons of Union Veterans, and the thirty-man Burlington cadet corps. Twenty-five members of the FVCS walked with the hearse. At the cemetery the column formed a hollow square for an impressive

burial service.[35] A large granite boulder bearing a medal plaque that chronicles Wells's accomplishments marks the grave.

In 1908, by joint resolution of the senate and house, the Vermont legislature authorized the placement of a medallion portrait of General Williams Wells in the State House in Montpelier. On October 5, 1910, the plaque was dedicated "before a large group of dignitaries and a dwindling number of veterans."[36]

A delegation from the FVCS journeyed to Gettysburg in the autumn of 1910 to confer with the Gettysburg National Military Park Commission, and the War Department promptly granted a site for a monument to Wells on October 30, 1910.[37] The location was chosen by the veterans because it was "near the spot where the second battalion crossed Plum Run on the charge of July 3, 1864." The Commission "assured the Vermonters that when the monument was in position a vista would be opened from that point to the granite monument of the First Vermont Cavalry, . . . a distance of one thousand yards."[38] Actually, it seems this spot was originally intended as the site for a Farnsworth/First Cavalry Brigade Monument. The *National Tribune* of October 4, 1888, reported:

> A monument to Gen. Elon J. Farnsworth, who commanded the brigade and fell leading what at the time was considered a desperate and hopeless charge, is proposed to be erected. It is to be placed on the spur of Round Top, southeast of Slyder's house where he fell. It is to be composed of a mound of boulders gathered in the neighborhood, upon which is to be placed a pentagonal granite shaft, on each of the faces of which is to be inscribed historical data relating to the regiments of the brigade and battery engaged. The mound and shaft are to be surmounted by a statue of Farnsworth. It is desired that all surviving members of this brigade actively interest themselves in this project, in order that it may be made one of the most striking features of the field, as his (Farnsworth's) fall is one of the most romantic incidents of the battle of Gettysburg. Having won in the 8th Ill. Cav. his promotion, which occurred four days before he was killed, members of that regiment are deeply interested in these proceedings.[39]

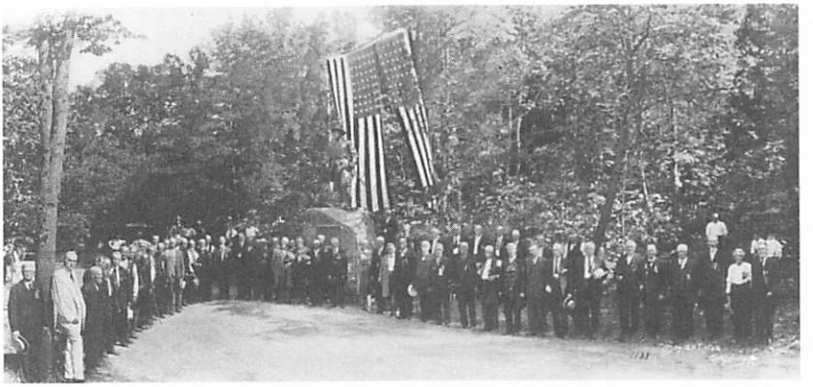
This proposal for a First Brigade Monument honoring Farnsworth came to nothing.[40] Farnsworth, after all, was in command of the brigade for only a few days.[41]

In December 1912, Governor Allen M. Fletcher approved an act of the Vermont legislature that appropriated the sum of $6,000 "for the purpose of erecting a monument on the battlefield of Gettysburg . . . commemorating the services and perpetuating the memory of General William Wells and the officers and enlisted men of the First Regiment, Vermont Cavalry."[42] The bill authorized the governor to appoint five commissioners to carry out the provisions of this act. Governor Fletcher appointed Myron M. Parker, former colonel of the FVC and president

of the FVCS, as chairman. Committee members were Seymour H. Wood (former sgt., Co. L, FVC and secretary of the FVCS); George L. McBride (former sgt., Co. L, FVC); Henry O. Wheeler (former bvt. capt., Co. A, FVC and treasurer of the FVCS); and John E. McClellan (member of the Vermont legislature and former pvt., 1st Massachusetts Heavy Artillery). The ever-present Theodore Peck was secretary and General Lee S. Tillotson (Vermont's adjutant general) served as its treasurer. At a meeting in Burlington in January 1913 the commission met with Wells's son and daughter plus other family members. Veterans of the regiment raised an additional $2,000, earmarked for a bas-relief plaque of a scene depicting Farnsworth's Charge.

In June 1913 the FVCS announced that its 41st annual meeting would be held on the battlefield at Gettysburg and specifically that "services of unveiling and dedication of the Memorial in honor of General William Wells and officers and men of the first Vermont Cavalry will be held at 3:30 o'clock, p.m., July 3, 1913, near the spot where the second battalion crossed Plum Run on the charge of July 3, 1863. The services will be of unusual interest."[43]

With eighty-seven veterans of the FVC present, the exercises opened with "assembly" sounded by the Fifth Infantry Bugle Corps. The Reverend Albert W. Clark, formerly a sergeant in the 12th Vermont Regiment, gave the opening prayer, saying, "Behold, O God, to-day our offering of granite, marble and bronze. . . . We do dedicate to Thee this



Dedication of the statue of William Wells at Gettysburg, 1913. From Horatio Nelson Jackson, Dedication of the Statue to Brevet Major-General William Wells and the Officers and Men of the First Vermont Cavalry on the Battlefield of Gettysburg, July 3, 1913 *(1914). Courtesy of Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.*

monument in memory of the Green Mountain Boys and of this unflinching leader." During the playing of "The Star Spangled Banner," the statue was unveiled by Mrs. H. Nelson Jackson (nee Bertha Wells) and Frank Wells.[44]

Colonel Myron M. Parker presided and opened the proceedings, saying, "To-day the survivors of the First Vermont Cavalry have assembled here to dedicate a monument to the officers and men of that historic regiment and to their distinguished commander, Major General William Wells." Governor Fletcher then transferred ownership of the monument to the War Department. The secretary of war, Lindley M. Garrison, couldn't make the ceremony and a major acted on behalf of the War Department.

Theodore Peck then spoke on behalf of the Vermont monument commissioners and described the features of the monument. He noted that, borrowing from the original Farnsworth monument proposal, the large boulder that forms the base of monument is in its original position while the second was taken from a spot nearby. Next, Vermont Senator William P. Dillingham[45] rambled on for several minutes. The Army Band played "Dixie" (reported to have been loudly applauded by the crowd), which heralded the appearance on the podium of Confederate General Evander M. Law, who commanded Hood's Division at Gettysburg. He recounted (perhaps somewhat fancifully) from the Confederate commander's perspective the engagement with the Federal cavalry. The next speaker was also an ex-Confederate officer, General Jerome B. Robertson, who commanded a brigade in Hood's Division. The audience must have been astounded to hear a ringing defense of Jefferson Davis, and that Robertson expected from the assembled Vermonters "a generous recognition of the high qualities Jefferson Davis manifested." The *Burlington Free Press* dismissed this as "a witty speech." John McElroy, the editor of the *National Tribune* and the poet laureate for Andersonville survivors, next gave a flowery mini-oration about the "surpassing glory of the Army of the Potomac" (to which he never belonged). Various other Vermont veterans and other former Union and Confederate officers then provided brief remarks.[46] John W. Bennett, former lieutenant colonel of the FVC, told the audience that "General Kilpatrick ordered that reckless, ill-advised charge." He added that he remembered Farnsworth telling him, "Major, I do not see the slightest chance for a successful charge." He claimed that he heard General Kilpatrick reply after hearing Farnsworth's conclusions, "General Farnsworth, well, somebody can charge." At the implied insult, Farnsworth "straightened up (in the saddle) every fiber of his body seemed rigid" and replied, "General Kilpatrick, if anybody can charge,

we can sir." George Hillyer, formerly a captain in the 9th Georgia Infantry, repeated for the audience the almost certainly erroneous tale that when ordered to surrender, the wounded Farnsworth committed suicide.[47]

Mr. W. B. Van Amringe, president of the construction company that placed the monument, spoke next. Without any explanation, the sculptor, Mr. J. Otto Schwiezer, did not attend the ceremony.

At 5 P.M., near the hour when Major Wells ordered his battalion into a gallop, the former bugler of Company L, FVC, Private Gilbert D. Buckman, again sounded the charge. The audience stood, uncovered, and sang "America." The bugler played "Taps" and the exercises concluded.[48]

Eleven months later on Memorial Day, under a cloudless May sky, the Burlington Wells statue was dedicated. The *Burlington Free Press* of June 1, 1914[49] reported on its front page:

> Burlington paid royal tribute to her soldier dead Saturday under the skies of one of the grandest early summer days imaginable. The parade of the 2nd cavalry, the university battalion, the company of the National Guard, Sons of Veterans, Spanish War Veterans, and Boy Scouts acting as escort for the thin ranks of the veterans of the Civil War was unusually complete, and was viewed by hundreds of citizens as it wound its way to Battery Park, where the exercises of the day were held, the latter including the dedication and unveiling of the replica of the Gettysburg statue of General William Wells.

The large crowd included family, friends, aging veterans of Burlington's GAR Stannard Post #2, prominent citizens of Burlington and Vermont, members of patriotic organizations including the William Wells Camp #19 Sons of Union Veterans, the U.S. Cavalry, a mounted band, a detachment of the Vermont National Guard, the Students' Battalion of the University of Vermont, veterans in automobiles, children of the public and parochial schools, members of the clergy, aldermen, Mayor James E. Burke, and the Boy Scouts. The *Burlington Free Press* reported that an "almost continuous applause greeted the members of the GAR and the veterans of the First Vermont Cavalry as they marched by." The report continued, "Until the moment of the unveiling, the statue was draped in the folds of two great flags." The ceremony was initiated by George D. Sherman, formerly of the Ninth Vermont Regiment, sounding "assembly," followed by a formal salute to the dead by the members of the GAR, and an opening prayer by the Reverend John E. Goodrich, former chaplain of the FVC. General Wells's daughter, Mrs. Jackson, and her sister, Mrs. James W. Brock, assisted by other family members, then unveiled the statue as the band played "The Star Spangled Banner." Wells's son then presented to Mayor Burke the deed transferring ownership of the monument to the city. After more music performed

Dedication of the statue of William Wells at Battery Park, Burlington, 1914. From Horatio Nelson Jackson, Dedication of the Statue to Brevet Major-General William Wells and the Officers and Men of the First Vermont Cavalry on the Battlefield of Gettysburg, July 3, 1913 *(1914). Courtesy of Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.*

by the 2nd U.S. Cavalry Band, the Reverend Doctor Isaac C. Smart, pastor of the College Street Church of Burlington, gave the keynote address. He informed the audience that:

> General Farnsworth, with Major Wells at his side, led the charge over stone walls and through rocks and woods in an attempt to gain the hill where were placed the enemies' guns. They found themselves fenced in a field exposed to the fire of masses of infantry. They charged and wheeled, and charged and wheeled again. They failed because the feat was impossible.

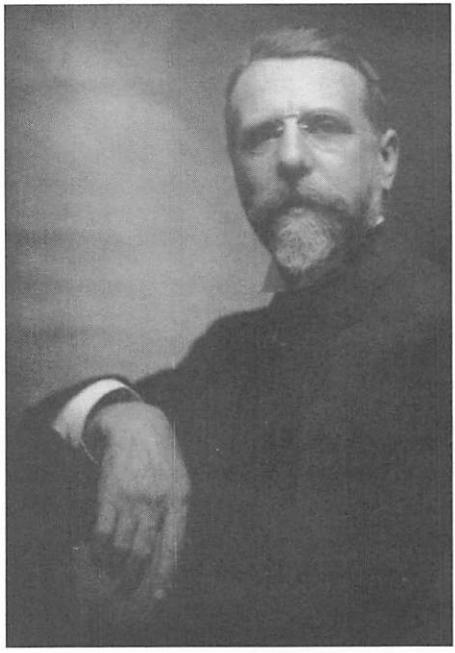
Once again, Theodore Peck spoke and was described as being "particularly interesting with his reminiscences of the war." The ceremony concluded with the singing of "America," a benediction by Chaplain Fleming of the 2nd U. S. Cavalry, and the sounding of "Taps." A resolution was then passed by the survivors of the FVCS proclaiming:

> That from "this beautiful monument . . . the youth of our city and State will have a lasting object lesson in true patriotism, unflinching courage, and soldierly obedience, and a memorial of the valor of those sons of Vermont who . . . paid to their country the uttermost tribute of devotion.

The *Burlington Free Press* explained to its readers:

> The statue is an exact duplicate of the one erected upon the battlefield of Gettysburg during the reunion there last July, and bears a striking resemblance of General Wells in action. The aged physical appearance of the general, who at the time was but 25 years of age, is explained by the hard service which he has been through. The haggard expression upon the face brings out the anxiety of General Wells, who at the time as major at the head of the Second Battalion First Vermont cavalry, knew he was leading his men, whose faith in him was complete, to an almost hopeless charge.[50]

The sculptor of these statues was J. Otto Schweizer (1863–1955). Born in Zurich, he studied sculpture in Europe before immigrating to the United States and settling in Philadelphia in 1895. During his fifty-year career as a competent but uncelebrated American sculptor, he was responsible for a number of well-known statues, particularly those of Baron von Steuben (1914) at Valley Forge, Utica, and Milwaukee, the Molly Pitcher statue (1916) at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and the Heinrich Mülhlenberg Memorial (1917) at Germantown, Pennsylvania. He has the distinction of having more bronze statues at Gettysburg than any other sculptor—seven statues, namely: President Lincoln, Generals David McM. Gregg, Alfred J. Pleasonton, John W. Geary, Rutherford B. Hayes, and Andrew A. Humphrey, and Major Wells. The Pennsylvania



Photograph of sculptor J. Otto Schweizer, taken in 1910. Photographer unknown. From Ernst Jockers, J. Otto Schweizer, The Man and His Work *(1953). This photograph also appears in Horatio Nelson Jackson,* Dedication of the Statue to Brevet Major-General William Wells and the Officers and Men of the First Vermont Cavalry on the Battlefield of Gettysburg, July 3, 1913 *(1914), page 138. Courtesy of Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.*

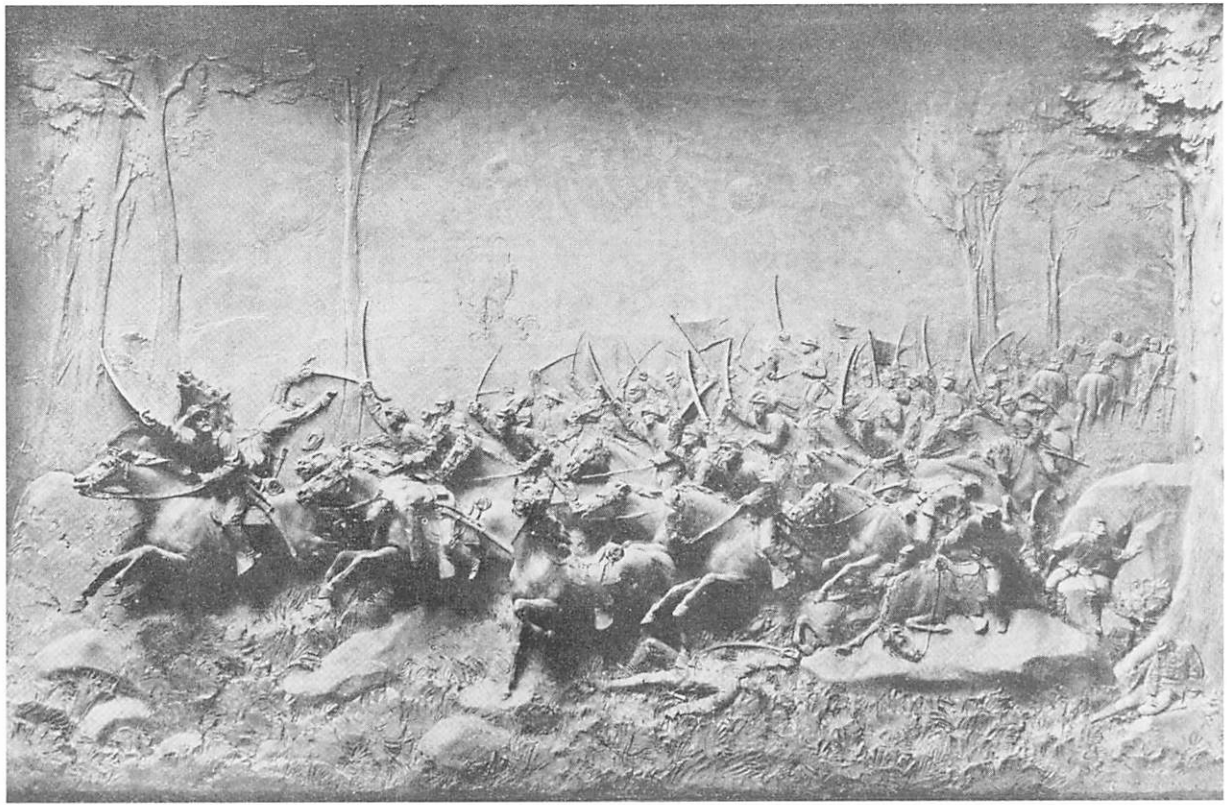
State Memorial displays eight bronze statues. Schweizer sculpted three of these: Lincoln, Gregg, and Pleasonton. They were installed in 1913 and unveiled along with the Wells statue on the fiftieth anniversary of the Battle of Gettysburg. The statues of Geary, Hayes, and Humphrey were unveiled later on the sites where they had fought.[51] Other Civil War-related sculptures by Schweizer include the Fort Stevens Monument in Washington (1920), a Lincoln statue (1917) in Philadelphia, and a monument to the Confederate Mother (1913) on the lawn of the Arkansas State House in Little Rock. Schweizer sculpted the All Wars Memorial to Colored Soldiers and Sailors (1934) located in Fairmount Park in Philadelphia.[52]

Schweizer portrays Major Wells (albeit in a general's coat) as vigorously striding forward with his left leg, his right hand holding his saber while his left hand grasps the scabbard at his hip. He is looking upward somewhat to his right. He has full, almost patriarchal, facial hair with a neatly trimmed beard hiding individual characteristics.[53] Effort has been taken to make him appear older than his twenty-five years and to emanate an expression of "undaunted fearlessness."[54]

The veterans of the FVC who raised the money for the much-praised bas-relief had requested that Schweizer "retell" their bold charge in bronze. According to Schweizer's biographer:

> To give a true-to-life presentation the rough battleground littered with granite boulders was carefully measured and photographed from all possible directions. Daguerreotypes of twenty-five men who had taken part in the battle were secured to be portrayed in relief. A similar number of combatants was invited to give an account of the progress of the battle and the fatalities that occurred. Provided with such information, Schweizer recreated the whole affair in three days and so accurately that veterans of the battle spoke of the scene as uncannily true to reality. With dramatic instinct the artist has chosen the climactic moment when Wells takes over command of the brigade from its falling leader, General Farnsworth. His resolute action electrifies men and horses to such a degree that they act like a single body magically driven to the same goal. The unity of action is achieved by grouping all the figures in wedge line formation.[55]

Careful study of this bas-relief suggests that, although Schweizer may have gone to great lengths using photographs of the actual participants to model each face and even to make sure the horses were "Morgans," much of the "story" portrayed is romantic fantasy. It is not a snapshot of history ("uncannily true to reality") but an embellished representation of the charge. Wells is depicted as riding beside Farnsworth, and Farnsworth's death was, for a long time, thought to have occurred where the Wells monument stands today. Actually, Farnsworth was



Bas-relief of Farnsworth's Charge by J. Otto Schweizer. Photographer unknown. From Horatio Nelson Jackson, Dedication of the Statue to Brevet Major-General William Wells and the Officers and Men of the First Vermont Cavalry on the Battlefield of Gettysburg, July 3, 1913 *(1914). Courtesy of Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.*

mortally wounded earlier in the charge. In addition, it is now generally believed that Capt. Oliver T. Cushman, wearing a white jacket with gold braid, was next to Wells instead of further back as depicted.[56] A number of the troopers portrayed (including Lt. Col. Addison Preston) did not even ride with Wells.[57] Accurate history or not, the bas-relief is exquisite and the aging veterans of the FVC loved it—as do latter-day pilgrims to the battlefield.

But, after all this, why Wells? There were many majors in the Federal army at Gettysburg. Many, without doubt, were equally courageous. The answer to this question has principally to do with the mystique that developed surrounding Farnsworth's Charge. What was special about this militarily unimportant charge that involved a small number of men (300), accomplished little more than perhaps creating a useful diversion, and produced few casualties (less than 6 percent) beyond the death of one general?[58] The veterans of the FVC didn't remember it that way. Theodore Peck, speaking at the dedication at Gettysburg, described "the brave men of the First Vermont Cavalry under the noble Preston and the gallant Wells, [who] did magnificent work . . . in charging Round Top, when they knew the impossible lay before them, yet faltered not in soldierly duty."[59] Some of this rhetoric, of course, is the vainglory of aging veterans, and part was the parochial belief that the Vermonters, and particularly the Vermont troopers, were the "best of the best." The FVC did achieve a remarkable record. During its three years in the field, the Vermont cavalry captured three Confederate battle flags, thirty-seven pieces of artillery, and more prisoners than it had men—a record that Vermonters believe was not excelled by any other regiment in the Federal armies.[60] There was no dissent when the veterans were told that "the First Vermont Cavalry is . . . well known to us all as the bravest, most intrepid, and hardest fighting Cavalry Regiment in the service."[61] How, then, could it be that the charge was a failure? The Vermonters resolved this dilemma by adopting the belief that, although the charge may have been, in military terms, a failure, nevertheless, like the British Light Brigade at Balaclava and Pickett's Charge in "The Lost Cause" mythology, its heroic dimension transcended historical reality. In Vermont tradition "no more gallant or more desperate charge was made during the war, nor one more fruitless."[62] How being "fruitless" makes something all the more gallant than if successful may be a mystery, but in remembering history this way, the proud and unabashed Vermonters focused on Wells as the embodiment of the deed. Hence, William Wells became the only Vermonter to have a personal monument.[63]

Why not an equestrian statue? Wells portrayed afoot hardly captures

the scene. Disregarding the nineteenth-century bias reserving equestrian statues to army commanders, simple economics decided the issue. The Vermont legislature appropriated $6,000 for the project. Equestrian statues cost $25–50,000, whereas a single bronze figure could be obtained for $5–12,000.[64]

William Wells did possess a rare constellation of attributes. He had great wealth, political connections, ambition, ability, handsome appearance, personal charm, and remarkable luck. His father had been in the legislature and his mother's brother served as governor.[65] He himself had served in the legislature and as Vermont's adjutant and inspector general. He was a business and civic leader in Vermont's largest city. Although described as a quiet-spoken person, he was nevertheless a very ambitious man.[66] "Promotion is everything in this business," he said after the war.[67] A student of his development observes that Wells "became educated in the art of war and the art of politics while in the Army and learned both lessons well."[68] He was acknowledged to have been "Vermont's most promoted and most decorated war hero."[69] Given all this, he easily became for the aging veterans the embodiment of all that was gallant and noble.[70]

Why the replica in Burlington? Wells's only son, Franklin Wells, when presenting the monument to Mayor Burke, told the assembled crowd, "As Burlington was so long the home of General Wells, it is but fitting that Battery Park, one of its most historic places, overlooking Lake Champlain and within a short distance of the Old Fair Ground, which was the rendezvous of the First Vermont Cavalry, . . . should be the site of a monument." He added, "For years it had been my mother's wish and mine to have a statue of my father in Burlington."[71] He proposed "to erect and donate" to the City of Burlington "a bronze statue of his late father . . . to be placed upon a suitable pedestal of Barre granite . . . erected in Battery Park without expense to said city." The Burlington monument was then "an act of filial devotion on the part of . . . the only son of General Wells, it being a gift from him to the city of Burlington."[72] Regarding the statue's incongruous location in Battery Park, the *Burlington Free Press* explained that this was not the case at all.[73]

> Situated upon Battery Park, rich in history, over-looking Lake Champlain, and within a stone's throw of the old fair grounds where many of the men for whom it was erected were mustered into service, its location is appropriate in every way.[74]

The most recent chapter in the story of the Wells statues occurred on Veterans' weekend 2002. Civil War re-enactors raised $4,000 to clean and repair the Burlington monument. Channel 3 News reported:

History Unveiled in Burlington. A crowd gathered in Battery Park in Burlington, where 140 years ago the Vermont troops mustered to be sent south to fight the war that would end with the Union victory that preserved the nation. . . . Among those men, were members of the First Vermont Volunteer Cavalry. The Vermonters fought at Gettysburg under the commander whose statue dominates Battery Park. It underwent a restoration this year, and this gathering was timed for Veterans Day weekend. The unveiling reveals the striking figure of General William Wells, who earned the Congressional Medal of Honor on the bloody battlefield at Gettysburg.

And, quite fittingly, the newsman noted,

A piece of history has been preserved so that the next generations understand the meaning of that war so long ago.[75]

Notes

[1] Horatio Nelson Jackson, *Dedication of the Statue to Brevet Major-General William Wells and the Officers and Men of the First Vermont Cavalry on the Battlefield of Gettysburg, July 3, 1913* (Privately printed, Burlington, Vt., 1914).

[2] The battery was constructed under the direction of Lt. Sylvester Churchill and armed with six 24-pounder cannon. "Murray's Raid" took place on August 2, 1813, with Lt. Col. John Murray commanding the British fleet.

[3] Karen Stites Campbell, "Propaganda, Pestilence and Prosperity: Burlington's Camptown Days During the War of 1812" *Vermont History,* 64 (Spring 1996), 138–158; Russell P. Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains: A Maritime and Military History of Lake George and Lake Champlain* (Fleischmanns, New York: Purple Mountain Press, 1992), 210.

[4] A bas-relief depiction of Farnsworth's Charge is mounted on the front of the Gettysburg monument while the Burlington version has a bronze tablet relating Wells's record in this location with the bas-relief on the reverse side of the base.

[5] Andie Custer, "The William Wells Monument," *The Battlefield Dispatch* (Gettysburg Licensed Battlefield Guide newsletter, Jan. 2000).

[6] John Bager Bachelder (1825–1894) was the acknowledged expert of his day on the battle of Gettysburg and a dominant member of the GBMA.

[7] Prior to the Civil War, it was customary to erect monuments only to victorious commanders, and the bias reserving statues to generals persisted. Reflecting an egalitarian spirit, the Pennsylvania State Monument Commission refused to permit any personal statements or inscriptions on memorials built under its supervision. No official "monument policy" of the GBMA has been discovered. Thomas A. Desjardin, *The Monuments at Gettysburg* (Gettysburg, Pennsylvania: Friends of the National Parks at Gettysburg, 1997), 5; Frederick Hawthorne, *Gettysburg: Stories of Monuments and Men* (Gettysburg, Pennsylvania: Association of Licensed Battlefield Guides, 1988), 53; Wayne Craven, *The Sculptures at Gettysburg* (Conshohocken, New Jersey: Eastern Acorn Press, 1982), 53, 61–62; personal communication with Ginny and Lew Gage of Cornish, N.H., 2 February 2004.

[8] Licensed Battlefield Guide Andie Custer points out that this statue probably was meant to represent Pennsylvanian Augustus J. Pleasonton rather than his better-known younger brother, Alfred J. Pleasonton, who had no relationship to Pennsylvania. Andrea L. Custer of York, Pennsylvania, personal communication, 19 January 2004.

[9] During the march to Gettysburg, in intense heat, Brown ignored specific orders against breaking ranks and filled his company's canteens. He was arrested and obliged to give up his sword. General George Stannard released him from arrest but the sword could not be located and Brown led his company into battle brandishing a camp axe. The axe was not included in the statue because it was felt it might be seen as condoning disobedience to orders. Marius B. Peladeau, comp., *Burnished Rows of Steel: Vermont's Role in the Battle of Gettysburg, July 1–3, 1864* (Newport, Vt.: Vermont Civil War Enterprises, 2002), 60.

[10] Including a face that looks remarkably like that of Colonel Strong Vincent atop the 83rd Pennsylvania monument. Kathy G. Harrison, *The Location of the Monuments, Markers, and Tablets on*

Gettysburg Battlefield (Gettysburg, Pennsylvania: Thomas Publications, 1993), 44–45; Desjardin, *Monuments at Gettysburg*, 5; Hawthorne, *Gettysburg*, p. 53.

[11] Tom Desjardin points out that Gettysburg displays "quite likely the largest collection of outdoor sculpture in the world. More than 1,300 monuments, markers, and memorials dot and sometimes dominate the landscape in and around the Pennsylvania borough of Gettysburg." There are at least 27 life-sized bronze statues of specific individuals in addition to the 7 equestrian statues. The first monument was a memorial urn placed in the National Cemetery in 1867 by the First Minnesota Infantry. The first regimental monument located outside the cemetery was the 2nd Massachusetts Infantry tablet at the edge of Spangler's Meadow in 1879. A large number of memorials followed, and by the time of the 25th anniversary of the battle 200 monuments and markers adorned the site. Originally, the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association made the rules and oversaw the placement of these monuments, followed by Battlefield Commissioners of the War Department in 1895 when the Gettysburg National Military Park was created by Congress. The 3,000-man terra cotta army of the Emperor Qin Shi Huang discovered near Xi'an, China, obviously dwarfs Gettysburg. Desjardin, *Monuments at Gettysburg*, 3; Harrison, *Location of the Monuments, Markers and Tablets*, 41, 44–45; Hawthorne, *Gettysburg*, 10–11, 17, 79, 113–114, 128.

[12] Dr. Elliott Hoffman has analyzed Wells's military career. Elliott W. Hoffman, *Vermont General: The Military Development of William Wells* (Master's Thesis, University of Vermont 1974), 181; Elliott W. Hoffman, ed., *H. K. Ide's History of the First Vermont Cavalry Volunteers in the War of the Great Rebellion* (Baltimore: Butternut & Blue, 2000); personal communication with Elliott Hoffman of Tiverton, R.I., 14 March 2004.

[13] Wells was one of only nine generals in the Union army who rose from private to Major General. This rank was by brevet. His highest regular rank was brigadier general of volunteers conferred in May 1865.

[14] Personal communication Andie Custer, 19 January 2004.

[15] Theodore S. Peck, comp., *Revised Roster of Vermont Volunteers During the War of the Rebellion* (Montpelier, Vt.: Watchman Publishing Co., 1892), 220,749; Medal of Honor record of William Wells, Group 94, W-199-VS-1869, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington D.C.

[16] Peck, *Revised Roster*, 749.

[17] Jackson, *Dedication of the Statue to Brevet Major-General Williams Wells.*

[18] William W. Wells was the recruiting officer for Washington County, Vermont, throughout the war.

[19] Thomas Ledoux, "Vermont in the Civil War" website, http://www.vermontcivilwar.org/1cav/wells.shtml.; Peck, *Revised Roster*, 220.

[20] George G. Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War* (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press, 1888), 2: 428, 583–84.

[21] There was no lasting amimosity. When President Garfield appointed Mosby to be the American consul in Hong Kong in 1878, Wells sent him a congratulatory message. Kevin H. Siepel, *Rebel, the Life and Times of John Singleton Mosby* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 202; John Singleton Mosby, *Mosby's War Reminiscences and Stuart's Cavalry Campaigns* (Boston: G. A. Jones & Co., 1887), 164.

[22] Personal communication Andie Custer, 19 January 2004.

[23] Wells Papers, Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.

[24] In hand-to-hand combat he was struck twice across the back and received a thrust in the front of his body striking his ribs. Medal of Honor record of William Wells.

[25] 2nd Brigade, 3rd Division, Cavalry Corps.

[26] Although still on active duty, Wells returned to Vermont in July 1865 to run for the Vermont legislature and get married.

[27] William Wells, Edward Wells, A. E. Richardson, W. J. van Patten, Henry Wells, and Franklin H. Wells were officers of the Wells, Richardson & Company in Burlington, Vermont, that manufactured butter coloring, dyes, and children's foods, as well as *Paine's Celery Compound*, a cure-all containing 20% alcohol.

[28] *Burlington Free Press*, Burlington, Vermont, 17 April 1872.

[29] Although born into the union of two middle-class New England families, Wells aspired to patrician status. In 1877 he had a grand home built in the French Second Empire style. Italian craftsmen were imported to design and construct the extensive interior woodwork. He employed servants wearing livery. The house is now the Phi Gamma Delta house at the University of Vermont. The Wells family changed from Congregationalists to Episcopalians. Dayton Duncan and Ken Burns, *Horatio's Drive: America's First Road Trip* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 18; The Beta Upsilon Chapter House, http://www.uvm.edu/~fiji2/house.html.

[30] Medal of Honor record ofWilliam Wells.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid.

[33] In 1899 Bertha R. Wells married Dr. Horatio Nelson Jackson, recently made famous as the Horatio in Ken Burns' PBS documentary "Horatio's Drive." Elliot W. Hoffman, ed., *A Vermont Cavalryman in War and Love: The Civil War Letters of Major General William Wells and Anna Richardson* (Lynchburg, Virginia: Schaeffer Books, in print).

[34] *Burlington Free Press,* Burlington, Vermont, 2 May 1892.

[35] *Burlington Free Press,* Burlington, Vermont, 4 May 1892.

[36] The legislature authorized a plaque for George Stannard at the same time. Wheelock Veazey and Stephen Thomas also have such plaques. Peladeau, *Burnished Rows of Steel,* 35.

[37] Report of the Gettysburg Military Park Commission, August 1, 1911; Jackson, *Dedication of the Statue to Brevet Major-General Williams Wells.*

[38] Peladeau, *Burnished Rows of Steel,* 33.

[39] Courtesy of Andie Custer.

[40] There is a Park Union Brigade placard for the 1st Brigade, 3rd Division Cavalry Corps on South Confederate Avenue at Bushman Hill.

[41] His regiment, the 8th Illinois Cavalry, achieved glory on the first day east of Gettysburg. It dedicated its memorial in 1891 on South Reynolds Avenue. The monument makes no mention of Farnsworth.

[42] John E. McClellan recalled that once "it had been explained [to the Vermont legislators, most of whom were veterans] why the money was wanted it was one of the easiest jobs he had ever tackled and the bill passed with a unanimous vote." *Burlington Free Press,* 1 June 1914; Jackson, *Dedication of the Statue to Brevet Major-General Williams Wells.*

[43] Evander Law confirmed at the unveiling of the monument that it was located exactly where he first saw Wells and his battalion emerge from the cover of the trees into the meadow from his vantage point near the current Alabama monument. Jackson, *Dedication of the Statue to Brevet Major-General Williams Wells.*

[44] Ibid., *Burlington Free Press,* 1 June 1914.

[45] Wells's cousin, referred to as "Cousin Will Dill," who is remembered chiefly for his anti-immigration legislation.

[46] Pvt. Heman Allen, 13th Vermont Regiment; Sgt. Henry O. Clark, 13th Vermont Regiment; General Lewis A. Grant, former commander of the First Vermont Brigade; General E. D. Dimmick, 5th New York Cavalry; Col. W. D. Mann, 7th Michigan Cavalry; Judge and former Captain George Hillyer, 9th Georgia Infantry.

[47] History has assessed Farnsworth's Charge as a military blunder with Farnsworth goaded into leading a foolhardy charge by a reckless Kilpatrick. Andie Custer in a series of articles has reassessed the charge and its participants. She concludes, "All popular stories to the contrary, new research reveals that Farnsworth's Charge was not a hopeless slaughter [less than 3 percent casualties]. It was viewed by Union commanders as a successful diversion." Andie [Andrea L.] Custer, "John Hammond's 'Mis-stake': How a Misplaced Wooden Stake Altered the History of Farnsworth's Charge at Gettysburg" *Gettysburg Magazine* (January 2004): 98–113; Andie Custer, "The Kilpatrick/Farnsworth Argument That Never Happened" *Gettysburg Magazine* (January 2002): 100–116; Andie Custer, "You Are There! William Wells and Farnsworth's Charge on July 3, 1863" *Park Watch* newsletter, Gettysburg; Custer, "The William Wells Monument."

[48] *Burlington Free Press,* 4 July 1913; Jackson, *Dedication of the Statue to Brevet Major-General Williams Wells.*

[49] No one seemed to notice that the dedication occurred 100 years after "Murray's Raid," the unsuccessful British attack on the Burlington waterfront battery.

[50] *Burlington Free Press,* Burlington, Vermont, 1 June 1914.

[51] The eight statues are those of Lincoln, Curtin, Meade, Hancock, Pleasonton, Reynolds, Gregg, and Birney. Harrison, *Location of the Monuments,* 44–45.

[52] In an era less concerned with "political correctness," neither the Philadelphia commissioners nor Schweizer himself were concerned with his sculpting a monument to African-American soldiers/sailors after completing a memorial to the Confederate Mother. Hene D. Lieberman, "Race and Remembrance: Philadelphia's *All Wars Memorial to Colored Soldiers and Sailors* and the Politics of Place," *American Art Journal* 29 (1998): 19–51.

[53] These statues tend to look alike—generic heroic Federal generals. From a distance Wells, Birney, Hancock, and Pleasonton appear very similar.

[54] Ernst Jockers, *J. Otto Schweizer: The Man and His Work* (Philadelphia: International Printing Company, 1953), 55.

[55] Ibid., 56.

[56] Andie Custer theorizes that one reason a Farnsworth monument was never erected on the site of the Wells monument is that it was discovered that William Oates was not a credible eyewitness to

the location of Farnsworth's death. Also, Farnsworth's reputation had been besmirched by the story of his having committed suicide. Custer, "The Wells Monument."

[57] An expert on the charge quips that "it seems the criteria for appearing on the relief was that you had to have been a member of the Vermont legislature, an alumnus of the University of Vermont, or were a casualty during the charge, e.g., Sgt. George H. Duncan, Cpl. Ira E. Sperry, Capt. Olive T. Cushman." Andie Custer, personal communication.

[58] Custer, "You Are There!"

[59] Jackson, *Dedication of the Statue to Brevet Major-General William Wells.*

[60] Otis Wait, in his history of Vermont's contribution in the Civil War, concluded: "No organization in the army, it is believed, endured more exposure and fatigue, without a murmur or complaint; fought more battles, without straggling and flinching; made more desperate and successful charges into the ranks of the enemy, or deserved more honor, than the First Vermont Cavalry." Otis F. R. Wait, *Vermont in the Great Rebellion* (Claremont, N.H.: Tracy, Chase & Co., 1869), 249; Peck, *Revised Roster,* 218.

[61] Jackson, *Dedication of the Statue to Brevet Major-General Williams Wells.*

[62] Ibid.

[63] One might inquire why one of the other luminaries in the Vermont military pantheon (e.g., George Jerrison Stannard, William Farrar Smith or Lewis Addison Grant) wasn't chosen for this special commemoration. However, Brevet Major General Stannard (d. 1886), although beloved by the veterans of the Second Vermont Brigade, had neither wealth, family connections, nor political clout. He had been disgraced and run out of Vermont. He was, however, remembered atop the Vermont State Memorial at Gettysburg. Brevet Major General L.A. Grant (d. 1918), who had been the commander of the First Vermont Brigade, was never loved by his men. Moreover, he had forsaken Vermont for faraway Minnesota. Major General "Baldy" Smith: (d. 1903) had few fans in Vermont due to his cantankerous nature, plus his checkered military career, and his support to Democratic presidential candidate George McClellan.

[64] The 1912 $6,000 appropriation would be equivalent to $111,283 in 2002 dollars. Craven, *The Sculptures at Gettysburg,* 53; The Inflation Calculator, http://www.westegg.com/inflation/.

[65] The politically powerful Dillingham family were relatives and neighbors in Waterbury. Paul Dillingham, Jr., served as lieutenant governor from 1862–65 and was Vermont's governor 1865–66. Hoffman, *Vermont General,* 179.

[66] George Benedict, Vermont's official Civil War historian, described Wells as "modest, brave, faithful, and equal to every position in which he was placed." Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War,* 2:647; Hoffman, *Vermont General,* 15.

[67] Hoffman, *Vermont General,* 180.

[68] Ibid., 14.

[69] Ibid., 9–10.

[70] Along with Wheelock G. Veazey and Theodore Peck, Wells was probably the most popular veteran during the era in Vermont when much depended upon wearing a GAR lapel pin. David F. Cross, "Gen. Wheelock G. Veasey Dead," *Rutland Historical Society Quarterly* XXV (1995), 26–43.

[71] Jackson, *Dedication of the Statue to Brevet Major-General Williams Wells.*

[72] Ibid.

[73] *Burlington Free Press,* 1 June 1914.

[74] The statue is oriented southeast, with Wells facing the original Burlington fair grounds that served as the FVC's 1861 training camp.

[75] WCAX-TV, Burlington, Vermont, http://www.wcax.com/.

The Buffalo Soldiers in Vermont, 1909–1913

The arrival of the Tenth Cavalry sent Burlington into demographic shock. Almost overnight the small city acquired a substantial black community, a situation that clearly dismayed many residents.

By DAVID WORK

In July 1909, the Tenth United States Cavalry Regiment, one of four regular army black regiments collectively known as the Buffalo Soldiers, arrived in Burlington, Vermont, to begin a four-year tour of duty at Fort Ethan Allen in neighboring Colchester. Their arrival alarmed the almost exclusively white population. Many people feared the presence of sizable numbers of African American soldiers in their community and a bitter debate ensued over whether the city should adopt Jim Crow facilities. For the next four years, the Tenth Cavalry would encounter similar reactions as it traveled throughout the northeast and as far south as Winchester, Virginia. Wherever they went, the black soldiers faced fear and suspicion and had to demonstrate good behavior to win the acceptance of the white population.

Created in 1866, the Tenth Cavalry achieved its greatest fame in the late nineteenth century on the western frontier and then served with distinction during the Spanish-American War. In that conflict, the regiment charged up San Juan Hill with Theodore Roosevelt's Rough Riders and won public renown as the "fighting Tenth Cavalry." In the early twentieth century, the Tenth fought in the Philippine War, served in

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Nebraska, and literally traveled around the world. During these years, the black troopers faced increasing racial hostility from a white population determined to keep them in their place. In Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Texas, and Nebraska, racial incidents occurred that constantly reminded the African American soldiers they served a nation that treated them as second-class citizens.[1]

Regardless of how they were treated, the black troopers continued to serve. In fact, the Tenth Cavalry had one of the army's lowest desertion and highest reenlistment rates. The regiment's desertion rate in 1910 was only 1.52 percent, a very low rate, especially when compared to white regiments, which averaged 3.77 percent. In 1912, the average time of service throughout the entire regiment was just over five years; thirty-three men had over twenty years of service, with the longest being the twenty-six years of Corporal William Thacker. As a result, the black men in the Tenth were experienced, disciplined, relatively well educated, professional soldiers with, Lieutenant Kerr Riggs said, "tremendous unit pride." Corporal Howard Queen best expressed this sentiment when he wrote, "The brave colored soldier in war . . . has always stood his ground . . . [and] in time of peace he is practically invaluable." The regiment was considered to be one of the best units in the army.[2]

By 1909, such considerations hardly mattered because the memory of the infamous Brownsville Affair distorted all white perceptions of black soldiers. In August 1906, high racial tensions in the Texas border town between the white population and a garrison of the black Twenty-fifth Infantry Regiment led unknown assailants to shoot up the town. The black soldiers were unfairly blamed and President Theodore Roosevelt discharged 167 of them without benefit of a trial. Following this incident, bills were introduced in Congress that sought to eliminate the black regiments. Though these bills failed to pass, the Brownsville Affair tainted all African American troops as a potentially dangerous group of men.[3]

As a result, white communities became reluctant to accept the presence of black soldiers, as demonstrated by the reaction of Sackets Harbor, New York, to the arrival of the Twenty-fourth Infantry Regiment. In 1907, this community greeted the African American regiment with protests and demands for its transfer to some other location. The local congressman and other prominent citizens appealed directly to the army for the black soldiers' removal, but to no avail as the Twenty-fourth took station as planned. Two years later, "ill feeling" still existed between the regiment and the white residents of Sackets Harbor. This reaction set an ugly precedent for the Tenth Cavalry.[4]

The Tenth initially was spared such treatment because it spent the

years from 1907 to 1909 in the Philippines, but in May 1909 it boarded ship to return to the United States. The journey took two and a half months as the regiment sailed west by way of Singapore, Ceylon, Arabia, the Suez Canal, Malta, and Gibraltar. On July 25, the Tenth arrived in New York City where it was greeted by the greatest public demonstrations any Buffalo Soldier regiment ever received. A large crowd of cheering blacks awaited their arrival at the pier and the next day the Tenth paraded through the city. As ticker tape and streamers showered upon them, the African American troopers marched down Wall Street, then up Broadway, and on to City Hall Park. New York's streets seemed alive with cheering crowds, black and white. The remarkable day ended with a banquet, speeches, and a vaudeville show, and early the next morning the Tenth Cavalry proceeded to its new post, Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont.[5]

Constructed in 1894, Fort Ethan Allen covered 600 acres of real estate several miles north of Burlington. The surrounding countryside, described by one army officer as "fairylike," consisted of grassy hills and green meadows with small springs flowing across the landscape and waterfalls tumbling down ravines. This officer described Burlington as a city with streets of "arcades of maple, flanked by rows of old and stately mansions." More importantly, Burlington and Vermont had a distinguished civil rights history, being a center of abolitionism before the Civil War and later sending to Congress representatives and senators who fought for black civil rights.[6]

The arrival of the Tenth Cavalry sent Burlington into demographic shock. In 1900, Burlington's population (including the surrounding communities) hovered at about 25,000, a figure that included only 117 blacks. In fact, the entire state of Vermont had an African American population of just 826. In July 1909, the Tenth Cavalry reported 750 black enlisted men currently in the regiment. The actual number of African Americans arriving in Burlington was far higher because the regiment had a large camp following that included wives, children, and other relatives as well as businessmen, gamblers, prostitutes, and the usual assortment of disreputable characters that followed all army regiments. One newspaper estimated that the black population increased by as many as 1,500 people. Almost overnight, Burlington acquired a substantial black community, a situation that clearly dismayed many residents.[7]

The sudden influx of so many blacks led some town residents to protest the assignment of the black cavalry regiment to the local fort. The editor of the *Burlington Free Press* disapproved of the assignment, writing that if the federal government believed there would be "no

South End of Barracks, Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont [1909]. VHS Post card collection. The image shows a few of the members of the Tenth Cavalry, known as the Buffalo Soldiers.

objection to the presence of so large a body of negroes, they were in error." The town was "up in arms" over the decision and in mid-July, as the regiment's first units arrived, several racial incidents occurred. One black sergeant attempted to cash a pay voucher in a local bank, but he was refused service even though his voucher was good. On several occasions, white residents left restaurants when black soldiers entered, and many white citizens of Burlington demanded that Jim Crow trolley cars be instituted. The editor of the *Rutland Daily Herald* expressed such sentiments when he wrote that "the menace" posed by the black soldiers could be eliminated if the cavalryman "could get his beer at a fort canteen, instead of in Burlington saloons." By simply excluding the African American soldiers from town, he lectured, "the matter of control would take care of itself."[8]

These reactions disturbed some residents of Burlington, who sought to defend the town's commitment to equal rights. Lucius Bigelow, a former mayor of Burlington, wrote the *Free Press* that there "will not be any Jim Crow cars" because no "manly Vermonter" wants them. "There is no color line in our laws," he proclaimed, "and there will be no color line in our cars." Furthermore, there was nothing to fear, Bigelow argued, because the soldiers of the Tenth Cavalry were "gallant, courteous and kindly men, who make no trouble and merit no insult or

derision from their white fellow citizens." The *Burlington Daily News,* in contrast to its rival, the *Free Press,* published no comments against the African American soldiers and opposed Jim Crow cars, calling them a "pipe dream." Elias Lyman, president of the Street Railroad Company, agreed with the *Daily News* and vowed that no segregated cars would be put into service. He expected "no trouble" from the "famous Tenth."[9]

A commitment to civil rights only partly explains why these prominent citizens expressed such noble sentiments. They also feared that the hysteria unleashed by the Tenth's arrival was ruining Vermont's reputation. The editor of the *New York Times* attacked Burlington for its "foolish, and . . . unpatriotic and unworthy" reaction, and the editor of the Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican* commented that the residents of Burlington should be "ashamed of themselves." Some newspapers compared Vermont's behavior with that of the South, as exemplified by the editor of the *Boston Traveler,* who commented that the "people of Vermont are acting not unlike their southern brethren." A few Southern newspapers reacted with glee to what was occurring in Burlington, viewing the situation, as the editor of the New Orleans *Times Democrat* wrote, as a vindication of their belief that whites and blacks cannot "live in the same country peaceably" unless separated by the color line. Such comments, the editor of the St. Albans *Messenger,* a Vermont paper, wrote, were not only "humiliating," but "adversely" branded the people of Vermont as both "negro haters" and a "stubbornly, bigoted, narrow-minded, rural" people.[10]

This was certainly not the image that Vermont wanted to project to the nation. The comments of the national press disturbed the newspapers, politicians, and businessmen of Burlington and Vermont, all prominent people who had no desire either to serve as an example of the South's racial views or see their community smeared in the national press. They sought to defend their city and state against such attacks, while at the same time upholding their commitment to civil rights.

The black troopers of the Tenth Cavalry, over whom this entire ruckus was being made, remained officially silent on the subject of Jim Crow cars or any other form of racial segregation. They had encountered this reaction before and, upon arriving in Vermont, seemed only worried about the cold winters. On the other hand, one white officer, Major George Sands, marveled "at sentiment antagonistic to a negro regiment . . . in such a patriotic spot as Burlington." He predicted that the African American soldiers would "give the people of Burlington some lessons in patriotism."[11]

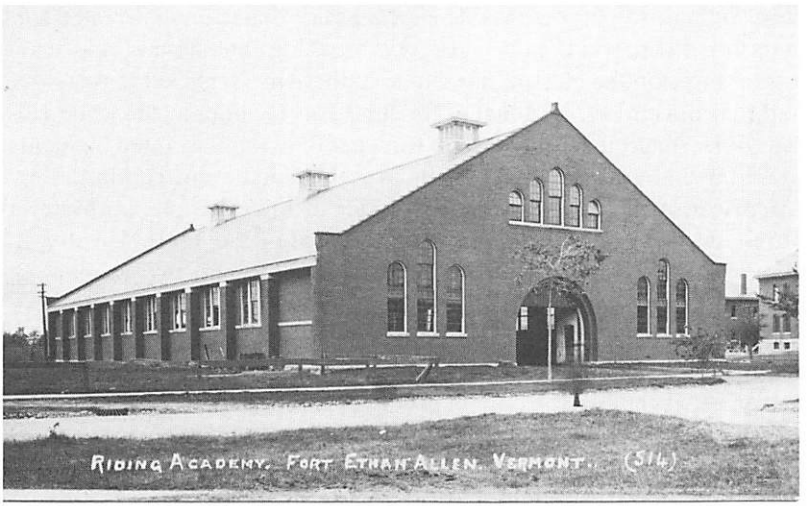
Regardless of the opinions of community leaders and out-of-state newspapers, many people in Burlington awaited the Tenth's arrival

with foreboding. Some expected "rioting and carnage." These citizens, as the editor of the *Rutland Daily Herald* wrote, had determined that "the troopers of the 10th will have to conduct themselves twice as well as white soldiers." Any disturbance that might "pass for a flow of animal spirits in the Caucasian" would, if committed by an African American soldier, "be riot, outrage and bloody murder." The first week, wrote a correspondent for the *Bennington Evening Banner,* was "a critical time." If it brought disorder, "then Jim Crow cars and all sorts of color lines may be the result. The people of this city [Burlington] . . . are anxiously awaiting the outcome." The town was telling the black troopers to maintain their best behavior at all times.[12]

On July 28, the Tenth Cavalry finally arrived in Burlington and, as it became clear that the troopers would not cause any trouble, the community breathed a collective sigh of relief. "Military Discipline Is Kept Up Without A Break," shouted the headline of the *Burlington Daily News,* and the *Rutland Daily Herald* headline for August 4 proclaimed "Fighting Tenth Still Quiet." Throughout the first week, the conduct of the black soldiers consistently surprised many citizens. As the correspondent for the *Bennington Evening Banner* wrote, the Tenth was "proving a happy surprise. They haven't shot up the town yet, they don't mob the trolley cars and are civil and courteous to both men and women." No racial conflict of any kind took place and the soldiers rode the electric cars without incident.[13]

The town decided against instituting Jim Crow cars, though de facto segregation occurred. In some parts of the city, saloons provided separate bars for the black troopers; others refused service to any African American in uniform, and within a few weeks a small black business community emerged that catered exclusively to the black soldiers. The people of Vermont, as the editor of the *Montpelier Journal* wrote, had realized that "the presence of a few colored soldiers at Fort Ethan Allen will not endanger white supremacy in Vermont." By August 14, the editor of the *Rutland Daily Herald,* who previously opposed the transfer of African American soldiers to Vermont, was writing that "the state of Vermont made a good exchange when the hoodlum white [soldiers] . . . were replaced by negro cavalrymen."[14]

The conduct of the black troopers of the Tenth Cavalry undoubtedly played a role in the town's acceptance of the regiment, as they quickly became active and beneficial members of the community. The regimental band played for the public four times a week and on one occasion the regiment's mandolin club and singers performed at a benefit for Burlington's public library. The Tenth allowed the public to watch the daily mounted drills and weekly parades conducted on the post parade



The Riding Academy, Fort Ethan Allen, Vermont. No date, VHS Post card collection. This is where the Tenth Cavalry conducted their daily mounted exercises and drills.

ground. The most popular activity engaged in by the black troopers was baseball. The Tenth Cavalry's regimental team frequently played local clubs, such as the American Woolen Company and the Flyaways, and teams from the University of Vermont, Barre, Hardwick, Rutland, St. Albans, Dartmouth College, and West Point, New York. The games were competitive and attended by large crowds, numbering as many as 300 people.[15]

The result of these activities was that the community embraced the regiment. After a band concert, one resident wrote the Tenth thanking the soldiers for the generous act and declaring that the sentiment of Vermonters toward the regiment was "very kind." In April 1910, a local club held a dinner and dance to honor the noncommissioned officers. More than one hundred prominent citizens, including the mayor of Burlington and an ex-governor of the state, attended the party. The town again honored the regiment in July 1910, when, as the Tenth was leaving for New York to participate in maneuvers, homes and businesses displayed flags and large crowds gathered to watch the regiment march out of town. Because of these activities, the regiment's veterinarian, S. W. Service, reported, "a friendly and almost confidential feeling has sprung up between the townspeople and the soldiers."[16]

The black troopers, of course, were not angels and often committed

petty and not so petty crimes. The local police department arrested soldiers for disorderly conduct, forgery, breaking into homes, and even disturbances on the electric cars. None of these incidents led to any riots, outbreaks, disorders, or demands for Jim Crow facilities as the white citizens of Burlington accepted them for what they were, isolated incidents caused by individual soldiers. Even after the worst crime committed by an African American soldier, the murder of three people, no hysteria broke out and no one called for the removal of the Tenth Cavalry. In this case, Matthew Carlyle killed a fellow soldier and two women, all three of whom were black. Since the incident did not directly involve the white community, no hostile reaction was directed toward the African American soldiers. Despite these problems, the town of Burlington realized that the black troopers posed no threat and accepted them as segregated members of the community. As one of the town's police officers testified, "the black troopers of the 10th Cavalry have given the police and the people of this city no trouble whatever."[17]

Although Tenth Cavalry soldiers frequently interacted with their white neighbors, they spent most of their off-duty time among themselves. Shortly after their arrival, the Hiawatha Club opened, an African American establishment that catered to the black soldiers, holding dances and serving primarily as a drinking hole. The establishment functioned as an unofficial enlisted men's club until it burned down in March 1912. Other soldiers purchased hunting licenses and went deer hunting. Many activities were conducted on post. The regiment held track-and-field meets and had interregimental baseball and basketball leagues; the Machine Gun Troop, which contained the most athletes, dominated these events.[18]

The regiment's off-duty activities were not confined to drinking or sports. In February 1911, Troop B put on a production of *The Merchant of Venice,* and on Thanksgiving 1911 the Tenth held a wild west show in the riding hall for members of the regiment and their families. Directed by First Sergeant Samuel Alexander, it featured bucking broncos, feats of horsemanship, and Indians attacking a stagecoach and settlers' cabin, only to be driven off by soldiers. The show "caused great hilarity" and "was altogether a splendid success . . . great credit is due Sergeant Alexander." Many of these events occurred in the late fall and winter, a time when the weather prevented the regiment from conducting maneuvers or drills outdoors. They helped to relieve the monotony of these seasons and instill camaraderie within the regiment.[19]

The black soldiers of the Tenth Cavalry frequently socialized with African Americans from around the northeast, Canada, and even the Midwest. In November 1910, a dance was held in the barracks of Troop

A to honor the team for winning the fort's baseball league pennant. Over 600 guests came from New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, Albany, and Chicago. The regiment's sports teams routinely played black baseball and basketball clubs. In March 1911, the Tenth's basketball team competed against an all-star team from Manhattan. In "a spiritedly contested match," the regimental team lost 30 to 14, a defeat that surprised the cocky cavalrymen. Soldiers also dated black women from Princeton, New Jersey, and Montreal.[20]

While in Vermont, units of the Tenth Cavalry participated in a variety of fairs, parades, maneuvers, and celebrations. They regularly attended the Rutland Agricultural Fair, participated in the Hudson-Fulton celebration in Albany, New York, took part in the dedication of the Saratoga Battle Monument, and served as escorts at the funeral of General Oliver O. Howard. The regiment also engaged in maneuvers in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, and Virginia and drilled with units of the Vermont National Guard. In September 1913, the Tenth sent representatives to the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. On this occasion, Sergeant Major Eugene P. Frierson, in his address to the delegates, praised the performance of blacks in the military and argued that they were "a fighting member of the government."[21]

On these occasions, the regiment frequently passed through local communities that went out of their way to praise the African American soldiers' conduct. In August 1909, the *Boston Globe* reported that, after marching through six Massachusetts towns, "not a single complaint was made" and, in fact, everyone "had nothing but the highest compliments to pay with regard to the conduct of the men." The residents of Schuylerville, New York, expressed similar sentiments in 1912 after the regiment spent a night with the community, complimenting the officers "for the uniformly gentlemanly conduct of your men." Shortly thereafter, one Massachusetts community expressed surprise at the "splendid courtesies" and "bounteous hospitality" extended by the regiment. "There were no expectations," several prominent citizens wrote, "of such a cordial and overwhelming welcome." The fact that whites went out of their way to praise the regiment clearly demonstrated both the underlying anxieties they felt when black soldiers entered their towns and their astonishment when these troops did not cause any trouble.[22]

The longest and most important maneuvers in which the regiment engaged while stationed in Vermont were held near Winchester, Virginia, in the late summer of 1913, when the Tenth and two white cavalry regiments, the Eleventh and Fifteenth, tested new cavalry tactics. The Tenth marched seven hundred miles to Winchester, arrived on July 19,

and remained in camp until late September. The response of the white community clearly showed how much fear whites held toward black soldiers and the high standards they expected black soldiers to maintain.[23]

The residents of Winchester feared there would be trouble with the black troopers and their apprehensions seemed to be realized as the regiment approached the town. While encamped outside of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, a white woman accused an unknown member of the regiment of viciously attacking her. Winchester's local paper, *The Evening Star,* printed in bold headlines "Negro Trooper Attacks A Girl" and ran a story describing the assault in lurid detail.[24]

The accusation also upset the black troopers and they hoped to root out the criminal themselves. They stood in line so the woman could identify her assailant (whom she failed to find) and collected three hundred dollars to employ a detective to investigate the charge. They never hired the detective. The officers of the regiment discovered that the assailant was the woman's escort and she falsely blamed a black soldier to protect him from the police. *The Evening Star,* which closely followed the progress of the case, printed a short article entitled "Trooper Not Guilty Man," but stating only "considerable doubt" exists. The paper never published a full retraction of the charges.[25]

Three days later, the Tenth Cavalry marched to Winchester and went into camp. Crowds silently watched as the regiment paraded through the city's streets, but they made no demonstrations as the troopers filed by. Once in camp, the black soldiers were on their best behavior and no altercations occurred between them and the white troops or with the residents of Winchester. A Tenth Cavalry soldier said it "was the most remarkable camp I have ever witnessed. . . . [T]here has not been a cross word between the colored and white soldiers." The soldiers of the three regiments entered into "a healthy rivalry," as each attempted to outperform the other two in matters relating to the appearance of their horses, equipment, and camps and who could master the new cavalry formations. In their off-duty hours, the African American troopers spent much of their time socializing with the black residents of Winchester, who made a special effort to entertain the famous regiment.[26]

Shortly after their arrival, however, rumors spread charging the black soldiers with a variety of offenses. A correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun* reported that the troopers were parading through town, crowding white women off the streets, pushing white citizens off the sidewalks, and generally acting disrespectfully toward the white townsfolk, who declared they were not going to stand for it. The paper said "serious trouble" was expected. The editor of *The Evening Star* and many local white residents defended the black soldiers. The *Star* said the

charges were regrettable because the Tenth Cavalry's behavior "had been excellent" and it was expected they would continue to behave as "men should who wear the uniform of the United States Army." Chief of Police M. A. Doran also refuted the *Baltimore Sun's* charges, reporting that "no complaints have been received or heard by the police." Nevertheless, as one resident remarked, the exemplary conduct of the black troopers came as "a revelation to the natives of Winchester."[27]

The only serious disturbance caused by soldiers during the maneuvers did not even involve the Tenth Cavalry, but instead entailed two white soldiers. While in town, two troopers of the Eleventh Cavalry engaged in a bloody knife fight, during which one of them was seriously wounded. This incident, while reported on the front page of *The Evening Star,* caused no controversy or hysteria and the *Star* did not bother to defend the conduct of the white soldiers as it had that of the black soldiers. The white regiments, unlike the black troopers of the Tenth Cavalry, did not have to prove that they could behave properly.[28]

At the end of the maneuvers, whites went out of their way to praise the good conduct of the Tenth Cavalry. The editor of *The Evening Star* said the regiment's "excellent behavior . . . has been especially gratifying." The Winchester Business Men's Association adopted resolutions praising the conduct of all the troops at the camp, but they specifically singled out the Tenth Cavalry, commenting on the "excellent order and deportment maintained by . . . the famous fighting Tenth Cavalry." Again, these comments hinted at the underlying fears the white community possessed toward black soldiers and their relief that these fears went unrealized.[29]

The three cavalry regiments next marched to Washington, D.C., where they demonstrated the new cavalry tactics for President Woodrow Wilson, Chief of Staff General Leonard Wood, members of Congress, and other distinguished persons. While in Washington, the black citizens of the city held a reception for the Tenth Cavalry at Convention Hall. General Wood appeared and commented that the regiment "has a great responsibility, as it represents the colored race, and the eyes of all are upon it." African Americans were especially proud of the regiment. As a correspondent for the *Chicago Defender* wrote, "No colored citizen had reason to be ashamed of the appearance of this famous cavalry regiment."[30]

The black soldiers returned to Fort Ethan Allen in mid-October, but their stay in Vermont was at an end. During November, the regiment began packing and preparing for its new station and in December the Tenth entrained for service in Arizona. The newspapers of Vermont applauded the black soldiers' conduct while in the state. The editor of the

Rutland Daily Herald wrote, "the relations of the colored troops to civilians in this vicinity have been good"; the *Montpelier Evening Argus* commented that the troopers "were very peaceable"; and the *Burlington Free Press* praised the regiment for its "always courteous and gentlemanly" conduct. The hysteria that greeted the African American troopers in 1909 was forgotten as the *Free Press* rhapsodized about the "good-will" that now existed between "the regiment and the people of this state." The white community of Burlington extended this praise, respect, and generosity only after the black soldiers proved beyond any doubt that they could be trusted. No white regiments were ever subjected to the same standards. When the Second Cavalry Regiment, a white unit, replaced the Tenth at Fort Ethan Allen, the Vermont papers made no comments about the Second upon its arrival in the state.[31]

The Tenth arrived in Arizona at the end of December 1913 and remained for nearly eighteen years. Stationed at Fort Huachuca, a few miles north of the Mexican border, the regiment compiled a distinguished record fighting Mexican bandits and revolutionaries along the border and participating in the Mexican Punitive Expedition in 1916. In 1931, however, the army stripped the Tenth of its combat role, turned it into a collection of service units, and broke up the regiment, transferring units to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and Fort Meyer, Virginia.[32]

Notes

[1] For accounts of the Tenth Cavalry's service before its arrival in Vermont see William H. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers: A Narrative of the Black Cavalry in the West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967; reprint, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003); David Work, "The Fighting Tenth Cavalry: Black Soldiers in the United States Army, 1892–1918," Master's Thesis, Oklahoma State University, 1998.

[2] *New York Age,* 24 November 1910; statistics on enlistments compiled from *A Roster of the Enlisted Personnel of the Tenth United States Cavalry* (Fort Ethan Allen, Vt.: Regimental Press, 1912); Kerr T. Riggs Questionnaire, Marvin Fletcher Collection, Military History Institute, Carlisle, Pennsylvania (hereafter cited as MHI); Queen quoted in *Afro-American* (Baltimore), 16 October 1915. In the late nineteenth century, all four black regiments had lower desertion and higher reenlistment rates than the white regiments; see Edward M. Coffman, *The Old Army: A Portrait of the American Army in Peacetime, 1784–1898* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). The Tenth's low desertion rate continued after the regiment left Vermont. In 1914, it again had one of the army's lowest desertion rates; see *Chicago Defender,* 12 December 1914.

[3] Marvin Fletcher, *The Black Soldier and Officer in the United States Army, 1891–1917* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1974), 119–123. For a complete account of the Brownsville Affair see John D. Weaver, *The Brownsville Raid* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970; reprint, College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1992).

[4] *Army and Navy Journal,* 13, 27 July 1907; *New York Times,* 13 September 1907; *New York Age,* 18 March 1909.

[5] May, June, July 1909, Tenth Cavalry, Returns from Regular Army Cavalry Regiments, 1833–1916, National Archives, Record Group 94, Microfilm M744, reel 101; "New York and the Fighting Tenth," *The Colored American Magazine* 17 (August 1909): 123–125; *New York Times,* 26, 27 July 1909. At Fort Ethan Allen, the Tenth replaced units from the Eleventh Cavalry and Fifteenth Cavalry. It was the only regiment permanently stationed at the fort from 1909–1913.

[6] John Buechler, "Fort Ethan Allen: A Post on the Northern Frontier," *Vermont History* 35 (January 1967): 8, 15; *Burlington Daily News,* 26 July 1909.

[7] Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: United States Census Office, 1901), vol. 1, pt. 1, 477, 486, 644; July 1909, Tenth Cavalry Returns, National Archives, Record Group 94, Microfilm M744, reel 101; *Rutland Daily Herald,* 4 August 1909.

[8] *New York Times,* 21 July 1909; *Burlington Free Press,* 15, 17, 20 July 1909; *Rutland Daily Herald,* 30 July 1909.

[9] *Burlington Free Press,* 19 July 1909; *Burlington Daily News,* 28, 29 July 1909.

[10] *New York Times,* 29 July 1909; Springfield *Republican* quoted in *Montpelier Evening Argus,* 2 August 1909; *Boston Traveler* quoted in *Burlington Daily News,* 26 July 1909; New Orleans *Times Democrat* quoted in ibid., 28 July 1909; St. Albans *Messenger* quoted in *Rutland Daily Herald,* 6 August 1909.

[11] *Burlington Daily News,* 31 July 1909; *Montpelier Evening Argus,* 27 July 1909; Sands quoted in *New York Age,* 29 July 1909.

[12] *Rutland Daily Herald,* 4 August, 31 July 1909; *Bennington Evening Banner,* 28 July 1909.

[13] *Burlington Daily News,* 28 July 1909; *Rutland Daily Herald,* 4 August 1909; *Bennington Evening Banner,* 4 August 1909; *New York Age,* 5 August 1909.

[14] Notes on taped interview of William W. Hay, 17 February 1967, Fletcher Collection, MHI; *Rutland Daily Herald,* 4 August 1909; *Montpelier Journal* quoted in *Bennington Evening Banner,* 26 July 1909; *Rutland Daily Herald,* 14 August 1909.

[15] *Burlington Free Press,* 30 August, 9, 10, 13, 14 September, 1 October 1909, 24 March 1910; *Burlington Daily News,* 10 May, 6, 18 June 1910; *Army and Navy Journal,* 20 May, 1 July 1911.

[16] *Burlington Free Press,* 15 September 1909, 2 April, 16 July 1910; Service quoted in *New York Age,* 17 March 1910.

[17] *Burlington Free Press,* 11 October 1909, 13 April 1910; *Burlington Daily News,* 14 September 1909, 2 June 1910; *Burlington Free Press,* 1 March, 13 April 1912; police officer quoted in *Army and Navy Journal,* 11 January 1913.

[18] *Burlington Free Press,* 2 September 1909, 2 March 1912; *Burlington Daily News,* 27 October 1909; *Army and Navy Journal,* 8 April 1911.

[19] *Army and Navy Journal,* 25 February, 9 December 1911.

[20] *New York Age,* 1 December 1910, 30 March 1911, 24 March 1910; *Burlington Daily News,* 29 April 1910.

[21] September 1909, 1911, 1912, October 1912, Tenth Cavalry Returns, National Archives, Record Group 94, Microfilm M744, reel 101, 102; September 1909, July 1911, May 1913, Fort Ethan Allen, Returns from United States Military Posts, 1800–1916, National Archives, Record Group 94, Microfilm M617, Reel 354; Frierson quoted in Mary Curtis, *The Black Soldier* (Washington, D.C.: Murray Brothers, 1918), 28–29.

[22] *Boston Globe* quoted in *Rutland Daily Herald,* 21 August 1909; *Army and Navy Journal,* 26 October, 2 November 1912.

[23] July 1913, Tenth Cavalry Returns, National Archives, Record Group 94, Microfilm M744, reel 102.

[24] *The Evening Star* (Winchester, Virginia), 16 July 1913.

[25] *Philadelphia Tribune,* 19 July 1913; Curtis, *The Black Soldier,* 29–30; *The Evening Star,* 18 July 1913.

[26] *The Evening Star,* 19 July 1913; soldier quoted in Curtis, *The Black Soldier,* 31; *Army and Navy Journal,* 9, 23 August 1913; *Afro-American* (Baltimore), 16 August 1913.

[27] *Baltimore Sun* quoted in *The Evening Star,* 28 July 1913; *Army and Navy Journal,* 2, 9 August 1913.

[28] *The Evening Star,* 4 August 1913.

[29] Ibid., 17 September 1913; Resolutions adopted by the Business Men's Association of Winchester, 17 September 1913, Commendations, Individual, Tenth Cavalry Regimental Records, 1866–1918, Miscellaneous Records, 1869–1918, National Archives, Record Group 391.

[30] October 1913, Tenth Cavalry Returns, National Archives, Record Group 94, Microfilm M744, reel 102; Wood quoted in *Afro-American,* 11 October 1913; *Chicago Defender,* 11 October 1913.

[31] *Rutland Daily Herald,* 6 December 1913; *Montpelier Evening Argus,* 5 December 1913; *Burlington Free Press* quoted in Curtis, *The Black Soldier,* 28; *Army and Navy Journal,* 13 December 1913.

[32] Work, "The Fighting Tenth Cavalry," 102–103.

BOOK REVIEWS

Writings on New England History: Additions to the Bibliographies of New England History Series (to 2001)

Compiled and edited by Roger Parks (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 2003, pp. xvii, 372, $85.00).

In 1969 the Committee for a New England Bibliography was formed to compile and publish bibliographies of published historical material for the six New England states. The first six volumes published under the auspices of the Committee from 1976 to 1986 each covered a specific state. The Vermont volume was published in 1981, with Thomas D. S. Bassett serving as editor. The seventh volume covered the history of the region as a whole. Volumes 8 and 9 updated the coverage included in the first seven volumes, and the electronic version of volume 9 is available online at http://nebib.uvm.edu.

The latest supplement, volume 10, includes citations to books, pamphlets, magazine and journal articles, dissertations and selected theses, and a few government publications, published between 1995 and 2001. It also includes additions and corrections to the earlier bibliographies. It does not include primary sources such as newspaper articles or manuscript material that can be found through ARCCAT, a selective Vermont archives union catalog, available online at http://dol.state.vt.us:8002/arccat, or the *National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections*, which is available online at http://lcweb.loc.gov/coll/nucmc/nucmc.html.

Volume 10 retains the basic geographic arrangement of entries found in the last two supplements. The entries for New England as a region or for more than one state appear first, followed alphabetically by entries

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for the six states. The first entries within each state are for works that pertain to the state as a whole or more than one county, followed by entries for counties and towns, in alphabetical order. Periodical titles are not abbreviated, as was done in previous volumes, so it was not necessary to include a list of serial abbreviations. The drawback of this change is that it is more difficult to ascertain what periodicals have been indexed in this volume. Many entries have helpful brief annotations. The entries for many books also have an "OCLC" notation to indicate that the book is included in the massive bibliographic database developed by the Online Computer Library Center. This database enables readers to identify holding locations for books in addition to the single library holding location usually given. The five-page list of holding location symbols in the front of the volume includes libraries from as far away as California and London. The author and subject index is over a hundred pages long and the use of bold and italic type for states and towns makes it easier to quickly find geographic subdivisions within a subject heading that has many entries. The index also has "see" and "see also" references that enhance its usefulness.

The scope of this bibliography is quite broad and the guidelines for inclusion are succinct and consistent with earlier volumes in the series. Some omissions are inevitable, both among books and periodical titles. For example, periodicals published by the Rutland Railroad Historical Society and the Central Vermont Railway Historical Society do not appear to be indexed, but these are not major omissions.

Publication of the first ten volumes has been an ambitious project that has filled an important bibliographical need, thanks to very knowledgeable editors, a dedicated corps of volunteers throughout New England, and funding support from the National Endowment for the Humanities, as well as donations from members of the Committee for a New England Bibliography and other historical and cultural institutions across New England.

Since the publication of the first volume in this series in 1976 the development of computer networks and online bibliographic databases has made it easier to identify and access information resources relating to New England history. Many larger libraries now provide public access to comprehensive historical databases such as *America: History and Life,* which indexes many of the most important historical magazines and journals covering the New England states. Such databases are usually more current than most printed indexes and bibliographies, but they are also often much more expensive and not as easy to use as printed bibliographies such as the *Additions to the Bibliographies of New England History Series (to 2001).* Another database, a full-text online version of

the *New York Times,* covering 1851 to 2001, is available to subscribers of ProQuest Historical Newspapers. A simple search in this database retrieves well over a hundred newspaper articles on the St. Albans Raid in just a few seconds, and subscribers can view all of these articles and print any articles they choose. However, the annual cost of this database probably makes it unaffordable to all but a handful of larger libraries in Vermont.

Vermont History, Vermont History News, and *Vermont Life* all have published cumulative indexes to provide systematic access to their retrospective contents, but searching these individual indexes is far less efficient than searching the appropriate volumes of the Bibliographies of New England History. Despite the welcome addition of commercial databases that also provide bibliographic access to information resources on New England history, this volume is recommended for purchase by libraries for its depth and breadth of coverage, its ease of use, and its portability. Scholars who regularly do research on topics relating to the history of any of the New England states will also find this latest installment in the series to be a very useful addition to their personal collections.

This volume will be updated by volume 11, which is projected for publication in 2008.

HANS L. RAUM

Hans Raum is curator of the Vermont Collection at Middlebury College.

Digital Imaging: A Practical Approach

By Jill Marie Koelling (Altamira Press, 2004, pp. viii, 85, cloth, $69.00; paper, $24.95)

Since the mid-1990s, the use of digital imaging technologies to provide access to cultural heritage materials in archives, museums, and research libraries has become increasingly common. In response to high interest in this exciting, but also complex and volatile technology, numerous guidebooks and manuals have become available both in print and on the web. The pioneering but brief *Introduction to Imaging* (Besser & Trant, 1996) provides only a glimpse into the subject. By contrast, more comprehensive guides, such as the *Handbook for Digital Projects: A Management Tool for Preservation and Access* (Northeast Document Conservation Center, 2000) and *Guides to Quality in Visual Resource Imaging* (see Research Libraries Group website, 2000) can be overwhelming for a novice to the digital imaging field.

Jill Marie Koelling's *Digital Imaging: a Practical Approach* should appeal to institutions and collection curators who have not yet joined the web universe but who recognize the great potential of digital technology as an instrument for sharing and preserving their unique and fragile materials in an electronic format. Modest in size, the book will especially benefit those who are looking for step-by-step guidance on organizing a digital project. The author generously shares her practical knowledge derived from experience as curator of photographic collections at the Nebraska State Historical Society, where she was in charge of digital projects. Although the majority of examples used in this book focus on historical photographs and documents, Koelling also discusses digitization of other types of materials, including maps and three-dimensional objects. For this reason, the book will be of interest to institutions holding many different types of collections, including historical societies and museums.

Koelling's book outlines the key phases of a digital project, beginning with preliminary planning and collection assessment, and ending with database design issues. A "digital glossary" of field-specific terminology precedes the main body of the book, prompting the reader to review it beforehand. Koelling effectively explains and illustrates often obscure terms such as "dynamic range," "lossless" versus "lossy" compression, "optical resolution," "metadata," and others.

Subsequent chapters are devoted to preparatory stages of a project, from collection surveys to selection of materials for digitization. The author offers plenty of advice on how to successfully manage a digital project by realistically assessing staffing needs and creating pragmatic project timelines and realistic budgets. A separate section is devoted to complex issues of copy and property rights, which are often overlooked or misunderstood by custodians of visual materials. Koelling rightly observes that imaging technology presents new and unique challenges, as computer images can be more easily disseminated and misused. She also offers valuable advice on what constitutes a successful grant application for financial support. Since most institutions cannot even contemplate a digital project without outside resources, this is a valuable contribution.

Perhaps the most intimidating part of a digital project is the technical knowledge required to successfully conduct such an undertaking. Koelling leads the reader through the maze of technical specifications of image files, their formats, potential storage media, and creation of high quality scans. She discusses how to evaluate and choose scanning equipment suitable for different types of materials and stresses the importance of documenting digital assets in order to ensure their long-term viability in conditions of ever-changing computer software and hardware.

Koelling emphasizes the necessity of following established technical and descriptive standards and practices, as this opens the way to inter-institutional collaboration and sharing of resources and expertise. The motto of her book is "scan once, scan right, scan for the future," which is the principle on which all digitization projects should be based, so that the monetary resources and intense human effort involved are not wasted.

Koelling richly illustrates the concepts discussed throughout the book with black and white photographs, diagrams, tables, and computer screen shots, many of which may be used and modified during the conceptualizing and planning of any digital project. The footnotes and bibliography are basic, but to the point. She frequently refers to the Colorado Digitization Project, an exemplary statewide collaboration to digitize materials from a variety of institutions under centrally developed guidelines. The project's website provides links to very useful documents on many aspects of digitization.

Koelling concludes with a chapter on the great potential of digital imaging technology to transform research on historical photographs. She illustrates these ideas by describing an important digitization project she directed. In this project high-resolution scans of glass-plate negatives from the Solomon Butcher collection revealed details previously unseen in contemporary copy prints that had previously been used to study the collection. Copy prints did not have the capacity to reproduce all the details included in original negatives. The process of scanning directly from glass plate negatives allowed replication of the original image in its full detail, as initially framed by the photographer. The other unexpected potential of digital technology lies in its capacity to recover information from badly tarnished negatives, which are often discarded as damaged beyond repair. Unlike modern photographic papers, good quality scanners have a much higher capacity to record subtle tonal range in original negatives, therefore enabling what has been lost from the image to be seen again. This last chapter captures the exciting potential of digital technology, making it not only a reproduction medium, but also a tool for uncovering unknown and unexpected areas in historical images.

Koelling's work presents approachable, well-balanced insights into imaging technology, and is an excellent starting point for planning any digital project. If it gets the attention it deserves, this book could invigorate curators and custodians of smaller institutions, especially in Vermont, where so many precious historical materials reside in tiny, isolated places, inaccessible to a wider public. If used properly and in a timely way, digital technology may at last provide a viable gateway to the wealth of these hidden treasures.

EVA GARCELON

Eva Garcelon worked as pictorial archivist at the Bancroft Library of the University of California-Berkeley during the 1990s, where she was involved in a number of digital projects. She now lives in Middlebury, and consults on the digitization, description, and preservation of visual collections for archives and museums.

New England's Covered Bridges: A Complete Guide

By Benjamin D. and June R. Evans (Lebanon, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2004, pp. 334, $29.95).

Subtitled "A Complete Guide," this book by a husband-and-wife team of "longtime covered bridge aficionados" is probably the one book that tells readers the most about all the covered wooden spans of the six New England states. It also contains beautiful and instructive photos of each bridge. This book presents an immense amount of information yet it is small enough to carry in a large coat pocket. The print is small but the paper and typography are of such high quality that it is easy to read. Each bridge is given at least one page of coverage providing location, directions for getting there including GPS coordinates, year of construction and sometimes reconstruction, type of truss, waterway it crosses, present use, number of spans, owner, builder if known, length, width, condition assessment, a number referencing the *World Guide to Covered Bridges*, and its status or lack thereof on the National Register of Historic Places. This information is followed by a narrative of research into the history of the crossing and this particular bridge, its builder and costs, repairs over time and often who carried them out, and a visual assessment of the current apparent condition of the structure when the authors last visited it. While the authors refer to these narratives as "anecdotal and miscellaneous," they appear to contain solid historical information and they avoid the folksy and romantic tendencies, sometimes disinformative, that are often found in such books.

In addition to the survey of the individual bridges, *New England's Covered Bridges* contains an introductory essay on the writers' research methodology and format, and a glossary of covered bridge terms. An illustrated discussion of truss types helps users get much more out of their visits to the bridges by explaining these fascinating structures as well as their picturesque aspects. Rare within covered bridge literature is a bibliography as comprehensive as found in this book. References include

not only books, periodicals, and pamphlets but also nearly 100 web sites and personal emails from knowledgeable informants. The book is organized by state, but an index at the end allows one to search for individual bridges. Well researched and concisely written, overall the Evans' book in my opinion is the best available guide to New England's current stock of covered bridges, giving the visitor to each bridge a context to put it in as well as a location.

If you are like me and a surprising number of other "bridgers," you attempt to acquire all the books and images you can find about covered bridges. I consider myself knowledgeable, but anyone will learn new things from the Evans' work. However, no one book can do everything. If you want more technical detail on structure, Joe Nelson's book, *Spanning Time: Vermont's Covered Bridges* (1997) will give you more. Richard Sanders Allen's several books from the middle of the last century will provide more historical context and a great wealth of images, both photos and patent drawing. Robert Fletcher and J. P. Snow's article "A History of the Development of Wooden Bridges" (*Transactions of the American Society of Civil Engineers,* 1934) is invaluable for being written by engineers who designed both wooden and steel bridges during their long careers. For incontrovertible information from the point of view of a nineteenth-century builder of huge wooden railroad bridges, try to get hold of a copy of Herman Haupt's *General Theory of Bridge Construction* (1851). The list goes on and on and allows the lover of wood truss bridges to indulge his or her fascination while sitting at home or in a library, as well as when driving down a lonely dirt road into a valley, waiting for the bridge to appear.

JAN LEO LEWANDOSKI

Jan Lewandoski restores covered bridges and other historic wooden architecture. He lives in Stannard, Vermont.

Early Maps of Brattleboro, Vermont, 1745–1912, With a Narrative History

By David Allen (West Chesterfield, N.H.: Old Maps, 2003, pp. 76, paper, $17.95; paper with CD-ROM, $29.95).

In December 2003 David Allen of West Chesterfield, N.H., published this attractive 8½ by 11-inch book to commemorate the 250th anniversary of the chartering of Brattleboro, Vermont. Reproduced are

approximately fifty old town and village maps, organized primarily in chronological order, from a depiction of the first settlement, Fort Dummer, on the edge of the Winchester Charter map of 1733, to the Main Street portion of a 1912 fire insurance map. For comparison purposes a modern topographic map of the region from Northfield, Massachusetts, to Putney, Vermont, is included on the inside front cover, and one of downtown Brattleboro on the inside rear cover. Modern outline maps of the town and of the downtown area are also included, along with a timeline of events and a graph showing population changes.

Allen's insightful commentary traces the changing geographic and social history of Brattleboro through its maps. His research has taken him to state and local archives in New England and New York, as well as the National Archives and the Library of Congress. He has uncovered rarities, such as the 1749 map of Fort Dummer discovered at the Vermont Historical Society.

The earliest maps are simple outline maps and include the Brattleboro Charter map of December 26, 1753. A copy of the charter is included in the rear of the book. Also included is a map based on the land survey of the New York surveyor general, after King George III ruled in 1764 that the New Hampshire Grants were to be part of New York Province. This map and others delimit early land divisions. Brattleboro's early land records are missing, and Allen's maps and descriptions provide a valuable understanding of boundaries at that time. Many of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century maps of the township are excerpted from larger maps of Vermont. Among these are the Whitelaw maps of 1796, 1810, and 1821. The 1796 map, commissioned by Surveyor General James Whitelaw, was the first to show the small network of roads and the location of the first town meetinghouse in what was to become West Brattleboro.

The central portion of the volume, comprising over half the content, is devoted to land ownership maps and three panoramic or bird's-eye views. Some of the former, like the 1852 Presdee and Edwards map, are wall maps of the town. Others are excerpted from county maps, such as *McClellan's Map of Windham County, Vermont* of 1856. These maps, the 1869 F. W. Beers *Atlas of Windham Co. Vermont* in book form, and subsequent wall maps, were published by commercial mapmakers, who took subscriptions and included the names of subscribers and their businesses, if any, in the margin. Much detail is provided, including the sites of houses and buildings, often with the owners' names. Many of these maps are spread over several pages in the book. The 1895 D. L. Miller map, the largest of the wall maps, measuring 42 × 60 inches, is reprinted on eight pages for the downtown area and an additional page each for

West Brattleboro and for the entire town. The three bird's eye views or panoramic maps of 1856, 1876, and 1886 present unique three-dimensional views of the downtown area. These lithographs, based on artists' perspectives undoubtedly from Mt. Wantastiquet, across the Connecticut River in New Hampshire, name the streets and some of the more noteworthy buildings. The latest maps are the fire insurance maps of the Main Street area. Allen reprints portions of the oldest map produced by the Sanborn Map Company in 1885 and portions of one printed in 1912. The actual shapes, materials, and uses of the buildings and the location of hydrants and water lines are shown in detail.

Allen has produced a valuable addition to the literature on the history of Brattleboro through this unique collection of historic maps. His commentary adds to our knowledge of the changes in the social landscape that the maps convey. In their reprinted form, many of the maps, especially the panoramas, are not as clear as one could wish. Except for those on the covers, the maps are in black and white. To compensate for the lack of clarity and of color, Allen has included a CD-ROM as an option with the book. It contains the complete text as an Acrobat PDF file and complete copies of the maps as JPEG files. The user can study the maps in the original colors, where appropriate, and zoom in if greater detail is desired. The CD-ROM also includes images of the 1749 Patten Diary, which includes the original Fort Dummer map with descriptions, and of the 1766 New York Survey.

Allen previously published volumes on the early maps of several southwestern New Hampshire and northern Massachusetts communities. Historians of Vermont and local history as well as students of old maps should be pleased that he has ventured across the Connecticut River to produce this study of the early maps of Brattleboro.

ALFRED TOBORG

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Chester Alan Arthur

By Zachary Karabell (New York: Times Books, 2004, pp. 170 $20.00).

Novelist Thomas Wolfe once described how the late-nineteenth-century presidents from Hayes to Harrison ran together in the American imagination:

> [T]heir gravely vacant and bewhiskered faces mixed, melted . . . together in the sea-depths of a past, intangible, immeasurable, and unknowable. . . . For who was Garfield, the martyred man, and who had seen him in the streets of life? . . . Who had heard the casual and familiar tones of Chester Arthur? And where was Harrison? Where was Hayes? Which had the whiskers, which the burnsides: which was which?

When he was asked to write a biography of Chester Arthur for the Times Books' American Presidents series, author Zachary Karabell faced an unenviable task: writing an entire book on one of the forgotten presidents. In response, Karabell has given us a slim, somewhat casual volume that sketches a portrait of postbellum America, Republican Party factionalism, and the man known as the "Gentleman Boss."

Chester Alan Arthur was one of two presidents born in Vermont, the other, of course, being Calvin Coolidge. Those looking for insight into how Vermont shaped Chester Arthur will be disappointed, as his Vermont connections were few. He was born in the town of Fairfield in 1829, but left the state before he was ten. His father, a Baptist minister, settled the family in the midst of the booming Hudson Valley in New York; by the time he was 25, Chester had moved permanently to New York City. The biography gives only one further mention of the state: Arthur countered a rumor that he was in fact Canadian by pointing to his Vermont birth.

As a young man in New York City, Arthur was a dedicated opponent of slavery. He became a law clerk in the office of a prominent abolitionist whose views he shared. Arthur went so far as to join the Free Soil movement, moving to Kansas briefly in 1856; however, he quickly became alarmed at the rough frontier ways and moved back east within a matter of months. Returning to New York, he set up shop as a lawyer and joined the new Republican Party. He flourished in these new realms, making powerful contacts that enabled him to get impressive state jobs.

Arthur fit easily and comfortably into the extensive patronage system of the mid-nineteenth century, in which government jobs were given to party loyalists. In 1871, he was appointed to one of the most lucrative positions the system had to offer: collector of the New York Custom House. He came to work late, left early, and more than quadrupled his official salary through a law that allowed officials to profit from intercepting smuggled goods. When the New York Custom House came under scrutiny from reformers and Arthur was replaced, he found a comfortable home as chair of the New York Republican Party. He dined and smoked with wealthy industrialists and financiers under the silver chandeliers of New York's most fashionable establishments.

Arthur was a reluctant president, brought to office by a series of unlikely events. He found himself the vice presidential nominee under James Garfield, largely because fellow delegates considered Arthur unobjectionable and likely to deliver New York to the Republicans in the presidential election. The Garfield-Arthur ticket won the 1880 election, but in a matter of months an assassin shot Garfield, declaring "I did it and will go to jail for it. . . . Arthur will be president." This was, understandably, a difficult situation for Arthur. He did not want to be president and, while Garfield lingered on the brink of death, considered the prospect a "calamity." But in September 1881, the day after Garfield died, Arthur was sworn in to office.

As president, Arthur provided some interesting surprises. Ever the bon vivant, he redid the White House in stained glass and gold leaf and hired a French chef for state dinners. He vetoed two overwhelmingly popular bills: the Rivers and Harbors Bill, a prime piece of legislative pork, and the Chinese Exclusion Act, which prohibited Chinese immigration for twenty years and required immigrants to register with the government. (Neither veto proved permanent: Congress overrode the first and returned a modified Chinese Exclusion Act to Arthur with enough votes so that he reluctantly signed it.) Perhaps the most important piece of legislation to emerge from Arthur's time in office was the Pendleton Civil Service Act, which he signed in 1883. This act dismantled the very patronage system that had brought him to power: It outlawed assessments, required civil servants to qualify for their jobs by examination, and introduced the modern federal bureaucracy.

Arthur did not serve a second term. He had lost his base within the Republican Party by supporting enough reform so that his former allies mistrusted him but not enough to be championed by reformers. He lost the Republican nomination to James Blaine, who in turn lost the general election to Grover Cleveland. Arthur spent his last two years as a private citizen and lawyer, working relatively little and suffering from a kidney disease that had plagued his time in the White House. He died in 1886 at the age of fifty-seven.

Chester Alan Arthur is not a scholarly work. Instead, the book has a casual, contemporary tone: Karabell makes frequent comparisons to late-twentieth-century issues, calls Arthur "the Teflon candidate of his day," and generally tries to add dramatic tension to a subject who was not a dramatic man. One can appreciate the author's dilemma, but the result is that Karabell is self-consciously present in the book to an extent that some may find distracting. There is also an occasional factual error: Karabell lists Arthur's birthplace as North Fairfield rather than Fairfield. But despite these shortcomings, the book will give most readers an in-

teresting look at Gilded Age America and as much information as they ever wanted to know about Chester Alan Arthur.

WODEN TEACHOUT

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Mother & Daughter—Two Diaries of Glover, Vermont, Girls: 1894 Diary of Edith Francena Aldrich, Age 14; 1922 Diary of Edith Alexander, Age 14

Annotations compiled by Joan Alexander (Glover, Vt.: Glover Historical Society, 2004, pp. xii, 176, paper, price unknown).

A Little Girl's Diary: Life on a Farm in Rural Vermont: Written by Alice Bushnell in 1911

Edited by Marcia Cowles Bushnell (Strafford, Vt., 2002, pp. vi, 165, paper, $12.00).

With the advent of desktop publishing, readers of Vermont history are gaining access to an increasing number of primary sources from town historical societies and private family collections. Recent examples include the 1894 diary of a fourteen-year-old girl followed by the 1922 diary of her daughter, also at age fourteen, edited by Joan Alexander, and the 1911 diary of a seven-year old girl edited by Marcia Cowles Bushnell.

In Alexander's book Edith Francena Aldrich begins her diary in the spring of 1894 after a long bout with typhoid fever. Cena, as she was called by her family, wrote short entries—four or five lines—that have been transcribed as written with a new line for each activity. Cena lived with her parents and younger brother in West Glover, Vermont. Her father, Wesley Aldrich, operated the Meadow Brook Creamery on the "cream gathering plan," meaning the creamery traveled around to farms to gather the milk every few days (vii). The creamery's main business was churning butter which was then sent by rail to Providence, R.I., where it was sold by Aldrich's partner. Cena's entries give little information on this enterprise, although the editor fleshes it out nicely in the introduction. The diary is rich in details of a young girl's life: clothing, games, reading, and school days. Cena also describes family activities

such as church, gardening, and meals, and she records the usual diary subjects of weather and health. The Aldrich house was a hub for relatives, neighbors, and schoolmates, but it was not unusual to have an entry like this: "Didn't go anywhere or there didn't any one came here" (p. 23). In November the family took a train trip to Providence where Cena's father attended to business and the family visited relatives. On the return, they stopped at Boston and Cena reports that her father and brothers went to the Bunker Hill Monument and Naval Yard, and she joined them in the afternoon for a tour of the Natural History Museum. The family ate dinner at a restaurant, a rare occurrence, and Cena learned that city life differed from rural life when she "washed 19 handkerchiefs today and hung them out and some one came and stole them all" (p. 65).

The editor acknowledges that this 1894 diary is the first of many diaries Cena kept, seven of which "have survived" (p. 72). The apparent reason for transcribing and publishing this particular one is that Cena's daughter, Edith, also kept a diary when she was fourteen. The editor chose to present them together in this volume.

Family life had changed considerably by 1922, when Edith Alexander began her diary, twenty-eight years after her mother kept hers. Edith, a freshman at Barton Academy where she boarded, returned to the family farm in Glover on weekends. Unlike her mother, Edith's entries are in paragraphs, often filling the full page of the 3¼″ × 6″ journal. The most notable difference in the lives of these girls is the considerable change in social life from the late nineteenth century to the first quarter of the twentieth century. Adolescence no longer consisted of a girl learning to keep house and be helpful to relatives and neighbors. By 1922 a girl's main interests were young men, silent films and dances, learning to drive an auto, and going out evenings with friends. While her mother in 1894 had simply reported her activities, Edith readily expresses emotions, even anger at her mother, brothers, teachers, and friends. She writes of smoking her first cigarette, using rouge, and having her hair bobbed. She loved "to shock folks" (p. 105) and prided herself in being a rebel. One evening she "got into a very hot argument tonight about suffrage" for women (p. 105), a cause she supported and apparently had to defend even after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. Following the common twentieth-century practice of women diarists, Edith indicated the days of her menstrual cycle; her signal was an asterisk placed on the date line. Her "lifelong ambition" was to go up in an "aeroplane" (pp. 121, 151). Readers do not know when this wish was fulfilled but, according to the epilogue, she worked for Eastern Aircraft during World War II where she was in charge of an airplane assembly line.

The editor presents these two diaries in an unusual way. On the odd-

numbered pages is the transcription of the diary entries; on the even-numbered pages are annotations including photographs of people and places, maps, business cards of local stores, descriptions of clothing and other articles from the Montgomery Ward catalogues, and newspaper clippings. The layout is jumbled, but the accumulation of vintage ephemera is useful. Even the cover of the book provides information with the reproduction of a handwritten page and the cover of each diary printed in the exact size of the original. A careful proofreading of the transcription would have prevented many minor errors.

In *A Little Girl's Diary,* Bushnell presents the 1911 diary and a thirty-five-page essay titled "Reflections on my Childhood Written in 1967" in a spiral-bound book. At age seven Alice Bushnell started her small journal with spaces for six days on each open page. Facsimilies of the diary pages, enlarged 117 percent (p. 165), are printed on the right hand side of the book; the transcription is on the left. This dual presentation allows readers to experience the childlike handwriting but also to read the entries with ease. The notes at the end of the volume are helpful, although many of the people named in the diary, including relatives, are not identified and some words unfamiliar to today's readers are not defined.

Alice lived with her parents, three older brothers, and her eighty-five-year-old grandmother on a twenty-acre potato farm in Strafford, Vermont. All family members were involved in the farm work and sugar making. The family attended church and prayer meetings regularly, although one member always had to stay home with the grandmother, who did not go out. Alice's entries detail her chores, school, games, reading, and holidays. In January she wrote: "We opened the goods tonight" (pp. 40-41), meaning the box of things ordered from the Sears and Roebuck catalogue. On August 29 she noted "an auto went up by" (pp. 118–119), apparently the first she had seen on her road. To this the editor added a note: "She was frightened by the unfamiliar noise and hid in the bushes" (p. 165).

The reminiscence by the diary author, written more than fifty years after she kept the diary, is especially appropriate for reading to children. Among its many compelling stories is Alice's description of the trip her parents took when they moved in 1897 from Ohio to Vermont before her birth. Her father rode in a freight car, sitting on a rocking chair, taking care of "his horses, pig and household goods" (p. 8), while her mother rode in the passenger car, taking care of her three sons, ages six to four months.

Among today's history pioneers are editors, like Alexander and Bushnell, who publish family diaries and letters written by ordinary people. Diaries of children, and of course adults, offer gems of information

about Vermont's past that have a freshness of experience found only in first-hand accounts. It is worth noting in this regard that Sarah Rooker has created a package of materials for schools related to the Alice Bushnell Diary. The kit includes a teacher's guide, video, and ten copies of Alice's diary, selling for $40.00.

LYNN A. BONFIELD

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Men Against Granite

By Mari Tomasi and Roaldus Richmond
Edited by Alfred Rosa and Mark Wanner (Shelburne, Vt.: New England Press, 2004, pp. 323; paper, $22.95).

In the late 1930s, several of the Roosevelt administration's New Deal agencies and programs began hiring artists to document the lives of Depression-era Americans. The best-known results are probably the photographs taken for the Farm Security Administration (FSA) by Dorothea Lange, Walker Evans, and others whose stark yet often stunningly beautiful images of sharecroppers and migrants have become the face, as it were, of working-class America in the 1930s. Similarly, but less well known, the Works Progress Administration employed writers to document their communities by collecting interviews. In Vermont, the Federal Writers' Project focused mainly on multi-ethnic, industrial Barre. This was an ideological choice, part of an effort to "foster respect and tolerance for diversity" (p. 4) in the face of rising European fascism. From 1938–40, Roaldus Richmond led the Vermont effort and collected interviews along with, primarily, Montpelier journalist Mari Tomasi.

But opposition to the WPA from congressional red-baiters prevented Richmond and Tomasi's work from reaching publication—for sixty years. Now, with the editorial assistance of Alfred Rosa and Mark Wanner, 52 of the original 120 interviews are available in *Men Against Granite.* With the Depression lingering and World War II looming, these verbal snapshots, presented mostly as monologues by both men and women, with scene-setting descriptions by Richmond and Tomasi, provide an often compelling and sometimes moving view of life in the Granite City.

Organized in four sections—Town, Home, Quarry, and Shed—*Men Against Granite* presents folks ranging from granite workers to a street peddler, a farmer, and a boarding house keeper. Working class voices dominate, although we also hear from a blue-blood, a real estate speculator, a sports reporter, and a teacher. Along with details about their own lives, we learn about the naming of Barre, the growth of the granite industry, the quarrying process, and the city's ethnic diversity. We also encounter such smaller yet equally interesting facets of Barre life as Syrian funerals, street names, umbrella mending, and that Barre once had a drinking and gambling "joint" (p. 85) run and frequented by African Americans.

Along with revealing glimpses into times past and life's little dramas, the speakers provide some real insights. The Scottish stone cutter identified simply as Donegal comments on the double-edged sword of mechanization:

> That's the curse of the world today—the machines and everywhere men out of work. That makes for unhappiness and misery and trouble. Take away a man's job and you kill the man. Maybe the dust killed them but being without work kills them inside—a worse way. (p. 272)

Mary Kane, recalling her native Ireland, sees yet another side of one of the granite industry's principal products:

> It was wooden crosses for us. . . . Wooden crosses are good enough for anybody. Here a stonecutter spends hours working on a memorial for the dead, and every one of those hours is shortening his own life. (p. 301)

At once Barre's blessing and its curse, granite is at the center of most of the stories. Granite created Barre's prosperity, drawing Scots, Italian, Spanish, Swedish, and other quarrymen, stonecutters, and sculptors to work in the thriving quarries and sheds. But it also brought life-threatening occupational hazards, from quarry accidents to the widespread "stonecutters' TB" caused by the silica-laden dust generated in the enclosed sheds. From Tomasi's fictionalized story, "The Italian Granite Worker," which sets the tone for the collection, through a series of interviews with "granite widows," to the statement by the quarryman identified simply as "Old Timer" that "It's no place for a young fellow, the quarries" (p. 247), none of the interviewees wishes a granite worker's life—and often early death—on his or her children.

One of those early deaths befell Barre's most famous sculptor, Elia Corti, whose statue of Scottish poet Robert Burns receives high praise from several of the speakers. But Corti's death was only indirectly caused by granite: He was fatally shot in 1903 at a still-disputed melee at

Barre's Socialist Labor Party Hall. Several of the interviewees refer to Corti, but there is little else in the collection about the rivalries among the city's radical groups or about Barre politics in general. That's unfortunate, since its political history is another aspect of Barre's uniqueness and an important corollary to its labor history.

The impending war in Europe does, however, provide a political platform for several speakers. To the immigrant storyteller Parlanto, Mussolini remains a hero, even if he has made "one, two, or three even good size' mistake" (p. 221). Most, however, feel, like florist Joanna Leoti, that Mussolini has "gone too far this time" (p. 42) and especially dread the possibility that Italian Americans may soon be at war with their cousins in the old country. Three members of Barre's Spanish Club express the collection's strongest antifascist sentiments, pointing to the $15,000 raised, in $.25 to $5.00 donations, to support the Loyalist, anti-Franco side in the raging Spanish Civil War.

Although Rosa and Wanner invoke the familiar "melting pot" image (p. 2) to describe Barre, what we see is a community where, despite interethnic marriages and the easing of some hostilities (largely caused by the recruiting of French Canadian workers during the 1921–22 granite strike), ethnic and national differences remain observable objects of pride. "Melting" (and its implied melding) is certainly taking place, but the real meal is more of a chunky stew than a homogenized soup.

The methodology of the original project also raises some questions. Perhaps to encourage the interviewees to speak as freely as possible—especially in their workplaces, beer halls, and other public settings—neither Tomasi nor Richmond took significant notes or used the early recording devices that were available by 1938 (despite the current editors' assertion to the contrary; Helen Hartness Flanders, for example, began using wax cylinder recorders to collect Vermont folk music in the 1930s). Instead, they later recreated the interviews from memory and, later still, crafted the final narratives. Rosa and Warner have revised them further. Each of these stages raises questions about both substantive and stylistic accuracy.

So does the fact that, apparently at the Writers' Project's insistence, Richmond and Tomasi fictionalized many of their informants' names. "Mayor Duncan," for example, provides a clear, concise, and sometimes wry overview of the history of Barre and the granite industry (chapter 12), yet the only Barre mayor with that surname held office from 1982–84, long after Richmond collected this interview. In fact, Richmond's mayor was John Gordon, and while Richmond could hardly have anticipated such a coincidence, the current editors' failure to explain fully the treatment of names is a serious omission. Instead, they say that it was "prob-

ably impossible to double-check the names of people or places" (p. 8). This is hardly an adequate defense in the case of a public official.

Originally, this material was classified as folklore, thereby acknowledging the inevitable transmutations caused by aural/oral transmission and the unreliability of memory. (Benjamin Botkin, who presided over the collecting for the Writers' Project, was himself a folklorist and may have dictated the methodology.) Today, Rosa and Wanner tell us, "these interviews document history" (p. 8). Indeed. But while certainly of great value in helping us honor and understand the past, they must also be seen in their proper perspective.

This memory-reliant method also casts a shadow over the accuracy of the interviewees' "voices," the characteristics of speech that help to express individuality. And we are certainly meant to be interested in these people as individuals and not simply as sources of information. In fact, that is where the real power of this collection resides. Tomasi and Richmond, both of whom soon became novelists, produced convincing monologues with some quite distinctive voices. But whether these are the informants' true voices we'll never really know.

Nevertheless, *Men Against Granite* is a significant and welcome addition to both Barre and American labor literature. Like the FSA photographers, Richmond and Tomasi have captured everyday yet vital moments in the lives of people without whom "history" would be reduced to a parade of facts and faces that too often seems far removed from the life around us. Rosa and Wanner deserve our thanks for making these stories available.

MARK GREENBERG

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Tales of The 10th: The Mountain Troops and American Skiing

By Jeffrey R. Leich (Franconia, N.H.: New England Ski Museum, 2003, pp. 128, $20.00)

The Vermont origins of the 10th Mountain Division date back to February 1940 when four prominent American skiers were discussing

winter warfare at Johnny Seesaw's lodge near Manchester, New Hampshire. Much of their conversation centered on the amazing ability shown by the Finns defending their country against invading Soviet armies. The Finns had developed a wide array of tactics that made best use of wintry conditions to stem the Russian assault. Especially prominent in those maneuvers were the white-camouflaged ski patrols that made lightning raids on the enemy columns. They would strike quickly and withdraw, only to reappear at other strategic points to continue their devastating attacks. The four Americans strongly believed that the U.S. Army should take advantage of the lessons taught by the Finns about winter warfare and they took that message to the highest levels of government. The 10th Mountain Division of World War II was the result of their efforts.

Tales of The 10th accurately describes the unique evolution of this division, which was masterminded and recruited mostly by civilian efforts. This in itself was highly unusual; even more so was the role of the National Ski Patrol System, which was assigned the task of screening applications for service in the 10th. This procedure assured that the most highly qualified skiers and mountaineers were selected for the rigorous training on Mt. Rainier in Washington and at Camp Hale in the Colorado Rocky Mountains. (An example of one of the detailed application forms is given on pp. 38–40.) The book also points out how research into cold-weather clothing and equipment done for the mountain troops made a significant contribution to postwar civilian markets. But the most important effect on American skiing and mountaineering came from the soldiers themselves who, after being discharged from military service, returned to civilian life full of enthusiasm and ideas about outdoor education and recreation on ski slopes and mountain trails.

Although the title of the book (*Tales of The 10th*) suggests a text-oriented account of the 10th Mountain Division, most of the book is made up of carefully selected photographic images. Jeff Leich interprets the photos with carefully composed and succinct captions. Most of the photographs and artwork in the book came from the 10th Mountain Division Resource Center maintained at the Denver Public Library. It is a fine book, but would have been considerably better with a comprehensive index.

According to records compiled by the Vermont Ski Museum in Stowe, more than 240 Vermonters served with the 10th Mountain Division during training and combat service in Italy. These veterans were officially inducted into the museum's Hall of Fame at an impressive ceremony in November 2003 in Killington. The museum also maintains an exhibit about the 10th Mountain Division that displays articles of equipment and pictorial displays of its training and combat experiences. Moreover, Vermont

Route 108, which begins in Stowe and continues up to the Canadian border, was officially dedicated as the 10th Mountain Division Memorial Highway in January 1983. A bronze plaque memorializing that event is mounted on a boulder of native stone at the Southern Gateway of Smugglers' Notch.

WILLIAM E. OSGOOD

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An Officer and a Lady: The World War II Letters of Lt. Col. Betty Bandel, Women's Army Corps

Edited by Sylvia J. Bugbee (Lebanon, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2004, pp. xxiv, 222, paper, $24.95).

Betty Bandel was one of the first women recruited into the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC, later the WAC) in 1942, following America's entrance into World War II, and she became one of its first officers. A year later, at the age of 31, she was a major and had advanced from being aide to Lt. Col. Olveta Culp Hobby, director of the WAAC, to being acting deputy director. In the fall of 1943, when the WAAC was fully integrated into the Army as the WAC (Women's Army Corps), she became Air WAC, in charge of the Air Force contingent of WACs, and a lieutenant colonel. (There was a law against women becoming generals and none did until 1970.) It is easy to lose sight, in all the details and in the charm of Bandel's easy style, of how much Hobby, Bandel, and the other WAC officers accomplished in three years. Starting from scratch in the spring of 1942, the WAC boasted 400,000 enlistees and officers in all theaters of the war just three years later. This despite efforts within in the Army and elements of the press and public to denigrate their effectiveness and question their morality. Bandel worked long hours and traveled ceaselessly to increase the effectiveness and range of WAC activities, promote awareness, encourage recruitment, and maintain morale, often in the face of military and bureaucratic resistance. "I'm nuts about all this stuff," she declared (p. 102).

The letters Bandel wrote during her years in the army are now in Special Collections at Bailey/Howe Library, at the University of Vermont.

What emerges from this selection of excerpts from Betty Bandel's letters, edited by Sylvia J. Bugbee, an assistant archivist at UVM, and in-

troduced by Air Force Colonel Lorry M. Fenner, is her talent, intelligence, humor, and depth. She was a woman who, despite the stresses of her jobs, remained always herself.

Betty Bandel, a reporter for the *Arizona Sun,* joined the WAAC because "What else would there have been for an unmarried woman except to be in the service one way or another?" (p. 1). Her letters describe her increasing responsibilities, but they also, dotted with 1940s slang, reveal a world where grooming and makeup merit frequent mention and girdles and slips were standard parts of officers' uniforms.

Bandel's letters reflect the outpouring of patriotism in the United States that motivated service and sacrifice from men and women of all classes and professions. They also unselfconsciously reflect the social attitudes of the day. That a person was, or might be, Jewish seemed always worthy of mention. References to the "chocolate-brown" cook of the Hobbys (p. 50) and to her own maid, "Dusky Georgia" (p. 150) and her "ivory grin" (p. 151), are reminders of how racial attitudes have changed. More significant, however, is the fact that there is no mention in the book of the 40,000 black women WAAC/WAC enlistees and officers, segregated in their own units, who contributed to the war effort. But whether this is Bandel's omission or Bugbee's choice one cannot tell. At the same time, Bandel's generosity of spirit is evident in her praise for the accomplishments of her associates, subordinates, and bosses of both genders and all classes, races, and backgrounds.

Bandel also seemed to accept different roles for the genders, while poking fun at both. One of her male correspondents praises the WACs' efforts as beyond those of a "mere man" (p. 50), but Bandel's letters take for granted that women are cooks and men can make gynecologist jokes. And Bandel and some of her correspondents, proud of what women were accomplishing in the war effort—military and civilian—seem surprised by their capabilities.

Unfortunately, not all of the social attitudes seem dated. The wartime efforts to discredit the WAC and WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service) and dismiss the role of women in the service are not much different from more recent attempts to limit women's opportunities in the armed services and to marginalize homosexuals.

By mid-1944 Bandel was tired, of the pace, of the lack of authority given to women, of life in the army. She wrote more often about music and literature and began to consider a teaching career. The last letter describes the end of the war in Asia. Bugbee ends the book with a note about Bandel's degrees from Columbia University and her recruitment by UVM, where she taught English from 1947 to 1975 and wrote books on music, literature, and history.

There are some quibbles and caveats. Why are the essays introducing each section of the book written in the present tense? Since the excerpted letters contain little about the progress of the war itself, focusing instead on Bandel's own work, more historical context would have been welcome in the essays that introduce each chapter or in the notes, as would either follow-up or amplification of some of the issues mentioned in the letters. The index is limited, with no subject headings outside of proper names and U.S. Army organization; and the notes would be more helpful if they deepened the context of the references. For instance, since she is mentioned in an academic context on page 124, it might have been useful to note that Millicent McAfee, commander of the WAVES, was before and after the war the president of Wellesley College. Margaret Sullavan, not Maureen Sullivan, starred in the 1943 hit Broadway play, *The Voice of the Turtle* (p. 154). Such matters may distract the reader, but nothing can detract from the service Sylvia Bugbee has performed by giving us such a window into the world of women in the Army in World War II and an introduction to this vital, interesting, intelligent woman. Betty Bandel was and remains a person for all seasons.

ANN E. COOPER

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Real Democracy: The New England Town Meeting and How It Works

By Frank M. Bryan (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004, pp. xx, 312, $49.00; paper, $19.00).

Town meeting is the essential Vermont experience. It is what distinguishes us from every other government on earth, in that we hold annual meetings of voters to adopt budgets and settle questions of local interest in open meeting, face-to-face, reasoning together, the decision binding as a matter of law. This is direct democracy—the governance of the people by the people, as opposed to government by elected or appointed representatives. It is something that happens every year in nearly every Vermont town, as it has since the town began, according to law and tradition.

Of course, there are town meetings in other New England states and in some towns in Minnesota, but as Frank Bryan asserts, "Vermont is the

best place in New England with enough small town meeting governments to make possible a long-term comparative study of town meeting" (p. xii).

With something so unique and so vital, you might think that generations of scholars would have flocked to Vermont to study town meeting over the years, but you would be wrong. Meet Frank Bryan, the one and only political scientist to collect and interpret empirical data on town meeting. Bryan, who was raised in Newbury, Vermont, and has long held the position of professor of political science at the University of Vermont, has been studying town meeting for his entire professional career, more than thirty years. It is his life's work.

His book is, at last, published, and it's everything he promised and more. It is mandatory reading for every Vermonter who wants to understand town meeting.

At St. Michael's College, where Bryan began his career, and then at UVM, Bryan recruited hundreds of students to attend over 1,700 town meetings, and then spent years compiling and making sense of the data they collected. The students carried clipboards and stop watches, and recorded all the numbers they could collect, such as how many people were in attendance at different times of the day, how many spoke, how many women participated. Bryan made charts and graphs, and read the numbers.

The students graduated and got on with their lives, but ask around and you'll be surprised how many people you know took Frank Bryan's course at UVM and will admit, if you pry, how it changed their lives. They are the leaders of our communities now. They didn't just collect data for the professor; they were inspired by the experience.

Frank Bryan is a scientist. That means he is compelled to study data in order to understand his subject. Bryan explains his motive for writing the book in the preface, where he complains that, before he started his study, "Nearly everyone who said or wrote anything about small-town life or town meeting got it wrong. They inflated the hell out of either the positives or the negatives" (p. x). That happens without hard data. People fall back on what they think, rather than on what they know, and of all subjects fit for nostalgic treatment, town meeting can cause people to mist over quickly, their minds clouded by sentiment.

Most readers of *Real Democracy* won't be political scientists, and for that reason the charts and graphs, and the conclusions drawn from the data, may seem foreign at first. Give it a chance. The author will wait for you, and his conclusions from those numbers are worth understanding. Frank Bryan is a strong writer, because he is a strong thinker. *Real Democracy* shows his real genius, in between the numbers.

It would do no good to declare town meeting an endangered species. In small Vermont towns, it continues to serve its original purpose, both

as an act of governance and as a way of bringing the community together. It is changing, as everything does, but it retains its basic structure and function. Bryan deserves some kind of First Citizen award for adopting it as his field of study and restraining himself from earlier publication, allowing the book to ripen at its own pace.

With nothing but gratitude for the work Frank Bryan has done, I cannot help but think there is another book on town meeting to be written, one that would complement *Real Democracy* by examining the subject of debate and how close issues are decided. It could not be scientific. It might not even be logical, in the classical sense. Debate does not always reflect the outcome of votes. But a community acting together to resolve public dilemmas at town meeting has a personality and a mind different from any of the individuals participating. How we decide important questions is a subject no one has investigated as yet, and something sorely lacking in the literature.

That is not to take anything away from *Real Democracy,* a book that warrants a close reading and will trigger a new appreciation for town meeting. Everything Frank Bryan publishes is engaging; this one more than others has a vitality that springs from the author's complete passion for the subject. It is an important book.

PAUL GILLIES

Paul Gillies is the Berlin Town Moderator.

The Fate of Family Farming: Variations on an American Idea

By Ronald Jager (Lebanon, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2004, pp. xix, 244, $26.00)

Most of us have ideas about farming, but they seldom have anything to do with the food we eat. We see food as "just there . . . abundant like air and water," says Ronald Jager in his book *The Fate of Family Farming* (p. xi).

More likely, we see food as brand names, carbohydrate sources, social lubricant, or an activity between soccer and "CSI," rarely acknowledging the link between the bags of groceries we carry home from the store and the farms we drive by. Jager's book is yet another attempt to get us to understand that link.

In *The Fate of Family Farming,* Jager, a former professor of philosophy, considers our civilization's ideas about agriculture. Although his title is "family farming" and he says it relates to all farms in the nation, New England's agriculture is quite distinct from most other areas of the country in its scarcity of arable land, ubiquitous development pressure, proximity of a large mass of urban customers, and harsh weather. Jager narrows his perspective even more, to New Hampshire, where many of those factors particular to New England are most pronounced.

Jager divides the book into several sections, first tracing back the origins of our idyllic view of rural life. He outlines the agricultural history of the New World and New England, down to the story of the Jagers' Washington, N.H., farm, which they bought in the 1960s. That personal history, as much as anything else, illustrates the impermanence of any single type of farming in New England. "There are few long runs in this region," Jager writes (p. 37).

The book's next section discusses the long literary tradition of agriculture as Jager considers three modern writers of the agrarian tradition—Louis Bromfield, Victor Davis Hanson, and Wendell Berry. He explores how they help shape our ideas about farming and, sometimes, help shape agriculture itself.

Next is what Jager considers the core of his book—the stories of four current New Hampshire family farms. Bascom's Maple Farm, Eccardt Farm, Gould Hill Orchards, and Coll Farm illustrate four of the state's most important farm commodities: milk, maple, apples, and vegetables. After visiting the families often over a span of a few years to learn how they make their livelihoods and how they feel about farming, Jager tells their stories. These are the true voices of agriculture, albeit on a good day—practical, innovative, flexible, optimistic.

Along the way, Jager, in his pleasant, informal, narrative voice, wanders off into descriptive byways, offering tidbits on such topics as the maple tree, butter, the Boston produce market, and farm apple orchards.

One thing missing here is how these farmers fit into their communities. These days, how their neighbors view them and their farming practices can have a tremendous influence on how—maybe if—they will continue farming. It would be illuminating to know how these communities feel about the farmers and, if they consider the farms worth keeping, what they plan to do about it.

In the book's final section, called "Prospects," Jager meticulously summarizes the evolution of economic factors that have forced New Hampshire into its modern shape: a very few large farms, and many small ones searching for nooks and crannies in the marketplace where they can make a living. He illuminates how farming is constantly being changed

by the increasing globalization of markets, by ideas such as "efficiency," and by manifestations of those ideas, such as technology—or, as Jager calls it, "the ruthless devouring beast"—which has hastened the rapid demise of small New England farms since the end of World War II. And he clearly describes how farmers acting in their own best interests can hardly fail to act against the best interest of agriculture as a whole.

And although Jager declares that "mine is an observer's perspective, which strives for objectivity" (p. xix), he sets up the dichotomy of good vs. evil or, as he variously defines it, a clash between "craft" and "factory" farmers, a war between "resistance" vs. "system." He lays out that battlefield in his discussion of biotechnology. He also describes the movements and organizations leading the struggle against "system" agriculture. Although the book could not be called a diatribe against modern farming methods, there was little doubt, from the very title, what stand Jager would take.

He leaves a big gap, however, between public policy and individual action: Call me a proselytizer, but I would have liked to see him address how we as consumers have given up our power as we buy into the myth that more and cheaper is best, especially when it comes to food, failing to see that payment is exacted elsewhere.

So, what are the "prospects"? Although agriculture has never been easy in New England, there will always be people who want to farm. Yet at the rate we're devouring land, there won't always be land to farm.

"Will they say the same about Vermont and New Hampshire a century hence? That fate and destiny could not allow them to remain rural?" Jager asks (p. 13). He leaves us with that question unanswered, but with plenty to chew on while we think about it.

SUSAN J. HARLOW

Susan Harlow, Westminster Station, Vt., is managing editor of Northeast Dairy Business *magazine, and has been an editor and writer for several agricultural publications in the Northeast.*

Civic Agriculture: Reconnecting Farm, Food, and Community

By Thomas A. Lyson (Lebanon, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2004, pp. xv, 136, paper, $16.95).

On a very rainy mid-September day this past fall I got up early to pick basil for a produce stand at the "First-Ever Celebration of Westminster Farming," at the Harlow Farm in Westminster, Vt. I shared my table with a display from the school garden project I coordinate, and we were across from another school garden project. Also participating were farmers selling herbs, squash, and apples; an alpaca farmer who brought several alpaca with her; and the historical society with a display about the history of Westminster farming. Despite the chilling nonstop rain, the event was well-attended, and all the food sold out. The meal featured local produce, including a roast pig raised on the farm where the event was held. The pig-roast was supervised by a local cookbook author, and all the proceeds from the event went to Westminster Cares, a nonprofit agency that serves elders in the community. This agency together with local farmers, the local food coop, and local businesses sponsored the event to recognize the diversity and vitality of the agriculture that has characterized Westminster since its founding in 1751.

I couldn't help but reflect on this event as I read Thomas Lyson's *Civic Agriculture: Reconnecting Farm, Food, and Community,* because it seemed to epitomize Lyson's conception of civic agriculture: "the embedding of local agricultural and food production in the community" (p. 62). Lyson is Liberty Hyde Bailey Professor of Development Sociology at Cornell, currently co-editor of the *Journal of Sustainable Agriculture* and director of Cornell's Community, Food and Agriculture Program. For many years Lyson has been researching and documenting the emergence of new forms of food production, processing, and distribution that are deeply tied to particular places and communities. He contends that beginning in the early 1990s and continuing today, "a relocalization of production and processing may be occurring throughout the United States" (p. 7). That is, community-supported agriculture, farmers' markets, school gardens, small-scale organic producers, community kitchens, and local food processors are all manifestations of a new "civic agriculture movement," which Lyson suggests may have the potential to "generate sufficient economic and political power to mute the more socially and environmentally destructive manifestations of the global marketplace" (p. 105).

By coining the term "civic agriculture" Lyson emphasizes the role agriculture played in this country a century ago, when households, communities, and economies were tightly interwoven. Farms were generally small and diversified, and the exchange of labor and bartering of goods and services was "an embedded feature of the economic life in rural communities" (p. 10). In three succinct chapters, Lyson traces the changes that have taken place in the U.S. and global food systems since that time, such that civic agriculture has been replaced by an industrialized model of agriculture, in which most food is produced on huge corporate-controlled farms, by wage-earning workers or contract farmers, and shipped thousands of miles to consumers who have no connection to the land or people where the food was grown.

Lyson marshals impressive statistics to illustrate the story of this transformation. For example, he notes that in 1997, megafarms with sales of over one million dollars a year represented just 1.4 percent of all U.S. farms yet produced almost 42 percent of all the farm products sold. In 1910, 80 percent of U.S. farmers grew vegetables, compared to only 2.8 percent in 1997, and concentration of production was similar for potatoes and fruit. Geographic concentration is also notable: In 1997 California accounted for 12 percent of all agricultural sales in the U.S. as a result of its year-round growing system and the availability of federally subsidized water. And there has been a trend away from farmers owning and operating their own farms. Lyson points out that half of all the agricultural land in California (as well as in Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Louisiana, and North Dakota) is absentee-owned.

This disconnection of farms and food from community life is one aspect of the disconnection of individuals from society that characterizes a globalized world, yet Lyson believes that in some corners of that world a "relocalization" is taking place, most notably in those areas hard-hit by global competition, or perhaps overlooked by global capital. The second half of his book explores the theoretical underpinnings and practical applications of this alternative approach to food production. He suggests that New England has been at the vanguard of this movement because large-scale industrialized farming has bypassed the region. Informal observation would support this claim, in that new farmers' markets, school gardens, farmer-owned marketing cooperatives, and small-scale food production facilities are starting up across the region. And in Vermont, according to data from Vermont Organic Farmers, LLC, the number of organic farms has jumped in the last decade from 78 to 332.

Lyson argues that only recently has this "civic agriculture paradigm emerged to challenge the wisdom of conventional commodity agriculture" (p. 101). As someone who was involved in what we then called the

"alternative agriculture" movement of the 1970s, I would have to quibble with this claim. Lyson does note the publication, in 1976, of Richard Merrill's anthology *Radical Agriculture,* which brought together the thinking of many writers, scientists, farmers, and alternative technology practitioners (such as those at the New Alchemy Institute) of that time. Many of the most vibrant of today's farmers' markets were founded during this period, following the passage of the Farmer-to-Consumer Direct Marketing Act of 1976. In an article entitled "Counting Farmers Markets" in *The Geographical Review* 91 (October 2001), Alison Brown argues that the mid-1970s saw the most rapid growth in farmers' markets, although absolute numbers have increased tenfold since that time. It was largely farmers, many of them organic practitioners, who spearheaded the development of these projects, and many of these same grassroots activists are at the forefront of today's civic agricultural enterprises. Perhaps it is not so much that a new paradigm has developed as that state and academic institutions are at last getting on board to support the notion that small-scale agriculture and food-based enterprises are a vital and valid path toward invigorating local economies.

Lyson mentions, almost in passing, that for civic agricultural enterprises to take hold, state and federal policies must ensure that "all firms have access to the same pool of resources such as information, labor, and infrastructure and that policies do not favor one group of producers over another group" (pp. 75–76). As exciting a prospect as civic agriculture may be, it will not become a significant counterweight to the predominant globalized, industrialized agricultural system unless communities, states, and federal policymakers help to develop the needed infrastructure. In addition, states must act to ensure that farmland is preserved, and, equally important, that new farmers have access to that farmland. In Vermont we are fortunate to have legions of committed activists who have worked to preserve our agricultural landscape and who are working to develop models for reducing the costs to enter agriculture. Still, being a farmer in New England has not yet enabled most to join the "independent middle class" that Lyson touts as making up the backbone of civil society. According to the most recent census by the New England Agricultural Statistics Service, the average income from agriculture for Vermont farmers in 2002 was $15,462 (in Windham Country, where I live, the average farm income was $8,226). Despite the obstacles, however, events such as the recent Celebration of Westminster Farming demonstrate that communities are pulling together to recognize the value of local agriculture, and that, as Lyson argues, civic agriculture can bring together farmers and "food citizens" in ways that strengthen bonds of community and reinforce local identity. Lyson's

book provides a concise and accessible account of how agriculture became divorced from communities, and offers a hopeful vision of how it can once again be nurtured.

TATIANA SCHREIBER

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20th-Century Sprawl: Highways and the Reshaping of the American Landscape

By Owen D. Gutfreund (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 231, $35.00)

In Vermont we may think that the current political debates about whether to construct the Circumferential Highway, Bennington Bypass, and Missisquoi Bridge or instead focus on the competing demands for maintenance of existing roads and bridges are new. But as Owen Gutfreund reveals in his fascinating history of road construction, these arguments have been going on ever since highway development had its big boost at the federal level in the early part of the twentieth century. Gutfreund sets forth the rural and long distance travel bias, fiscal burdens and land use impacts of highway construction and illustrates his findings through three case studies in Denver, Colorado, Middlebury, Vermont, and Smyrna, Tennessee.

In *20th-Century Sprawl* Gutfreund traces how America was transformed from a nation that relied on rail transportation for intercity and interstate travel into a nation dependent on automobiles and trucks to move most people and goods within and between communities. In the late nineteenth century long-distance travel was accomplished through rail supported by state and federal governments, while local travel was on roads under the purview of local government. Ironically, the first proponents for an expanded government role in road improvements were bicyclists who initiated the Good Roads movement in the 1880s. The movement expanded as America entered the auto age at the beginning of the twentieth century. At a meeting in Vermont in 1904 the president of the American Good Roads Association stated that "If it took night

and day for a hundred years and the wealth of a Croesus to bring about the reformation of any State in the Union from the thralldom of mud, it was time and money well spent" (p. 15).

As the road-building programs in this country progressed, so did the evidence of the rural, long-distance travel bias of the state and federal legislation. The Middlebury case study offers a good illustration. According to the author, state and federal subsidies in Middlebury typically didn't cover the roads within the incorporated village (the town and village of Middlebury merged in 1966). So, for example, Merchants Row within the village was more expensive for residents to maintain and improve than Main Street outside of the village. As in Middlebury, town and urban centers around the country were specifically excluded from many federal and state funding grants.

Gutfreund makes the case convincingly that the road-building movement in this country has never been fully paid for by its users and that burdens have disproportionately fallen on people without cars, on urban centers and villages without adequate federal and state subsidies, and on taxpayers everywhere. In addition, federal mandates increased the requirements on state and local governments to upgrade roads often to excessive standards that were successfully lobbied for by the automotive industry. In Middlebury, despite voters cutting the road tax at numerous town meetings, the town's debt burden increased to alarming levels in order to meet the town's share of state-aid programs. According to the author, "Despite the unwillingness of Middlebury voters to foot the bill, the small town was forced to accommodate automobility by the overwhelming power of state and federal policies and incentives" (pp. 148–149). Toll roads, gas tax hikes, and other user fees were successfully lobbied against by industry representatives. Between 1937 and 1957 state aid for highway maintenance remained at $25 a mile for towns like Middlebury while inflation expanded by 95 percent during the same period (p. 157). Thus, in the early part of the twentieth century, the burden of road building fell on all taxpayers, most of whom did not even own automobiles.

The increasingly congested and deteriorating roadway conditions in urban and village centers, along with the emphasis on road building in outlying areas, contributed to migration of people, shops, services, and employment to suburban locations. Gutfreund offers numerous examples of the ways in which the expanded highway system opened up new opportunities for land development in previously isolated areas. At the same time, he points out that our road-building programs had a distinctly anti-urban bias that led to poor connections from outlying areas to urban centers, bypasses around these centers, and neglect of road maintenance and alternative transportation projects in these locations

that were necessary to avoid congestion and deterioration. Nevertheless, while Gutfreund's research is extensive on the evolution of United States highway construction and grant-in-aid programs, his documentation of the reactions to such programs by those involved in community planning is less thorough. For example, he provides little information on the efforts of the town of Middlebury to rezone the Route 7 corridor to preserve farmland and to prevent strip development in the 1960s after the residents realized that the commercial corridor they had zoned along its entire length was a mistake. He also fails to mention the movement to preserve large expanses of farmland in Middlebury that began in the 1980s and continues today. Nevertheless, his case studies in all three communities make a compelling case for the connection between highway development and sprawl.

It is not hard to share the outrage that Gutfreund clearly feels about the failures and inequities of the United States highway construction programs and their tremendous impact on the American landscape. While one can't deny the many positive benefits of road construction, we are all shouldering the fiscal costs, the urban congestion problems, and the sprawl consequences of these programs whose history Gutfreund describes in such interesting detail.

ELIZABETH HUMSTONE

Elizabeth Humstone is the Director of U.S. Initiatives at the Institute for Sustainable Communites, in Montpelier. She is co-author with Julie Campoli and Alex MacLean of Above and Beyond: Visualizing Change in Small Towns and Rural Areas.

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