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In This Issue

Book Reviews

Pre-Famine Irish in Vermont, 1815–1844

On the eve of the immense migration of Irish spawned by the Great Famine of the late 1840s there was already a significant Irish presence in the Green Mountain State.

By VINCENT EDWARD FEENEY

In the summer of 1832, Nathaniel Hawthorne, then an unknown writer, visited Burlington. At the time, the little village on the shore of Lake Champlain was experiencing unprecedented prosperity. Since its founding in the 1780s, merchants in Burlington had conducted a strong water-borne trade with middlemen in St. Jeans on the Richelieu River in Quebec, but the opening of the Champlain Canal in 1823, which connected the northern lake to the bustling commercial centers of Albany and New York City, had made Burlington an important port. In warm-weather months small sloops, double-masted schooners, narrow canal boats, and puffing steamboats daily moved people, goods, and produce in and out of the bustling harbor at Burlington Bay.

In a short sketch published in 1835, Hawthorne recorded his impressions of Burlington. He remarked on the lofty outline of the Green Mountains to the east of the village, the curved, sandy beach at the bay, the wharves and warehouses at the water's edge, the "handsome and busy

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square" (now City Hall Park) at the center of the town, the presence of houses roofed in tin "in the fashion of Montreal," and the large brick customs house which reminded him "that this inland port is a port of entry, largely concerned in foreign trade, and holding daily intercourse with the British Empire." In this international setting, Hawthorne noted, people from everywhere in North America could be found: "merchants from Montreal, British officers from the frontier garrisons, French Canadians ... Scotchmen of a better class, gentlemen of the South on a pleasure-tour, country squires on business; and a great throng of Green Mountain Boys, with their horse-drawn wagons and ox-teams, true Yankees in aspect, and looking more superlatively so, by contrast with such a variety of foreigners."[1]

But nothing impressed Hawthorne more about Burlington "than the great number of Irish emigrants" to be found there. In his unflattering description they were everywhere: "lounging" around the wharves, "swarming in huts and mean dwellings near the lake," and "elbow[ing] the native citizens" out of work. If his words hinted of Yankee prejudice, they were at least on the mark in one respect: Burlington did have a large Irish population.

This evidence of a substantial Irish presence in Burlington, and, as we shall see, elsewhere in Vermont in the early nineteenth century, is important, for it reminds us that on the eve of the immense migration of Irish spawned by the Great Famine of the late 1840s there was already a significant Irish presence in the Green Mountain State. A few historians have noted these early arrivals in a cursory way,[2] but none attempted a detailed investigation of where they came from in Ireland, their route to Vermont, where they made their new homes, and what kinds of occupations they took up. This article attempts to fill in some of those gaps.

Long before the potato blight forced thousands from their homeland, Irish emigration to the New World had increased significantly. Between 1815 and 1845, 800,000 to 1,000,000 Irish emigrated to North America, about double the number that had done so in the previous two hundred years.[3] What had happened?

The answer lies in a number of circumstances. Most important was a recession that followed the wars of the French Revolution. As long as Britain was mired in conflict with France, Irish agriculture prospered. Irish beef and Irish dairy products fed British soldiers and seamen. When the wars ended in 1815, Irish agriculture collapsed. In addition, demobilized Irishmen, who constituted a large portion of the British military, returned home to a weakened economy. To this desperate economic situation add recurring outbreaks of smallpox, typhus, and cholera, the

periodic failure of the potato crop, and political tensions, and there was reason enough to leave.

In addition, the ills of home contrasted sharply with the perceived bounty of America. Irish veterans of the War of 1812 described North America as an "arcadian paradise," where a man with little means could "live like a prince."[4] Letters home from those who had already made the crossing encouraged others to follow. In 1837, Bernard Brewin in Underhill wrote to his mother and father in County Leitrim: "I would be very[?]glad[?]you would send Catharine to this Country for She would do well. Girls can get two Dollars per week where I was last Summer [Boston]." He went on to say, "I think that brother William would do well by coming here. I would encourage him to come for he will do well if he works well."[5] To people long suffering under an oppressive political, social, and economic system, North America was an attractive alternative.

A key factor in bringing Irishmen to Vermont was its location—its proximity to Lower Canada (Quebec). To encourage immigration to the vastness of British North America, England made passage to the United States more expensive than to Canada by imposing tariffs on fares to the former colonies.[6] Moreover, Canadian vessels bringing lumber to Britain, which formerly had returned with empty holds, now offered inexpensive travel back to British North America. The net result was that between 1816 and 1836 most immigrants from Ireland landed, not in the United States, but in the Maritime provinces, Quebec City, and Montreal. Lower Canada saw a dramatic increase in its Irish inhabitants to an estimated 6.3 percent of the population in 1844, more than the province's English, Scots, and Welsh population combined.[7] Small Irish communities dotted the length of the St. Lawrence River.

But many Irish immigrants used their Canadian landfall as the first step on a journey to the United States. "Amerikay" was the land of liberty while Canada was still part of the Empire that they sought to escape. And the Canadian economy, only poorly developed, offered few jobs, while industry in the United States was booming. Irishmen recently landed in the New World streamed across the border into the American northeast.

Vermont, particularly northwestern Vermont, was uniquely accessible to these wandering Irish. From LaPrairie, just across the St. Lawrence from Montreal, a traveler could either take a coach or, beginning in 1836, a railroad car the fifteen miles to St. Jeans on the Richelieu River. St. Jeans was the northern terminus of a maritime commerce that connected Canada to the Lake Champlain ports of Burlington, Plattsburg, and Whitehall. Every other day steamboats from the Lake Champlain

Transportation Company carried passengers from the docks at St. Jeans into the heart of New England. Burlington, because it was one of the largest ports on the lake—and also the center of a growing industrial and mercantile economy with plentiful jobs—became the objective of many of these backdoor Irish entrants into the United States. In the settling of the Irish in Vermont in the days before the Great Famine of 1845–1848, it was not the southern part of the state, but the northwest, that first experienced large-scale Irish immigration.

Northeastern residents of the United States watched in disgust as Irish immigrants poured across the border. One American, a tavern keeper in upstate New York not far from Lake Champlain, expressed the thoughts of many:

> They [the Irish] will soon have five to one against us,—Scotch and Englishmen. . . . They are very noisy people when they drink; they hitherto received from [the Canadian] government five pounds, with some rations, each family, as an encouragement to settle and clear the forest; when the allowance is consumed they almost invariably slip over into the United States; there is no stability in their loyalty to our government.[8]

Whatever the accuracy of the tavern keeper's comments on the character of the Irish, he was certainly correct in emphasizing their numbers.

From bits and scraps of information one gets a glimpse of this waterborne migration. As early as 1822 Burlington's *Northern Sentinel* reported that "an unusual number of Irish emigrants have arrived [in Quebec City] the present season, in a distressed and starving condition," and many of them have come to the Burlington area.[9] In 1827 Gideon Lathrop, captain of the steamboat *Congress,* wrote with dismay in his logbook that an Irish woman "delivered of a son on deck."[10] That same year an Englishman, traveling south on the lake, noted a large number of Irish on board, and lamented how sad they looked in their homeless state, particularly one young woman "better dressed than the rest of the group of strangers, sitting apart from all the others, on a bundle containing her scanty store of worldly goods and gear, tied up in a thread bare handkerchief. Her face, covered with a much worn black lace veil, was sunk between her knees."[11] A few years later, the *Burlington Sentinel* reported on the trauma of an Irish family named Higgins. It said that the Higginses had lost their eleven-year-old son Michael while traveling from St. Jeans.[12] The parents did not know whether the boy had been left behind in Canada or had drowned along the way. Through the newspaper they pleaded for information, but whatever happened to Daniel Higgins is unknown.

In the summer of 1832 the American authorities put a halt to Irish

immigration via Lake Champlain, not due to any political or social factors, but for health reasons. In that year cholera spread in Ireland, and immigrants carried the disease to the New World. Fearing an epidemic, the Canadian authorities established the infamous Grosse Isle quarantine station on the St. Lawrence River, just down river from Quebec City. There ships were stopped and passengers examined. If disease was present, everyone was quarantined on the island. But some infected people slipped through, only to bring sickness to Quebec City and Montreal. In June, American steamboat companies operating on Lake Champlain curtailed trips to St. Jeans. Not until late summer that year did passenger ships again ply the waters between Burlington and St. Jeans, and the Irish pipeline resumed.[13]

The Journey

We have little or no detailed information on how most Irish immigrants to Vermont left Ireland, what their trans–Atlantic voyage was like, or why they came to be in the Green Mountain State. But records and letters left by three families—the Shirlocks, O'Haras, and Donaghys—provide insights if not total explanations.

William Shirlock's route to Vermont owed more to chance than design. He was born in County Kildare in 1809 to a Catholic family. His father, a veteran of the British navy, had served for many years on the flagship of Admiral Nelson. The Shirlocks must have struggled financially, for all four of the Shirlock children eventually emigrated to America. William left from Dublin in 1831, on board a ship bound for New Orleans. Along the way, however, he came down with "ship fever," the common name for typhus, and when his ship made a stop at Quebec City he was put ashore. Recovering from his sickness, the young Irishman made his way to Montreal. Though his motivation is unknown, his objective was Vermont. Did he have a relative there, or a former neighbor? The answer is lost in time. From Montreal he traveled to St. Jeans and caught a boat to Burlington. From Burlington Shirlock began walking. He traveled east along the Winooski River to Montpelier, then south following the Dog River. Fifty-five miles later, in the town of Royalton, he stopped, settled, and put down roots. He must have found the place congenial, for three years later his brother Francis joined him.[14]

Unlike Shirlock, the O'Haras traveled specifically to Vermont. Oliver and Mary O'Hara were Protestants from a Scottish background living in Bogue's Town, County Antrim, in the early 1840s. They had a small farm of twenty acres and some common grazing land on the hillside. But with eleven children they just got by. They were, as one family member later wrote, "comfortably poor." When their sons Alexander and John

announced they were going to America, mother and father decided they should all go rather than see the family splintered. As Mary had a brother, Thomas McIver, living in Derby Line, Vermont, the Green Mountains became their destination. They sold their farm, packed some family possessions, and went to Belfast. There they hoped to take passage on the *Independence,* an American clipper, but it sailed before they arrived.

Instead of a fast clipper the O'Haras found themselves aboard the *Exito,* a converted lumber ship. The family later described their seaborne home as "big and clumsy and a wretched sailor." The voyage was long. They left Belfast Lough, sailing past the old Norman fortress of Carrickfergus, on June 1, 1842. At one point they encountered a storm so fierce that it drove the old boat back 200 to 300 miles. Finally, six weeks and three days after leaving Belfast they arrived at Quebec City: July 17, 1842.

They did not tarry. The next day they caught a steamboat to Montreal, and at LaPrairie took "the cars" to St. Jeans. Once there they acquired a wagon, and with Oliver and son John walking, traveled to Derby Line, just inside the Vermont border with Quebec. There Uncle Thomas met and sheltered them until they could support themselves. Eventually the family settled in the town of Holland, adjacent to Derby.[15]

The experience of the Donaghys, like that of the O'Haras, demonstrates the importance of family connections in bringing newcomers to Vermont. At the beginning of the 1830s, a young couple, Michael and Bridget "Biddy" Donaghy, decided to leave their home near Dungannon, County Tyrone, for America, possibly because Michael knew that a brother was slated to inherit the family farm. Their destination was Vermont, where a relative, Hugh Donaghy, either another brother or an uncle, had already settled in Brandon. What originally brought Hugh to Vermont can only be guessed at, but it is interesting to note that a William Donaghy is mentioned in the land records as buying and selling land in Middlebury as early as 1788,[16] and a John and William Donaghy were among the original proprietors of Poultney in 1761.[17] Could it be that the Donaghys of County Tyrone had a Vermont connection going back to colonial times? Whatever the antecedents, Michael and Biddy made their way to North America, stayed for a brief time in Montreal, and by 1834 were situated in Ferrisburg, a few miles south of Burlington.[18]

And they too continued the cycle of bringing over more family members. In August 1840, Michael's brother in Tyrone wrote him a letter:

> Dear Brother you wrote that you would take Hugh without any expense on me I am satisfied to let him go he is taller than you and is 12 weight and if you send for him he is determined to stay with you [?] he makes you a recompense.[19]

Apparently the brother was hard-pressed, for in the same letter he mentions to Michael that he now has three daughters and ten sons. The father's hopes for relief appear to have been met, however, for young Hugh left for America in 1843. Where he eventually settled is unrecorded.

The experiences of the Shirlocks, O'Haras, and Donaghys shared some similarities. First, they came from counties in the northern half of the country. Secondly, they came to Vermont via Canada. Finally, in two of the cases, that of the O'Haras and the Donaghys, there were already family ties to Vermont. Shirlock, while he does not appear to have had any previous connection to Vermont, and only fortuitously ended up in the Green Mountains, was responsible for bringing other family members to the area. Historians of the Irish diaspora, who have seen this pattern elsewhere, have called it "chain migration."[20] Over and over again, we will see that family ties played an important part in bringing the pre-Famine Irish to Vermont.

Six Irish Communities

Like the Shirlocks, O'Haras, and Donaghys, most Irish immigrants to Vermont scattered across the state, settling wherever jobs and opportunities presented themselves. By the early 1840s there were Lynchs in St. Johnsbury, O'Gradys[21] in Shelburne, Hanleys in West Rutland, and Ennises in Marshfield. These Irish men and women lived solitary existences, strangers in a strange land. Frequently they had no Old Country neighbors with whom to gossip or share memories of home. Moreover, unlike eighteenth-century Irish emigrants, the majority of the post-1815 Irish were Catholics: But in Vermont there were no Catholic churches to give comfort and a sense of belonging. There were, however, a few places in the Green Mountains where the Irish clustered, maintained a separate identity, and eventually built vibrant Catholic communities: Burlington, Fairfield, Underhill, Moretown, Middlebury, and Castleton.

The largest Irish settlement in Vermont in the pre-Famine years was Hawthorne's Burlington. Given Burlington's status as a port of entry this is understandable. Many Irishmen first set foot in the United States when they walked off the gangplank onto the wharf in Burlington. Poor and desperate for work, they took what they could find. Fortunately, Burlington in the 1820s and 1830s was a boom town. The opening of the Champlain Canal had led to unprecedented prosperity. Businessmen like Judge Timothy Follett built docks and warehouses on the lake, and shipbuilders turned out new vessels to carry the increased traffic. Retail establishments went up on Water and Church Streets. Down at Winooski Falls on the northeastern edge of town a local business group operated one of Vermont's largest textile mills. Everywhere there was

construction, on small tenements and hotels by the lake, to the large estates of the wealthy on Burlington's "hill." Unlimited employment was available for those willing to work. As a result population jumped from 2,111 in 1820 to 3,526 ten years later, a 60 percent increase.[22] Burlington was now Vermont's largest town. People began calling it "the Queen City."

As suggested by Hawthorne's comments, many of those newcomers were Irish, constituting about 11 percent of the population.[23] What Hawthorne perceived as overwhelming numbers, however, may have been an illusion, created by the fact that the Irish congregated along Water Street, the roadway closest to the lake. Water Street was an Irish enclave. It was as if once the Irish disembarked in Burlington, they dropped their bags, too poor or too tired to move further, and settled in. By the early 1840s, the Irish provided much of the labor on the waterfront and operated almost all the small businesses along Water Street. The two hotels on the street, Hart's and Soregan's, were Irish owned, as were the three grocery stores—[Mc]Canna's, Killins', and Bradshaw's.[24] On the waterfront, an Irish person could find most of life's necessities supplied by his fellow countrymen. The area would remain an Irish neighborhood down to the end of the nineteenth century.

Fairfield, the second largest Irish community in the state, stood in stark contrast to Burlington: It was and is a rural farming community. It lies a dozen miles south of the Canadian border and ten miles east of Lake Champlain. Through the town's two-hundred-year history it has never numbered more than 2,600 residents, most of whom have been small farmers scattered over a hilly terrain. At various times these hardy country people made their living raising sheep, dairying, and making maple syrup. Except for corn and hay for livestock, they raised few crops; pasturage was always more important than tillage. What was not produced or made on the farm was purchased or ordered at the few shops in the tiny villages of Fairfield and East Fairfield or in nearby St. Albans. This was the rural community that drew unusual numbers of Irish in the 1820s and 1830s.

What attracted them? Other than a gristmill and an iron forge there was no industry in Fairfield—no textile mills, no quarries, no canals. None of the usual works that one associates with the immigrant Irish. What Fairfield had was land. In the years following the War of 1812, Fairfield, like many rural Vermont towns, experienced a decline in population—from 1,618 in 1810 to 1,573 in 1820[25]—caused when Vermonters caught the Genesee or Ohio "fever" and gave up their hard-scrabble hillside farms for the flat, fertile soils of western New York, Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, and Illinois. What they left behind was inexpensive

farmland which lay virtually in the path of the Irish entering Vermont from Canada.

The Irish craved land. Owing to various English colonization schemes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was virtually impossible for a Catholic, and even members of dissenting Protestant religions, to own land in Ireland. One of the attractions of the New World was the possibility of acquiring land. In the 1837 letter of Bernard Brewin already cited, he proudly tells his parents that he owns his own farm "and got a deed for ever of it," something that they could not do in Ireland. In this same vein there is a well-known story in Rutland, perhaps apocryphal, about John Hanley, reputed to be the first Irishman to settle in that area. In 1843 he and his wife bought a small farm of twenty-one acres, and then a few years later bought a large parcel that was nothing more than a worthless, rocky mountain. His neighbors chided him that he only bought it so that he could tell his family back in Ireland that his land was so extensive that it would take him all day to walk over it—as indeed it would.[26] Even if just a story, it is a story that underlines the importance the Irish put on land ownership. To this day, this rocky crag just west of Rutland is known as Hanley's Mountain.

Exactly who were the first Irish to settle in Fairfield is open to dispute, but evidence suggests it was Peter and Lawrence Kirk, the McEnany brothers (Hugh, James, Patrick, and Matthew) and Patrick Deniver, all of whom hailed from County Louth and may have emigrated together. Although their names first appear on the U.S. Census of 1830, there is some evidence that they arrived in Fairfield shortly after the War of 1812.[27] They were soon joined by two unrelated Ryans, Thomas and James, Patrick King, James Carroll, and Peter Michael Connelly. In the 1830s a flood of others followed, and while most counties in Ireland were represented among the Fairfield Irish, the group had a decided orientation of people from Louth and nearby Meath and Cavan.[28] Did those pioneer Irish, the Kirks, McEnanys, and Denivers, send word back home and encourage others to follow? Probably, for members of the McEnany family were still arriving in Fairfield in the mid-1830s.

The Fairfield Irish were almost all Catholic, but there were a few exceptions, the most important being Elder William Arthur, pastor of North Fairfield's Red Brick Baptist Church in the early 1830s. Arthur had come from Ballymena in County Armagh, had spent some time in Canada, come down to the United States, married, and settled down in Vermont. In 1830 his wife gave birth to a son, Chester A. Arthur, a future president of the United States.

For the Catholics, Fairfield may have had another attraction besides land: its proximity to Catholic churches in southern Quebec. In the

years between 1818 and 1854, Rev. Pierre Marie Mignault, the priest at St. Joseph Church, Chambly, just outside Montreal, periodically made visits to Fairfield and other northwestern Vermont communities.[29] In cases where a priest was needed immediately, Chambly was relatively close. A well-known story in Fairfield tells of Bridget Deniver, Patrick's wife, who in the 1820s gave birth to twins. Wanting her children to be baptized as soon as possible, she and her sister walked with the infants the fifty miles to Chambly and then back again.[30]

Unlike the experience of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century New England Irish, the Fairfield Irish maintained their sense of identity through the sheer size of their community and ties to their church. As news of Fairfield's Irish community spread it became a magnet for Irish immigrants who had settled elsewhere. Michael Connolly, who had been living in Hinesburg, Vermont, moved to Fairfield in the 1830s and bought 100 acres.[31] In 1840, Francis McMahon of nearby Highgate acquired land in Fairfield.[32] Others gravitated to Fairfield after spending many years in Canada. Lawrence and Catherine Foley, for example, left Ireland for Canada in 1830, remained there twelve years, and then moved to Fairfield in the early 1840s. Patrick and Catherine Howrigan from Clonmel, County Tipperary, settled in Henryville, Quebec, not far from Chambly, in the 1830s, and in 1849 moved to Fairfield with their three Canadian-born children and bought a farm from another Irishman, Thomas Fitzgerald.[33]

By 1840 the Irish were a considerable presence in Fairfield—about 283 residents out of a total population of 2,448 (11.5 percent)[34]—and were doing quite well. Many owned farms. Fairfield land records for the 1830s show Conleys, McEnanys, Sharkeys, Maloneys, O'Briens, Rooneys, Kirks, Tierneys, Ryans, and Malones constantly buying and selling land.[35] Generally, the land they acquired lay along the high ridges, the Yankees being reluctant to sell off the more fertile lowlands. This was ironic for the highlands had the best sugar bushes and in later years provided a good income from the annual run of maple sap.[36] A number of the new arrivals did quite well. Patrick Houston, who had moved to Fairfield from Swanton in the 1830s, quickly became one of the richest men in town, owning real estate in 1850 valued at $5,000.[37]

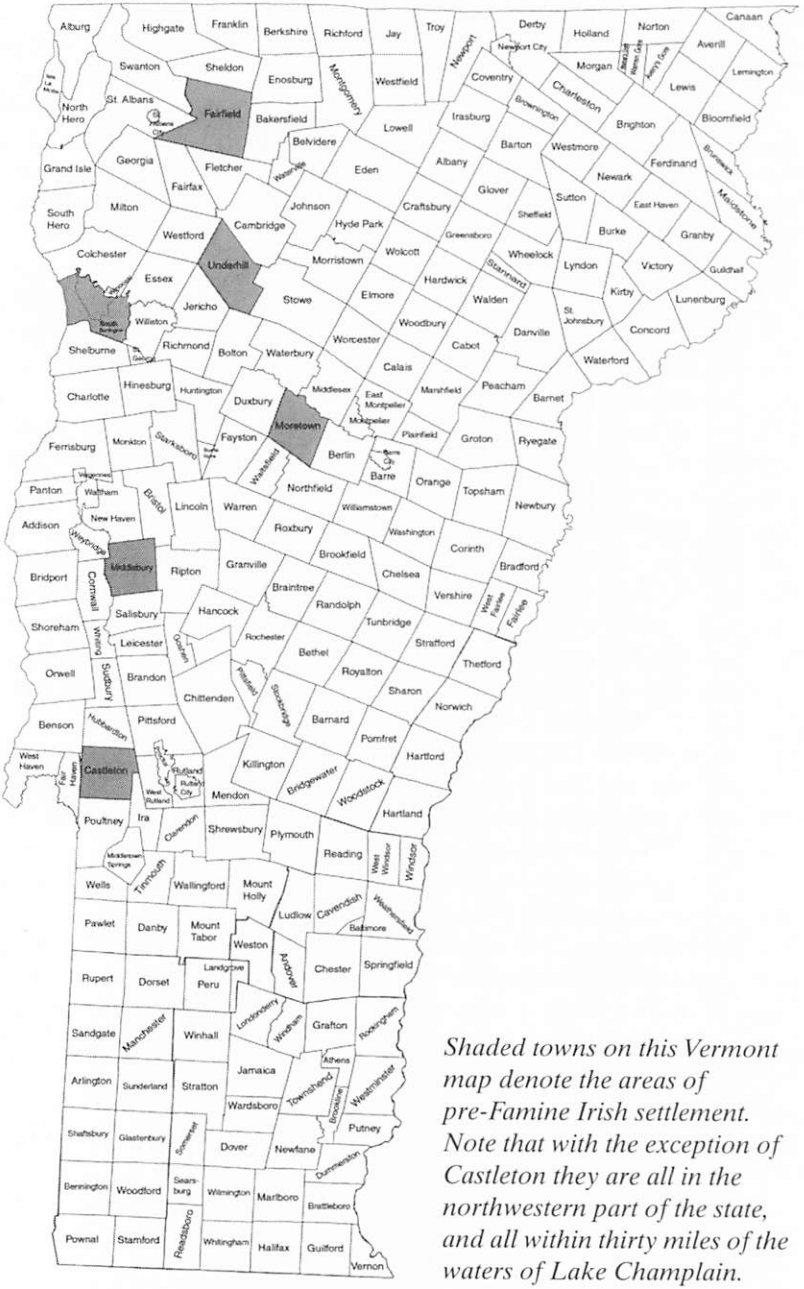
Increasingly, the Irish were an accepted part of Fairfield life. Though an Irishman would not be elected a town selectman until 1859, as early as 1836, Thomas O'Brien became the first Irishman elected to local office in Fairfield when he was chosen one of the road surveyors at the annual town meeting.[38] When the great deluge of starving, diseased, and demoralized Famine Irish poured into the United States in the late 1840s, the Irish of Fairfield were already a long-established, thriving community.

Twenty miles south of Fairfield and a dozen miles east of Burlington, Irishmen congregated in another rural town: Underhill. In the 1820s, Underhill, which lay just west of Mount Mansfield, was known primarily for lumbering, sheep raising, and farming. As loggers clear cut stands of trees, the hillsides quickly became grazing lands. In 1840 there were more sheep than people in town, 3,433 to 1,441.[39] Certainly raising sheep was an occupation Irishmen knew something about, but logging also attracted them. In 1841 a young Irishman named Daniel Wall who had initially settled in Shelburne went into partnership with a fellow countryman by the name of Patrick Green, bought forest land in Underhill, and logged there the rest of his life. In later years Daniel's wife Bridget was a well-known figure, walking the roads of Underhill, smoking her corncob pipe, and conversing with neighbors in her native Gaelic.[40]

Wall, however, was not the first Irishman in Underhill. That distinction goes to two brothers, John and Felix Doon, from County Armagh. They had come down from Canada in 1823, landing on St. Albans' Maquam Shore, and made their way to Underhill.[41] There they took up residence on a ridge overlooking a fertile vale called Pleasant Valley. Through the 1820s and 1830s Underhill attracted other Irish people, with the earliest arrivals—as we saw with the previously mentioned Brewin letter—writing home and encouraging friends and relatives to follow. Soon there were Breens, Barretts, Shanleys, Flynns, and others scattered across the valleys and hills. By 1840 about 9 percent of Underhill's 1,441 residents were Irish.[42] Locals called the track running along the ridge near the Doon place, "the Irish Settlement Road." Like Fairfield, the Underhill Irish community was well established before the Famine Irish landed on America's shores.

While logging and sheep raising brought in money to the early Irish in Underhill, it was often not enough. Frequently they had to find other work to supplement their incomes. One alternative was the Massachusetts textile industry, as some of the Underhill Irish had worked in linen mills in Ireland. Each winter bands of Underhill men would put together a few belongings, kiss their loved ones goodbye, and trek down to Worcester, Massachusetts, not to return until spring. While they were gone wives and older children maintained the household, saw to the livestock, and made preparations for spring. This cycle repeated itself well into the second half of the nineteenth century.[43]

A town further removed from Vermont's northwestern corner, but one that shared characteristics with Underhill, was Moretown. Situated thirty miles east of Burlington Moretown is a mountainous region with a long narrow valley watered by the Mad River running through its center. Like Underhill, its extensive forests attracted loggers and its fertile



Shaded towns on this Vermont map denote the areas of pre-Famine Irish settlement. Note that with the exception of Castleton they are all in the northwestern part of the state, and all within thirty miles of the waters of Lake Champlain.

vale provided excellent farmland. Here a settler could manage a small farm and earn ready cash in lumbering. The only industrial works in the valley were the numerous sawmills along the river.

The name of the first Irish settler is unknown, but by the late 1830s a dozen or so Irish families lived in the town. They were Lees and Millers, Nichols, Keltys, Devines, McCormicks, Cashmans, and Mahannas (Mahoney?), about fifty people in all, constituting about 4–5 percent of the total population.[44] Most of them congregated on South Hill, which in later days came to be called Paddy Hill. The Moretown Irish community would grow dramatically with the arrival of a railroad in nearby Northfield in the late 1840s.[45]

Another township that had a significant Irish presence in the years prior to the Famine was Castleton. In the 1830s it had about fifty Irish residents out of a population of 1,700.[46] Their presence was probably related to the town's proximity to Whitehall, New York, the northern terminus of the Champlain Canal that lay only fifteen miles away. Many of the workmen who built the canal were Irish, and when the work was done some simply settled in nearby communities. That was the case with Bryan McKean of Sligo, who settled in Castleton in the 1820s.[47] In addition to canal builders who settled in the area a continual flood of Irish traveled the canal. One report in 1826 said that a hundred Irishmen a week were passing through Whitehall.[48] Certainly some of them chose to stay as well.

One other Irish community worth mentioning was Middlebury. Today noted primarily for its college, in the first half of the nineteenth century Middlebury was an important industrial center. Besides the usual assortment of gristmills and sawmills, Middlebury was home to a number of large textile factories and a marble works. In the warm-weather months goods produced in Middlebury were shipped via Otter Creek to Lake Champlain, and from there to Quebec to the north and New York City to the south. With so much economic activity, in the first three decades of the nineteenth century Middlebury's population expanded rapidly. In 1840 it stood at 3,161, making it one of the most populous towns in the state. Irish men found work as laborers in mills and marble quarries, while Irish girls could always find positions in the textile works. Five years before the Great Famine, 163 Irishmen and women were living in Middlebury, over 5 percent of its total.[49]

Reverend Jeremiah O'Callaghan

The presence of so many Irish Catholics in northern Vermont in 1829 prompted the Reverend Benedict Fenwick, the Bishop of Boston, whose far-flung diocese then included all of New England, to dispatch a

priest to the Green Mountains to assess the situation. Exactly what his emissary, the Reverend James Fitton, reported to the bishop is unknown, but the broad outline is not hard to guess. He would have confirmed that there were indeed many Catholics in Vermont, both Irish and French Canadian. And there were also problems. Without priests too many Catholics were being married by justices of the peace, and many drifted away from the Church. One had even became a prominent Protestant clergyman.

This was James Daugherty.[50] From County Derry, Daugherty had been raised "a conscientous Catholic," and emigrated with his two brothers at about age 20 in 1819 to South Hero, Vermont. There, under the instruction of a Congregational minister, the Reverend Asa Lyon, he prepared to enter college. Lyon must have been a profound influence on young Daugherty, for when the Irishman eventually graduated from the University of Vermont in 1830 he entered the ministry. He spent the next thirty-five years first as the Congregational pastor in Milton, and later in Johnson. Clearly, from Boston's standpoint, something needed to be done.

Apparently alarmed by Fitton's assessment, Fenwick himself visited Burlington in 1830, celebrating mass at Howard's Hotel on Court House Square,[51] where only a few years before an aging Marquis de Lafayette had welcomed visitors. The bishop must have agreed with Fitton's assessment and begun looking for a priest to assign to Vermont. The problem was, there were no priests to spare in America. Quebec might have helped, but their priests were French speakers, and Fenwick's pressing need was for someone who could speak English, and, ideally, Gaelic. It was at this juncture that Fenwick met one of the most eccentric men ever to tread the roads and mountains of Vermont, and one destined to lead Vermont's Irish Catholics for twenty-five years.

His name was Jeremiah O'Callaghan. Fifty years old when Bishop Fenwick met him in 1830, O'Callaghan had already lived a tumultuous life. Born into a Gaelic-speaking family near Macroom, County Cork, his parents were poor people, "of no large estates."[52] With seventeen children to support, life for the O'Callaghans was a constant struggle. Those were the days when owing to the Penal Laws few Catholics owned land, they could not sit in the Dublin Parliament (or later the Westminster Parliament), or hold political office. As a young man Jeremiah must have read with horror of the suppression of the United Irish Rebellion in Antrim and Wexford, although his native Cork was spared that catastrophe. Though later in life O'Callaghan became a prolific writer, he tells us little of his early days at home.

In 1805 he was ordained a priest. For fourteen years he ministered in

Cork, but in 1819 O'Callaghan's theological ideas ran afoul of his bishop. This stemmed from O'Callaghan's view of money lending. As the Cork priest watched his countrymen suffer in the economic collapse that followed the Napoleonic Wars, he concluded that their distress resulted from having borrowed money at interest. He came to believe that all money lending—even at what objective observers might call fair interest rates—was usury, and contrary to the teachings of Christian charity. Not content simply to argue his ideas, O'Callaghan turned his beliefs into actions. This put him at odds with his bishop. The climax to their dispute came when O'Callaghan refused the last rites to a dying man unless he promised to return his "ill-begotten" profits. This was too much; the bishop dismissed O'Callaghan from the diocese.[53]

Then began a difficult ten-year period in O'Callaghan's life. An ordained priest, committed to serving his church, he was an exile, wandering from diocese to diocese, country to country, seeking a position. He spent time in France, then returned to teach school in Cork, and in 1823 traveled to North America. There he applied to the Dioceses of New York and Baltimore, and the Archdiocese of Quebec. Everywhere he was turned down: No one wanted this combative and eccentric priest. That bishops who were in desperate need of priests rejected his offer of service underlines the low regard in which he was held. With North America shunning him, O'Callaghan returned to Ireland.

He did not stay long. In 1829 he learned that the Diocese of New York had received a new bishop, and that an old acquaintance and fellow Corkonian, Rev. John Power, had been appointed vicar general. Anxious to return to the ministry, O'Callaghan made his second voyage to the New World, but when he approached the authorities in New York, the answer, again, was no. Here, however, fate stepped in. While in New York he chanced to meet Boston's Bishop Fenwick. Fenwick was desperately in need of priests to minister in his far-flung diocese, and here was O'Callaghan, anxious to serve. That this energetic, middle-aged priest was bilingual, speaking English and Gaelic, was a bonus: Many of the faithful in Vermont spoke only the language of the Old Country. The bishop decided to take a chance. After further discussions in Boston, Fenwick appointed O'Callaghan missionary to Vermont.

That summer O'Callaghan traveled to Burlington, the site chosen as the center of his mission. Along the way he stopped and celebrated mass wherever he found groupings of Irish Catholics: Wallingford,[54] Pittsford, Vergennes, and finally Burlington. Once settled in the lakeside village the Irish priest assessed his charge:

> Catholics, principally Irish immigrants were as sheep without shepherds, scattered through the woods and villages, amidst the wolves in

> sheep's clothing—amidst fanatics of all creeds, or rather of no creed; all enticing them by bribery and menaces to protracted meetings, Sunday Schools and so forth. As I was the very first Catholic pastor sent to them, their joy seemed to know no bounds on my arrival. There were eight congregations, varying from 10 to 100 (in number), from 20 to 30 miles asunder. I was hardly able to visit them all in two months.[55]

He reported back to Boston that in Burlington alone there were a thousand Catholics.[56]

The difficulty of administering to his flock, rather than dampening his spirits, served to motivate him. After wandering so long in the desert, he described his work in Vermont as "the same thing as laboring in Paradise."[57] O'Callaghan had found a home.

Immediately upon arriving in Burlington, O'Callaghan undertook the task of building a church. In this he was helped by a local resident, Colonel Archibald Hyde, who may have been as eccentric in his own right as O'Callaghan. Hyde was a prosperous Protestant lawyer known for his liberal religious beliefs and Democratic politics, and for the eccentric manner of his dress: He wore the old-fashioned "small clothes, wore knee and shoe-buckles or long boots, and withal a long cue hanging down his back."[58] Perhaps his backward-looking dress betrayed a Romantic nostalgia for the past, and presaged the future, for, "much to the surprise of his acquaintances" in the mid-1830s he converted to Catholicism. Even before he converted, however, he had given O'Callaghan five acres on the northern edge of Burlington for a church. With Hyde's donation, and the contributions of hundreds of Irish and French-Canadian Catholics, in 1832 Burlington had its first Catholic church: St. Mary.

While his church was under construction, and throughout his twenty-five-year Vermont ministry, O'Callaghan rode a circuit, bringing the sacraments to the scattered Irish. Riding north he would visit St. Albans, say mass, perform marriages, hear confessions, and then move on to Fairfield, where the home of Thomas Ryan served temporarily as a church. From there he might go on to Bakersfield, Cambridge, Jeffersonville, and Underhill. For those Irishmen who spoke little or no English O'Callaghan resorted to his native Gaelic. On other trips he might visit Waterbury and Moretown, or move south to Vergennes, Rutland, Fair Haven, and Bennington. At times he ministered as far south as western Massachusetts.

In 1837 Bishop Fenwick assigned another Irishman, Rev. John Daly, a Franciscan, to lighten O'Callaghan's load. Daly was made responsible for seeing to the needs of Catholics in the southern part of the state.

While O'Callaghan based his ministry in Burlington, Daly made Middlebury and Castleton the center of his work. Already in 1835 the Irish in Castleton under the leadership of the McKean family had purchased a building on the main street of the village and renovated it into a church: St. John the Baptist, the second Catholic church in Vermont after St. Mary. These two churches were followed in 1840 when the energetic Daly completed construction of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Middlebury. Through the efforts of Daly and O'Callaghan, the Catholic Church was firmly established in Vermont by the end of the 1830s.

But O'Callaghan was a firebrand, controversy and trouble his constant companions. His nature demanded confrontation. One bishop who worked with him in the 1840s and 1850s privately remarked that many churchmen "considered [O'Callaghan] crazy. In fact he was."[59] Not long after settling in Vermont, he began writing newspaper articles for the *Burlington Free Press* and the *Burlington Sentinel,* and books attacking local customs and institutions. His favorite themes were opposition to usury, and therefore the local banks, the widespread practice of selling or renting church pews—which he considered simony—the failure of parents to give children the names of saints, the widespread practice of having marriages performed by justices of the peace, and what he called "store pay"—paying in kind rather than with cash. Those who challenged his views he considered not just misguided, but evildoers out to wreck the holy mission of his Catholic Church.

O'Callaghan was particularly sensitive to criticism from the Protestant clergy, who, he was convinced, were bent on converting Irish and French Catholics. He referred to them as "The clouds of false teachers rushing out of their lurking places [to] wage open warfare with the whole Christian Religion."[60] Perhaps he had the case of James Daugherty in mind. There is no record that the two ever met, but certainly they knew of each other, and O'Callaghan must have lamented Daugherty's apostasy.

His first public foray against the Protestant establishment was a criticism of the Reverend James Converse, minister at Burlington's Congregational church. Converse, apparently in a sermon delivered in 1834, repeated the widely held belief that Catholicism, with its hierarchical structure, was inimical to republicanism. In a booklet published later in the year, *A Critical Review of Mr. J.K. Converse's Calvinistic Sermon,* O'Callaghan argued that contrary to the views expressed in that homily, there was no contradiction between Catholicism and democratic government. As evidence the Irish priest cited the republican governments that once existed in the city-states of Venice and Genoa.

Not content to simply make his counterpoint, O'Callaghan went one step further to castigate Converse's "Calvinistic system" as "dark [and] intolerant . . . tending to inflate and electrify his Calvinistic hearers into furious hatred towards all other Congregations."[61]

Converse, however, was small potatoes in O'Callaghan's battle with Vermont Protestantism. The archenemy was the Right Reverend John Henry Hopkins, Episcopal bishop of Vermont. O'Callaghan's fight with Hopkins may have been as much personal as theological, for the bishop was a fellow Irishman, although from a different background. Hopkins was Anglo Irish. His ancestors came to Ireland from England on the heels of William III's victory over James II in the 1690s. They were adherents of the Church of Ireland (Anglican). John Henry Hopkins was born in Dublin in 1792, and with his parents eight years later came to America, where the family settled in Pittsburg. In his early years the future bishop worked as an ironmaster, then turned to the law, and eventually became an Episcopal priest. In 1831 he was appointed rector of St. Paul's church, Burlington, and the next year was named the first Episcopal bishop of Vermont.

Between these two Irishmen in Burlington, each representing traditions that had long been hostile to each other in Ireland, there was bound to be trouble. Hopkins was the first to open the battle. In two books, *Primitive Creed* (1834),[62] and *Primitive Church* (1835),[63] he argued that the idea that the bishop of Rome was the head of the Christian church was supported neither by scripture nor by the early church fathers.

How O'Callaghan must have seethed at this challenge to his own deeply held beliefs. For the next two years he researched his response. In a letter that appeared in the *Burlington Sentinel,* February 10, 1837, O'Callaghan in his combative style announced that his book answering Hopkins's allegations would soon be out and that "Facts and truths which you did not expect shall meet your eye, in their innate and natural features, stript naked of all party colouring."[64] When the 323-page book appeared in March with the uncompromising title *The Vagaries and Heresies of John Henry Hopkins, Protestant bishop,* it contained a lengthy defense of papal supremacy, mainly borrowed from the writings of European churchmen, and a critique of Bishop Hopkins. For the doctrinaire O'Callaghan, Hopkins was a man who was all things to all people—"the Catholick, the 39 Article Protestant, the Methodist, the Calvinist, the Presbyterian, and even the Universalist"—because he believed nothing himself.[65] For O'Callaghan, Hopkins's religious tolerance was evidence of theological muddiness and further proof of the necessity of having a church with one head.

While O'Callaghan alienated many Protestant Vermonters with his

critical religious writings, he created more enemies in the political arena. This stemmed from his beliefs about usury. The Bank of the United States, established in 1819, was up for congressional renewal in 1836. Rechartering became a principal issue in the presidential campaign of 1832: Andrew Jackson, the incumbent president, and his Democratic Party opposed it, and Henry Clay's Whigs favored renewal. Given his distaste for banks it was no surprise that O'Callaghan was an avid Jacksonian. In subsequent years he became a Democratic spokesman, exhorting his fellow Irishmen to oppose the Whigs, and allied himself with the *Burlington Sentinel,* the local Jacksonian weekly.

O'Callaghan's efforts on behalf of the Democrats drew the ire of the Whig newspaper, the *Burlington Free Press.* In October 1837, the editor of the *Free Press* deplored the "incendiary political rantings" of "this Reverend Paddy," and pointed out that "according to his [O'Callaghan's] own showing, [he] has thrice been spewed from the Church and his native country as a shatter-brained disorganizer."[66] Burlingtonians were aware of O'Callaghan's colorful past, as he had related it in a short autobiographical section in his 1834 book, *Usury, Funds and Banks.*[67]

Among his own people the stubborn Irishman was popular: Like them he came from peasant stock, knew their language, and he courageously took on the role of spokesman for the Irish community. But he had as many enemies as friends. Burlington's Protestant clergy viewed him with derision, and the *Free Press* dismissed him as an incompetent. Villagers on the streets probably thought him a crackpot, a classic exemplar of Irish loose thinking. Even French-Canadian members of his church found him difficult, for he had little empathy for their language or their culture. Few would have been surprised if a backlash developed to his aggressive ways.

And there may have been a backlash, but the facts are sparse. What is known is this: On the night of May 9, 1838, Burlington's little St. Mary church burned to the ground. Many people, including O'Callaghan, believed it was arson. Even the *Burlington Free Press,* no great friend of O'Callaghan's, reported that "There is not a doubt but that it was the work of an incendiary as no fire had been used in the building for several weeks."[68] Within a few days of the fire, Catholic and Protestant citizens of Burlington formed a committee to investigate, but, if they ever found anything, it was never reported. O'Callaghan later charged that the committee did investigate "and in their inquiring found out more than they thought prudent to report."[69] He maintained that the fire was started by a few students and "low" merchants, a "band of fanatics in hatred of the Catholic religion."[70]

Whatever the cause, the destruction of the church was promptly put

right. O'Callaghan quickly raised money—relying only on contributions and studiously avoiding loans—much of it coming from liberal Protestant Burlingtonians, and construction was soon underway. His new St. Mary, located at the southeast corner of St. Paul and Cherry Streets, close to the center of the village and a stone's throw from the Irish tenements at the waterfront, was completed in 1841. Once again the Reverend O'Callaghan had a church from which to lead northern Vermont's Irish community.

Vermonters' Attitudes Toward the Irish

Did the burning of the original St. Mary church, if indeed it was the work of an arsonist, symbolize widespread hostility toward Irish Catholics? There is no simple answer. On the one hand, Vermonters empathized with the Irish for the deplorable conditions under which the British had forced them to live. The *Northern Sentinel,* in an editorial on July 5, 1822, pointed at the distress in Ireland and said "strange has been the mismanagement and neglect evinced by the British government, ever since the conquest of that island."[71] The same paper in 1825 commented that, "The condition of the lower class of people there [Ireland], is to be lamented by every friend of humanity and by every patriot." To relieve Irish distress, the *Sentinel* called on the British government to end absentee landlordism.[72]

Some Vermonters equated the plight of the Irish under English rule with their own history of rebellion against the Crown. A schoolteacher in Bennington put it this way:

> The American (though in full possession of his darling liberty) can never fail of commiserating the destiny of the Irish exiles, when he thinks of what would have been his fate, had the plans of our own Washington and the fortitude of our Revolutionary patriots failed. . . . We trust that she [England] will ere long listen to the dictates of justice, reason, her own honor, and the voice of the world, by emancipating the Irish Catholic from his present, degrading slavery.[73]

Burlingtonians went so far as to form a Repeal Group in 1843 to support Daniel O'Connell in his efforts to bring about legislative independence for Ireland.[74] The leaders of this organization were primarily Yankees, prominent members of Burlington society. They included Heman Lowry, formerly the longtime "high sheriff" of Chittenden County, and at this time United States marshal for the district of Vermont, and Nathan Haswell, grand master of the Grand Masonic Lodge of Vermont and Burlington's representative to the state legislature in 1836–1837.

Empathy for the Irish abroad, however, did not always translate into sympathy for them at home. Except for the *Burlington Sentinel,* when

the local press mentioned the Vermont Irish, it was usually in a negative way. Newspapers constantly depicted the Irish as a lawless people, prone to crime, drunkenness, and disease. When the steamer *Phoenix* burned and sank in Lake Champlain in 1819, and a large sum of money being transferred to a bank was reported missing, the press was quick to charge that the thief was an Irishman.[75] In 1829, there was a report that an Irishman, John S. Barcomb, who "speaks the French language better than the English," had stolen $4,300 in Montreal, and the authorities in Quebec offered a reward of one hundred dollars for his capture.[76] And when an outbreak of smallpox occurred in Royalton in 1842, it was commonly believed that it had been introduced by "an Irishman who was riding in the stage with Mrs. Gibbs."[77] The Irish were the scapegoats for whatever ills afflicted society.

When the Vermont press did not portray the Irish as criminals, it cast them as either dullwitted and naive, or as the happy-go-lucky, not-a-care-in-the-world, stage Irishman. A play titled *Eskah,* written by a Burlingtonian and performed in the Queen City in 1830, included a character, Muckle O'Crie, who was described as "a fair picture of the jolly, unsuspecting and superstitious Paddy."[78] Jokes, in which the punchline depended on the simple-mindedness attached to the Irish, were a commonplace in the Vermont press beginning in the late 1820s. This one, from the *Burlington Free Press,* April 14, 1843, is representative:

> A man told his Irish servant to wake him at six-o'clock. Pat waked him at four—observing that "he came to tell him he had two hours yet to sleep."[79]

The depictions were not cruel but condescending.

Religion was a sore point. Protestant New England had a long history of antipathy toward Roman Catholicism, exacerbated by long years of war with Catholic New France, and here now were large numbers of Irish Catholics coming to live in the midst of God-fearing Vermont Protestants. In general, like Bishop Hopkins, Vermonters thought Catholics reactionary, and their religious beliefs incompatible with democracy. An editorial in the *Burlington Free Press* in 1835 expressed these sentiments. Quoting a Virginia paper, it said "All know the distinguishing trait of Catholics, among the unenlightened mass at least, to be blind and unqualifiedly submissive to their priest . . . which has kept Catholic Europe so far in the rear of modern enlightenment."[80] John Stephen Michaud, born and raised in Burlington in the 1840s, and later a Catholic bishop, wrote that in the days before the Great Famine, "opposition to the Catholic Church [in Vermont] was bitter."[81]

The pope, because he embodied the hierarchical nature of the Church, came in for particular scorn. When the editor of *The Rutland Herald*

heard rumors in 1842 that the Catholics in Castleton were thinking of starting their own newspaper, he wrote:

> They [the Catholics] have at Castleton, a meeting-house for jabbering mass, a priest to pardon sin and give tickets for a passage to Heaven, and now a Printing Press, with its immense power, to be added to the facilities for building up the Pope of Rome.[82]

Theresa Viele, a Louisiana Catholic temporarily residing in Burlington with her soldier husband, commented that she was astonished at how Vermonters characterized the pope as "innately depraved."[83]

But this picture of intense anti-Catholic feeling in Vermont must be balanced, for there is much evidence of tolerance and even acceptance. Rev. James Fitton remarked that in his initial visit to Vermont the authorities in many localities invited him to say mass in the schoolhouse or the town hall, and "occasionally, where liberality permitted, in the meeting house, and not infrequently where a Catholic had never been seen, much less a living Catholic priest."[84] He went on to say, "the Green Mountain Boys ever seemed, from some cause or other, more open-hearted, courteous and obliging. . . . than citizens of certain other states."[85] Even Rev. O'Callaghan, himself an intolerant man, acknowledged that "the only open enemy who ever came out against him in his twenty-four years labor in the Vermont mission" was a man in Tinmouth who criticized the Catholic priest on the grounds that there was already enough religion in town:[86] an attack aimed more at religion in general than Catholicism in particular. Interestingly, this comment by O'Callaghan was made a number of years after his church burned to the ground, and suggests that he had changed his mind as to the cause of the fire.

Perhaps Vermont was more tolerant toward Catholicism than elsewhere in New England. Certainly Vermonters were attracted to the new and unusual in religion. Joseph Smith, founder of Mormonism, was born in Sharon, Vermont, in 1805, and John Humphrey Noyes, who established the Oneida Community in New York with its unusual sexual practices, was born in Brattleboro in 1811. The Catholic Church itself appealed to the spiritual and Romantic sensibilities of many Vermonters in the early nineteenth century. There were a number of prominent conversions. Chief among them were Fanny Allen, Ethan's daughter, who eventually became a nun; Orestes Brownson, editor of the *Boston Quarterly Review;* and DeWitt Clark, editor of the *Burlington Free Press* in the late 1840s. Whatever the reason, Vermont seems to have been less antagonistic to the incoming Catholic Irish than elsewhere in New England.

Conclusion

On the eve of the Great Famine of 1845–1848 that was to bring hundreds of thousands of immigrants from the Emerald Isle to North America, the Irish already had a significant presence in Vermont. They worked in a variety of occupations. In Fairfield, Irish farmers tilled their own land; in Underhill and Moretown, Irish loggers cut back the forest; and in Burlington and Middlebury dozens of Irish laborers worked on the docks, operated lathes and looms, and clerked and tailored. As hapless immigrants fleeing the potato famine poured into the Green Mountains a network of earlier Irish settlers was already in place: to welcome, to guide, and to advise.

The pre-Famine Irish were instrumental in establishing the Catholic Church in Vermont. By 1840 Catholics could attend services in their own church structures in Burlington, Middlebury, and Castleton, or if living in an outlying area, await the periodic visit of one of the state's resident priests. Just as important to these new arrivals, the priests—Jeremiah O'Callaghan and John Daly—were themselves from the Old Country, and put an Irish stamp on the Catholic Church in Vermont, sometimes to the annoyance of the state's many French-Canadian Catholics.

In some ways the pre-Famine Irish in Vermont were different from those who came later. Where these earlier immigrants had come primarily from the region north of a line running from Dublin to Galway, with the Famine there was a noticeable shift to emigration from the south. The new immigrant was more likely to come from Cork or Clare than Louth, Cavan, or Tyrone. In addition, while the old Ireland-to-Canada-to-Vermont route remained important, Irish immigrants coming to Vermont were now just as likely to have entered the United States via Boston or New York.

Perhaps the biggest difference between the earlier and later immigrants, however, was not where they came from, or how they got here, but the Vermont they found. The earlier group arrived in a Vermont barely touched by industrialization. Outside of those who found work in the textile mills of Burlington, Colchester, and Middlebury, most labored in small shops, gristmills, and sawmills, while others farmed the land or logged the woods. The Famine Irish who arrived in the late 1840s found Vermont in the midst of a mini-industrial revolution. Railroad construction boomed, employing hundreds of Irishmen. When the tracks were laid the rapidly expanding marble and slate industries offered more work. It was the Famine Irish, with their limited skills and desperate situation, who became the workforce in this mini-industrial revolution, and in the process obscured our knowledge of the Irish who came before them.

Notes

[1] Anonymous [Nathaniel Hawthorne], "The Inland Port," *The New-England Magazine*, No. 9 (December 1835): 398–409.

[2] For studies of the pre-Famine Irish in Vermont see James O'Beirne, "Some Early Irish in Vermont," *Vermont History* 28 (1960): 63–72; T.D. Seymour Bassett, "Irish Migration to Vermont Before the Famine," *Chittenden County Historical Society Bulletin* 4 (1966), and chapter 3 in his *The Gods of the Hills: Piety and Society in Nineteenth-Century Vermont* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 2000); and chapter 1 in Brian Walsh, "Dreams Realized: Irish-Americans and Progress, Burlington, Vermont, 1830–1910" (Master's thesis, History Department, University of Vermont, 1993). Two works that deal with Irishmen who played important roles in eighteenth-century Vermont are Aleine Austin, *Matthew Lyon: "New Man" of the Democratic Revolution, 1749–1822* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1981), and John Duffy and Eugene Coyle, "Crean Brush vs. Ethan Allen: A Winner's Tale," *Vermont History* 70 (Summer/Fall 2002): 103–110.

[3] Kerby Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 193.

[4] Ibid., 203.

[5] Bernard Brewin, letter to his parents, 18 January 1837, in possession of John Leddy, Burlington, Vt. In Ireland the name Brewin is usually spelled Bruen or Bruin.

[6] Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles*, 194.

[7] D. Aidan McQuillan, "Beaurivage: The Development of an Irish Identity in Rural Quebec, 1820–1860," online posting, http://members.tripod.com/gail25/que4/htm, 25 October 2004.

[8] Quoted in O'Beirne, "Early Irish in Vermont," 66.

[9] *Northern Sentinel*, 2 August 1822.

[10] Gideon Lathrop, "Diary of Gideon Lathrop, 1823–1839," typescript, Vermont Historical Society, Barre, Vermont.

[11] Quoted in Bassett, "Irish Migration."

[12] *Burlington Sentinel*, 19 August 1836. The newspaper changed its name from the *Northern Sentinel* in the early 1830s.

[13] Lathrop.

[14] Evelyn M. Wood Lovejoy, *History of Royalton, Vermont, with Family Genealogies, 1769–1911* (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Printing Company, 1911), 957, 958.

[15] C.H. Willey, "Some Historical Facts About the O'Hara Family," typescript, 1893, Vermont Historical Society.

[16] Samuel Swift, *History of the town of Middlebury in the county of Addison, Vermont* (1859; Rutland, Vt: C.E. Tuttle Co. [1971]), 178.

[17] Abby Maria Hemenway, *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer* (Burlington, Vt.: A.M. Hemenway, 1868), 3: 997.

[18] The family name changed over the years. Originally spelled Donaghy, and sometimes Donoghue, by the end of the nineteenth century it was spelled Donoway.

[19] Peter or Thomas Donaghy to Michael Donaghy, 4 August 1840, Donoway Family Papers, Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, Vt., Box 56, Folder 8.

[20] "Chain migration" characterized Irish settlement patterns everywhere in North America and the Antipodes. For a fuller discussion of this phenomenon see Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer* (Toronto: P.D. Meany Company, 1996).

[21] The O'Gradys came from Queens County, Ireland, and settled in Shelburne about 1800. They are mentioned as operating an inn there in 1808. See Marie Harding and Charlotte Tracy, *The History of Shelburne* (Burlington, Vt.: Queen City Printers, 1989), 14. One son, John O'Grady, became a well-known steamboat captain on Lake Champlain in the 1840s, and another son or grandson, William, born in Shelburne in 1823 and graduated UVM in 1848, was the first superintendent of schools in San Francisco in 1856.

[22] U.S. Census, Manuscript Schedule, *Fourth Census*, 1820, and *Fifth Census*, 1830.

[23] This figure is from Brian Walsh's study of the Burlington Irish in which he counted the number of individuals with Irish surnames in the Manuscript Schedule of the 1840 Census. Not until the 1850 Census was place of birth recorded. Counting surnames has certain problems, one of them being the inclusion of individuals whose names might be Irish but could also be English or Scottish. A far bigger problem in the pre-1850 census numbers, however, is underreporting, because only the name of "head of household" is listed, followed by the number of individuals living in that household. If a young, single, Irishman boarded in a home where the owner had an English surname, the presence of an Irishman would not show up in the count. In calculating the numbers of Irish in Fairfield, Underhill, Moretown, Castleton, and Middlebury, I have used the same method as Walsh. I believe, however, that those numbers, if they err, do so on the conservative side, and that in fact, there were significantly more Irish people in the towns mentioned than those reported in this article.

[24] From a list of business advertisers in *Walton's Register and Farmer's Almanac for 1842* (Montpelier, Vt: E.P. Walton and Sons, n.d.).

[25] U.S. Census, Manuscript Schedule, *Third Census,* 1810, and *Fourth Census,* 1820.

[26] Charles Morrissey, "The Case for Oral History," *Vermont History* 31 (July 1963): 153.

[27] Reverend James E. Horan, "History of St. Patrick's Parish, Fairfield, Vermont," typescript, Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont, 3.

[28] Of all the early pre-Famine Irish residents of Fairfield we know only the counties of origin of a few. That information comes from inscriptions on gravestones and from work done by Thomas Howrigan, M.D. of Fairfield, who reviewed applications for citizenship in Franklin County for the nineteenth century. What that information showed was an unusually high number of immigrants from County Louth. Early Fairfield-area families with County Louth connections: Duffy, King, Sharkey, McEnany, Kirk, Killin, Brady, Clark, Kane, Ryan (James), Clinton, Conlin, and Deniver. From nearby Counties Cavan and Meath: Sheridan and Crosby.

[29] Reverend James Fitton, *Sketches of the Establishment of the Church in New England* (Boston: Patrick Donahoe, 1872), 242.

[30] Horan, "St. Patrick's Parish," 4.

[31] Town of Fairfield, *Land Records,* vol. 9, deed dated October 5, 1830, 393.

[32] Ibid., vol. 10, deed dated April 20, 1840, 482.

[33] Thomas, Robert, and Harold Howrigan, interview with the author, Fairfield, Vermont, June 22, 2003.

[34] U.S. Census, Manuscript Schedule, *Sixth Census,* 1840.

[35] *Fairfield Land Records,* vols. 8–10.

[36] Howrigan interview.

[37] U.S. Census, Manuscript Schedule, *Seventh Census,* 1850. The Fairfield Houstons seem to have been Catholics, for the family is buried in Fairfield's Catholic cemetery. However, most Houstons associated with Vermont were of Ulster Scots Presbyterian background, coming from County Derry in the eighteenth century. In Vermont they were prominent in the Londonderry and Walden areas. It is possible, of course, that the Fairfield Houstons were originally Protestants, but converted to the church of their Irish Catholic neighbors.

[38] Town of Fairfield, *Town Meeting Records,* March 7, 1836.

[39] Loraine Dwyer, *The History of Underhill, Vermont* (Underhill, Vt: Underhill Historical Society, 1976), 8.

[40] Neil Bartlett, *From the West Side of Mount Mansfield* (Tucson: Arizona: W.N. Bartlett, printed by Alphagraphics, 2000).

[41] Interview conducted in 1990 by Underhill schoolchildren with Mrs. Thelma Stone, descendant of Felix Doon and Margaret Malone. Typescript of the interview in the author's possession.

[42] U.S. Census, Manuscript Schedule, *Sixth Census,* 1840.

[43] Stone Interview.

[44] U.S Census, Manuscript Schedule, *Sixth Census,* 1840.

[45] Mary Reagan, *A Brief History of Moretown, Vermont, for the Celebration of Moretown's Heritage and St. Patrick's Church Centennial* (Moretown: 1982). The post-Famine Northfield Irish have been well documented in Gene Sessions, "'Years of Struggle': The Irish in the Village of Northfield, 1845–1900," *Vermont History* 55 (Spring 1987): 69–95.

[46] U.S. Census, Manuscript Schedule, *Sixth Census,* 1840. This figure of approximately fifty Irish Catholics in the area is confirmed in Claire Burditt and Sylvia Sullivan, eds., *Castleton Looking Back: The first 100 years* (Castleton, Vt: Castleton Historical Society, 1998), 28.

[47] Peter Patten, interview with the author, Fair Haven, Vermont, January 24, 2005. Patten is a native of Fair Haven and an amateur historian whose Irish-American ancestors settled in the Castleton-Fair Haven area in the 1840s.

[48] Gwilym R. Roberts, *New Lives in the Valley: Slate Quarries and Quarry Villages in North Wales, New York, and Vermont, 1850–1920* (Somersworth, New Hampshire: New Hampshire Printers, 1998), 336.

[49] U.S. Census, Manuscript Schedule, *Sixth Census,* 1840.

[50] Committee of the Associated Alumni, *University of Vermont Obituary Record* (Burlington: 1895), 49.

[51] Fitton, *Sketches,* 244.

[52] Rev. Jeremiah O'Callaghan, *Usury, Funds and Banks; also Forestalling Traffick and Monopoly; likewise pew rent and grave tax, together with Burking and Dissecting: as well as the Gallican Liberties. Are all repugnant to the Divine and Ecclesiastical laws and destructive to Civil Society. To which is prefixed a Narrative of the Author's Controversy with Bishop Copping and of his sufferings for justice sake* (Burlington, Vt.: Printed for the author, 1834), 4–64.

[53] O'Beirne, "Early Irish in Vermont," 69.

[54] In Wallingford, O'Callaghan stayed at the home of James Shirlock. Was this a brother of William Shirlock of Royalton? William did have a brother named James who settled in Vermont.

[55] Quoted in Howard Coffin, *An Inland See* (Burlington: The Roman Catholic Diocese of Burlington, 2001), 6,7.

[56] Rev. Frederick R. Wilson, "A History of Catholicism in Vermont," *Vermont History* 21 (July 1953): 212.

[57] O'Callaghan, *Usury*, 4–64.

[58] Hemenway, *Gazetteer*, 1: 626.

[59] Quoted by Professor Thomas Moriarity in a lecture, "From the Cork Gaeltacht to Holyoke, Massachusetts: The Turbulent Career of Reverend Jeremiah O'Callaghan," Fletcher Free Library, Burlington, Vermont, 12 March 1996.

[60] Rev. Jeremiah O'Callaghan, *Creation and Offspring of the Protestant Church and the Vagaries and Heresies of John Henry Hopkins, Protestant bishop* (Burlington: Jeremiah O'Callaghan, 1837), iii.

[61] Ibid., 2.

[62] John Henry Hopkins, *Primitive Creed* (Burlington: John Henry Hopkins, 1834).

[63] John Henry Hopkins, *Primitive Church* (Burlington: John Henry Hopkins, 1835).

[64] *Burlington Sentinel*, 10 February 1837.

[65] O'Callaghan, *Creation and Offspring*, 122.

[66] *Burlington Free Press*, 13 October 1837.

[67] O'Callaghan, *Usury*, 4–64.

[68] *Burlington Free Press*, 11 May 1838.

[69] Quoted in *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac, and Laity's Directory for 1839* (Baltimore: Fielding Lucas Jr., 1839), 116.

[70] Quoted in John G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York: J.G. Shea, 1886–1892), 3: 488.

[71] *Northern Sentinel*, 5 July 1822.

[72] Ibid., 17 June 1825.

[73] Quoted in O'Beirne, "Early Irish in Vermont," 65.

[74] *Burlington Free Press*, 6 July 1843.

[75] Ralph Nading Hill, *Lake Champlain: Key to Liberty* (Woodstock, Vt.: The Countryman Press, 1987), 200.

[76] *Northern Sentinel*, 27 March 1829.

[77] Hope Nash, *Royalton, Vermont* (Royalton: Town of Royalton, 1975), 23.

[78] *Northern Sentinel*, 1 January 1830.

[79] *Burlington Free Press*, 14 April 1843.

[80] Ibid., 31 July 1835.

[81] Rev. John S. Michaud, "The Diocese of Burlington," *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*, ed. William Byrne (Boston: 1899), 131.

[82] Quoted in Roberts, *New Lives in the Valley*, 337.

[83] Teresa Viele, *Following the Drum: A Glimpse of the Frontier Life* (New York: Rudd and Carleton, 1858), 30.

[84] Fitton, *Sketches*, 243.

[85] Ibid., 244.

[86] O'Beirne, "Early Irish in Vermont," 70.

A Multivariate Look at Migration from Vermont

In this study examining data from 1850 to 1860, the most important variables explaining emigration and persistence in Peacham are wealth, church membership, and, to a lesser extent, occupation. For Albany, the most important variables are age, length of residence, presence in the agricultural census, and kinship. This tells us a lot about each of these communities, and perhaps suggests some of the effects of growing old.

By JEREMY FLAHERTY

The problem of migration has been a concern for American historians for over a century. Frederick Jackson Turner claimed in his 1893 frontier thesis that American development to that point could be explained by the continuous process of migration to the frontier. Turner was followed by James Malin and Frank Owsley, who published studies of nineteenth-century frontier migration in the 1930s and 1940s. One of Turner's students, Merle Curti, designed a study to test the frontier thesis, the final product of which was his 1959 book *The Making of an American Community,* an analysis of the population of Trempealeau County, Wisconsin, from 1860 to 1880. Starting in the 1960s, interest in migration moved from the frontier to eastern urban centers with studies by Stephen Thernstrom, Howard Chudacoff, Peter Knights, and others.[1]

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The importance of migration has not been lost on Vermont historians. Harold Fisher Wilson's winter thesis, which he presented in his 1936 book *The Hill Country of Northern New England,* was a "tale of woe," characterized by massive out-migration and a preponderance of deserted farms. Lewis Stilwell's study of Vermont emigrants was published a year after Wilson's book, and offered support for the winter thesis by stating that "emigration was leeching [Vermont's] best blood." Later work on Vermont migration, including that done by Holman Drew Jordan, H. Nicholas Muller III, and Hal Barron, made the winter thesis obsolete, describing the declining population as a consequence of decreased in-migration rather than a mass exodus. The result, they tell us, was an increased homogenization of the remaining population and a concurrent stabilization of the economy and society rather than a tale of woe.[2]

Previous scholarship on Vermont migration has told us a great deal, but the methods used have not been particularly sophisticated. Barron and Muller were both influenced by Thernstrom's work on the populations of Newburyport and Boston, Massachusetts, in which cross-tabulations were used to look at the differences between emigrants and persisters—those people who did not emigrate—with reference to age, occupation, wealth, and other characteristics derived from the federal census schedules, city directories, and other nominal records.[3] They used Thernstrom's methods and addressed similar questions in their work on the populations of Chelsea and Jericho, Vermont. Unfortunately, they only looked at one variable at a time, concluding that younger, poorer, and unmarried people, for example, had a higher probability of emigrating. It is likely, of course, that age, wealth, and marriage status are correlated; and it is possible that, once these correlations are accounted for, they do not all affect an individual's decision to emigrate to an important degree. More sophisticated multivariate statistical tools, which take into account the correlations between variables, were available to Barron and Muller, and many historians were calling for their use to answer the questions that were being asked about geographic mobility, but the methods were still quite difficult and expensive to use.[4] Today, these methods are much more approachable, and can be performed on a standard laptop computer. By using multivariate techniques, each variable's effect on the probability of emigrating can be disaggregated, allowing us to understand the relative importance of each variable. This essay will use a multivariate technique—logistic regression—to provide a better understanding of the determinants of emigration and persistence in Vermont between 1850 and 1860, analyzing the same variables used by Muller and Barron.

Barron and Muller

Stilwell does not address the differences between emigrants and persisters, and Wilson's work as it pertains to migration has been made obsolete by more recent work, so they are not particularly relevant to this research. Barron made Wilson's work on emigration obsolete. He and Muller are the most commonly cited authors in any discussion of migration in Vermont.[5] It is appropriate to give a brief review of their work as it relates to this essay.

Barron looked at persistence in Chelsea, Vermont, over twenty-year intervals—1860 to 1880 and 1880 to 1900. He found that age was "one of the most important factors" in determining who would emigrate, with younger people being more likely to leave town. Property ownership was a "distinguishing feature of those who remained," and controlling for age had little effect on its importance. Farmers and merchants were the most persistent occupational classes, and craftsmen and laborers were the least persistent. Professionals were much more persistent than laborers and craftsmen from 1860 to 1880, but less persistent than merchants; and their persistence declined in the 1880 to 1900 period.[6]

Barron also found that those born in Vermont were less likely to emigrate than those from outside the state, the exception being the seven Irishmen who lived in Chelsea in 1860, four of whom stayed until 1880. Heads of household, and those related to them, were more likely to persist, and heads of extended families were more likely to persist than heads of nuclear families. Having more children also increased the likelihood of persistence.[7] In generalizing his findings, Barron said that the people who left had fewer economic or social ties to the community than those who stayed.[8]

Muller traced heads of household in Jericho, Vermont, from 1870 to 1880. He found that professionals made up the most persistent occupational group in Jericho, as all four professionals present in his sample of the 1870 population were found again in 1880. Farmers also "exhibited a tendency to stay." Merchants and manufacturers made up the second least persistent group, right ahead of laborers and tradesmen. The foreign born were much less persistent than the native born, and Muller tells us that this is related to occupation, as many of the laborers and tradesmen were foreign born.[9] Unfortunately, Muller does not look at the age of his subjects, and does not include the many other variables concerning wealth and family ties that are found in Barron's work.

Clearly, based on Muller's and Barron's work, farmers were a persistent group, while laborers and craftsmen typically emigrated from both Jericho and Chelsea. What about professionals and merchants, though? Muller says professionals were the most persistent, and that merchants

were among the least persistent. In Chelsea, however, merchants were among the most persistent and professionals were among the least persistent. In their recent book *Freedom and Unity,* Sherman, Sessions, and Potash cite Muller's conclusion about professionals, which is based on four cases from a *sample* consisting of ninety-five heads of household, and apparently disregard Barron's, which is based on thirteen cases from a *population* of 316.[10] Their preference for Muller's results over Barron's is all the more perplexing when one considers the fact that Muller's sample happens to be nonrandom and too small—two problems that make inferences even about the town of Jericho, much less the rest of Vermont, impossible.[11] In other words, we do not know what the relationship is between occupation or nativity and the tendency to emigrate in Jericho.

Perhaps this inconsistency is unimportant, and the issue of Muller's sampling method is probably considered irrelevant by most historians these days, but there is clearly a need for further research in this area.

Methods and Materials

The population used for this study consists of the male heads of household in two rural Vermont towns, Albany and Peacham, as listed in the population schedule of the 1850 federal census. These towns were selected because of the availability of death records for both towns. Furthermore, Albany's population was still increasing during the 1850s, while Peacham's began to shrink before 1850, which allows for a comparison between towns experiencing net growth and net loss in population.

The residents found in each town in 1850 were linked to the 1860 census to determine if they were persisters.[12] For those individuals not found in the 1860 census, an effort was made to distinguish between those who actually emigrated and those who died by linking their names to several sources of death records, including newspaper obituaries and cemetery directories.[13] Those people with no recorded death were classified as emigrants.[14]

The female heads of household present in Albany and Peacham are not included here because they are too few to be analyzed. It is assumed that they are different from males in their behavior, so to include them without being able to control for the effects of sex would weaken the analysis.

The Variables

The variables collected directly from the population schedule include age, occupation, real estate wealth, family size, and place of birth. More variables can be derived from the population schedule, including kinship ties and marital status.

Age is recorded directly on the population schedule of the census for each person and will be used as a continuous-level variable (as opposed to reducing age to several categories as is commonly done) in the analyses below. In other studies of emigration, age has almost always been shown to be inversely related to the probability of emigrating. The explanations for this relationship have taken two forms. One group of researchers explains the youthfulness of emigrants as a life-cycle effect. In other words, it is the correlation between youth and bachelorhood, childlessness, unemployment, and lack of wealth that explains emigration rather than just age alone. Another group, informed by rational choice theory, explains the relationship as a cost-benefit analysis. Given the possibility of improving one's lot by changing location, the young have more to gain by emigrating because they will have more years to reap the rewards of the move. Furthermore, the young will have more time to rectify their situation if their move turns out to be a mistake.[15] Since life-cycle factors, including marriage status, occupation, wealth, and number of children will be controlled for in this paper, the effects of age on the probability of emigrating can be interpreted as the result of a cost-benefit analysis.

The several occupations listed in the census have been collapsed into four categories: farmers, white collar, blue collar, and those with no listed occupation. The white-collar group includes professionals and merchants, and the blue-collar group includes craftsmen and laborers. The rarity of people in some of the occupations requires this classification. For example, there are only one merchant and two laborers in Albany.

Two measures of kinship ties have been included in this analysis: the number of family members in a household (Family Size) and the size of the extended kinship network (Kinship). Family size was recorded by adding up the number of related individuals in each household. The number of children a person had may have influenced his likelihood of emigrating. More children increases the financial cost of emigrating, but the free labor provided by children may be a help in getting started once a destination is reached. Furthermore, when faced with the impending break up of his family due to the lack of available farmland for his sons, a farmer may have opted to move the whole family together to an area where his children would be able to set up homesteads near their parents.[16] The size of a person's family and the number of children he had are very highly correlated in both towns, so only family size was used in the logistic regression models below.[17]

An extensive network of kinship can act as an anchor to a town, restricting the ease of emigrating. The extended family, made up of all the people in the town who are related to one another, is a source of social

capital. It gives a person access to labor and economic assistance, and the emotional ties to family cannot be overlooked.[18] The number of family ties throughout the community may affect the perceived costs of moving away. A person with numerous family members in town may not want to forgo the benefits of those social ties by leaving his hometown, while a person with few family members would find emigration less costly. To measure this effect, each individual was given a value representing the number of people in his town with his surname.[19]

The 1850 census manuscript did not list the relationships of each person in the household to the head. A person was assumed to have been married if listed below him in the census was a woman of a reasonable age to be married to him and no other information was found, either in the census schedules or in other records, that conflicted with this assumption.[20]

The agricultural schedule of the federal census was used to classify an 1850 resident as being recorded or not recorded in its pages. Presence on the agricultural schedule has been an important variable in other research, being negatively related to emigration. It helps distinguish between propertied farmers and those people who listed their occupation as "farmer" on the population schedule, but who were not farm owners, the latter being considered tenants, typically.[21] The wealth of information recorded on the agricultural census—acreage, livestock, crop production, etc.—is not usable in this analysis because there is no analogous record for non-farmers like craftsmen and professionals. Certainly blacksmiths accumulated capital, in the form of smithing tools and a workshop, for example, so the inclusion of a farmer's capital without an equivalent record for other professions will give a false indication of the effect of capital accumulation on persistence.[22]

Length of residence has been tied to community attachment in recent sociological studies. People who have lived longer in a community tend to have greater numbers of friends, family, and acquaintances. Longer residence also increases the frequency of organizational membership. People who have more friends and family, and who participate more in local organizations, are likely to be more interested in their community and express more sorrow at the prospect of leaving their community. Furthermore, people with higher levels of attachment are less likely to leave their communities.[23] Though the relationship between length of residence and community attachment has only been measured in late-twentieth-century communities, it is quite reasonable to believe that mid-nineteenth-century communities experienced similar patterns of behavior. To measure the effect of length of residence on persistence in Albany and Peacham, the 1850 population was linked backward to the 1840 census. Since the 1840 census listed only the names of the heads of

household, every effort was made to determine if an 1850 head of household was the son of one of the heads of household listed in the 1840 census.

Previous research has found that church membership plays an important role in the decision to emigrate or persist. Membership in local churches helps build secular ties, increases dependence on local friendships, and increases one's level of attachment to the community. According to Hal Barron and fellow historians Jon Gjerde and Randolph Roth, members of churches also benefited by receiving favorable terms in economic transactions with fellow communicants.[24] These advantages can be seen as either making migration a more costly venture for church members, economically and socially, or simply as making persistence more attractive. Church membership also acted as a form of social capital, enforcing a standard of behavior that allowed fellow communicants to trust one another in economic matters since they were all accountable in the end to the church. It functioned in a way similar to kinship, but it was voluntary and required stricter observance of certain rules to retain membership than did a kinship group. To be a member of a church, one had to conform to these rules. Membership lists are available for Peacham's Congregational church and for Albany's Congregational and Baptist churches. Peacham also had a Methodist church in 1850, but its records are missing. Albany had a Methodist church and an active Catholic community, but their records are also not available. For Albany, four Methodists and one Catholic could be identified from other sources.[25]

Method of Analysis

Following previous studies, bivariate statistics will be presented and discussed to show the differences between persisters and emigrants for each variable. This will be done by estimating a univariate logistic regression model for each of the independent variables separately.[26] Next, a multivariate logistic regression model will be fitted to show the effects of each of these variables while controlling for all other variables. This will show that not all of the variables are important determinants of emigration, in spite of the fact that they seem to be based on the bivariate analyses. It will also show the relative importance of the variables in determining the decision to emigrate.[27]

Peacham and Albany will be treated separately. Barron's goal in looking at Chelsea was to understand a town that had "grown old," as characterized by population decline. Peacham is similar to Chelsea in that its population was declining by 1850 (see Table 1). Albany, however, was still growing. It was a younger town that did not reach its peak population until 1860. If there were differences between growing

TABLE 1 Population Change in Peacham and Albany, 1790–1900

	Peacham		*Albany*	
	Population	*% Change*	*Population*	*% Change*
1784	abt. 200	—	0	—
1790	365	+82.50	0	—
1800	873	+139.18	12	—
1810	1,301	+49.03	101	+741.67
1820	1,294	−0.54	253	+150.50
1830	1,351	+4.40	683	+169.96
1840	1,443	+6.81	920	+34.70
1850	1,377	−4.57	1,052	+14.35
1860	1,247	−9.44	1,224	+16.35
1870	1,141	−8.50	1,151	−5.96
1880	1,041	−8.76	1,138	−1.13
1890	892	−14.31	995	−12.57
1900	794	−10.99	1,028	+3.32

Sources: A. Boutelle, "Peacham," in *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer,* ed. Abby Maria Hemenway (Burlington, Vt.: Miss A. M. Hemenway, 1867), 28; Vermont Center for Geographic Information, and Center for Rural Studies, *Vermont Indicators Online.* November 14, 2002. Available from http://maps.vcgi.org/indicators/.

towns and those towns that had grown old, it may be evident in a comparison of Peacham and Albany.

Two models are estimated for each town using different definitions of persistence. In Model 1, the traditional definition of persistence is used: being located in the same geographic region in two successive census enumerations. The second model will expand persistence to include those people who are found in an adjacent town in the second enumeration. There are two reasons for expanding the definition of persistence in the second model. First, it is quite possible that a move into an adjacent township would be of a shorter physical distance than a move within a township, so it seems unreasonable to exclude certain people because they crossed an arbitrary line. Second, Hal Barron tells us that kinship remained important across town lines for people who moved to an adjacent township.[28] Perhaps the persistence rates through 1870 further justify the second model. Seventy percent of the men from Albany who moved to an adjacent town by 1860 remained in or around Albany through 1870. Forty-five percent of the men from Peacham remained around Peacham through 1870.[29] These rates of persistence are relatively high compared to any previous work on emigration, and suggest that, in spite of their move across the town line, these men meant to stay near home (see Tables 2 and 3 for descriptions of the population based on models one and two).

TABLE 2 Descriptive Statistics for the Population: Model 1

	Albany			*Peacham*		
	Persisters (% or mean)	*Emigrants (% or mean)*	*Total (n or mean)*	*Persisters (% or mean)*	*Emigrants (% or mean)*	*Total (n or mean)*
Total population	57.2	42.8	173	57.4	42.6	223
Age, mean (SD)	45.30 (11.79)	39.22 (11.079)	42.70 (11.85)	44.64 (12.809)	42.14 (13.674)	43.57 (13.212)
Wealth, mean (SD)[a]	$1,182.83 ($1,292.88)	$734.46 ($549.96)	$991.04 ($1,063.13)	$1,724.22 ($1,624.74)	$971.58 ($1,602.56)	$1,403.59 ($1,654.31)
Family size, mean (SD)[a]	5.18 (2.130)	4.86 (2.598)	5.05 (2.340)	5.13 (2.386)	4.33 (2.185)	4.79 (2.332)
Kinship, mean (SD)[a]	12.27 (11.393)	10.61 (11.090)	11.56 (11.262)	16.66 (12.921)	12.71 (11.434)	14.98 (12.439)
Nativity						
Vermont born	53.2	46.8	109	62.4	37.6	133
Other	64.1	35.9	64	50.0	50.0	90
Occupation						
Farmer	59.6	40.4	151	65.6	34.4	151
White collar	57.1	42.9	7	42.9	57.1	14
Professional	66.7	33.3	6	0.0	100.0	6
Merchants	0.0	100.0	1	75.0	25.0	8
Blue collar	33.3	66.7	15	42.9	57.1	49
Crafts	38.5	61.5	13	48.4	51.6	31
Laborer	0.0	100.0	2	33.3	66.7	18
No occupation	—	—	0	22.2	77.8	9
All nonfarmers	40.9	59.1	22	40.3	59.7	72
Marriage status						
Married	58.8	41.3	160	57.8	42.2	211
Not married	38.5	61.5	13	50.0	50.0	12
Agricultural census						
Listed	64.1	35.9	131	68.2	31.8	151
Not listed	35.7	64.3	42	34.7	65.3	72
Church member						
Member	60.0	40.0	30	72.9	27.1	59
Congregational	41.7	58.3	12	72.9	27.1	59
Baptist	61.5	38.5	13	—	—	—
Methodist	100.0	0.0	4	—	—	—
Catholic	100.0	0.0	1	—	—	—
Nonmember	56.6	43.4	143	51.8	48.2	164
1840 census						
Listed	73.0	27.0	74	65.7	34.3	105
Not listed	45.5	54.5	99	50.0	50.0	118

Note: SD, standard deviation.

[a] The data used in the regression analyses is the natural log of the value. The means and standard deviations of the log values are different from those of the values.

TABLE 3 Descriptive Statistics for the Population: Model 2

	Albany			*Peacham*		
	Persisters (% or mean)	*Emigrants (% or mean)*	*Total (n or mean)*	*Persisters (% or mean)*	*Emigrants (% or mean)*	*Total (n or mean)*
Total population	70.5	29.5	173	62.8	37.2	223
Age, mean (SD)	44.59 (11.604)	38.18 (11.29)	42.70 (11.85)	44.63 (12.842)	41.80 (13.709	43.57 (13.212)
Wealth, mean (SD)[a]	$1,104.10 ($1,194.97)	$720.59 ($571.51)	$991.04 ($1,063.13)	$1,628.21 ($1,596.38)	$1,024.70 ($1,690.52)	$1,403.59 ($1,654.31)
Family size, mean (SD)[a]	5.25 (2.280)	4.55 (2.427)	5.05 (2.340)	5.09 (2.379)	4.29 (2.173)	4.79 (2.332)
Kinship, mean (SD)[a]	12.27 (11.544)	9.86 (10.47)	11.56 (11.262)	16.59 (13.001)	12.25 (10.973)	14.98 (12.439)
Nativity						
Vermont born	67.9	32.1	109	67.7	32.3	133
Other	75.0	25.0	64	55.6	44.4	90
Occupation						
Farmer	72.2	27.8	151	69.5	30.5	151
White collar	71.4	28.6	7	50.0	50.0	14
Professional	83.3	16.7	6	16.7	83.3	6
Merchants	0.0	100.0	1	75.0	25.0	8
Blue collar	53.3	46.7	15	53.1	46.9	49
Crafts	61.5	38.5	13	61.3	38.7	31
Laborer	0.0	100.0	2	38.9	61.1	18
No occupation	—	—	0	22.2	77.8	9
All nonfarmers	59.1	40.9	22	48.6	51.4	72
Marriage status						
Married	72.5	27.5	160	63.5	36.5	211
Not married	46.2	53.8	13	50.0	50.0	12
Agricultural census						
Listed	76.3	23.7	131	72.8	27.2	151
Not listed	52.4	47.6	42	41.7	58.3	72
Church member						
Member	80.0	20.0	30	78.0	22.0	59
Congregational	66.7	33.3	12	78.0	22.0	59
Baptist	84.6	15.4	13	—	—	—
Methodist	100.0	0.0	4	—	—	—
Catholic	100.0	0.0	1	—	—	—
Nonmember	68.5	31.5	143	57.3	42.7	164
1840 census						
Listed	81.1	18.9	74	69.5	30.5	105
Not listed	62.6	37.4	99	56.8	43.2	118

Note: SD, standard deviation

[a] The data used in the regression analyses is the natural log of the value. The means and standard deviations of the log values are different from those of the values.

Analysis—Model 1

First we will look at Model 1, which defines persistence as remaining in the same town from 1850 to 1860. The first step in the analysis is to estimate the relationship between each independent variable and the probability of persistence without controlling for other independent variables. The univariate odds ratios in the tables below accomplish this. The multivariate odds ratios will then be used to show the relationships between each independent variable and the probability of persistence while simultaneously controlling for the effects of all other independent variables. The standardized odds ratios shown in the tables are equal to the multivariate odds ratios, but are based on the standardized values of the independent variables, allowing us to judge the relative importance of each independent variable for predicting the probability of persistence.[30] An odds ratio above 1.0 indicates an increase in the probability of persistence, while an odds ratio below 1.0 indicates a decrease in the probability of persistence. An odds ratio of 1.0 indicates that there is no relationship between the independent variable and the probability of persistence.[31]

In Peacham, according to the univariate odds ratios, being older, a church member, and married; having a larger family, a larger kinship group, higher real estate wealth, and longer length of residence; being present on the agricultural census, and born in Vermont all increased the odds of persistence (see Table 4). Also, farmers were more likely to persist than those who were blue-collar or white-collar workers, or who were without employment. Blue-collar and white-collar workers were equally likely to persist, while those with no occupation were the least likely to persist. Albany is about the same, the exception being that the Vermont-born there were less likely to persist than the non-Vermonters.

The bulk of this analysis will be spent dealing with the multivariate models, but a brief description of what the univariate models tell us will help the reader understand Table 4. The univariate odds ratio of 2.498 for church membership in Peacham tells us that the odds of persistence were nearly 2.5 times as large for church members as they were for non-members. This is the same as saying that the odds of persistence were increased by about 150 percent by being a member of a church. (The percent change in the odds can be calculated by subtracting 1.0 from the odds ratio and multiplying by 100—in this example, $[2.498 - 1.0] \times 100 = 149.8\%$.) In Albany, church membership increased the odds of persistence by 14.8 percent. Both blue-collar and white-collar workers in Peacham have an odds ratio of 0.394, indicating that their odds of persistence were only about 40 percent of what they were for

TABLE 4 Logistic Regression Predicting Persistence: Model 1

	Odds Ratios for Peacham (n = 223)			*Odds Ratios for Albany (n = 173)*		
Variable	*Univariate*	*Standardized*	*Multivariate*	*Univariate*	*Standardized*	*Multivariate*
Age	1.015	1.153	1.011	1.047*	1.483	1.034*
Real estate wealth	1.285*	1.672	1.223*	1.318*	1.291	1.194†
Present in agriculture census	4.034*	1.231	1.558	3.217*	1.438	2.326*
Kinship	1.683*	1.210	1.280	1.379	1.412	1.610*
Family size	2.721*	1.245	1.736	1.887	0.982	0.954
Length of residence	1.917*	0.870	0.757	3.240*	1.396	1.958*
Church member	2.498*	1.379	5.286*	1.148	0.878	0.710
Marriage status	1.371	1.001	1.002	2.279	1.194	1.953
Vermont born	1.660*	1.231	1.527	0.638	0.793	0.619
White collar	0.394*	0.841	0.489	0.904	1.037	1.200
Blue collar	0.394*	0.978	0.948	0.339*	0.838	0.534
No occupation	0.150*	0.748	0.229†	—	—	—
Wealth × Church Member	—	0.766	0.835	—	—	—
Constant	—	1.463	0.042*	—	1.400	0.013*
−2 log likelihood		253.515			202.489	
Nagelkerke R^2		0.273			0.238	
		$\chi^2(13) = 50.727$ $p < 0.001$			$\chi^2(11) = 33.715$ $p < 0.001$	

Notes. Dependent variable coded "1" if person persisted, "0" otherwise. Real estate wealth, kinship, and family size use the natural log of the actual value plus one to normalize the distributions. Present in agriculture census coded "1" if present, "0" otherwise; length of residence coded as "1" if listed in 1840 census, "0" otherwise; church member coded "1" if member, "0" otherwise; Vermont born coded "1" if Vermonter, "0" otherwise; marriage status coded "1" if married, "0" otherwise. Occupation category is dummy coded, with "farmer" omitted. This means that the odds of persistence for each occupation class in the table are being compared to the odds of persistence for farmers. For example, the odds ratio for the white collar-class is the odds of white-collar workers persisting divided by the odds of farmers persisting. This is equivalent to the odds ratio for farmers being set to 1.0.

The constant in the multivariate models has no real interpretation here. It is shown because it is necessary for anyone who wishes to calculate the probabilities of persistence.

The −2 log likelihood and χ^2 together indicate how well the model fits the data. When the p-value for χ^2 is ≤ 0.05, it tells us that the estimated regression model does a statistically significantly better job of predicting persistence than chance alone would do. The Nagelkerke R^2 indicates how much of the variance in the dependent variable is explained by the estimated regression model. The R^2 value multiplied by 100 gives the percentage of the variance explained. These statistics apply only to the multivariate models.

$^*p \leq 0.10$, $^\dagger p \leq 0.15$. The significance scores for the standardized odds ratios are virtually identical to those for the odds ratios.

farmers; and the odds of persistence for household heads in Peacham with no occupation were only about 15 percent of what they were for farmers. In Albany, white-collar workers' odds of persistence were only about 9.6 percent less than they were for farmers, but blue-collar workers' odds were over 65 percent less than were farmers'.

The effect of wealth is a bit more complicated to describe because the odds ratio is based on the natural logarithm of the variable.[32] The result is that the effect of a change of one dollar decreases as the value increases. So in Peacham, a $1,000 increase in wealth from $1,000 to $2,000 increased the odds of persistence by about 19 percent, but the same increase from $2,000 to $3,000 increased the odds by only about 10.7 percent. In Albany, the $1,000 increase to $2,000 increased the odds of persistence by about 21.5 percent, and an increase from $2,000 to $3,000 increased the odds by 12 percent.

The relationships just discussed should be no surprise to anyone, excepting the lower persistence rate of native Vermonters in Albany. Farmers, the wealthy, the married, those with larger families, those listed in the agricultural census, etc., *should* be more persistent. This much we have been told by Barron, Muller, and Jordan. We can see that some of the variables are of questionable practical significance in predicting persistence, as is the case with the white-collar occupational class and church membership in Albany, but the directions of the relationships match up with our expectations.

The primary goal of this paper is to see if these relationships remain important when they are statistically adjusted to account for the correlations between independent variables. The next step in this analysis will accomplish this objective by estimating a multivariate model. The multivariate odds ratios in Table 4 represent this model.

In Peacham, when we control for the effects of other variables, we find that length of residence is actually negatively related to the odds of persistence. Marriage status in the multivariate model has no effect on the odds of persistence. The effects of most of the other variables become considerably less important in the multivariate model. For example, in the univariate model, presence on the agricultural census increased the odds of persistence by just over 300 percent, but once we control for the effects of other variables, the increase is only 55.8 percent.

After controlling for other variables, the only variables that remain particularly important in Peacham are occupation, wealth, and church membership. For occupation, blue-collar workers and farmers were about equally persistent. The odds of persistence for a person with no job were about 77 percent less than the odds for a farmer, and the odds for a white-collar worker were about 50 percent less than a farmer's.

Wealth and church membership have a complex relationship with the odds of persistence because of an interaction effect (indicated by the wealth × church member term in Table 4). An interaction is when the effect of one variable on the dependent variable differs depending on the value of a third variable. In Peacham, the effect of real estate on the odds of persistence is much different for church members than for non-church members. For the unchurched, the odds ratio of 1.223 for wealth is only slightly smaller than in the univariate model—a $1,000 increase in wealth from $2,000 to $3,000 increased the odds of persistence by 8.5 percent instead of 10.7 percent. For church members, however, the odds ratio for wealth is only 1.021, and an increase in wealth from $2,000 to $3,000 only increased the odds of persistence by a mere 0.85 percent. The odds ratio for church membership is 5.286. This is actually an increase in the effect size as compared to the univariate model. What is occurring in this interaction is quite clear when graphed. As Figure 1 shows, church members generally had a higher probability of persistence than the unchurched, but as the wealth of the unchurched increased, the difference between churchgoers and non-churchgoers became progressively smaller. Wealth was very important in determining whether one would persist or emigrate, but church members were immune to the effects of a lack of wealth.

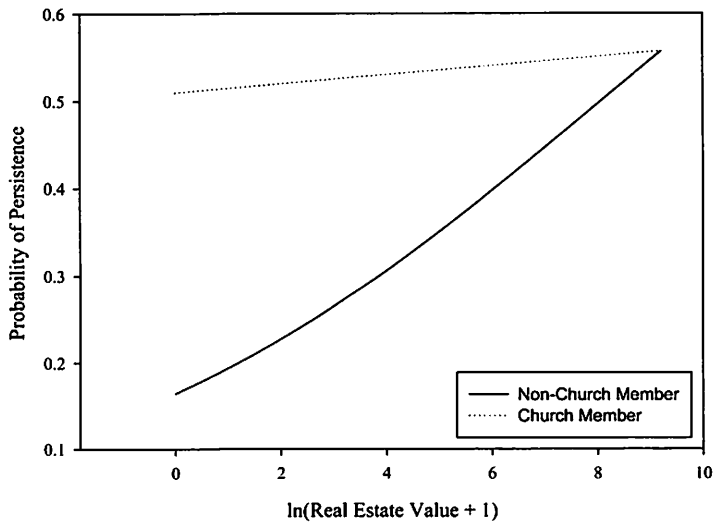

Figure 1 Interaction between wealth and church.

The reason for the decreased importance of most of the variables can be shown by using presence on the agricultural census as an illustration. People on the agricultural census generally had more wealth than their fellow Peachamites. When we look only at those Peachamites with no wealth, the odds ratio for presence on the agricultural census is just 1.670 (see Table 5). Among those who had any wealth, the odds ratio is 1.811. These odds ratios are much smaller than the overall odds ratio for presence on the agricultural census of 4.034. Wealth, on the other hand, continues to be a powerful predictor of persistence regardless of whether one is on the agricultural census or not. This shows that most of the effect of presence on the agricultural census in the univariate model can be accounted for by differences in wealth, but wealth's effect cannot be accounted for by presence on the agricultural census. The same explanation applies for the other variables as well.

TABLE 5 Effect of Presence on Agricultural Census and Wealth on Persistence

The Effect of Presence on the Agriculture Census, Controlling for Wealth

Level of Wealth	*Presence on Agriculture Census*	*Persisted to 1860?*		*Odds Ratio*
		No (%)	*Yes (%)*	
Wealth = $0	Absent	74.5	25.5	1.670
	Present	63.6	36.4	
	Total	72.6	27.4	
Wealth > $0	Absent	42.9	57.1	1.811
	Present	29.3	70.7	
	Total	31.1	68.9	

The Effect of Wealth, Controlling for Presence on the Agriculture Census

Presence on Agriculture Census	*Level of Wealth*	*Persisted to 1860?*		*Odds Ratio*
		No (%)	*Yes (%)*	
Absent	Wealth = $0	74.5	25.5	3.897
	Wealth > $0	42.9	57.1	
	Total	65.3	34.7	
Present	Wealth = $0	63.6	36.4	4.226
	Wealth > $0	29.3	70.7	
	Total	31.8	68.2	

Notes. The overall odds ratio for presence on the agricultural census is 4.034. The overall odds ratio for wealth is 5.876. This odds ratio for wealth does not match the odds ratio in Table 4 because wealth has been dichotomized here.

In Albany, age, length of residence, presence in the agricultural census, kinship, and wealth were all relatively important predictors of persistence. The odds of a forty year old persisting were about 40 percent higher than the odds for a thirty year old, and the odds for a fifty year old were about 95 percent higher than for a thirty year old. Presence in the 1840 census increased the odds of persistence by about 96 percent, and presence on the agricultural census increased the odds by about 133 percent. The odds of persistence for a head of household with twelve people in his kinship network were about 58 percent higher than a person's with only four people. The odds increased by about 26 percent for a person with twenty kin as compared with a person with only twelve. And a $1,000 increase in wealth to $2,000 increased the odds of persistence by about 13 percent.

The other variables were not particularly important in predicting persistence in Albany, but it is interesting to note that the odds of persistence for white-collar workers, once other variables are controlled, were actually higher than for farmers. This is because white-collar workers who were not listed on the agricultural census were more likely to persist than farmers who were not on the agricultural census, while farmers and white-collar workers who were listed on the agricultural census were about equally likely to persist. This is a rather tenuous relationship, though, because there were only seven white-collar workers in Albany in 1850. Had just one of them behaved differently, it could radically change the odds ratio for that occupational group.

Discussion—Model 1

The most important variables explaining emigration and persistence in Peacham are wealth, church membership, and, to a lesser extent, occupation. For Albany, the most important variables are age, length of residence, presence in the agricultural census, and kinship. This tells us a lot about each of these communities, and perhaps suggests some of the effects on a town of growing old.

Emigration from Albany was determined most by age. Younger people were more likely to leave town during the 1850s. Having controlled for all of the other variables, we know that this was not simply because they were less wealthy, nor because they were unmarried. Merely being younger increased the probability of emigration. Migration is a safer investment for younger people. All things being equal, a thirty year old would have ten more years to benefit from a move to, say, Illinois, than would a forty year old. He would have longer to assimilate to a new community, longer to build wealth after emigration, and longer to return home or move on in case of failure in building a new home. It is

reasonable for younger people to be more mobile because they had the most to gain from the move. All communities experience emigration, and youthfulness among emigrants, rather than being a "leeching of the best blood" of the community, is a healthy pattern.

Presence on the agricultural census was the second most important determinant of emigration. Being listed on the agricultural census indicates an economic investment in the community, including the ownership of improved land and stock. Because of this investment, these people had much to give up if they moved, which made them less likely to leave Albany.

The number of kin a person had was the third most important indicator of emigration. People with fewer kin were more likely to emigrate. They had fewer family connections, which are both emotional and economic in nature. People with larger numbers of kin had more access to economic assistance and would have been more attached to their community because of the emotional ties to family members.

Length of residence was also an important determinant of emigration from Albany. Those residents who were not listed in the 1840 census were more likely to emigrate than those people who were listed. The shorter-term residents, generally speaking, would have had fewer social connections, including fewer acquaintances and fewer friends. Their families would not have had time to intermarry with other families, and they would have been less likely to have joined social organizations. In short, they would not have been as deeply integrated into the community. The result is that they would have a lower level of attachment to their community, economically and socially. Residents who were listed in the 1840 census would be giving up many economic and social ties by leaving Albany, and it would have been difficult emotionally to leave a community to which they had developed many attachments.

Of the variables that had any substantial effect on the probability of persistence in Albany, real estate wealth was the least important. The reasons wealth would be important are obvious. A person who owned land would have potential for economic success if he remained in town, and this potential increased his likelihood of remaining. But this analysis indicates that wealth was not very important in Albany.

Family size neither increased nor decreased the probability of emigration, and although church membership made people more likely to emigrate, its effect was fairly small. The large importance of length of residence and kinship indicate that people who had high levels of attachment to the community were likely to stay in Albany. In other words, the people who most wanted to stay did stay. The emigration of more youthful people could only be considered detrimental to the community

if all of the younger people left, and they did not. What we see in Albany is a natural and healthy population dynamic.

Peacham is a somewhat different situation, though. Those most able to successfully emigrate—the young—were not much more likely than the old to leave town. This means that many of the emigrants from Peacham were leaving despite the fact that emigration was a riskier investment due to their age. If we take into account the small number of Peacham's household heads who were white-collar workers or without employment, then the only truly important variables in explaining migration in Peacham are church membership and wealth. Even when these two variables are dropped from the model, kinship and length of residence—both strong predictors of community attachment—remain relatively weak predictors of persistence. Though church membership does suggest higher levels of community attachment, it functions differently from kinship and length of residence. The importance of church membership suggests a need for conformity if one wished to remain in Peacham. Failing to conform, a person was not unlikely to emigrate despite high levels of attachment to the community.

Based on Model 1, there is a definite difference between these two towns. In Albany, a person who wanted to remain in town, or who was too old to risk emigration, was able to remain in town. Those Peachamites who preferred to stay in Peacham because of their emotional attachment to the community found that they needed wealth *or* the social and economic connections found through church membership if they wanted to stay. Attachment to the community did not go as far in Peacham toward securing a home as it did in Albany, and many longtime residents found they had little choice but to move away from friends and family.

Analysis—Model 2

This story turns out to be a bit more complicated, however. We will now turn to Model 2 to see if the situation in Peacham appears so bleak when we consider those people who moved only as far as an adjacent town as persisters.

The univariate odds ratios in Model 2 do not differ in direction from any of the univariate odds ratios in Model 1 (see Table 6). The strength of some of these relationships has changed, sometimes drastically, but as with Model 1, the only surprise is again the fact that native Vermonters are less likely to persist than non-Vermonters in Albany.

Looking at the multivariate odds ratios in Model 2 reveals some important changes, however. In Peacham, though wealth and church membership are still the most important predictors of persistence, the

TABLE 6 Logistic Regression Predicting Persistence: Model 2

	Odds Ratio for Peacham (n = 223)			*Odds Ratio for Albany (n = 173)*		
Variable	*Univariate*	*Standardized*	*Multivariate*	*Univariate*	*Standardized*	*Multivariate*
Age	1.247	1.335	1.022	1.051*	1.636	1.042*
Real estate wealth	2.116*	1.656	1.163*	1.238*	1.214	1.144
Present in agriculture census	1.859*	1.248	1.605	2.933*	1.464	2.426*
Kinship	1.540*	1.337	1.456*	1.535*	1.439	1.651*
Family size	1.491*	1.150	1.421	2.872*	1.160	1.476
Length of residence	1.318*	0.791	0.626	2.558*	1.073	1.152
Church member	1.535*	1.359	2.002†	1.837	1.182	1.555
Marriage status	1.133	1.054	1.262	3.076*	1.324	2.893†
Vermont born	1.288*	1.233	1.532	0.705	0.890	0.787
White collar	0.818	0.876	0.579	0.963	1.022	1.116
Blue collar	0.747*	1.087	1.223	0.440	0.921	0.746
No occupation	0.664*	0.671	0.132*	—	—	—
Constant	—	1.834	0.036*	—	2.812	0.007*
−2 log likelihood		247.202			180.191	
Nagelkerke R^2		0.260			0.224	
		$\chi^2(12) = 47.209$ $p < 0.001$			$\chi^2(11) = 29.621$ $p = 0.002$	

Notes. See Table 4.

*$p \leq 0.10$, †$p \leq 0.15$. The significance scores for the standardized odds ratios are virtually identical to those for the odds ratios.

effect of kinship becomes more substantial.[33] An increase in the number of kin from four to twenty increases the odds of persistence by about 43 percent in Model 1, but by 71 percent in Model 2. Apparently, even though people with larger kinship networks were moving out of Peacham, they often moved no further than the next town, where they could continue to benefit from family ties.

Length of residence is still negatively related to persistence in Peacham in Model 2, and the relationship becomes even stronger, though it remains relatively weak. Long-term residents were not less likely to leave Peacham and move beyond the adjacent townships than residents who had moved into town after 1840. Age also becomes stronger but remains weak. In Model 2, older Peachamites are still not much more likely to persist than their younger neighbors.

In Albany, age, presence on the agricultural census, and kinship remain the most important determinants of persistence in Model 2, but

three important differences show up. First, though it remains relatively unimportant, church membership has a positive effect on persistence. Second, length of residence is no longer important in predicting persistence. Unlike the situation in Peacham, long-term residents were more likely to persist, but they were only slightly more likely than shorter-term residents to remain in the area. Third, married heads of household are more likely to persist than the unmarried. It may seem that the new importance of marriage would suggest young couples setting up house on the nearest available farm, but this was not the case. The ages of the men from Albany who moved to an adjacent town varied greatly, and many of them had large families, so these were not generally young couples. All but one of these twenty-three men was married, though, which suggests that it was simply being married that anchored people to Albany. This may have had to do with their wives' ties to the local area.

Discussion

It appears in Model 1 that a person's emotional and social attachments to the community, which is inferred from the size of his kinship network and how long he had lived in the community, were of little consequence in Peacham, while in Albany they were of the utmost importance. Model 2 gives the impression that the two towns were not quite so different. In Peacham, church membership remained a strong predictor of persistence and kinship became important. In Albany, kinship remained a very strong predictor of persistence, but length of residence became unimportant. Community attachment was important in both towns.

Still, there was a difference in how attachment to the community worked in each town, and this is clear in both Model 1 and Model 2. Church membership gave people access to like-minded friends and broadened one's network of social and economic support beyond the family. Membership could be used to one's advantage in gaining better rates on loans, and the trust that was available between church members allowed for easier business partnerships, but this type of institutionalized social capital could also have a dark side.

As sociologists Alejandro Portes and Patricia Landolt write, the same social capital that helps members of a group can also be used to exclude outsiders. Church members, to enjoy the benefits of membership, had to conform to the rules of the church. People who did not join the church and who did not conform to its rules would be prone to a great deal of chastisement in their town if the church had a great deal of power, as the Congregational church did in Peacham. Given the weakness of age as a predictor of persistence in Peacham—which tells us that many of the people who left Peacham were not as likely to ben-

efit from emigration—and the large importance of wealth in Model 2, it seems that those people who could not succeed financially without the support of the community, and who were not members of the church, were still much more likely to emigrate.[34] Compared to Albany, kinship ties still did relatively little to hold a person in Peacham, and long-term residents were actually slightly more likely than short-term residents to emigrate. People who would have had high levels of attachment to the community were emigrating just as often as anyone else, which supports the hypothesis that the non-church members were squeezed out of town because of their dissent.

In Albany, on the other hand, even though length of residence was not as important in Model 2, it was still positively related to persistence. The fact that length of residence was so important in Model 1 and not in Model 2 shows that having been a long-term resident made one very likely to stay in Albany and not even venture as far as an adjacent town. Between the strength of kinship ties and length of residence, and considering the fact that older people were much less likely to emigrate, it still appears that the people who wanted to stay in Albany did so.

Conclusion

Drawing generalizations from case studies is always risky, but a shortcoming of the data used in this paper makes it even more troublesome. Given the importance of church membership in this analysis, the fact that three sets of church records are missing is very detrimental to any attempt to interpret the data. Nonetheless, we do know a little about the churches.

Peacham's Congregational church was organized in 1794, and was a dominant force in the lives of the people from that time. The Peacham Congregational Church had a net loss of only two members from 1850 to 1860, dropping to no lower than 243 members, and growing no higher than 260 in that decade. This is impressive when one considers the fact that the town's population declined by 9.4 percent over the decade. Not until 1831, during a religious revival, was Peacham's Methodist church organized. After several years of ups and downs, the Methodist church in 1850 had 113 members. By 1856, that number had declined to seventy-seven, and continued to decline until 1860 when forty new members were baptized, bringing the number of members to seventy-one. The Methodist Sunday School was started in 1840 with fifty students, grew to 190 students by 1843, and then declined to 128 by 1850. The number of students at the school dropped to as low as sixty during the 1850s, but the growth in the Methodist congregation in 1860 was paralleled by growth in the Sunday school, which increased to 140

students.[35] During the period covered in this essay, it is apparent from church membership numbers and student enrollment that the Methodist church was losing people, the exception being in 1860, when many new members joined. It is also apparent that the Congregational church was much more stable, which is a result of the low emigration rates of the members of that church. Whether the 1850 Methodists were switching over to the Congregational church or were leaving town, the decline in their numbers supports the interpretation that membership in the Congregational church was very important to anyone wanting to stay in Peacham.

The Congregational church in Albany was not particularly healthy. Through the 1850s, its minister was supported by the Vermont Domestic Missionary Society, as the congregation apparently could not afford one. In 1861, because Albany proved to be "one of the less promising fields," the missionary society voted to no longer support the minister there. The Congregational church's membership declined from about sixty in 1850 to thirty-eight in 1860.[36] Albany's Baptist church had forty-eight members in 1850, but only thirty-eight in 1851. By 1860, the number had increased to sixty-nine, which is partly explained by the seventeen new members baptized in 1859. Albany's Methodist church had 113 members in 1850, declined to eighty-five by 1855, and in 1860 had ninety-five.[37]

We know from the extant records that the 1850 Baptists were quite persistent, and that the Congregationalists were less persistent than the rest of the population in Albany (see Tables 2 and 3). The Methodist church lost a quarter of its members in the first half of the decade and did not recover by 1860, which suggests that the church was not appealing to the many new residents who were flowing into the town during the 1850s. Part of the reason for this decline may be that two new churches had taken root in Albany during the 1850s—the Freewill Baptists and the Wesleyan Methodists, who split with the original Episcopal Methodist church.[38] The losses in the Methodist church may be due to members switching denominations rather than to emigration.

According to Norris Darling, a resident of Albany in 1850 and again in 1870, there was in Albany a group of Catholics, "so peculiar in their habits, [who] have a stronghold upon some of the best farms in the eastern and central parts of town." Darling described them as a "thrifty and industrious class of people." The Catholics of Albany apparently had access to good land that they managed well, and this would encourage their persistence even had they not been church members.[39]

The fact that the number of members of the Methodist church in Peacham was declining during the 1850s while the Congregational

church remained healthy makes it reasonable to believe that the description of Peacham is accurate. Membership in the Congregational church in Peacham was probably very helpful for anyone who wished to remain in town. In Albany, even though five members of the churches with the missing data were identified, the lack of data on the Methodist and Catholic churches poses a problem. It is possible that had all the church data been available for Albany, church membership would have been very important in determining who persisted in that town. Comments on the persistence of the Catholics in Albany by a contemporary resident suggest this interpretation. However, the presence of four churches in Albany may have prevented any one of them from wielding much power over the unchurched. The small proportion of Albany heads of household who were members of either the Baptist (7.5 percent) or the Congregationalist (6.9 percent) church relative to membership rates in Peacham (26.5 percent) also suggests that the Congregational church was much more important and powerful in Peacham than were the churches in Albany. The addition of two more congregations during the 1850s, and the constant influx of residents to Albany through 1860, would further dilute the power of any of the churches over the residents.

With the problem of the missing church data understood, there are two ways to interpret the differences between these two towns. If the missing data does affect the outcome of the analysis, it may be that church membership is equally important in both towns. If this is the case, then Peacham and Albany would have very limited differences, and it would seem clear, in comparing a young town and a declining town, that there were no detrimental social effects on a town of growing old.

Assuming the missing data does not affect the outcome of the models above, it appears there is a definite difference between the towns, which could be the result of a town growing old. Barron tells us that the only difference between growing and declining towns is the proportion of the people who are persisting rather than the determinants of that persistence.[40] The results here suggest otherwise. Peacham appears to be a more exclusive town than Albany. People who would have wanted to stay in Peacham because of their attachments to the community and because of the risks of emigrating found themselves pushed away from their homes if they did not join the Congregational church. Residents of Albany who were very attached to their town were quite able to stay, even if they were neither rich nor church members. The community in Peacham was growing more homogeneous and stable, but only by the exclusion of a large segment of the townspeople who had just as much claim on the community and just as much desire to remain in the town.

Perhaps this difference derives from the dominance of the Congrega-

tional church in Peacham. The difference between Albany and Peacham may have nothing to do with the ages of the towns, but instead with religious life. Peacham, along with her neighbors Barnet and Ryegate, was long dominated by a conservative church. Unlike Albany, which was founded late enough in the nineteenth century to allow for more equal religious competition, the more populist denominations were not able to get a foothold in Peacham. The people of Peacham who preferred to be free of the influence of the Congregational church had no choice but to leave, even when the costs included the loosening of family ties and the loss of a community that was a very deep part of who they were. In Albany, there was no such pressure, and religion was not a deciding factor in the decision to emigrate.

Hal Barron and H. Nicholas Muller are well-respected historians who have provided a great deal of enlightenment to those interested in the history of Vermont. Their works criticized here have much to offer besides what they say about migration, so there is certainly no intention of denigrating their research. The topic of this essay is migration, though, and more particularly the quantitative analysis of migration, and a review of the literature on Vermont shows it is sorely lacking in this area. Hopefully, this essay has helped shed some light on the topic. By using quantitative tools beyond simple cross-tabulations, a more complex picture has developed. Not every variable was important in determining who would emigrate and who would stay behind in nineteenth-century Vermont. Furthermore, it was not simply those "with the greatest stake in the town in terms of property and position" who remained, nor was it only those who had fewer economic or social ties to the community who emigrated.[41] In some towns, people with deep social ties to their communities did leave, even though they probably wished to remain, while in other towns, the lack of property and position were of little importance when one desired to stay.

Notes

[1] Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* (1893); James C. Malin, "The Turnover of Farm Population in Kansas," *Kansas Historical Quarterly* 4 (1935); Frank L. Owsley, "The Pattern of Migration and Settlement on the Southern Frontier," *Journal of Southern History* 11 (1945); Merle Eugene Curti et al., *The Making of an American Community: A Case Study of Democracy in a Frontier County* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959; reprint, 1969); Stephen Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880–1970* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973); Stephen Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1964); Howard P. Chudacoff, *Mobile Americans: Residential and Social Mobility in Omaha, 1880–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); Peter R. Knights, *The Plain People of Boston, 1830–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

[2] Harold Fisher Wilson, *The Hill Country of Northern New England: Its Social and Economic History in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936; reprint, Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1947); Lewis D. Stilwell, *Migration from Vermont* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society; Rutland, Vt.: Academy Books, 1948), quote from page 217; Holman Drew Jordan, Jr., "Ten Vermont Towns: Social and Economic Characteristics, 1850–1870" (Ph.D. Diss., University of Alabama, 1966); Hal S. Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century New England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984); H. Nicholas Muller III, *From Ferment to Fatigue? 1870–1900: A New Look at the Neglected Winter of Vermont* (Burlington: Center for Research on Vermont, 1984), Occasional Paper, 7. "Tale of woe" is the description of the winter thesis given by Hal Barron, "Staying Down on the Farm," in *The Countryside in the Age of Capitalist Transformation: Essays in the Social History of Rural America,* ed. Steven Hahn and Jonathan Prude (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 329.

[3] Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress;* Thernstrom, *The Other Bostonians;* Stephen Thernstrom and Peter R. Knights, "Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations About Urban Population Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 1 (1970). Jordan's work was influenced by Frank Owsley's, and uses somewhat different methods to distinguish between emigrants and persisters. Since most citations of work on Vermont migration include only Barron and Muller, this paper will concentrate on their work.

[4] In a 1974 article in *Reviews in American History,* Howard Chudacoff discussed the necessity of the use of multivariate statistics in studies of geographic and social mobility. In 1975, Stanley Engerman called for something beyond descriptive statistics and cross-tabulations. In 1982, Chudacoff again called for more sophisticated quantitative techniques. Another 1982 article in *Historical Methods* went so far as to show how the use of log-linear analysis would decrease the amount of space dedicated to tables in Thernstrom's *Other Bostonians* while at the same time explaining more about the relationships between the variables being analyzed, showing that they are not all important predictors of mobility. Howard P. Chudacoff, "Mobility Studies at a Crossroads," *Reviews in American History* 2 (1974): 183; Howard P. Chudacoff, "Success and Security: The Meaning of Social Mobility in America," *Reviews in American History* 10 (1982): 108–109; Stanley L. Engerman, "Up or Out: Social and Geographic Mobility in the United States," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 5 (1975); J. Morgan Kousser, Gary W. Cox, and David W. Galenson, "Log-Linear Analysis of Contingency Tables: An Introduction for Historians with an Application to Thernstrom on the 'Floating Proletariat'," *Historical Methods* 15 (1982). There are several other examples of historians calling for the use of more advanced statistics in the professional journals during the 1970s and 1980s.

[5] For examples of citations of Muller and Barron, see Michael Sherman, Gene Sessions, and P. Jeffrey Potash, *Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont* (Barre: Vermont Historical Society, 2004), 311–312; William J. Gilmore-Lehne, "Reflections on Three Classics of Vermont History," *Vermont History* 59 (1991): 239; Michael Sherman, "Brickyards and Frameworks: A Retrospectus and Prospectus on Vermont History Writing," *Vermont History* 71 (2003): 20; Paul Michael Searls, "Yankee's Kingdom: The Imagined Community of Vermonters and the American Struggle with Modernity, 1865–1915" (Ph.D. Diss., New York University, 2002), 149–150, 191 n33; and Paul M. Searls, *Two Vermonts: Geography and Identity, 1865–1910* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2006) 24.

[6] Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind,* 81.

[7] Ibid., 87.

[8] Barron, "Staying Down on the Farm," 333–334.

[9] Muller, *From Ferment to Fatigue,* 4.

[10] Sherman, Sessions, and Potash, *Freedom and Unity,* 311–312. Searls, also, chose Muller's conclusions about professionals and merchants over Barron's in *Two Vermonts* (24).

[11] Muller uses a systematic "sample of every fourth household in the manuscript of the census" and ends up with ninety-five cases. This suggests a population of about 380 heads of household. His sample would need to be about twice as large to make inferences about the whole town with any acceptable level of confidence. With a population of this size, particularly when dealing with subpopulations as small as that of the "professionals" in Jericho (who made up 4 percent of the sample), one should not sample, but should include the entire population. If one samples, though, he should at least draw a random sample. Since the census does not randomly list households, one must randomly, rather than systematically, select them when drawing a sample. Because of these problems, there is no reason to be confident that Muller's sample represents the entire population of Jericho. Muller seems to be aware of the weakness of his sampling procedure, given statements such as "*If* the sample . . . accurately reflects the entire population," and "The study of Jericho is not conclusive" (italics added). Unfortunately, those who cite Muller's work never seem to consider the fact that, as Muller said, the study of Jericho "does not permit generalizations for all Vermont towns." Muller, *From Ferment to Fatigue,* 2–5. Concerning procedures for drawing samples from the census manuscripts, see R. Christian Johnson, "A Procedure for Sampling the Manuscript Census Schedules," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 8 (1978).

Albany and Peacham shed no light on the question of whether professionals were more or less persistent. In Peacham, all six of the professionals emigrated, while in Albany, only two of the six emigrated (see Table 2). These differences are neither statistically nor substantially significant because of the extremely small number of professionals in each town. The same can be said of both Barron's and Muller's data. With so few cases to work with, it is impossible to address the question of how stable professionals or merchants were. To answer this question, one would have to take a statewide sample of several hundred professionals and merchants. Because of the low numbers of all occupations other than farmers in Peacham and Albany, they have been collapsed into white-collar and blue-collar groups for this study.

[12] The population schedule of the census was accessed through Ancestry.com, which provides indices and scanned images of the manuscript. It is a much faster and easier way to work with the manuscript census as compared to microfilm. The agricultural schedule was also used, and for this, the microfilm copies were consulted.

[13] James K. Oliver, *Albany, Vermont Cemeteries: Directory of Burials* (Albany, Vt.: Albany Historical Society, 2001); Janice Boyko, *Northeast Kingdom Genealogy, Vermont* [Database On-line] (November 9, 2004, accessed 20 November 2004), available from http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.com/~nekg3/nekg.htm. Boyko's website is an extensive collection of transcribed census lists, church records, and vital records from newspapers.

Most work on historical migration does not take mortality into account. The result is that persisters are being compared not to emigrants alone, but to the dead, also. Since many of those who died may have been persisters had they survived, the difference seen in those comparisons is wrong to some extent.

[14] In a few cases, it seemed apparent that a man had died when his wife was listed with his children but without him in the succeeding censuses. The entire 1860 population schedule is indexed and computerized, so men who fit this description were searched for, and if not found, were considered deceased.

Summary of Linkage Procedures

	Albany n (%)	*Peacham* n (%)
Total heads of household	184	243
Died locally by 1860	11 (6.0)	20 (8.2)
Persisted through 1860	99 (53.8)	128 (52.7)
Emigrants found	48 (26.1)	49 (20.2)
Emigrants not found	26 (14.1)	46 (18.9)

[15] Concerning the life-cycle effect, see, for example, Mary Eschelbach Gregson, "Population Dynamics in Rural Missouri, 1860–1880," *Social Science History* 21 (1997): 93; Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 114, 123–125; Clyde Griffen, "Workers Divided: The Effect of Craft and Ethnic Differences in Poughkeepsie, New York, 1850–1880," in *Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History*, ed. Stephen Thernstrom and Richard Sennett (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1969), 59–61; Curti et al., *Making of an American Community*, 68, 73. Examples of those using rational choice as an explanation are Theodore W. Schultz, "Investment in Human Capital," *The American Economic Review* 51 (1961): 4, 8–9; Alden Speare, Jr., "A Cost-Benefit Model of Rural to Urban Migration in Taiwan," *Population Studies* 25 (1971): 128; Kousser, Cox, and Galenson, "Log-Linear Analysis of Contingency Tables," 164.

[16] Concerning the option of moving to preserve the lineal family, see James A. Henretta, "Families and Farms: *Mentalité* in Preindustrial America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 35 (1978).

[17] The Pearson correlation coefficients for the relationship between family size and number of children are as follows: Peacham, $r = 0.932$; Albany, $r = 0.898$. A correlation coefficient indicates the strength of the linear relationship between two variables, and may take on any value between -1.0 and $+1.0$. The further the coefficient is from zero, the stronger the relationship. The correlations for Peacham and Albany are extremely strong.

[18] Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind*, 99–101, 103–104; Barron, "Staying Down on the Farm," 334–335.

[19] The total number of same-surnamed people in a community as a measure of kinship ties was also used by R. J. Johnston on a twentieth-century English town and was found to be an important predictor of persistence. Robert Bieder found that kinship and migration were "dramatically related." R. J. Johnston, "Resistance to Migration and the Mover/Stayer Dichotomy: Aspects of Kinship and Population Stability in an English Rural Area," *Geografiska Annaler, Series B, Human Geography* 53 (1971): 17, 19, 25; Robert E. Bieder, "Kinship as a Factor in Migration," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35 (1973): 436. The value for the total number of people in town with the same surname is based on all residents, male and female, of all ages.

[20] The instructions to the marshals who collected the data for the census make this a reasonable assumption. The instructions can be found at Steven Ruggles et al., *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 3.0 [IPUMS]* [Machine-readable database] (Minnesota Population Center, 2004, accessed 12 October 2004), available from http://www.ipums.umn.edu/usa/voliii/inst1850.html.

[21] A similar method was used by Allan Bogue, who was among the first to differentiate between farm operators and farm tenants. Others have followed his lead. Allan G. Bogue, *From Prairie to Corn Belt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks, 1968), 64; Seddie Cogswell, Jr., *Tenure, Nativity and Age as Factors in Iowa Agriculture, 1850–1880* (Ames: The Iowa State University Press, 1975), 6–10; Donald L. Winters, *Farmers without Farms: Agricultural Tenancy in Nineteenth-Century Iowa* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), 12–13.

[22] On the Peacham agricultural census manuscript, thirty-four individuals are listed with no farm value, only nine of whom have a recorded occupation on the population schedule of "farmer." Albany's manuscript has no one listed with no farm value. Those thirty-four Peacham residents are treated here as not being listed on the agricultural census.

[23] John D. Kasarda and Morris Janowitz, "Community Attachment in Mass Society," *American Sociological Review* 39 (1974): 330–336; Willis J. Goudy, "Community Attachment in a Rural Region," *Rural Sociology* 55 (1990): 181, 184–186; Robert J. Sampson, "Local Friendship Ties and Community Attachment in Mass Society: A Multilevel Systemic Model," *American Sociological Review* 53 (1988): 774, 777–778; William F. Stinner et al., "Community Size, Individual Social Position, and Community Attachment," *Rural Sociology* 55 (1990): 504–505; Peter Uhlenberg, "Noneconomic Determinants of Nonmigration: Sociological Considerations for Migration Theory," *Rural Sociology* 38 (1973): 304, 309; David L. Brown, "Migration and Community: Social Networks in a Multilevel World," *Rural Sociology* 67 (2002): 1.

[24] Qiaoming Amy Liu et al., "The Influence of Local Church Participation on Rural Community Attachment," *Rural Sociology* 63 (1998): 432–433; Scott M. Myers, "The Impact of Religious Involvement on Migration," *Social Forces* 79 (2000): 775; Uhlenberg, "Noneconomic Determinants of Nonmigration," 304, 309; Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind*, 103; Jon Gjerde, "The Effect of Community on Migration: Three Minnesota Townships 1855–1905," *Journal of Historical Geography* 5 (1979): 412–413; Randolph A. Roth, *The Democratic Dilemma: Religion, Reform, and the Social Order in the Connecticut River Valley of Vermont, 1791–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 83–87, 231–241, 281.

[25] Albany (Congregational) Church of Christ, "Church Record Books, 1818–1876," Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont, Burlington; Albany (Congregational) Church of Christ, "Church Record Books, 1877–1894," Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, UVM; Albany Baptist Church, "Church Records, 1832–1867," Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, UVM; Albany Baptist Sabbath School, "Record Book, 1871–1877," Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, UVM; Peacham Congregational Church, *Manual of the Congregational Church of Peacham, Vermont* (Jericho, Vt.: Roscoe Publishing House, 1890); Norris M. Darling, "Albany," in *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, ed. Abby Maria Hemenway, III (Claremont, NH: The Claremont Manufacturing Company, 1877), 58; Paul Daniels, "Saint John of the Cross Catholic Church in East Albany," in *History of Albany, Vermont, 1806–1991*, ed. Virginia Wharton, 266.

[26] The use of these statistics will eliminate the necessity of presenting numerous cross-tabulations and will give a better indication of the importance of the independent variables than will a glance at a contingency table. Contingency tables take up numerous pages in both Hal Barron's book and Holman Jordan's dissertation. The method used here gives more information than a contingency table and takes up much less space.

The actual real explanation of why people emigrated is an unknown parameter that has to be *estimated*. The number of independent variables used here is a small subset of the variables that actually determined why people emigrated (for example, it would be nice to know if a person liked his neighbors, or if he thought rural life was oppressively dull, or if he was just a bad farmer, but that information is not available). Also, the exact shape of the relationship between any given variable and the probability of emigrating is unknown. Perhaps the probability of emigrating increased linearly with age; or perhaps it increased at a decreasing rate; or perhaps it increased linearly with age amongst married men, but decreased with age amongst blue-collar workers. Since not all of the relevant variables are available, and the exact shapes of the relationships are unknown, we can only *estimate* a regression model. This is the case in all fields of study.

[27] Logistic regression is the appropriate technique when the dependent variable is dichotomous. In this analysis, the dependent variable equals either "emigrate" or "persist." For a brief discussion of logistic regression, see Alfred DeMaris, "Odds Versus Probabilities in Logit Equations: A Reply to Roncek," *Social Forces* 71 (1993); Alfred DeMaris, "A Tutorial in Logistic Regression," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 57 (1995); Alfred DeMaris, Jay D. Teachman, and S. Philip Morgan, "Interpreting Logistic Regression Results: A Critical Commentary," *Journal of Marriage and the*

Family 52 (1990); S. Philip Morgan and Jay D. Teachman, "Logistic Regression: Description, Examples, and Comparisons," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 50 (1988). For an extended treatment of logistic regression, see David W. Hosmer and Stanley Lemeshow, *Applied Logistic Regression*, 2d ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2000).

Though significance scores (p-values) below 0.10 and 0.15 are indicated in the multivariate logistic regression, significance tests will not be used for interpretation in the analyses in this paper. In the context of logistic regression, p-values tell us the probability of getting an odds ratio at least as extreme (as far from 1.0, which indicates no effect) as the one we find in our sample if the actual odds ratio for the population is 1.0. Therefore, significance testing is only appropriate when the data being analyzed is based on a sample of a population. The data used here includes the entire populations of Peacham and Albany. Even if the populations of Peacham and Albany were being used as a sample of Vermont, significance testing would be inappropriate, because significance tests depend on random sampling. This is not to suggest that inferences cannot be drawn about Vermont from the results here, only that significance testing will offer no help in making those inferences.

The odds ratios of the variables that were judged most important remained stable when variables were added and removed from the models, suggesting that the models are sound.

[28] Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind*, 103.

[29] These numbers exclude one person from Peacham and three from Albany who are known to have died between 1860 and 1870.

[30] Judging the relative importance of the effects of the variables is more complicated than simply looking at the size of the multivariate odds ratios. One must consider the range of values possible for each variable. For example, presence on the agricultural census is indicated only by a value of zero or one, whereas the values for wealth range from zero to more than nine. The standardized odds ratios are used here to determine the relative importance of each variable by showing the odds ratio for a one-standard-deviation change in the variable. The further each variable's standardized odds ratio is from 1.0, the more important it is in predicting persistence. The standardized odds ratios are used only to determine relative importance; all calculations of changes in the odds of persistence are based on either the univariate or multivariate odds ratios.

The use of standardized odds ratios to determine the relative importance of the independent variables is not uncontroversial, but it is also not uncommon. For a discussion of the problems associated with using standardized coefficients to determine relative importance, see Michael S. Lewis-Beck, "The Relative Importance of Socioeconomic and Political Variables for Public Policy," *The American Political Science Review* 71 (1977), particularly pp. 562–563, and Johan Bring, "How to Standardize Regression Coefficients," *The American Statistician* 48 (1994).

[31] Surprisingly, Peacham (57.4%) and Albany (57.2%) had nearly identical rates of persistence from 1850 to 1860. In Model 2, Albany's persistence rate (70.5%) is quite a bit higher than Peacham's (62.8%). According to Hal Barron, Albany's growing population and Peacham's declining population should lead to Albany having a lower persistence rate than Peacham. In Chelsea, Barron tells us, after a long period of selective out-migration coupled with decreased in-migration, the people least likely to emigrate made up a much larger percentage of the local population, making for a much higher persistence rate. Barron draws this conclusion from Chelsea's relatively high persistence rates compared with rates from frontier areas. The reasons for the overall rates of persistence found in Albany and Peacham are beyond the scope of this paper, but suggest a topic for further research. Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind*, 80.

[32] The natural log transformation is used here to normalize variables that are otherwise positively skewed. The transformation allows a more accurate model to be estimated.

[33] The odds ratios for wealth and church membership in Peacham are considerably smaller in Model 2 than in Model 1, but the variables are just as important in Model 2. The change in the odds ratios is due to the fact that the interaction effect between wealth and church membership is no longer a factor in Model 2.

[34] Alejandro Portes and Patricia Landolt, "The Downside of Social Capital," *The American Prospect*, 26 (1996). Concerning churches and conformity, see Roth, *The Democratic Dilemma*, 94–95, 240–241. Roth describes the situation in Windsor, Vermont, in the 1830s and 1840s, where church members banded together in business ventures to protect their economic positions at the expense of nonmembers (*The Democratic Dilemma*, 231).

[35] *Minutes of the Vermont Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Various publishers, 1845–1865); Ernest L. Bogart, *Peacham: The Story of a Vermont Hill Town* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1948), 187–188; A. Boutelle, "Peacham," in *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer: A Magazine Embracing a History of Each Town, Civil, Ecclesiastical, Biographical and Military*, ed. Abby Maria Hemenway, I (Burlington, Vt.: Miss A. M. Hemenway, 1867), 360–361.

[36] *Annual Report of the Vermont Domestic Missionary Society with the Minutes of the Annual*

Meeting (Windsor: The Vermont Chronicle Press, 1850–1861); *Minutes of the General Convention of Congregational Ministers and Churches in Vermont* (Windsor: The Vermont Chronicle Press, 1850–1865).

[37] *Minutes of the Vermont Baptist Convention* (1850–1860); *Minutes of the Vermont Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.*

[38] Darling, "Albany," 52–53.

[39] Ibid., 53.

[40] Barron, "Staying Down on the Farm," 333.

[41] Muller, *From Ferment to Fatigue,* 4; Barron, "Staying Down on the Farm," 333–334.

A Walk through the Village of East Calais, Vermont, in the Late Nineteenth Century

By IDA CLEE BEMIS
Edited with commentary by SYLVIA B. LARSON

In the 1950s, my grandmother, Ida Clee Bemis (1878–1961), wrote out in her small, neat handwriting, seventeen pages of recollections of her girlhood in East Calais, Vermont. Her account (published in Vermont History *73 [Summer/Fall, 2005]: 152–159) covered the years 1878 to 1891. She did this at my request and urged on by her son, Kenneth Anderson Bernard, my father. To accompany her story, she sketched from memory a map of the village. She drew with a light pencil, on the back of some discarded drafting paper. When she was finished she wrote a short note to me:*

> Dear Sylvia,
>
> I know your Dad will appreciate your typing this mess. Hope you can read it, but if you can't, make up what you can't read. Also please correct any errors in grammar or spelling and leave out anything you think is too silly to go down to posterity.
>
> With love,
> Grandma

I have recreated her map in a larger, darker version, added some notes, numbers, and letters keyed to the map. On our walk through the village as Ida remembered it, we will use this map. Grandma will provide the commentary. I did not "correct" anything, and have left the spelling, punctua-

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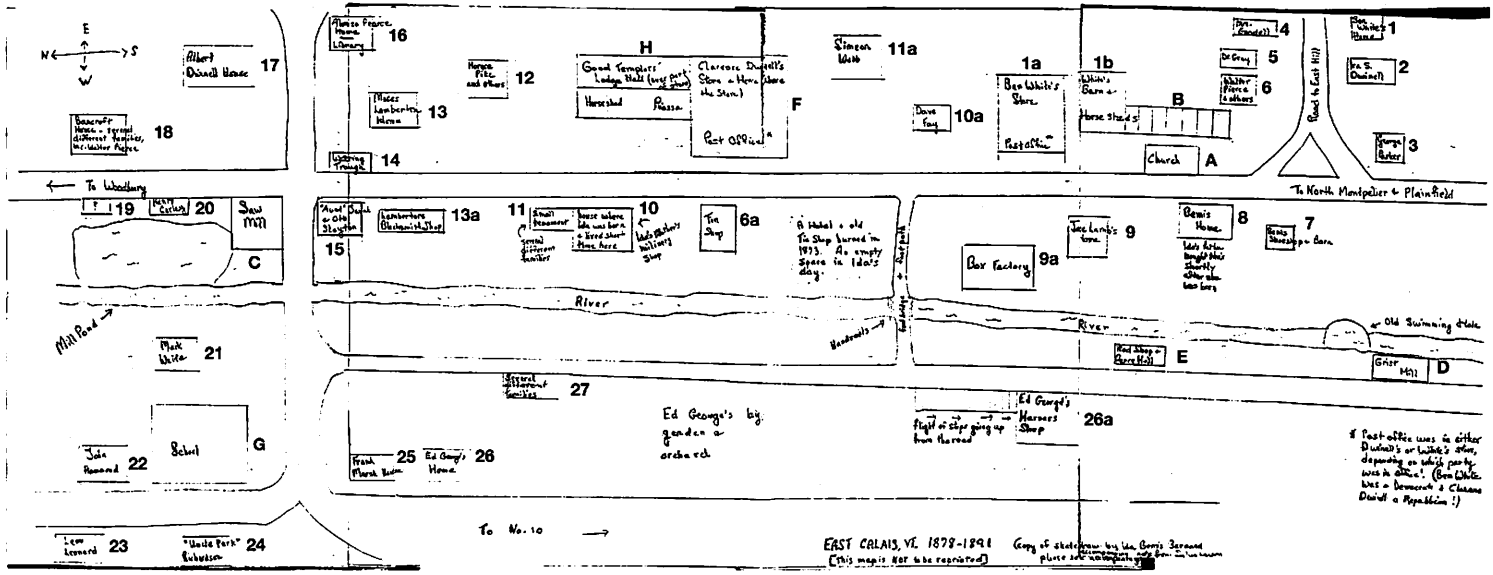
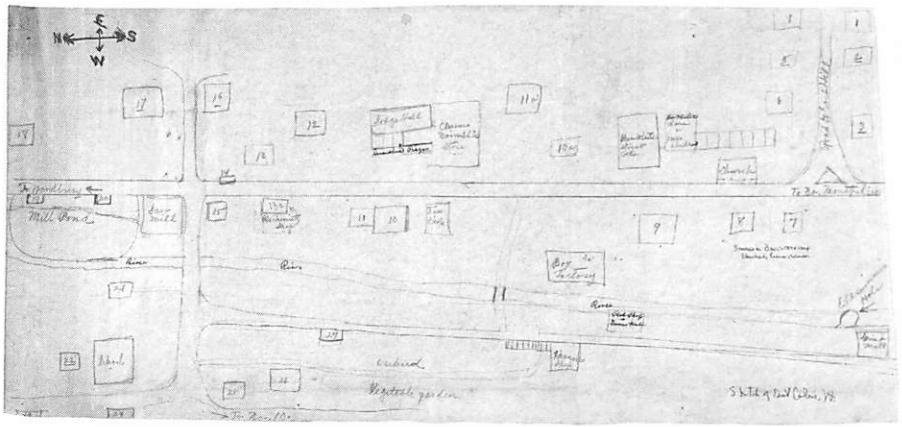


Author's re-creation of East Calais map, with addition of numbers and letters keyed to text.



Ida's map

tion, and grammar as she wrote it, but have occasionally augmented her words with additions or explanations in a few bracketed phrases and in the endnotes.

Ida's text is reproduced here in plain type; my commentary linking her descriptions appears in Italics. The numbers and letters in brackets refer to corresponding places on the map. Some photographs and other illustrations provide further documentation of the buildings, people, and other features in Ida's recollections.

* * *

About twelve miles north of the Vermont state house, on what is now State Route 14, the road from Montpelier ascends and curves slightly into the south end of the village of East Calais, on the Kingsbury branch of the Winooski River. Immediately, the road to East Hill goes off to the right, and the houses on its right are:

Home of George Parker [3]. They were poor and had several children younger than I.

Home of Ira S. Dwinell [2]. He was well-to-do and was the only person I ever knew who raised sheep.[1] Their two children were married and left East Calais before my time.

Home of Ben White [1] (Mabel's father), probably the second wealthiest man in town, owner of the store [1a]. The post office was in his store part of the time and part of the time in Clarence Dwinell's store [F]. Mr. White was a Democrat and Mr. Dwinell a Republican, I think.[2]

Our two families were always great friends. We sometimes got milk from them for 5 cents a quart. I went after it with a tin pail. It wasn't

From a postcard, 1909 (?). Courtesy of Sylvia B. Larson.

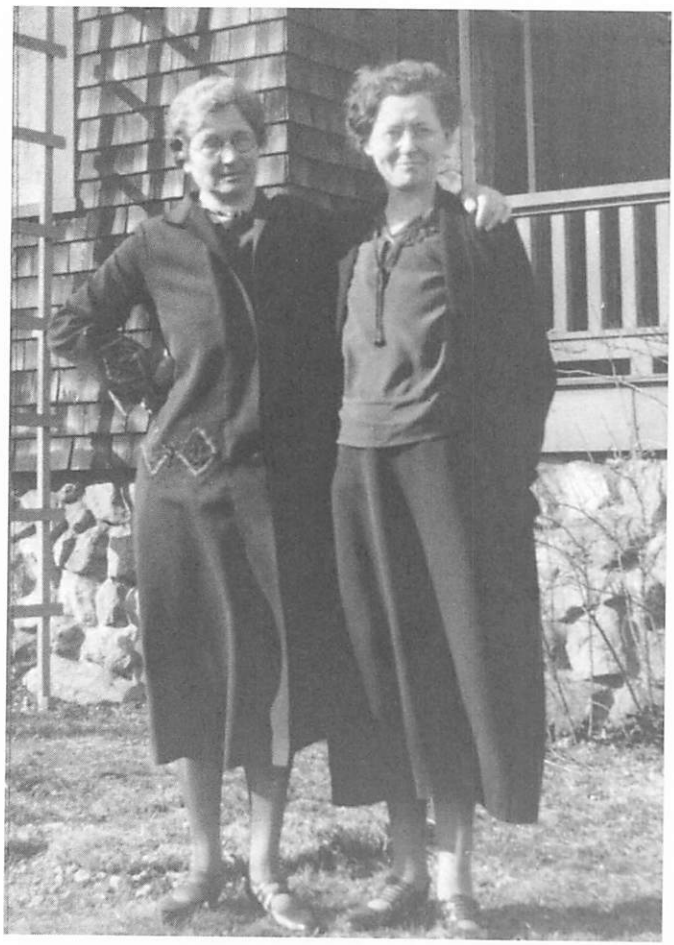
pasteurized, of course, and probably was full of germs by the time I got home, but I lived to tell the tale. There was an apartment over Mr. White's store and various families lived there through the years.[3]

Crossing the East Hill road, going down toward the main road, we pass:

Home of Mrs. Goodell [4], a widow who wore hoop skirts and a man's wide brimmed straw hat. She was fat and did washings for some people who could afford it. She had a beautiful flower garden and Mable and I used to go over there quite often.

Home of Dr.Gray [5]. He had a boy older than I and a girl much younger. When I had a tooth I could not pull myself, my Father made me go up to borrow his forceps and my Dad [Luther Bemis] would pull the tooth.

The last years of my living in East Calais, it was the home of Walter Pierce [6]. They had a daughter Maude who was a pal of Mable and me, and a son Charles who was a little younger than we. Mrs. Pierce (Diana)



Mabel White Cole and Ida Bemis Bernard, 1930s (?). Inscribed on the back: "2 old gals[;] 2 old pals." Courtesy of Sylvia B. Larson.

was very "ritzy" and loved to "put on the dogs" as they say. She sang in the choir and was always very prominent in social affairs.

As we approach the main road again, we are opposite:

My Father's shoe shop and barn [7].[4] There was a big wild cherry tree by the door in front and we children used to climb it.

Our house [8]. There was a large yard in front where we had a croquet set and every night there would be a gang there playing while they waited for the stage and the mail. That was the busiest time of the day.

A stage picked up the mail at Plainfield in the late afternoon when the train came in from Wells River. The stage was a high wagon with three seats across it and a place for baggage behind the seats and drawn by a pair of horses. The first stop was North Montpelier P.O., the next stop was E. Calais, then North Calais, South Woodbury, Woodbury Center, then Hardwick. It must have been 15 or 20 miles. They made the return trip in the morning getting to E. Calais about 10 o'clock as I remember. The mail to other parts of the town [Kent's Corner and Adamant] came from Montpelier.[5]

There were other fairly regular gatherings in Ida's home because:

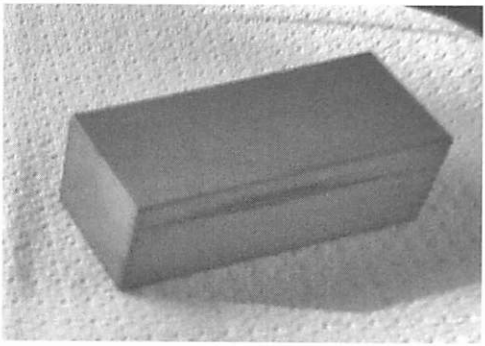
We did not have baked beans Saturday nights at our house but had them Sunday morning for breakfast, so had to keep the kitchen fire going late Saturday night. After the men got through at the store, several of them came to our house and played Hi-low-Jack in the kitchen while my Father baked the beans. They did not play for money. No one had much money in those days. They had a good time. The feminine members of the family stayed in the front part of the house.

Proceeding northward on the same side of the street, we come to:

Home of Jake Lamb [9]. He ran the box factory [9a]. The firm name was Leverson and Lamb. Mr. Leverson lived in New York and he and his wife and daughter boarded in Woodbury in the summer. They used to ride around in a two seated spring board, or buck board, very classy. The only two seated one I ever saw. We thought it strange they didn't have a top buggy but they evidently preferred the spring board, as they had plenty of money. Mr. Leverson was a great fisherman and in his later years used to come to Greensboro [at Greensboro Pond, now known as Caspian Lake] for the spring fishing and board with my Dad.

Box Factory [9a]. The box factory made small wooden boxes and employed about ten or twelve men and sometimes my Mother [Lydia Bemis] and Mrs. Lamb worked there, also Bernice [Ida's adopted sister] and I and of course the Lamb boys. I think Mrs. Lamb was my Mother's closest friend and the boys were like brothers to Bernice and me. The boxes were dove tailed and glued together, then sandpapered and we children used to putty the little holes when they didn't always fit tight where they were dove tailed. Then the boxes were rubbed down and shellaced.[6]

We come now to the foot path and foot bridge that crosses the river, which furnished the power for the factory. Here is an empty space where there had been a hotel and the old tin shop, both destroyed by fire in 1873. The hotel was never rebuilt, but the tin shop was, just beyond the original site. For Ida and her friends, this foot bridge was important because:



A box from the East Calais box factory: Maple (?); 8″ × 3¾″ × 2¼″. Courtesy of Sylvia B. Larson.

That was the route we all took going to school [G]. After crossing the river (and why no one drowned there I don't know for the bridge was narrow with just a hand rail on both sides) we crossed the road that went down to the grist mill [D], went up a long flight of stairs, past Ed George's harness shop [26a], and right through his big garden, past his house [26] and across the No. 10 Road to the school house. Of course we could have followed the river road instead of climbing the stairs and going through the garden but no one ever did.

As we are on that side of the river, I will tell about the houses there. The road ended [heading south] at the grist mill [near the Old Swimming Hole].

Almost directly across from the harness shop was the Red Shop [E]. It belonged to the box factory and the dance hall was on the second floor, only as the house was built on a side hill, the entrance to the hall was on the ground floor and reached by a narrow foot bridge. Many is the time I danced the Portland Fancy (my favorite number), Virginia Reel, and all the other square dances. Most everyone, except those who thought dancing was wicked and that included the Dwinells, went to the dances and took their children with them. That is how I happened to go. Some even took their babies and a big rocking chair to put them to sleep in, but that was frowned upon by most everyone. The music for the dances was a couple of fiddles and an organ. One of the fiddlers was the caller.

And as we walk northward on the road, past Ed George's harness shop and garden, we come to:

Home of several different families, at different times. That house [27] was built into the side of a hill so that the first floor was on the road and at the back of the house the second floor was the level of the hill or rather a high bank.

Ed George's house [26]. There were six children. Blanche was the youngest and about my age. We were always friends but not so close as Mabel and Maude and I were, because she lived farther away, I guess.

Home of Frank Marsh and his wife [25]. They had no children.

Home of "Uncle Perk" Richardson [24]. He was a very old man.

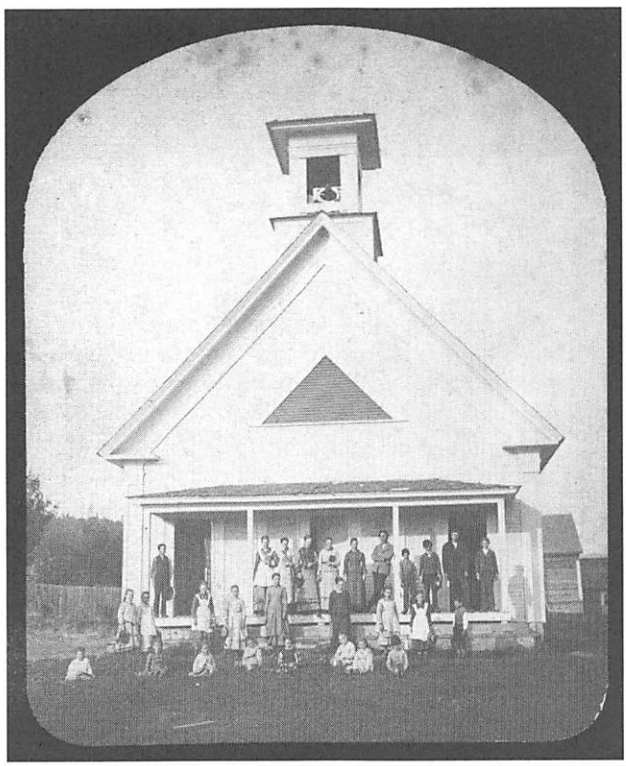
Home of Lew Leonard [23]. He was the constable. He had a daughter Ola who was about Bernice's age. They were spiritualists.

Across the road from the Leonards, we are at:

Home of John Hammond [22]. They had two grown up daughters.

And next to the Hammonds, taking up a good deal of land on the corner of the road that leads up to the saw mill, is a most important building:

The school [G]. It was a one room school house with a wide piazza across the front. The girls' entrance at one end and the boys at the other.



School house, East Calais (built 1863). From a stereoscopic view by L. O. Churchill, Montpelier; no date. Courtesy of Sylvia B. Larson.

School house, East Calais, converted to use as a post office; ca. 1988. Courtesy of Sylvia B. Larson.

A door in the center to the wood room and the bell rope were there. It was filled with wood every summer to fill the schoolroom's big stove in the winter. Inside there was a big black board across the front wall and in front of it the platform and teacher's desk. In front of that the big stove and then the pupils' desks and seats. The boys sat on one side of the room and the girls on the other.

On the side wall just inside the boys' door was a shelf that held the water pail, tin dipper and hand basin. There were four large windows on each side wall.

Every morning the teacher would chose two pupils to "pass the water" and "wet the sponges." Every pupil drank out of the same dipper. In that way we shared each others germs. I never had a contagious disease while I was in that school. We were tough! The other pupil who "wet the sponges" passed the hand basin with water in it to each pupil to wet his sponge in. We all used slates to do our work on. We all coveted the job of "passing the water" and "wetting the sponges."

The subjects taught were reading, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, writing,

PUBLIC SCHOOL WORK.

MONTHLY REPORT.

Report of Ida. Bemis

For Month ending Feb. 28. 1890.

Reading,		Botany,	
Spelling,	100	Civil Government,	
Arithmetic,	50	Physiology,	75
Geography,	100	Geometry,	
Physical Geography,		Composition,	
Penmanship,		Drawing,	
Grammar,		No. of days present,	
Orthography,		No. of days absent,	
History,		No. of times tardy,	
Algebra,		Deportment,	100
Philosophy,		Rank in studies	7
Rhetoric,		" " Dept.	1

General Average, 81¼

EXPLANATION.—100 is the Maximum, 90 to 100 Excellent, 80 to 90 Good, 70 to 80 Fair. Below 70 is unsatisfactory.

TO PARENTS AND GUARDIANS.

Parents and Guardians will find it greatly to the interest of the pupil to see that it has no tardy or absentee marks. Systematic and constant efforts will be made to interest pupils and to stimulate them to a thorough and diligent exercise of their intellectual and moral faculties. Your co-operation will greatly aid in making the work successful.

188

Alma D. Leonard Teacher.

Quarterly report from Dec. 3. 1888 to Feb. 23, 1889.

Alma D. Leonard

Arithmetic	60%	78%	100	60
Spelling.	86.	80.		80
Geography.	96.	100.		68
Gen. Average.	80.	86.		69⅔
Rank in studies	11.	2.		7
Behavior.	98%	99%		100
Rank in "	13.	8		1
Absent marks	0	0		0
Tardy "	0	0		0

L. A. Bemis

Monthly school report for Ida Bemis, February 28, 1890; Quarterly school report, December 3, 1888 to February 23, 1889, signed by Ida's father, Luther A. Bemis. Courtesy of Sylvia B. Larson.

geography, U.S. History, and physiology. I leaned a lot hearing the older pupils recite their lessons in the subjects I liked, which were most everything except arithmetic. The hours were from 9–12 and 1–4, with recess in the middle of each session. At recess we played sheepfold and tag but one favorite game was pump-pump-pull away. This is how it was played. Everyone except the one who was IT stood in a line. The one who was IT stood facing them about 25 feet away and when he yelled pump-pump-pull away everybody ran to the line where IT was and the one who was tagged by the one who was IT had to be IT and that went on until the bell rang. The girls and boys did not have recess together but we used to play together before school morning and noon. The younger children, and some of the old ones, went to school bare footed in warm weather. In fact we always went bare footed except on Sundays and we loved it.

Once we had a new girl come to town from Florida. She was Kate Hammond and she came to live with her Aunt, Ella Dwinell. Kate could play the harmonica, the first time we ever heard a girl do that. It got to be quite a fad. Bernice got so she could play pretty well. The teacher used to have the pupils form a line on the piazza and march in while Kate played "Marching Through Georgia." We thought that was pretty special.

There were from about 15 pupils in school during the time the boys had to work on the farms to 25 or 30 in winter when farm work was slack. Some teachers found it hard to keep order. Some parents objected to the teacher punishing the pupils, which made it hard for the teacher.

East Calais scholars (no date). Ida Bemis is thought to be one of the girls in the front row, but has not been identified. Courtesy of Sylvia B. Larson.

My Father said, "if you need any help making my children behave, let me know and I will come and help you."

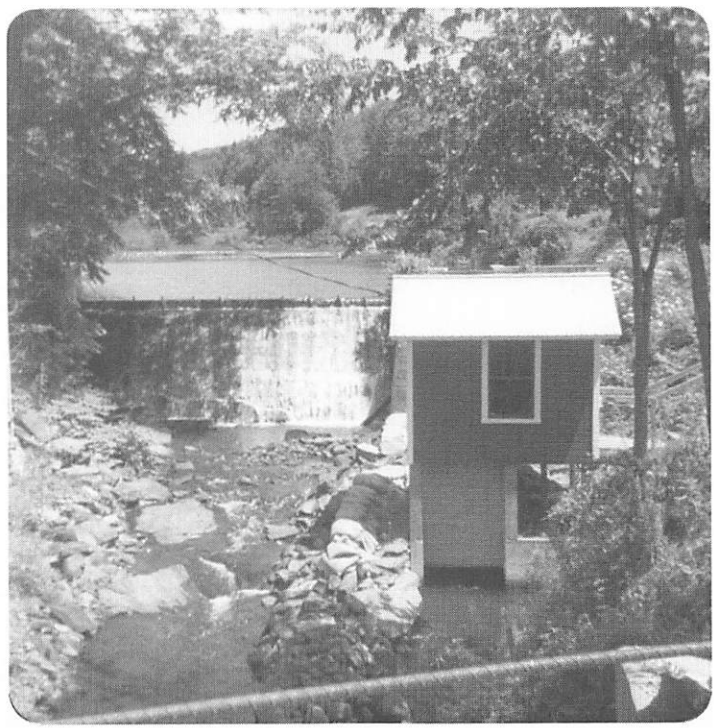
Beyond the school, heading toward the river and the mill pond, we pass:

Home of Mark Waite [21]. Their children were all grown up and gone from home.

And back across the river, the first building on the left was the saw mill owned by Albert Dwinell [C]. In this mill was sawed the lumber used to build our house in Woburn.[7] It grew on my Father's wood lot which was on the right hand side of the "No. 10" road.

Turning north on the main road, toward Woodbury, we pass two houses on our left:

The home of Henry Carley [20]. They had two sons, the youngest about Bernice's age was lame and wore an iron on one shoe to make up the difference in the length of his legs.



Saw Mill, East Calais, 1977. Courtesy of Sylvia B. Larson.

The home of an old couple [19] whose name I have forgotten.

Across the road is a large house:

This was the Bancroft house [18] and several different families lived there through the years. Walter Pierce lived there a while.

Heading south, a little way beyond the Bancroft house, we turn up the side road, just before the watering trough, and come to:

The home of Albert Dwinell [17], the most pretentious place in the village. He was the wealthiest man, owned the mill and a great deal of land. They always kept a maid, or hired girl as they were called, and a hired man. There were three sons all grown up. Clarence, one son, owned and kept one of the stores. Del, the youngest son, came home and built a house between his Father's house and the Bancroft house and ran the mill, but that was after we moved away. Albert Dwinell was very prominent in the church and was Sunday School Superintendent. He wore eye glasses way down near the end of his nose and when he looked off

Ida Clee Bemis as a young child; tintype, no date. Courtesy of Sylvia B. Larson.

he looked over his glasses and when he read he tipped his head back so he could look through them. That was before bifocals.

Crossing this side road and heading back to the main road, we pass:

The home of Alonzo Pearce [16]. They had a grown up son and daughter. The daughter, Inez, had a sweetheart when a young girl but her parents did not want her to marry him so she waited until her parents died. By that time she and the man were middle aged but they were married and he only lived a few years. Inez was the village dress maker, played the organ in church, and was very clever in arranging plays and entertainments for the church and the Red Hall.

The library was in the Pearce home.

A number of families lived in the next house [12], through the years. One was the family of Horace Pike. They had a daughter, Clara, who was my first teacher. I did not like her because she threatened to write the words I couldn't remember on my forehead.[8]

The home of Moses Lamberton [13], the "village smithy." His shop [13a] was across the street from the house. They had a daughter, Lillian, who was a great friend of Bernice and me.

The watering trough [14], a very important thing in the village.

On the corner, opposite the watering trough and next to Lamberton's blacksmith shop, sits:

The home of Otis Slayton [15]. They had no children. Aunt Sarah, as we always called her, was the owner of the blue pitcher Dorothy has. They gave it to my Mother because she helped them during Aunt Sarah's last sickness.[9]

And now, passing the blacksmith shop, we come first to the place where Ida's happy years in East Calais began:

The house where I was born [10][10] and lived in a short time until my Dad bought the house opposite the church. My Mother had a millinery shop when they lived in No. 10. There was a tenement [11] upstairs which was reached by an outside stairway which went past a window in my Mother's shop. There was a very pretty little girl with lovely curls living upstairs and she used to stop and look in that window. Her name was Clara Kelso. My Mother used to look at her and wish the baby she was expecting would look like her, especially the curls. She did not get her wish. My hair was straight.

Next comes the tinsmith and hardware store [6a]. It was run by Walter Pierce. He also bought and sold paper rags, as they used to say. Everybody saved their rags and sold them to him. I remember seeing the big

Interior of Walter Pierce's tin shop, East Calais. Ida's Uncle Will Rideout at the window; Charles Wing at the work bench. From a stereoscopic view, no date. Courtesy of Sylvia B. Larson.

piles of rags on the floor above the store. They were sorted, white in one pile and colored in the other. We always washed our rags before selling them and I guess everyone always did, because we never thought of the piles of rags as being dirty.

To complete our walk, we go to the other side of the main road:

Opposite the tin shop was Clarence Dwinell's store [F] and they lived above the store. His wife was my Sunday School teacher. They were very fond of children and did not have any. After we left East Calais, they adopted a little girl and she was drowned down by the grist mill. Then they adopted another and she lived to grow up. We liked Clarence and Ella Dwinell very much.

The good Templars' Lodge Hall [H] was over part of the store and

the horse sheds were under the hall. When there were no teams in it (the sheds), we children used to play circus and climb up and walk on the beams overhead. There was a thriving Lodge of Good Templars in East Calais when I was there. Most of the young people belonged. None of my family did though Bernice was old enough. I don't know why for we weren't a drinking family. In fact I never knew of a drunk in East Calais. Most of the farmers had a barrel of hard cider in their cellars but if they drank to excess, they stayed home and no one knew it. After the Lodge broke up, I knew of several members who became hard drinkers after they grew up and left East Calais.[11]

Between Clarence Dwinell's store and Ben White's store are two houses:

The home of Simeon Webb [11a]. He ran the grist mill. They had no children.

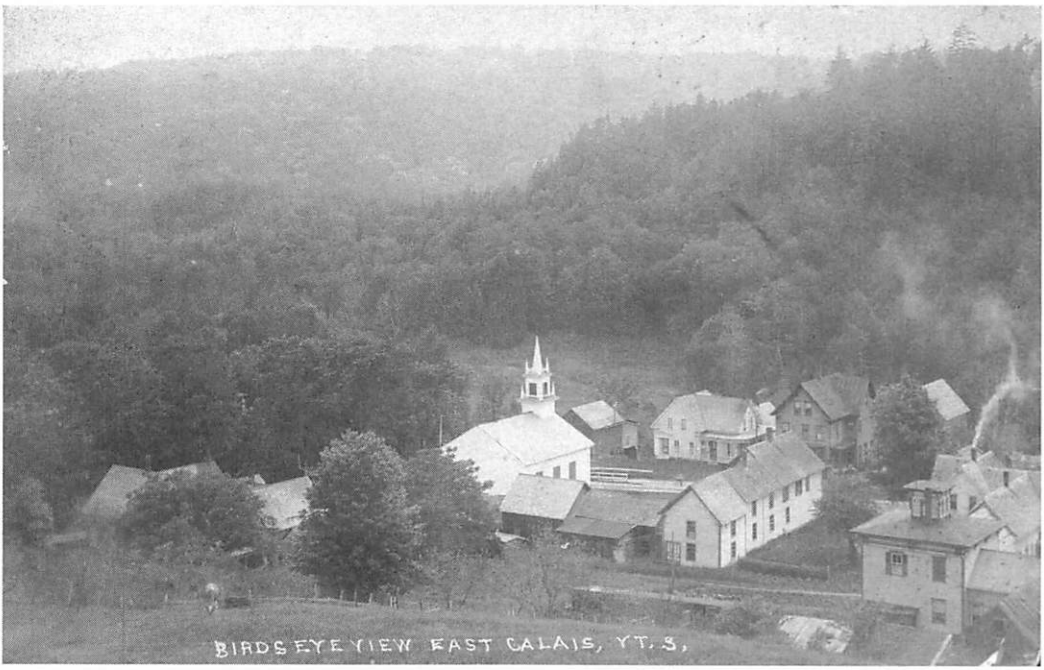
The home of Dave Fay [10a]. Their son had gone from home before I can remember. There was a beautiful circular stairway in their house. I never saw it until after they were dead or if I did it never made an impression on me.

Beyond Ben White's store and barn and the horse sheds [1a and 1b], the last stop in the village is at the small church:

The church building [A] had only one room, the auditorium and a balcony. There was an open porch across the front of the building with doors near each end. These doors opened into an entry with doors near each end which opened into the auditorium. So there was no room for recreational or social affairs. As I first remember it, the choir and organ were in the balcony but they later built a platform at one side of the pulpit platform and the choir was there.[12]

When I was very young they had a Universalist Minister. My folks thought a great deal of him and his wife [Rev. and Mrs. Forbes]. He christened me and I <u>think</u> he married my Father and Mother. I am not sure of that. Sometimes there would be two services in the church, one a Congregationalist. They had the same choir for both services, but Del Dwinell, who was a Congregationalist, would not stay to hear the Universalist sermon. Del is still alive [in the early 1950s], now in his 90's and I presume more liberal in his views.[13]

One winter they had singing school once a week in the church. (I was too young to participate, but that wasn't the reason they gave it up!). That, except for the Sunday morning services and the Sunday School was the extent of the church activities. No young people's society. No women's society. Every summer there was a Sunday School picnic when



Bird's eye view, East Calais, Vt. Post card, no date (after 1911?). Courtesy of Sylvia B. Larson.

we all put on our best clothes and drove to some sugar woods and took our lunch. Albert Dwinell, the superintendent, would make a speech and say a prayer and sometimes there would be an impromptu entertainment. Once there were charades and they had me up in front busily hoeing with a crooked stick.

We always had Christmas exercises in the church on the evening of December 25. No one ever had a Christmas tree at home. Everybody took all their gifts to the church tree and everybody went to the exercises. The church would be packed. There would be two huge trees reaching nearly to the ceiling as they had to use step ladders to reach the top. The gifts were not wrapped in fancy paper as we do. We children used to watch them hanging the gifts and wonder whom they were for. There would be pieces spoken by the children and stories acted by them but I never remember any singing of carols or stories of the nativity. This is a sample of the kind of song they did. All the children singing together.

Santa Claus is coming.
He will see our tree,
Don't you hope perhaps
He'll think of you and me?
Think of Nan and Neddy,
Who are always kind,
Don't you hope the darlings
Many gifts will find?

How they rub our fingers
When our hands are cold,
How they stop us crying,
When the old folks scold,
When we're awful hungry
They make us forget,
Tell us pretty stories
So we will not fret.

O, we're sure the Christ child
Loves our Ned and Nan
Folks were never kinder
Since the world began
So we'll sing of Christmas
And our little tree
(I'm sorry I can't remember the last 2 lines)

Some of the more talented children would have little solos. Maude Pierce was always one of them.

After exercises, the presents were distributed. The adults who decorated and hung the tree would take a present off and read the name on it and the person it was for would stand up and one of the half dozen teen age crowd who was chosen for the job would take it to the person whose name it bore. Everyone sat quietly in his seat and the only talk then was the Ohs! and Ahs! of admiration of the gift received.

I never remember any special music or exercises at Easter. I never heard of the Easter bunny or chickens until I came to Massachusetts.

Here, as we leave the church, we are back at the place where the East Hill road comes into the village, opposite the house that Ida called home. The main road is curving slightly downhill, toward Montpelier and further southward, as it did when Ida left East Calais for Boston in 1891.

Notes

[1] By Ida's time, the sheep industry in Vermont had enjoyed a boom and then declined; only forty years earlier, there were about 6,000 sheep feeding in Calais, and 60,000 in Washington County. John Hayward, *The New England Gazetteer*, seventh edition (Boston: John Hayward, 1839), no pagination.

[2] Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the postmaster's political affiliation reflected the party of the administration in Washington, D.C. As historian Michael Schudson notes, "postmasterships around the country were a central part of the patronage system. These positions were as much party sinecures as government posts." Michael Schudson, *The Good Citizen: A History of American Civic Life* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1998): 150.

During Ida's years in the village, the East Calais postmasters and United States presidents were:

1878–84	C. R. Dwinell	1877–81	Rutherford B. Hayes (R)
		1881–85	James A. Garfield, Chester A. Arthur (R)
1885–89	B. P. White	1885–89	Grover Cleveland (D)
1890–91	A. Pearce	1889–93	Benjamin Harrison (R)

Dorman B. E. Kent, *The History and Vital Statistics of the Town of Calais, Vermont* (Handwritten: 1912–1918), 27–29.

[3] Mabel White and Ida Bemis were close friends throughout their lives, although Ida's family moved to Boston in 1891 and Mabel remained in Vermont. She attended the Academy in Barre, became Mrs. Leon Cole, and later lived in Morrisville and Barre. Mabel was like a member of Ida's family of children and grandchildren.

[4] Seven shoemakers, including Luther Bemis, worked in the Town of Calais in 1878, six in 1879, and none in the 1880s. Kent, *History and Vital Statistics*, 70. The shoe business, like other small rural enterprises, suffered from rapid industrialization in the cities and the production of factory-made shoes. Luther Bemis had made high boots for men and, while he continued to repair footware, he also had to seek other jobs.

[5] Ida also remembers that "there were four post offices in the town, and the official names were East Calais, North Calais, Kents Corner, and Adamant. There were local names for different parts of the town. East Calais was Moscow. North Calais was No. 10. Adamant was Sodom. Then there was Pekin, Gospel Hollow (where the church was with the Town Hall in the vestry), and Maple Corner."

[6] Jacob A. Lamb is listed a "cooper" and "maker of druggist boxes" between 1875 and 1891. Kent, *History and Vital Statistics*, 70. Kent does not mention Leverson. Weston A. Cate, Jr., in his more recent history of Calais, says of the Leverson and Lamb shop: "Here fine quality wooden boxes were manufactured for druggists and doctors. Apparently the demand was so great that they maintained a wholesale office in New York City." Weston A. Cate, Jr., *Forever Calais: A History of Calais, Vermont* (Calais, VT: Calais Historical Society, 1999), 162. About this same enterprise, Lou Whitney Bliss writes: "A factory to make butter and cheese boxes was started. The business prospered, and the old box factory by the big falls in Moscow shipped out not only these utility boxes, but many beautiful ones made of curly and bird's eye maple." Lou Whitney Bliss, "A Glimpse of Calais," *Vermont History* 22 (October 1954): 268.

[7] Ida's husband, Alexander Anderson Bernard, built a home for his family in Woburn, Massachusetts, in 1911. Ida wrote: "Most of the rough lumber in the house was cut from a wood lot my Father owned in East Calais, also the maple and birch flooring and the butternut paneling for the bathroom. The oak panels in the kitchen cupboard came from a tree on our land in Greensboro and the oak in the kitchen was from a bank in Boston that was torn out and replaced with mahogany and A. did the work."

[8] Ida might not have agreed with Superintendent of Schools, Albert B. White, in his praise of Clara Pike: The school "has maintained thirty weeks . . . taught by Miss Clara Pike, who has been so long in town that it is almost unnecessary to say she did well"; and "the success and efficiency of our school have been quite uniform . . . the excellent methods of Misses Wheeler, Pike, and Gilbert were especially observable." *Calais Town Reports* for the years ending March 1, 1884: 11; and March 1, 1885: 9.

[9] Dorothy was Ida's daughter-in-law and mother of the compiler and editor of this document, Sylvia Bernard Larson.

[10] When Ida was born in 1878, the population of the Town of Calais was declining. It had increased rapidly from 841 people in 1810 to 1,709 people in 1840. But by the 1880 census it was down to 1,254. Kent, *History and Vital Statistics*, 19; Hamilton Child, *Child's Gazetteer of Washington County, Vt., 1783–1889* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse Journal Co., 1889), 222–242. The village of East Calais, however, was enjoying increasing activity. This is indicated by road construction and also by a comparison of the number of buildings in the East Calais maps of Wallings (1858) and Beers (1873). See Cate, *Forever Calais*, 126 and back end papers.

[11] Established in 1851 at Utica, N.Y., as a temperance society, the Order of Good Templars took as its motto, "Friendship, Hope, and Charity." The following year, at a convention of fourteen Good Templar lodges, the organization split, renamed itself the Independent Order of Good Templars, and took as its new motto "Faith, Hope, and Charity." Lodges of the Independent Order of Good Templars were among the variety of associations that flourished in the post-Civil War years to address religious and moral issues, as well as to provide opportunities for socializing. Washington County, like much of the rest of Vermont, embraced the temperance movement. Lodge members first pledged to give up spirits, not including cider, but eventually even pledged to give up cider. The Lodge became a center for community meetings and social activities and also, because it admitted women equally with men and sponsored groups for children ages 5 to 16, it provided opportunities for a large sector of the community to be "part of something worthwhile right at home." In the 1870s Good Templars established lodges in over thirty countries and in 1905 the organization renamed itself once again, becoming the International Order of Good Templars. See Cate, *Forever Calais*, 43, 45, 167; "History of IOGT" at http://www.iogt.us/iogt.php?p=35.

[12] The "Souvenir Booklet Commemorating Centennial Celebration of East Calais Union Chapel, East Calais, Vermont, August 18–19, 1948" includes an "Historical Sketch" of the church. Author Lou W. Bliss notes that in the late 1880s "a platform was built over the north east corner pews 'in a manner so as not to annihilate the pews' and the choir moved from the singing gallery to the new location."

[13] Resident ministers during the years 1879–1882 were Orin Davis (Christian) and George E. Forbes (Universalist). For the rest of Ida's years in East Calais, the resident ministers were designated Christian or Methodist. Kent, *History and Vital Statistics*, 67.

BOOK REVIEWS

In the Land of the Wild Onion: Travels along Vermont's Winooski River

By Charles Fish (Burlington: University of Vermont Press and Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2006, pp. 253, $29.95).

Charles Fish's book about the natural and cultural history of the Winooski River begins at the beginning—the headwaters in Cabot—and then winds like the river itself, flowing through personal conversations, observations, and descriptions of small-boat handling (and mishandling), to regional ecology, the inner workings of sewer plants, and the economic and social dynamics of mills. Fish introduces us to the topology of the Winooski Valley and to delicious terms like "fluvial geomorphology" (p. 85); he lets us eavesdrop on complicated conversations about the Krag .30-40, which we learn is a good gun for hunting deer. And, whenever the text is at risk of becoming too dense or weighty, Fish gets back into his boat and we are offered a riffle of rapids, a wide bend with cows in the water, and other kinds of descriptive reprieve: "A rope hangs from a tree over a deep pool, waiting for kids when the weather warms" (p. 65).

In the Land of the Wild Onion is both carefully researched and completely personal. The author assumes, for the most part correctly, that everything knowable about the Winooski—its geology, oral history, land use, wildlife, floods, and cultural landmarks—is worthy of our attention. He begins, as we all do, with no knowledge at all: "When I played on the sand bank behind our School Street house," says Fish, who grew up in Essex Junction, "I felt the grains between my toes, hot from the sun. No

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one told me that if I had been standing there some 18,000 years ago . . . I would have been covered by one to two miles of glacial ice and debris. . . . I was ignorant of the geological processes by which streams and lakes and seas produce sand for little boys to play in" (pp. 1–2). Nobody stays ignorant for long, though, and Fish takes us down the river at a paddler's companionable pace, pausing at the Cabot Creamery, the Marshfield cemetery, and Arch Cole's woodworking shop, where for thirty years Cole kept a log of local events—"fires, storms, accidents, the influenza epidemic, the progress of hydropower, the price of eggs and beans" (p. 26). He visits with Hap Hayward in Marshfield to talk about mills—Hayward's own, but also the many now-vanished mills along the river—and what they made and who ran them, including the impressively named Molly's Falls Electric Light Company, established in 1901, which was once described by a visitor as looking as though the proprietor had "whittled it out of wood" (p. 30).

From here, Fish launches into the spouting, squishing, squeezing, folding, lifting, freezing, thawing, and flooding that is the story of geology, explores the wildlife and habitat in the Winooski watershed, and, with an air of inevitability, finds, digs, and eats some of the river's eponymous wild onions. These shifts of focus, from long-lost lakes to "It's an onion all right, sharp and tasty" (p. 67), illustrate the book's overarching impulse—nothing is too small, or too large, for Fish's attention.

A stop at the water treatment plant in Montpelier reminds us that the Winooski is a dirty river, although much cleaner than it used to be. The process of screening, settling, aerating, digesting, and generally messing around with human waste leads into a wider discussion of the other horrid things we pour into our surface water through point- and non-point-source pollution. Although the river is no longer an open sewer, the author reports that in his lifetime an observer could still determine "how high the Winooski had risen by where the toilet paper hung in the streamside branches" (p. 70). Those days may be gone, but many water quality issues remain, the largest being erosion. "It may come as a surprise," Fish writes, "that the biggest single pollutant of Vermont's waters and the Winooski itself is none of the above but nature's own product, the soil, or, to be a bit more technical, mineral sediments" (p. 78). The more we mess with the river—to control flooding, to keep it predictably in one place—the more harm we inflict. This discussion leads gracefully into a chapter on stream dynamics which then segues neatly into another chapter on paddling (and some comically awkward portaging) along the river.

Sadly, the river makes something of a thematic retreat in the final third of the book, which is more focused on a bobcat hunter, a tragic collision between a car and a train, a haunted house from childhood, the continuing presence of the Abenaki, and a chapter on trapping fur. Under the

accumulating weight of these narratives, the sinuous hiss of water over stone and gravel steadily recedes, and the final chapter on tracking game, called "Learning to See," is perfectly fine in its own right but reads like part of some other book. At its low point, it even quotes an organizational mission statement, which talks sonorously about "requirements," "densities," and "degradation" (p. 219), and signals unambiguously that we have come a long way from the more limpid pleasures of the headwaters. There, the closest thing we got to an administrative declaration was the Stone Museum's plaintive but pleasing, "Please Feel Free to Look at Stones/ Please Stay out of Building/Not Safe No Insurance/Gone After More Stones" (pp. 11–12). The lapse late in the book into less inspiring prose is disappointing chiefly because the author has exceeded all reasonable expectations up until now, and it must be added that he continues to write well even as he drags us to places we may not want to go.

That said, *In the Land of the Wild Onion* is an important chronicle of Vermont's key watershed, along with its geologic, economic, and social history, and also represents a long bout of deep, interesting research that results in both notes and a list of sources that includes many documents that are intriguing gotta-haves, and at least one not-yet-published. Those of us made happy by bibliographies will come away satisfied, and those of us who want to be cradled in the arms of a trustworthy author will have no complaints either. This publication does not allow its reviewers to assign stars; if it did, this book would get the maximum allotment.

HELEN HUSHER

Helen Husher is the author of three books about Vermont, most recently a memoir, Conversations with a Prince: A Year of Riding at East Hill Farm. *She lives in Montpelier.*

Crossings: A History of Vermont Bridges

By Robert McCullough (Montpelier: Vermont Agency of Transportation and Barre: Vermont Historical Society, 2006, pp. xviii, 380; paper, $24.95).

Most of us have experienced a "bridge moment"—a back-road encounter with an early iron bridge, the first time we saw the 468-foot Windsor-Cornish covered bridge, or perhaps the feeling we're home when we cross a concrete span into a village. Bridges connect us with place and with history. As Eric DeLony, long-time director of the His-

toric American Engineering Record, observes in his excellent preface for *Crossings*, "old bridges may represent outdated technologies, yet they provide a connection with that vanishing past by softening its collision with the future" (p. xvii). This book is for readers who have come to love Vermont's surviving historic bridges and who want to learn more in order to preserve them.

Vermont is in the forefront of efforts nationwide to preserve historic bridges. In the late 1990s the state passed legislation to encourage retention rather than replacement of historic crossings. Studies have shown that rehabilitation is usually less expensive than replacement and that the scale and design of old bridges maintain the traditional character of city, village, or countryside. The state has lost many bridges of great beauty and engineering importance, a fact underlined by the author's use of some 300 historical and documentary illustrations, the majority images of bridges that survive only on paper.

McCullough begins with an art-historical approach to the symbolic and aesthetic aspects of bridges, representing the "hand of man" in the Vermont landscape. Examining the work of Vermont artists and photographers, he finds that bridges may be seen as fragile structures dwarfed by picturesque nature, minor elements in a rural landscape. They may be portals leading us into a village view. Or they may be engineering achievements, representing industrialization and urbanization, the power of the factory and the railroad. The chapter ends with Sabra Field's print of a Pratt through truss over the White River, an image that captures both the experience of driving through a 1929 highway bridge and the broad scenic approach through farm fields. As Field describes her epiphany on a drive up Route 100, she "realized what makes the Vermont landscape so appealing: the balance of the natural and the man-made" (p. 34).

The bulk of the book is a typology by materials, with chapters tracing bridge evolution from timber or stone to iron, then concrete and steel. It covers Vermont's settlement period up to the era of the interstate highways and includes the grand, the humble, and anomalies such as Brookfield's floating bridge. Highway bridges predominate, though there are also railroad bridges and a few pedestrian crossings. Period photographs bring construction methods to life and take us back to opening ceremonies and early vehicular traffic. The horizontal format of the book (8" × 10") enables the grouping of photographs, which may show construction sequences, several bridges for comparison, or the evolution of crossings at one site.

Bob McCullough began recording Vermont's bridges in the 1980s and currently co-manages the Vermont Historic Bridge Program as well as teaching in the University of Vermont's Historic Preservation Program.

His interests lie in the immediate cultural context: the business of bridge building, the stories of individual builders, the process of community decision making, the establishment of the Vermont Society of Engineers, the role of the railroads and, later, the state highway department, and the state and federal regulatory context. National influences are lightly included—the Good Roads Movement of the turn of the last century is mentioned several times before the author gives a cursory explanation of this colorful national impetus for highway improvement. McCullough makes no attempt to compare and contrast the range of Vermont bridges with those in other states or regions of the U.S., to establish Vermont's place in the larger picture of historic or surviving spans.

Following a concluding chapter on preservation issues and strategies, there is a selected inventory of bridges by county, giving dates, locations, and structural types. This list includes all surviving public examples of the major early bridge types and a sampling of minor and later types. Statistics on the early bridges would have been a useful addition, as would a glossary of technical terms or diagrams to help readers identify bridge components. Readers having trouble following the book's narrative descriptions of bridge engineering will find the well-illustrated and readable chapter on bridges in David Weitzman's *Traces of the Past: A Field Guide to Archaeology* a useful supplement.

McCullough's prose can be noncommittal. Photo captions often duplicate the text. Readability would have been improved if only data such as year built, builder, style, length, and location had been provided in a systematic format in the captions and narrative had been left to the text. The author does not capture the physical experience of a bridge, either in the past or in the present. What was it like to cross a wooden-decked bridge in a horse-drawn vehicle or an early automobile? What appeals to our senses as we cross a historic bridge today?

McCullough's research is voluminous, his sources largely primary, including the archives of the Vermont Agency of Transportation, state and local historical societies, and town records. With forty-seven pages of notes and a bibliographical essay, there are ample references to additional information. The book is also well indexed.

Writing about American bridges occurs in several genres. There are technical sources, such as Weitzman's book. There are also books on individual bridge types, most often covered bridges. Most common are the state inventory publications that appeared in the early 1990s, an accessible and well-illustrated genre that raised preservation consciousness with basic historical and engineering information and details about important sites. *Crossings* has its roots in this genre, but with its greater detail it sacrifices some ease of use and becomes more of a reference book,

providing background material that will serve preservationists and researchers interested in local and engineering history. It could serve as the basis for a visitor-friendly statewide guide to historic bridges as well as regional and local guides and websites that will increase appreciation of these culturally significant, often endangered, and, for the most part, readily accessible resources.

LESLIE GOAT

Leslie Goat's interest in bridges began in Eric DeLony's class in industrial archaeology at the University of Vermont in the early 1980s. She works in the Dartmouth College Library and Rauner Special Collections.

Benedict Arnold's Navy: The Ragtag Fleet that Lost the Battle of Lake Champlain but Won the American Revolution

By James L. Nelson (New York: McGraw Hill, 2006, pp. 386, $24.95).

James Nelson opens his excellent new book by quoting from nineteenth-century naval historian Alfred Thayer Mahan's classic, *The Influence of Sea Power Upon History:* "That the Americans were strong enough to impose the capitulation of Saratoga was due to the invaluable year of delay secured to them in 1776 by their little navy on Lake Champlain, created with the indomitable energy, and handled with the indomitable courage of the traitor, Benedict Arnold." Of course the 1776 Battle of Valcour was four long years before Arnold became an infamous traitor. Nelson's new book presents, in part, the military career of Arnold during the first three years of the American Revolution when, it can be argued, he was the most effective general fighting for the American cause.

Beginning with the well-known story of the taking of Fort Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys in May 1775, we are reminded that Arnold was a central character in the Northern Theater of the war, and remained so through the Battle of Saratoga in October 1777. Benedict Arnold is one of the world's most fascinating and controversial characters, and Nelson has produced a masterfully researched and wonderfully written account of this amazing man and the times in which he lived.

With painstaking accuracy and a relaxed readable style, Nelson escorts the reader from Lake Champlain through the incredible Canadian campaign and back to Lake Champlain for the pivotal naval engagement

that helped define the outcome of the war. Finally, the book concludes with Arnold's profound connection to the American victory at Saratoga. Along the way, Arnold's conflicts with fellow officers and Congress provide the backdrop of his later treason.

Some might find the book's title a bit misleading, as the centerpiece of the story, the Battle of Valcour Island, is saved for the latter section of the book. In fact, the assembling and dismantling of the fleet is wonderfully integrated within the three-year historical story and is a most effective way to tell the wider story of Benedict Arnold and his role as a principal player in some of the most significant events during the early years of the American Revolution.

While the charismatic, courageous, but often conflicted Arnold remains central to the story, the role of other high-ranking Americans such as Philip Schuyler, Horatio Gates, David Wooster, and George Washington are interwoven into the story. The British side is well represented by Sir Guy Carleton, John Burgoyne, George Germain and Charles Douglas. But Nelson goes beyond politicians and general staff by skillfully weaving in the perspective of both the American and British rank-and-file combatants.

Although direct quotations are not footnoted, the "Note on Sources" and the "Bibliography" are helpful. Nelson has liberally utilized the valuable nineteenth-century *American Archives* compiled by Peter Force and the Naval Historical Center's *Naval Documents of the American Revolution.* He has also taken advantage of many Arnold biographies, including the very fine *Benedict Arnold: Revolutionary Hero* by James Kirby Martin published in 1997 by New York University Press. While many recent Arnold biographers have had access to similar sources, it is the way Nelson weaves these sources together that is special. In the fine tradition of Kenneth Roberts, the book tells the almost day-to-day story of the Northern Campaign, but whereas Roberts introduces fictional characters to tell his story, Nelson's tale is told by the actual participants.

The readable storytelling style will make this book a welcome addition to any library, particularly for those with an interest in Champlain Valley or Revolutionary War history. It has the unusual virtue of being accessible and enjoyable for both general readers and scholars. Nelson's account of the Battle of Valcour Island is first rate. His obvious knowledge of vessels, tactics, and maritime affairs adds a valuable perspective to his analysis and interpretation of the naval contest. His explanations of these technical maneuvers, often confusing to the landsman, are presented in a clear, easy to follow fashion, and his previous writings have earned him the praise of the legendary Patrick O'Brian.

James Nelson's new book combines a momentous period in history

with an extraordinary central character and masterfully presents one of the most important and underappreciated episodes in American history. That James Nelson does it so well is a compliment to this history and to himself.

ART COHN

Art Cohn is the Executive Director of the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum. In 1997 his research team located Benedict Arnold's gunboat Spitfire, *and since 1999, has been systematically mapping the submerged battlefield at Valcour Island.*

Slavery/Antislavery in New England. Annual Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Volume 28

Edited by Peter Benes (Boston: Boston University Press, 2005, pp. 184, paper, $25.00).

Every June the Dublin Seminar convenes to consider some aspect of New England life; as many as twenty scholars present papers, and a selection of these is published in an annual series that dates back to 1976. The current volume includes twelve articles and abstracts of seven other papers from the 2003 session. Most of the authors are "professional" historians (i.e., with Ph.D.s), but the collection includes independent scholars, an Indian elder, and a museum educator as well. Eight papers concern people or places in Massachusetts, two cover New Hampshire, and one each Connecticut and Rhode Island; Vermont is not represented. Although titled "slavery/antislavery in New England," several papers address African-American history more broadly.

These volumes remind me of a box lot at a country auction—a miscellany of related items of disparate quality whose values are at least somewhat in the eye of the beholder. That said, the "best" article arguably is "Pauper Apprenticeship in Narragansett Country: A Different Name for Slavery," by Ruth Wallis Herndon and Ella Wilcox Sekatau. Although apprenticeship had long been used to train young people in various trades, *pauper* apprenticeship—the indenturing of impoverished children or orphans—was not always so benign. As used against the Narragansett Indians in eighteenth-century Rhode Island, Herndon and Sekatau argue, it was akin to slavery. Many of these children were neither orphaned nor impoverished, but were taken from their parents because their labor

was desired in white households. After analyzing 759 indentures signed in six communities from 1720 to 1820, the authors conclude "that this form of unfree labor provided economic profit to the masters, separated children from their parents' culture and placed them in an inferior position in another culture, and trained young people for an adulthood of menial service" (p. 68).

Valerie Cunningham presents a 1779 petition for freedom by twenty "natives of Africa" in New Hampshire. The petitions that Prince Hall and others in Boston submitted to the Massachusetts legislature are well known, but this effort was new to me. Cunningham's suggestion that a network of communication and assistance existed among these early petitioners is intriguing. Similarly, Jennifer Alpert's research on Boston's Anti-Man Hunting League will probably be new to many. Formed in 1854 in response to the rendition of Anthony Burns under the new Fugitive Slave Law, the secret association was dedicated to kidnapping slave hunters. It's hard not to find the elaborate plans concocted by the League's members—prominent lawyers, physicians, clergymen, and merchants—slightly humorous; they actually diagrammed and practiced the kidnapping in an odd sort of choreography. Still, local leagues with more than 450 members were formed in twenty-nine towns, and that represents a considerable commitment to physical force and breaking the law, even if the plans were never put into action.

Articles by Diane Cameron and Elizabeth A. Congdon relate the lives of ordinary people of color. Cameron traces Quash Gomer and his family through four generations, from Africa to New England and the eighteenth century to the American Civil War. Although Gomer was ultimately able to sign his name and raised the money to buy his freedom, he did not prosper. Nor did his children. His grandson, "a quiet well-disposed youth," joined Connecticut's "colored" regiment but died before mustering out. Calvin T. Swan, born free in Northfield, Massachusetts, in 1799 (the year Quash Gomer died), on the contrary, is a story of success. Apprenticed to a local builder, he became a skilled craftsman and was a landowner and leader in his "rather isolated mountain community" (p. 118). Congdon speculates that Swan's white neighbors may have accepted him into their "web of mutual support" (p. 121) because they were Methodists opposed to slavery.

Recovering African-American history is a slow process, and each new offering adds to our understanding. Although nothing in this volume relates directly to Vermont, it is still of interest to Green Mountain readers and scholars. Certainly there were Vermonters of color like Quash Gomer and Calvin Swan whose stories are yet to be told. Indeed, Diane Cameron puts her finger on it when say says, "Long regarded as irretrievable

and insignificant, stories of ordinary enslaved and free eighteenth- and nineteenth-century African Americans dramatize their struggle for freedom and self-sufficiency. The fragments of information hidden in the recesses of old records challenge historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists to direct their focus toward the individuals who faced the challenges of enslavement and emancipation in New England. Rediscovered, these stories, although incomplete, increase our knowledge of specific issues and enlarge our understanding of the Northern slave experience and its legacy" (p. 114). Amen.

JANE WILLIAMSON

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

The Inquest

By Jeffrey Marshall (Burlington: University of Vermont Press and Hanover: University Press of New England, 2006, pp. xii, 271, $24.95).

The writer of historical fiction sails on potentially perilous waters. Literal-minded historians will make a point of spotting anachronisms and inaccuracies. Credulous readers will be inclined to ignore artistic license and take the story at face value. (George Washington really did chop down that cherry tree, didn't he?) Jeffrey Marshall, a historian and archivist at the University of Vermont, has taken on the challenge. In my view, he has succeeded. His novel tells a fictional story that holds our interest. It also paints a detailed and well-researched picture of Burlington in 1830.

The documentary record from which the novel springs is disappointingly scanty. Sorting through court records that survived the 1982 Chittenden County Court House fire, Marshall found a transcript relating evidence presented at an inquest after the death of Experience "Speedy" Goodrich, a 23-year-old Burlington woman who died, probably of septic complications, following an induced abortion in 1830. Very little additional information has survived about Speedy or the circumstances of her demise. A University of Vermont medical student named Charles D. Daggett was implicated, but never formally charged, with complicity in the abortion.

Marshall gives voices to Daggett, to Speedy's sister Nancy (Goodrich) Proctor, and to a fictional UVM undergraduate called Stephen Decatur Parker, and has each of them tell the story as he or she saw it unfold.

Their worlds, while intersecting, are rather different, and so they give their accounts with disparate perspectives and language. From Charles Daggett, we learn about the uneasy state of medical education and science in that era. Doctors very much wanted to find solid scientific grounding for their efforts and to earn public approval for their success, but apart from bone setting, a few surgical procedures, opium, and cathartics, their list of really useful interventions was short indeed. The public was not inclined to revere or even trust "medical men" very deeply, and the increasing efforts of male physicians to enter the world of midwifery disturbed many of the women whose lives and health were at stake.

Arriving in Burlington in the summer of 1830 to enroll at the University of Vermont, Stephen Decatur Parker finds himself in the midst of a stimulating intellectual community surrounding such luminaries as UVM President James Marsh and Unitarian minister George Ingersoll. Getting young Stephen a seat at a dinner table conversation with James Marsh, James's cousin George Perkins Marsh, Rev. Ingersoll, and a young woman from Boston with whom he falls madly in love, is perhaps a bit of a stretch, but that's where artistic license comes into play. We thus hear of James Marsh's newly published edition of a philosophical work by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and of George Perkins Marsh's ideas about human influences on natural events. The latter would not be published until many years later, and having him discuss his thoughts in an 1830 conversation may be an anachronism, but the devastating flood often referred to in this book really did happen in Vermont in 1830, and it may well have influenced Marsh's later thoughts and writings.

Speedy's younger sister Nancy tells her story in the voice of a Victorian novel, and an author risks descending into parody with discourse like, "What anguish I endured! How unjust to be subjected to this scrutiny and humiliation on top of my grief! Could Job himself have suffered so, knowing that his conscience was pure and his faith unshaken?" (p. 257). But Marshall has read a lot of nineteenth-century letters in the course of his career, and Nancy speaks their language accurately, or at least she might well have written that way.

Like the inquest jury, we don't really find out all the details of what happened to Speedy. We hear conflicting evidence and must, if we wish, make up our own minds. We reach no universally agreed-upon conclusion on the moral questions surrounding the practice of abortion, any more than the people of 1830 Burlington did, or any more than the people of 2006 Vermont do. As Marshall emphasizes both through his characters in the novel and in some back-matter commentary, these issues may have troubled people, but they were the subject of much less public debate in 1830 than they are today.

The Inquest seems to be aimed partly at high school and college curricula; it comes equipped with background information and a "Reading Group Guide" with discussion questions about its content and presentation. It provides some enjoyable walking tours of the busy and expanding village of Burlington, for which a map might have been a useful adjunct. Readers of many sorts of background and interest will find it entertaining, thoughtful, and educational.

JOHN A. LEPPMAN

John A. Leppman, M.D. is a practicing physician and avocationally a student of Vermont history and bibliography.

Four Marys and a Jessie: The Story of the Lincoln Women

By C. J. King (Manchester, Vt.: Friends of Hildene, 2005, pp. 251, paper $19.95).

On sunny afternoon in late September 1930, a parade of sixty decorated cars and floats, three hundred more spectator cars, three bands, three drum corps and two airplanes headed north from the Vermont-Massachusetts border, tracing the new paved line of the Ethan Allen Highway. Celebrations such as this one are common in American history but each one has its distinctive qualities. The uniqueness here was the airplanes, still a novelty at the time. More exceptional perhaps was the fact that one was piloted by a local woman who was the great-granddaughter of President Abraham Lincoln.

This pilot, Mary Lincoln Beckwith, is last of the four Marys whose lives are the subject of this engaging book by C. J. King, who is herself a distant relative of the Lincoln family through the Harlan line. The first Mary is Mary Todd Lincoln, wife of Abraham Lincoln. The second is Mary Harlan Lincoln, wife of Robert Todd Lincoln. The third is Mary "Mamie" Lincoln Ishmam, daughter of Mary and Robert. And the fourth Mary, who was known as Peggy, is our pilot. Jessie Lincoln Beckwith is the second daughter and third child of Mary and Robert and mother of Peggy. Some readers might need the handy family tree printed in the book to match up the relations but most will find it unnecessary. The author brings each woman alive and weaves their stories into a larger compelling narrative of four generations of the Lincoln and Harlan families.

The story begins with the fascinating history of Mary Todd Lincoln, a woman of strong and sometimes odd beliefs and behaviors. Much of what King presents in her history of Mary Todd is well known and she draws on an extensive scholarship that is carefully cited. But it is her unique angle on Mary Todd that will make readers want to pick up this book. While other scholars have focused much of their attention on Mary Todd's public life, or on how her private life was revealed in the public cultures of Illinois and Washington, D.C., King shifts the picture to Mary Todd's search for privacy, safety, and an environment that would encourage good health. In August 1863 this search brought her and her sons Tad and Robert to Manchester, Vermont, where they stayed at the Equinox House. She returned the next year and made another reservation for the subsequent summer but the president's assassination put her on a different path. In 1872 her son Robert began visiting the area again and in 1903 he bought property and built Hildene, which Mamie and then Peggy inherited. Peggy turned Hildene into a working farm and upon her death directed that it should be "a memorial to my mother and grandparents" (p. 213).

Mary Todd and Peggy are the bookends of this narrative but there is also much interesting information here about the other Lincoln women thanks to a well-preserved public record as well as extensive oral history interviews that King has drawn upon. Mary Harlan's family and public life are well documented because of Robert's business and political successes. Jessie's record includes her daring elopement and sad divorces, the first of which resulted in eight-year-old Peggy never again seeing her father and the second of which made her father decide to leave her out of the Hildene inheritance. Sources about Mamie, who lived at what is now the 1811 House Inn in Manchester, are fewer and therefore her life is the least revealed in the narrative. For this, however, the author should be commended. While at times King speculates about how individuals felt about events taking place, in general she sticks close to the written record.

This is a wonderful book. It is much more than a history of one prominent family; it is a window on the political, religious, and social life of the last two centuries. Yet the stories that King tells of this notable family are as dramatic as any could be and because the perspective is women's and family history, they emphasize connections that are easily lost in traditional political histories. One example will suffice. In early July 1863, Mary Todd Lincoln was driving alone through Washington in the president's carriage. Rounding a sharp curve, the driver's seat fell off, Mary was injured, and was bedridden for three weeks. King writes that Mary's husband, "preoccupied with the bloody three-day battle of Gettysburg....

agonized alternately over his wife's illness and the horrendous number of Union casualties." (p. 57) Most historians follow this history to November and the bloody battlefield where President Lincoln gave his famous address. But King takes us from Washington, where an investigation revealed that the carriage had been sabotaged, to Vermont. With reporters still focused on the stories of the war and conspiracies, Mary Todd Lincoln and her two sons traveled to Manchester, Vermont, to escape to its restorative environment. Years later, one of those sons and his children and grandchildren—famous in a world increasingly fascinated by celebrities—would return, and stay, for similar reasons.

MELANIE GUSTAFSON

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Grace Coolidge: Sudden Star (A Volume in the Presidential Wives Series)

By Cynthia D. Bittinger (New York: Nova History Publications, 2005, pp. xiv, 125. $31.50)

Back in 1989 I reviewed for *Vermont History* a recently reissued biography of Grace Coolidge by Ishbel Ross that had originally appeared in 1962. In my review I observed that, while the book stood up well as a public portrait of one of the nation's most popular first ladies, "it is the private Grace Coolidge who is missing from these pages." Fortunately, the private Grace Coolidge is much more in evidence in Cyndy Bittinger's *Grace Coolidge: Sudden Star.* This new, albeit brief, life of Vermont's only first lady by the executive director of the Calvin Coolidge Memorial Foundation, draws on previously untapped sources, including magazine articles and letters to family, friends, and fraternity sisters, to give us a more intimate and complex portrait of Calvin Coolidge's wife. The book is replete with telling details that reveal this popular first lady's character and show why she was in many respects the ideal candidate for that demanding and often thankless job. As Bittinger makes clear, Grace knew when to stay in the shadow of her husband and when it was permissible to show her true spirit.

A window onto Grace's role in the 1924 presidential campaign shows her and Calvin at the Coolidge Homestead away from the formality of

the White House with their divided functions as president and first lady. Grace, who normally stayed in the background when politics were discussed, on this occasion, by Bittinger's account, was "up front and center," participating in lively discussions with their guests, who included Henry Ford and Thomas Edison (p. 71).

As one of a series on first ladies put out by Nova History Publications, the focus of *Grace Coolidge: Sudden Star* is, not surprisingly, on her years in the White House. But the reader wishes that more than seven pages had been devoted to Grace's youth in Burlington and more than fifteen to her nearly quarter of a century of widowhood.

The section on Grace and Calvin's early years of marriage in Northampton is more filled out, and this book does a good job of describing how Grace made a life for herself in this western Massachusetts town by plunging wholeheartedly into community affairs. Here Bittinger brings to life the Coolidges as a solidly middle-class couple who believed in the importance of a strong family life (p. 39). This could only be done, they both believed, if Grace stayed in the background as she did when Calvin served as governor of Massachusetts.

Of particular interest in these pages is the role played by the Coolidges' great friends, Frank and Emily Stearns, in making Grace part of Calvin's political life. Frank, the owner of a big Boston department store, had unlimited faith in Coolidge's potential for high office, and became his chief supporter and promoter. It was Stearns who grasped Grace's political value to her husband. "She will make friends wherever she goes," he wrote of her, "and she will not meddle with his [Calvin's] conduct of the office" (p. 34).

While this new life of Grace Coolidge provides a more rounded portrait than previous biographies, it suffers from careless editing. Not having read any of the other books in this Nova series, I cannot tell if this is a common problem. Here, however, sentences are incomplete, words are left out or misspelled. In some instances individuals are named without being identified, or are only identified later in the book or in a footnote. In other cases, individuals are reintroduced unnecessarily, as is the case with John Coolidge's in-laws, the Trumbulls.

Another problem is the overuse of quotations that break the narrative flow. Many of the quoted passages could easily have been paraphrased. It's not at all clear why some passages are in quotes while others are not.

Finally, an index and a few illustrations would have been helpful. According to the author they will be included in the second printing.

These errors and omissions, unfortunately, are numerous enough to make reading this otherwise lively portrait of Grace Coolidge less of a

pleasure than its contents would warrant. Cyndy Bittinger has done her best to give us a readable life of this lively and charming Vermonter, but her editors have let her down.

DEBORAH P. CLIFFORD

Deborah P. Clifford is the author of several books on nineteenth-century American women, including a biography of the Vermont historian, Abby Maria Hemenway, The Passion of Abby Hemenway: Memory, Spirit, and the Making of History *(Vermont Historical Society, 2001).*

Middlesex in the Making; History and Memories of a Small Vermont Town

By Sarah Seidman and Patricia Wiley (Middlesex, Vt.: Middlesex Historical Society, 2006, pp. vii, 256, paper, $20.00).

Middlesex was the first town settled in Washington County and this book is the first complete history that has been written since the town was founded in 1783. What distinguishes this impressive volume from the traditional town history is the inclusion of excerpts from interviews with more than seventy long-time residents.

The authors spent more than a decade researching local primary source documents, both published and unpublished, and interviewing the oldest residents. The volume corrects factual errors in previously published sources, such as *Ward Knapp Remembers Middlesex* (1978) and Hemenway's *Vermont Historical Gazetteer* (vol. 4 [1882]). The ample footnotes (even the acknowledgements section has footnotes) and extensive bibliography add to the usefulness of the book. More than 200 photographs make the book a pleasure to browse, and the eleven-page index is thorough and well done. The six appendices cover the geology of Middlesex, Native American settlements in the area, European exploration and settlement in the area, names of Middlesex war veterans from the French and Indian War up to the present Iraq War, a list of Middlesex town clerks from 1790 to 2006, and statistics on the population of Middlesex from 1783 to 2000. The information in the first three appendices could have been integrated into the body of the book, but they are still useful as separate sections.

The first six chapters of the book are devoted to the history of specific geographic areas within the town of Middlesex: Bear Swamp, the village, Middlesex Center and the Notch, Wrightsville, Putnamville and Lone-

some Bend, and Shady Rill and Points South. Maps at the beginning of each of these chapters show the area covered.

The development of the town has been shaped both by the forces of nature, such as the Flood of 1927, and major construction projects, such as the Wrightsville dam and Interstate 89. The Flood of 1927 destroyed most of the village of Middlesex and nearly all of its commerce, and the subsequent construction of the Wrightsville dam by the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1930s resulted in the flooding or relocation of homes in the section of town known as Wrightsville, to assure the future safety of the residents of Montpelier. The construction of Interstate 89 further displaced families, bisected farms, and fragmented what was left of the town. Even though the population of Middlesex is larger now than at any previous time in its 223-year history, it is also true that the village "is only a humble shadow of the prosperous commercial center it was in the late 19th and early 20th centuries" (p. 27) and there are no longer any working dairy farms.

The history of almost every town is sprinkled with colorful characters, and Middlesex is no exception. Perhaps the best-known character was Crazy Chase, a naturally gifted musician who could play any tune after hearing it only once and who liked to dress in women's clothing, both on and off stage. An earlier resident of Middlesex, Medad Wright, constructed the first circular sawmill in successful operation in Vermont and went on to invent and build a variety of manufacturing equipment. The best known resident of Middlesex today is Patrick Leahy, the youngest U.S. Senator ever to be elected from the Green Mountain State. The best known visitor to Middlesex was no doubt President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, who came to the area in 1936 to see the dams built by the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Interspersed throughout the book are the most interesting memories of seventy-eight of the oldest residents of the town, nearly half of whom have died since the interviews were completed. Their stories of growing up early in the twentieth century, with its hardships and lack of many conveniences and amenities that we take for granted today should kindle a sense of appreciation for the progress we have made and the many material blessings that most of us enjoy today. Life in the early decades of the last century was typified by outhouses, kerosene lamps, flat irons, and a weekly trip to Montpelier on a horse-drawn wagon to buy groceries. People bathed in a washtub on Saturday night and children would use dishpans as sleds in the winter. Early radios were battery operated and some families in Middlesex did not get electricity until 1963. Horses pulling rollers would pack down the snow on the roads. Babies were delivered at home and children ran barefoot in the summer. Church services

were held only on the first Sunday of each month and there was less separation between church and state than is the norm today. Children's chores included emptying the chamber pots, helping with the barnwork, and filling the woodboxes for the stoves. In 1851 Middlesex had a dozen one-room schoolhouses and most children only attended school until they finished the eighth grade. In the 1800s Middlesex had a town-appointed overseer of the poor, as did many other Vermont towns, and selectmen could "warn out" families who threatened to become a financial burden to the town. A hearse driver was among the public officials elected at the town annual meeting.

Among the more recent significant events in the history of Middlesex were the founding of Middlesex College in 1964 and the establishment of a demonstration school operated by the Vermont Department of Education starting in 1972 to test new theories of education. The college folded after a brief existence and the demonstration school was widely seen as a complete failure. The town now has a well-respected elementary school and in recent decades the selectmen have dealt with other contentious issues, including town planning, zoning, and local taxes.

The authors have done an excellent job of integrating hard facts, personal anecdotes, and illustrative material into a town history that is a pleasure to read. One can only hope that some of the unpublished material cited in the footnotes will someday be made available to a wider audience, either in print or in a digital format that can be included on a website. This book should inspire other local historical societies to undertake oral history interviews of their oldest residents before the memories are forever lost. The photographs and personal stories should make this local history appealing to a wider audience than the typical small town history, including younger readers who rarely are active members of local historical societies.

HANS RAUM

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

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Recent Additions to the Vermont Historical Society Library

BOOKS

Aldrich, Edith Francena and Joan Alexander, *Mother & Daughter: Two Diaries of Glover, Vermont Girls.* Glover, Vt.: Glover Historical Society, 2004. 176p. Source: The publisher, PO Box 208, Glover, VT 05839. List: $14.00 (paper). Includes 1894 Diary of Edith Francena Aldrich (age 14) and 1922 Diary of Edith Alexander (age 14).

Apthorp, Elsie Janeway, *Elinor & Edward Janeway: There Was Magic Wherever They Walked.* Mount Desert, Maine: The author, 2005. 138p. Source: The author, Box 715, Mt. Desert, ME 04660. List: $20.00. Biography of two influential Vermonters, 1950s–1970s.

Back, Brian A., *The Keewaydin Way: The Story of the World's Oldest Canoe-Trip Camp.* Salisbury, Vt.: Roy Waters Scholarship Fund, 2004. 431p. Source: Keewaydin Foundation, 10 Keewaydin Road, Salisbury, VT 05769. List: Unknown.

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

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Belding, Patricia W., *One Less Woman: A Vermont Murder: 1919.* Barre, Vt.: Potash Brook Publishing, 2006. 184p. Source: The author, 8 Delmont Ave., Barre, VT 05641. List: $19.95 (paper). Murder of Lucina Broadwell in Barre.

Bellerose, George, *Caring for Our Own: A Portrait of Community Health Care.* Middlebury, Vt.: Painter House Press, 2006. 212p. Source: The author, 80 Meetinghouse Lane, Weybridge, VT 05753. List: Unknown (paper). Biographies and photographs of Vermonters working in the health care field in Addison County.

* Bittinger, Cynthia D., *Grace Coolidge: Sudden Star.* New York: Nova History Publications, 2005. 124p. List: $31.50.

* Coffin, Bruce, *The Long Light of Those Days: Recollections of a Vermont Village at Mid-century.* Woodstock, Vt.: Woodstock Historical Society, 2005. 233p. List: $24.95. Memoir of growing up in Woodstock, Vt.

Collins, Wilkie, and Rob Warden, *Wilkie Collins's "The Dead Alive": The Novel, the Case, and Wrongful Convictions.* Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2005. 178p. List: $24.95. Reprint of world's first legal thriller about Vermont's Boorn murder case with additions by an advocate in wrongful conviction cases.

* Fish, Charles, *In the Land of the Wild Onion: Travels along Vermont's Winooski River.* Burlington, Vt.: University of Vermont Press; Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2006. 253p. Source: VHSMS. List: $25.95.

Ganger, Robert W., and Nancy Preu, *Lila Vanderbilt Webb's Miradero: Window on an Era.* Palm Beach, Fla.: Historical Society of Palm Beach County, 2005. 184p. Source: Images from the Past, PO Box 137, Bennington, VT 05201. List: $35.00. Includes biographical information about the Vanderbilts who also owned Shelburne Farms in Shelburne, Vt.

* Graff, Nancy Price, *Taking Wing.* New York: Clarion Books, 2005. 211p. List: $15.00. Novel for young adults about a youngster who moves to his grandparents' farm in Vermont during World War II.

Grimes, Ray, *A Boy of the Great Depression: My Story.* Hardwick, Vt.: The author, 2005. 125p. Source: Unknown. List: Unknown (paper).

* Ketchum, Liza, *Where the Great Hawk Flies.* New York: Clarion Books, 2005. 264p. Novel for young adults set immediately after the Revolutionary War. List: $16.00.

* King, C. J., *Four Marys and a Jessie: The Story of the Lincoln Women.* Manchester, Vt.: Friends of Hildene, Inc., 2005. 251p. List: $19.95 (paper). Includes Vermonters.

Maney, Jane Elizabeth Stark, *Molly Stark: A Woman of Great Patriotism and Courage.* Northborough, Mass.: The author, 2004. 45p. Source: The author, 302 Church Street, Northborough, MA. List: Unknown (paper). Biography of New Hampshire woman with a role in the Battle of Bennington.

Mitchell, Mark DeSaussure, *St. Johnsbury Athenaeum: Handbook of the Art Collection.* St. Johnsbury, Vt.: Trustees of the St. Johnsbury Athenaeum; Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2005. 150p. Source: The publisher, 1 Court St., Lebanon, NH 03766. List: $14.95 (paper).

* Morse, Burr, *Sweet Days & Beyond: The Morse Family, Eight Generations of Maplesugaring.* Poultney, Vt.: Historical Pages, 2005. 215p. List: $14.95 (paper). Family of East Montpelier.

Porter, Ruth, *The Simple Life.* Montpelier, Vt.: Bar Nothing Books, 2006. 427p. List: $24.95. Novel about middle aged woman who settles in Vermont.

* Searls, Paul M., *Two Vermonts: Geography and Identity, 1865–1910.* Durham, N.H.: University of New Hampshire Press; Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2006. 256p. List: $26.00 (paper).

* Seidman, Sarah, and Patricia Wiley, *Middlesex in the Making: History and Memories of a Small Vermont Town.* Middlesex, Vt.: Middlesex Historical Society, 2006. 256p. List: $20.00 (paper).

* Siebert, Wilbur Henry, *Vermont's Anti-Slavery and Underground Railroad Record, with a Map and Illustrations.* Newport, Vt.: Tony O'Connor Civil War Enterprises. 113p. List: $29.50. Reprint; originally published 1937.

Smith, Janna Malamud, *My Father is a Book: A Memoir of Bernard Malamud.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2006. 292p. List: $24.00. Malamud taught at Bennington College.

* Smolan, Rick, and David Elliot Cohen, *Vermont 24/7: 24 Hours, 7 Days, Extraordinary Images of One Week in Vermont.* New York: DK Publishing, 2004. 144p. List: $24.95.

Sondergeld, Donald R., *History of Hubbardton, Vermont.* Collierville, Tenn.: Instant Publisher.com, 2005. 190p. Source: The author, Eagle Rock Estates, 469 Birch Road in Hubbardton, Brandon, VT 05733. List: $23.85 (paper) $12.00 (CD).

Vellturo, Barbara, *The Narrows of Stockbridge, Vermont: Views of Ages Past in Old Postcards and Photos.* Stockbridge, Vt.: Stockbridge-Gaysville Historical Society, 2002. Unpaginated. Source: Stockbridge-Gaysville Historical Society, PO Box 100, Gaysville, VT 05746-0100. List: $5.00 (paper). Includes excerpt from *Vermont in Floodtime* by Luther B. Johnson.

Vershire Historical Society, *Copperfield: Being a Brief Pictorial History of the Ely Mine in Vershire, Vermont.* Vershire, Vt.: Vershire Historical Society, 2004. 20p. List: $6.00. Source: The publisher, PO Box 41, Vershire, VT 05079.

Voices Project, *Listen: Poetry, Art, Film, Music from Vermont Teens.* Montpelier, Vt.: BlueCross BlueShield of Vermont; Barnet, Vt.: Kingdom County Productions, 2005. 201p. Source: Kingdom County Productions, 949 Somers Road, Barnet, VT 05821. List: $15.00 (paper). Collected works from the files of the Voices Project.

* Wallance, Gregory J., *Two Men before the Storm: Arba Crane's Recollection of Dred Scott and the Supreme Court Case that Started the Civil War.* Austin, Tex.: Greenleaf Book Group Press, 2006. 341p. List: $14.95 (paper). Fictionalized account of Vermonter Arba Crane's defense of Dred Scott.

Wentink, Andrew Mark, *From Constraint to Celebration: 200 years of Middlebury Dancing.* Middlebury, Vt.: Middlebury College Dept. of Theatre, Dance, Film/Video, 2000. 103p. Source: Dept. of Special Collections, Middlebury College, Middlebury, VT 05753. List: Unknown (paper).

West Fairlee Historical Society (Vt.), *Orange County Copper Mining District Cookbook: A Collection of Recipes Gathered by the Historical Societies of West Fairlee, Vershire and Thetford.* Kearney, Nebr.: Morris Press Cookbooks, 2003. 68p. Source: Vershire Historical Society, PO Box 41, Vershire, VT 05079. List: $10.00 (paper). Includes copper mining history and photographs.

* Winthrop, Elizabeth. *Counting on Grace.* New York: Wendy Lamb Books, 2006. 232p. List: $15.95. Fictional account of Pownal, Vt., girl pictured in famous Lewis Hine child labor photograph.

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Kieffer, Jonas, *"An Interest Residing Partly in Both Territories": The Emergence of Nationalism in the "Verdmont" Borderlands, 1777–1794.* 2005. 116p. B.A. senior thesis, Brown University.

ARTICLES

"American Pastoral: Web Exhibit Revisits the Roots of the Conservation Movement." *Common Ground,* 11, 1 (Spring 2006): 10–1. About Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller National Historical Park in Woodstock.

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———, *Early Deeds of Kelleyvale (later Lowell), Vermont for the Years 1812 through 1835.* Barre, Vt.: The author, 2005. 59p. Source: The author, 35 Birchwood Park Drive, Barre, VT 05641. List: $10.50 (paper).

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