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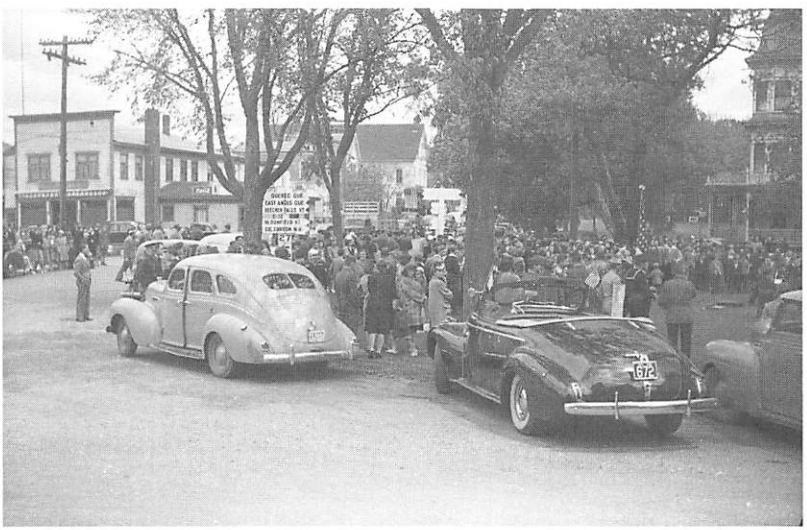
Book Reviews

About the Cover Illustration

The VHS library recently acquired a collection of photographic images taken by Edward L. Gatchell in and around Canaan, Vermont, in 1946 and 1947. The collection consists of ten rolls of developed 35-mm film containing 222 images. In order to better view these images the VHS library staff and volunteers have scanned all of the negatives and saved them as digital files.

The Gatchell photos are a wonderful record of life and events in the northeastern most point of the state just after World War II. The collection includes photographs of a ten-man Bombardier snow machine used for moving men into the woods to inspect logging jobs. The photo on the front cover shows the snow machine parked in front of the Halfway Hotel in Hereford, Quebec, just over the Canadian border from Canaan. The collection also documents the ceremony for laying the cornerstone of the Canaan Memorial School in 1946 (photo below). The school was dedicated to the memory of the veterans of the recently



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completed war and representatives of the armed services and dignitaries assembled in nearby Fletcher Park before laying the cornerstone.

In addition to these two photographs, the collection includes photos of other events: the collapse of a garage overhang onto a truck; a fire in a downtown block in nearby Colebrook, New Hampshire; another fire in an apartment house in the Beecher Falls section of Canaan; a family vacation spot at the Great Averill Pond; and photos of buses from Canada in front of the Gatchell's family business, the Northland Hotel. The collection includes but a few brief labels. Identification of the images has come through the assistance of the Canaan Historical Society and a teacher in Canaan.

This collection of family photographs provides surprising details about a community that is under-represented in the collections of the Vermont Historical Society during a period that is also under-documented. As such, it should be a useful record for researchers in the future.

— PAUL CARNAHAN, *Librarian*

Equity and History: Vermont's Education Revolution of the Early 1890s

Beginning in 1890, the Vermont state legislature decided on a new path to improve the education of their young people under what Vermont Governor William P. Dillingham described as "the broad proposition that the education of the masses is absolutely essential to the safety of the State and the United States."

By JOHN A. SAUTTER

In 1890 Vermont's public education system confronted a series of problems, including great disparities among school districts in their ability to fund adequate instruction. The costs of education were exacerbated by the fragmentation of school administration among thousands of local school districts. In response the State enacted a statewide property tax for the equalization of school funding and passed companion laws aimed at consolidating school administration and improving teacher training. Under the apportionment system then in place, with each municipality accorded one representative in the Vermont House regardless of town population, the small, rural, property-poor towns were able to enact this redistribution scheme at the expense of the state's population centers. The statewide property tax remained in

JOHN A. SAUTTER graduated *cum laude* from New York University, received his M.A. from the University of Nebraska at Omaha and his Ph.D. from the University of Nebraska at Lincoln. He currently attends Vermont Law School in South Royalton and is a First Lieutenant in the United States Marine Corps. Dr. Sautter has research interests in late nineteenth-century reform movements.

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effect until 1931, when it was replaced by a state income tax, with educational costs largely reverting to municipal property taxes.

During the 1990s Vermont again confronted disparities among the ability of municipalities to fund adequate education and a need to contain educational costs. In 1997, in the wake of a Vermont Supreme Court ruling, the legislature reestablished a statewide property tax to equalize education funding. The 1890 funding bill, as well as Vermont's historic reliance on statewide property taxes, were largely forgotten by 1997 and many of the new law's opponents charged that it was a violation of local control.

This article looks at the first ten years of operation of the 1890 education tax.[1] During that period the tax appears to have achieved its goal of equalizing educational funding by redistributing revenue from property-rich to property-poor towns. The law also had unintended consequences that frustrated other goals, such as creating an incentive to artificially expand the number of schools in the state to be eligible for more state funds. Understanding the 1890 law provides context for understanding the use of property taxes to fund education and is thus germane to current public dialogues on achieving equality of educational funding and opportunity.

The centerpiece of the 1890 legislative education changes was a new law that levied a five-cent per dollar property tax upon all property listed on each town's grand list.[2] The law represented a fundamental shift in the manner that Vermonters paid for their education system.[3] Until 1890, all local districts provided for their schools, and local district boards exercised nearly unlimited power over school property taxes, instruction, and employment matters. However, the old system led to great disparities in the tax rate among districts within a town and between different communities in the state and retarded the ability of towns to provide the best education possible. Therefore, beginning in 1890 the Vermont state legislature decided on a new path to improve the education of their young people under what Vermont Governor William P. Dillingham described as "the broad proposition that the education of the masses is absolutely essential to the safety of the State and the United States."[4]

The 1890 statewide property tax to equalize educational spending was especially important and had notable effects. First, it represented a great advancement in progressive taxation that redistributed money from wealthier urban areas to poorer rural communities.[5] Towns and cities that held greater wealth and prosperity than rural areas were by and large net losers under the law and essentially subsidized education in more sparsely populated areas. Second, the new law accentuated the differences between urban and rural Vermont. Most of the major cities (including

Burlington, Rutland, and Montpelier) were hubs of economic activity and gradual population growth.[6] However, in the late nineteenth century, rural Vermont was in economic and population decline.[7] Finally, the law affected the manner in which education was conducted in the state.[8]

The Need for Change: Vermont Education Prior to 1890

Prior to 1890 each school district provided funding for its own schools. A 1782 statute provided that towns should either create single school districts or divide the township into several districts to "enable [Vermonters] to instruct youth at low prices."[9]

All areas of the state opted for the multiple district option. Individual districts were organized along neighborhood lines and levied fees on a per-student basis to those families that had school-age children.[10] In an effort to assist a struggling educational system, the 1864 Vermont legislature made the payment of taxes to the local school compulsory for all land owners regardless of whether or not they had students in the school district.[11]

However, money was not the only issue. Inefficiency and population decline also contributed to dissatisfaction with public school funding. In 1860 Vermont had 239 incorporated towns, but contained 2,591 school districts. These numbers average out to over ten school districts per town. Furthermore, between 1850 and 1860 Vermont school enrollment fell from 99,110 to 75,691 students. The drop in students amounted to a decrease in the statewide average from 38 to 29 students per school. By 1884, rural parts of the state supported 103 school districts with six or fewer students and 420 districts that enrolled between six and eleven.[12]

In his farewell address praising the new law, Governor Dillingham summarized the problem caused by the discrepancy in the amount of taxes between different districts. In many towns the geographic make-up of the districts did not match the tax needs. This resulted from the diffuse nature of the districts, which had been created decades earlier when the population densities of rural areas were higher.[13] In some cases there were great discrepancies in property tax rates in the same town. For example, an 1889 comparison of the school districts in the town of Bennington reveals one with a property tax of six cents on the dollar and a nearby district with a tax of over sixty cents. In Brattleboro, a similar situation existed between two neighboring school districts, where one paid ten cents on the dollar and another paid a hundred cents.[14]

In short, the locally based Vermont education system that existed prior to 1890 was unconsolidated and inefficient. Rural taxpayers paid

exorbitant amounts of tax dollars annually for schools that were not providing a modicum of educational value compared to those schools in cities. Indeed, an account of one small district school of the time remarked on the condition of the school in the following way:

> Going to exchange with a neighboring minister not long ago, I met him on the way, and in answer to inquiries as to the most direct road, I told him to turn to the "right at a certain schoolhouse," a mile or two ahead. He drove straight by the schoolhouse, a mile or two out of his way, very much to his inconvenience, especially as night overtook him before he reached the village. He told me afterwards that he saw the schoolhouse, but decided it was a pig pen or sheep barn, or something of that kind. Now, we don't want schoolhouses for our children that will be mistaken for pig pens. We are thankful that the schoolhouse mentioned burned down last winter.[15]

What is more, the plethora of small school districts gradually cultivated a class of substandard teachers in rural areas. Limited property tax revenues in rural areas worked as a cap on the amount that small districts could pay their teachers. Consequently, the low teaching wages in existence in the "back" towns and districts tended to attract poorly educated and unlicensed teachers. As Governor Dillingham noted in his 1890 farewell address, "the State never could rise to a proper degree of excellence until the teachers should, as a class, reach a higher standard, both in scholarship and in a knowledge of teaching, and that this standard could only be reached by those who look upon teaching as a profession."[16] Governor Ebenezer Ormsbee emphasized the failure of the localized school system in 1886 by noting that "the people of our commonwealth are increasing in illiteracy."[17]

New Solutions: The 1890 Property Tax

To tackle these problems in education the Vermont legislature instituted a statewide property tax on November 26, 1890.[18] The tax levied a five-cent property tax upon every dollar contained on the grand list of all real estate and property in a town. The grand list does not contain farm chattel or personal property, but focuses upon the fair market value of each property listed.[19] For example, if a farmer owned $100 of land, he would have had to pay $5 in taxes on the land. As Governor Dillingham hinted, the grand list was a major point of contention between individual districts because "[i]n the villages where the grand list is large, the taxes are light; while in the hill districts where the grand list is small, they are almost uniformly burdensome."[20]

Prior to the institution of the statewide property tax, school districts set property tax rates and were solely funded by that income.[21] The new

law did not prevent local school districts from levying local property taxes to fund their schools.[22] Rather, its purpose was to ensure that all Vermonters paid equal amounts for education and received instruction on par with other school districts.[23]

The new law required towns to report the grand list to the Vermont state treasurer's office each spring. Each town was then assessed an amount according to its grand list. After receiving the funds from individual towns, the state treasurer calculated the portion of the general school fund (composed of all of the state property taxes collected) each school district was to receive on a "per school basis." The treasurer then returned the money to each school district by July of the same year. It is important to note that this determination did not take into account the number of students enrolled in each school. Therefore, the law in effect rewarded rural towns with small schools that had low numbers of students but a high number of schools.[24]

There was substantial debate about the form that the new law should take. At least one bill brought forth in the legislature during the fall of 1890 called for a statewide tax based on an 8.5-percent tax rate.[25] Representative Joseph K. Darling of Chelsea introduced the proposed law in October, 1890. Under this version half of the money would go to schools based on town population, with the other distributed based on the number of legal schools in operation during the previous year.[26]

The need for education reform was also debated. Governor Carroll S. Page (1890–1892) argued that education was necessary to control the increasing number of immigrants pouring into Vermont.[27] During the late nineteenth century Vermont's factories and cities were being flooded by French-Canadian, Irish, Italian, and other European immigrants seeking jobs in the state's expanding industrial sector.[28] Governor Page suggested that it was every Vermonter's patriotic duty to support education reform because unassimilated immigrants threatened to bring anarchy and the end of America's republican institutions.[29]

However, some Vermonters were interested in reforming the state's education system in order to equalize costs and educational opportunities. The Vermont State Teachers' Association adopted a resolution at their annual meeting on October 26, 1890, calling upon the state legislature to pass a law that equalized the burden of taxation for schools.[30] The *Burlington Free Press* editorialized in support of the new school law. It noted the importance of the State Teachers' Association's support for reforming education and offered its own praise for the equalizing effect of the new law.[31]

The Vermont State Legislature also enacted a new law to address the problem of substandard teachers. This law created an office of county

examiner for each county and ordered the state superintendent of education to develop statewide educational standards.[32] Accordingly, the new county-level office had the role of overseeing the implementation of "teacher institutes," whereby local teachers could garner certification through examinations that tested their knowledge of individual subjects. An editorial appearing in the October 13, 1890, issue of the *Burlington Free Press* quoted an anonymous letter to the editor that summed up the changes to education policy including the new property tax law and the new teaching standards.

> Very likely there is room for improvement in the law, but just the same, we cordially approve of the principle and general working of the law. It purifies and elevate[s] the profession of teaching by considerably increasing the necessary qualifications and with them consequently the salaries. One principle objective of the law is that small districts can hardly afford to hire a teacher. The standard and profession of teaching are elevated, and we get vastly better work for a little more money.[33]

Changes and Reactions: 1891 to 1892

In 1891, the first year of the statewide property tax, the state collected $89,029.[34] Vermont towns could be divided up into those that were "net gainers" and those that were "net losers." By far the greatest net losers were Vermont's largest cities, which saw vast sums of money leave their communities to fund other communities' schools. The City of Burlington paid $5,371 into the state property tax fund in 1891. However, the city only received $624 in return—a difference of $4,747 lost to the state fund.[35] The City of Rutland paid in $4,190 but only received $1,616, a difference of $2,574.[36] To put this amount of money into perspective, the new 1890 property tax law took the equivalent of $3,822,086 from Burlington and $2,072,477 from Rutland, in 2005 dollars.[37]

The problem for the larger cities and population centers was that the 1890 statewide property tax law distributed funds according to the number of schools in each town, not according to the number of students in each school.[38] Each town received $36.72 to be distributed to each school in 1891. Burlington for example, only maintained 17 schools. Rutland, on the other hand, listed 44 schools in the state treasurer's report for 1891, thereby allowing it to retain more money.[39]

Figure 1 shows how the variables of population density and number of schools affected whether a county was going to be a net gainer or a net loser under the 1890 law. Notice that Chittenden County (where the City of Burlington is located) is in the lower corner to the right. This county generally had a higher population density and a smaller number of schools. Orange County is in the upper left corner of the chart. This county was

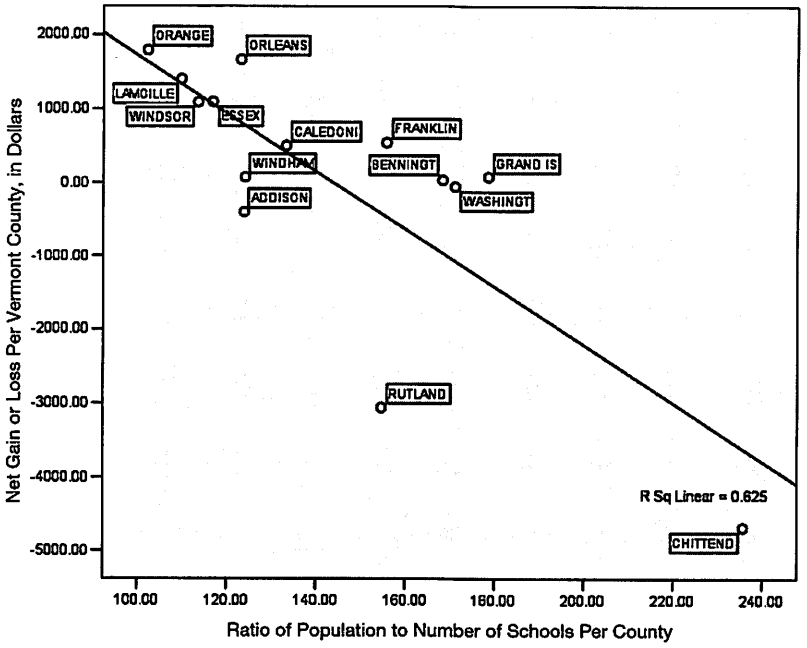

FIGURE 1. Effect of 1890 Property Tax Law: Comparison of Financial Gain or Loss and Population per School in Each Vermont County in 1891 (data from the 1900 U.S. Census for population)

composed of rural areas, with Randolph the largest town. The diagonal line in the chart is a regression line that estimates the correlation between these two variables. The closer the $R^2 = 1$, the more closely related these two variables will be. An $R^2 = .625$ indicates a strong correlation between the two variables.

Two things can be said with confidence about the relationship between tax benefits and schools during the first year of the law's operation. First, the lower the ratio of population to the number of schools in a county, the more likely the county was to be a gainer instead of a loser of state tax funds. Second, the gainers tended to be rural counties with numerous schools but smaller student populations. In effect, the law distributed the funds to those schools that were most likely to be inefficient and costly to run.

These lessons were not lost on the state of Vermont. During the next year after the implementation of the state tax, districts added a total of 156 new schools around the state.[40] Burlington expanded from 17 to 41 schools in just one year. All of Vermont's fourteen counties, except Grand

Isle and Orleans, increased the number of schools (Grand Isle County retained the same number of schools and Orleans County decreased its number of schools by one). All told, Vermont counties averaged a 6.5 percent increase in the number of schools during 1891, at a time when rural populations were in decline.[41]

Gainers and Losers: Effects of the 1890 Property Tax Law

In much the same way that Vermont's present-day statewide property tax has created two distinct classes of towns, so did the 1890 law. To investigate the differential effects of the 1890 property tax law between gaining and losing towns, I conducted a statistical analysis of three Vermont counties. The counties—Addison, Chittenden, and Rutland—were chosen so the analysis could lend some historical insight into Vermont's contemporary experience with Act 60, the current statewide property tax law, and because they represent different population models.

The financial information used in the analysis was gathered from the biennial Vermont State Treasurer's Report for the years 1891 through 1900.[42] Population information for each town was researched at the Vermont Historical Society. The material gathered included the amount of tax paid by each town per year, the number of legal schools operated in the town, and the amount of money received by the town for the number of schools it operated. Other variables were derived from this basic information, including the net gain or net loss in dollars per year for each town (denoting "Gainers" and "Losers"), the number of schools per capita in each town and the annual per capita tax paid by each town.

One of the most notable consequences of the 1890 property tax law is that by all accounts it did what it was supposed to do: take money from wealthier areas of the state and redistribute it to poorer rural areas. Figure 2 shows the results of a difference of means test comparing the annual amount of tax paid per capita by each town for those towns that were Net Losers and Net Gainers. The distinction between losers and gainers was calculated by averaging the difference between the amount that a town paid into the state property tax fund and the amount that it received between the years 1891 and 1900. The appendix contains information about population, schools, and taxes for each town in the three counties, including the average amount of dollars that a town lost or gained per year. Net Losers paid nearly double the amount of dollars per capita that the Net Gainers paid, at forty-seven cents and twenty-four cents respectively.

Figure 2 also informs us on the relative value of the property located in each type of town. Taxes were paid according to the grand list of each

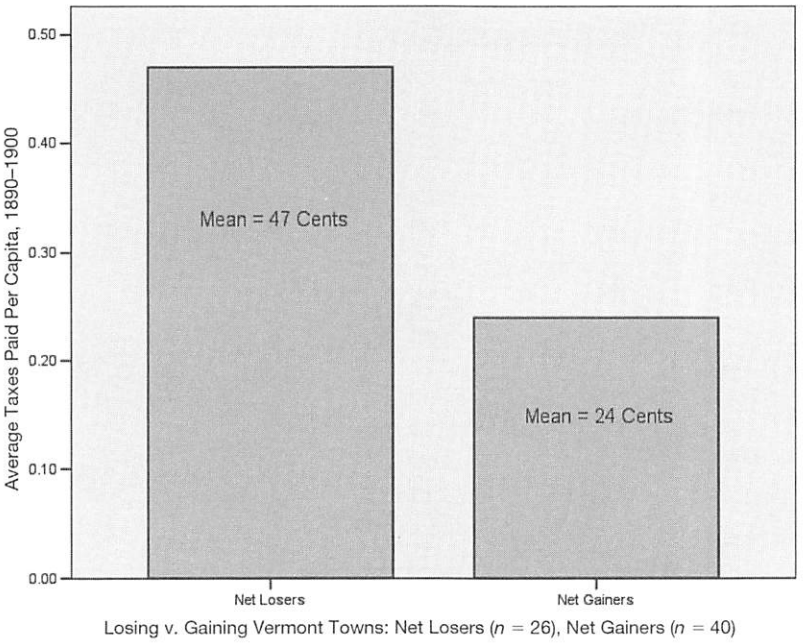

FIGURE 2. Comparison of Means: Average Taxes Paid Per Capita for Net Losers and Net Gainers, 1890–1900 ($N = 66$ Vermont towns; difference of means test significant at $p < .10$, $t = 1.774$)

town, and taxes per capita reflect the disparity in value between the grand lists of those towns that were Net Losers and Net Gainers. Those towns that had less value, but high numbers of schools were rewarded by the 1890 property tax law.

Generally, Net Losers were three times as large, with an average population in 1900 of 2,786 people; whereas Net Gainers were smaller, with an average population of 834 people in 1900.[43] Indeed, as Figure 3 demonstrates, the population decline during the decade was far more precipitous for Net Gainers. While the larger towns that were Net Losers saw an average population decline of .19 percent, those towns gaining from the 1890 property tax law experienced a population loss of 5.53 percent during the 1891–1900 decade. Thus, the law truly was a subsidy to those towns that were smaller, less wealthy, and in population decline.

Finally, a regression analysis was used to test some of the relationships initially investigated using difference of means tests to evaluate how much different variables contributed to a town's status of being a Net Loser or a Net Gainer. For example, are taxes per capita an important

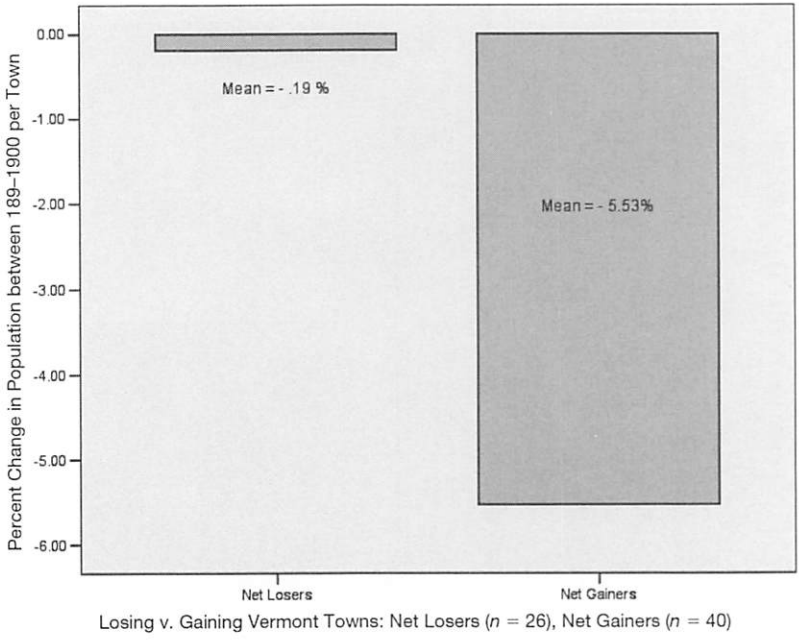

FIGURE 3. Comparison of Means: Percent Change in Population Per Town for Net Losers and Net Gainers, 1890–1900 ($N = 66$ Vermont towns; difference of means test significant at $p < .05, t = 2.058$)

predictor of being a Net Gainer or Loser if you control for population and number of schools? To assess this question, the model used predictors such as "average taxes per capita," "population per number of schools in the town" and "population of the town in 1890." The dependent variable was dichotomous (0,1), with 1 = Net Gainer and 0 = Net Loser.

Table 1 contains the results of the regression estimation. The regression model sheds light on the significance of each of these variables in predicting whether a town was a Net Gainer or Net Loser, while controlling for each. The first thing to notice is the statistically significant and negative coefficients corresponding to each of the predictors for Tax Per Capita, Population in 1890 and a Town's Population Per School; all of these were significant at the $p < .01$ level. The low "p value" means that each variable correctly predicted whether the town was a Net Gainer or Net Loser 99 percent of the time. This indicates that those towns that were Net Gainers, on a statistically significant level, tended to have a lower tax per capita, were smaller towns in 1890, and had a lower population per number of schools. These are all signs that a town was

TABLE 1 Dichotomous Logistic Regression–Gainers v. Losers*

Variables	β *(unstand)*†	*S.E.*‡	*p value*§
Constant	16.459	4.645	.000
Tax per capita	−36.956	11.637	.001
Population in 1890	−.003	.001	.001
Population per school	−.015	.005	.004
Chittenden dummy	.856	1.169	.464
Addison dummy	−.974	1.068	.362
Nagelkerke R^2¶	.74		
Total observations	66		
Dep = 0	26		
Dep = 1	40		

* Dependent variable is a binary (0,1) variable. Towns that averaged an annual net gain from 1891 to 1900 were categorized as "Net Gainers = 1," and towns that averaged an annual net loss from 1891 to 1900 were categorized as "Net Losers = 0." Analysis was run on SPSS 13.

† Unstandardized beta, or the real value of the variable coefficient in the regression estimation.

‡ Standard error, or the average amount of difference between the regression line and each observation, across the entire sample.

§ Probability that the variable does not fit within the hypothesized relationship. Thus, the lower the *p* value the higher the statistical significance of the variable, i.e., the more explanatory power it has in predicting the outcome on the dependent variable.

¶ An estimate of the variation that this combination of independent variables explains.

smaller and poorer than those towns that were Net Losers. The dummy variables present in the regression were used to control for a town being in a particular county. However, there was no significant regional effect associated with being in a particular county.

Working Toward Efficiency: The Vicious Act of 1892

In 1892, the Vermont Legislature enacted a new law to consolidate all of the smaller school districts in a township under one "town district."[44] Known as the "vicious Act of 1892," the law forced all towns to buy the property of the school districts, pay off the districts' debt and create a town level board of governors.[45] The act reduced the number of school districts from over 2,000 in 1891 to 251 in 1892.[46] Hundreds of school districts that had existed for over 100 years were wiped out and usurped by town government.[47] This reorganization effectively consolidated the tax base of towns into one district so that the local property tax burden of rural areas would be shared by the whole township.

Vermont's cities and larger towns had the resources available to implement a consolidated teaching model and were little affected by the 1892 act.[48] An earlier 1885 law allowing towns to vote on the issue of whether to consolidate resulted in only sixteen towns adopting the town system.[49] However, while cities were able to adapt to the 1892 law, rural areas of the state still clung to the one-room schoolhouses that had been a cornerstone of the community for generations. Legislators and other political leaders hoped that the 1892 law would spur consolidation, provide a larger tax base, and allow school districts to adopt "a graded system based on age and skill levels that was not possible in the one-room schools."[50] In 1892 many people were also worried that Vermont was falling behind other states in New England, which had already adopted town-based school systems. As Governor Carroll S. Page noted in an address to the legislature in the fall of 1892 before the act was adopted, Vermont should

> [B]uild a new system based upon the idea fast being adopted by our sister States, that the only true plan is one that is predicated upon town rather than district supervision. The general trend of thought in all advanced educational work seems to favor the town system of schools, and I believe that the time is not far distant when it will be adopted in Vermont. Although involving a greater outlay, it certainly means better teachers and better schools.[51]

In many respects the new law represented a concerted effort by state officials to reform education from the bottom up. The 1890 property tax and the teaching standards laws were efforts on a macro level to deal with problems of inequity and academic quality. Neither of these laws forced schools to consolidate or alter their structure on the local level. The 1892 act was as revolutionary on the local level as the 1890 laws were on the state level because it altered the governance structure of the local districts. Ultimately, the new town-based school districts led the way toward consolidation into larger more efficient schools.

New and Old: Salience of the 1890 Property Tax Law

In 1997 Vermont passed Act 60, a new statewide property tax for the equalization of educational spending. Designed to equalize the amount of dollars spent per pupil in Vermont, Act 60 was created in response to a Vermont Supreme Court ruling in Brigham v. State.[52] The Court held that under the Vermont Constitution's "common benefits" clause, each student was entitled to an equal opportunity to education.[53] Indeed, the Court ruled that "Children who live in property-poor districts and children who live in property-rich districts should be afforded a substantially equal opportunity to have access to similar educational revenues."[54]

Educational and property tax rate inequities were important to the Court's decision. In its findings the Court noted disparities such as existed between the towns of Stannard and Sherburne. In 1995, while a resident in Sherburne paid $247 in property taxes on an $85,000 home, those in Stannard were paying $2,040 on a home with the same appraisal value.[55] Using statistical analysis, the Vermont Department of Education came to the conclusion that spending per pupil in schools was highest in wealthy areas where residents paid lower taxes, and that in poorer areas of the state less money was spent per pupil with higher property taxes for residents.[56]

Many towns and cities with large amounts of wealth were upset by the new law. Essentially, Act 60 created towns that were either net losers or net gainers, depending upon whether they paid more or less money to the state via the statewide property tax than their schools received.[57] One of the most notorious cases of a net losing town is Killington. In 2005, Killington (formerly Sherburne) paid $10 million to the state property tax fund, but only received $1 million in return for its own schools.[58] This loss of funds prompted the town to petition to secede from Vermont and join New Hampshire in 2003 and again in 2005.[59]

Equity and History: The Relevance of the 1890 Property Tax Law

The institution of the 1890 property tax law has relevance to Vermont's current debate over Act 60. The most striking finding in this context is that a place like Killington (formerly Sherburne) was a Net Gainer under the old law. According to the Appendix, the town averaged an annual gain of over $83 from the property tax law. Furthermore, the town paid one of the lowest amounts of tax per capita annually into the state fund. Sherburne averaged a payment of 20 cents per capita while the average for all Net Gainers was 24 cents. Sherburne was not only a Net Gainer, but as far as receiving towns go, it also contributed one of the smallest amounts on a per capita basis.

There is important historical irony in Killington's story that adds a new dimension to the current debate. Underlying the education debate both today and in the 1890s are the issues of funding and equity—is it fair to mandate that wealthy towns subsidize poorer ones? The same town that was one of the most subsidized out of those surveyed in the 1890s is today a wealthy area adamantly opposed to statewide funding equity. Indeed, one of the town's political arguments against the contemporary statewide property tax is the unjust nature of the redistribution by the state. However, Killington shows that equity in education funding is not merely about current geographic redistribution, but about

intergenerational equity as well. When Vermont next considers whether it will keep its statewide property tax it should remember Killington's example of how long term economic trends can alter wealth distribution patterns. What seems unfair at the present moment might be dramatically different over long periods of time.

Another practical insight into Vermont's contemporary debate over the state-wide property tax has to do with the reasons for passing each law. Very similar concerns motivated legislators in the 1890s and the 1990s: equal opportunity for all students, overall quality of education throughout Vermont, providing for the state's future generations, and inequities in funding the state education system. Furthermore, it is instructive that the 1890 law worked the way it was supposed to work. Data analysis has revealed that the law accomplished its main goal of redistributing funds to provide education, while equalizing the burden for all Vermonters during the late nineteenth century.

However, it should also be remembered that the law had unintended consequences as well. One consequence was increasing the number of schools in Vermont. The 1890 property tax law created an incentive to expand the number of schools because more schools meant more state funds. In contrast, the so called Vicious Act of 1892 sought to consolidate school districts to make them more efficient and lower costs. These two laws were to some degree pulling school districts in opposite directions. While it is not completely certain, the 1890 law may have been one (of many) element that precipitated the passage of the 1892 act toward consolidation. Vermonters kept the statewide property tax until 1931, when the state legislature voted to repeal the law and go back to local provision of funds for schools.

Conclusion

Both the reorganization plan of 1892 and the statewide property tax of 1890 were manifestations of state power as a solution to the problems of local inefficiency and changing demographics. The Vermont Legislature took action to control the growth of school districts in order to limit local property taxes that were burdensome to small farmers. However, the resulting effect of both laws was a redistribution of wealth from cities and towns to the less populated, agriculturally based rural areas of Vermont.

Appendix

Town, by county	*Average Change in Dollars Appropriated 1891–1900* %	*Change in Population 1890–1900* %	*Annual Average Tax per Capita 1891–1900* $	*Annual Average Population per School 1891–1900* *n*	*Average Gain/Loss 1891–1900* $
Addison County					
Addison	−2.44	−5.44	0.33	97.28	35.47
Bridgeport	6.87	−5.91	0.36	108.35	−29.20
Bristol	6.69	12.75	0.28	160.70	−100.21
Cornwall	0.54	−8.31	0.30	125.14	−9.47
Ferrisburg	1.80	7.86	0.34	107.59	−4.01
Goshen	−2.23	−14.47	0.18	82.43	75.35
Granville	3.86	−14.60	0.17	95.24	125.42
Hancook	−3.31	−10.60	0.25	127.62	9.66
Leicester	−1.04	−9.43	0.26	99.17	55.33
Lincoln	−1.05	−8.21	0.17	133.72	127.44
Middlebury	1.08	9.02	0.34	201.31	−458.64
Monkton	16.83	7.67	0.26	123.87	29.34
New Haven	1.29	−9.56	0.33	122.68	−38.01
Orwell	0.02	−9.09	0.40	127.11	−133.25
Panton	0.07	7.07	0.33	98.88	15.60
Ripton	−1.19	−7.57	0.13	81.57	171.67
Salisbury	2.19	−6.49	0.31	106.87	21.24
Shoreham	1.27	−3.79	0.36	105.78	−17.25
Starksboro	−1.09	−15.70	0.19	88.83	214.40
Vergennes	7.30	−1.41	0.23	339.52	−220.18
Waltham	21.98	3.53	0.30	99.81	15.83
Weybridge	−4.34	−4.60	0.32	117.89	−9.47
Whiting	0.83	1.69	0.32	76.17	55.18
Chittenden County					
Bolton	−1.43	−9.32	0.18	98.40	97.77
Burlington	18.45	27.76	0.36	371.70	−4296.60
Charlotte	1.07	1.13	0.36	98.97	7.67
Colchester	−0.23	4.06	0.14	301.58	−108.45
Essex	3.38	9.44	0.23	157.31	10.40
Hinesburg	0.53	0.91	0.32	109.05	20.38
Huntington	−5.83	0.69	0.22	136.89	31.39
Jericho	−3.80	−6.02	0.29	134.95	−28.82
Hilton	0.31	13.10	0.23	127.78	92.52
Richmond	1.19	−5.20	0.32	105.44	22.63
St. George	0.74	−15.09	4.47	10.32	−91.89
Shelburne	2.61	−0.62	0.19	227.37	−34.67

(*continued*)

APPENDIX (*continued*)

Town, by county	*Average Change in Dollars Appropriated 1891–1900* %	*Change in Population 1890–1900* %	*Annual Average Tax per Capita 1891–1900* $	*Annual Average Population per School 1891–1900* n	*Average Gain/Loss 1891–1900* $
Chittenden County (continued)					
S. Burlington	0.07	14.91	0.03	908.00	5.61
Underhill	1.92	−12.38	0.20	85.35	271.34
Westford	−2.47	−14.04	0.23	104.40	113.75
Williston	−0.72	6.81	0.40	115.00	−93.50
Rutland County					
Benson	1.49	−4.09	0.32	95.78	49.05
Brandon	−2.25	−16.65	0.34	173.40	−382.63
Castleton	−0.97	−12.81	0.19	179.40	16.70
Chittenden	8.68	−14.93	0.21	100.82	98.58
Clarendon	−1.31	−1.40	0.39	118.14	−72.42
Danby	−4.20	−11.88	0.24	103.94	112.52
Fair Haven	1.02	7.45	0.21	203.87	−78.75
Hubbardton	1.20	−3.56	0.33	72.03	87.76
Ira	2.21	−16.86	0.24	94.02	55.79
Mendon	−4.54	−31.23	0.19	87.45	109.14
Middletown Spgs	4.62	−1.32	0.27	220.88	−76.44
Mount Holly	74.41	−17.71	0.19	124.33	111.55
Mount Tabor	−1.79	13.30	0.12	172.22	43.02
Pawlet	31.78	−0.80	0.26	149.83	−28.73
Pittsfield	−4.86	−7.05	0.18	161.25	19.64
Pittsford	−0.46	5.13	0.34	146.81	−166.36
Poultney	−1.45	2.54	0.20	149.73	123.75
Proctor	3.52	21.50	0.30	190.88	−204.36
Rutland	3.32	7.21	0.37	248.65	−2760.15
Sherburne (Killington)	1.28	210.86	0.20	90.74	83.59
Shrewsbury	−1.78	−4.00	0.25	90.90	138.98
Sudbury	0.07	−5.58	0.30	97.60	34.50
Tinmouth	−0.94	−7.13	0.30	97.56	30.67
Wallingford	−1.77	−9.12	0.36	146.37	−183.71
Wells	2.18	−2.42	0.23	107.63	66.48
West Haven	2.59	−13.83	0.37	58.11	99.45
West Rutland	4.33	−20.82	0.30	214.09	−412.17

Notes

[1] The author would like to thank Vermont State Archivist Greg Sanford, Vermont Law Professor Sheldon Novick, Ms. Antonia C. Neilon, *Vermont History* Editor Michael Sherman and other anonymous reviewers for their great comments and assistance in the preparation of this article.

[2] No. 6 of the *Acts of 1890 of the State of Vermont* (Burlington: The Free Press Association), 23.

[3] Samuel B. Hand, *The Star that Set: The Vermont Republican Party 1854–1974* (Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2002), 63–65.

[4] Farewell Address of Vermont Governor William P. Dillingham, *Journal of the Vermont Joint Assembly 1890* (Oct. 2, 1890), 6, available at http://vermont-archives.org/govhistory/gov/govinaug/farewells/pdf/Dillingham1890.pdf.

[5] *The Vermont State Officer's Report for 1891–92* (Rutland: The Tuttle Company, Official State Printers), 45–51. The report lists the total amount of money paid by each town into the state fund and the amount that the town subsequently received during the same tax year. Without exception, cities paid in more than they received, whereas rural townships generally received a net gain from the tax.

[6] Comparison of the 1880 and 1900 census figures shows economic and population growth in all of the counties containing major cities. However, in those counties without major cities, especially in eastern and northern Vermont, there were general declines in population and economic production per capita. No comparison can be had for the 1890 census in Vermont, as it was destroyed in a warehouse fire before it could be reported. Census of the United States, 1880 and 1900.

[7] Hand, *The Star that Set*, 62–63; also see Michael Sherman, Gene Sessions and P. Jeffery Potash, *Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont* (Barre: Vermont State Historical Society, 2004), 309, who posit that late-nineteenth-century rural Vermont was not stagnant and has been mislabeled. Sherman et al. argue that it was not a period of decline, but rather a period of stabilization during which communities became close-knit. The population decline of the period they attribute to the loss of skilled labor from small towns to larger cities in Vermont.

[8] Hand, *The Star that Set*, 62–63.

[9] John A. Williams, ed., *Laws of Vermont 1781–1784* (Montpelier: Vermont Secretary of State, 1965), 137–139; see also 1777 Vermont Constitution, Section XL, which states, "A school or schools shall be established in each town, by the legislature, for the convenient instruction of youth, with such salaries to the masters, paid by each town, making proper use of school lands in each town, thereby to enable them to instruct youth at low prices. One grammar school in each county, and one university in this State, ought to be established by direction of the General Assembly."

[10] Hand, *The Star that Set*, 62.

[11] No. 61 of the *Acts of 1864 of the State of Vermont* (Montpelier: Printed at the Freeman Printing Establishment), 69.

[12] Ibid., 63.

[13] Williams, ed., *Laws of Vermont 1781–1784*, 137–139.

[14] Dillingham, 1890 Farewell Address, 5–6.

[15] *Fifteenth Report of the Vermont Board of Education* (Montpelier: Freeman Steam Printing House and Book Bindery) (1872): 377, quoted in Andrew E. and Edith W. Nuquist, *Vermont State Government and Administration: An Historical and Descriptive Study of the Living Past* (Burlington: University of Vermont Government Research Center, 1966), 265.

[16] Dillingham, 1890 Farewell Address, 5.

[17] Hand, *The Star that Set*, 63.

[18] No. 6 of the *Acts of 1890 of the State of Vermont*, 23.

[19] Emily Tartter, Sara Teachout, and Stephanie Barrett, *Grand List Issues Study* (Montpelier: Vermont Joint Fiscal Office) (Jan. 2004), 4; Nuquist and Nuquist, *Vermont State Government and Administration*, 160–164.

[20] Dillingham, 1890 Farewell Address, 5.

[21] No. 61 of the *Acts of 1864 of the State of Vermont*, 69.

[22] No. 6 of the *Acts of 1890 of the State of Vermont*, 23–24.

[23] Mason Stone, *History of Education, State of Vermont* (Montpelier: Capital City Press, 1936), 97.

[24] No. 6 of the *Acts of 1890 of the State of Vermont*, 24.

[25] "Bills Introduced and Referred," *Burlington Free Press*, 14 October 1890, 1.

[26] No. 6 of the *Acts of 1890 of the State of Vermont*, 23–24.

[27] "Governor Page's Message," *Burlington Free Press*, 7 October 1892, 4.

[28] Sherman, et al., *Freedom and Unity*, 309.

[29] "Governor Page's Message," *Burlington Free Press*, 7 October 1892, 4.

[30] "Opinions and Resolutions on the School Law," *Burlington Free Press*, 27 October 1890, 1.

[31] "Education," *Burlington Free Press*, 27 October 1890, 4.

[32] No. 5 of the *Acts of 1890 of the State of Vermont*, 22.

[33] "The New School Law," *Burlington Free Press*, 13 October 1890, 4.

[34] *The Vermont State Officer's Report for 1891–92*, 44.

[35] Ibid., 46.

[36] Ibid., 48.

[37] Measuringworth.com for an estimation of what the relative share of Gross Domestic Product would be in 2005 dollars, available at http://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/compare/. The GDP is the market value of all goods and services produced in a year. Comparing the relative share of GDP estimates how much money in the base year would be the same percent of all output for the year in question.

[38] No. 6 of the *Acts of 1890 of the State of Vermont*, 23–24.

[39] *The Vermont State Officer's Report for 1891–92*, 45–50.

[40] Ibid., 45–51.

[41] Ibid., 45–51; For evidence of rural decline in Vermont during the late nineteenth century compare the 1880 and 1890 U.S. Censuses.

[42] The biennial Vermont State Treasurer's Report provides the annual amount of tax paid by each Vermont town based on the town's grand list, the number of legal schools operated in the preceding year, and the apportionment of the state funds provided per school. The reports also included information on the amount of dollars collected throughout the state during the indicated years.

[43] A difference of means test revealed this relationship to be significant at the $p < .01$, $t = 3.035$. This indicates a statistically significant difference between the averages.

[44] No. 20 of the *Acts of 1892 of the State of Vermont* (Burlington: The Free Press Association), 24.

[45] Ibid., 25; William J. Mathis, "Education," in *Vermont State Government Since 1965*, ed. Michael Sherman (Burlington, Vt.: The Center for Research on Vermont, 1999), 317.

[46] Mathis, "Education," in *Vermont State Government Since 1965*, 317.

[47] Hand, *The Star that Set*, 63.

[48] Sherman, et al., *Freedom and Unity*, 369.

[49] Ruth Zinar, "Educational Problems in Rural Vermont, 1875–1900: A Not So Distant Mirror," *Vermont History* 51(1983):197–220, 200.

[50] Ibid.

[51] "Governor Page's Message," *Burlington Free Press*, 7 October 1892, 4.

[52] Sherman, et al., *Freedom and Unity*, 603–604; *Laws of Vermont 1997*, No. 60, sec. 3 (Montpelier, Vt.: Secretary of State, 1997), 279; *Brigham* v. *State*, 166 Vt. 246, 256 (1997).

[53] Ibid., 268.

[54] Ibid., 269.

[55] Ibid., 254.

[56] Ibid., 253–254.

[57] Sherman et al., *Freedom and Unity*, 605.

[58] Sherburne voted to change its name to Killington on March 2, 1999. For information on the history of Sherburne, Vermont, see, http://www.killingtontown.com/index.asp?Type=NONE&SEC={E08355F1-9802-4E47-92F5-7970F438016E}.

[59] Associated Press, "Secession Plan May Go to Vermont House," *Concord [N.H.] Monitor*, 5 December 2005, 1.

Through Battle, Prison, and Disease: The Civil War Diaries of George Richardson Crosby

Three themes illustrate what can be gleaned from Crosby's diaries: a record of the exploits of a largely neglected regiment, the POW experience of one of its members, and his personal experiences in battle, camp, and dealing with varying officialdom to gain his due bounty.

By PATRICK GALLAGHER

For Private George Richardson Crosby of the First Vermont Cavalry, the battle of Gettysburg started a day early. His regiment had been following the trail of General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia ever since the 22nd of June. They arrived in the town of Hanover, Pennsylvania, on the 30th, worn and tired from the long march in the heat of an early summer. Tired as he was, Crosby's spirits were buoyed up by the friendly reception his regiment had received on their march northward and by gifts of food and drink from the citizenry of Pennsylvania. Shortly after passing through the town, Crosby and his comrades were attacked by General J.E.B. Stuart's cavalry. Turning, the Vermonters found the Confederates shelling the town itself and fighting with other Union cavalry regiments. After a sharp battle lasting much of the day, the rebels withdrew to the southeast, away from the main body of the Confederate army they had sought to rejoin.

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PATRICK C. GALLAGHER earned his MA at the George Washington University in 2006. Born and raised in Vermont's Northeast Kingdom, he currently lives in Somerville, Massachusetts, while pursuing further historical and educational interests.

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George Richardson Crosby. Courtesy of the author.

Crosby recorded this and many other wartime experiences in a set of diaries, beginning in April of 1863 and concluding in the same month in 1865; volumes for the years 1861 and 1862 are believed by the Crosby family to have existed, but are presumed lost to time. I became aware of these diaries some time ago, as they have been handed down through my mother's family. The diaries themselves can currently be found at my parent's home in Lyndon, Vermont; full photocopies of all three are also in the Vermont Historical Society's collection in Barre.

George R. Crosby had been serving in the First Vermont Cavalry since its inception in 1861 and by war's end he rose to the rank of sergeant. In his diaries he recorded the daily activities of life in his regiment and the battles they fought, the Gettysburg campaign and the Kilpatrick-Dahlgren raid among others. This record is significant for several reasons. Chiefly, it details a regiment that has been very little examined, the sole published history being Horace K. Ide's *History of the First Vermont Volunteer Cavalry*.[1] Vermont regiments as a whole are under examined and the First Vermont Cavalry all the more so, given the general preponderance of attention to infantry regiments.

Also of particular interest is Crosby's time as a prisoner of war; he was in Confederate hands for the majority of 1864. This imprisonment,

following his capture at the battle of Craig's Church, Virginia, on the 5th of May, was spent in the Andersonville and Florence prison camps. During his time in these two camps he experienced and bore witness to horrors of starvation, sickness, abuse, and general neglect in the Confederate military prison system.

In addition, the process Crosby records of filing his bounty claims after reenlisting in late 1863 illuminates the complex and multi-layered nature of the bounty system. This was not a simple matter, as he had to deal with both federal and local authorities. Ultimately, the selectmen of Andover, the Vermont town he reenlisted through, gave him the biggest headaches; it took him well over a year to finally wrest payment from them. Taken together, these three themes illustrate what can be gleaned from Crosby's diaries: a record of the exploits of a largely neglected regiment, the POW experience of one of its members, and his personal experiences in battle, camp, and dealing with varying officialdom to gain his due bounty.

The story of the First Vermont Cavalry begins before George Crosby's diaries, when Lemuel Platt, a wealthy resident of Colchester, Vermont, received authorization from the War Department to raise a regiment of cavalry following First Bull Run. Previous to that battle many offers to raise cavalry regiments had been rejected on the grounds that the war was certain to be over before they completed their mustering in.[2] After it became apparent that the war would not be won by ninety-day volunteers, these rejected offers were quickly reconsidered. The First Vermont Volunteer Cavalry was mustered into service in late November 1861 with Platt as acting colonel. [3]

The eight original companies of the regiment were each comprised of men from a specific county, with two exceptions: Company K contained men from Lamoille and Orleans, and Company D had men from Orange and Caledonia counties, all of which were sparsely populated.[4] Two additional companies would subsequently be added to the regiment.[5] Crosby enlisted in the town of Brattleboro, in Windham County, and as a result he was assigned to Company F.[6] This organizational practice appears to be particular to the First Vermont Cavalry; Vermont infantry regiments organized their companies by specific town or towns, rather than by county.

Upon reaching Washington in early January 1862, Colonel Platt resigned his commission as he had intended, acknowledging his own lack of qualifications for actual command. He was replaced by a West Pointer, Colonel Jonas P. Holliday, a captain from the pre-war Second U.S. Cavalry.[7] His command was also to prove brief; on April 3, 1862, Holliday committed suicide for reasons unknown.[8] Shortly after Colonel Holliday's

suicide, the regiment was incorporated into General Nathaniel P. Banks's Fifth Corps.[9]

From late April until early autumn of 1862, the regiment was under the command of Captain Charles Tompkins, who also had originally served in the Second U.S. Cavalry. His assignment was less a mark of personal qualification than a sign of the lack of other, more qualified men who had been removed from the regiment as casualties. Specifically, the man most in the regiment considered Holliday's natural successor, the well-liked and qualified Lieutenant Colonel Addison Preston, had been badly wounded in fighting near Ashby's Gap in April.[10] That small fight was the first of what was to be the regiment's extended experience in the Shenandoah Valley. In the late spring of 1862, the main opponents the regiment encountered were guerillas and bushwhackers, not regular confederate troops.[11]

Tompkins held command of the regiment until early September 1862, when he resigned. With Preston still convalescing, the two officers most likely to take command of the regiment were Majors Edward Sawyer and William Collins. They had been back in Vermont since May for sick leave and recruitment duty; the practice of sending regimental officers back to the state for recruitment duty was common to all Vermont regiments, and allowed a certain level of control over the quality of recruits.[12] The Vermont superintendent of recruiting, however, noted that Sawyer and Collins had not reported to him, nor was he aware of either being particularly ill during that summer.[13] Both officers were unaccounted for, possibly indulging personal matters on regimental time. Sawyer did straighten out his status fairly quickly, but Collins was still listed as missing as late as June.[14]

Sawyer therefore assumed command of the regiment on October 5. During October he confronted a problem that was to prove chronic for the First Vermont Cavalry, a lack of serviceable mounts. Sawyer complained to his brigade commander that the First Vermont Cavalry had only 112 usable horses, with an additional 230 unusable in mid-October 1862. At that time there were 943 men in the regiment. This disparity, Sawyer claimed, was largely the result of unscrupulous purchasing agents buying decrepit horses to profit off the government premium applied to all horses, regardless of quality.[15] The deficit was temporarily made good by the arrival of a large shipment of horses from Vermont in January, but an adequate supply of replacement horses was not maintained.[16]

Additionally, Sawyer's recommendation that oversight of the purchasing process be instituted appears to have gone unheeded. In February 1864, he again reported a large disparity between men and mounts, 545

men with only 230 usable horses.[17] In the absence of horses, many men in the regiment were forced into a permanently dismounted role until the deficit was finally rectified late in the war. The reputation of Vermont's Morgan horses was also partially to blame for this problem, as buyers from other states and the Federal government snatched up virtually any horse they could lay hands on.[18]

Mounted or not, the men of the regiment spent the early months of 1863 encamped. The main body of the Army of the Potomac proceeded south on April 13 under the command of General Joseph Hooker. The First Vermont Cavalry did not go with it, having been assigned to the Washington defenses. In addition to their usual camp duties, the regiment patrolled against Confederate raiders such as Colonel John S. Mosby.[19]

Crosby's account begins on April 11, 1863. His writing is almost entirely without punctuation, which I have inserted for the sake of coherence. Whenever possible I have recorded his entries exactly as he wrote them, inserting words and spelling corrections in brackets only when it would be otherwise impossible to understand the narrative. I have also included in brackets the state in which specific locations he mentions are to be found, when it is not immediately obvious. On a few occasions I have removed whole words from his entries and sentences that are completely incoherent and make no sense.

Between April 12 and May 7, 1863, Crosby did not write in his diary. During this time the regiment was involved in actions against confederate guerillas in the region around Warrenton Junction, defeating them on the third of May.[20] Following this action the regiment returned to camp at Vienna-Fairfax. Camp life is a recurring and dominant theme throughout Crosby's diaries, it almost seems as if they spend more time encamped and on picket duty than the field. In part this seemingly excessive amount of time spent in camp was dictated by the weather. Even with the advent of steam transportation, nineteenth-century armies were still bound to the limitations of foot and hoof, which made large-scale campaigning impossible many months of the year. In addition the Army of the Potomac was encamped so often because it needed to recover and reorganize following failed campaigns against the Army of Northern Virginia. Not until General Ulysses S. Grant became overall Union commander did the Army of the Potomac stay in the field consistently. Before Grant's command then, the army would return to camp following each campaign, whether defeated or victorious.

Crosby never writes of these reasons for being encamped. As a cavalryman, being in camp entailed more "active" duty of patrols and pickets than the infantry generally experienced, and larger strategic and tactical

issues didn't enter into his daily life. For him, camp life was routine, occasionally uncomfortable, and generally predictable. His largest concerns tended to be rations and the mail. The following selection of entries from May and June 1863 illustrate this routine. There were, of course, many others like them, but none differ substantially.

> May 8, 1863
> went to camp. opened [Thomas] Brigham's Box and found this Book, suspenders, to packs envelopes and two quivers paper. regt at Warrenton Junction [Virginia], Co F & M at Vienna. got Boots fixed for 5 cents. Hub Pierce whiped the Infantry man. Hooker on this side of the river.

> May 9, 1863
> pleasant. stewed two kettles beans, baked some (No. 1). Grazed my horse the first time. Heard the news that Hooker had crossed the Rapahannac again.

The "Helen" (occasionally spelled "Hellen") mentioned on May 10 is his wife, the former Helen Brown of New Hampshire whom he married in St. Johnsbury, Vt. on January 16, 1860.[21]

> May 10, 1863
> pleasant. wrote to Helen. drew ten days rations. nothing to do.

> May 15, 1863
> went on guard No. 1. stood at hospital at night. guard over Co M dead marks all the men in camp. Colonel ugly as the devil. got leter from Brother.

> May 19, 1863
> warm [and] pleasant. got leter from home. drew two days rations. saw Ed Redington, Lieut. in the VT 12th. saw Sergt. Jennie of the 16th. had two drinks of whiskey.

This libation was likely either illicitly obtained or had outside of camp; due to problems of camp discipline and maintenance, alcohol had been forbidden in the camp for enlisted men a month earlier.[22]

> May 21, 1863
> pleasant. on guard from half past three til five. the birds sang incessantly, never heard so much bird singing in Virginia.

> May 23, 1863
> verry hot. got mail and made a new bunk with [Samuel] Hinkley. received a leter from home on the 20th. on horse guard tonight. Colonel right on his disipline.

> May 24, 1863
> warm and p[leasant]. wrote home, sent Co records and maps. wrote to Brother. year ago today started on Bank's retreat and charged

through the Rebs at Middletown [Virginia]. preaching in camp, did not attend. got pants and coat.

May 27, 1863
pleasant. drilled most of forenoon. afternoon dismounted under Segt. Smith. laid down in the shade. did not draw sabres from scabard.

May 28, 1863
pleasant. went on division horse guard last night with two hundred others, called out at eleven o'clock. Colonel ordered off the wash men because he regretted that he paid for his washings in government rations.

May 31, 1863
pleasant. arrived at kettle run at 6 o'clock in the morning. our boys out here had a sharp fight yesterday. charged on one piece of artilery, took it with ten prisoners, killing several. our loss borey Co H killed and twenty five wounded. go on picket to night.

June 2, 1863
pleasant. nothing to do, built a bunk. no news, everything dull. a horse got loose last night and ate up four day's rations of my bread.

June 6, 1863
pleasant. started at four o'clock A.M. on scout the thouroughfaire gap [Virginia]. saw five rebs but [they] skedadled. returned at five P.M. another detatchment came from Fairfax, nine from our Company. thunder shower at night.

June 11, 1863
cloudy with some rain. we arived at Bristow [Virginia] last night about seven o'clock. verry tired with horses worn & pailed. brought in two bush whackers, they are old offenders but we have caught them at last. they will be hanged or shot. go on picket tonight, the rest of the Brigade go on scout.

June 12, 1863
verry warm and uncomfortable. chased two rebs this morning while on picket, didn't catch them. month's pay-money ran short, our Company did not get paid. Co C & M did not get paid.

June 14, 1863
pleasant. Hooker's army all passing us, been going all day. been paying my debts, paid to day. wrote home to day, shall not send until tomorrow. part of our Co on picket.

Hooker was still in overall command of the Army of the Potomac, despite his defeat at the Battle of Chancellorsville in May. As the army recovered from its mauling in early June, Hooker's scouts detected movement in some units of the Confederate Army of Northern Virginia.[23] Hooker's initial impulse was to take the opportunity to move against Richmond again. He reasoned that with Lee's army moving

north, there would be no force capable of stopping him from taking the Confederate capital.[24] President Lincoln quashed this idea, however, for two reasons. First, while Hooker might succeed in taking Richmond, the Washington garrison could not hold out against Lee should he appear before the capital defenses. Second, even if Richmond was taken without corresponding loss, the rebellion could not be put down while it still had an army in the field.[25]

Hooker moved the Army of the Potomac north in pursuit of Lee in what would become the opening moves of the Gettysburg campaign. The First Vermont Cavalry, as part of the Third Division, Cavalry Corps, moved northward as well. They were detached from the main body of infantry however, and for this reason Crosby refers to the Army of the Potomac as "Hooker's Army." The Third Division nevertheless followed the same line of march as the rest of the army as it headed north. The final days of June saw the First Vermont Cavalry involved in fights in and around Gettysburg. During that period of time the regiment fought repeatedly against General J.E.B. Stuart's cavalry, and also participated in an attack against Confederate infantry on the third day of the great battle.

The Third Division of the Cavalry Corps, including the First Vermont Cavalry, moved into Pennsylvania on the 29th of June. It came under attack by Stuart's cavalry on the 30th. The first troopers to encounter Confederate horsemen were from the Eighteenth Pennsylvania Cavalry regiment, but the First Vermont would soon be engaged as well.[26] The skirmish that evolved was initially one of encounter; the leading elements of Stuart's column were approaching the town of Hanover as much of the Third Division was leaving it. The First Vermont was among these troops, being several miles north of the town when the fighting started.

This "sharp fight," as Crosby terms it, began when men of the First Vermont Cavalry heard cannon fire coming from the direction of Hanover.[27] The Vermonters arrived back in town in time to bolster the flagging Fifth New York and Eighteenth Pennsylvania regiments, forcing the equally exhausted Confederate horsemen to withdraw to the southeast.[28] This fight at Hanover was not decisive in and of itself, but it did delay Stuart's cavalry from linking back up with Lee's Army of Northern Virginia.[29]

> June 27, 1863
> cloudy. whole brigade drunk. all out of rations but can buy plenty of bread. left the gap at five o'clock P.M. whole 5th and 11th Corps came up and relieved us. came back as far as Jeffersonville. turned to the left, passed through middletown [Maryland] 11 at night. the ladies seranaded us with patriotic songs and the bands played. we were

received with great enthusiasm, waving of flags and white handkerchiefs. Quite a contrast to our reception in Virginia towns.

June 30, 1863
cloudy. started at six this morning. passed through Hanover [Pennsylvania], before we got through we were attacked in the rear. we had a sharp fight which lasted about three hours. they shelled us & the town. Hanover is a pretty plase. The ladies brought edibles of all kinds to us, they gave us wine and everything that the country affords. camp at night.

The regiment was not involved in the main actions of the first two days of Gettysburg; it did fight again with Stuart's cavalry on July 2, on the far left wing of the Army of Northern Virginia's position.[30] As Crosby mentioned, this was a longer and fiercer fight than the one at Hanover on the 30th, compounded by heavier Confederate artillery support.

The third day saw the regiment in the main line of battle. They were deployed on the left of the Union position, forward of Big Round Top. General Judson Kilpatrick, commanding the Third Division, ordered a charge upon the Confederate infantry opposite this position. These troops were General John Bell Hood's division, which was badly worn from its failed efforts to take Little Round Top the day before.[31] The charge in question was led by General Elon Farnsworth, who died during the fight. Companies A, D, E, and I fought dismounted (the rest remained on horseback) in the attack on Hood's division, and were badly mauled.[32]

July 1, 1863
warm. left Hanover 10 A.M. our squadron in advance, passed through Adamstown [Pennsylvania]. captured 12 prisoners. crossed the Susquehanah, went most to Carlisle [Pennsylvania]. countermarched, came back about 12 miles, camped. In our yesterday's fight all that I know of extent is I saw 60 prisoners & 11 dead but we had more prisoners and more killed. we drove them out of town & held the town they took 2 A.M.

July 2, 1863
pleasant. started 7 went to Adamstown [Pennsylvania], stopped two or three hours. went to Hunterstown [Pennsylvania]. had a fight with Stewart's cavalry, drove them. Fight lasted about four hours. they are fighting terribly on our lines, after our fight we went to a little village near Gettysburg. we found thousands of wounded, they were digging pits to bury the dead.

July 3, 1863
cloudy today. went on to the left wing, fought all day. our Brigade lost heavily, we charged on infantry. I have not learned the extent of the loss yet. had one man killed from our Co and one wounded. it is strange that the whole Co was not killed. [I] shot one reb, shot at several many more. retired about two miles and camped for the night.

Following the third day of the Battle of Gettysburg, the Army of Northern Virginia, having suffered severe losses, turned and began its retreat. Union cavalry under General Kilpatrick, the First Vermont among others, was detailed to harass the rebel withdrawal and capture as much of their wagon train as possible.[33] For the First Vermont Cavalry this meant intermittent and often intense combat for the rest of July. This fighting stands in contrast to the commonly held view that following Gettysburg neither army made any effort to continue to actively campaign. On July 6 the regiment found itself in combat with a stronger element of the enemy's rear guard.[34] They survived only through intervention by supporting artillery. The post-Gettysburg combat grew in intensity for the First Vermont Cavalry on the 8th, against Stuart's cavalry. The fight lasted all day for the regiment as it was moved along the Union line to support other formations. [35]

> July 5, 1863
> arrived at Gettysburg this morning three A.M. Captured about eighty prisoners without fireing again. some gave themselves up. we were able to get the train agent through Hagerstown [Maryland]. went within some miles of wiliamsport [Maryland], our divison captured twelve men and a train of cavalry wagons. came back to Boonsboro [Maryland] 12 at night & found rest of the Brigade.
>
> July 6, 1863
> cloudy. left Boonsboro 7 A.M. passed through Frankstown [Pennsylvania]. went to Hagerstown. had a hard fight at eight hours with the rebel sharpshooters, infantry & cav. we lost very heavy, our regt broke but they had reason to. they took four good men prisoner but slaughtered them terribly. they flanked us but we had out our batery. fired grape & canister, killing them by the hundreds. our brigade is badly cut up. we caused the rebs to burn their train. took a few prisoners and got away no sooner dusk. camped within firing of our artillery.
>
> July 7, 1863
> rainy. started this morning went to Boonsboro & stayd until night. went on picket at daylight. know now much of our regt lost. our Co lost six taken prisoner in the fight yesterday. we have had no rations for a long time, have to buy everything. the teams cannot get to us.
>
> July 8, 1863
> rained all night, got wet. the enemy advanced on us this morning nine o'clock. we fought them all day. they came near getting the best of us but about eleven at night we charged them and drove them three miles. our battalion charged on a battery. our regt lost three killed.

The next three days heralded a pause in the near-constant combat Crosby and the First Vermont Cavalry had been engaged in since the fight at Hanover on June 30. This pause was spent rounding up stragglers,

as well as taking a much needed rest on the 10th. It appears that the rebel cavalry were as worn as the Vermonters, for as Crosby notes of the 11th, "the rebel pickets were in sight but nither of us fired although we were within easy gun shot of each other."

The remainder of the month involved continued contact with the enemy, although not as regularly nor as intensely as before. Crosby parted company from the regiment on July 27, and so his account of the post-Gettysburg actions of the First Vermont Cavalry goes no further. He had been sent home to Vermont to collect and bring back to the regiment the latest batch of recruits and conscripts.[36] This duty appears to have been not terribly onerous, as he fails to even mention it during the approximately two months he was home. By 1863 Crosby had moved his family from Brattleboro, where he had lived in 1861, to the town of St. Johnsbury in Caledonia County.

> July 31, 1863
> last night was the first time I slept in a bed for most two years and [did] not sleep well.

Being back in civilian surroundings seems to have been quite the tonic for Crosby's spirits, although initially it did take some adaptation. Other than getting used to sleeping in beds, Crosby enjoyed every moment of being home in Vermont, particularly seeing his friends and family. Conversely, when the time came to depart for the front again, he plunged into a lengthy depression that took several weeks of time to pass.

> August 2, 1863
> this is the first time I hear my little girl speak. she was not afraid but kissed me and called me Papa. she is pretty and grown much more than I had calculated. in the afternoon I went and helped bennet Butter. At night I went with Hellen for milk.

> August 4, 1863
> today I went to Lyndon with Hellen and Addie, stayed with at Myram Miller's in the afternoon. I was mighty glad to see the old Boys and we had a jolly good time. I had more quetions asked than I could answer in a week. in the evening went to Charles's and stayed all [night].

> August 7, 1863–August 10th, 1863
> all this time enjoyed life so well that I could not trust my diary.

> August 11, 1863–August 15th, 1863
> this diary is of no act when I am enjoying life so much.

> August 16, 1863–August 20th, 1863
> Diary Playd.

September 26, 1863
arrived in NY this morning six o'clock. went to Barnum's in forenoon. afternoon went to theater. verry tired at night, went to bed at eight at the soldier's union relief association. verry lonesome, did not sleep verry well.

September 27, 1863
pleasant. verry homesick. went down to battery and to the wharf and saw the Rusian fleet. in afternoon attend religious services. felt unwell, went to bed early. sick all night, did not sleep much.

September 29, 1863
lounged around the city. saw plenty of officers drunk. went to georgetown and got Tom's [Bartleff] Box at the Express office. sick of Washington and every other plase but home. I should like to see my folks today.

Crosby did not return from his first leave until early October, by which time the regiment was deployed along the Rappahannock River. He was back with the regiment on the 4th, and found "Boys all right and glad to see me," but also that "my horse was gone and everything lost." This loss of his gear and horse can only have made being back at the front even more miserable.

Crosby would be granted a second furlough not long after he returned from his first, in early 1864. This extra leave was offered as partial inducement to retain veterans whose enlistments were running out, as his was.

December 12, 1863
rained some. wrote to Fred Miller. cooked beans. had the proposition again read to us to reenlist. the inducements are verry tempting. I want to do so but am afraid my folks will not agree.

December 19, 1863
great excitement today about reenlisting. the captain of the first Brigade read the order to us and I think the regt will go home. went on picket at Mitchel's ford. got leter and diary from home. sold the diary for 30.

December 25, 1863
went on picket at Cission's ford. our Co at reserve. got a verry interesting letter from home, it was a little sample of my correspondence that I ever received. I guess my folks don't think mutch of me [reenlisting] but they can't stop me.

December 29, 1863
pleasant again. relieved by the 5th Mich. got three leters from home. two of them have been on the road a long time. I got a leter [on] the 29th that was written since they were. we found the boys in camp all reenlisting. got leter from Brother.

December 30, 1863
went to station. saw Brother, he has enlisted. I enlisted from the town of Andover [Vermont]. expect to get five hundred dollars town bounty that will help my folks a great deal.

The lure of bounty, leave, and promotion was clearly more of a draw to Crosby than any potential disapproval from his family was a deterrent. In addition to the thirty days at home, he was also promoted to corporal as part of reenlisting as a Veteran Volunteer.[37] The bounty money he was expecting was substantial as well. He mentions this for the first time in his 1864 diary which, unlike the 1863 volume, contains a memoranda section in the back. Crosby used this extra space for continuing entries he had been unable to fit into the area demarcated for a particular date, and on two occasions to record long accounts of memorable events.

memoranda section, dated January 1, 1864
It is pretty muddy and bad weather for a man about to enlist for three years but the money is what I must have for the benefit of my wife and child. I am anticipating nine hundred dollars bounty from town and government.

Nine hundred dollars may seem an exceedingly high expectation, but Crosby was not far off the mark. His federal enlistment bounty would come to $402, paid out in increments of $50 a month.[38] He could expect additional bounties from the town he enlisted through; Vermont paid out more than 4.5 million dollars for bounties over the course of the war.[39] The Andover town bounty he expected of "five hundred dollars . . . that will help my folks a great deal," however, would not come as easily, as the following entries show. That settlement was not concluded in Crosby's favor until late 1865.

December 31, 1863
rained all day hard. wrote home to selectmen of Andover. sent certificate. a detach[ment] of our regt went on picket. I will try to keep my diary next year in better style than this.

memoranda section, dated January 4, 1864
first snow of the season fel today, about an inch. I am verry anxious to hear from Andover. no mail on account of the railroad being disturbed somewhere between here [and] Washington.

January 12, 1864
put adition on chimney. afternoon cut poles for horse stable. worked verry hard. got leter from andover saying that I should get no town bounty.

February 23, 1865
wrote to Andover. I have heard that they were going to pay me a town bounty.

February 28, 1865
mustered for pay and signed the payrole. it is a snowy day. wrote leter for Peterson to his folks. wrote another leter to the selectmen of Andover. Snowy day.

March 1, 1865
pleasant but some cold. got leter from home, Hellen is sick. got a leter from the selectmen of Andover. they are going to pay me fourteen dollars town bounty when I am mustered out of service.

In actuality, Crosby received considerably more than fourteen dollars from Andover. After being mustered out of service in August 1865, he received $270.20 from the town selectmen. Of that sum, $2.70 was interest for the time since his initial application.[40] Taken together with his federal bounty, this comes to $670.20, about $200 short of the amount he had hoped for, but a very substantial payment nonetheless.[41]

For Crosby the first two months of 1864 were a return to camp routine, with the intermission of his reenlistment furlough of January 17th to February 20th. After being back in camp for three days when he mentioned "great preperations for a raid we shal have tomorrow." This was to be the Kilpatrick-Dalhgren expedition of February 28 to March 7. Its primary purposes were to liberate Union prisoners held in Richmond as well as to damage Confederate logistics and supplies in the area surrounding their capital.[42] Company K of the First Vermont as well as detachments from other cavalry regiments left in advance of the main body under the command of Colonel Ulric Dahlgren on the 8th. They secured a crossing of the Rapidan River and proceeded on ahead of the main raiding force.[43]

During the whole raid, Crosby's company rode with the main body under Kilpatrick. As such he had no first hand knowledge of what occurred to Dahlgren's detachment, which had been destroyed in an ambush.[44] He recorded the raid in his daily entries, but also wrote an entire summary of it in his memoranda section.

Feb 28: Kilpatrick started on a raid with four thousand Cavalry and two Bateries of artillery. crossed the Rapidan River at Ely's Ford [Virginia]. captured a picket post at that plase of thirty men. went through Chancellorsville Spotsylvania. Co H halted 29th one hour and mad coffee and fed horses then proceeded to Beaver dam station on the Virginia Central Railroad. there we Burnt up all the Depot Buildings. destroyed the Railroad for about five miles, burned several carrs. marched all night and arrived in the morning of the 1st of march Ground Squirrel Bridge on the South Anna River. we halted there to rest and make coffee. we had been there but a short time when the Rebs attacked us in the rear with cavalry and artillery. halted one half hour then marched southeast. did not halt again until within three and one half ms of Richmond and inside of the entrenchments.

halted and foraged corn and fed our horses inside the entrenchments then we marched toward Richmond. Engaged the Rebs, went within one and a half miles of the City. destroyed two or three miles of the Richmond and York River Railroad and went into camp for the night about five miles from the City. we were all verry sleepy and tired having had no sleep nor rest since we lef Stevensburg on the 28th. we got in camp before dark about ten o'clock. our camp was staked, we were all asleep except the pickets and I guess some of them. we had a hard fight but were obliged to retreat. we lost eleven men from our Company and seventy from the regt; I do not know how many from the command. we fell back to mechanicsville [Virginia], got there about four o'clock in morning of the 2nd of March. halted there about four hours when we were again attacked, our regt at the front. Eastman of our Co was wound badly in the foot by a musket ball in the skirmish. it lasted about two hours. we went to from there to Turnstals Station [Virginia]. fed horses just at night then marched towards White House several miles then countermarched came back to Turnstals Station and camped about two o'clok. on the morning of the 3rd at daylight we were attacked both front and rear by small parties but they were shure to get out of our way when we charged on them. about nine o'clock we marched, arrived at New Kent Court House [Virginia] about noon where we found a Brigade of Butler's Niggars and a battery of artillery come up to help us out. we are almost entirely destitute of rations. we halted about two hours then proceed on. found guirrillas plenty[ful], had one man killed and another wounded out of the column as we were pasin by the woods. we succeeded in capturing four of them. we arrived at Macock [Virginia] just after dark. went into camp, unsaddled for the first time since we left, then tore down deserted houses to build fires. nothing to eat. March 4, started at eight A.M. arrived at Williamsburg [Virginia] about noon. there we found troops stationed; we begged rations of them but were so many that but few were supplied. we did not halt at that plase but marched to Yorktown. we went into camp at 5 P.M. and drew rations. March 6th, started at six this morning for Portsmouth in steam transports: about two thousand cavalry, some infantry and artillery. the horses got scared. fraid of an attack. we arrived about three o'clok the same day but it proved to be a false alarm and the next day, 7th, we went to Glouscester Point [Virginia] by the same rout we came. Glouscester Point is across the River opposite Yorktown.

On March 12 the regiment boarded steam transports and returned to the northern side of the Rappahannock. Once back, they went back into camp and returned to picket duty, interspersed with increased drilling. A month later on April 16, the regiment gathered to bid farewell to General Kilpatrick. Kilpatrick had by this time earned the nickname "Kill-Cavalry" for his reckless habit of ordering headlong assaults on strong enemy positions. It is a measure of his unpopularity with cavalrymen of the Army of the Potomac that only two other regiments

(the First and Seventh Michigan) saw him off when he was relieved of command.[45]

> April 16, 1864
> rained most all night last night. rainey day. relieved from guard at eight this morning. pickets relieved today. Gen. Kilpatrick took a parting leave of us in person today. he has command of Gen. Sherman's cavalry.

That interlude aside, the rest of April passed in picket duty, dress parade and constant drilling. Crosby occasionally relieved the monotony by helping the camp sutler brew beer, which sold briskly. In early May the Army of the Potomac crossed the Rapidan River in the opening moves of General Grant's Wilderness campaign. The First Vermont, under the command of General James H. Wilson, drove off enemy pickets at Germanna Ford in the early hours of May 4, but ran into heavy fighting the following day. They had encountered the Twelfth Virginia cavalry under the command of General Thomas L. Rosser; the Confederate horsemen were further east of the main Confederate position than had been anticipated.[46] The battle continued on the 5th, during which Crosby was taken prisoner. He recorded a full account of being captured in his memoranda.

> this morning took our breakfast before daylight and mooved forward, our regiment in the advance. we took a road to the left and parallel with the plank road. we advanced about five miles when we came upon the rebel skirmish line. our regt was nearly all dismounted and sent on the skirmish line. about twenty of our Co, myself among the rest, were sent mounted under command of Seargt. Barttleff to support the right of our skirmishers. we drove them back about a mile, our lines extending at right angles with the road. the country here is completly covered with wood and a thick underbrush. we held the ground for about two hours and were forced to fall back. our party of mounted men had to protect the right flank and give the dismounted men a chance to get to their horses. our mode of action was to draw up in a line and wait until they came upon us then give them a volley and fall back. this we repeated seven times with success but they gained upon us fast. when we got back to a small clearing we found our men flying in confusion and the rebs coming like hail. here we found Major Wells, he succeeded in ralying about a hundred men and formed them on to our squad and we charged with revolvers which checked them for a few minutes. so that many of our men got away by that means. I stood my ground firing my carbine as fast as I could load. I was about eight hundred yards from the road to the right. I had been in that position but a few minutes when the rebs charged again. on turning my horse around I found I was standing alone. I ran my horse as fast as I could but before I could get to the road at the corner of the woods I found myself in the midst of a squad of Rebel cavalry. two rufians of the 12th VA Cavalry came up

> to me and I gave them my arms. one took my hat, the other took my pocket book out of my pocket. in short they took everything that I had except this Diary and its contents which they did not find, it being in my brest pocket. I asked them to let me have some keepsakes of no value to them that were in my pocket book but [they] would give me nothing. General Rosser wrode up to me when I was giving up my arms and asked me how many men we had engaged. I told him I did not know but if he kept on in that road he would soon find out to his discomfort. I was then taken about a mile to the rear and delivered to the provost guard. there was about forty prisoners there, some of them wounded. four of co G were badly wounded and we left them at a house near by. Corporal Brainard was badly [wounded] in the groin. his cousin was mortaly [wounded] through the breast. Little of the same Co was lef there badly wounded through the shoulder. about two o'clok we were started on foot, fifty four of us in number, for the rear. we reached Videresville [Virginia], a distance of eleven miles about dark. on the road we met Gen. Longstreet's Corps. we were verry tired and hungry. we found a wagon train at that plase and drew a small handful of cracker crumbs. I devoured mine quickly and camped for the night.[47]

After his initial capture George Crosby was taken south to Andersonville prison along with other Federal prisoners. Richmond had previously been the main site for POWs, but by early 1864 Confederate policy was changing.[48] For every Federal prisoner held, more food had to be brought into the city, which was growing increasingly difficult; the threat of rescue attempts by Union cavalry was also of growing concern.[49] By February 1864 prisoners began to be sent out of the city to the unfinished prison at Andersonville, Georgia.

Crosby finally arrived at Andersonville on May 22, seventeen days after his capture in Virginia and following several layovers in Virginia and South Carolina.[50] The prison was not completed when its first prisoners arrived on February 24, 1864; the stockade was finished but no shelters or buildings stood within it.[51] By May when Crosby arrived the population had risen to 15,000 prisoners in an enclosed space of 74,052 square feet. In August Confederate authorities reported that overcrowding had led to an expansion of the north side of the prison, giving the 32,899 prisoners 117,612 square feet of space. Even with this extension, the Confederates overseeing the site soon found that the average space available per prisoner had dropped from 49.3 to 35.7 square feet.[52] Crosby recorded his impressions of the camp and its inhabitants in his memoranda shortly after arriving on the 22nd.

> arrived at Macon [Georgia] at daylight. one of the guards fell off the carr and was killed. we arrived at Andersonville about noon. this is the end of our journey for the present. here we are counted off into detachments of two hundred and seventy and into messes of ninty

with a seargeant in charge of each to draw rations and assemble for roll call. we are put in the stockade where there are about thirteen thousand prisoners. there is about ten acres of ground enclosed a stockade which is made of hewn pine logs set in the ground like fence posts standing about fifteen feet out of the ground. the timbers are about eight or ten inches through. there is a sentry box that comes up above the top of the stockade about twenty feet from and on the inside of the stockade is a railing which is called the dead line. if a man gets outside of this rail he is shot without any warning by the sentry. across the camp the ground is swamp & several rods each side of the stream so that there is nearly half an acre of ground that is used for a sink and for gambling. this is the most filthy, nasty patch of ground that I have ever beheld. the ground rises each way from the stream so that the ends of the camp are thirty to forty feet higher than the centre. the camp is nearly square but a little longset from north to south. there are two gates on the west side through which our rations are drawn by a mule team. our rations consist of about three ounces boild bacon and from one third to three fourths of a loaf of cornbread pr day and occasionaly a spoonful or two of rice or half cooked mush. they are cooked by a detail from the prisoners in a building made for the purpose just outside the stockade. we are divided into detachments of two hundred and fifty, each detachment divided into three messes, ninty in each with a seargeant in charge of each to draw rations and call the roll. Sergt. English of the 14th NJ has charge of the mess that I belong [to]. I am in the fifty-first detachment, second mess. I think that all the prisoners that they have got are here, some of them have been prisoners nine months or more. many of them came here from Dell Island and Libby Prison. some of them are almost naked and seem to have forgot that they are human beings. they lie around in the sand like dogs, eat their corn doger and scratch. there are but a few that are naked but many that have nothing but a shirt, some an old pair of drawers, some have an old overcoat thrown over their shoulders to cover their nakedness. they have been here so long that they are nothing but skin and bones. they are discouraged and have grown to be almost Idiots. they never wash, have no cover and live like hogs. there is another class here that are gamblers and what we call raiders. they are our city roughs, burglers, robbers, thieves, jewes and bounty jumpers. here they play all sorts of games of cards and dice, sit in the hot sun all day with their monty bank on the sweat board, taking what money they can get. some have made small fortune speculating, buying bean soup, tobacco and such stuf of the guards and selling it again to the prisoners. we get a piece of blak soap about an inch square for twenty five cents greenbacks or one dollar confederate money. corn meal one dollar and twenty five cents pr quart, other things in proportion. there is an other class here that is interprising and respectable. such men are good soldiers. the raiders go in gangs and charge on tents and when the occupants are asleep and rob the rations, blankets and everything they can get.

This passage outlines two items of particular interest from Crosby's stay in Andersonville: miserable health conditions and gangs of raiders.

Conditions within the camp were of almost universal deprivation; no tents or other shelters were issued to the prisoners, nor blankets or other clothing. Rations were at best inadequate and at worst nonexistent. This lack of food combined with massively unhygienic conditions to breed deadly illnesses, chief among them diarrhea, dysentery, and scurvy. Water was supplied from wells and the Sweet Water Creek that ran through the camp. Both of these supplies were contaminated by poorly positioned latrines and the lack of any sanitation regimen.

> June 9, 1864
> showers. men are dying at the rate of sixty every twenty four hours, mostly of scurvy and diareah. thousands have not even a blanket for a cover. water is poor and dirty. fighting occurs several times a day, alas for human depravity.[53]

Given all these factors, the prisoners' health was generally so poor that "the slightest scratch + even the bites of small insicts were in some cases followed by such a rapid + extensive Gangrene, as to destroy extremities + even life itself."[54] Crosby was no exception, suffering from colds, diarrhea, infections, and what he calls "the rheumatis." Despite these numerous complaints, he never attempted to get admitted to the hospital, possibly because he knew it to be severely overcrowded. [55]

> May 29, 1864
> I am weak and nearly sick. spent my last three dollars for a quart of beans. prisoners are dying at the rate of twenty five per day. eight or ten hundred more prisoners today.

> June 1, 1864
> sick today, in great pain. have gotten a severe cold and [it] settled all over me. heavy thunder shower at night, got wet.

Digging tunnels was a common means of escape for the prisoners at Andersonville. Due to the contamination of the creek, the prisoners often dug wells, giving them the pretext to descend deep enough to start a horizontal shaft toward freedom. Cave-ins and flooding hampered tunneling efforts, but most were thwarted by informants before they reached completion. [56]

> June 14, 1864
> cold and rainey. the camp is getting muddy. the rheumatis bothers me a good deal. Tuttle is verry hard up. the rebs found an other tunnel today. drew bread and meat again today. many are making their escape and the guards go with them.

> June 15, 1864
> over a hundred died in the last twenty four hours out of the hospital and camp. this storm kills many. about a thousand more prisoners

came in today. stormy but warmer. drew bread. I have got the Rheumatis to that I can hardly walk.

June 18, 1864
It was a verry rainey night last night and the same today. I have so mutch pain in my hips and legs that I can sleep but little at night. the time seems verry long to me. more prisoners today.

June 19, 1864
Showery today. I am sick, have got the diarhea and the rheumatis. went to the Doctor, got six pills and a powder. more prisoners. drew rice. my apetite is poor, I feel hard.

By the end of July the prison population had topped 30,000, twice what it was when Corporal Crosby arrived. The expansion had added 43,560 square feet to the stockade, but by now it was almost entirely filled.[57]

July 29, 1864
showery. a few more prisoners from Sherman's army. I am verry weak and nearly sick. the stockade is getting nearly as crowded as it was before the adition was put on. our cup is spoiled so that we [have] nothing to cook in but a half canteen.

September 3, 1864
the reason that I have left this blank space in my diary is partly becaus I have had nothing worth writing and partly on account of having a fellon on my left thumb which has been verry painful. in the meantime everything has gone on as usual . . . I have passed many a sleepless night in the last two weeks on account of the felon on my thumb. I can get nothing from the surgeon here for it, all the medicine I can get is cornmeal and soup. I have had it lanced twice with a broken lance[t] but it was premature. it seems as if I should go crazy. I cannot rest day or night.

The raiders Crosby mentioned in his memoranda passage of May 22, 1864 had become a constant threat to the other inmates by the time he had arrived. They consisted mostly of disreputable sorts, who generally had been drafted or joined the Union Army after bounty money. In prison they formed gangs and robbed, terrorized, and occasionally murdered other prisoners. The Confederate garrison had initially done nothing to curtail their activity, because there were not enough guards to effectively patrol the interior of the stockade while attending to their other duties.[58]

June 26, 1864
verry warm. the raiders are getting to be verry bold. they take the new comers and take everything away from them, murder some in a horrible manner. there is an organized band of them of probably more than two hundred. they are city roughs, house breakers and pickpockets. several efforts have been made to put them down but to no effect. prisoners coming in every day. no news that is reliable.

With no one acting against them, the raiders grew increasingly bold in their attacks on other prisoners. They preferred to strike at night, but would act in broad daylight if the opportunity presented itself. On those occasions when one of their victims successfully defended himself, additional raiders would join in and pummel him senseless, occasionally killing the soldier in question.[59]

The turning point came on June 29, when raiders mercilessly beat a newly-arrived prisoner named Dowd and robbed him of his watch and money. Thinking they had killed him, the raiders departed. However, Dowd was made of sterner stuff, staggered to his feet, and sought help from the Confederate sentries on the walls. Commandant Henry Wirz, angered by Dowd's beating, authorized the prisoners to organize and supplied them with clubs.[60]

> June 29, 1864
> the rebs have commenced today to help us get rid of the raiders. they have arrested a large lot of men and have not got through yet. the[y] are puting an adition of ten acres onto our enclosure which will be done in a few days.

These Regulators, as they were known, swiftly arrested a large number of raiders with aid from the guards. They were tried by a jury drawn from the inmate population, and six of them were eventually hanged. This judicial proceeding happened with the full knowledge and sanction of both the garrison and the Confederate government.[61] Although thievery and disorder still existed within Andersonville after the hangings, organized violence on the scale of the raiders never again arose.

> June 30, 1864
> verry hot. Corpl. Cook is quite sick with the diareah. they [are] at the raiders again today. they got a jeury of twelve sergts of our men to try their cases. the charges, evidence and sentinc will [be] sent to our government for approval. today finishes the first half of the year.

> July 2, 1864
> put up blanket. we drew new rations. nothing to cook in and it is hard to borrow. we hear that five of the raiders are sentenced to be hung. our new camp is nearly as crowded as the old one. water is a good ways off and poor.

> July 11, 1864
> thunder shower at night. extremely hot. more prisoners. six of the raiders were hung at five o'clok. they were proven guilty of murder, tried, sentenced and hung by our men with the sanction of the rebels inside of our camp. they were all hung at once. the rope broke with one but he was soon put back up again.

July 12, 1864
hot as usual. more prisoners today. the men that were hung yesterday protested their innocence to the last. they were a hard lot of men and richly merrited their punishment. I do not know their names or regiments.

Along with basic survival and the raiders, Crosby's other main concern was his chance of being either exchanged or paroled. Earlier in the war exchanging prisoners had been handled through a cartel of Union and Confederate officers, but the practice had broken down in 1863, in large part due to the appearance of black regiments in the Union Army.[62] Regardless of cause, the regular exchanges of prisoners had effectively ended before Crosby even reached Andersonville. This did not stop the garrison from hinting that an exchange was imminent, nor rumor from circulating among the prisoners, arising seemingly from thin air. The guards started such rumors of an exchange as a method of control; prisoners were unlikely to attempt escapes with an exchange coming.[63] Crosby was encouraged by these rumors, but eventually saw them for what they were.

June 5,1864
just a month today since I was captured. there is great talk in the camp of an exchange or parool verry soon. they drew new rations on this side of the brook this week. Norman mooved up with us, he and Tuttle together.

June 13, 1864
cold rainey day. rained all night. Cook went back today, he thinks there is not [enough] room. great excitement in camp about being parooled. report that the officers already parooled. rations [the] same as yesterday.

July 15, 1864
verry hot. a few prisoners came in from Sherman's army. they report that the rebs are clearing everything out of Atlanta. there are petitions getting up to send to the different States praying for an exchange or release from prison.

August 1, 1864
great talk of a parole soon. the whole camp is excited but I am afraid that it is a hoax. they are taking the sick out fast. I don't know where they are puting them.[64]

September 3, 1864
stories of parool and exchange are plenty[ful] . . . there is a report that we are going to be parooled immediately, few beleive it.

September 26, 1864
rations today half pint meal half pint of rice. a great deal of talk about parool and exchange but it amounts to verry little.

General exchange of prisoners would never be completely reinstated, though special exchanges and paroles of obviously ill and debilitated prisoners did occur.[65] It was by this device that Crosby was released, but by then he was no longer in Andersonville. In September he had been moved to Florence, South Carolina, along with the majority of the camp's population.

> September 12, 1864
> this morning at daylight we were let out of the bull pen and we [were] put into freight carrs, sixty men in each carr with one forth pound bacon and half loaf corn bread. no man is allowed to step out of the carrs, if he does he gets shot.

> September 14, 1864
> six dollars got me bread enough for one meal. I was verry hungry. the sitizens say there is no exchange. arrived in Charlestown 3 this morn they travailed north. arrived at Florence 1 P.M. lay in the carrs all night.

The Confederate War Department had been looking for a new location to house prisoners since July, as General Sherman's advance toward Atlanta raised concerns about Andersonville's security.[66] Charleston was considered but disqualified as too vulnerable to Union naval attack.[67] As a result Florence, which is 80 miles further inland, was chosen.

The final months of 1864 at Florence were likely the hardest ones of his time in captivity for Crosby. His health remained precarious, and emotionally he was hit by two damaging blows. The first was seeing other prisoners taking the Confederate oath of allegiance, which 807 had done by October.[68] Although initially angry with these men for switching sides, Crosby acknowledged that many were driven to it by the extremity of conditions within the camp. While starvation was primarily due to simple shortage much as at Andersonville, it was compounded by the prisoners having little or no cookware and utensils. The problem was noticeable enough for Confederate officials to attempt to distribute utensils in an effort to reduce spoilage, but nothing came of it.[69]

> September 29, 1864
> Reb officers in camp giving the oath of Allegiance to all who whish. about a hundred and fifty have taken it. our rations today are one fourth pint rice, five spoonfuls molasses piece potatoe size of a walnut.

> September 30, 1864
> it is reported that a thousand men from this camp have sent in their names yesterday & today to take the oath of Allegiance, curses upon them. rations [to]day one fourth pint meal, same of rice, four spoonfuls beans one fourth pound Beef salt.

> October 20, 1864
> drew some more good molasses, three fourths pt flour, half pt meal,

> some salt. lots of men are taking the oath, they are starved and froze to it.

More personally damaging to Crosby than these defections was recurrent homesickness. Previously he had manifested this intense desire to be home after a furlough, but in early October 1864 the effects of hunger brought it all back to him. Out of desperation to buy food, he had to sell a ring given to him by Helen.

> October 2, 1864
> this morning made a little gruel out of all the meal I had, three spoonfuls. 8 o'clock [we were] ordered to pack up, mooved about a mile to a stockade that has been prepared for us. starvation drove me to sell the ring that my wife gave me. I bot some meal & sweet potatoes. got a dollar for the ring.

Miserable, starving, and sick, Crosby stopped writing entries on October 21st, and did not recommence until December 14th. That was the date he was finally released under a special, limited arrangement in which both sides agreed to exchange ill men who were unable to return to active duty.[70] Upon being paroled under this provision, Crosby was transported to Annapolis and admitted to the hospital at Camp Parole.[71] After a brief period of recovery he returned to Vermont, only to sicken again in Brattleboro, where he admitted himself to the military hospital on February 13, 1865.[72]

Landing in the Brattleboro hospital was more fortuitous than Crosby might have known; of the over 4,000 patients who convalesced at Brattleboro during the war only 91 succumbed to their ailments.[73] His regimen while there can only be described as relaxed, with frequent trips into town and occasional passes to visit his family back in St. Johnsbury.[74] As he mentions on February 17, "the Stewart told me to go to the clerk and he would give me a pass whenever I wanted one." That is not to say that he was on an extended vacation; his painting skills were frequently put to use by the hospital administrators.

The remainder of Crosby's entries involve his time in the hospital, and they end abruptly in mid-April, shortly after news of President Lincoln's assassination. After being mustered out of service in August, he returned home to St. Johnsbury and at last got his wish of March 12, 1865, to return to live with his family again. Settling into a house on Cliff Street, he became employed by the St. Johnsbury school district, initially as a janitor; later in life he would rise to become the town's truant officer.[75]

Crosby's beloved wife Helen would sicken and die of cancer in 1880, at the age of 43.[76] Of his children, only Addie and Ferdinand, his son by his second wife Agnes, would survive to adulthood. [77] In May 1908, Crosby

came down with a bad case of pneumonia, dying of it on the 23rd of that month at the age of 72.[78] Through Ferdinand his line continued, as it does to this day.

Other than these diaries, no other letters or papers of George R. Crosby survive. His account of the war is both a record of his military experience and an intensely personal look at a man who just wanted to go home again. Through his battle records we gain insight into an under-examined regiment in an under-examined arm of service, the First Vermont Cavalry. Balanced against that is the human factor that appears throughout Crosby's diaries. His entries give us an insider's view into the function and occasional failings of the bounty system, as those written while on leave give a glimpse into the home life the common soldier yearned to return to. From these many experiences we gain another perspective on the experience of Vermonters in the Civil War, and truly that must be the ultimate value of the Civil War diaries of George Richardson Crosby.

Notes

[1] Horace K. Ide, *History of the First Vermont Cavalry in the War of the Great Rebellion*, edited with additional material by Elliot W. Hoffman (Baltimore, Md: Butternut & Blue, 2000).

[2] Eli Slifer to Simon Cameron, 16 April 1861, in *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), Series III, Volume 1, 77 (hereafter cited as *Official Records).*

[3] Ide, *First Vermont*, 17.

[4] Stephan Z. Starr, "The Inner Life of the First Vermont Volunteer Cavalry, 1861–1865," *Vermont History* 46 no. 3 (1978): 158.

[5] Ibid., 172.

[6] Theodore S. Peck, comp., *Revised Roster of Vermont Volunteers and Lists of Vermonters Who Served in the Army and Navy of the United States during the War of the Rebellion, 1861–1866* (Montpelier, Vt: Watchman Publishing Company, 1892), 243.

[7] G. G. Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War: A History of the Part Taken by the Vermont Soldiers and Sailors in the War for the Union, 1861–1865* (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Association, 1886) Volume 2, 542.

[8] Ide, *First Vermont Cavalry*, 25.

[9] Major General George B. McClellan to the War Department, April 1862, in *Official Records*, Series I, Volume 6, 21.

[10] Ide, *First Vermont Cavalry*, 62–63.

[11] Private Henry A. Smith to his family, 7 June 1862, in Jeffrey D. Marshall, *A War of the People: Vermont Civil War Letters* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999), 81–82.

[12] Marshall, *A War of the People*, 8.

[13] Ide, *First Vermont Cavalry*, 66.

[14] Captain Frank Platt, "Consolidated Morning Report," 1 June 1862, *Regimental Consolidated Morning Report Book, 1st Vermont Cavalry*, RG 94 - Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Volume 1 of 6, National Archives and Records Administration.

[15] Colonel Edward Sawyer to Brigadier General Montgomery Meigs, 15 Oct. 1862, *Regimental Letter Book*, RG 94, Volume 4 of 6.

[16] Ide, *First Vermont Cavalry*, 60.

[17] Colonel Sawyer to Lieutentant L.W. Barnhart, 16 Feb. 1864, *Regimental Letter Book*, RG 94, Volume 1 of 6.

[18] Christopher McGrory Klyza and Stephan C. Trombulak, *The Story of Vermont: A Natural and Cultural History*, (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999), 72.

[19] Ide, *First Vermont Cavalry*, 98.

[20] Ibid., 95–96.

[21] *Records of Marriages in the Town of St. Johnsbury* (Rutland, Vt.: The Tuttle Company, 1897). Office of the Town Clerk, St. Johnsbury, Vermont, Volume III, 70.

[22] Captain Clarence D. Gates, "Special Order 15," 11 April 1863, *Regimental Order Book*, RG 94, Volume 4 of 6.

[23] General Joseph Hooker to Secretary of War Edwin Stanton, 4 June 1863, in *Official Records*, Series I, Volume 27, Part 1, 29.

[24] General Joseph Hooker to President Abraham Lincoln, 10 June 1863, in *Official Records*, Series I, Volume 27, Part 1, 34.

[25] President Lincoln to General Hooker, 10 June 1863, in *Official Records*, Series I, Volume 27, Part 1, 35.

[26] George A. Rummell III, *Cavalry on the Road to Gettysburg: Kilpatrick at Hanover and Hunterstown*, (Shippensburg, Pa: White Mane Books, 2000), 205.

[27] Ide, *First Vermont Cavalry*, 107–108.

[28] Rummell, *Cavalry on the Road to Gettysburg*, 249.

[29] Colonel Edward Sawyer to Vermont Adjutant General Peter Washburn, 10 October 1863, *Regimental Letter Book*, RG 94, Volume 1 of 6.

[30] Report to Vermont Adjutant General Peter Washburn Concerning Actions of 2 July 1863, 10 July 1863, *Regimental Letter Book*, RG 94, Volume 1 of 6.

[31] Ide, *First Vermont Cavalry*, 115.

[32] Colonel Edward Sawyer to Assistant Brigade Adjutant General Captain Siebert, 7 August 1863, *Regimental Letter Book*, RG 94, Volume 1 of 6.

[33] Ide, *First Vermont Cavalry*, 118.

[34] Report Concerning Actions of 6 July 1863, 10 July 1863, *Regimental Letter Book*, RG 94, Volume 1 of 6.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Company Muster Roll Card, July–August 1863, in George R. Crosby Service Record, RG 94, Box 29.

[37] His promotion to corporal was not official until January 18. Company Muster Roll Card, 18 January 1864, in George R. Crosby Service Record, RG 94, Box 29.

[38] Ibid.

[39] J.H. Baxter, comp., *Statistics, Medical and Anthropological, of the Provost Marshal General's Bureau, Derived from Records of the Examinations for Military Service in the Armies of the United States during the Late War of the Rebellion of over a Million Recruits, Drafted Men, Substitutes and Enrolled Men* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1875), 1:163.

[40] Receipt from Andover Town Selectmen B.F. Howard, O.W. Leonard, and William Pierce, 12 August 1865, Pioneer Memorial Society Archives, Andover, Vt.

[41] The state government of Vermont did not offer any bounty money itself, but did regulate the town bounties. *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont at the Annual Session, 1864* (Montpelier, Vt.: Freeman Steam Printing Establishment, 1864), 26–27.

[42] S.M. Dufur, *Over the Deadline or Tracked by Bloodhounds* (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Association, 1902), 12.

[43] Brigadier General Judson Kilpatrick to Major General Alfred Pleasanton, 16 March 1864, in *Official Records*, Series I, Volume 33, 183.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ide, *First Vermont Cavalry*, 158.

[46] Gordon C. Rhea, "Union Cavalry in the Wilderness: The Education of Phillip H. Sheridan and James H. Wilson," in Gary W. Gallagher, ed., *The Wilderness Campaign* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 119.

[47] Corporal Crosby was taken prisoner at a meeting house called Craig's Church, a short distance north of the Catharpin Road. Company Muster Roll Card, 5 May 1864, in George R. Crosby Service Record, RG 94, Box 29.

[48] Ovid L. Futch, *History of Andersonville Prison* (Indiantown: University of Florida Press, 1968), 10.

[49] William Marvel, *Andersonville: The Last Depot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 12.

[50] On May 14, Crosby recorded one of his infrequent impressions of the course of the war generally, rather than his small corner of it. At that time he being held temporarily in Danville, S.C., awaiting transit by rail to Andersonville. He comments both that the Confederate militia appears to be "composed of the old men and young boys" and that it "is no doubt the last that can be raised in this vicinity." From all he has seen thus far, he concludes that it "looks as though the confederacy was on its last legs, everything seems to be strained all that it will bear."

[51] Carl L. Romanek, "The 'Inherent Logic' of Andersonville," in Joseph P. Cangemi and Casimir J. Kowalski, eds., *Andersonville Prison: Lessons in Organizational Failure* (Lanham, Md: University Press of America, 1992), 42.

[52] Surgeon Joseph Jones, "Table Illustrating the Mean number of Federal Prisoners confined in the Confederate States Military Prison at Andersonville, Georgia from its organization, Feb 24th 1864 to September 1864 and the average number of Square Feet of ground to each Prisoner," *Observations upon the Diseases of the Federal Prisoners Confined at Andersonville, Georgia in the Confederate States Military Prison, Made in Accordance with the Order of the Surgeon General of the Confederate States*, RG 109, Reports on the Conditions at Andersonville Prison, 1864–1865, National Archives and Records Administration.

[53] Confederate Surgeon Joseph Jones, inspecting the camp on behalf of the Surgeon General's Office, estimated that daily mortality was closer to 90–100 men daily. He did agree with Crosby that diarrhea and scurvy were two of the chief causes, exacerbated by contaminated drinking water. Joseph Jones to Confederate Surgeon General S.P. Moore, 9 October 1864, in *Observations upon the Diseases of the Federal Prisoners Confined at Andersonville*, RG 109.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Chief Surgeon Isaiah White to Surgeon S.M. Beemis, 26 June 1864, in Ibid.

[56] Gwynn A. Tucker, "Andersonville Prison: What Happened?" in Cangemi and Kowalski, *Andersonville Prison*, 14.

[57] Surgeon Joseph Jones, "Table illustrating the mean strength, total Cause of Disease + Death + Relations of the Cases + Deaths of the most fatal Diseases amongst the Federal Prisoners confined at Andersonville, Georgia," 16 September 1864 in *Observations upon the Diseases of the Federal Prisoners Confined at Andersonville*, RG 109.

[58] Surgeon Joseph Jones, "Description of the Confederate States Military Prison and Hospital at Andersonville: Number of Prisoners–physical conditions–food–clothing–habits–moral condition–disease," in *Observations upon the Diseases of the Federal Prisoners Confined at Andersonville*, RG 109.

[59] Futch, *History of Andersonville Prison*, 66–67.

[60] Marvel, *Andersonville: The Last Depot*, 97–98.

[61] Assistant Adjutant General William S. Winder, "General Order 57," 30 June 1864, in *Official Records*, Series II, Volume 7, 426.

[62] General Robert E. Lee to Confederate Secretary of War James A. Seddon, 28 October 1864, in *Official Records*, Series II, Volume 6, 438–439.

[63] Futch, *History of Andersonville Prison*, 48.

[64] Unlike previous rumors of exchange, this one had some foundation in truth. Negotiations between the Federal commander besieging Charleston and Charleston's garrison commander had led to a special exchange of 100 officers. No resumption of general exchanges, however, would result from this negotiation. Marvel, *Andersonville: The Last Depot*, 164–165.

[65] Lieutenant Colonel John E. Mulford to General Alexander Schimmelfennig, 16 December 1864, in *Official Records*, Series II, Volume 7, 1232.

[66] Confederate Secretary of War James A. Seddon to General John H. Winder, 17 July 1864, in *Official Records*, Series II, Volume 7, 471.

[67] General Samuel Jones to the Confederate War Department, 10 September 1864, in Ibid, 789.

[68] Lieutenant Colonel W.D. Pickett to General W.J. Hardee, 12 October 1864, in Ibid, 972–974.

[69] Inspector General John F. Lay to Major Horton Lee, 21 September 1864, in Ibid, 855.

[70] Lieutenant Colonel Mulford to General Schimmelfennig, 16 December 1864, in Ibid, 1232.

[71] Hospital Muster Roll Card, 24 December 1864, in George R. Crosby Service Record, RG 94.

[72] *Journal of the U.S. General Hospital in Brattleboro, Vermont: 1861–1865*, Vermont Historical Society microfilm collection, no. 147.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Furloughs and passes for soldiers in military hospitals were officially limited to 5 percent of the total strength of a given command. One suspects from Crosby's entries that this regulation was more honored in the breech than the observance. Colonel Richard Rush, "General Regulations for the Recruiting Service and Organization of the Invalid Corps," 12 August 1863, in *Official Records*, Series III, Volume 3, 671.

[75] George R. Crosby, "Report of the Truant Officer," *Sixth Annual Report of the School Officers of the Town of St. Johnsbury, Vermont: February 1, to December 31, 1898* (St. Johnsbury, Vt: Republican Press, 1898), 19, Bailey Howe Library Special Collections, University of Vermont.

[76] *Records of Births and Deaths in the Town of St. Johnsbury* (Rutland, Vt: The Tuttle Company, 1897), Volume IV, 216, Office of the Town Clerk, St. Johnsbury, Vermont.

[77] *Records of Births and Deaths in the Town of St. Johnsbury*, Volumes IV, 197, and VII, 132, 136.

[78] "Certificate of Death–George R. Crosby," *Records of Births and Deaths in the Town of St. Johnsbury: 1908*, Office of the Town Clerk, St. Johnsbury, Vermont.

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Civil War Memoir of Charles Dubois

Many of Dubois's recollections are descriptions of everyday military life, but several points may be of interest to Vermont Civil War buffs. Besides offering an odd perspective on the Battle of Gettysburg, he takes issue with, or contradicts outright, three stories of the war particular to Vermont.

By MICHAEL N. STANTON

Nearing seventy years of age, Charles Dubois of Peacham decided to write a memoir of his Civil War experiences for his children. He had enlisted at age eighteen and served in Company G of the Third Infantry Regiment of Vermont Volunteers from the spring of 1861 until the summer of 1864. He and his unit had been at Antietam, Fredericksburg, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, and Cold Harbor, among many other places. He had been shot at and missed (often), shot at and hit (once, superficially), hospitalized, promoted, and had undergone most of the experiences of war common to the common soldier.

The result of Dubois's decision was a 220-page memoir of about 90,000 words, hand-written in a ledger book that is now in the Special Collections of the Bailey/Howe Library at the University of Vermont. Over the past several years I have deciphered and transcribed these recollections and provided them with an introduction, notes, and other

MICHAEL N. STANTON is associate professor of English emeritus, Department of English, University of Vermont.

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apparatus. Dubois's original manuscript, my printed transcription, and a CD-ROM are all now in Bailey/Howe.

Many of Dubois's recollections are descriptions of everyday military life, but several points may be of interest to Vermont Civil War buffs. Besides offering an odd perspective on the Battle of Gettysburg, he takes issue with, or contradicts outright, three stories of the war particular to Vermont.

First is the incident at Camp Baxter in St. Johnsbury, where recruits raided a sutler's shop. Dubois's narrative of this event is at odds with both George G. Benedict's and Howard Coffin's versions.

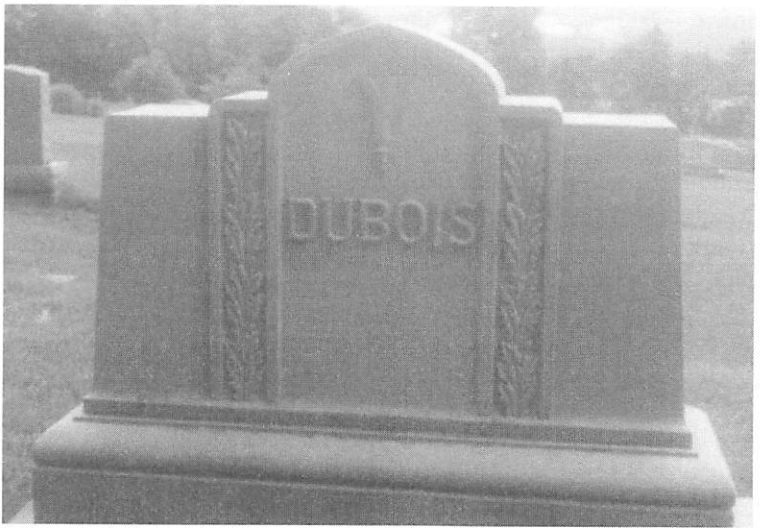
Next is the fate of William Scott of Groton, the "Sleeping Sentinel" whom Lincoln pardoned. The romantic version of this story has Lincoln personally delivering the commutation, which most historians doubt happened. Yet Dubois was one of the troops assembled to witness Scott's execution, and he says he saw Lincoln drive up and hand over the reprieve.

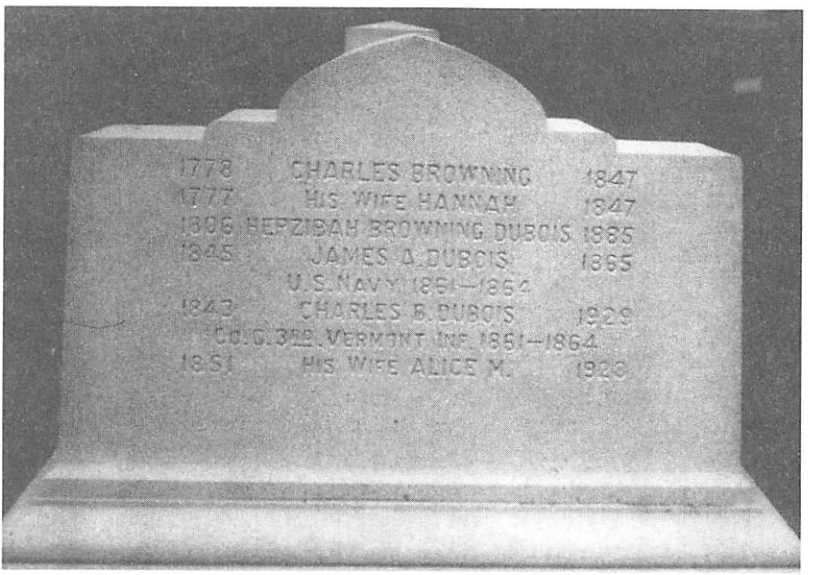
Last is the matter of the heroic drummer boy Willie Johnston, who received the Congressional Medal of Honor as the only musician who brought back his drum—symbolic of his fidelity—from the Peninsular Campaign. Dubois says he was not much of a musician and was by no means the only boy who kept his drum from harm.

In addition to offering these myth busters, Dubois reflects on his own period of service and decides that after three years of slogging and fighting and eating wretched food and following stupid orders, his patriotism has just about reached zero. He is not interested in noble causes, but only in getting home. His main regret, after the waste of three years of his own life, is that so many of his friends and fellow Vermonters have been sacrificed. In other words, Dubois very honestly records the feelings of a tired and disillusioned soldier.

His Life

The life of Charles Dubois, as both boy and man, was divided between Vermont and New Hampshire. He says he was born in Peacham, Vermont, on February 11, 1843, but he begins his account of his involvement in Civil War issues with the 1856 federal election, when he was living in New Boston, New Hampshire. (At thirteen he was an ardent supporter of the Democratic ticket and hung a home-made banner across the street in front of his house; he drafted his little brother to witness the "flag-raising.") By the time the war actually started, in 1861, he was back in Peacham and he enlisted from there. When he returned to civilian life in 1864 he went to both Peacham and Goffstown, New Hampshire, where he had many acquaintances. In Peacham he was well





Dubois family stone in Peacham Corner cemetery. Courtesy of the author.

known in later years as a furniture maker. Ernest Bogart in his 1948 history of Peacham speaks of Dubois's reputation and of the fact that bedroom sets made by him can still be found in Peacham homes.[1] But as of 1919, according to a letter he wrote a relative, Dubois had been living in Nashua, New Hampshire, for some time, not having visited Vermont for two years.[2] Yet when he died, on January 17, 1929, he was buried in Peacham, under the same stone as his mother, his mother's parents, his second wife, and his younger brother James, who had died years earlier from illness likely related to Civil War injuries. (James's death certificate records his occupation as "farmer," and "scurvy" as the cause of his death.[3]) Many of the gaps in the life record of Charles Dubois can be filled by consulting the compilation called *People of Peacham*. Within its limits (it tends to lose interest in people when they leave Peacham) this account is invaluable.[4]

Dubois's mother was Hepzibah Browning, also known as Hepzibah Ford or Lord; she was born in England in 1806, daughter of Charles and Hannah Browning. She married one Joseph Dubois (the family name was Dubea until Charles entered the army, as he notes early in his memoir). The elder Dubois was born in Nova Scotia around 1816; he died in Maine sometime after 1884, while Hepzibah died in Peacham on August 3 of that year. Dubois mentions his mother only indirectly (thoughts of home, home cooking, and the like) and his father not at all.

Charles was the third of six Dubois children. The eldest, Joseph, born in 1839, disappeared at sea in 1856. The second, Jane, married Charles Whipple of Goffstown, New Hampshire. The next after Charles was James, who died in 1865. Then came Amelia, and last William, born in 1851, and mentioned as having been pressed into service for Charles's political activities in 1856.

Charles Dubois married twice: first, in December of 1864, to Mary Ellen Connor of Goffstown, who died in 1870. Then in 1873 (*People of Peacham*) or 1876 (1880 Census report) he married Mary Alice McLaughlin, or McLachlin, of an old Peacham family.[5] (William Scott, the Sleeping Sentinel, had once worked at her father's farm, Dubois notes in passing.) By each of these unions Dubois had two children: by Mary Ellen, James Frank, born 1866, and Carrie Bell, born 1868; and by Alice, as she was known, Clarence, born 1880, and Annie, born 1882.

In the 1919 letter already mentioned, Dubois says that all his siblings are dead except for "Willie," who is retired, in poor health, and living in Waltham, Massachusetts. Of the children, Frank is living in Lynn, Massachusetts, Carrie, married to Walter Thorne, is in Peacham, and Clarence lives in Waltham, doing business in Boston. "All seem to be prospering

well," he says. The unmentioned Annie was apparently in Maine, having married William Rowe of Yarmouth.

His Book

Charles Dubois wrote his Civil War story in a business ledger with a gray cloth cover; the pages are 13" tall x 8" wide, ruled in red and blue. Each page was sequentially number-stamped by hand, and Dubois wrote mostly on the right-hand or odd-numbered pages. He inserted occasional addenda on the left-hand pages, and in the last six weeks of his account he went back some twenty pages and started writing on the left-hand pages in order to get everything into one volume. He began by dividing his narrative into chapters but abandoned that method after a few dozen pages; thereafter only a place name ("Camp Griffin" or "Wilderness") at the top of each page marks his progress.

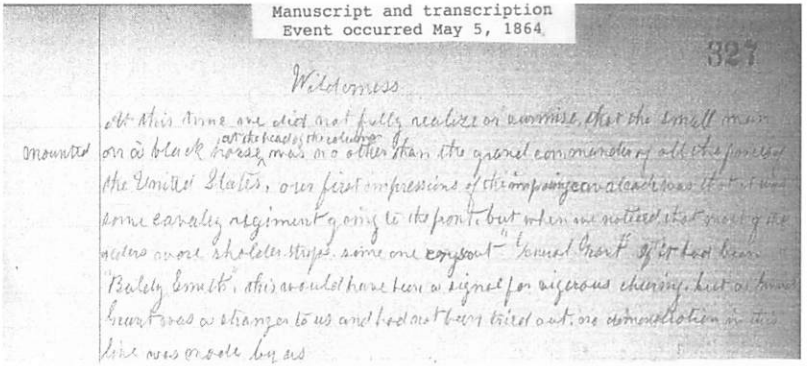
By and large, Dubois's hand is neat and legible except where blurring and fading have taken their toll. Fewer than half a dozen words still remain undecipherable. There is considerable creativity, however, in his spelling and capitalization, and the syntax is occasionally wayward, as even the few quotations given here will suggest. The level of diction (including a purple patch or two) and range of reference suggest a writer who has read widely without having had much formal education.

Dubois wrote his story over a number of years. He began it, he says, at almost seventy years of age, that is, sometime before 1913. Later, he quotes a newspaper story about General Ambrose Burnside that seems to have appeared in 1914. Later still, he mentions a reunion of his unit that took place in 1917. The lapse of years can explain some of the features of the manuscript's appearance: the contrasting tones of inks, for example, or the insertions, some of which seem to be afterthoughts.

Dubois uses several sources for his war experiences, but of course the major one is his own memory. The passage of time between the events and the writing, however, created two opposite problems: defects of memory caused by that passage of time, and augmentation of memory made possible by all the written material about the war that has accreted in the intervening years.

Dubois speaks of letters he wrote home; he also mentions a diary he began keeping in early 1864. These materials probably no longer exist, or if they do, their whereabouts are unknown. It is likely, however, that Dubois had access to them as he wrote.

He also cites an interesting range of printed sources; for instance, the *Century Magazine,* the writings of the popular journalist John T. Trowbridge, and a vivid but now nearly forgotten recreation of a scene of horrors, Morris Schaff's *Battle of the Wilderness.*[6]


Manuscript and transcription
Event occurred May 5, 1864

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Wilderness

At this time we did not fully realize or surmise, that the small man mounted on a black horse at the head of the column was no other than the grand commander of all the forces of the United States. Our first impressions of the imposing cavalcade was that it was some cavalry regiment going to the front, but when we noticed that most of the riders wore sholder straps, someone crys out "General Grant" If it had been "Baldy Smith," this would have been a signal for vigerous cheering, but as General Grant was a stranger to us and had not been tried out, no demonstration in this line was made by us.

Manuscript and transcription of page 327, Charles Dubois Civil War diary. Event occurred May 5, 1864. Courtesy of Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.

Dubois mentions New Hampshire regimental histories but his chief quoted source is one he never names, George G. Benedict's two-volume *Vermont in the Civil War.*[7] He refers to Benedict as "the brigade historian" or a similar title, and very often disagrees with Benedict's facts and conclusions.

This disagreement with the historian does not prevent Dubois from relying heavily upon him, sometimes too heavily for modern editorial scruples. For instance, Benedict writes of the Vermont Brigade's march north to Gettysburg that the "night was dark; the roads, made slippery by thunder showers, ran for miles through thick woods, and the troops plunged on in the darkness, a long invisible procession of laughing, singing, swearing, and stumbling soldiers." Dubois writes of that same night's march north that "the roads ran for miles through the thick dark woods. The night was dark, the roads wet and slippery . . . the boys plodded along, some singing, others swearing, and a few laughing, but all stumbling along good-naturedly."[8] Although Dubois has clearly taken Benedict and redecorated him, this example suggests that the borrowing is not plagiarism in any dishonest sense, but instead the reliance of an amateur writer on a seemingly authoritative source.

His War

On September 17, 2006, the anniversary of the Battle of Antietam, a Civil War monument was dedicated to another bloody and inconclusive battle. At the Fredericksburg and Spotsylvania National Military Park a 17-ton memorial made of Vermont granite honors the members of the Vermont Brigade who struggled and died at the Battle of the Wilderness. From the viewpoint of Vermont's suffering, May 5, 1864, was probably the bloodiest day of the entire war.

Charles Dubois of Company G, 3rd Vermont Infantry, was there along with 2,800 other members of the Vermont Brigade. His company was severely hit: It was just about decimated in a few hours. Dubois quotes Morris Schaff's study of the battle:

> [the] Vermont Brigade of [General George W.] Getty's division lost more men on that afternoon of the fifth than the entire Second Corps. Of the officers present for duty, three-fourths were killed or wounded.[9]

Dubois himself was wounded a few days later at Spotsylvania when a fragment from a burst shell ripped his trousers and cut into his thigh. Considering all the fighting the 3rd Vermont Regiment engaged in (twenty-five separate encounters by Dubois's own count), he was remarkably lucky. However, it is one thing to be present at a fight, another to be involved: Dubois's regiment was not used at Antietam (as a full one-third of McClellan's forces was not), was not on the field at Chancellorsville, and was kept in reserve at Gettysburg.

Thus it is no accident that of the more than 500 (typed) pages of Dubois's memoir, the events of the one month of May 1864, take up

about 20 percent. The battles in the Wilderness and at Spotsylvania and Cold Harbor constituted the most intense fighting by far his unit had ever seen. It was also almost the last soldiering Dubois and many members of his unit would have to endure before they could go home.

The impulse to join that unit, as Dubois begins by telling us, arose at Peacham in the spring of 1861 when President Lincoln sent out his call for 300,000 troops. The boys rallied at the starch factory (where as in many small towns starch was made from potatoes) and before long found themselves in the equivalent of basic training at St. Johnsbury, Vermont.

Dubois and his fellows went from there to the environs of Washington, D.C., thence with General George McClellan on the Peninsular Campaign, across the Virginia and Maryland hills to Antietam, back south to Fredericksburg in December 1862, afterwards to Gettysburg, and after that to New York City later in the summer of 1863 to suppress the draft riots. The following spring they were at the Wilderness, Spotsylvania, Cold Harbor, and Petersburg. These are some of the more notable engagements in which Dubois served before his three-year term of enlistment ended and he got out in July 1864. He had resolutely refused to listen to any siren songs about promotions or reenlistment bonuses.

By that time Charles Dubois was thoroughly disillusioned. He pays his due respects to all the noble reasons for the Civil War—freeing the slaves, preserving the Union—but at last his emotions center, as the feelings of private soldiers often do, on his fellow soldiers and their mutual comradeship. A constant refrain in these recollections is how much has been lost by the deaths of friends and fellow Vermonters: So much talent, so much physical and intellectual excellence, so much potential for the future lost in the glut of slaughter that is war.

If there is any one image of himself that Charles Dubois wishes to convey through these memoirs, it is that he is shrewd. He portrays himself as good at catching people out in various peccadilloes, especially when after his promotion to corporal or sergeant he finds men in his charge sleeping on post, and sees through their flimsy excuses. He is skeptical about the qualifications of his superior officers (often, it seems, with just cause), and perhaps most of all he is skeptical of the legends and stories that have circulated through later years about Civil War events. He enjoys having been an eyewitness to some of the small details of history, especially when his testimony contradicts received wisdom. He can see through those stories, too. In discussing events at Camp Baxter in St. Johnsbury, or in talking about William Scott's fate, or in trying to puncture the legend of a boy hero, Dubois enjoys showing the supposed Vermont traits of contrariety and bluntness.

Of the training camp incident, George Benedict wrote that "the

discipline of the camp was somewhat lax, and the six weeks' sojourn of the [3rd] regiment . . . was diversified by more than the usual amount of running of the guards, raiding of sutlers' shanties and other riotous proceedings." In an attack on what Benedict, echoed by Howard Coffin, calls a "refreshment saloon" a guard inside was shot and killed.[10]

Dubois's account of this incident is very different and seeks to portray his fellow recruits, not as drink-crazed or undisciplined, but as finally taking up arms, so to speak, against a price-gouging shopkeeper. The man was, says Dubois, "charging exorbitant prices for his goods . . . The men had threatened to clean out this offensive sutler . . . so on the evening of the 20th of July" they secured a long pole and attacked the shop with the guard inside. Shots were exchanged, the guard was fatally wounded, but "they accomplished their object and completely demolished the shanty."[11]

Dubois goes on to note that another man in his regiment, fifer Julian Scott of Company E, "came out next day after the riot with a pencil sketch of the assault on the sutlers quarters, a very accurate and lifelike production. After the war Scott distinguished himself as an artist of the first order with headquarters in New York City."[12]

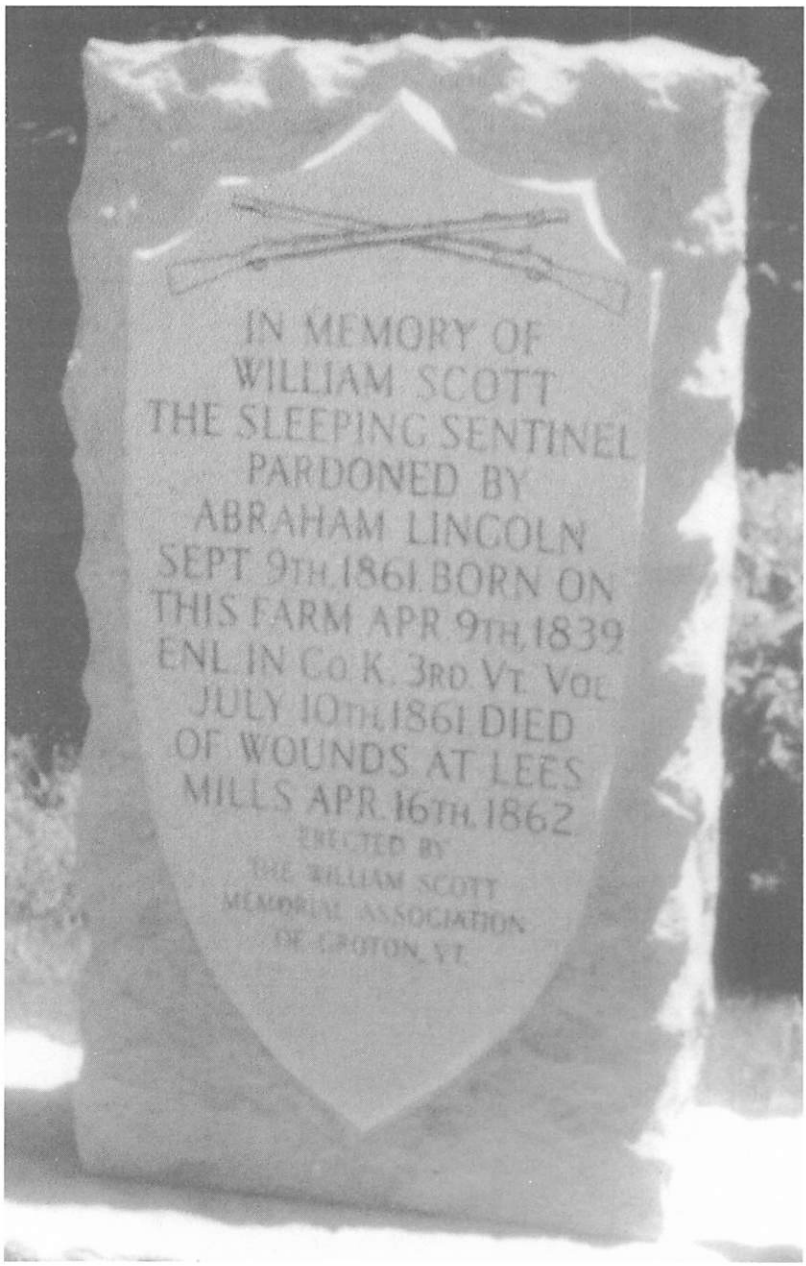
Another Scott is the subject of Dubois's next story: William Scott of Groton, Vermont, the well-known Sleeping Sentinel, whose falling asleep on duty led in September of 1861 to a court-martial sentence of death by firing squad. There is no doubt that Scott slept on duty; he certainly did. And President Lincoln did issue a form of reprieve. The question is whether or not Lincoln personally delivered the pardon to the scene of the intended execution, just a few miles outside Washington, D. C. Most historians doubt that Lincoln drove out in person to save Scott, compassionate man though he was.[13] *The Vermont Encyclopedia*, an authoritative source, says that "a popular poem of the day, 'The Sleeping Sentinel,' by Francis De Haes Janvier, romanticized the incident by having Lincoln race up in a coach just in time to halt Scott's execution."[14]

Because it likely had an effect on the shape of the Scott legend, Janvier's poem is worth a cursory look. Here young Scott is being taken to his place of execution under guard:

> And in the midst, with faltering step, with pale and anxious face,
> In manacles, between two guards, a soldier had his place.
> A youth, led out to die; and yet it was not death, but shame,
> That smote his gallant heart with dread, and shook his manly frame!

Time passes as Scott stands waiting beside his coffin:

> Then sudden was heard the sounds of steeds and wheels approach,
> And, rolling through a cloud of dust, appeared a stately coach.
> On, past the guards, and through the field, its rapid course was bent,
> Till, halting, 'mid the lines was seen the nation's President.



Monument to William Scott, the "Sleeping Sentinel," on U.S. Route 302 in the town of Groton, Vermont. Photograph courtesy of the author.

He came to save that stricken soul, now waking from despair;
And from a thousand voices rose a shout which rent the air!
The pardoned soldier understood the tones of jubilee
And bounding from his fetters, blessed the hand that made him free![15]

This sounds very dramatic and romantic, but as noted, most historians doubt it happened. But Dubois was there and says Lincoln was there. He writes that the troops stood in formation that morning, and after a long wait, a carriage rapidly approached, halted, and "President Lincoln stepped out and handed a paper to the officer [in charge] . . . It proved to be a reprieve for Scott."[16]

Dubois is writing sixty or more years after the fact, and writing as someone who knew Scott and was sympathetic to his plight, and who also admired Lincoln. Since the whole division was present, according to Dubois, one has to wonder how much he could see. Certainly, his account lacks the emotional color and intensity one might expect from an eyewitness to a stirring event. It contrasts oddly with Dubois's words when he indubitably did see the "towering figure" of Lincoln, on July 8, 1862, at City Point, Virginia, where "the ever present tall stove-pipe hat made him a conspicuous figure, not soon to be forgotten."[17] Clearly, Dubois is swimming against the tide of scholarly opinion here, and indeed he may have been influenced over the years by the heartfelt rhythms of Janvier's ballad—or, of course, his recollection may be accurate.

In scoffing at the story of Willie Johnston, the brave drummer boy who alone in the Second Division, it was said, saved his drum from destruction in the chaos of the Seven Days, Dubois is opposing both the official line (Secretary of War Edwin Stanton did give the eleven-year-old boy a Congressional Medal of Honor) and at least a sector of popular opinion: Willie, who later graduated from Norwich University, is a figure in cadet folklore there. In discussing Willie's exploits, Dubois seems slightly contemptuous of the easy way to heroism: "he could drum just a little . . . the statement of his drum being the only one brought to Harrisons Landing is most absurd and does a great injustice to other drummers who brought their drums through the struggle of the seven days. His case is only paralell with hundreds of other 'Youngest Soldiers' and Drummer Boys I've read of."[18]

It is a fact that Medals of Honor were handed out rather freely, and it is likewise a fact that all the background documentation for Willie's deed is missing. Thus it is difficult to tell if Dubois is simply being mean-spirited here, or is seriously trying to set the record straight.

It is also a fact that not many pages away Dubois writes of another youngster of incontestable bravery, that same Julian Scott whom he mentioned before. Scott was barely sixteen years of age when he rescued

Willie Johnston, following the receipt of his Medal of Honor in 1863. Courtesy of U.S. Military History Institute through Vermont Historical Society.

several fellow soldiers in a hail of bullets at Warwick Creek during the Peninsular Campaign. For this very public and widely attested act of courage Scott also won a Medal of Honor.

Dubois's treatment of these three incidents shows his willingness to be disputatious and to take positions at odds with various standard accounts.

Most of Charles Dubois's memoir, however, is a repeated tale of marching, camping, bivouacking, marching again, and so on, varied only

by moments of being wet or cold or both, being lost, and becoming disgusted with army life in general.

One example of the concerns of daily life for the average soldier is the matter of food. Military nutrition, according to Dubois, consisted largely of eating uncooked or ill-cooked food and drinking boiled coffee. Hardtack, coffee, and salt pork were the steady diet, with only rare variations. Coffee was hard to come by among the Confederate troops, though, so practicality trumped idealism as sometimes happens, and the Blue and the Gray used to trade across lines, northern coffee for southern tobacco, which the Rebels had in plenty.

Combat has been described as long periods of boredom punctuated by moments of terror. Charles Dubois emphasized the boredom, the long intervals of quiet during which men played pranks on one another, improved the amenities of camp life, had snowball fights, and read, or wrote letters, or collected souvenirs. The moments of terror were certainly real enough, but as already noted, the 3rd Regiment missed out on several important engagements of the war.

At Gettysburg, for example, Dubois's account of his activities suggests his rather sardonic attitude toward the whole business of fighting. He writes that "History tells us that the position we held was a very important one as it protected the left flank of the army from a threatened attack from Longstreet's forces."[19] They stayed in position near Round Top through the day of July 3, serving as a reserve force. They could hear Rebel yells and Union guns, wondering what was going on, and "History tells you all about 'Pickets Charge' as no part of it came under our observation as the round tops hid it from our view."[20] Thus they missed one of the most famous scenes of the entire war. Dubois goes on, "Late in the afternoon, we fell into line and marched around to the southeast of 'Big Round Top' . . . I was seated on the ground a little in advance of the main line . . . when I saw a movement quite a distance in front—that had the appearance of a cairfully advancing Rebel, and on the impulse of the moment, I threw my gun to my sholder and let go at this supposed enemy which proved to be the swaying of a branch of a tree by the wind. [Thus] I had the distinction of being the only man in the Third Vermont Regiment who fired a shot at Gettysburg, and I feel that I was entitled to a Medal of Honor."[21]

Dubois's memoir treats more serious matters from time to time. The problem with citing his opinions on military strategy, national policy, the characters of leaders, and the like is that it is impossible to tell whether he is saying what he thought in 1863 or 1864 or what he is now thinking as he writes in 1913 or 1915. He subscribes to the usual opinion of George McClellan as brilliant but vacillating, creating so superb

a fighting force that he could not bear to risk it in a fight. So Dubois writes of McClellan during the Seven Days and at Antietam, but we cannot be sure that his wisdom is not purely retrospective.

Likewise he speaks only rarely on the matter of slavery, but he speaks of the black man as equal in ability and intelligence to the white soldier. He criticizes certain Northern soldiers (from New Jersey) for insulting black servants of Northern officers: "[W]hen the time arrived," he writes, "and [black men] were allowed to enlist they did it willingly and served faithfully throughout the war."[22] A generous estimate, but was it formed in 1863, or later?

Whenever formed, Dubois's views are remarkably unsentimental. Near the end of his term of enlistment he expresses the hope that he will never see or hear of the Army of the Potomac again: "To be sure not a very patriotic condition of mind but my patriotism at this stage of my service had nearly reached zero, as I had become completely discouraged by the long drawn-out and bloody conflict that had deprived me of many of my best comrades and warmest friends."[23]

He reflects vividly on his entire service, speaking of himself in the third person:

"A boy, not out of his teens, endowed with a vigerous constitution, in perfect health, in the prime of his young manhood, enlisting in good faith, and no other than patriotic motives, giving his service and his young life if need be, to his country." Having suffered loss and danger, and grotesquely bad living conditions, and poor leadership, he writes finally:

"Is it any wonder in view of all these hardships and sufferings, that he, on the eve of the close of these body and mind racking experiences should feel a reluctance to [reenlist] with only six . . . days still remaining in his unexpired term of service intervening twixt him and the long cherished hope of once again being at home with friends and kindred, the cloud of uncertainty and doubt still hovering over him, with a faint tinge of silver lining in the distance."[24]

So Charles Dubois writes, with feeling overwhelming syntax, of his feelings in July 1864. Of the thousand or more men who left St. Johnsbury with him some three years before, only 125 remained to go home with him. But some of that silver lining materialized for Dubois. He went back to Vermont, married and raised two families, and had a long career as an accomplished artisan. His great distinction may be that he served without any spectacular distinction or heroics, but served ably and well, like millions of his fellow citizens before and after, and did his duty. His memoir well conveys that simple and unpretentious fidelity.

Notes

[1] Ernest L. Bogart, *Peacham: The Story of a Vermont Hill Town* (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1948), 373.

[2] Letter to a nephew Walter not otherwise identified, March 18, 1919, in Peacham Town Clerk's office (box 16, folder 8), kindly furnished by Lynn A. Bonfield.

[3] Vermont Public Records Office, Middlesex, Vt. James Dubois served in the federal Navy from August 1861, to September 1864; he had been wounded in a sortie at Haynes's Bluff, Mississippi, part of Grant's campaign against Vicksburg, in May 1863. He died at home May 10, 1865, aged 20.

[4] Jennie Chamberlain Watts and Elsie Choate, compilers, edited by Richard Wood, *People of Peacham* (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1965), 100, 226.

[5] Confusingly, *People of Peacham* gives the date of the second marriage as l January 1873 on p. 100, and 2 June 1874 on p. 226. McLaughlin or McLachlin is also spelled McLachlain at p. 226.

[6] *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, published between 1881 and 1930, was one of the most influential periodicals of the Gilded Age; in its heyday it was edited by the essayist and novelist Richard Watson Gilder (1844–1909). John T. Trowbridge (1827–1916), journalist and novelist, notable for *The South: A Tour of its Battlefields and Ruined Cities: A Journey Through the Desolated States* . . . (Hartford, Ct.: L. Steebens, 1866). Morris Schaff, *Battle of the Wilderness* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1910), hereafter cited in the text as Schaff. Schaff (1840–1929), an 1862 West Point graduate, served in the Ordnance Corps during the war; he turned to writing late in life and his account of the Wilderness and the campaign there is horrifyingly vivid.

[7] George G. Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War*, 2 vols. (Burlington, Vt.: The Free Press Association, 1886), hereafter cited as Benedict.

[8] Benedict, 1: 382–383. Transcript of Charles Dubois Memoir, Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont, 273, hereafter cited as Memoir; the pagination given is that of my transcription.

[9] Memoir, 411, quoting Schaff, 197–198.

[10] Benedict, 1: 127; Howard Coffin, *Full Duty: Vermonters in the Civil War* (Woodstock, Vt.: Countryman Press, 1995), 71.

[11] Memoir, 17–18.

[12] Memoir, 19.

[13] See for example Lucius Chittenden, *Lincoln and the Sleeping Sentinel* (New York: Harper Brothers, 1909), or Waldo Glover, *Abraham Lincoln and the Sleeping Sentinel of Vermont* (Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 1936).

[14] John Duffy, Samuel Hand, and Ralph H. Orth, eds., *The Vermont Encyclopedia* (Hanover, N.H.: The University Press of New England, 2003), 263.

[15] Francis De Haes Janvier (1810–1885) was a Philadelphia businessman and amateur versifier. His poem on Scott is available in many anthologies and at www.civilwarpoetry.org among other sites.

[16] Memoir, 36–7.

[17] Memoir, 144.

[18] Memoir, 125.

[19] Memoir, 294.

[20] Memoir, 296–297.

[21] Memoir, 297.

[22] Memoir, 145.

[23] Memoir, 497.

[24] Memoir, 497–499.

St. Johnsbury Puts the Civil War to Rest

"St. Johnsbury Jubilant—The Town in a Blaze of Glory," The Caledonian*'s headlines read on Friday, the 14th of April. Four years to the day of the fall of Fort Sumter, the newspaper reported the area's response to the long-awaited word.*

By RACHEL CREE SHERMAN

Chances are the town of St. Johnsbury never celebrated in a more joyous or spontaneous style than on the 10th day of April in 1865. That day the town received news that the horrors of the Civil War, its death, disease, and privation, were at a much-anticipated end. Ever since that time, the citizens of St. Johnsbury and those who visit the town have traveled Main Street, quite unaware of what lies beneath.

It is the coffin of the Confederacy.

On a Sunday morning, April 14, four years before, word had reached Governor Erastus Fairbanks at his St. Johnsbury residence of the fall of Fort Sumter, sparking the War Between the States. The next day, President Abraham Lincoln called for 75,000 militia men, asking Vermont for one regiment. The state responded without delay.

By Monday, as music and speeches engendered intense excitement, seventy men volunteered for service. The town's citizens pledged $1,700 and gave thirty revolvers in support of the cause. Surrounding towns

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RACHEL CREE SHERMAN is a native of St. Johnsbury and has nurtured an interest in its history throughout her life. Her family has lived in the Northeast Kingdom for seven generations. A freelance writer and researcher of Vermont history, she is currently working with the state climatologist on historic documentation of Vermont's weather.

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also raised hundreds of dollars in their own show of support, and a Ladies' Aid Association was formed, with 150 members joining the effort. The state raised six regiments, two companies of sharpshooters, and a squadron of cavalry before the legislature officially convened that fall.

On April 23, 1861, as the General Assembly met in emergency session in answer to his call, Gov. Fairbanks's words echoed the thoughts of many of his fellow citizens:

> The enormity of this rebellion is heightened by the consideration that no valid excuse exists for it. The history of the civilized world does not furnish an instance where a revolution was attempted for such slight case . . . It is devoutly to be hoped that the mad ambition of secession leaders may be restrained and the impending sanguinary conflict averted. . . . The United States Government must be sustained and the rebellion suppressed at whatever cost of men and treasure. May that Divine Being who rules among the nations and directs the affairs of men interpose his merciful Providence and restore to us again the blessings of peace under the aegis of our National Constitution.[1]

By the spring of 1865 Vermont was devastated, having sent one tenth of its entire population to war, with a loss of over 5,000 lives to battle, wounds, and disease. The state had dedicated nearly $10 million to support the conflict, half of that amount offered up by towns with no expectation of recompense.

St. Johnsbury lost eighty men of its 1860 population of approximately 3,470, and contributed a total of over $44,000 to the war effort, including its share of funds provided at the outset of the war and bounties offered to those who served to fill its quota of soldiers. The combined burden of extra work and worry endured by those who remained at home added to the hardships, which increased as the war dragged on.

Vermont, as all states on both sides of the fight, had given its all, town by town. But by the end of the war, Vermont's loss of lives had been more per capita than any other state in the Union.

Now, with a blast of relief, the end came at last to the hard-won conflict and the soldiers were welcomed home in grand style. Families were reunited—or not. Life could begin to go on as before.

But first, there would be celebration; first, an outpouring of emotion to officially and symbolically put the war to rest.

"St. Johnsbury Jubilant—The Town in a Blaze of Glory," *The Caledonian*'s headlines read on Friday, April 14.[2] Four years to the day of the fall of Fort Sumter, the newspaper reported the area's response to the long-awaited word.

> When the glorious news was received here on Monday morning that Gen. Lee had surrendered the main army of the Southern Confederacy

> to Gen. Grant, there seemed no limit to the demonstrations of joy by our people. All the bells clanged forth the good tidings, cannons were fired, steam whistles were sounded, and young America paraded the streets with dinnerbells, horns, drums, and whatever would resound to physical effort of [m]ind or muscle . . . probably it was not half an hour after the official dispatch arrived before everybody within the limits of the village, and many from other villages, were thronging our streets, exchanging congratulations and indulging in certain demonstrations decidedly damaging to hats and also to the vocal organs.[3]

Following the noontime meal, people continued to gather at the town hall. A cavalry company was joined by one from the "East Village" and a number of "ladies, misses and children, anticipating a march through the village."

Young minds had been at work. "Some school boys, who knew their intentions, thought this procession would be an excellent escort for a little affair which they proposed to throw in as a sort of episode or 'side show' to the original program." When the paraders were ready to pick up their step to the band's march music, four boys appeared, "bearing a coffin on which was painted in large white letters, 'CONFEDERACY.'" The casket, draped with the "Stars and Bars," was followed by a group of young ladies who waved the "Stars and Stripes." The cavalry brought up the rear of the procession.

The "remarkable funeral cortege" marched upon streets that must have shown stark evidence of mud season, to a pit in front of Hutchinson & Corser's store at the corner of Main and Central Streets. There, "without a 'funeral note,' the empty box was lowered into the ground." The young ladies sang "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "Glory Hallelujah" as the East Village militia discharged over twenty rounds of ammunition from their guns.

Edward Taylor Fairbanks also described the scene in his 1914 history of St. Johnsbury, relating that "Enthusiasm long pent up broke loose with an outburst such as our town had never known before."[4]

The "grandest display," however, occurred in the evening, lighting the night, to be seen for miles around. As soon as it grew dark, candles and gas and kerosene lamps lit the windows of houses and businesses all over the village. By half-past seven, "150 to 200 homes and public buildings were brilliantly illuminated," *The Caledonian* noted. "It was the grandest sight our little town ever witnessed."[5]

In the 1860s, homes and businesses were sparsely scattered along the main and side streets of St. Johnsbury. The town of some 3,500 citizens was growing rapidly and must have been something to behold during this impulsive burst of communal sentiment. Union Block and the Court

House displayed gleaming lights in their windows. Pinehurst, home of Horace Fairbanks, was noted for the gas lights that blazed the entire length of its ridgepole. At Underclyffe, Franklin Fairbanks's home, a "very handsome display of red, white and blue lights lit up the night," as did many other buildings in the town which were equally "striking and pretty."[6]

Several fire companies, drawn by horses, rolled down Main Street with torch lights ablaze, and huge bonfires were kindled on both Main and Railroad Streets. "The beautiful appearance of the village" was too much for even *The Caledonian*'s reporter to describe in its entirety, according to his own admission.

The day's experience "was one of the best things we ever had, and all the better because impromptu," *The Caledonian* concluded. "And yet, compared with the magnitude of the event celebrated, it was most feeble and insignificant. All honor to the brave men who have led our armies! and lasting honor and praise to the gallant heroes who have fought the good fight! and glory be to God who hath given the Victory!"[7]

The war was over. The boys were home. Throughout Vermont, though it was bittersweet, villages everywhere celebrated in much the same way.

On August 30, 1868, a monument to St. Johnsbury's Civil War fallen was erected beside the Court House in the midst, once again, of great ceremony. The statue, which stands seven feet tall, is called "America." It was sculpted in Italian marble by Vermonter Larkin G. Mead at his studio in Florence, Italy.

The memorial bears the names of all eighty lost citizen-soldiers. Its legend states: "In Honor of the St. Johnsbury Volunteers Who Sacrificed Their Lives in Defence of the Union."

The coffin of the Confederacy remains, as placed, at the corner of Main and Central Streets.

Notes

[1] Edward Taylor Fairbanks, *The Town of St. Johnsbury, Vt.; A Review of One Hundred Twenty-five Years to the Anniversary Pageant 1912* (St. Johnsbury: The Cowles Press, 1914), 274.

[2] *The Caledonian*, St. Johnsbury, 14 April 1865.

[3] This long quotation and the next several comments are from ibid.

[4] Fairbanks, *Town of St. Johnsbury, Vt.*, 285.

[5] *The Caledonian*, 14 April 1865.

[6] Ibid. Franklin and Horace Fairbanks, the latter of whom served as governor of Vermont, 1876–1878, were sons of Gov. Erastus Fairbanks, who, together with his brothers, Thaddeus and Joseph, formed the E. & T. Fairbanks Scale Co., manufacturer of the world's first platform scale, invented by Thaddeus. They were also philanthropists and endowed to the town many of its significant buildings. Rev. Edward Taylor Fairbanks was Joseph's son.

[7] Ibid.

Book Reviews

Where We Lived: Discovering the Places We Once Called Home

By Jack Larkin (Newtown, Conn: Taunton Press, 2006, pp. 266, $40.00).

Published jointly with the National Trust for Historic Preservation and extensively illustrated with photographs from the Historic American Buildings Survey, this handsome hardcover book provides a fresh perspective on the history of the American home. With its major emphasis on the period from 1775 to 1840, one might expect this to be yet another celebration of high-style Federal and Greek Revival American architecture. Instead, author Jack Larkin, chief historian at Old Sturbridge Village, provides an engaging essay that explores domestic life in New England, the Middle States, the South, and the West. Largely based on observations of European and American travelers from the period, the author's generous use of direct quotations enriches the text with voices that are often tinged with subtexts of humor and criticism. For example, in one such quotation a Scotsman writing in 1834 observed, "The New Englanders are not an amiable people, but it still must be admitted they are a singular and original people."

Rather than emphasizing just the homes and lifestyles of the wealthy and prominent, this study looks at a broad range of housing arrangements of the times. For example, in the first chapter of the book Larkin notes that census records show that during the late 1700s and early 1800s the number of persons in each household was quite large (more than half had seven or more residents). He also observes that before the 1820s, most houses were so small that they offered virtually no privacy. In an era before private bedrooms became common, Larkin describes a

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range of sleeping arrangements, including how unheated and unfinished attics in many homes and taverns were typically used. Indeed, according to the quotations from travelers' journals, to find three or more persons sharing a bed was common—not just for small children, but also for adults and even strangers.

Larkin also explains how our perceptions of domestic life in the past are easily skewed by the tendency for the larger, better built homes to survive longer. These "big houses" are the ones that have long received the most attention from preservationists and historical groups. The many small, poorly-built houses, cabins, and shacks that dominated the American landscape during the early nineteenth century—especially in the South and the West—have suffered much higher rates of loss. These also have been less well documented. The poignant glimpses of day-to-day life within these very small homes are some of the greatest contributions that this book makes to the field of study, especially by showing a variety of examples of lower-grade homes that survived to be photographed in the 1930s for the Historic American Buildings Survey.

By examining the history of housing before 1840 geographically, Larkin presents contrasts in American cultural heritage that echo to the present. When describing life in the South, he boldly begins by observing, "We can't understand the landscape of Southern houses and families unless we first look at slavery." He goes on to explore the extremes of wealth and power in the region with the help of travelers' observations and photographs of houses, both great and squalid. The descriptions of slaves sleeping on floors in mansion hallways wrapped in dirty blankets and in desolate cabins are certainly not pleasant, yet it is refreshing to see that these difficult aspects of the American past are now being discussed in a volume such as this. Indeed, some passages and descriptions may prompt comparisons with the disconnected tolerance for the plight of the homeless and other unfortunate people that we may see in some areas today.

Subtitled "Discovering the Places We Once Called Home," this book is an easy and satisfying read, but the lack of footnotes or detailed source citations may frustrate some scholars. To tell his well-crafted and engaging story the author sometimes relies on generalizations that may prompt some readers to seek more historical evidence. The rich collections of photographs from the Historic American Buildings Survey and from Old Sturbridge Village provide a magnificent backdrop to the narrative, but some readers may thirst for more detail in photo captions and more information about the specific sources of the images.

As research in history, architectural history, and historic preservation continues to develop toward more fully embracing the more common-

place and vernacular aspects of our cultural heritage, some scholars are making greater use of surviving physical evidence to better understand the past. *Where We Lived* makes a noteworthy contribution to this line of research by effectively demonstrating how these sources can be combined to provide a richer perspective on day-to-day life during this early period of American history, while also providing a valuable resource for placing such evidence in context.

THOMAS D. VISSER

Thomas D. Visser directs the graduate program in historic preservation in the department of history at the University of Vermont and is the author of Field Guide to New England Barns and Farm Buildings.

John Stark: Maverick General

By Ben Z. Rose (Waverly, Mass.: Tree Line Press, 2007, pp. xiv, 199, $19.95).

New Hampshire's General John Stark: Live Free or Die: Death Is Not the Worst of Evils

By Clifton La Bree (Portsmouth, N.H.: Peter E. Randall Publisher, 2007, pp. xiv, 261, $25).

John Stark: Live Free or Die

By Karl Crannell (Stockton, N.J.: OTTN Publishing, 2007, pp. 80, $23.95).

By curious coincidence, General John Stark of New Hampshire, the iconic Revolutionary War hero of the Battles of Bunker Hill and Bennington, long regarded as oft-forgotten American hero, suddenly came to life in the year 2007 with the publication of three biographies—two hardcovers and one for children. Evidently none of the three authors knew that the others were working along the same path.

Stark was born in 1728 with strong Scots-Irish ancestry and a heritage that held the British in deep distrust. He continued to feel their condescension during his experiences fighting alongside them in the French and Indian wars. But he also learned the British military methods, which he was canny enough to use against them in such engagements as Bunker Hill, Bennington, and Saratoga. Stark the maverick was often dubious about the military leadership provided by the Continental Congress and

preferred to report to New Hampshire's provincial assembly. He was at home in Manchester so rarely that it was a wonder he and his wife, Elizabeth "Molly" Page, managed to raise eleven children.

All three of these biographies have their strong points, but most worthy is *John Stark: Maverick General*, by Ben Z. Rose, a securities analyst by profession and obviously an earnest history buff and a smooth writer. Rose has done extensive research in all the right places and weaves together an impressive bibliography to produce a readable fabric that brings to life the facts, moods, and personality of this modest but courageous early-American original who emerged from the wilderness.

Indeed, Stark was so forgotten that for more than a century after the 1891 dedication of the massive 306-foot Bennington Battle Monument, there was a statue of the battle's secondary hero, Colonel Seth Warner, but none of Stark himself, until the year 2000, when a descendant provided one.

A sample of Rose's prose will help place Stark in the context of the time he had been passed over for promotion but decided to take charge of the foray against British General John Burgoyne in the spring of 1777:

> Making his way back to Manchester, angered, disappointed, and dejected, John Stark no doubt reflected on a tumultuous two-year period in which he fought gallantly in three critical campaigns [Bunker Hill, Québec, Trenton]. Now, less than two years into what would become an eight-year struggle for independence, the outcome of the war was far from clear.
>
> Despite personal overtures from John Sullivan and Enoch Poor to remain in the army, Stark refused to rethink his decision to resign.
>
> To be sure, there was no reconsideration of the cause for which he was fighting. Although his older brother William and his good friend Robert Rogers decided to fight for the British, nothing in the last two years had changed Stark's embrace of the Patriot cause. On the contrary, Stark vowed to fight again if needed (p. 101).

All three books offer chronologies, and Rose concludes with a "Legacy" chapter that helps place Stark in historical context and quotes from his correspondence with prominent political figures in his elder years. Clifton La Bree similarly offers a chapter on Stark's post-Revolutionary "Fading Shadows" as well as a chapter "In Tribute." All three authors recall the most memorable element of Stark's legacy, the one seen on New Hampshire license plates. It was a letter to citizens of Bennington in 1809, regretting that his health prevented him from attending a reunion, that contained the quote, "Live Free or Die, Death is not the worst of Evils." Stark died in 1822 at the age of 94, one of America's longest-living Revolutionary generals.

La Bree, a forester by profession, has written a biography that is more ambitious than Rose's, with more pages and more quoted documents, but less successful overall. Indeed, it appears to be a classic example of a book that was well conceived and in many ways well written, but is flawed by chronic misstatements of historical fact, misspellings, and typographical errors. While I read it with mostly genuine pleasure, the thought occurred repeatedly that if only La Bree's efforts had been given a thorough vetting both by a copy editor and a fact checker before publication, it would have had a more successful outcome. On the positive side, La Bree incorporates fascinating correspondence and original documents dealing with the times before and after the Battle of Bennington. He can convey a memorable mood or set the scene, for example, the terror and dread among the population of the Champlain Valley when Burgoyne's army tramped southward in the spring and summer of 1777. But the negatives of this book are legion. Despite abundant bibliography, La Bree's work seems undersourced and inadequately footnoted. The author contends with basic historical misunderstanding that the Catamount Tavern in Bennington was "a landmark inn where Stark had frequently stayed during the French and Indian War" (p. 154). The fact was that this territory was unsettled during the French and Indian wars and Bennington had no settlement at all until 1761. The author copied Stark's famous description of the Battle of Bennington, "the hottest engagement I have ever witnessed, resembling a continual clap of thunder," but wrote instead "a continental clap of thunder" (p. 147).

Karl Crannel, a staff member at Fort Ticonderoga, offers a solid biography of Stark aimed at a middle-school reading level. It is part of a series on "forgotten heroes of the American Revolution" that includes Daniel Morgan, Nathanael Greene, Henry Knox, and Francis Marion. The illustrations are attractive and a picture of eighteenth-century life in New England is well drawn, but the history is somewhat simplified. The brash capture of Fort Ticonderoga by Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold in May 1775 is overlooked; and Burgoyne's master plan, the pincer movement from the west and south on Albany that never materialized, is glossed over.

It was useful to get reacquainted with John Stark, about whom no biography had been written since Howard Moore's self-published typescript in 1949.

TYLER RESCH

Tyler Resch is librarian of the Bennington Museum and author or editor of a dozen books of regional historical interest.

"The Troubled Roar of the Waters": Vermont in Flood and Recovery, 1927–1931

By Deborah Pickman Clifford and Nicholas R. Clifford (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England; Durham, N. H.: University of New Hampshire Press, 2007, pp. xvi, 229, $29.95).

Mention 1927 to anyone familiar with Vermont history and the first thing to come to mind will probably be the disastrous flood that struck the state in early November of that year. The flood of 1927 was a cataclysmic and transformative event in Vermont, wreaking havoc statewide, and resulting in tremendous losses to property and human life. But as Deborah Pickman Clifford and Nicholas R. Clifford reveal in *"The Troubled Roar of the Waters,"* the flood's significance goes far beyond the drama of its immediate impact. By placing the flood within a larger historical framework, and by examining its broader relationships to cultural, political, and economic circumstances in Vermont, Clifford and Clifford weave an engaging and thought-provoking story sure to be of interest to a range of readers.

Following a brief preface, the book begins with a chapter examining the flood itself. Here readers are treated to some fine storytelling through which the authors recount incidents of horror, tragedy, and heroism associated with the event. Chapter two provides a conceptual core for the book by discussing Vermont's economy, infrastructure, and prospects for development (all below national averages) at the time of the flood, and by exploring the state's idealized associations with cultural characteristics such as independence, strength, and thrift. While Clifford and Clifford are careful not to romanticize this identity, they do argue that its strength in the state helped to mitigate Vermont's lack of material preparedness for a disaster of this scale.

Chapters three through six all focus on the politics of post-flood reconstruction. Chapter three explores the flood's immediate aftermath, including efforts to help hard-hit towns like Waterbury, and legislative debates about funding reconstruction. Chapter four explores issues associated with railroad reconstruction, the availability of credit, and the role of the Red Cross in Vermont. Here the authors offer a particularly instructive glimpse into the growing scale of relief efforts in the United States at this time, as national agencies and the federal government increasingly assumed some of the responsibility for local recovery following natural disasters. Chapter five highlights road reconstruction and changes

in state and federal politics as a means for tracing political dynamics between Montpelier and Washington. And in chapter six, the authors explore the politics of flood-control initiatives in post-1927 Vermont, before concluding with an extended discussion of the work of the Vermont Commission on Country Life and its insights into issues facing Vermonters in the years just after the flood.

The book's strong conclusion does three things. First, it addresses the challenging task of assessing the flood's lasting impacts and consequences, arguing that it is best to see the flood, in large measure, as a "catalyst for changes already underway" (p. 168). Second, it reminds readers to place the story of the flood in the larger context of American history. The flood of 1927, the authors argue, was partly a mirror for larger trends, partly a commentary on the nation's idealized assessment of Vermonters and rural life, and partly a story of one state's struggle to reconcile modernity and traditional life in twentieth-century America. Third, the conclusion ends with a thoughtful discussion about differences between past and present responses to disaster in American society.

It is worth noting two themes that weave throughout the book and that lend strength to its overall presentation. First Clifford and Clifford necessarily have to tackle questions about Vermont's reliance on outside financial support and its fabled desire to handle flood reconstruction independently. The authors address this issue directly throughout the book, noting that while Vermonters were generally willing to accept outside assistance, there remained a strong feeling among many that the state should do as much as it could on its own. That sentiment matters, the authors suggest, because it reinforced popularized ideas inside and outside Vermont about the culture of its residents. This leads to a second key theme worth noting. Clifford and Clifford offer a number of excellent insights into the complexity of cultural identity in Vermont, never shying away from the ironies, inconsistencies, and mythical underpinnings of that identity, but never undermining the credit due to Vermonters for their very real courage and determination. As they suggest, what matters most is not the accuracy of one cultural image or another, but the bigger story at work here: The tests that the flood would place on the character and material life of Vermonters reveal larger lessons about the anxieties of rural society in America at a time when many were struggling to reconcile modernity and tradition.

For anyone who has written or who wants to write state-level history, *The Troubled Roar of the Waters* is a model of success. Not only is it written in a lively style that makes complex stories accessible to a range of readers, it combines an appreciation for the uniqueness of Vermont history with an appreciation for its connections to broader historical trends.

In this respect, it is a book that should make Vermonters feel proud of their heritage, both in terms of their responses to the flood itself and their ongoing importance to the history of land and life in rural America.

BLAKE HARRISON

Blake Harrison teaches courses in history and geography at Yale University and Southern Connecticut State University. He is the author of The View from Vermont: Tourism and the Making of an American Rural Landscape.

Failure, Filth, and Fame: Joe Ranger and the Creation of a Vermont Character

By Cameron Clifford (West Hartford, Vt.: The Clifford Archive, 2007, pp. 234, paper, $20.00).

The title has it just right. Joe Ranger failed catastrophically at farming, his house and person were spectacularly filthy, and his fame was largely the creation of others with interests of their own to promote. Largely but not entirely, we should add, for Joe liked attention and to some extent played the game.

Lest we attach stigma to the failure, we should note that failing farms were an epidemic in much of Joe's lifetime (1875–1964) and a wasting illness ever since, although not many failed farmers sank so low for so long. One of the great merits of this well-documented book is its concise account of the social and economic conditions of the times, not only of Joe's neighborhood of Pomfret and West Hartford, Vermont, but regionally as well. Joe's story is firmly and gracefully set in a web of historical detail that will disabuse sentimental readers of the pretty pictures that fifty years of propaganda and nostalgia have imprinted on our brains.

And yet, in this clear-eyed author's account, Joe Ranger and his times emerge as something more than objects of pity and condescension, although there was much about Joe to inspire disgust and contempt. The lack of electricity, automobile, and running water could be laid to poverty alone, and the production of moonshine during Prohibition might be defended as a public service. But one did not have to be hypersensitive to be appalled by supper plates wiped with bread and never washed, by a dead horse stinking in the field unburied, by stories of the yard off the door step serving as a latrine, and by the report that Joe simply added additional clothes to the outside while the ones next to his body rotted away. Not that he didn't bathe—once a year, it was said, although another

account said twice—the method the simple expedient of lying in a brook or pond fully clothed. Clifford makes good use of Joe's diaries, but prurient interest would ask for more quotations, for the diaries confirm local gossip that Joe indulged in amorous engagements with his neighbors' horses, heifers, and cows.

Yes, this strange character kept a diary, as did many country people of his time. He was an avid reader who knew the Bible well and liked the stories of Zane Grey and Max Brand. He had a beautiful voice and was often heard singing by himself for the pure joy of it. Although eventually called by many a hermit, he liked company, could carry on an interesting conversation, and was known for holding his own in witty exchanges with creditors among others. Before one creditor could bring up the subject, Joe asked if he was worried about getting paid. Embarrassed, the creditor said that he wasn't, whereupon Joe said, "'Keep right on not worrying'" (p. 91).

Joe lived through two eras in the public perception of Vermont's rural life. In the 1920s and 30s, widespread concern about rural poverty, decadence, and the allegedly deleterious influence of French-Canadians and Indians led to Vermont's participation in the national eugenics movement with sterilization of genetically defective women as one of its goals. As an obvious failure and degenerate and the son of a French-Canadian father with some supposed Indian ancestry thrown in, Joe could have been a pathological specimen for the social type the eugenicists worried about. Following WWII, however, thanks in large measure to the State's efforts to attract prosperous outsiders as visitors and residents (*Vermont Life* was a brilliant instrument) and to the writings of such authors as Bernard DeVoto and Dorothy Canfield Fisher, a pretty gloss was spread over Vermont's rural past. White houses, red barns, contented cows, and loveable Old Timers became the stock in trade of those who wished to promote Vermont as a bastion of proud independence, rugged individualism, and community harmony. How Joe Ranger became a poster boy for this largely successful effort is too detailed for summary here but is one of the strengths of the book.

Even in energetically concocted myths such as this one, there is often enough truth to tether the story by slender threads to reality. Just as in his own eccentric fashion, Joe had something of the iconic rural character later ascribed to him, so the community of Pomfret showed some of the neighborly care imagined to have been the norm. The official care of the poor was a hit or miss affair, but individual neighbors did many acts of kindness, especially in Joe's later years when he needed more help. Perhaps some element of kindness as well as frustration played a part in the town's inability to collect any of Joe's property taxes from 1937 to 1953.

Clearly written and well supplied with notes and index (more index

entries would have helped), *Failure, Filth, and Fame* is an unusual and engaging biography and an excellent summary of the times. If it misleads at all, it may be that despite careful mention of those farm families who survived or adjusted to other ways of life, the vivid portrait of Joe himself and the precise description of myth-making may obscure for the careless reader the complex reality of the countryside, which was neither a simple story of loss and defeat nor one of bucolic bliss.

CHARLES FISH

Charles Fish's most recent Vermont book is In the Land of the Wild Onion: Travels Along Vermont's Winooski River.

Giving a Lift in Time: A Finnish Immigrant's Story

By Wayne A. Sarcka with Elizabeth Man Sarcka. *Edited by* Anne Sarcka and Michael Wells (Montpelier, Vt.: Anne Sarcka, 2007, pp. 195, paper, $18.00).

Written as a Christmas present to his daughter in 1966, Wayne Sarcka's autobiography recounts the life experiences that led him to establish Spring Lake Ranch. In the preface, Sarcka notes that his journal is full of inaccuracies because he never kept a diary and simply dictated these events to his wife, Elizabeth, in streams of recollections.

The first fifteen chapters of this journal are devoted to Sarcka's life journey. He was born in Finland in 1890 and arrived in Proctor, Vermont, in 1895, where his father had settled to work in the marble industry. Sarcka graduated from elementary school and went to work in the Proctor marble quarries. He left Proctor at age eighteen for Connecticut to be co-director of the Boy's Club and further his education.

Sarcka transferred and received his high school education at Mt. Pleasant Academy while directing physical and social activities for the YMCA. At the outbreak of World War I he was recruited to serve the British YMCA as a morale officer in Mesopotamia. Sarcka later joined the Mesopotamia Expeditionary Force. He managed a British convalescent and rest camp and operated food kitchens for the Near East Relief community. Chapters five through eight give the reader a very descriptive representation of the life and trials of the people in that area. A brief history of the campaign, drawn from several scholarly sources, appears in Appendix D (pp. 188–190).

Returning home, Sarcka headed to New York to begin his career as a

fundraiser for nonprofit organizations. The campaign for the Girl Scouts of America changed his life. His request for a liaison officer led to meeting Elizabeth Man, the commissioner for the Queens (N.Y.) Girl Scout Council. In 1928 Elizabeth became his wife. While honeymooning on the Green Mountain Appalachian Trail they discovered the setting of their future life and work. The trail had led them to Spring Lake in Cuttingsville, Vermont. Impressed by the beauty of the area they pursued the purchase of land and some buildings surrounding Spring Lake with the idea of a summer home. Daughter Anne was born the year they came to their summer home. Considering all the work needed to make the property livable, Wayne and Elizabeth hit upon an idea of having teenage boys from the New York City settlement house and YMCA come and work during summer vacation.

Chapter eleven describes Spring Lake Ranch, the buildings, the people and the success of Wayne and Elizabeth's dream of an experimental camp for teenage boys to prepare them for living as mature adults by working in the morning and playing in the afternoon. Three years later a New York psychiatrist saw the progress made by the boys and urged the Sarckas to pioneer the first year-round halfway house in the United States dedicated to family care of the mentally ill.

Chapters twelve through fifteen return to Sarcka's life experiences. He entered state politics while Elizabeth and Anne continued to run the ranch. The Sarckas left the ranch after thirty years and moved to the island of Jamaica where, by 1965, Sarcka had helped to develop an educational facility. Wayne died in Jamaica in 1969 and Elizabeth returned to New York and became involved with various local social campaigns. She died peacefully in Vermont in 1992 at the age of ninety-eight.

Michael Wells, co-editor, includes an epilog updating Wayne and Elizabeth's Spring Lake legacy. In Appendix A, Elizabeth Man Sarcka tells of her life experiences and involvement in the ranch with frequent annotations by her daughter Anne. Appendix B contains several letters written by Wayne and Elizabeth to one another.

The story of Spring Lake Ranch is entwined in this autobiography. The reader will find it a little slow going to reach the actual account of Spring Lake and without the updated epilog by Michael Wells might be disappointed in the amount included. The lifelong journey of Wayne Sarcka can become tedious reading, but it was meant for his daughter as a gift and as such his presentation is successful. This book is an interesting tribute to a couple dedicated to helping others receive a "Lift in Time."

HELEN K. DAVIDSON

Helen Davidson is the author of a weekly column "Tidbits from Then and Now" in Sam's Good News. *She is Secretary of the Rutland Historical Society and a past president of the society.*

Bellows Falls, Saxtons River and Westminster: A History of Vermont's Most Beloved River Communities, A Portrait in Postcards

By Anne L. Collins (Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2007, pp. 128, paper, $21.99).

This slim volume contains many fascinating images of Bellows Falls and its smaller neighbors, Saxtons River and Westminster. Most of the images are taken from photo postcards, though an occasional stereo view and other illustrations fill out the story. Because Bellows Falls is located near one of the most important rapids along the upper Connecticut River, many of the images focus on the river and on bridges, dams, canals, mills, factories, and log jams. There are also photographs of disastrous floods, especially in 1913, 1927, and 1936.

Floods were not the only disasters depicted on postcards. Local photographers, acting as photojournalists, captured fires, train wrecks, and other newsworthy events on film and then created photo postcards that they sold as souvenirs. Here are depicted the fire of March 26, 1912, that destroyed the Hotel Windham and many other buildings, a bakery fire on Christmas day 1906, and the town hall/opera house before it was consumed by fire in 1925. The photographers also turned out for celebrations and parades, and Bellows Falls residents seemed to find many excuses to march through the streets. The Knights of Pythias led a Decoration Day parade on May 30, 1907, and the Knights Templar marched in elaborate costumes. On another occasion the Amalgamated Society of Papermakers marched across the bridge from New Hampshire and along the streets of Bellows Falls. Another photographer recorded imaginatively decorated autos moving slowly through the crowded streets to launch the Bellows Falls Fair on September 30, 1913. The most interesting parade depicted in the book happened on June 22, 1916, when Company E of the National Guard was called up to help guard the Texas-Mexico border after General Francisco "Pancho" Villa and his troops raided Columbus, New Mexico. The Bellows Falls company was part of 100,000 National Guard troops called up by President Woodrow Wilson. The photo shows the troops marching through the streets of Bellows Falls on their way to the station to board a train that would take them south. It is a fascinating photo because it includes decorated store fronts, cobblestone streets with trolley tracks, several autos that now look antique, crowds

of fashionably dressed townspeople (all wearing hats), and the troops dressed in wool uniforms that would prove rather useless in the Texas climate. It is a good example of the way photo postcards capture the vernacular landscape, the built environment, and the material culture of a particular time and place.

One of the compelling attractions of old photo postcards is the way they depict a world that no longer exists. I am sure that those who are familiar with Bellows Falls and the surrounding communities will have fun browsing through the pages of this book. They will find reminders of the age of the horse, of watering troughs, hitching posts, horse-drawn stages, and delivery wagons. They will also find many examples of autos from past eras and even a photo from the late 1950s that shows a policeman directing traffic. The photos record many buildings and bridges that have long since disappeared, and streets lined with elm trees. The images of people, cars, and horses are more interesting than the formal shots of churches and houses, but even the boring illustrations help document the history of the town. Several postcards recall a day when Bellows Falls was a major railroad and manufacturing center anchored by the sprawling Vermont Farm Machine Company.

Perhaps a few people still remember Barber Park in Saxtons River, where people of all ages gathered to picnic, listen to music, and dance. Here also was a famous baseball field. There are several images of the famous park in the book, but the most interesting are photos of a trolley car that connected Bellows Falls to Saxtons River and a picture of the 1910 Bellows Falls "Locals," one of the many baseball teams that played at Barber Park, complete with a young girl mascot.

This compelling book has no particular organizing scheme and little chronology, but the author manages to tell us a great deal about the history of Bellows Falls and the other towns by providing extended captions. We learn little about the author, Anne L. Collins, and how she got interested in old postcards. Her focus is on Bellows Falls rather than on the postcards, and she ignores the messages on the back (and sometimes on the front) of the cards. These hastily written notes often reveal details about life in an earlier age. Unlike some postcard books, this volume is printed on relatively high quality paper, which assures good reproductions. There are sixteen pages in color, including some interesting color lithograph cards. I miss any discussion of the photographers who took these photos; P. W. Taft is the only one identified. We need to learn more about local photographers who worked to preserve a world that is now lost.

Perhaps this book will inspire other towns to collect, analyze, and

preserve old postcards. In many cases they provide the best record of the changing look of the landscape and the constantly evolving nature of the small towns in Vermont.

ALLEN F. DAVIS

Allen F. Davis is professor emeritus at Temple University and the author of Postcards From Vermont: A Social History, 1905–1945 *(2002).*

The View from Vermont: Tourism and the Making of an American Rural Landscape

By Blake Harrison (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2006, pp. xiv, 323, $65.00; paper, $29.95).

Each summer, at the end of our family's nine-hour-long drive from New Jersey to spend a week with my grandmother at "Silverwood"—her summer home on Lake Raponda in Wilmington—two sensory experiences told me that we had reached Vermont. As our old Rambler station wagon turned off Route 9 after coming over Haystack Mountain, we heard and smelled and felt the exotic dirt road surface beneath us. Then there was the smell of balsam firs, replaced quickly by the aroma of hay-scented fern, trampled by our happy feet as we eagerly hopped out of the car. Like Proust's *madeleine*, the hay-scented fern creates a cascade of memory—the nightcrawlers from the soil below those ferns; foraging for wild strawberries and leopard frogs and red-spotted newts along the lakeshore, and discovering the strange sundews and orchids there; the sound of my Uncle Roger's motorboat; the sunset gathering of three generations on Silverwood's sweet but sagging back porch, and the sound of ice cubes tinkling in my parents' cocktail glasses.

This luxurious landscape of leisure is so deeply embedded in my psyche that it was a shock to read in Blake Harrison's *The View from Vermont: Tourism and the Making of an American Rural Landscape* that my beloved Lake Raponda had been created not by Mother Nature but by a pair of local industrialist brothers, as the key to their plans to turn a local mill pond into a fancy summer resort. My grandmother's gracious lakeside camp was just one of the many erected during the turn-of-the-century boom spurred by the building of the Lake Raponda Hotel. Harrison's portrait of Wilmington and its transformation at century's end from progressive-minded, hustling hamlet to a summer (and later, winter) resort for well-heeled vacationers is a classic case study in how Vermont's

working landscape became largely a landscape of leisure—or at least a landscape dramatically altered by leisure.

When another group of Wilmington brothers founded the Wilmington Forest & Stream Club, their eyes were on profit and productivity as much as pleasure; they hired a local farmer to run their model farm, providing fresh produce for guests and revenue from the sale of dairy products and maple sugar (they even displayed their syrup at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago!). The politely shared discourse of progress that brought natives and visitors together, however, was impolitely interrupted by the real and varied social tensions provoked by tourism. Locals saw their old hunting and fishing grounds enclosed; the visiting sportsmen constantly complained about poaching. Harrison ably describes how summer home "resettlement" followed a painful period of farm abandonment, with the Vermont Board of Agriculture serving as the state's "first de facto tourist agency" (p. 61). The metropolitans who bought the boarded-up farmhouses and brush-filled fields imagined them as still potent symbols of democracy, patriotism, independence, and self-sufficiency. Promoters seized upon these values and quickly codified them into a regional identity that continues to hold mythic status in the national consciousness. Harrison points out that the operative cultural keyword for this era— "typical"—helped to drive some very *un*democratic social programs such as immigration restriction and eugenics, and shows how the bright promise of summer homes filled with writers and college professors slipped all too easily into a variety of unwelcome threats. Vermont's youth continued to emigrate, while the "new crop" of tourists pursued a "lifestyle of leisure rather than work, of self-indulgence rather than modest sobriety" (p. 81).

Between 1910 and 1940, "unspoiled" and "accessible" replaced "typical" as the Siren song courting flatland folk to Vermont. Harrison zeroes in on the seemingly contradictory but often complementary activities of automobile tourism and recreational hiking, and finds new historical and geographical dimensions to the cultural conversations surrounding billboards, the Green Mountain Parkway, and the Long Trail. In a wonderful chapter entitled "The Four-Season State: Creating a New Seasonal Cycle," Harrison vividly shows how the frequently sentimental fantasies of rapidly disappearing traditional labor rhythms created an entirely new *temporal* landscape to match the spatial one. As in previous chapters, the final ones detailing the alterations wrought by the ski industry and the effort to control landscape change through Act 250 draw on a wide variety of sources, convincingly and compellingly demonstrating just how inextricably linked Vermont's contemporary social and physical landscapes are to twentieth-century tourism.

The modern tourist's quest for a sublime "view" carries with it the danger of mere spectatorship rather than participation, and *The View from Vermont* likewise runs the risk of academic leaf-peeping in its ambition to comprehensively cover so much ground. Harrison accurately diagnoses the range of nostalgia underlying Vermont mythmaking and how it has transformed the landscape.

KEVIN DANN

Kevin Dann teaches history at State University of New York, Plattsburgh.

Richmond, Vermont: A History of More Than 200 Years

By Harriet Wheatley Riggs and others (Richmond, Vt.: Richmond Historical Society, 2007, pp 506, $25.00).

The Friendship Quilt photograph used to create the dust jacket is symbolic of this new local history publication. The quilt was made by women from Richmond, Vermont, probably in the 1850s. The caption for the quilt informs us that "It is designed in the Chimney Sweep Pattern, with the names of 36 women inscribed in the squares. Each square block is created from 31 pieces, stitched together by hand."

The quilt is an apt visual metaphor for this book. Quilts combine old and new materials, arranged in a recognized pattern to create a new useable item. A friendship quilt is the result of labor by a group of locals, who show their pride in the product by signing their names to it. Each carefully-fashioned section creates a stronger bond for the finished product, ensuring its usefulness for decades.

This well-crafted publication is the first book-length study of the Richmond, Vermont, community. It covers the history of this Chittenden County town from prehistoric times to the twenty-first century. Much like a friendship quilt, it is the result of efforts by members of the Richmond Historical Society under the leadership of editor Harriet Wheatley Riggs, who also expertly authored eleven of the twenty-three chapters.

Other chapters, organized by subject matter, were written by several members of the Richmond Historical Society committee. This approach encouraged those most knowledgeable about specific topics of the town's history to "contribute their own self-contained chapters, thus allowing the picture of Richmond's development to emerge through multiple voices

and perspectives" (p.1). The result is some minor variations in length and material among chapters, but these do not detract from the overall quality of the material.

All chapters are well documented using a variety of local, regional, and state resources, with extensive endnotes. Oral history interviews are well used. References to places in times past are linked to present-day locations, an especially useful tool. One can only imagine the hours of volunteer efforts that went into recovering and organizing that material and publishing it at a very reasonable price.

Many aspects of this book make it useful to those who will read it from beginning to end as well as those who will use it to research individual topics. The writing is clear with bold subtitles to assist the reader. Over three hundred photographs, document reproductions, maps, and appendices supplement the text. Most of the illustrations have their own complete documentation. The unusual two-column format of the text allows for layout variety. The forty-page index is uncommonly comprehensive. Any local historical society considering publishing or updating their own town history would be well advised to study the lessons in content, organization, and documentation this work offers.

The study of local history offers one bridge to understanding regional, state, and national trends. Many of the chapters link those trends with events in Richmond from its earliest days to the present and with a view to its future. The authors provide readers with detailed background information that makes aspects of Richmond's history come alive.

This informative approach is especially helpful to those who are new residents or unfamiliar with state and national history.

Similarly, the book includes contributions of Richmond's citizens to state and national history. Richmond's native sons and daughters have included George Franklin Edmunds, Vermont U.S. Senator from 1866 to 1891, and the Cochrans, the world-famous skiing family. Neil Sherman's chapter "In Service to Their Country" and the appended rosters honor those Richmond men who fought at Plattsburgh, Gettysburg, the Argonne, and in the Battle of the Bulge. Other chapters refer to those from Richmond who helped build the railroad and the interstate highway, each of which, in its own time, bisected the community and helped to define its role within the region. Other chapters discuss Richmond's contributions to the state and national economy—ranging from underwear and dairy products to championship Morgan horses—the rise of local farms and industries, floods, fires, and economic trends that affected this community.

Richmond is itself a patchwork of land and people. It was chartered by the Vermont Legislature from portions of the neighboring towns of

Jericho, Williston, (New) Huntington, and Bolton. As with many Vermont towns, it has vibrant villages where much of the town's activity is centered and between which there is often competition. These include Jonesville, Fays Corner, and the village of Richmond. Each receives a separate chapter, and other chapters describe forces that unite the parts into a modern whole. This is also the history of well-established Richmond families enriched by relative newcomers, their libraries, inns, clubs, and schools.

Each Vermont community has characteristics that make it unique. The Old Round Church of Richmond, much highlighted in this history, is just one of Richmond's unique features. This reviewer knew little about this town other than that church, the successful merger of the Village and Town of Richmond in 1989, and signs on I-89. My knowledge was greatly improved by this publication. Anyone interested in Vermont history in general and Richmond history specifically will learn something here. In his prologue, "Richmond's Ancient Past," Peter A. Thomas writes, "history does have a lesson, if we choose to listen." This text offers that opportunity.

LAWRENCE COFFIN

Lawrence Coffin is a retired high school history teacher, president of the Bradford (Vt.) Historical Society, and author of a monthly local history column "In Times Past," in The Journal-Opinion.

NOTICE: *Captain Henry Wirz and Andersonville Prison: A Reappraisal,* by R. Fred Ruhlman (2006), has been withdrawn from publication by the University of Tennessee Press as a result of allegations of plagiarism. The book was reviewed in *Vermont History,* Vol. 75, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 2007): 143–145. For more information see the following Web sites: http://chronicle.com/news/article/1276/plagiarism-accusation-shelves-civ; http://insidehighered.com/news/2006/11/15/book

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BOOKS

Allen, Will, Nancy Bell, et al., *Where Our Four Towns Meet: The Prosper Valley of Barnard, Bridgewater, Pomfret, and Woodstock: A "Place Too Important to Be Left to Chance."* Woodstock, Vt.: The Conservation Fund and Marsh–Billings–Rockefeller National Historic Park, 2007. 40p.

Bellamy, John Stark, II, *Vintage Vermont Villainies: True Tales of Murder and Mystery from the 19th and 20th Centuries.* Woodstock, Vt.: Countryman Press, 2007. 226p. List: $13.95 (paper).

* Bisbee, Richard M., *History of the Town of Waitsfield, Vermont: 1789–2000.* Barre, Vt.: L. Brown and Sons, 2007. 524p. List: $50.00.

Bishop, Anne Warner, *Silver: The Life and Art of Sylvia Beckman Warner.* Sausalito, Calif.: The author, 2007. 189p. List: Unknown (paper). Biography of former Vermont State Representative Sylvia Wright of Rupert.

* Indicates books available through the Vermont Historical Society Museum Store.

Vermont History Vol. 75, No. 3 (Winter/Spring 2008): 85–89.
 ISSN: 0042-4161, on-line ISSN: 1544-3043

Book, J. David, *"It Is Sweet and Honorable to Die for the Fatherland": Civil War Soldiers from Cabot, Vermont.* Newport, Vt.: Vermont Civil War Enterprises, 2007. 170p. Source: The publisher, 93 Leo Lane, Newport, VT 05855. List: $40.00 (paper).

Brooks, Ralph Edison, *Eben and Catherine Joy at the Dog Team Tavern.* Foxboro, Mass.: The author, 2007. 189p. Source: The author, 214B Main Street, Foxboro, MA 02035-1321. List: Unknown (paper).

Brown, Robert Goodell, *Reconstruction of the Covered Bridge in Union Village.* Thetford Center, Vt.: The author, 2002. 16p. Source: Thetford Historical Society, P.O. Box 33, Thetford, VT 05074. List: $8.00 (paper).

Brown, Robert Goodell, *Thetford Covered Bridges, Summer 2007.* Thetford Center, Vt.: The author, 2007. 56p. Source: Thetford Historical Society, P.O. Box 33, Thetford, VT 05074. List: $8.00 (paper).

Carlson, Alof, *Boyhood Memories—West Rutland's Business District.* West Rutland, Vt.: West Rutland Historical Society, 2006. 21p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 385, West Rutland, VT 05777. List: Unknown.

Chalmer, Judith, *Elder Stories: A Celebration of Life in Vermont.* Cabot, Vt.: Cabot Creamery, 2007. 63p. Oral histories recorded at the Out & About Day Center, Morrisville. Newspaper tabloid.

Clifford, Cameron, *Failure, Filth, and Fame: Joe Ranger and the Creation of a Vermont Character.* West Hartford, Vt.: Clifford Archive, 2007. 234p. Source: The author, P.O. Box 114, West Hartford, VT 05084-0114. List: $20.00 (paper).

* Clifford, Deborah Pickman and Nicholas R. Clifford, *"The Troubled Roar of the Waters": Vermont in Flood and Recovery, 1927–1931.* Durham, N.H.: University of New Hampshire Press; Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2007. 229p. List: $29.95.

Collins, Anne, *Bellows Falls, Saxtons River & Westminster: A History of Vermont's Most Beloved River Communities.* Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2007. 128p. List: $21.99 (paper).

Davison, Donald J., *The Rebels Are Coming!: How Canada Tried to Settle the Northern Most Battle of the Civil War . . . and Got Everyone Mad at Them.* The Author, 2005. 272p.

Delaney, Steve, *Vermont Seasonings: Reflections on the Rhythms of a Vermont Year.* Concord, N.H.: Plaidswede Publishing, 2007. 19p. List: $18.95 (paper).

Green Mountain Club, *360 Degrees: A Guide to Vermont's Fire and Observation Towers.* Waterbury Center, Vt.: Green Mountain Club, 2005. 48p. List: $7.95 (paper).

* Jones, Ronald D., *John and Ethan: A Revolutionary Friendship.* Salisbury, Conn.: Salisbury Association, 2007. 56p. List: $10.00 (paper). Story of John Hazeltine and Ethan Allen in Salisbury, Connecticut, and Vermont.

Layn, Helen B., Patrick A. Polzella, and Candace L. Polzella, *Monkton: The Way It Was.* Burlington, Vt.: Queen City Printers, 2007. 160p. Source: Helen Layn, 4149 Mountain Road, Bristol, VT 05443. List: $25.00 (paper).

Lincoln Historical Society, *Lincoln, Vermont, History, 1780–2007.* Lincoln, Vt.: Lincoln Historical Society, 2007. Various paging. Source: The publisher, 88 Quaker St., Lincoln, VT 05443. List: Unknown (paper).

Georgia Historical Society, *Memories of Georgia.* Newport, Vt.: Civil War Enterprises, 2005. Source: The author, P.O. Box 2072, Georgia, VT 05468. List: $15.00 each. Series of books containing historical vignettes from Georgia, Vt.

Mayo, Bernier L., *In My Opinion . . . : Musings of a Vermont Conservative.* Quechee, Vt.: Vermont Heritage Press, 2006. 200p.

* Pelletier, Joyce, *A Vermont Woman's Life in 1883.* Baltimore, Md.: PublishAmerica, 2007. 190p. List: $16.99 (paper). Diary of Adaline Turner Crandall of Berlin, Vt., in 1883.

Sarcka, Wayne A., with Elizabeth Man Sarcka, *Giving a Lift in Time: A Finnish Immigrant's Story.* Montpelier, Vt.: Anne Sarcka, 2007. 195p. Source: The publisher, 8 Park Ave., Montpelier, VT 05602. List: $18.00 (paper). Autobiography of founder of Spring Lake Ranch in Shrewsbury, Vt.

Stansfield, Charles A., Jr., *Haunted Vermont: Ghosts and Strange Phenomena of the Green Mountain State.* Mechanicsburg, Penn.: Stackpole Books, 2007. 115p. List: $9.95 (paper).

Topsham History Committee, *History of Topsham, Vermont: Genealogy and Supplement.* Topsham, Vt.: Topsham History Committee, 2007. 360p. Source: Topsham Town Office, P.O. Box 69, Topsham, VT 05076. List: $45.00.

Wheatley, Harriet, et al., *Richmond, Vermont: A History of More than 200 Years.* Richmond, Vt.: Richmond Historical Society, 2007. 506p. Source: Richmond Historical Society, P.O. Box 453, Richmond, VT 05477. List: $25.00.

Whitney, Tom, ed., *The Book of Years: Vermonters Tell Stories from Their Lives Fifty Years after High School: Burlington High School Class of 1957.* Hilo, Hawaii: Dolphin Press, 2007. 376p. List: $26.99.

SCHOOL PROJECTS

Burke Town School third and fourth grade, *Snapshot: The People of Our Town, 2007.* Burke, Vt.: Burke Town School, 2007. Unpaged. List: Unknown.

North Bennington Graded School sixth grade students, Jill A. Fortney, teacher, and Kevin Bubriski, photographer, *Photographs and Memories: A Pictorial and Narrative Recollection of and by North Bennington's Elders at the Turn of the Century.* North Bennington, Vt.: North Bennington Graded School, 2000. 26p. List: Unknown.

Union Elementary School (Montpelier, Vermont) fourth grade class, Colin McCaffrey, and Julie Carter, *The River Gives to Me: Vermont History through Song and Story.* Jamaica Plain, Mass.: Overnight Color and Graphics, 2006. 28p. List: Unknown.

West Rutland Bicentennial Committee and Fred Remington, *West Rutland Oral History Project.* West Rutland, Vt.: Judith B. Crowley, 2007. 123p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 432, West Rutland, VT 05777. List: Unknown (paper). Interviews conducted by the West Rutland High School classes of 1978 and 1979.

GENEALOGY

Clifford, Mary and Martha T. Clifford, *Mason Hill Cemetery in Starksboro, Vermont.* Essex Junction, Vt.: The authors, 2006. 15 leaves.

The Stones in the East Shoreham Cemetery on the Richville Road in Shoreham or on the Shoreham-Whiting Road in Whiting. Whiting, Vt.: East Shoreham Cemetery Association, 2002. 19p.

Vermont French–Canadian Genealogical Society, comp., *Baptism and Burial Repertoire, Holy Family Catholic Church, Essex Jct., Vermont, 1893–1997.* Burlington, Vt.: Vermont French–Canadian Genealogical Society, 2006. 419p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 65128, Burlington, VT 05606-5128. List: $55.00.

_____, *Baptism & Marriage Repertoire, St. Stephen Catholic Church, Winooski, Vermont: Including St. Edmund Mission and Fanny Allen Hospital, Colchester, Vermont.* Burlington, Vt.: Vermont French–Canadian Genealogical Society, 2007. Unpaged. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 65128, Burlington, VT 05606-5128. List: $60.00.

_____, *Richmond Baptism Repertoire, Our Lady of the Holy Rosary, Richmond, Vermont 1857–1931.* Burlington, Vt.: Vermont French–Canadian Genealogical Society, 2007. 199p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 65128, Burlington, VT 05606-5128. List: $35.00 (spiral).

_____, *St. Francis Xavier Baptism Repertoire, St. Francis Xavier Catholic Church, Winooski, Vermont, 1868–1930.* Burlington, Vt.: Vermont French–Canadian Genealogical Society, 2006. 490p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 65128, Burlington, VT 05606-5128. List: $60.00.

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