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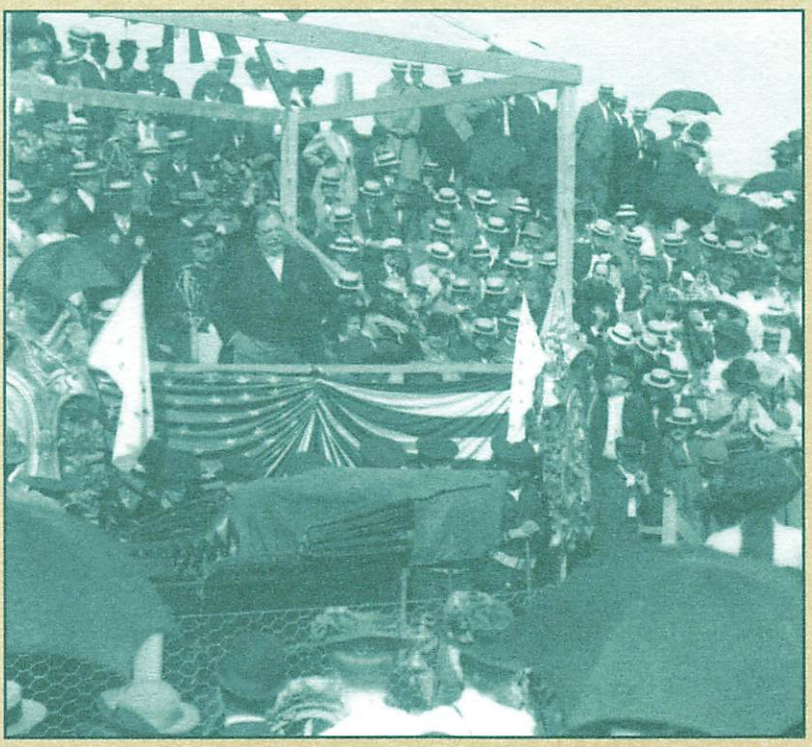

Lake Champlain Quadricentennial Issue

The Journal of the Vermont Historical Society

VERMONT

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HISTORY

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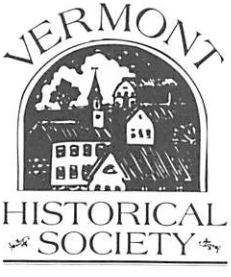

Vermont History

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VERMONT HISTORY

Vol. 77, No. 2 Summer/Fall 2009

Book Reviews

About This Issue

As our front cover announces, much of this issue of *Vermont History* is devoted to marking the four hundredth anniversary of Samuel de Champlain's expedition onto the lake to which he gave his name and by which it has been known to subsequent generations of residents and map makers. As the year of the "Champlain Quad"—as it has come to be known—draws to a close, we take this opportunity to look back at earlier celebrations of what is truly a watershed event in the history of our region.

It may seem odd to readers that two of the articles here focus on the 1909 Lake Champlain Tercentenary; but keeping in mind that historians are usually wary of commenting on events "just over their shoulder," as the late historian Arthur M. Schlesinger put it, we are on surer and perhaps more fruitful ground when we look back at how our predecessors marked the events and implications of Champlain's arrival, encounter with the native people, mapping, and description of what we now call the Lake Champlain basin. For those who attended events marking the quadricentennial, analyses of the celebrations a hundred years ago may provide interesting and important points for contrast and comparison. And as Kevin Dann points out at the conclusion of his article, how we celebrated this year in contrast to how our predecessors celebrated one hundred and even fifty years ago, will surely provide material for reflection and analysis fifty or a hundred years from now.

In addition to the three articles on the post-1609 history of the lake, we include, in our occasional series, "Archives and Manuscripts," notes from four repositories holding materials on Lake Champlain history. And to round out the offerings for the Lake Champlain Quadricentennial, we begin our book review section with reviews of four works published to coincide with the anniversary of Champlain's expedition. These artifacts, archives, and books acknowledge what is otherwise only implied in our offerings: That the natural and human history of what the native people called "the lake between" and what has been called since 1609 "Lake Champlain" is much longer than four hundred years, much more ethnically and culturally complex than the French, British, and white American stories, and far richer than the military and geopolitical concerns that brought Champlain and his immediate successors to this part of the world.

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Finally, this issue marks another milestone—in this case a terminus—in the history of our journal. For many decades, we have published annual, more recently biennial, analytical indexes to the articles and reviews that appear in *Vermont History*. Beginning with this issue we will no longer include two-year cumulative indexes.

We are discontinuing the index because information in our journal is increasingly available online. All articles and reviews since volume 68 (2000) are available at www.vermonthistory.org/journal. These articles, stored in PDF format, are searchable on the site and can also be retrieved through standard web search engines such as Google. Second, we have recently concluded an arrangement with EBSCO, the producer of an online subscription database of scholarly journals. In the near future, articles from *Vermont History* will also appear in the online database *America: History and Life w/ Full Text* maintained by EBSCO and available through subscribing libraries.

With the increasing use of computers and increasing sophistication of online information search technology, we are confident that readers and users of *Vermont History* will continue to have easy and high-quality access to the information in our journal. Members and subscribers to *Vermont History* will still have a six-month head start and the convenience of the journal in its published format. We welcome your comments or questions about how to access materials that we publish. We look forward to using pages formerly devoted to the index to publish more articles and reviews.

MICHAEL SHERMAN, *Editor*

Front cover photograph: President William Howard Taft in Burlington for the Champlain Tercentenary Celebration, July 8, 1909.

Back cover: Cover page of sheet music, "Champlain 1609–1909." Lyrics by John W. Kellette; music by George L. Hasseltine. Cover art signed, "Allen" in lower right corner of historic scene. Published by the Euphonic Music Company, Rutland, Vermont, 1909.

Pageants, Parades, and Patriotism: Celebrating Champlain in 1909

The event that all this rhetoric celebrated, Samuel de Champlain's voyage up the Richelieu to bitabagw *in 1609, was the pivotal point in the tercentenary orators' story—prehistory's surrender to history. With Champlain's arrival, ten thousand years were compressed into a vague aboriginal mist that served only as prelude to the region's seminal event: the struggle for empire between Great Britain and France.*

By KEVIN DANN

The last 300 years represent a period of discovery, conquest, and development. On the 4th day of July, 1609, the great Champlain discovered what I believe to be the most beautiful body of water whose ripples in response to the gentle breeze were ever kissed by the sun-light . . . Is it any wonder then, when we stop to contemplate this great progress and development during the last 300 years, that we should assemble here together, to help celebrate in a fitting manner that great event? . . . I believe that our mission is only just begun . . . I believe the future is to be brighter yet; I believe that the destiny of this great nation of ours is to continue on and lead in the achievements of those great things which make for the material advancement and the uplifting of the human race of the whole world.

— Mayor John Burke, Burlington, Vermont, July 8, 1909[1]

.....

KEVIN DANN is the author of *Across the Great Border Fault: The Naturalist Myth in America*, *Lewis Creek Lost and Found*, and, with Robert Powell, *Christ and the Maya Calendar: 2012 and the Coming of the Antichrist.* He has recently completed a peace pilgrimage from Montreal to Manhattan in commemoration of the 400th anniversaries of Samuel de Champlain and Henry Hudson's voyages.

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The day after July 4, 1909, in Burlington, Vermont, began a week of celebration that surpassed any the city or state had ever seen. It was the three hundredth anniversary of Samuel de Champlain's "discovery" of the lake that bore his name, and both on its western shore, from Ticonderoga to Rouse's Point, New York, and its eastern shore, from Vergennes to St. Albans, Vermont, the people of the Champlain Valley were throwing a huge party. Vermont's Queen City had outdone all the other lakeside towns, planning a full week of festivities. Twenty-five thousand electric lights were installed along city streets to light the way for the more than 50,000 visitors expected. The Rutland and Central Vermont Railroads added extra cars for the tercentenary week, and the steamers *Ticonderoga* and *Chateaugay* were full on all their excursions. Burlington doubled the size of its police force, deputizing local men and hiring five Pinkerton agents from New York. City workers labored for weeks building a $9,000, arc-lighted grandstand on the waterfront, and a vacant lot off South Union Street became a staging ground for the launch of a mammoth airship. On the morning of the fifth, Vermont's first marathon was held at Centennial Field; among the entries were Olympic runner Johnny Hayes; Ted Crook, who had captured the $10,000 purse just two months before at the New York Polo Grounds; and Pat Dineen, who circled the track 104 times to win the race in just over three hours. The darling of the crowd, though, was Fred Simpson, an Ojibwa Indian known to the fans by the same commemorative name as the mid-nineteenth century's most famous sports star—the Morgan trotter "Black Hawk." Each time Simpson passed the stands, the crowd let out a shrill war whoop, like the one that all of New England imagined the Sauk chief once yelled.[2]

A semi-pro baseball game, a parade, a sailing regatta, a motor boat race, and fireworks followed the marathon. Visitors could also take in Colonel Francis Ferari's Trained Wild Animal Arena and Exposition out at the Allen lot on Shelburne Street, where they could see "Bertini" ascend a spiral tower fifty feet high, watch "Mamie" in her fire, snake, and electrical dances, marvel at Darling's Dogs and Ponies, "an exhibition of canine and equine intelligence," or hazard a trip through the "mile of mirrors" of the $10,000 Crystal Maze. At the Strong Theater, Bobby Daly, a cavalryman from Fort Ethan Allen, took on Willie Mango of New York City in a boxing match. At George Mylkes' Church Street magazine stand and a dozen other places around town, miniature birch bark canoes, toy bows and arrows, and French and American flags were snatched up by eager souvenir hunters. The Hobart Shanley Company ran half-page ads in the *Burlington Free Press* for Walter Hill

Crockett's just-published *History of Lake Champlain.* Burlington's streets were crowded with straw-hatted men, women in white muslin, and soldiers in full dress sweating in the July sun. The finest yachts from Canada, New England, and New York gathered around the breakwater in Burlington Bay, where a torpedo boat was also on display.[3]

July 7, "Patriotic and Fraternal Society Day," saw a parade of Burlington's secret and beneficial societies. A variety of veterans' organizations led the parade: the Grand Army of the Republic, Daughters of the American Revolution, United Spanish War Veterans, and the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of Vermont. There followed five lodges of Masons, six lodges of Odd Fellows, the Fraternal Order of Eagles, Foresters of America, Modern Woodmen of America, the Royal Arcanum, and the Improved Order of Red Men. Behind them, Burlington's small army of clerks, undertakers, salesmen, wood dealers, teamsters, and laborers of all sorts filed by in full regalia, wedged between banners of the German Order of Harugan, the Ancient Order of Hibernians, the Knights of Columbus, the Knights of Pythias, and the Saint-Jean Baptiste Society. Many of these last marchers were immigrants or the children of immigrants, and one of the main hopes of the tercentenary organizers was for the celebration's "Americanizing" influence. All week long, scores of French Canadians, Irish, Italians, and other non-Yankees were being given a grand civics lesson by the town fathers. The fortuitous coincidence of the dates of Champlain's "discovery" and Independence Day created a perfect opportunity to encourage a transfer of allegiance by Vermont's most populous underclass, the French Canadian, from the *fleur-de-lis* to the Stars and Stripes. While workers paraded bodies, their town-father employers paraded minds, via a procession of distinguished poets and politicians who built a narrative of the Champlain Valley's heroic past. Much of that narrative focused on the region's aboriginal inhabitants—the Abenaki and the Iroquois—and their roles in the historic drama.

In 1609, the Abenaki—the name that has come to characterize the *wãbanakiak,* the "People of the Dawnland"—inhabited the region from Lake Champlain to the Atlantic. Speaking closely related but distinct dialects of the eastern Algonquian language, the eastern Abenakis—the Kennebec, Penobscot, Androscoggin, and others—lived in what is now Maine, while the western Abenakis inhabited the region from Lake Champlain to the White Mountains, their northern limit the St. Lawrence River and their southern villages extending to the upper Merrimac River on the east, the Hoosic River on the west, with a number of villages along the Connecticut River in the area of what is now the Vermont-Massachusetts border. The area between Lake Champlain

and the Connecticut River, the land that came to be known as Vermont, was the heart of the western Abenaki homeland.

On the other side of *bitabagw,* the "lake between" that was the center of the western Abenaki universe, dwelt the Iroquois, a people whose language, mythology, social customs, economy, and material culture were as different from the Abenaki as the Precambrian rocks of the Adirondack massif were from the Paleozoic strata of the Champlain Valley. Sometime between 1400 A.D. and Champlain's arrival in the region, five separate groups of Iroquoian-speaking peoples had formed the League of the *Houdénosaunee,* or Five Nations. Prominent among them, especially in the minds of the orators from Albany, were the Abenaki's western neighbors, the *Kaniengehaga,* or Mohawk, who were the "Keepers of the Eastern Door" of the Five Nations confederacy. Westward lay the nations of the Oneida, the Onondaga, the Cayuga, and the Seneca.

According to one tercentenary orator, former Secretary of War Elihu Root, the Iroquois held in subjection an area from New York to Ohio, Tennessee, and northern Virginia.[4] Tercentenary poets recapitulated the myth in verse; Percy MacKaye's ballad *Ticonderoga* spoke of how "The Iroquois: in covert glade / They built their pine-bough palisade / And weave in trance / Their sachem dance . . . / Conquering the region aboriginal."[5] Without exception, the speakers extolled the superiority of the Iroquois. Root, whose text began by contrasting the "lowest stage of industrial life"—i.e., hunting and gathering—practiced by the Algonquians with the agricultural and sedentary ways of the Iroquois, went so far as to say that the English would not have prevailed over the French, nor the American revolutionaries over Great Britain, were it not for the aid of the Iroquois.[6]

The event that all this rhetoric celebrated, Samuel de Champlain's voyage up the Richelieu to *bitabagw* in 1609, was the pivotal point in the tercentenary orators' story—prehistory's surrender to history. With Champlain's arrival, ten thousand years were compressed into a vague aboriginal mist that served only as prelude to the region's seminal event: the struggle for empire between Great Britain and France. The Iroquois-Algonquian struggle was simply a cipher for the imperial succession that followed: First, the English-French conflict, the empire of one superior European foe "naturally" succeeding its predecessor aboriginal empire; second, America's supplanting of British rule in the War for Independence; and ultimately, American entry into the twentieth century as a world power, following its triumph in the Spanish-American War.

At the tercentenary events, the orators assigned both Iroquois and Algonquian to a vanished past. British Ambassador James Bryce lamented, "The monarchy of France is gone, the furs are gone, the Indians

whom they sought to convert are gone." Literary critic Hamilton Mabie, whose address lasted well over an hour, finally ended with an allusion to "The Indian, survivor of a people whose story is the tragedy of the undeveloped in the path of the organized race; victim of a law which impels alike the aggressor and the exiled; oppressed that others might be free." At the Vergennes celebration the day before, Lieutenant Governor John Mead had invoked the name of "Old Long John" of Mendon as the last of the Vermont Indians. At each turn the speakers tempered their blustery rhetoric of manifest destiny with the pathos of the vanishing red man.[7]

The tercentenary organizers were savvy enough to realize that it was largely the educated class who listened to these addresses. To impart their patriotic message to the scores of teamsters, coal carters, and domestics who had come out looking for a little diversion from their daily drudgery, they decided to make use of a new medium, the historical pageant, which was a strange mix of costume ball, operatic spectacle, and folk play. They hired L. O. Armstrong, who had made a big splash the previous year with an Indian pageant at the Québec Tercentenary, to produce the Lake Champlain extravaganza. Armstrong chose Canadian poet and nature writer William D. Lighthall's *Master of Life,* a play depicting the life of Hiawatha and the founding of the Iroquois Confederacy, as the historical basis for the pageant, which was enacted at each of the tercentenary celebration localities. The stage for the pageant was an artificial island named "Tiotiake," the Iroquois name for the island of Montreal (see photograph, p. 130). Six hulls (afterwards used as house boats), lashed together with cables and ten-inch-square beams into three separate catamarans, were then decked over to form the "island" stage. Measuring three hundred feet by seventy feet, it included a sandy beach supported by bark underneath to keep the actors' feet from sinking. In the center a stockade of fifteen-foot-tall posts surrounded an elm-bark longhouse and tepees, and at each end there were living cedar and birch trees. One tree concealed an enormous megaphone, through which the narrator of the pageant spoke. And everywhere there were lights—footlights, toplights, search lights—all illuminated by a gas generator hidden in the shrubbery. Beached alongside the ersatz island was a flotilla of canvas canoes, most of them painted to look like birch bark, while a few were authentic pine and hemlock dugouts. There was also a replica of the *Don de Dieu,* Champlain's flagship, and a group of American gunboats and fireworks boats, under the command of Commodore Armstrong.[8]

The pageant, whose initial scenes were set sometime in the mid-sixteenth century, opened with a foot race and canoe race between the Iroquois and the Algonquins, Hurons, and their allies. There followed

scenes of battle, and peacemaking by Deganawida, the "Master of Life." The pageant's dramatic action echoed the tercentenary events, which had begun with a running race and canoe regattas, followed by the solemn peace-pipe smoking and ritual oratory of the New York and Vermont officials welcoming each other and their foreign guests. But all this was simply preamble. Following the Hiawatha portion of the Indian pageant was the event that the crowd had really come to see: the arrival of Champlain and the battle that pitted him and his Algonquin warriors against the Iroquois. With a single shot from his arquebus, Champlain, played by the descendant of an early French settler, killed two of the Mohawk chiefs, reenacting the event that was popularly believed to have forged an Algonquin/Huron/Abenaki alliance with the French against the Iroquois.[9]

Agency—the decisive, active, virile force imagined as embodied in both the Iroquois and Champlain—was the most important element communicated through the parades and pageantry. Though he made only this brief appearance in the pageant, the goateed hero could be found on nearly every street corner in Burlington. For weeks leading up to the tercentenary celebration, merchants used Champlain's image to advertise "Special Tercentenary Sales" of hats, suits, furniture, books, furs, and even moccasins. Street vendors sold souvenir medallions of Champlain to thousands of celebrants. His noble profile exploded in the finale fireworks display out on the breakwater. Those who attended the tercentenary speeches heard the Father of New France described in the most flowery language. Hamilton Mabie thought Champlain "the impersonation of that aggressive force of civilization which sweeps the lesser race irresistibly before it," and described him as "high-minded and generous of spirit . . . brave and hardy, of great strength, calm in danger, resourceful and swift in action." Governor Charles Evans Hughes of New York declared Champlain "a man of the Old World whom the children of the New World might well copy." Vermont poet Daniel Cady admired Champlain in verse: "The man who, in a tinsel age, / Cared nought for shields or bars, / Or state or showy equipage, / Whose name no scandal scars— / Whose memory, like a lofty shaft, / Stands level with the stars." French Ambassador Jean Jules Jusserand called his countryman "a plain, straightforward pioneer, a man of conscience, doing his duty to the best of his ability," while British Ambassador Bryce placed Champlain as the last and best in an ancestral line: Columbus, Magellan, Cabot, Balboa, De Soto, Cortez, Pizarro, Cartier, and La Salle. Champlain "thought first of France and of the faith which he came to propagate, and last of himself." Father Barrett of St. Mary's Cathedral in Burlington echoed all this adulation: Champlain was "a

paragon of virtue, the fearless explorer, the daring discoverer, the intrepid soldier, the untiring pioneer, the successful founder, a man among men, a born leader, a chivalrous crusader."[10]

Many of the orators had received their images of Champlain from historian Francis Parkman, whose final estimation of Champlain—"the *preux chevalier,* the crusader, the romance-loving explorer, the curious knowledge-seeking traveler, the practical navigator"—was that he was "all for his theme and his purpose, nothing for himself."[11] Like the orators who drew upon his histories, Parkman claimed a kinship with Champlain, prefacing his book *Pioneers of France in the New World* with a remark about how intimately he knew the locales of Champlain's exploits; he too had braved the wilderness, thrown himself selflessly into encounters with the unknown. Parkman's bluster, and that of the tercentenary orators, revealed a deep anxiety that their own ages were less than heroic, that indeed, in a world of motorcars and urban parks, real heroism, real encounters with nature and its savages, were impossible. Living in what was widely perceived by the ruling class as an age of enfeeblement, they were obsessed with an age of heroic discovery and exploration.

No voices of protest were raised at this devotional portrait of Champlain, no one who would have the oratory substitute "exploiter" for "explorer," "invader" for "discoverer," "genocide" for "settlement." (It would be another fifteen years before William Carlos Williams, in his *In the American Grain* [1925], would spleen about Parkman's tribute to Champlain: "Good Lord, these historians! By that I understand the exact opposite of what is written: a man all for himself . . . See if I am not right.")[12] The 300th anniversary of Champlain's penetration of *bitabagw* was not an occasion for humility, apologetics, or restitution, or an attempt to see the event through native eyes. The reenactment of the firing of Champlain's arquebus served to fix a proper image in the crowd's mind. Percy MacKaye both expressed and nurtured the popular imagination of Champlain's mythic act in his poem "Ticonderoga." While "Maqua [Mohawk] and wild Algonquin" were taunting each other, Champlain appeared:

> And mid the silent sagamores,
> In shining cuish and casque of steel,
> Before them all
> Stands bright and tall,
> With gauntlet clenched and helmet viced,
> The calm knight errant of the Christ;
> Then, in sign miraculous,
> Levels his arquebus,
> And, charged with bullets from his bandoleer,
> Looses the bolt of preturnatural thunder.[13]

While the "mazèd" Indians watched open-mouthed, Champlain acted with the potency of his arquebus.

Other orators praised Champlain's knowledge in "Indian ways," and said that this "initiator of civilization" commanded "the almost idolatrous affection of the savage tribes of Canada." If he had given Champlain's journal of his voyage a close reading, MacKaye would have understood that Champlain was as much pawn as he was agent. On the journey south, the expectant Algonquin warriors each morning would ask Champlain what he had dreamed, hoping to gain some omen of their fortune in battle. Champlain continually dismissed their superstitious nonsense, as he did their shamans' performance of the shaking tent rite. He ridiculed the native *jongleurs,* taking their conjuring for commerce with *le Diable,* and caricatured his allies' faith in the divination ritual: "The whole tribe will be about the tent sitting on their buttocks like monkeys."[14] But the very night that they finally met the enemy, Champlain dreamed that he saw the Iroquois drowning in the lake, a favorable omen of impending victory.

For the organizers of the tercentenary celebration, the site of the battle between Champlain and the Iroquois was a sacred place, but its sacredness was complicated by a bitter controversy over whether it was at Ticonderoga or Crown Point that Champlain had fired his arquebus. At the Crown Point celebration, Judge Albert Barnes of Chicago, who had grown up across the lake at Chimney Point, Vermont, argued that Crown Point was the authentic location, but at Ticonderoga, former New York City mayor Seth Low took a poll from the audience, who unanimously insisted it was Ticonderoga.[15] The latter opinion won out, partly because of the hold on the sacred past that Ticonderoga possessed by virtue of its being the site of later historic events. In Percy MacKaye's poem, Ticonderoga, the "headland rock / of history,"[16] became a patriotic palimpsest, three centuries of heroism compressed into "Titans three"—the "great Chevalier" Champlain; the Marquis de Montcalm, who in 1758 successfully defended the French position at Ticonderoga against attack by the British under Lord Howe; and Ethan Allen, who led a daring "attack" on the British during the opening moments of the Revolutionary War.

MacKaye concluded his poem with a return to the mystic voice that characterized all his public poetry: "Thine eyes grow dreamy in the evening haze, / Ticonderoga. / Where, in mimic art / Ephemeral, / Thy pilgrims hold their part / In festival / On what eternal pageants dost thou gaze, / Ticonderoga?"[17] In this query, MacKaye was the only voice to allow the pageantry to become transparent, to acknowledge that the floating island, the mock battle, even his ballad, were all "mimic art,

ephemeral." And yet he used the word "pageant" to evoke the unceasing action of history, the endless substitution of players upon the stage. For MacKaye, as for all the tercentenary celebrants, both pageants—the eternal one and the ephemeral one—were authentic. The drama enacted at each of the tercentenary gatherings had been staged with careful attention to creating a tangible, believable world that spectators might fully enter. *Outlook* magazine author Frank Woods wrote that the pageant Indians held the audiences "spell-bound." More than 150 Indians from the reserves at Caughnawaga, St. Francis, and Oka in Québec, from Brantford, Garden River, and St. Regis in Ontario, and from the Onondaga Reservation in New York had been hired for the pageant. During the week of the tercentenary celebration, the 600-horsepower tugboat *Protector* towed the Indians and the eight white men who directed them in two boats from city to city along with the fake island. At each of the cities, for a dime per round trip, visitors could get an Indian-paddled canoe ride out to the island, where they could tour the traveling village. Scores of people posed for photos of themselves with the pageant Indians.[18]

During the heyday of American historical pageantry (1910–1920) there was a great attempt to involve more people than just the village elite who had traditionally been given roles to play in patriotic celebrations. Among the actors who took part in the tercentenary pageant were schoolteachers and stenographers; veterans of the Civil War; and Mohawk bridge builders. The pageant director believed that using non-professional actors from the community would help create "mass unity" among the onlookers. There were even family ties to historic personalities among the company; one actor was descended from the Iroquois leader Joseph Brant, another, called "Scar Face" in the production, from Eunice Williams, the Deerfield captive adopted by the Abenaki at St. Francis in 1704. (The libretto claimed that "what little white blood remains in him, that little has a distinctly New England atmosphere.")[19] The young man who played the Dutch colonial governor Corlaer was from a Dutch family who had lived at Caughnawaga for several generations. These hereditary links to the past authenticated the pageant in an almost mystical fashion, reassuring the audiences that they were experiencing faithful reproductions of the events of three hundred years ago.

A more critical element in the pageant's aim at mystical union was music. Armstrong made use of the "Indian intermezzo," which combined rumbling rhythms and minor chords to give the feeling of pentatonic harmonies backed by Indian drums. In each of the scenes when Mohawk "mystery men" or Algonquin wizards cast their spells, or when warriors gathered to raise their blood for an attack, the band below the

grandstand sounded a dark, sustained E-minor chord, cueing the crowd that something aboriginal was about to ensue. The synaesthetic blend of sound and sight took the crowds in the grandstand into another world, one that was at once otherworldly and palpably *real.*

The most memorable images carried away by the crowd mixed superficial stereotypes of the mythic past with the fantastic present of modernity. During the last moment of the tercentenary week, at the fireworks display that followed the pageants, an otherworldly atmosphere was created. According to the *Burlington Free Press*: "Spectators at the grandstand on the lakeshore might have fancied they were in a veritable fairyland last evening with the brilliant pyrotechnical displays multiplied many times in the ripples of the surface of the lake, the flitting lights of the boats, the illumination of the Lake Champlain Yacht Club . . . The performance was preceded by a military band concert, the sharp yip, yip and cries of the Indians who were dancing about on the large raft under the glowing electric arc lights, giving a wild and weird tinge to the music. This, with the reflection of the many lights on the water, the stars twinkling in the heavens, the lights of many yachts glistening, and the ink black background made a scene to be remembered."[20] The fireworks represented a powerful technology of communal fantasy, bringing together a large and diverse and often polarized community in an incredible spectacle of light and dark. For at least a moment, when the last few rockets hung in the sky over the lake, ten thousand people were silent. Then they burst into a chorus of cheers as the rockets exploded. There seemed to be complete union in the warm July dark.

The next morning, as city workers cleared confetti from the sidewalks, newsboys hawked the morning edition. The front page had a story about Barre stonecutter Regina Rizieri, who lost the thumb and two fingers of his left hand to a firecracker. There were also stories of a Poughkeepsie, New York, boy who had tried to see if he could smother the sound of a firecracker; when it exploded, it set the boy's clothes on fire and burned him to death. Another boy on a dare held a firecracker in his mouth and blew out all of his teeth.[21] Other news that morning seemed little different from ordinary mornings. July 1st's front page had a graphic round-by-round description of the Stanley Ketchel/Billy Papke fight in San Francisco: "The feature of the fight was the extreme viciousness with which both men fought and the apparent hatred that lurked behind every blow."[22] July 7th's paper juxtaposed these stories: In the left-hand column, "Frenchmen Honor Their Countrymen" described the tercentenary addresses in French by priests from St. Hyacinthe, Québec; in the right column, "International Celebration Now" reported on the arrival of President Taft and the British, French, and

Japanese prime ministers. In between these two columns were the dissonant notes of "An Attempted Assassination," about Beatrix Thompson of Burlington, an anti-Catholic woman who the day before had taken a shot at Father Gillis as he walked up Loomis Street to St. Mary's Academy to say mass for the nuns. She had put a hole in his umbrella, but missed him. In the next column, "Boy Killed by an Automobile" told how Hector Mongeon of St. Hyacinthe (one of the boys from the choir that sang at the tercentenary celebration) was riding down College Street on his bicycle when a car hit him and sped off.[23] The next day the driver was apprehended—William Benware, Governor George H. Prouty's chauffeur. Witnesses identified the vehicle by its license plate—"1909." Hector Mongeon was the first person ever to be killed by an automobile in Burlington. All this took place the day before the part of the tercentenary celebration that would see Burlington's largest automobile parade ever.

Out at the lot on South Winooski Avenue, a few thousand people gathered to watch the launch of the mammoth airship. As the crowd jockeyed for position, one man bumped into Burlington policeman Bruno Riley, who hit the man twice in the face with his billy club. The assembled crowd was about to rip Riley apart when Mayor John Burke, who was there to give a speech, intervened. When the airship was finally launched, its propeller ripped a huge gash in the silk balloon and it dropped back to earth.[24]

These sorts of "accidents," the unintended consequences that occur every day but are brought into high relief at ceremonial occasions, are just the historical details that the tercentenary orators and pageant makers of 1909 were keen to leave *out* of their story, which was one of natural progression from savagery to civilization, culminating in the Progressive Era sense that their moment was truly a shining moment in the sun. Contingency, accident, and conjuncture played no part of the epic tale told by the tercentenary storytellers; academic history today, conversely, allows very little room for the very instincts—evolution, progress, destiny—that drove the 1909 stories. One of the most exciting aspects of the Champlain Quadricentennial is that all of us who are residents of Vermont and the larger Champlain Valley region, can in this 400th-anniversary year celebrate the vastly enlarged latitude of our storytelling, which admits a whole new constellation of stories and storytellers. A century from now, the Champlain Quincentennial celebrants will no doubt look back on our celebrations with amused curiosity, but also with a keen sense of how our earnest efforts at understanding the past have contributed to a fuller, richer, more humane story of this turning point in time in our valley's history.

Notes

[1] Henry W. Hill, ed., *The Champlain Tercentenary: First Report of the New York Lake Champlain Tercentenary Commission* (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1909; 2nd edition, 1913), 256–257.
[2] *Burlington Free Press*, 6 July 1909.
[3] Ibid., 4–7 July 1909.
[4] Hill, *Champlain Tercentenary*, 209.
[5] Ibid., 167; 168.
[6] Ibid., 208; 214.
[7] Ibid., 240; 165.
[8] Ibid., 86–88.
[9] Ibid., 425–463. The text of the pageant can also be found in L. O. Armstrong, *The Book of the Play of Hiawatha the Mohawk* (s. l., s. n., 1909).
[10] Ibid., 150; 143; 218; 238; 264; 310.
[11] Francis Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1907), 480.
[12] William Carlos Williams, *In the American Grain* (New York: New Directions, 1956), 69.
[13] Hill, *Champlain Tercentenary*, 168.
[14] Samuel de Champlain, *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain*, ed. Edmund F. Slafter (Boston: Prince Society, 1878), 341.
[15] Hill, *Champlain Tercentenary*, 127–128; 176.
[16] Ibid., 166.
[17] Ibid., 174.
[18] Ibid., 88–90.
[19] Ibid., 427.
[20] *Burlington Free Press*, 5 July 1909.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid., 1 July 1909.
[23] Ibid., 7 July 1909.
[24] Ibid., 5 July 1909.

Commemorating a Transnational Hero: The 1909 Celebration of the Tercentenary of the Discovery of Lake Champlain

In 1909, Champlain emerged as both a Canadian and an American hero, with historical significance for residents on both sides of the border. This made him a uniquely transnational figure.

By SYLVIE BEAUDREAU

In 1909, the states of Vermont and New York held an elaborate celebration of the tercentenary of the European discovery of Lake Champlain. This was the greatest public commemoration ever to be held in the Champlain Valley and an event of national and at times international scope. The ambitious, extravagant, and costly week-long program of activities was a form of public commemoration marking the importance of Samuel de Champlain to the founding of the United States of America. Its legacy was to firmly establish Samuel de Champlain as a fully American national hero.

At first glance, there may seem to be nothing unusual about this. In 1908 Canadians celebrated the three hundredth anniversary of Champlain's founding of the City of Quebec, and indeed of New France and ultimately of Canada itself.[1] It seems natural, then, that the Quebec Champlain tercentenary took on the importance that it did, because

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Champlain can truly be considered the "father" of New France and Canada. But how, in 1909, did Americans regard Champlain? How did they commemorate him, and what aspects of his legacy were retained? How, indeed, and why did Champlain emerge at this time as a figure with historical resonance for the people of America? In 1909, Champlain emerged as both a Canadian and an American hero, with historical significance for residents on both sides of the border. This made him a uniquely transnational figure.[2] To some degree, it is possible to compare the 1908 Quebec tercentenary with the 1909 New York/Vermont celebrations, and to reflect on to what degree these commemorative events shared similar goals. Most importantly, the Champlain Tercentenary took place at a time when a number of changes were occurring in American society that allowed for this founder of Canada to take his place among the pantheon of American heroes.[3]

The bi-state tercentenary of the discovery of Lake Champlain was an event that has left us with an important legacy. First of all, the week-long celebrations were held throughout the Lake Champlain region, in places like Crown Point, Fort Ticonderoga, Plattsburgh, on the New York side of the lake, and at Swanton, Isle La Motte, Vergennes, and Burlington, on the Vermont side. The historical sources for this celebration, mainly in the form of newspaper and magazine articles and ephemera, are quite rich. At the end of the festivities, the commissions of both states published lavish commemorative volumes, whose role would be to perpetuate throughout time the importance of this event for future generations.[4] The Champlain Tercentenary also provided the occasion for the erection of permanent markers—of statues and memorials—throughout the Champlain Valley. The new interest in Champlain as an American hero can also be gauged by the number of publications emerging around these years that deal particularly with his importance to United States history. Finally, the New York commissioner, having a more generous budget, put a man named L. E. Shattuck in charge of publicity for the Champlain Tercentenary. Shattuck collected clippings dealing with the event that he pasted into two enormous, luxurious scrap books that constitute a kind of monument to the international attention that the celebrations had received. There was an educational component to the commemoration as well. Thus the historian has a rich record from which to cull facts and information, and from which to derive some sense of the significance of this popular remembrance of the man who gave his name to this region of North America. It is important to note that when piecing together the historical record, the Lake Champlain tercentenary presents a more ambitious scope than the Quebec one. This is due to the fact that the Quebec celebrations took place

in the City of Quebec itself. The American celebrations took place throughout the Champlain Valley, and the number of locations presents the historian with many different celebrations, all of which had common elements, but each of which also presented some significant local differences. Thus the American celebrations were in some ways larger and more diffuse, making attempts to define their essential nature somewhat more daunting.

To begin with, the Champlain Tercentenary exemplifies the kind of commemorative event that Michael Kammen tells us became typical of America in the Progressive era. In the introduction to his monumental study, *Mystic Chords of Memory,* Kammen tells an anecdote about how Swedish immigrants to America developed an expression to describe what the United States meant to them: they called it *framtidstlandet,* or land of the future. Using this expression as a starting point, Kammen then asks, when exactly did America go from being a land of the future to a land of the past? When did Americans begin to "invent" tradition?[5] In this case, I would argue that residents of Vermont and New York State had always been vaguely aware that the Champlain Valley was rich in history, but it was during the tercentenary, that for the first time, a well-developed image of the region as a historical entity worthy of global attention first emerged. In essence, then, what the citizens of the valley were doing in 1909 was not merely celebrating the life of the discoverer of the lake; they were also commemorating the rich history of the lake itself, the 300-year period beginning with Champlain's arrival in 1609, through French occupation, British conquest, American rebellion, down to the War of 1812. The tercentenary events allowed for a historical "production" of the region, bringing to the foreground the extent to which the valley was steeped in history. Thus, to employ Kammen's approach, it is possible to say that what the commissioners planned and what ordinary citizens witnessed was the "invention" of a historic region: the Champlain Valley.[6]

This brings us to the question of what Americans were commemorating in 1909. Basically, the approaching date of 1909 gave citizens of Vermont and New York State an opportunity to reflect upon the fact that the Champlain Valley had been continuously occupied by Europeans since Champlain accompanied Huron, Algonquin, and Montagnais allies on a war party against their Iroquois enemies. This story, told by Champlain himself, and expressed in the iconic engraving produced for the publication of his magnificent *Voyages,* can be seen as deeply significant for the subsequent course of North American history. By deciding to ally himself with the enemies of the Iroquois, Champlain ensured the enmity of the latter to the French. One could argue, and it has been

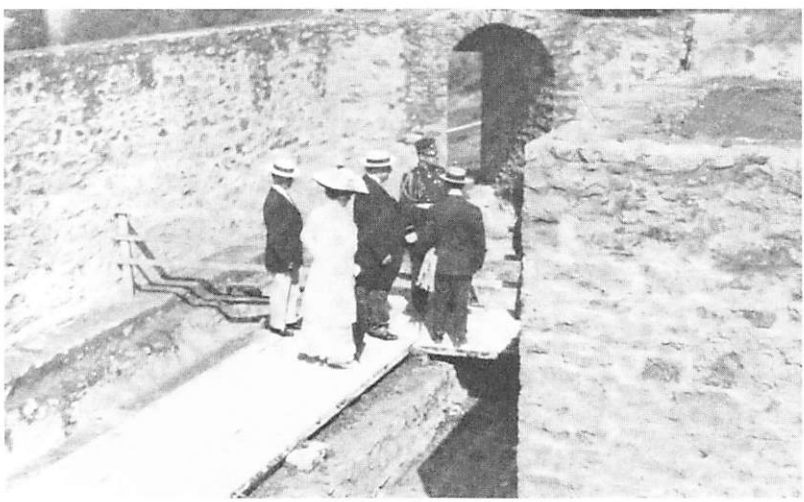
argued *ad nauseum,* that Iroquois enmity to the French ultimately led to the defeat and expulsion of the French from North America. Because of this, the northern part of North America would ultimately remain British, providing the basis for Americans to eventually rebel from their Mother Country, and create a republic whose roots were Anglo-Protestant, and not Franco-Catholic. In fact, when Champlain traveled down *la rivière des Iroquois,* following a warpath into Iroquois territory, unbeknownst to him, he sealed the fate of generations to follow. This is the historic lore that so many North Americans cherish as the Champlain story for the continent.

Canadians are accustomed to the idea of Champlain as not merely an explorer, or a war-wager, but as a founder of Canada. And indeed, his many voyages to and from France, his multiple setbacks, and the persistence with which he continually returned to re-establish and fortify his small settlement at Quebec are what Canadians remember, as well as his traveling to areas of Canada previously not seen by a European. Champlain is also widely admired for producing what was at the time the best map of the Northeastern part of North America.[7] The fact that this map appears on the new Canadian 100 dollar bill is reflective of its significance. In fact, Samuel de Champlain belongs to the pantheon of European explorers who left their mark on Western civilization. If for no other reason, he deserved to be remembered for this.

Unlike Canadians, Americans could not truly designate Champlain as a founder of America; or at least there were no real grounds for such an assertion. Champlain made no attempt to found a settlement in either Vermont or New York State, or in any other part of the present day United States.[8] To understand how he could be construed in 1909 as an American hero, one must employ a more sophisticated tack that emphasizes three events and ideas. First, as the first European to visit this valley, Champlain did so at the time that Henry Hudson was traveling up the river that would ultimately bear his name. Champlain gave his name to the lake he "discovered" and drew it on his maps, as well as renaming the Iroquois river for his patron at the French court, the omnipotent Cardinal Richelieu. Second, when Champlain fired his arquebus at Iroquois chiefs, the first gunshot heard in the valley, he initiated what would subsequently serve as an important warpath in the history of North America.[9] By being the first to "wage war" in the valley, however modestly, Champlain represented the starting point of the military history of this important region. Thus, by discovering, mapping, and claiming this area for France, Champlain began the French occupation of the valley, to be followed by the British and then the Americans themselves. In this manner, Champlain can be construed as the originator of

the French control of the valley, a control only formally relinquished at the close of the French and Indian war. Third and more importantly, Champlain can be construed as the first European to bring "civilization," i.e., Christianity, to the "savages." When the commissioners of 1909 finally decided to refurbish the lighthouse at Crown Point with a statue of Champlain, the celebrants at the official ceremony dedicating the monument, held in July of 1912, ceremoniously held up a large banner upon which was inscribed "Shedding the light of civilization for three centuries." Tying the lighthouse theme with the idea of the "light" of civilization, or Christianity, was perhaps the most telling indication of what this event meant for those who participated in its staging.[10]

Interestingly, then, the Champlain commemoration did not have as its sole purpose the celebration of the life of a great Frenchman. Indeed, what the Commissioners envisaged from the start was a celebration that would include the entire history of the Champlain Valley, with its "layered" past of French, British, and American colonizing efforts. Thus the week long celebration provided the occasion for each part of the valley to bring to the fore its claims to historic importance. The reconstruction of Fort Ticonderoga, instigated by Stephen Hyatt Pelham Pell, was begun so that it would coincide with the Champlain Tercentenary.[11] A commemorative plaque was unveiled at the ruins of Fort St. Frederick at Crown Point. Later, the lighthouse was refurbished by the



President Taft inspects the restored West Barracks of historic Fort Ticonderoga. Photo courtesy Fort Ticonderoga Historical Museum.

commissioners to provide a permanent memorial in a location that was technically in New York, but close to the border with Vermont. The citizens of Plattsburgh, many of whom were Franco-American, organized the building of an important statue to Champlain that rivals the one constructed in 1898 in Quebec City. Even earlier, the Franco-American citizens of the eponymous borderline village of Champlain, New York, erected a statue of their own on the grounds of their national parish. And on the Vermont side of the Lake, monuments and historical markers were unveiled in Swanton, Vergennes, Isle La Motte and at the University of Vermont. Thus, it is possible to argue that the Champlain Tercentenary provided the opportunity for communities to "historicize" their location—to bring to the foreground the significant events of their past. This resulted in the situating of a number of impressive new monuments which, when taken together, provided a physical reminder of the important historical events that took place in the valley. One of the lasting legacies of the 1909 commission's efforts, then, was to have either created, or have caused to be created, a number of permanent monuments in the valley. This made visible, arguably for the first time, a landscape of memory.

More importantly, perhaps, this frenzy for the creation of permanent markers had the effect of "construing" the valley as a prime destination for heritage tourism. It is clear that the organizers of the tercentenary were aware of the potential economic rewards for such investments. From this moment on, we see the appearance of maps and brochures advertising not only the romance of the history of the Champlain Valley, but of the possibility of now visiting not only the sites where history was made, but of viewing the impressive monuments and markers whose existence now clarified and made accessible the significance of what one was visiting. The monuments themselves were designed to create a feeling of the picturesque and the sublime. Interminable debates were held during which citizens argued over the most suitable location, and the most potentially picturesque placement of these monuments, the most important of which was the one at Crown Point.[12] During the celebration itself, the Automobile Club of America, a novel organization dedicated to promoting the interests of a new breed of automobilists, decided to produce a special map for its members which indicated exactly how one could "motor" from New York City all the way through the Champlain Valley. We perhaps need reminding that in 1909 there were few paved roads, and no interstate highways, so such a map would have been a valuable article.[13] The ACA made sure that the map also indicated the historic points of interest that the motorists would have access to by employing the routes suggested. This map, one could argue,

The Champlain Memorial at Crown Point, New York was a remodeled lighthouse upon which figured a statue of Samuel de Champlain. Photo courtesy of the Feinberg Library Special Collections, Plattsburgh State University.

shows how for the first time the valley's potential for heritage tourism was being highlighted for the new era of the automobile. Such efforts continued through the 1959 celebrations of the 350th anniversary of the lake, which produced a colorful heritage map for the automobilists who had now become a mass phenomenon, rather than the elitist pursuit it

The Lozier, a luxury automobile produced in Plattsburgh, was used in the tercentenary celebrations. Automobiling was still a pastime for the rich in 1909. Photo courtesy of the Feinberg Library Special Collections, Plattsburgh State University.

had been in the early twentieth century. Such maps would urge motorists to go on a voyage of "discovery" of the Lake just as Champlain had done three hundred and fifty years ago. And it is worth noting that such efforts to promote heritage tourism in the Lake Champlain region are ongoing, the most recent initiative being the international *Lakes to Locks Passage* program.[14] At the close of the 1909 celebration, the *Burlington Free Press* could claim that the Lake Champlain Valley was the "Most Delightful Region of Eastern America."[15]

The city of Plattsburgh's efforts to create a permanent monument to Champlain offer us an instructive example of this process of creating what we would call today "infrastructure improvements." Plattsburgh, New York, situated on the shores of Lake Champlain, about thirty kilometers south of the Canadian border, was and remains the largest community on the New York side of Lake Champlain. Its location across the lake from Burlington—the largest city of Vermont—makes Plattsburgh a kind of twin city as well. Both Plattsburgh and Burlington, by virtue of their being relatively large population centers, and having significant Franco-American communities, celebrated the Champlain tercentenary with lavish week-long festivities that included military displays, street

parades, commemorative religious ceremonies, formal dinners, public fireworks spectacles, torpedo boat races, and a pageant consisting of an Indian play, *Hiawatha,* enacted on a specially constructed floating island. Each participating community had been designated a special day of the week for President Taft's visit. But Plattsburgh, New York, could not claim any special connection to Champlain, who had neither landed there nor done anything within the region. And yet, following the Tercentenary, a prestigious New York City architecture firm designed and erected a statue of Samuel de Champlain which is as imposing as that built in Quebec City, a community which was not only larger than Plattsburgh, but could legitimately claim Champlain as their illustrious founder. Why did the citizens of Plattsburgh decide to erect such a glorious statue to Champlain? The answer may lie simply in the fact that being situated on Lake Champlain, the citizens of Plattsburgh wanted to build a permanent memorial to the discoverer of the Lake. In this case, the location of the statue, on historic Cumberland Avenue at the mouth of the Saranac River, may provide some clues. Champlain stands not facing the city itself, as is the case in Quebec, but facing the lake. And if you gaze in the same direction that the statue of Champlain apparently does, you will see a magnificent view of the lake with the Green Mountains of Vermont on the horizon. The placement of the statue seems to force the viewer to contemplate the beauty of the lake much as Champlain would have. What the viewer sees is what Champlain might have seen, and this provides one with some stirring thoughts about what it must have been like to be the first European to gaze upon such a sublime view.

At the same time, building the imposing statue of Champlain provided a new tourist attraction to draw visitors to Plattsburgh. The statue itself was a way for the community of Plattsburgh to "claim" Champlain as one of their own. It also gave citizens a place to promenade on weekends and evenings, and to picnic and pose for photographs. The Champlain statue became a symbol of Plattsburgh itself, and this symbolic element was reinforced through the production and distribution of penny postcards, as well as in the pictorial representation of the city. In the same way as visitors to New York City might pose next to the Statue of Liberty as a way of saying "I visited the important sites of New York," visitors to Plattsburgh could pose next to the statue of Champlain as a way of saying "I visited the important sites of the Lake Champlain Valley." So the statue of Champlain joined other attractions, such as the McDonough Monument, the Kent DeLord house, and the tombs of important War of 1812 heroes, to become a permanent addition to the historic tourism potential of the city. Thus Champlain, though not a

Dedication of the Plattsburgh Champlain monument, July 6, 1912. Photo courtesy of the Feinberg Library Special Collections, Plattsburgh State University.

founder of Plattsburgh, is the discoverer of the Lake; and Plattsburgh, as the largest city on the New York side of the lake, could claim him as one of their own.[16]

But there is perhaps another, more subtle reason for the magnificent memorial Plattsburgh put in place for Champlain. Situated so close to the Canadian border, this community was heavily Franco-American. According to the New York State Census of 1900, 50 percent of the citizens of Clinton County were born in Canada, a figure that underestimates the Franco-American population of the region because it doesn't include second- or third-generation Franco-Americans. Those familiar with the emigration movement of French Canadians to the United States know that this migration began in the years following the failed *Patriote* rebellions of 1837-38, and intensified in the decade of the Civil War and beyond. These migrants were fleeing the overpopulated *seignueries* of the St. Lawrence and Richelieu valleys, and were often lured over the border by the economic opportunities offered in the logging camps, mining towns, quarries, and factories of upstate New York. These French speaking and Catholic immigrants found themselves bearing the brunt of Anglo-American nativism and anti-Catholicism that peaked in the 1850s. In the 1880s, all Franco-Americans of the Northeast had reacted to the stigma of having been described by the Massachusetts Labor

Plattsburgh's tercentenary parade on French Day featured floats with Franco-American themes, including, in the foreground, a replica of the Don de Dieu. Photo courtesy of the State of New York's Champlain Tercentenary Report.

Commission as "The Chinese of the East." The French Canadian emigrant population of Plattsburgh, like their homologues elsewhere south of the border, responded to the prejudice of the Yankees and the assimilationist forces of American society by forming strong so-called "national" parishes that formed the physical and spiritual center of their communities. Plattsburgh had one such strong Little Canada in the neighborhood surrounding St. Pierre de Plattsburgh. Plattsburgh's Little Canada has streets with names like Champlain, Montcalm, and Lafayette, suggesting the pride taken in Franco-American heroes.

By the turn of the century the French Canadian emigrant communities had become so numerically important in the Northeast—often forming the majority of the population of many industrial cities—that a new name had emerged to designate them: Franco-Americans. This designation is somewhat ambiguous, but it alerts us to the fact that these new Americans saw themselves not as impoverished emigrants who had fled the miseries of overpopulated former *seigneuries* of the St. Lawrence Valley. Nor did they see themselves necessarily as forming a part of the industrial proletariat that provided the necessary man (and woman) power for the textile factories of the Northeast. By designating themselves as Franco-Americans this emigrant group could distinguish

itself from other newcomers by claiming that they were not mere immigrants, coming to America from across the Atlantic—from places like Ireland, Poland, or Greece. They could claim that as descendants of the French in North America, they were true Americans.[17] And this is where Samuel de Champlain comes into the picture. For Franco-Americans of Plattsburgh and Burlington, the tercentenary of the discovery of Lake Champlain by a Frenchman was a potent reminder that the French were amongst the European discoverers of America and had been present in this region since 1609. This gave the Franco-Americans their *lettres de noblesse*: their claim to a noble past, and their right at present to affirm their place as honorable Americans. Thus it comes as no surprise that the Plattsburgh celebrations should have featured a special French Day, including a French parade, planned by a French Day committee headed by Dr. Jacques LaRocque, one of the city's prominent Franco-American citizens.[18] The impetus to erect a monument to Champlain in Plattsburgh was strongly influenced by the presence of a vibrant Franco-American community in this town for whom Champlain was an important hero. Today, the monument is surrounded by paving stones, upon which appear the names of contributors to the fundraising recently required to refurbish the area around the statue of Champlain. Not surprisingly, the majority of contributors' names etched in the stones are Franco-American: Tremblays, Busheys, and LaBombards. This would indicate that almost one hundred years after the erection of the monument, the Franco-American families of the area still feel a special bond with Champlain.[19]

The Tercentenary celebration also illustrates the manifold ways in which Champlain had become an all-American hero. In 1909 he joined the pantheon of great male figures whose lives were written in such a manner as to form an object lesson in American civic virtue. It is that around this time books and articles began to appear in the United States with titles like *Samuel de Champlain: An American Hero.*[20] In July of 1909 *Atlantic Monthly* published an article by Charles M. Harvey entitled "Champlain as a Herald of Washington."[21] In such pieces Champlain was being described not as a French or a Canadian hero, but as a founder of the United States of America. Champlain was admired for his character and sterling qualities. This is linked to what historian and commentator Howard Zinn has called the idea of the United States as an "exceptionally virtuous" nation. According to this view America claims to be, in Zinn's words, "somehow endowed by Providence with unique qualities that make it morally superior to every other nation on Earth," a characterization that Zinn vigorously refutes.[22] Before dismissing Zinn as a left-wing crank, we should note that he is referring to an idea

with considerable legitimacy in American foreign policy circles: The notion of so-called "American exceptionalism." Champlain was admired for his virtues—his Christian faith, his honesty, his perseverance, his bravery—and his virtues were seen as reflecting the kind of qualities that have made America great. So considerable were Champlain's virtues that those who spoke at the tercentenary celebrations attempted to link themselves or their fellow platform dignitaries with the character of Champlain. Most often, and rather incongruously, President Taft was compared favorably to Champlain. The *Times Dispatch* of Richmond, Virginia, "Put Taft Beside (the) Great Champlain."[23] Such headlines were based on the speeches made by French Ambassador Jean-Jules Jusserand in which he likened Taft's missionary spirit to that of Champlain's, congratulating the president for the favorable results he obtained promoting Christianity while governor of the Philippines, a Catholic colony newly acquired by the United States.[24] "Each Knew What It Was to Plant a Flag in a Faraway Land" was the quote from Jusserand employed as a headline by the *Philadelphia Press.*[25] Thus if Champlain "spread the light of Christian civilization" in the valley, Taft was lauded for "spreading the light of Christian civilization" in the Philippines. In this way, speakers attempted, however awkwardly, to draw a direct line of inheritance from Champlain to the leaders of Progressive America.[26]

Finally, it is possible to regard 1909 as a turning point in that Champlain becomes a transnational or a bi-national hero claimed by both Canada and the United States. Both nations used the occasion of the commemoration of his momentous life as an opportunity to declare fundamental commonalities and a joint destiny. Canadian troops came down to parade during the various local celebrations, the official dignitaries from both countries met and dined together at lavish receptions, filling their platform speeches with endless declarations of mutual admiration and Canadian-American *bonne entente.* Terse newspaper headlines cited speeches that trumpeted the tercentenary's major accomplishment: acknowledgement that a new century of peace had dawned on the three great nations of America, France, and Great Britain. In 1909 Canada was still represented abroad by the British. Therefore, when American speakers lauded the presence of the British we can assume they included in the so-called British connection their great neighbor, Canada. Thus a typical tercentenary headline would be "Former Foes Talk Peace at Fort Ticonderoga: Representatives of Three Nations in Fraternal Meeting at Tercentenary Celebration."[27] *The (New York) Sun* declared "Taft at Champlain Show: Joins With Ambassadors in Declaring for World Peace."[28] Or "Welcome to the Redcoats: Coming Back to Plattsburg After a Century."[29]

Welcome to the Redcoats: The presence of Canadian Highlanders at Plattsburgh seemed to make the point that British or Canadian troops were now welcome on American soil. Photo courtesy of Feinberg Library Special Collections, Plattsburgh State University.

President Taft's speeches at Fort Ticonderoga, Plattsburgh, and Burlington were significant in that they interpreted the tercentenary as heralding a new era of Canadian-American peace and prosperity. Thus a final meaning of the Champlain Tercentenary was that the celebration itself appeared to usher in a new sensitivity on the part of the United States that Canada was an independent nation and a country that Americans would respect as a peaceful neighbor. The fact that Canadian troops were welcomed on American soil signified that in the near-100-year period since the end of the War of 1812, Canadian-American relations had been put right. Newspapers played upon this theme in their coverage of the festivities. An example was the *Washington Herald* headline "Canadian Highlanders Capture the Champlain Valley." The article presented the events thus:

> The British redcoats again took possession of the Champlain Valley to-day, after an absence of nearly 100 years. They not only captured this city, but did it in the presence of the President of the United States. They captured all the people as well. Two regiments of Canadian troops did the trick. They were the governor general's foot

> guards from Ottawa and the Fifth Royal Canadian Highlanders in kilts from Montreal, and a brave show they made of the beautiful parade ground of the United States army post. They filled the plains with bright color and the people warmed mightily to them.[30]

During the literary and historical exercises that accompanied the Champlain Tercentenary—forty years after Canada had been granted nationhood by the British—the American president recognized Canada as a junior neighbor whose independence would be accepted, and indeed celebrated, as a *fait accompli*.[31] Given that Taft was intending to propose a reciprocity agreement with Canada, he spoke of that nation in terms meant to reassure American audiences. Reporting on the president's speech, the *Washington Herald* wrote:

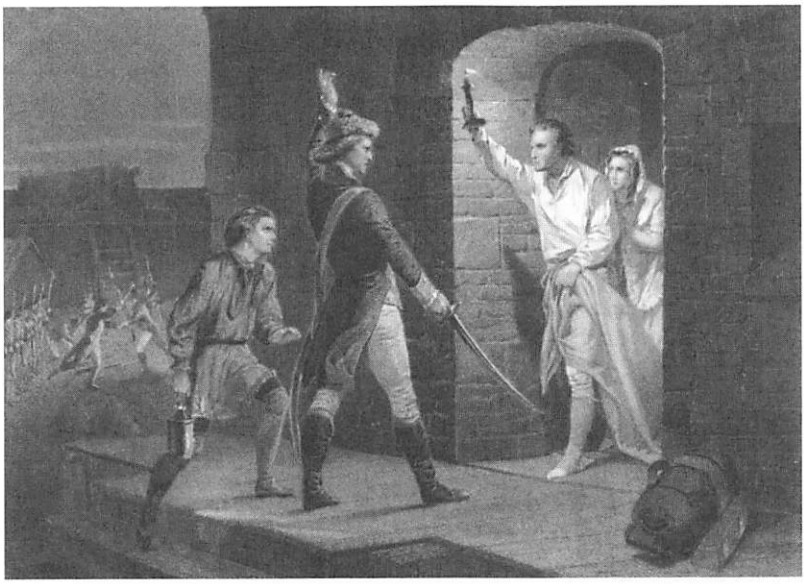
> He referred to the fact that Canada and the mother country were attracting our farmers out in the West, and declared it was and would be short-sighted policy to try and prevent this and look upon Canada as a competitor. He declared, with emphasis, that the prosperity of one country would also be the prosperity of the other, and asserted that the Champlain celebration was of value to all concerned and especially in the fact that it had shown the existence of neighborly affection.[32]

Looking ahead a few years, the nations that extended a hand of friendship in 1909—France, Great Britain, the United States, and Canada—would all eventually join together in armed conflict during the Great War, a war that—at least in theory—was to be fought to "make the world safe for democracy." The pledge of peace between these nations, one could argue, was solemnized during the bi-state Champlain celebration of 1909. Champlain, a son of France, an explorer of northeastern America, a founder of Canada that was a former colony of Great Britain, could be claimed as a favored son of all these countries. In his concluding remarks, before returning to Washington to take up the matters pertaining to tariff, President Taft remarked:

> My friends, this is a most unique and many-sided memorial. I know there has run through your minds, as there has through mine this morning, the happy feeling of being present to hear such beautiful speeches from the heart as we have heard. We meet to celebrate an event and a man on whose life and on the acts of whose life turned, in a way which he little expected, the whole settlement of this country. We meet here to celebrate his virtues and to congratulate France, his country, as one that could produce such a hero.
>
> But the feature of this memorial that I think is so unique is the gathering here in amity, in peace, and in a union that can not be torn apart, three great powers, England, France and the United States, and with England's fairest daughter, the Dominion of Canada. I ask where in all the history of memorials can you find one that in that respect will match this?[33]

Finally, the question of Champlain's trans-border appeal, and indeed his international interest, lay in the geographical situation of the lake that came to bear his name. The fact that this lake was one of North America's most important historical warpaths meant that aboriginal groups, the French, British, and finally Americans could all claim to have a "stake" in the history of this region. The Champlain Tercentenary was about commemorating this layered vision of the past. The United States's version of the tercentenary was jointly celebrated by the states of Vermont and New York because neither could claim him exclusively. Champlain had to be "shared," so to speak. Important lay and religious dignitaries from America participated in the celebrations, as a way of attesting not just to the French or Canadian elements to the Champlain story. Even today Lake Champlain is an international waterway, straddling not only the border between the states of New York and Vermont, but also the transnational border of Canada and the United States. With its northern end in Canada, forming Missisquoi Bay, along which is the faded historic resort of Venise-en-Québec, the lake itself is now transnational, prompting the creation of such projects as the recent *Lakes to Locks Passage* initiative, a tripartite program involving New York State, Vermont, and Québec. By discovering a lake that the vicissitudes of history would place between two countries, Champlain was destined to become a transnational hero whose legacy could be claimed by both Canada and the United States.

Ultimately, the real star of the Champlain Tercentenary was the lake itself. As David Glassberg put it in his study of American historical pageantry, "the place is the hero."[34] Aside from celebrating its natural beauties, the guardians of tradition wished to commemorate every important event that had taken place on its waters, or along its shores. Thus, the early seventeenth century engraving of Champlain firing his arquebus at advancing Mohawk could be followed by the story of Montcalm's great victory at Carillon, Burgoyne's later triumph there for the British, Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys taking Fort Ticonderoga without firing a shot, Arnold's stunning achievement at Valcour, and Macdonough's decisive defeat of the British in Plattsburgh Bay. Now that the lake was firmly and forever in American hands, it was possible, using a kind of Social Darwinism popular during the Progressive age, to argue that American history had a kind of exceptionalist teleology about it.[35] The French had vanquished the Iroquois, only to have been defeated by the British, who were in turn decisively overtaken by the American patriots. The American guardians of tradition congratulated themselves that in each case, the superior civilization



One of innumerable iconic images of Ethan Allen's triumph at Ticonderoga. Engraving from a painting by Alonzo Chappel. Courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration, ARC identifier 531003, www.archives.gov

had carried the day over the inferior one.[36] As strange as it may seem, Champlain's victory against the Iroquois was likened to Ethan Allen's startling triumph at Fort Ticonderoga almost one hundred fifty years later. Each of these victories was immortalized by iconic images that presented a more or less true picture of what had actually happened. But verisimilitude was not that important. What mattered was that Americans learn the lesson that control of the lake was somehow historically pre-determined. At the same time, the stories and the images served as a reminder that important events that had shaped the nation had taken place on this magnificent lake.

Lake Champlain is often referred to as "America's most historic lake." It is in 1909 that it got that designation. And thanks to the monument building that resulted in the creation of a permanent landscape of memory, Lake Champlain became a place not *in* history, but *of* history. By pledging themselves to peace the orators at the Champlain celebrations signaled that the glory years of war-waging in the valley were well and truly over, and that the future role of the lake would be mainly economic and touristic. Heritage and recreational tourism would replace

the military, agricultural, and industrial role that the Champlain Valley had played in the its first three hundred years of European-American–Native American history.

Notes

[1]The Quebec tercentenary has been admirably analysed in H. V. Nelles, *The Art of Nation-Building: Pageantry and Spectacle at Quebec's Tercentenary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999). See also Ron Rudin, *Founding Fathers: The Celebration of Champlain and Laval in the Streets of Quebec, 1878–1908* (Toronto: Unversity of Toronto Press: 2003).

[2]Rising American interest in Champlain can be gauged by the flurry of publications from American editing houses in these years. The *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain, 1604–1618,* translated by William Lawson Grant, was published in New York by Scribner's Sons in 1907, in time for the tercentenary.

[3]For a recent treatment of the interconnections between memory, commemoration, and heroism in Canadian history, see Colin M. Coates and Cecelia L. Morgan, *Heroines and History: Madeleine de Verchères and Laura Secord* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). For an enlightening essay on the use of heroes and heroines in the teaching of history in America, see Peter H. Gibbon, "Heroes for Our Age: How Heroes Can Elevate Students' Lives," *American Educator,* Winter 2002. According to Gibbon's typology, Champlain would be both "the warrior hero," and a "reluctant warrior."

[4]Lake Champlain Tercentenary Commission of Vermont. *The Tercentenary of the Discovery of Lake Champlain and Vermont. A Report to the General Assembly of the State of Vermont* (Montpelier, Vt.: Capital City Press, 1910); State of New York, *The Champlain Tercentenary Report. Report of the New York Lake Champlain Tercentenary Commission.* Henry Wayland Hill, ed. (Albany: J.B. Lyon Company, 1911); State of New York, *The Champlain Tercentenary Report. Report of the New York Lake Champlain Tercentenary Commission.* Henry Wayland Hill, ed. (Albany: J.B. Lyon Company, 1912).

[5]Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991), 7. Aside from Kammen, theoretical works that have influenced my thinking on this subject have been Aletta Biersack, "Local Knowledge, Local History: Geertz and Beyond," in *The New Cultural History.* Lynn Hunt, ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); David Middleton and Derek Edwards, *Collective Remembering* (London: Sage Publications, 1990); James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); John R. Gillis' introductory essay to *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity,* John R. Gillis, ed. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press: 1994); Alon Confina, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *American Historical Review,* 102, no. 5 (December 1997): 1386–1403.

[6]The Champlain Valley became, to employ the compelling expression used by Pierre Nora for the series of volumes he edited, a "lieux de mémoire." *Les Lieux de Mémoire,* Pierre Nora, ed., 7 vols. (Paris: Gallimard, 1984–92).

[7]Conrad E. Heidenreich and Edward H. Dahl, "Samuel de Champlain's Cartography," *Champlain: The Birth of French America.* Raymonde Litalien and Denis Vaugeois, eds. (Sillery, QC: Les Éditions du Septentrion, 2004), 312–32.

[8]Interestingly, the locality of Isle La Motte could claim that Champlain stopped there on his way to fight the Iroquois, making him the first Frenchman to set foot on an island that had subsequent French occupation at Fort St. Anne. It was at Isle La Motte that some narrative of continuous French occupation could be created. But unlike Quebec, Isle La Motte never evolved into a place of administrative importance, and thus Champlain's legacy for the United States would be that of an explorer and warrior, but not of a colonizer.

[9]Ian Steele, *Warpaths: Invasions of North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

[10]See Marcel Trudel's biography of Champlain in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography,* Ramsay Cook, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), online version available at http://www.biographi.ca/EN; Joe C. W. Armstrong, *Champlain* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1957); *Champlain: The Birth of French America.* Raymonde Litalien and Denis Vaugeois, eds. Trans. Käthe Roth (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004). For the most comprehensive treatment of Champlain's life see David Hackett Fischer, *Champlain's Dream* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008).

[11]"Ticonderoga's Part in the Champlain Tercentenary"; "The Restoration of Old Fort Ticonderoga," *Ticonderoga Sentinel* (15 April 1909): 1 (Northern New York Historical Newspapers, http://news.nnyln.net, henceforth NNYHN); "To Restore Old Fort: Ticonderoga to Be Re-Built for Mrs.

Pell," *New York Tribune* (22 April 1909): 1. The headline of this article states that Ticonderoga is to be rebuilt "in anticipation of Champlain Tercentenary." The process would take up to ten years, and the west barracks were to be restored first. (The *New York Tribune* was consulted online via the National Digital Newspaper Program, at http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov. Henceforth the citations of such digitized newspaper articles will be designated by the acronym NDNP.)

[12]The choice of the site of Crown Point for a joint Vermont and New York State monument to Champlain was made as a compromise between the two state commissions. The factors leading to the decision are described in Lake Champlain Tercentenary Commission of Vermont, *The Tercentenary of the Discovery of Lake Champlain and Vermont*, 154–55.

[13]In *The Geography of Nowhere*, author James Howard Kunstler writes that "Roads all over the United States were quite bad at the turn of the century." See *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America's Man-Made Landscape* (New York: Touchstone Books, 1994), 88.

[14]The Lakes to Locks Passage runs along the Upper Hudson River, Champlain Canal, and Lake Champlain. See www.lakestolocks.com. According to *New York by Rail 2005*, "The Lakes to Locks Passage is New York State's only nationally designated All American Road—'the best of the best' among Scenic Byways across the country. All American Roads hold national significance and are destinations unto themselves." See *New York By Rail 2005* (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: Martinelli-Slocum Publishing, 2005), 37.

[15]*Travel Magazine*'s July 1909 issue was a special Champlain Tercentenary Souvenir Number. See also "The Celebration, What It Means," in the *Plattsburgh Republican*, 26 June 1909 (NNYHN).

[16]"Monument's Natal Day. Impressive Ceremonies and Eloquent Eulogies of Great Explorer of the North." *Plattsburgh Evening Star*, 8 July 1912, 1, 8. "Unveil Champlain Statue: Dix Accepts It for the State and Entrusts It to Plattsburg." *New York Times*, 7 July 1912, C12. (ProQuest Historical Newspapers, henceforth PQHN).

[17]See Sylvie Beaudreau and Yves Frenette, "Historiographie et identité collective en Amérique française: le cas des élites francophones de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1872–1991," in *Identités et cultures nationales: L'Amérique française en mutation*. Simon Langlois, ed. (Sainte-Foy, QC: Presses de l'université Laval, 1995).

[18]"Plans for French Day: Arrangements for Great Parade Now Maturing," *Plattsburgh Sentinel*, 19 March 1909, First Section: 3 (NNYHN). Burlington also had its special "French Day." See Lake Champlain Tercentenary Commission of Vermont. *The Tercentenary of the Discovery of Lake Champlain and Vermont*, 83–85.

[19]Coates and Morgan make similar connections between the heroism of Madeleine de Verchères, who could be seen as a heroine to all French-speaking Canadians, even those living south of the 45th parallel. Whereas these authors see the Verchères legend and its promotion as a method of emphasizing their ethnic distinctiveness, I emphasize how the Champlain legend fosters cultural assimilation. See Coates and Morgan, *Heroines and History*, 62.

[20]The earliest treatment of Champlain published for a mainstream American audience is, not surprisingly, contained in Francis Parkman's *Pioneers of France in the New World* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1897). As the title indicates, Parkman does not consider Champlain an American hero. An earlier and lesser-known work by Parkman is his *Champlain and His Associates: An Account of Early French Adventure in North America* (New York: Maynard, Merrill, 1890). The first treatment of Champlain as an explicitly American hero is contained in John Okane Murray, *Lives of the Catholic Heroes and Heroines of America* (New York: James Sheehy, 1880). It is no coincidence that the acceptance of Champlain as an American hero is related to the increasing tolerance of Catholicism in the United States. As Catholics became numerically an important force in American society, it became culturally desirable to create a pantheon of Catholic heroes, amongst whom Champlain figured prominently. See also, Anna Theresa Sadlier, *Names that Live in Catholic Hearts: Memoirs of Cardinal Ximenes, Michael Angelo, Samuel de Champlain, Archbishop Plunkett, Charles Carroll, Henri de Larochejacquelein, Simon de Montfort* (New York: Benziger, 1882).

[21]Charles M. Harvey, "Champlain as a Herald of Washington," *Atlantic Monthly*, 104:1 (July 1909): 1–12. Harvey sees Champlain as the first of many intrepid French explorers who facilitated the spread of European civilization across much of the continent, a process that was to culminate in American democracy. The French defeated the Mohawks in 1609 just as the Americans ultimately defeated the British in the Revolutionary War, each victory significantly shaping the future of North America. Harvey can thus conclude "Champlain links his name with Washington's" (12). Harvey lists Champlain amongst the great Frenchmen in American history, a list that includes Rochambeau, Lafayette, and De Grasse.

[22]See Howard Zinn, "Lessons of Iraq War Start with US History," *The Progressive*, 70, no. 4 April 2006 (online version: http://progressive.org/mag_zinn0406).

[23]"Put Taft Beside Great Champlain," *The Times Dispatch* (Richmond, VA), 8 July 1909 (NDNP).

[24] See remarks of Ambassador Jean-Jules Jusserand, Hill, ed., *The Champlain Tercentenary Report*, 202. For a summary of the European missionary efforts in the Philippine Islands, see Philip M. Finegan, "The Philippine Islands," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XII (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907). Online edition, 2000: http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12010a.htm.

[25] "Speakers Link Taft's Name with That of Champlain," *Philadelphia Press*, 6 July 1909 (NDNP). Found in *Lake Champlain Tercentenary Celebration. July 4, 1909. Presented to the State of New York by the New York State Tercentenary Commission.* Compiled by L. E. Shattuck, press representative (S.l.: 1909), Folio Vol. II: 202. Manuscripts and Special Collections. New York State Archives. Jusserand's comments were also faithfully reported in the Commission's official report. See *Champlain Tercentenary Report of the New York Lake Champlain Tercentenary Commission*, 202.

[26] For the best analysis of the Progressive movement see Richard Hofstadter's classic text, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (New York: Knopf, 1955). For a recent treatment of Progressive America, see the relevant chapters of M. J. Heale, *Twentieth Century America: Politics and Power in the United States 1900–2000* (London: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[27] "Former Foes Talk Peace at Fort Ticonderoga: Representatives of Three Nations in Fraternal Meeting at Tercentenary Celebration," *Ticonderoga Sentinel*, 8 July 1909: 1 (NNYNP). See "Peace at Champlain," *New York Times*, 8 July 1909: 6 (PQHN). The *Times* offered less optimistic appraisal about the prospects of peace, noting "It would be venturesome to maintain that like ambitions have ceased to exist among the nations. There are too many obvious facts to support the opposite belief." It noted that in the early twentieth century "war has become a far more costly and perilous matter than it was when WOLFE and MONTCALM, BRADDOCK and ARNOLD successively waged their conflicts along Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence."

[28] "Taft at Champlain Show: Joins With Ambassadors in Declaring for World Peace." *The (New York) Sun*, 7 July 1909: 1 (NDNP).

[29] "Welcome to the Redcoats: Coming Back to Plattsburg After a Century," *The (New York) Sun*, 8 July, 1909: 1 (NDNP).

[30] "Taft Reviews British Troops: Celebration at Plattsburgh Reaches Its Climax," *Washington Herald*, 8 July 1909: 1 (NDNP).

[31] "Friends Forever Taft Watchword: Executive Hopes for American-Canadian Harmony," *Washington Herald*, 9 July 1909: 1 (NDNP).

[32] *Ibid.* This was taking place at a time when the president was considering the idea of reciprocity between Canada and the United States. The Taft administration signed a free trade agreement with Canada, but the Laurier government, which supported it, was defeated in 1911. In light of the success of today's NAFTA accord, Taft's ideas about the complementarity of the two North American economies seem prescient.

[33] "Three Nations in Permanent Amity: President Taft Congratulates Great Britain, France and the United States," *San Francisco Call*, 9 July 1909: 3 (NDNP).

[34] David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 71–101.

[35] In his speech at the Vergennes Tercentenary celebration, John Barrett, director of the International Bureau of American Republics, discussed how well the United States was prepared for "a struggle of the survival of the fittest among the nations of the world." Lake Champlain Tercentenary Commission of Vermont, *The Tercentenary of the Discovery of Lake Champlain and Vermont*, 35.

[36] See quote from *The Montreal Star* at the back of the Vermont Tercenenary Commission's report.

VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Samuel de Champlain and the Naming of *Vermont*

The evidence from the days of New France (rather, the lack of it) suggests that Green Mountains *is not a translation of* Vermont. *If the truth be known, it is the French word which is a translation. Where did the English name* Green Mountains *come from? The dating of the earliest mention of these two words might provide some hints.*

By JOSEPH-ANDRÉ SENÉCAL

Historians have endorsed the statements of early writers who linked the word *Vermont* with France's colonial presence in the Champlain Valley. One of the earliest voices to make the association is no less an eminence than Zadock Thompson. In his *History of Vermont* (1842), Thompson affirms that the name "Verd Mont" had been applied to the Green Mountains long before the claimed christening of the state as "Verd Mont" by Reverend Hugh Peters in 1763.[1] Earlier, in 1798, Ira Allen had observed that the state had "obtained its name from the French word Verdmont."[2] Several sources echoed the implied New France antecedent. For example, *Hall's Outlines of the Geography, Natural and Civil History of Vermont* (1864) maintains that "the name Verd Mont was applied by those who early visited it."[3] One

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will remember that the earliest European excursion to the state was led by Samuel de Champlain, who named the lake after himself in 1609. Some have maintained that it was Champlain who labeled as "Verd Mont" the mountainous region on the east shore of the lake. There is not a shred of evidence to support this *idée reçue.* Other undocumented statements lend the French explorer the paternity of the name of rivers and mountains (such as Le Lion Couchant/The Couching Lion for Camel's Hump). The most endearing lore is no doubt the etymological fabrication which explains how Champlain named a river "La Mouette" (Seagull River) only to see the label deformed by some copyist who engraved "Mouette" without crossing the proverbial "t"s. With time and more human caprice "Mouelle" would have become "Moille": Lamoille River. Did Samuel de Champlain or another actor in the saga of New France name the mountain chain and the state?

Samuel de Champlain was followed by missionaries, traders, settlers, and soldiers who identified rivers and other physical features of the Champlain watershed. Among the many such christenings, let us mention the original European appropriation of what is now Lake George. In 1646, Isaac Jogues, a Jesuit, christened the body of water Lac du Saint-Sacrement. The French left many traces on the toponymy of the state but *Vermont* is simply not one of them. The word *Vermont* is not in any historical way connected with the French presence in the Green Mountain State before 1760. No document (map, travel journal, official correspondence) from the period refers to the Green Mountains or the region as *Vermont* (or *Vertmont, Vertsmonts, Verdmont,* les *Monts Verts,* les *Montagnes Vertes*), or alternate meanings such as *Versmont* (i.e., *Vers les monts*: towards the mountains).

The word *Vermont* (or alternate renderings) does not appear in the publications of Champlain, *Des sauvages* and *Les Voyages* (1613 and 1632 versions),[4] or on the maps which he prepared or published. The lake is identified as *Lac de Champlain* and the region to the west of the lake is labeled *Saintonge* on his 1632 map. The word is absent from the *Relations* of the Jesuits or their journals. Vermont does not appear in the official correspondence between the officers of New France and the metropolitan authorities, or in any other official correspondence of the period (1636–1763). One will not find « Vermont » in other pertinent documents such as the texts connected with the military campaign of the Carignan-Salières Regiment in the Richelieu-Champlain area (notably the *Livre de raison de Francois de Tapie de Monteil, capitaine au regiment de Poitou,* the *Vers burlesques sur le voyage de Monsieur de Courcelles . . .;* the *Mémoire de M. De Salières des choses qui se sont passées en Canada, les plus considerables depuis qu'il est arrivé, 1666,*

and Dollier de Casson's *Histoire de Montréal*). The various journals and reports of military officers from the Seven Years War, such as the journal of Louis Antoine de Bougainville or the letters of Montcalm or Lévis, are eloquently silent.[5] Other documents that mention the Champlain Valley or the rest of the state, notably the *Voyages* of Louis Franquet, and the travels of Peter Kalm (*Travels into North America*), never refer to "les Monts Verts" or similar designations.

The available maps from the French regime, drafted after the publications of Champlain, maps released between 1633 and 1763, are late in identifying the names of rivers on Lake Champlain. The first important development dates from 1723 when Gédéon de Catalogne published his two-sheet map of the St. Lawrence River. The second sheet, *Partie haute et occidentale du fleuve de Canada ou de St. Laurent depuis le lac Ontario jusqu'à la ville de Québec* . . . (Paris: Moullart-Sanson, 1723), is the first printed map to identify major rivers flowing into the lake (Chasy, Misiscouy, Aux Sable, À la Moille, Aux Loutres) as well as the strategic passage of Pointe à la chevelure. The document of Catalogne was augmented by the mapping of Jacques Nicolas Bellin, notably his *Carte de la Rivière Richelieu et du Lac Champlain dressée sur les manuscripts du Dépost des cartes, plans et journaux de la Marine,* 1744, inserted in Pierre François-Xavier Charlevois's *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle-France avec le Journal historique d'un voyage fait par ordre du Roi dans l'Amérique septentrionale* (3 vols., Paris: Veuve Garneau/Nyon, 1744), and his *Suite du cours du fleuve St. Laurent depuis Québec jusqu'au Lac Ontario pour servir à L'Histoire générale des Voyages* (1757). By then (1757), Gaspard Chaussegros de Léry and Louis Franquet had prepared several maps which remain in manuscript form. Franquet's map, *Carte du Lac Champlain depuis le fort de Chambly jusqu'à la chute des eaux du lac St. Sacrement,* is the most instructive. The Royal Engineer labeled all the major features (islands, points, rivers, French settlements on Lake Champlain). None of these documents, the most precise and exhaustive of the French Regime, include the designation "Vermont" or names for mountains, which are drawn on some maps of Bellin.

The evidence from the days of New France (rather, the lack of it) suggests that *Green Mountains* is not a translation of *Vermont.* If the truth be known, it is the French word which is a translation. Where did the English name *Green Mountains* come from? The dating of the earliest mention of these two words might provide some hints. We can summon three types of evidence: the earliest appearance of the words *Green Mountains* on a map; the earliest references to the words in written documents; contemporary (1749–1780) allusions to an oral tradition.

An inventory of early cartography (1749–1778), from the earliest map showing English settlements in what is now southern Vermont to the first map displaying the words "State of Vermont," reveals that the earliest map showing "*Green Mountains*" dates from 1778. The first edition of Bernard Romans' *A Chorographical Map of the Northern Department of North-America* . . . clearly delineates a mountain range with hachures and labels its southern end (diagonally, from Wallingford to Bennington) as the "Green Mountains."[6] The words "State of Vermont" also appears for the first time on Romans' 1778 map. The 1779 edition of Claude Joseph Sauthier's *A Chorographical Map of the Province of New York* . . . is the first one to extend the label "Green Mountains" to the entire north-south spine of the range, from Canada to Massachusetts. It is significant that earlier maps by Sauthier (1776; 1777; 1778) bear no label for the mountain range.[7] Equally eloquent is the fact that prior to 1780, no map based on the surveys or compilations of Samuel Blanchard and Joseph Langdon, Thomas Jefferys, J. Green, William Brasier, or John Montresor identifies mountain ranges in the state or includes the labels "Vermont" or "Green Mountains."[8]

As with cartographic documents from the times of New France, maps from the British Regime identify few physiographic features. With rare exceptions, only Lake Champlain and major waterways such as the Winooski or the Otter Creek are labeled. The earliest identification of mountains (1677) in the area designates the "White Hills" of northern New Hampshire.[9] For Vermont, the first mountainous features to be graced with a name are Halfway Hill in the township of Killington (1755) and Mount Ascutney (1774).[10] If all this information is the final evidence, then the first cartographic record of *Green Mountains* postdates the first written documentation by six years (1772/1778).

The available documentation reveals that the earliest textual mentions of the Green Mountains are associated with the appearance of the Green Mountain Boys in the summer of 1772. In a text published in the *Connecticut Courant,* "An Encomium on his Excellency Governor Tryon and his Majesty's Honourable Council of the Province of New York," a text presumed to have been written by Ethan Allen, one reads the earliest known reference to the Green Mountains: "Capt. Warner's Company of Green Mountain Boys under arms, fired three vollies of small arms, in concert and aid of the glory."[11] The term "Green Mountain Boys" was newly coined in August 1772. In the summer of 1770, after the June 28 rebuff of the New Hampshire grantees by the Court of Albany County, Ethan Allen and others had begun to act as bands of armed men. As late as the summer of 1771, these roving gangs of vigilantes were identifying themselves as "New Hampshire Men." It is only in

the spring of 1772 that the most violent elements of resistance began to call themselves Green Mountain Boys. As rumors circulated that Governor Tryon of New York was marching toward Bennington with troops, the committees of safety in and around Bennington began to collaborate more closely and more openly with the most aggressive agents, associated with Seth Warner, Ethan Allen, Remember Baker, and others. These elements were now calling themselves Green Mountain Boys. In June, news of the Governor arrived, not in the form of an invading army, but in the guise of a conciliatory letter. It is to that development and the rejoicing which it unleashed in Bennington that we owe the encomium (an expression of praise) published in the *Connecticut Courant.*[12]

We can assume that the term *Green Mountains* predates the rise of the Green Mountain Boys. But by how many years? If one remembers that in 1760, English settlers in Vermont numbered no more than 300, it is unlikely that such a small, dispersed colony had already appropriated its geography to the degree of identifying and naming the Vermont section of the Appalachians or, for that matter, any mountain range. Even if the designation *Green Mountains* originated in the 1760s, it must have taken some time to impose itself. Therefore, it is likely that the term *Green Mountains* became common just a few years before the Green Mountain Boys began to construct their mythology, that is, in the late 1760s. A potent argument: No written mention of the Green Mountains can be found before 1772 in the hundreds of documents which have come down to us. The two words simply do not appear in the land grants of New Hampshire or New York, or in any official correspondence dealing with the New York/New Hampshire controversy.[13]

Oral tradition from the earliest days of English settlement could help us in tracing the origin of *Green Mountains* or in refining the date of its earliest use. That testimony would have come down to us in written form and would be subject to great caution. Such evidence is most rare. In 1793, we find the following startling lesson of geography from Ira Allen: "The Green Mountains begin in Canada near the Bay of Chaleur, and one branch runs through Vermont, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, and ends near New Haven."[14] We can uncover no evidence to buttress Allen's appellation nor does the toponymy of Connecticut or western Massachusetts (at least the written evidence, ancient and contemporary) suggest a basis for such a mental geography. The work of Arthur Hughes on Connecticut place names lists several locations called Green Mountain and Green Hill, most associated with landmarks in northwestern Connecticut where the Allens and many of the earliest settlers of southern Vermont grew up.[15] However, none of these appellations refers to a

mountain range or smaller features which would extend past the confines of one locality. No mountain range in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts ever bore the name Green Mountains.[16] At best the comment of Ira Allen suggests that settlers from Connecticut imported the term *Green Mountains* and that they were aware of a north/south mountain range.[17] It does not allow us to refine the date or the circumstances of the christening of the Green Mountains.

Based on a review of the evidence, we can write with some degree of confidence that the word *Vermont* is a translation of Green Mountains, a construction which most likely comes from Thomas Young, a scholar who probably knew some French.[18] The first documented use of the word *Vermont* is dated April 11, 1777. On that day, in Philadelphia, Young addressed a broadside "To the Inhabitants of Vermont, a Free and Independent State."[19] All evidence points to Thomas Young as the originator of the word *Vermont,* a translation of the English *Green Mountains.*[20] Young's purpose was probably to honor the bombastic Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys.

A related question might ask why Young invented *Vermont* rather than *Montagnes Vertes* or *Vertsmonts.* In other words: how good is Young's French? Is *Vermont* correct French? The answer is yes. In the language of France two words compete to designate mountains: *mont* and *montagne* (mount and mountain). The nouns come from the Latin *mons/montis* and *montanea.* The French *mont* is much older than *montagne.* The word is documented as early as 1080 and figures prominently in the epic *Song of Roland*: "Roland reguardet es munz e es lariz" (Roland scans the mountains and the hills). However, by the 1700s, *mont* had clearly lost out to *montagne.* Except for writing poetry and geographic naming, *mont* is seldom called upon modern French. In 1777, *mont* was already archaic; but its use in place naming was well established and carried an aura of antiquity. Grammatically, the word order (adjective + noun: *vert* + *mont*) and the fusion of the adjective and the noun are perfectly correct. In modern French, one would say in a normal enunciation: *les monts verts.* However, Young's creation is probably not inspired by modern French; not even the modern French of 1777. Above all, grammatically speaking, it is not part of a sentence. The word order answers the special rules of geographical naming.[21] In the creation of place names one often finds the adjective before the noun and the adjective fused to the noun. For examples: *Beaumont, Belmont* or, more to the point, *Rougemont, Vertmont.* In some cases, one or more letters (such as the final consonant) may disappear. The spelling *ver* for *vert* is well documented. Dauzat verifies a *Verfeil* (for Verte Feuille); also *Verdaches, Verdon, Verdets.*[22] In the mountainous regions of Alsace,

one will even discover a *Vermont.* However the *Vermont* of Eastern France does not come from *Vert Mont* but from *Louver Mont* (Wolf Mountain). In Switzerland, in the region of Neuchâtel, one finds a vineyard "Vermont" in the commune of La Landeron. The etymology of this last Vermont is unknown; so is the origin of the family name most illustrated by Hyacinthe Collin, abbé de Vermont (1693–1761), born in Versailles, who left historical canvases of some notoriety. However, the family name Vermont can be traced to the village of Thorigny-sur-Ormeuse, the valley of the same name (Ormeuse) on the border of the old province of Champagne. By 1517 the maintenance of a royal road between Pont-sur-Yonne and Villeneuve-l'Archevêque led to the creation of a small hamlet, Vermont, nestled near a chateau of the same name, which was leveled before 1507. By 1650 the large farm known as Vermont had become a fief which would be purchased by the noble family of De Thorigny in 1679. An important official of Paris (Prévot de Paris), the youngest son of the family, carried the title "de Vermont." His portrait, from the brush of Nicolas de Largillière, *Portrait de Lambert de Vermont* (c. 1697), can be admired at the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena. Today, the fief survives and the rue de Vermont, a cul-de-sac, leads to it.

Vermont was almost named New Connecticut. Instead, like Maine, the Green Mountain State bears a decidedly French name—not to underline the French presence in those parts once claimed by Louis XIV or XV, but because English minds in their appropriation of the world (at least the Atlantic World) sometimes resorted to historical antecedents stamped with the French fleur-de-lys. In the case of Maine, no one has been able to explain why the region bears the name of a French province.[23] Likewise, who can explain why Green Mountains was translated into Vermont? Because of the francophilia of Young or Ethan Allen? It matters little; it is enough that the quirks of history announced the coming of French-Canadians to the state and their significant contribution to its welfare and progress.

Notes

[1]See Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont, Natural, Civil, and Statistical* . . . (Burlington: C. Goodrich, 1842), 8. Given the mendacious propensity of the Reverend Hugh Peters, one should reject the claim, made much after 1777, that, in an elaborate ceremony which would have been performed on Mount Pisgah (Killington) in 1763, he christened the state "Verd-Mont." See H. Nicholas Muller III, "The Name of Vermont: An Afterword," *Vermont History* 41 (Winter 1973): 80–81.

[2]See Ira Allen, *The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont, One of the United States of America* (London: J. W. Myers, 1798), 259.

[3]See *Hall's Outlines of the Geography, Natural and Civil History of Vermont* (Montpelier: C. W. Willard, 1864), 14.

[4]Champlain's narrative covering his discovery voyage on Lake Champlain will be found in the 1613 and 1632 editions of his *Voyages.* The lake is also briefly mentioned (with no references to

toponymy) in *Des sauvages* published in 1603. All three texts will be found in *The Works of Samuel de Champlain,* Henry Percival Biggar, General Editor, 6 vols. + a portfolio of maps and illustrations (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1922–1936). A reprint was released in 1971 by the University of Toronto Press. The integral text is available online on the site of the Champlain Society: http://www.Champlainsociety.ca/publications. The reader will find all of Champlain's *Voyages* in this publication, as well as a few primary documents. A transcription of the original French text is available along with the modern English translation. The reader should note that the last edition of the *Voyages* (1632) includes a second, much-revised text of the *Voyages* of 1613 and 1619, including the original narrative of the 1609 exploration of Lake Champlain (vol. 2 of the Biggar edition for the original; vol. 6 for the 1632 version).

Champlain prepared four different maps that document his cartographical work on the Lake Champlain sector. The first was *Carte géographique de la Nouvelle France faicte par le Sieur de Champlain Saint Tongeois Cappitaine Ordinaire pour le Roy en la Marine* (1612). Second, the two small maps (10 × 13 inches), *Carte geographique de la Nouelle Franse ensonvraymoridiã* . . . (1612), and the corrected and augmented *Carte geographique de la Nouvelle ffranse en son vraymeridiein* . . . (1613), must be interpreted as two different states of the same plate, although the second version includes added details of the upper reaches of the Ottawa River and a notation for Lake Champlain. The two maps can be quickly identified by the different ornamentation engraved between Labrador and Greenland: a fishing vessel (1612) or a whale (1613). These three maps are the earliest documents to display "lac de Champlain." The third, a larger map (17 × 32 inches; 43 × 76 cm), *Carte géographique de la Nouvelle France,* is the only one produced under the supervision of Champlain to display the name of the engraver: David Pelletier. It is by far the most beautiful engraved map prepared for Champlain. The Pelletier Map (1612) is the very first to show Lake Champlain. It displays details (islands to mark the Grand Isle Archipelago; a narrowing and reorientation of the lake south of Split Rock) which are not found on the two smaller, cruder maps. A final map appeared during Champlain's life: *Carte de la nouvelle france, augmentee depuis la derniere, servant a la navigation. Faicte en son vray Meridien par le S^r de Champlain* (1632). A fifth map exists in manuscript form: Untitled: "Faict par le s^r de Champlain 1616." Two original copies have been found and can be consulted at the John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island, and the National Library of Russia, St. Petersburg. The unfinished copper plate based on the 1616 manuscript map was completed by the Royal Geographer Pierre Duval and published in 1653: *Le Canada faict par le S^r Champlain ou sont la Nouvelle France, la Nouvelle Angleterre, la Nouvelle Hollande, la Nouvelle Suede, la Virginie,* etc. . . . A second edition, with revisions, was published in 1677. A legible reproduction of all maps can be found in the excellent synthesis of Conrad Heidenreich and Edward H. Dahl, "Samuel de Champlain's Cartography, 1603–1632" *Champlain: The Birth of French America,* Litalien, Raymonde and Denis Veaugeois, comp., translated by Kathe Roth (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), 312–332. The original edition is in French: *Champlain: la naissance de l'Amérique française* (Sillery [Québec]: Les Éditions du Septentrion, 2004). The word "Vermont" appears in none of the cited material (text or map). Champlain did not label mountains, rivers, islands, or other features. His naming is limited to the lake "lac de Champlain" and the region (not the mountains) to the west which is identified as "Saintonge" (the native province of Champlain) on the 1632 map only.

[5] A search for most of these documents can be performed using Boolean strategies (similar to the advanced search matrix on services such as Google) by visiting the Website of Library and Archives Canada. Many of the textual and map documents concerning Lake Champlain have been digitized and can be inspected and retrieved online.

[6] *A Chorographical Map of the Northern Department of North America, Drawn From the Latest And Most Accurate Observations* (New Haven: circa 1778). A Dutch edition, almost a facsimile of the 1778 original, appeared in 1780 (Amsterdam: Mortier, & Covens junior).

[7] *A Chorographical Map of the Province of New York in North America. Divided Into Counties, Manors, Patents and Townships* . . . (London: William Faden, 1779). The range is labeled twice. The most southerly notation follows the spine of a clearly delineated mountain range up to the township of Ludlow. The second label (in bigger type but otherwise identical), can be seen more to the west. The lettering stretches from Rutland to the Winooski River ("Onion R.").

[8] "A Chorographical Map of the Province of New York, Divided Into Counties, Manors, Patents and Townships," in Thomas Jefferys, *The American Atlas* (London: R. Sayer & J. Bennet, 1776). "A Topographical Map of Hudson's River, With Channels, Depth of Water, Rocks, Shoals, & c. And the Country Adjacent, From Sandy Hook, New York and Bay of Fort Edward, Also the Communication With Canada by Lake George And Lake Champlain as High as Fort Chambly on Sorel River," in William Faden, *The North American Atlas* (London: 1776). *A Map of the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, With a Part of Pennsylvania And the Province of Quebec From the Topographical Observations of C.J. Sauthier* (Augsburg: Mathew Albert Letter, 1777). *Mappa Geographica provinciae novae eboraci ab Anglis New York dictae ex ampliori delineations ad exactus dimensiones concinnata in arctius spatium redacta cura Claudie Joseph Sauthier cut accedit Nova*

Jersey ex topographicis observationibus (Nuremberg: Homann, 1778). Samuel Langdon, *An Accurate Map of His Majesty's Province of New Hampshire* (London: 1756). Joseph Blanchard and Samuel Langdon, *An Accurate Map of His Majesty's Province of New Hampshire in New England, Taken From Actual Surveys of All the Inhabited Parts, And From The Best Information of What Is Uninhabited, Together With The Adjacent Countries Which Exhibits The Theater of This War in That Part of the World* ([London]: 1761). J. Green, "A Map of the Most Inhabited Part of New England Containing the Provinces of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire With the Colonies of Conecticut [*sic*] and Rhode Island" [London: 1755] in R. Sayer and T. Jefferys, *A General Topography of North America And the West Indies* (London: 1768). Captain Holland, "A Chorographical Map of the Country Between Albany, Oswego, Fort Frontenac And Les Trois Riviers Exhibiting All the Grants Made by the French Governors on Lake Champlain and Between that Lake and Montreal" [London: 1775] in T. Jefferys, *The American Atlas* (London: R. Sayer & J. Bennet, 1775). John Montresor, "A Map of the Province of New York with Part of Pensilvania [*sic*] and New England From an Actual Survey by Capt. Montresor" [London: 1775] in William Faden, *The North American Atlas* (London: A. Drury, 1777). William Brassier, "A Survev of Lake Champlain Including Lake George, Crown Point And St. John" [London 1762] in T. Jefferys, *The American Atlas* (London: R. Sayer & J. Bennet, 1776). For other maps published before 1778, see David Allan Cobb, "Vermont Maps Prior to 1900: an annotated cartobibliography," *Vermont History,* 31: 3–4 (Summer and Fall, 1971); *A List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress Map Division, 1909–1992); and David C. Jolly, *Maps of America in Periodicals Before 1800* (Brookline, Mass.: David C. Jolly, 1989).

[9]The map made to accompany William Hubbard's *A Narrative of the Troubles With the Indians in New England . . .*, "A Map of New England," (1677), is one of the earliest to identify "White Hills" in New Hampshire. Because of an error in the first edition (Boston), that printing of the map is known as the "Wine Hills" edition. The second edition (London) carries the corrected "White Hills."

[10]For the first mention of Halfway Hill, see J. Green, "A map of the most inhabited part of New England, containing the province of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, with the colonies of Conecticut and Rhode Island divided into counties and townships" (1755). It should be noted that Henry Popple's *A Map of the British Empire in America With the French and Spanish Settlements Adjacent Thereto* (1733) includes the label "Champlain Hills" written horizontally at the latitude of the Winooski River. For Mount Ascutney, see Captain Holland's "A Chorographical Map of the Country Between Albany, Oswego, Fort Frontenac and Les Trois Riviers Exhibiting All the Grants Made by the French Governors on Lake Champlain and Between That Lake and Montreal" [London: 1775] in Jefferys, *The American Atlas* (London: R. Sayer & J. Bennet, 1775). The label reads "Ascutnea." One also notes a "Sawyer Mountain" straddling the townships of Fairlee and Thetford.

[11]The text is quoted in Ethan Allen, *A Brief Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of New York Relative to Their Obtaining the Jurisdiction of That Large District of Land, to the Westward from Connecticut River* (Hartford: Eben. Watson, 1774). A modern edition will be found in *Ethan and Ira Allen: Collected Works,* J. Kevin Graffagnino, ed. (Benson, Vt.: Chalidze Publications, 1992), 1:36–37.

[12]See Robert E. Shalhope, *Bennington and the Green Mountain Boys, The Emergence of Liberal Democracy in Vermont, 1760–1850* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 52–97; Charles A. Jellison, *Ethan Allen: Frontier Rebel* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969); and the introduction to J. Kevin Graffagnino edition of *Ethan and Ira Allen: Collected Works,* 1: vii–xxiii.

[13]See in particular Vol. 26 of the *State Papers of New Hampshire,* and Vol. 7 of the *State Papers of Vermont: New York Land Patents, 1688–1786: Covering Land Now Included in the State of Vermont . . .* (Montpelier: Office of the Secretary of State, 1947). Many of the documents can be found in Vol. 4 of *The Documentary History of the State of New York,* Edmund B. O'Callaghan, comp. (Albany: Weed, Parsons, 1851). See also Vol. 1 of *Collections of the Vermont Historical Society* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1870); *Memoir of Colonel Seth Warner,* Daniel Chipman, ed. (Middlebury: L. W. Dark, 1848); and *Vermont State Papers, Being a Collection of Records and Documents Connected with the Assumption and Establishment of Government by the People of Vermont . .*., William Slade, ed. (Middlebury: J. W. Copeland, 1823).

[14]Ira Allen, *The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont,* 2.

[15]Arthur Hughes, *Connecticut Place Names* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1976). Also: Edmund Burke Thompson, *Maps of Connecticut before the Year 1800: A Descriptive List* (Windham, Conn.: Hawthorn House, 1940).

[16]Nothing of the sort appears in Charlotte Pease Davis, *Directory of Massachusetts Place Names: Current, Obsolete Counties, Cities, Towns, Sections or Villages, Early Names* (Lexington: Bay State News, 1987).

[17]The mental concept of Appalachia as a mountain system stretching from Alabama to the Gaspé Peninsula is relatively new (early 1900s) and has yet to impose itself universally. See David S. Walls,

"On the Naming of Appalachia," *An Appalachian Symposium: Essays Written in Honor of Gratis D. Williams,* J. W. Williamson, ed. (Boone, No. Carolina: Appalachian State University Press, 1977), 56–76; also, Karl B. Raitz and Richard Ulack, *Appalachia: A Regional Geography* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1984), 9–29.

[18] In addition to French, contemporary witnesses imply that Young could conduct scholarly work in Dutch, Latin, and Greek. But this is by no means documented. See Renwick K. Caldwell, "The Man Who Named Vermont," *Vermont History* 26 (October 1958): 294–300.

[19] The text is reproduced, with a brief introduction from Marilyn S. Blackwell, in *A More Perfect Union: Vermont Becomes a State,* Michael Sherman, ed. (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1991), 186–191. The only extant copy of the broadside is housed in the municipal library of Providence, Rhode Island.

[20] For further evidence see Thomas Chittenden, Ethan Allen, and Joseph Fay's petition to the General Assembly, "For a Grant of Land to the Family of One of the Founders of the State," dated 20 October 1786, in *State Papers of Vermont,* vol. 8, *General Petitions 1778–1787* (Montpelier: Office of the Secretary of State, 1952), 271–273, requesting a land grant for Young's widow. The petitioners refer to Young as a "worthy friend . . . to whom we stand indebted for the very name of [Vermont]." The petition was denied. The document is quoted on the back cover of *Vermont History* 23: 4 (October 1955). See also Ira Allen, *The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont,* 86: "This name [Vermont] was given to the district of the New Hampshire Grants, as an emblematical one, from the French Verd-mont, Green Mountains, to perpetuate the name of the Green Mountain Boys, by Dr. Thomas Young, of Philadelphia."

[21] For the grammar peculiar to place naming in French, one can consult Charles Rostaing, *Les noms de lieux,* 9th ed. rev. (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1980). Much foolishness has been expounded on this subject by amateurs. See Joseph Palermo, "L'étymologie mythique du nom du Vermont," *Romance Notes,* XIII: no. 1 (Autumn 1971): 1–2. The article was translated by Maurice Kohler (then a Professor of Romance Languages at the University of Vermont) and published in *Vermont History* 41 (Winter 1973): 78–79, as "The Mythical Etymology of the Name of Vermont." H. Nicholas Muller very diplomatically commented on such fanciful variae. See Muller, "The Name of Vermont: An Afterword," 79–81.

[22] See the letter "V" in Albert Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique des noms de lieux en France.* 2nd ed. rev. and completed by Charles Rostaing (Paris: Guenegaud, 1978). Also, for place names formed from *veridis,* see Ernest Nègre, *Toponymie générale de la France* (Genève: Librairie Droz, 1990–1991), vol. I: *Formations pré-celtiques, celtiques, romanes.*

[23] See Benjamin and Barbara Shearer, *State Names, Seals, Flags, and Symbols: A Historical Guide* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994) 8; and *Illustrated Dictionary of Place Names. United States and Canada,* Kelsie B. Harder, ed. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1976), 316.

VERMONT ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS

This occasional section alerts researchers to the rich resources acquired regularly by Vermont's historical repositories. For this issue of Vermont History, *which marks the 400th anniversary of Samuel de Champlain's arrival on the lake that now bears his name, four repositories report on items in their collections that illustrate and illuminate the history of Lake Champlain.*

Researching Lake Champlain Celebrations at the Vermont Historical Society

The Vermont Historical Society's Leahy Library houses several collections of interest to scholars researching the two major events that celebrated Samuel de Champlain's famous 1609 exploratory trip.

The early anniversaries of Samuel de Champlain's arrival at the lake that now bears his name had largely gone unnoticed by the inhabitants of Vermont. But by 1909, the 300th anniversary of the event, Americans had embraced milestone celebrations with unbridled enthusiasm. The 1876 celebration of the nation's centennial had kicked off the party, followed by celebrations to commemorate Columbus's arrival (Chicago, 1893), Pan-American unity (Buffalo, N.Y., 1901), and the purchase of the Louisiana Territory (St. Louis, Mo., 1904). Vermonters had celebrated with great aplomb the victory of native-son George Dewey (1899) and the centennial of the selection of Montpelier as the state capital (1905). As a result, the celebration of the tercentennial is much better

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represented in the collections of the VHS library than other celebrations before (if any) or since. Leading up to the 1959 Champlain event, Vermont had celebrated its own sesquicentennial in 1941 with great flourish.

Documentation of the two Champlain anniversaries of 1909 and 1959 can be found in several formats including photographs, sheet music, broadsides, and manuscript collections.

Photographs

The VHS is fortunate to have a collection of seventy-four glass plate negatives that capture the full exuberance of the 1909 celebration. These photographs document the parade in Burlington and the encampment of Indians on a floating island in the lake. They show the Champlain reenactor who led the parade, a Scottish contingent in their kilts, a solemn crowd dedicating a stone monument, and dignitaries addressing the crowd.

The VHS photo collection also includes seven images of a much humbler tercentenary parade held in Swanton on July 3, 1909. These faded salt prints show several floats, all of which seem to be advertising a local business.

Our collection of photographs of the 1959 celebration portrays a much more serious affair. All of our seventeen photographs are related to the official activities of the Hudson/Champlain Commission as befits

Indian village at Lake Champlain Tercentenary celebration, July 1909.

Champlain 350th anniversary commission chair Perry Merrill in front of map of Lake Champlain. The man on the left is A. P. Beach, president of the Basin Harbor Club and Chairman of the Resorts, Recreation, and Tourist Travel Committee, Interstate Commission on the Lake Champlain Basin. The woman on the right is identified as "Mrs. Pratt? worker." 1959.

their source, Perry Merrill, chairman of the Vermont festival committee. Almost all of them show men in suits posing in official groups, although three photographs show a delegation of commission members observing operations at an apple orchard. The VHS pictures, however, do not tell the whole story of the commission's activities; additional photographs at the Vermont State Archives and Records Administration show celebratory activities, albeit with a 1950s flair.

Postcards

Despite the fact that the Lake Champlain Tercentennial took place in the midst of the Real Photo Postcard (RPPC) era, the VHS owns but one RPPC of the extravaganza. It is an image of "Arrival of Champlain at Indian Village." Although the explorer is not visible in the image, two long canoes paddled by natives dominate the center of the card

with the top a teepee sticking up over the man-made island to the right of the image.

Sheet music

The collections include two pieces of sheet music written in conjunction with the 300th event and one to celebrate the 350th. In 1909, George L. Hasseltine composed *Champlain, 1609–1909* with words supplied by John W. Kellette (Rutland, Vt.: Euphonic Music Co., 1909) while C. S. Putnam created *Champlain* in collaboration with D. D. Fisher (Burlington, Vt.: Bixby Studio, 1909). The former was advertised as the "official chorus" and featured an ornate cover. A separate sheet from the publishers announced that "Every band leader in the state will be furnished with orchestration free of charge if they communicate with the company."

The 1909 event included at least one lengthy poem written for the event. Clinton Scolland penned *Song for the Ter-Centenary of Lake Champlain,* an eight-page celebration of heroism published as a pamphlet on heavy paper to signify its importance.

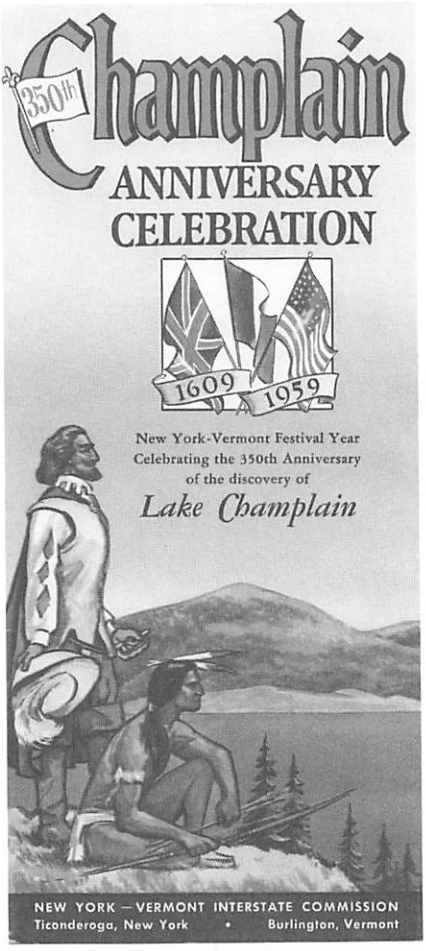
In 1959, Pauline M. Arnold of Burlington composed and wrote the lyrics for a short piece entitled "Samuel de Champlain Festival Song." With its imagery of boating, fishing, swimming, and event skiing, it was more a promotional piece for the festival and the Champlain basin than a celebration of the historical event itself.

Printed Ephemera

While the 1959 celebration lacks some types of documentation, it makes up for it with a brightly colored poster and pamphlet. The 350th poster is especially striking with its simple, silk-screened graphics in bright blue, yellow, and green colors and its strong image of Champlain stepping out of the underbrush followed by two natives and a French soldier. The accompanying brochure shows Champlain and a Native American man with bow and arrow looking out over the lake. The colors are also bright but of a different palette than the poster. The brochure is folded in eight panels and contains a map of the region, photographs of attractions, and a twelve-month calendar of events.

The printed brochures for the 1959 event are numerous. The Society's collection includes a large, attractive pamphlet entitled *A Profile of the Champlain Anniversary Festival,* which is a prospectus for the coming event. The document envisioned a "canoecade" of twenty-four birchbark canoes up Lake Champlain that "should attract as much public interest as has the Mayflower." The 350th was to include celebrations of other events related to the history of the lake, including the 200th anniversary of Rogers Rangers' battle with the St. Francis Indians in Canada.

Other items in the collection suggest that the 1959 celebration was relatively decentralized and included a variety of historical themes, not just the arrival of Samuel de Champlain. A piece of sheet music in the VHS collections entitled *Duxbury Days of Yore* was written for that town's "Festival Days" in August but has nothing to do with the lake or its "discovery." The Society's uncatalogued pamphlets ("uncat. pam.") collection includes several examples of local events including a brochure seeking participation from local groups, "Protestant Celebration of the 350th Champlain Anniversary," a program on August 8, 1959 for Champlain's visit to the Hyde Log cabin in Grand Isle, and another program for the St. Albans Festival Days the following weekend. The Society also has blank forms with the heading "l'Ordre du Bon Temps"—recalling an informal association of French settlers devoted to game hunting and feasting, founded by Samuel de Champlain in the winter 1606–07—presented to people who participated in the 350th celebration and the New York–Vermont–Quebec region's "contribution to modern living."



Poster for the 350th Champlain Anniversary Celebration, 1959.

The 1909 celebration generated several programs. The broadside collection of the VHS does not appear to contain any posters for the grand event on July 4. However, the VHS files include a free, eight-page printed program for the tercentenary celebration in Burlington; a more impressive twenty-four-page program including advertisements and detailed schedules, and a fourteen-panel folded piece published by the

"Champlain Tercentenary Celebration, July 4–10, 1909" Vermont Historical Society library, PAM 974.30 C358nc.

states of Vermont and New York and the Central Vermont, Delaware & Hudson, and Rutland Railroads presenting the history of the region, a description of events being held, and a map showing railroad lines leading to the celebrations. Also in the collection are "An Order of Worship for Religious Services . . . Suggested for use in Church in the State of Vermont on Sunday, July 4, 1909," and a program for the tercentenary festivities at Fort Ticonderoga on July 6, 1909.

The twenty-four-page program makes clear just how large an undertaking the 1909 celebration was. The event started in Vergennes and Swanton on Saturday, July 3, then moved to Burlington the next day with a variety of religious services. It continued on Monday with a major parade, two airship ascensions, a marathon race, band concert, and fireworks. Tuesday was the "Celebration of French Societies" with more band concerts, airship ascensions, and fireworks along with a smaller street parade and an illuminated boat parade. Wednesday was "Patriotic and Fraternal Society Day." The centerpiece of the Queen City celebration was the arrival of President William Howard Taft on Thursday, July 8, and the resulting parade and festivities. The celebration in Burlington continued through Saturday, July 10.

Meanwhile, there was a ceremony with dignitaries at Crown Point on Monday, July 5. President Taft arrived at Fort Ticonderoga the following

day via a special train from Albany, along with the Vice President, Speaker of the House, and the ambassadors from France and Great Britain. Taft and his party were in Plattsburgh, New York, on the following day. It was not until Thursday, July 8, that they arrived in Burlington. The next day Taft moved on to Isle La Motte for more ceremonies, resulting in four days devoted to presidential appearances and speech-making in the Lake Champlain basin.

Manuscripts

The manuscript collection at the VHS contains relatively sparse evidence of the Champlain celebrations. The collection includes one typescript of an address delivered at Isle La Motte on July 9, 1909, by Wendell P. Stafford, a famous Vermont jurist and poet.

Fifty years later, Flora J. Coutts served as the assistant director to the festival committee. Although she had served in the Vermont Senate for two terms, Coutts was hired to assist the all-male celebratory committee. Her extensive papers at the VHS contain just one item from her work there: a typescript entitled *What Is Vermont?* which was a collection of essay and poems for the youth of Vermont, written by members of the League of Vermont Writers in honor of the 350th anniversary of the discovery of Lake Champlain. The collection, which never seems to have been published, includes chapters under the categories "Vermont Is History," "Vermont Is Home," "Vermont Is People," "Vermont Is Ideas" and includes contributions from some of the most prominent Vermont writers of the time, including Dorothy Canfield Fisher.

Paul A. Carnahan

Paul Carnahan is the librarian of the Vermont Historical Society.

Lake Champlain Materials in the Vermont State Archives

In 1867 Vermont's Fish Commissioners supported the restocking of our lakes and rivers with such "valuable" fish as "salmon, shad, herring, alewife, trout, black bass, striped bass and lamprey eel" (*Journal of the Vermont House,* 1867, page 437). The idea of restocking lamprey eel seems a little jarring to us today, given current efforts to protect Lake Champlain game fish from lampreys. Yet, reading fish commissioner reports during the late nineteenth century made clear their interest not only in the potential for commercial fishing but also for the health benefits of introducing more fish into the diets of Vermonters.

The Vermont State Archives and Records Administration (VSARA), as the repository of state government's archival records, holds numerous records and series related to Lake Champlain topics. While there are a wide range of records related to the Lake, a search of VSARA's online database to archival record series will produce just a handful of hits for a search by "Lake Champlain" (http://vermont-archives.org/research/database/series.asp). That is because few series exclusively relating to the Lake have been preserved to date. More often than not Lake-related material will be within other series, such as gubernatorial, judicial, or agency records (and, at this time, there are few agency archival series). As our new record management program helps agencies create more comprehensive and current records programs we hope to identify more records that can support research on the Lake.

Of those record series that can be found by searching by "Lake Champlain" there are several containing records from the 1909 and 1959 celebrations of Samuel de Champlain's 1609 arrival on the Lake. There are, for example, financial records relating to the 1909 celebration (Record Series PRA-468) and the records of the Interstate Commission on the Lake Champlain Basin (Record Series A-329) include pamphlets, photographs, and correspondence from the 1959 celebration. Our film collection includes one from the 1959 anniversary tracing points of interest around the Lake. There are some photographs of the 1959 celebration among the Department of Tourism and Marketing records as well (Record Series A-078).

Also in the database are the records of the Lake Champlain Bridge Commission, which include architectural drawings, correspondence, photographs, and clippings from the opening of the bridge in 1927. See Record Series A-058, Lake Champlain Bridge Commission, for a description of the records.

More often than not, references to Lake Champlain are found in series and records not entitled "Lake Champlain." The online Nye Index to the Manuscript Vermont State Papers covers the years from approximately 1770 to 1800 and shows various petitions and other records that reference the Lake (http://vermont-archives.org/research/database/nye.asp). The 1800 to circa 1850 Nye Index is not online but can be viewed at VSARA's Middlesex reference room.

The Henry Stevens Collection is another source. The collection holds various records germane to the Lake, including the Timothy Follett records, which contain records of the Lake Champlain Transportation Company.

The online, full-text, searchable gubernatorial inaugural and farewell addresses can locate references to the Lake in those addresses (http://

vermont-archives.org/govhistory/gov/govinaug/index.htm). The references range from Governor John Page's 1868 remarks on transportation costs to Governor John G. McCullough's 1904 remarks on pollution in the Lake to Governor Madeleine Kunin's similar concerns about Lake pollution expressed in her 1991 farewell address. Indeed, one value of the inaugural and farewell addresses is the ability to see the evolution of issues relating to the Lake over time.

The official correspondence of governors is also a source of Lake-related information. In the records from Governor Snelling's first administration (1977–1985) there are folders on a Lake Champlain Aquatic Plant Conference, the Lake Champlain Bridge Commission, the International Committee on Lake Champlain, and the Lake Champlain Coast Guard Abolishment. Researchers can also apply broader, non-Lake Champlain specific searches to find related topics; for example, Governor Snelling, and other governors, have files on the International Paper Company, whose impact on the health of the Lake has long been a concern.

That is the challenge to researchers who use VSARA to find "Lake Champlain" material. Often Lake Champlain may be only a part of a larger series or records. The opening quote from the 1867 Fish Commissioner report is an example, since the commissioners primarily looked at the Connecticut River and other rivers and streams, not the Lake. The Fish Commissioner reports were printed in the House and Senate journals and can be located using our *State Papers of Vermont* series Volume XXII, *Vermont Legislative Reports, An Index to Reports Found in the House and Senate Journals.*

VSARA also holds an index to Vermont fish and game laws from 1787–1900. Again, the index is not Lake Champlain-specific, but does provide useful information on fish laws that might apply to the Lake. Laws and legislative records in general have much Lake-related information, though again researchers will have to broaden their searches beyond direct reference to Lake Champlain. Legislative Council studies, searchable through the online record series database, provide examples such as the 1994–95 study on Agricultural Water Pollution. Lake Champlain does not appear in the study title, but obviously agricultural run-off is a major concern in terms of Lake pollution.

Research in archival records and manuscripts can be as exciting a voyage of discovery as Samuel de Champlain's 1609 probe into the Champlain valley. It can lead to startling discoveries such as the impulse to restock the Lake with lamprey eels or the realization that Vermont's nineteenth-century fish commissioners had a global view that included examinations of the benefits of fish to the diets of other cultures. The records let us rediscover the economic importance of the Lake, such as

Governor John Page's 1868 calculations on the reduced cost of transporting goods if a canal linked the Lake to the St. Lawrence River. Page's inaugural thoughts also underscore the Lake as an international border as he encouraged Congress to sign the treaties necessary to facilitate completion of the canal. Archival research can remind us of the persistence of issues such as Governor McCullough's 1904 call for the scientific study of the impact of pollution from paper mills and sewage on the health of Vermonters. It can also provide new views of our changing cultural awareness; the 1959 celebration use of Burlington students as stereotypic Natives, paddling into Burlington harbor was not repeated during this year's observances.

VSARA welcomes any researchers who want to embark on their own voyages of discovery within our records and will provide assistance in identifying sources for various Lake-related studies.

D. GREGORY SANFORD

Gregory Sanford is the Vermont State Archivist.

Lake Champlain Maritime Museum

Founded in 1986 to preserve and share the rich maritime heritage of the Champlain Valley, Lake Champlain Maritime Museum's collections encompass over 15,000 objects, images, and documents that powerfully communicate the history of the region. These collections closely reflect the interests, history, and cultural heritage of the Champlain Valley, and reflect the community's need for a central repository where personal and family possessions can be shared with the public. Materials in the collection date from pre-seventeenth century through the late twentieth century, and reflect aspects of social, cultural, military, commercial, and natural history. These include more than fifty historic small watercraft, maritime models, military objects, paintings, drawings, and prints, historic and contemporary photographs, historic structures such as an Adirondack-style camp building and a Coast Guard light tower, and thousands of archaeological artifacts.

By far the largest source of archival holdings at LCMM is the museum's active program of nautical archaeology fieldwork and related research and publications. Ten years of sonar surveying of the lake bottom, the exploration and documentation of over 300 historic shipwrecks, the ongoing survey of the underwater Revolutionary War battlefield at Valcour Bay, and occasional on-shore projects have generated

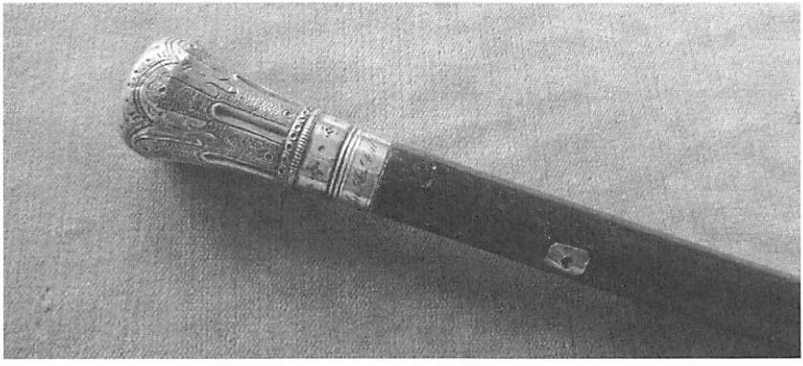
substantial holdings in both paper and digital media. However, access to these materials is limited by the need to protect fragile archaeological sites.

Special collections in the LCMM archives include unique materials from private donors. These often take the form of single items or small collections, such as ship manifests, letters, lake charts, post cards, and other ephemera. Among larger holdings are papers of the Lake Champlain Transportation Company, engineering plans and elevations of the Champlain Bridge, and family papers from Amy Welcher, the last private owner of Button Point and Button Island (now Button Bay State Park).

Silver-headed Cane, 1873

Gift of LeGrand Burns
2004.006

This silver-headed cane came to Lake Champlain Maritime Museum in 2004 as the gift of LeGrand Burns. For many years, it was among the furnishings at the Burns family camp on Appletree Point. The inscription on the cane reflects nineteenth century pride in the lake's role in Revolutionary War history: "From Flagship *Congress* Galley/Benedict Arnold Commander/Sunk in Lake Champlain/Oct. 13th, 1776/John A. Arthur, 1873." For many years, it was customary for Champlain Valley residents to make keepsakes from the wood of the historic shipwrecks found along the shores of the lake. These relics were carefully labeled with the name and date of the vessel, as well as the name of the maker or owner. The *Vergennes Vermonter* of February 8, 1861, noted, "It has become quite the fashion, within a year or two, for our young gentlemen to furnish themselves with walking canes, made from oak timber of this old relic of bygone days."



BIRCH BARK CANOE, 1959

Gift of Wright and Cindy Preston
2008.022.001

In a gesture that honored both the Champlain Quadricentennial and family history, Wright and Cindy Preston presented to Lake Champlain Maritime Museum a birch bark canoe from the 350th Champlain celebration, complete with the original paddles and pitch pot, and a collection of family photographs and Champlain Celebration memorabilia. The canoe was made at the Maniwaki reserve in Quebec. Preston's father, William S. Preston, Jr., had served as co-chair of the "canoecade" during the celebration, and afterward acquired the canoe, which was used by the family for many years. Preston's grandfather, William S. Preston of Burlington, was Co-Chairman of the New York–Vermont Interstate Commission on the Lake Champlain Basin, and member of the Hudson–Champlain Federal Commission. In an article summing up the "Festival's Aftermath," the Sunday *New York Times* of September 20, 1959, commented, "The special anniversary events were triple-starred, and among these, the most spectacular as well as crucial, from a crowd-appeal point of view, was the Sieur de Champlain's Canoecade. It is not unfair to say that the entire Champlain festival was built around this almost month-long Odyssey of the play-actor Champlain, his two French companions, and some sixty Indians who paddled virtually the length of the lake in twenty-four authentic birch bark canoes with innumerable ceremonial halts."

ELOISE BEIL

Eloise Beil is director of collections at the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum.

Lake Champlain's Steamboats: Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont

For almost 150 years, steamboats plied the waters of Lake Champlain, transporting passengers for business and pleasure and hauling goods in and out of the Champlain Valley. Beginning in 1809, when the Winans brothers built and launched the world's second successful steamboat from their boatyard in Burlington and ending in 1953, when the sidewheel steamer *Ticonderoga* hosted its last excursion, steamboats were an important presence on the Lake Champlain waterway. The University of Vermont's Special Collections department houses a rich collection of company records, personal papers, and photographs that document the steamboat era, including the Guy Catlin Papers, the Champlain Transportation Company Records, P. G. Ladd's account book, the Rockwell Family Papers, the Ralph Nading Hill Collection, and the L. L. McAllister Photographs.

Guy Catlin Papers

Guy Catlin and his brother Moses came to Burlington in the 1790s from Connecticut. They developed a mercantile business and served as agents for other merchants trading along the Champlain-Richelieu route connecting New York and Montreal. Active in the timber trade that dominated the Champlain Valley economy, they assembled large lumber rafts destined for Canada, where they exchanged timber for cash and goods. They benefited from illegal trade with Canada following the passage of the embargo acts of 1807–1808 and during the War of 1812.

The Guy Catlin Papers contain family and business papers related to Moses, Guy, and other Catlin family members. The collection contains numerous miscellaneous legal and business records generated while trading with merchants in St. Johns, Quebec, and elsewhere. This business primarily relied on sailing vessels and lumber rafts, but in 1813 Guy and Moses Catlin were among the organizers of the Lake Champlain Steamboat Company. One folder in the collection contains records of Guy Catlin's involvement with construction and operation of a steamboat in 1816–1817. The bills and receipts document fairly large payments to the partners of the pioneering Winans steamboat organization, perhaps for the engine and boilers retrieved from their steamer *Vermont.* There are also receipts for services and materials used in the construction and operation of the steamer *Champlain.* These materials can contribute to a more detailed understanding of one of Lake Champlain's

early steamboat companies and to the story of the *Champlain,* which burned late in 1817.

Champlain Transportation Company Records

The Champlain Transportation Company, founded in 1826, successfully competed with other Lake Champlain steamboat enterprises, and by 1835 had absorbed or bought up rival vessels. The company grew steadily, and despite occasional competition, dominated passenger transportation on the lake throughout the nineteenth century. In 1870, the Champlain Transportation Company passed into control of the Delaware and Hudson Railroad. The railroad incorporated the lake steamboats into its Montreal–New York routes, a strategy that ensured their continued viability. As the Champlain Transportation Company focused on the lucrative excursion business, they built large and ornate passenger steamboats such as the *Chateaugay* (1888), the *Vermont III* (1903), and the *Ticonderoga* (1906). In 1937, after a number of years of declining revenues, Horace W. Corbin of Grand Isle purchased the company. Automobile travel increased while steamboat runs decreased, and in 1948 the Champlain Transportation Company ended steamboat service on Lake Champlain.

The extensive Champlain Transportation Company Records cover the years from 1812–1947. The ledgers, stock books, board meeting minutes, annual reports, correspondence, bills, and other documents pertain to all aspects of the company, including daily business, passengers, steamer specifications, finances, employees, inventories, leases, inspections, and so on. The records provide insights into the careers of notable Champlain Transportation Company officials such as Philo Doolittle, Thomas H. Canfield, LeGrand B. Cannon, Daniel Loomis, and H. W. Corbin. The collection includes many of the personal dairies that general manager Daniel Loomis maintained from 1884–1939, making almost daily notes about company activities. Visual materials include photographs and pictures of steamboats, company employees and officers, the marine railroad at the Shelburne Shipyard, and some miscellaneous blueprints.

The general history of the Champlain Transportation Company and its steamboats can be found in a number of sources, including Russell Bellico's *Sails and Steam in the Mountains,* which references many items in the Champlain Transportation Company Records.[1] The breadth and depth of the company records make them a significant resource for a variety of new research projects. The detailed annual reports and financial data could contribute to a more critical corporate history. Genealogists already consult the employee and passenger records, but a labor historian could use the time books and other records to explore the nature of

steamboat employment. Passenger lists can contribute to migration studies and research on travel patterns. Company records, in conjunction with advertising broadsides and schedules, could be used to analyze the nature and impact of the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century tourist excursions, including the origin of the travelers, marketing strategies, and coordination and partnerships with railroads, streetcar lines, lakeside hotels and resorts, historic sites, recreation facilities, and special events.

P. G. Ladd and Sons Account Book

This account book provides a close look at the effect the lake steamers had on the economy of one lakeside community. The book is attributed to P. G. Ladd and Sons at Benson's Landing, where a store, storehouses, and a hotel served lake travelers during the nineteenth century. Entries cover the period from 1849 to 1872, and in large part they record goods exchanged with passing steamboats, towboats, and other vessels. Vessel names—rather than names of individuals—are listed on the index page: Steamer Burlington, Steamer F. Saltus, Tow Steamer John Gilpin, etc. Many of the entries are for fresh food items such as butter, eggs, milk, and berries, most likely destined for the passengers. In one unidentified year, the account keeper lists the quantities of berries purchased daily from local women; for example, on September 20, 14 quarts, Mrs. Slavin. There are frequent entries for wood, often in large quantities. Careful examination may reveal that some charges are for storing goods, and some listings may be for items brought to the Benson's Landing store.

Rockwell Family Papers

Numerous members of the Rockwell family, who settled in the Lake Champlain Islands, were involved in Lake Champlain's steamboat business. The Rockwell Family Papers consist of two cartons of letters, business papers, bound diaries and account books, photographs, newspaper clippings, and other papers, mostly covering the period from the 1850s to 1929.

The bulk of the materials relate to Ell B. Rockwell's many years of service on Lake Champlain steamboats. He began his career in 1842 at age twelve, and worked on lake steamboats as a pilot, mate, and captain until his death in 1928. Most of the material from 1880–1881 documents the construction of the steamer *Reindeer,* one of the few lake steamers that was never owned by the Champlain Transportation Company. The Grand Isle Steamship Company built the *Reindeer* in Alburgh, Vermont, and Ell Rockwell supervised the boat's construction and served as her captain through 1884. The collection contains exhaustive details

about construction specifications, vendors, design (including sketches), financing, and materials. In addition to his duties on the steamboats, orders and correspondence indicate that Rockwell and other members of the family were involved in commission and speculative sales of local agricultural products in markets as distant as New York City.

Several documents might be intriguing to food historians, including an 1879 request from a produce merchant "to load up some of those red apples I liked so much (famouse I think)" and to provide two other apple varieties (Snowflake and Prolifics) that he considered to be good stock.[2] An order book for the steamer *Reindeer* in account with Drew and Conger of Burlington lists all of the quantities and cuts of beef, pork, lamb, and turkey purchased during the month of November in an unidentified year.[3]

Toward the end of his life, Ell Rockwell himself became part of the excursion experience, as the company capitalized on his experience and age. The collection includes four folders of fan mail and photographs of Captain Rockwell with passengers from the 1920s. A letter Frederick H. Kohler wrote from Long Island in 1928 is typical, "I herewith enclose two snap shots of you which I had the pleasure of taking on your Steamer last week. Our trip through the Lakes and surrounding country and Canada was a most enjoyable one, and meeting and chatting with you is one of the bright spots of our trip long to be remembered."[4] The letters and photos, in conjunction with company publicity materials, demon-

Captain Ell Rockwell (center) and a group of travelers aboard the Vermont. *Courtesy Special Collections, University of Vermont.*

strate that they developed a successful marketing strategy using the venerable captain as an icon.

Ralph Nading Hill Collection

After reviewing an early draft of Ralph Nading Hill's book *Sidewheeler Saga* in 1942, literary agent Lurton Blassingame, trying to explain the source of the manuscript's shortcomings, told Hill "I think you fell too much in love with the lake."[5] In the 1950s, Hill's abiding interest in Lake Champlain's history, and especially her steamboats, prompted him to spearhead a campaign to save the *Ticonderoga,* the last sidewheel steamboat operating on Lake Champlain, from the scrap heap. While Hill's efforts to operate the *Ticonderoga* as an excursion steamer and then to bring the vessel to the Shelburne Museum are chronicled in his books *Sidewheeler Saga* (1956) and *The Story of the Ticonderoga* (1957), the Ralph Nading Hill Collection contains letters, reports, newspaper clippings, and other materials that more completely document the short-lived Shelburne Steamboat Company and the early years of the *Ticonderoga's* second life as a very popular museum attraction.

Three thick scrapbooks document the activities of the Lake Champlain's last excursion steamboat company, including fundraising and financial challenges, the search for experienced crew members, and the demands of maintaining a boat built in 1906. Other folders contain detailed correspondence and reports about moving the *Ticonderoga* to the museum in 1954–1955, restoring the vessel to its 1906 grandeur, and making it work as a museum attraction. After more than two decades on land, the *Ticonderoga* again needed restoration work, and in the early 1980s Hill spearheaded a second major campaign to raise funds and to educate a new generation about the significance of the only remaining vessel of its type in the world.

The collection includes many letters from fellow steamboat historians and from the readers of Hill's numerous books and articles that contain valuable historical information about steamboating on Lake Champlain and elsewhere. Hill worked closely with Electra H. Webb, the founder of the Shelburne Museum; their extensive correspondence in the collection demonstrates the vision and dedication that supported their herculean effort to save the *Ticonderoga* and their longstanding friendship. In their letters, Webb is frequently the Commodore, while Hill is the Seaman.

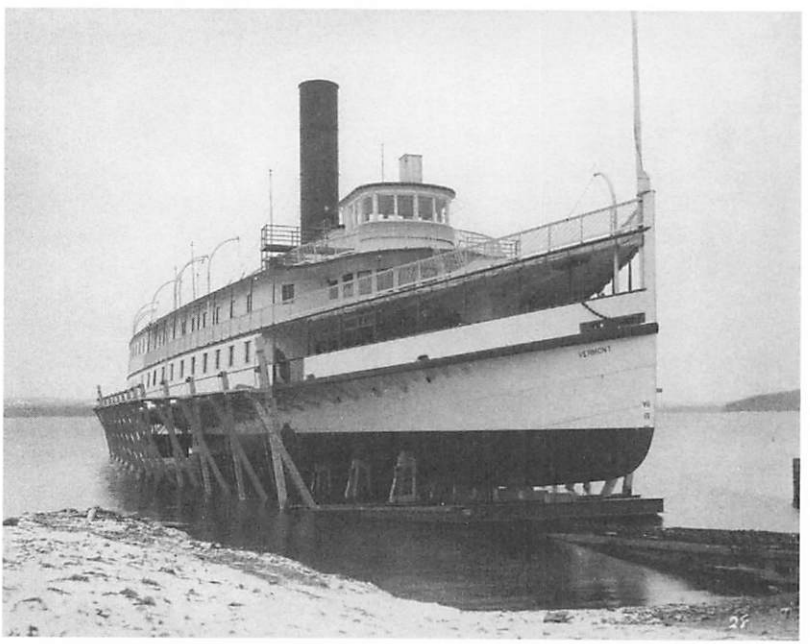
The material in the Ralph Nading Hill Collection is an important resource for researchers working on steamboat history, the development of Vermont's twentieth-century tourist economy, and the creation of an unusual historical museum. Although much has been written about the

Ticonderoga at the Shelburne Museum, this material could provide the basis of a detailed case study of a major—and extremely successful—historic preservation effort.

Louis L. McAllister Photographs

Burlington area photographer Louis McAllister, who used his large-format view camera to record daily life and special events from 1910 to the early 1960s, photographed steamboats, ferries, and related facilities throughout his career. Included among the thousands of black-and-white prints in the Louis McAllister collection are shots of the steamers *Vermont, Chategeauy,* and *Ticonderoga* as well as images of the Shelburne Shipyard and the Champlain Transportation Company landing in Burlington.

The collection also includes about fifty photographs that document the *Ticonderoga*'s final journey out of Lake Champlain and on to land at the Shelburne Museum. McAllister was on site frequently to record



In 1929, the Champlain Transportation Company installed a marine railway at its Shelburne shipyard. On October 24, several hundred spectators watched a test run as the steamer Vermont *was hauled out of the lake in a cradle. Courtesy Special Collections, University of Vermont.*

the ship's slow progress toward its final resting place during fall, winter, and early spring in 1954–1955. The photographs provide a visual record of the technical solutions devised by project contractors Merritt-Chapman & Scott and W. B. Hill, some of the obstacles encountered, and project personnel and visitors. McAllister dated and numbered the prints, so the activities shown can be correlated with the progress reports in the Hill papers and with Hill's summary account of the move in *The Story of the Ticonderoga.* The McAllister steamboat images have been digitized and they can be accessed online through the UVM Libraries' Center for Digital Initiatives at http://cdi.uvm.edu.

PRUDENCE DOHERTY

Prudence Doherty is Public Services Librarian in Special Collections at Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont.

NOTES

[1] Russell Bellico, *Sails and Steam in the Mountains: A Maritime and Military History of Lake George and Lake Champlain* (Fleischmanns, NY: Purple Mountain Press, 1992), 257–289.

[2] George W. Sabre to E. B. Rockwell, 23 May 1881, Rockwell Family Papers (Additions), Special Collections, University of Vermont.

[3] Order book, Steamer Reindeer in account with Drew & Conger, Rockwell Family Papers (Carton 1, Folder 53), Special Collections, University of Vermont.

[4] Frederick H. Kohler to Ell B. Rockwell, 24 July 1928, Rockwell Family Papers (Carton 2, Folder 1), Special Collections, University of Vermont.

[5] Lurton Blassingame to Ralph Nading Hill, 9 September 1942, Ralph Nading Hill Collection (Carton 22, Folder 1), Special Collections, University of Vermont.

BOOK REVIEWS

Champlain's Dream

By David Hackett Fischer (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2008, pp. 834, $40.00).

With *Champlain's Dream,* David Hackett Fischer, University Professor and Warren Professor of History at Brandeis University, has added another major title to his growing list of highly acclaimed historical works. Congenially written and presented, well illustrated with two separate color signatures and throughout the text where the images and maps illuminate the narrative, thoroughly documented, and unabashedly sympathetic, *Champlain's Dream* has eclipsed previous work on Samuel de Champlain. It will serve as the standard on Champlain and as a major contribution to the understanding of the roots of the French experience in North America.

Fischer introduces Champlain at the outset of the book with a detailed description of a contemporary French engraving of the "Defeat of the Iroquois at Lake Champlain" prepared for Champlain's account of the skirmish in his *Les Voyages Du Sieur De Champlain,* published in 1613. In his thorough account (including an appendix on "The Battle with the Mohawk in 1609: Where Did It Happen?") of the expedition with Algonquin allies in which Champlain became the first European to see the lake he liked well enough to lend it his own name, Fisher authoritatively puts to rest the vestiges of the lingering debate over the site of the engagement with the Iroquois. He convincingly demonstrates that they fought on the morning of July 30, 1609 on the shore in front of where the Pavilion at Fort Ticonderoga now stands. He also thoroughly debunks the charge of some historians that Champlain's decision to join

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the Algonquin tribes and fight the Iroquois provoked more than a century of fierce Indian warfare that at one point threatened the existence of New France.

Fischer admires Champlain as a French humanist, a bridge figure "who inherited the Renaissance and inspired the Enlightenment" (p. 7). He details the astonishing range of Champlain's activities as a soldier, mariner, geographer, explorer, cartographer, writer, founder of a colony, and administrator within the humanistic lodestone of the ethical teachings of Christianity and "large ideas of peace and tolerance" (p. 529). Fischer describes Champlain as a strong and practical man with an unrelenting passion for knowledge and capable of turning his visions and dreams of a better world into reality.

Fischer has firm and impressive control of the sources ranging from Canadian, French, and other archives, to Champlain's voluminous writings and cartography, religious records and other contemporary sources, archaeological and ethnographic research and publications (which have exploded since the last full-length biographical treatment of Champlain), and the secondary literature from both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. He has greatly enhanced the work with his personal reconnaissance of the places where Champlain lived, worked, and explored.

Even with voluminous records surrounding Champlain's activities, including the thousands of pages of Champlain's own writings, he remains, as a man, hidden. Fischer found Champlain's works extremely reticent about "his origins, inner thoughts, private life, and personal feelings." Champlain remained "silent and even secretive about the most fundamental facts of his life." The 1613 engraving of the 1609 battle on Lake Champlain with its sketchy depiction remains the only known authentic image of Champlain. Like this engraving, Fischer asserts that most previous accounts contain a "wealth of information and poverty of fact" (p. 4). Fischer addresses the uncertainty of Champlain's parentage and family, religious roots, age, schooling, relationships with women including his wife, and other aspects of the man that would help describe and understand him. He frees the narrative of the lengthy detailed discussion of sources and his own speculations and deductions with sixteen appendixes consuming nearly one hundred pages. They cover topics such as Champlain's birth date, the site of the 1609 battle, his writings, ships and boats, weights and measures, and published writings.

Many histories concerning North America stop at the coast. Fischer had already exhibited his grasp of the importance of transatlantic understanding in his acclaimed *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) in which he demonstrated how migration of distinct groups from Britain established

different regional cultures in America. He sets the broad context for Champlain's activities with knowledgeable accounts of the French religious civil wars, the courts of Henry IV (perhaps his father), Marie de Medici, and Louis XIII, and Cardinal Richelieu's ascendancy. Each of these had a different and direct impact on Champlain and the shaping of New France.

In a separate and valuable thirty-page essay, "Memories of Champlain: Images and Interpretations, 1608–2008," Fischer lays out and analyzes four centuries of historiography. The memory of Champlain has endured the hagiography of those who uncritically view him as a heroic figure embodied in the "Father of New France," the slings and arrows of debunkers and revisionists, and the reinterpretations that conform to the particular agendas of historians and others trapped in the scholarly nuances of their time. In the political correctness that characterized the 1990s, the notion of Champlain and other explorers making "discoveries" became the distasteful and sometimes racially biased emblems of Eurocentric imperialists. Fischer sees that conception *de jour* relenting, and he has no compunction about using the sometimes taboo terms of "discovery" or "Indian." He interprets Champlain as a French humanist firm in the faith "that all people in the world were God's children and each possessed an immortal soul," and asserts that the unwavering belief in a "common humanity in the people of America and Europe—all the world—lay at the heart of Champlain's dream" (p. 147). To make his case, Fischer details at great length throughout the narrative Champlain's treatment of the Indians over three decades "with humanity and respect" and "straight words and equitable dealing" (p. 118), unlike most other European explorers and colonists.

By interpreting Champlain as a humanist espousing peace, tolerance, and diversity and dreaming of a "new world as a place where peoples of different cultures could live together in amity and concord," Fischer seems to touch and affirm his own values and places himself within the historiography of the memory of Champlain. "In the face of great obstacles and heavy defeats," Fischer writes, "he exercised skill of leadership in extreme conditions. Those of us who are leaders today (which includes most of us in an open society) have something to learn from him about that" (p. 7). Fischer will tantalize the revisionists who view the world through a different prism, but his prodigious research may hold them at bay for a generation or more and force them into quibbles over small details.

Confident in his craft, Fischer allows his presentation to envision what Champlain and others must have thought, felt, and experienced, even though they left little direct record. He describes the sights, sounds, and

difficulties of sailing a sixteenth-century vessel into the Brouage harbor, the feelings of men as they left home and safety to embark on a trans-Atlantic voyage to the New World, and the feeling and look of Mount Desert, Maine, where Fischer's family frequently visited. In a work on a man who lived in the last third of the sixteenth century and first third of the seventeenth, Fischer, with erudition, makes points with references to Eudora Welty, Napoleon, Charles de Gaulle, Truman, Churchill, Teddy Roosevelt, Pitt, Herman Melville, Lincoln, and Black Hawk. He injects comparisons with the "honest graft" of Tammany Hall, Herbert Hoover's "Chicken in every pot," and Churchill's "Lord Roof-of-the-Matter." These enhance the book, and they also make clear that Fischer has the mature confidence of a historian with little concern for academic narrowness or fear of niggling scholarly reviews.

David Hackett Fischer has produced a dense, learned, and readable *tour de force.* Through the life and activities of Samuel de Champlain narrated in *Champlain's Dreams,* Fischer has painted a detailed portrait of an important figure in the story of French colonization of North America and who, Fischer believes, has important lessons to impart in the complex times of the early twenty-first century.

H. NICHOLAS MULLER III

A Trustee and Treasurer of the Vermont Historical Society and former editor of Vermont History, *H. Nicholas Muller III has lectured and written widely about Vermont's past. He lives on the shore of Lake Champlain and in the summer months appreciates the same sense of the majesty and beauty of the lake and the Champlain Valley that Samuel de Champlain discovered in 1609.*

Lake Champlain: An Illustrated History

Edited by Michael MacCaskey (Jay, N.Y.: Adirondack Life, 2009, pp. 215, $44.95).

This lavishly illustrated, elegantly designed book is probably the most visually beautiful history book any of us are likely to own. Designed as a coffee table book for the Lake Champlain Quadricentennial, it is also an interesting, if broad-brush, history of the lake.

The book's subject and its market come ready made. Not only does Lake Champlain encompass a huge swath of American history, but this year's Champlain Quadricentennial celebrates the lake's "discovery" by Europeans 400 years ago and its continuing importance today. Thus, there will be thousands of potential customers roaming the Champlain

Valley. Those with an interest in history will find no more attractive summation of the tumultuous parade of Native American life, European explorations, battles, land grabs, commercial ventures, and recreational pleasures than this large-format, 216-page volume.

The built-in problem faced by any history of Lake Champlain is that there is so much of it. Multiple volumes can and have been written about virtually every aspect of the lake's sprawling story. David Hackett Fischer's 800-hundred-plus-page biography of Samuel de Champlain (*Champlain's Dream,* Simon & Schuster, 2008), is just the latest example. Consequently, any history of the entire lake, especially an illustrated history, must, of necessity, hit the high points. *Lake Champlain: An Illustrated History* does a nice job of that, for the most part.

There's no shirking of scope here. The book begins its historical labors with an essay on the lake's formation, geology, and natural history. (That takes the reader back more than 500 million years!) Chapters follow on Native American life, the era of exploration by Champlain and other Europeans, the commercial age of steamboats and canal boats, and finally, the growth of recreation, primarily in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. And that, frankly, is a lot of ground to cover.

There's an almost breathless quality to some chapters, as they race through foray after exploratory foray and campaign after military campaign. However, "Hinterland to International Waterway," Ginger Gellman and Scott A. McLaughlin's essay on the commercial era, and Mark Bushnell's chapter on recreation, "Sports and Play on Lake Champlain," are themselves worth the price of the book. There are many delightful little vignettes in both chapters, such as this one, quoted by Bushnell, about one skater who skimmed across Lake Champlain in the late nineteenth century: "'He'd skate across ice that wouldn't hold up a chipmunk,' quipped a woman who knew him."

William Haviland's survey of Native American life and society along the lake—especially the post-contact and modern history of the Abenakis—is fascinating, an important contribution to our understanding of a vital and often-ignored aspect of Lake Champlain's story.

Lake Champlain: An Illustrated History makes only one organizational stumble. After its exemplary introductory pages, the book digresses into a town-by-town travelogue, with a short essay and illustrations for each of the score of towns on the lake's New York and Vermont shores. Granted, these are attractively illustrated and briskly written, but I still found myself repeatedly thumbing through these pages to get to the historical meat further along. Why couldn't these short chapters be placed near the back of the book, after the history chapters? And I might as well get this off my chest: The brown hawk illustrated on page 81 is not a

peregrine falcon. It's a northern harrier. Admittedly, that's a minor quibble regarding this large, complex, beautifully produced book.

Illustrated histories live or die on the quality of their illustrations. They need to pull their weight in the history department, to be sure, and this book does that, but it especially shines in the number and quality of its photos and illustrations. Historical photos are matched with ancient maps, contemporary paintings, old prints of the region, and other illustrations in a striking and captivating way. For example, an introductory essay by U.S. Senator Patrick J. Leahy is paired with a photograph of the senator as a boy, along with his siblings and father, alongside the *Ticonderoga*—the last steamship to ply the lake, which now rests in permanent dry dock at the Shelburne Museum.

In an interesting touch, the book opens with a photograph of an anonymous young lad, up to his shoulders in the lake—probably the way many of us first encountered it—and ends with a painting of an Abenaki gathering on the lake's wild shore. It begins with the present and ends with the past. Thus it subtly makes the point explicitly made by Christopher Shaw in his two front-and-back essays, that the lake's history is not simply a progression from past to present, but is still very much with us, a part of our present reality.

The book's design, by Bill Harvey of Harvey/Severance (Burlington, Vt.) is a delight throughout: elegant, intelligent, vigorous, yet unobtrusive. It makes this book a great pleasure simply to leaf through—which is, of course, how many people will enjoy it.

THOMAS K. SLAYTON

Tom Slayton is editor emeritus of Vermont Life *and a regular commentator on Vermont Public Radio. He spent many days of his boyhood summers swimming in Lake Champlain.*

Lake Champlain: A Natural History

By Mike Winslow (Burlington: The Lake Champlain Committee, 2008, paper, $18.95).

This is a book for anyone interested in Lake Champlain, a unique body of water formed by millennia of geologic, biologic, and physical forces and today facing a variety of ecological challenges. In the preface, Winslow states that his desire in writing this book was to create a "text written in compelling language" not too "exasperatingly superficial" or "overwhelmingly complex" (p. viii). The author has done exactly

that and has provided readers with an excellent introduction to the natural history of Lake Champlain that is a pleasure to read and will inspire others to become fascinated by this great lake.

Lake Champlain's subject is exactly that. It is a general introduction to the processes that have formed Lake Champlain and its associated basin. It begins by providing a basic description of the geologic processes that formed the lake and continues with the physical and biologic processes that have caused Lake Champlain to evolve to its present form. Winslow includes in this book concepts related to geology, limnology, freshwater ecology, and complex systems science, although it should not be considered a text for any of these subjects. Instead, it should be thought of as an introductory examination of the natural history of Lake Champlain.

As an educator who often teaches courses related to Lake Champlain, I find this book to be a welcome addition to a very limited number of introductory texts that study Lake Champlain's formation and the processes affecting the water quality and organisms that reside in it. Students, naturalists, educators, and lifelong learners alike will find this text to be both informative and accessible. Winslow intentionally provides just enough science talk to provide insight into the language used in the study of lakes, but not too much so as to alienate those not well versed in this language. His writing follows his own journey in becoming a student of Lake Champlain and often includes his own observations and experiences, many of which we can all relate to, as a means of providing relevance to the subject matter.

Perhaps what makes this the most valuable introduction to Lake Champlain's natural history currently available is that the sources Winslow has chosen are primarily recent scientific studies of the lake. He provides the reader with up-to-date information and allows access to research and understanding not otherwise easily accessible.

Any discussion of Lake Champlain's natural history must include its relation to the region's cultural history and the impact of human activity on the lake ecosystem. It is clear that modern Lake Champlain faces a number of ecological challenges that must be addressed if we are to continue to enjoy the resources and pleasures it provides us. These issues are scientifically complex and still not completely understood. The issue of invasive species and how to address their impacts alone will continue to occupy scientists for many years. In *Lake Champlain,* Winslow does an excellent job of presenting these issues in language that allows them to be accessible to everyone. From eutrophication to atmospheric deposition, Winslow describes the issues without pointing the finger, as is often the case in texts related to ecological issues.

If you are interested in learning more about Lake Champlain's natural history and contemporary ecological issues, or are an educator trying to find an introductory text for a course concerning Lake Champlain, then this is the book for you. Winslow has created a text that is easy and fun to read and makes the most up to date scientific understanding of Lake Champlain accessible to his readers.

MATT DAVIS

Matt Davis teaches science and courses on Lake Champlain at The Gailer School in Middlebury and at Burlington College.

A Short Story of American Destiny, 1909–2009

By Kevin Dann (San Rafael: LogoSophia, 2008, pp. 179, paper, $18.50).

Historians who plan a book to coincide with a historical anniversary are faced with a particular challenge: How to write a book that is a lasting treasure, rather than one that will be remaindered two years later. Kevin Dann, a lecturer in history at the State University of New York (SUNY)–Plattsburgh, found a solution: He crafted a short thought-provoking book that is timely but will not soon be outdated. A clue to his purpose is embedded in the title, which refers to a story, not a history, and to Destiny—a concept historians tangle with at their peril. The dark cloud that hovers over this story is the idea that modernity has outpaced faith and reason, and that from 1909 to 2009, it was America's destiny to be the first nation to fall into modernity's trap. Dann interprets Americans' spiritual journey as one of "personal renewal through violent confrontation" (p. 77).

Dann, author of several histories of this region and beyond, including his eloquent *Lewis Creek Lost and Found* (2001), decided to focus not on the 2009 celebration of the 400th anniversary of the discovery of Lake Champlain, affectionately known as "The Quad," but on the 1909 Tercentenary of the voyages of Henry Hudson and Samuel de Champlain. In doing so, he fixes his gaze on an extraordinary period in intellectual history, when philosophers, hucksters, and theologians debated the meaning of human life and the causes of unexplained phenomena. Not yet ready to discard divine intervention as a causal factor, some seemed more ready to discard reason or to create their own alternate universe of thought as an explanatory model. This book opens a window into a period when faith in a divine being, reason, and science all seemed

poised in a precarious balance as the Western world whirred toward the age of electricity, telegraph, telephone, and World War I. According to Dann, 1909 ushered in a century of materialism, war, and death.

Dann's discursive tale runs the reader by Thomas Kuhn, Wilbur Wright, Charles Fort, Sergei Prokovieff, Copernicus, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Henry Adams, and Nikola Tesla as though they were exhibits in the sideshows of the era, placing Rudolf Steiner (1861–1925), founder of anthroposophy, and from whose philosophy Waldorf education and homeopathy emerged, in center ring.

A Short Story of American Destiny treats 1909 as an *annus mirabilis,* when enough paranormal events, such as fireballs and great darkness, occurred to satisfy a believer that God was angry at the world, to convince scientists that they needed better instruments and measurements if science were to survive as a discipline, and to persuade thinking citizens that reason was a necessary but not sufficient method for understanding the natural world. In fact, in setting the stage, Dann asks the reader to suspend reason with him as he notes that the prior year's explosion in Siberia and a terrible earthquake in Sicily were catastrophes that could be interpreted as punishments for wrong thought, and were predictable by those, like Steiner, who could sense humanity's misguided course. This course, Steiner indicated, would unleash The Beast, a figure anthroposophists and Dann associate with Adolf Hitler. Dann notes that one still unexplained event of 1907 was well recorded in Vermont newspapers—the lightning ball explosion at Church and College streets in Burlington, which knocked over a horse and was heard throughout the city. Indeed, as if the tensions between theology and secular learning were not already indicated by the street names, the event was witnessed by former governor Urban Woodbury and the visibly shaken Bishop John Michaud, who happened to be chatting at that corner, at that moment.

With meticulous detail, Dann deploys theater, pageants, and parades planned by University of Vermont fraternity brothers between 1890 and 1909 to demonstrate the very American manifestation of the epistemological and racial anxieties of the period. In staging "kakewalks" which included undergraduates dressed in black face, as Suffragettes, Indians, Temperance workers, or "savages" from Africa, these young men were both parroting what they had learned, notably in George Perkins's anthropology class, and constructing knowledge for the residents of Burlington who thrilled to the demeaning but exotic displays of cannibalism and idiocy. Such displays were mimicked in a somewhat more benign manner at summer camps across the Northeast, as campers dressed as American or African "savages," took Indian names, cooked Indian

food, sang "Kumbaya" around the campfire, and learned Indian crafts and lore (pp. 60–66). These displays of what passed for public history, when cleaned up and sanctioned by local governments as centennials or commemorations, became spectacles that drew thousands to soak in our nation's noble past.

Dann recounts links between rituals and myths of central America and Europe, discusses Christ's life cycle and anthroposophic theories about how his life forms a pattern for the rest of history, and notes that the summer of 2009, along with 2010–12 are periods when Americans will be called to the better angels of their natures or risk spiritual and environmental decline. Dann places the Tercentenary commemorations in the context of these Manichean struggles, while leaving to the reader the effort of finding a logical link between the committees, planning, and symbols of the Tercentenary and the esoteric arguments about strange events.

Steiner's uncanny ability to "be in the right place at the right time" (pp. 72–73) and to prophesize—an ability many, including Dann, attribute to clairvoyance—seems to provide an explanation for these phenomena. Human beings' "thoughts and actions" had created catastrophes, though Steiner was careful to add that the particular victims of the events were not the humans whose thoughts or actions had led to their demise. Rather, the forces of evil—which Steiner, Goethe, and others equated with ancient Persian manifestations of evil forces such as Ahura Mazdao or Ahriman, or called by new ancient-sounding sobriquets such as Mephistopheles and Sorath—were at work in the world. Steiner was not alone in exhorting his listeners to follow the correct path in order to prevent the end of the world. However, in Dann's treatise, Steiner was the most perspicacious, and the one who had created the most coherent philosophy.

While such philosophies might have been a bit esoteric for the practical "show me" Americans, the stunning display of electricity alongside savagery at the White City of Chicago World's Fair of 1893 was the proving ground for millions of Americans to experience the anxieties of modernity and the wonders of electricity on one, unforgettable, vacation. Dann carefully weaves the very tangible (celebratory medals, pamphlets, and booklets) with the ethereal or even other-worldly leaps of imagination of the period. However, while hindsight provides the author with this book's greatest strengths, it also allows its most discernable weakness. For although Dann can now synthesize the opinions of early twentieth-century scientists and philosophers, such an analysis would have been far more difficult for even the most worldly scholar to do in 1909. Were the planners of the Tercentenary fully aware of, or

concerned with, distant debates about the existence of the Devil or the return of Christ, the balls of fire, or the theosophists?

In order to demonstrate the critical phase Dann believes we are now entering, he relates unusual synchronicities between Steiner's lectures and other world events. He provides a chapter, for instance, on the elaborate mechanism by which Mexican and Aztec people reconfigured and renamed their gods to conform with, and convert to, Christianity in the sixteenth century. He also describes historical time in cycles of 33.5 years (the years of Christ's life) and the 666-year cycle implying or inducing major catastrophes. One of Dann's express purposes is to encourage readers to open their eyes and hearts, and to act for the betterment of the planet. Although the back cover of the book describes its topic as "History," the Library of Congress saw other topics as primary, listing "Occultism" and "Forecasting" first and second, and the Tercentenary as seventh of nine keyword topics, none of which include the word history.

By extending his reach far beyond the shores of Lake Champlain to describe the Tercentenary, and in querying European and Russian theories about unusual natural events, Dann glosses the difficulties of communication, construction of knowledge, and general naïveté of the period. It is, in part, the lack of general knowledge about the wider world at the turn of the century that allowed snake-oil salesmen and itinerant evangelists to make a living. As Dann acknowledges, by Steiner's death in 1925 only about 100 anthroposophists followed his teachings in the United States. Steiner's philosophy has gained more American followers in the past eight decades than it did during his lifetime. A fuller description of the manner in which European and esoteric ideas were transmitted to the general American or Vermont public would make Dann's argument more convincing. The inclusion of maps, photos, and illustrations would have grounded both the information and the reader.

The epilogue of this extraordinary book, "A Prayer, and an Invitation," almost fills this epistemological gap with a Thoreau-like description of the inseparability of place and thought, and a quintessentially American challenge: It invites the reader to join Dann on any part of his solo trek from Montreal to New York City during the summer of 1909, and to share stories about the lake.

Readers will be intrigued by *A Short Story of American Destiny*; some parts of this book have the page-turning appeal of *Ripley's Believe It or Not.* However, Dann's purpose is not to deliver a series of shocks, but to probe the meaning contemporaries derived from the tension between faith, reason, and science at the dawn of modernity, and to engage others in a renewed debate. These arguments have come full circle in our own

day, as the same struggles plague churches and policy makers—albeit with a century of further debate and scientific advances to consider.

LINDA B. GRAY

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Stephen R. Bradley: Letters of a Revolutionary War Patriot and Vermont Senator

Edited by Dorr Bradley Carpenter (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 2009, pp. ix, 442, paper, $49.95).

An alluringly simple way to organize the political factions and struggles of early Vermont is to pose the era as dichotomous: On one side was the Arlington Junto of Thomas Chittenden and Ira Allen, on the other the Federalists led by such figures as Isaac Tichenor and Nathaniel Chipman. This book on the career of Stephen Rowe Bradley, which provides a brief biography and compiles his existing correspondence, indicates that Vermont's political arena in the Early Republic was much more complex than that.

A Connecticut native, Yale graduate, and lawyer who served in the Revolutionary War, Bradley moved to Westminster, Vermont, in 1779. He immediately immersed himself in the political and social conflicts raging in the southeastern part of the state. The editor writes that Bradley moved to Vermont for "reasons unknown" (p. 25), but it would appear that Bradley knew exactly what he was doing: The area's contentious nature made it a fertile field for an ambitious young lawyer. Within days of arriving in Westminster, Bradley was acting as the defense attorney in a trial of "Yorkers" who had run afoul of the law by virtue of their refusal to serve in the state militia. When Bradley quickly got charges dropped against a number of the defendants, he drew the wrath of Ethan Allen. Flourishing a sword, Allen burst into the courtroom and delivered an impassioned speech condemning "this artful lawyer, Bradley" for letting enemies of the state escape punishment (p. 33). Allen was apparently impressed by Bradley's legal skills, however, for the leader of the Green Mountain Boys was soon employing Bradley as his own attorney in a variety of legal matters. Bradley and Allen remained good friends thereafter; in fact, it was at Bradley's house that Allen was introduced to his second wife, Frances.

His relationship with Allen suggests the delicate balancing act Bradley would apply to his long and busy political career. He went on to serve in 1780 as one of the agents who appealed to Congress to grant Vermont statehood. In the years that followed he served in various town offices, was a probate, appellate, and state supreme court judge, and served many terms as Westminster's representative to the General Assembly. In 1791 Bradley was chosen to serve as one of Vermont's first two United States senators.

After leaving the Senate in 1795, Bradley returned to that body in 1801 as an ardent supporter of Thomas Jefferson. He became what the author believes to be "without doubt the leading Republican senator during his day" (p. 30). Carpenter emphasizes that Bradley was not hesitant to oppose the policies of Jefferson and his successor, James Madison, when he thought it appropriate. Nevertheless, Bradley's largest contribution to American politics was probably his determined effort to deny his party's 1808 presidential nomination to New York Governor George Clinton, who had opposed Vermont's admission to the Union. Bradley personally nominated Madison for the position and engineered his victory. Retiring from the Senate in 1813, Bradley lived nearly another two decades in quiet retirement.

The "correspondence" that follows the biographical essay begins with Bradley's appointment as a Continental Army captain in 1776 and concludes with his will. In between, Carpenter interprets the word "letters" of the subtitle broadly. The material reproduced here ranges widely over letters Bradley sent and received, state and federal government documents, and documents related to Bradley's legal work. Among the figures of national stature whose correspondence with Bradley appears are Jefferson, Madison, John Adams, James Monroe, John Jacob Astor, and Henry Clay. His Vermont correspondents include Ethan Allen, Thomas Chittenden, Matthew Lyon, Royall Tyler, Isaac Tichenor, and Nathaniel Chipman. The letters collectively show that Bradley, though a supporter of Chittenden early in his career and later an ally of Thomas Jefferson, worked effectively across factional and party lines. His colleagues in the Vermont delegation negotiating with New York for state recognition in 1790 included Federalists Tichenor, Chipman, and Elijah Paine. Bradley even maintained a long and friendly relationship with Tichenor, who wrote in 1803 to commend Bradley on his wife being "truly a most amiable Woman" (p. 215).

In a foreword to the book, H. Nicholas Muller III recounts the extent to which historians, both state and national, have neglected Bradley. This volume points the way toward remedying that neglect. Hereafter, one can hope, Bradley may be given a more prominent role in narratives

of the political affairs of the state and nation in that era. It will inspire other historians to revisit the lives of such figures as Tichenor and Chipman, for whom new biographies are long overdue. And it will help us appreciate how, in a story often depicted in black-and-white terms, the politics of early Vermont contained a great deal of grey area.

PAUL SEARLS

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Dr. Henry Janes: Country Doctor & Civil War Surgeon

By Janet L. Bucklew (Newport: Vermont Civil War Enterprises, 2008, pp. viii, 127, $40.00; paper, $20.00).

"An army marching past in well aligned platoons, with colors floating, bands playing, the men with freshly cleaned acoutrements, arms polished and shining in the sunlight, the officers ornate in their gorgeous uniforms, with glittering but worse than useless swords and epaulets, affords a costly pageant well calculated to enthuse an unthinking populace. But come with me over the field, after a hotly contested battle, or still better, because the attention is not distracted by the hosts of mangled corpses of the men more mercifully killed outright, help me to receive the wounded at the field hospital during and after the battle, as they are brought on the long lines of stretchers and ambulances."

The man knew whereof he wrote. Dr. Henry Janes of Waterbury addressed the Vermont State Medical Society some forty years after his service for the Union army in the Civil War, an experience which was to shape his personality, his world view, and his professional reputation for the half century after the war.

Janes was born in Waterbury in 1832 and educated at St. Johnsbury Academy and the College of Physicians and Surgeons in New York, in due course a part of Columbia University. He enlisted soon after the onset of the Civil War and remained active in the army's medical service for the duration of the conflict. He was close to the heart of the action in Maryland at the time of the Battle of Antietam in September 1862, and the following summer he was even closer to the Battle of Gettysburg. He was instrumental in setting up Camp Letterman, a field hospital that served the needs of wounded soldiers at Gettysburg for several months after the battle. In 1864 he was assigned to the Sloan U.S. General Hos-

pital on the site of the present Vermont College of Fine Arts in Montpelier, which continued to serve war-injured patients, particularly Vermonters, until October 1865.

After the war Janes returned to practice in Waterbury and did surgery there and at the newly formed Mary Fletcher Hospital in Burlington, where he taught students at the University of Vermont College of Medicine. Although younger colleagues noted his inability to come to terms with modern concepts such as aseptic surgery, he continued into the twentieth century to draw on his impressive experience as a battlefield surgeon to teach and comment upon diagnostic and procedural approaches to difficult surgical problems, particularly involving limb injuries. His photographically illustrated case book of war injuries (and some civilian ones) is a prized possession of Special Collections at the Bailey/Howe Library at the University of Vermont.

Janet L. Bucklew, whose experience includes work as a ranger at the Gettysburg National Military Park, has a particular interest in the medical care provided to Civil War combatants. She rescues Dr. Janes from relative obscurity in this brief and readable account, which will occupy a useful spot on the ever-expanding shelf of literature about Vermont's contributions to the Civil War.

Ms. Bucklew has searched primary and secondary resources, both in the general literature of Civil War medicine and in Vermont archives, to assemble her account. Her results include much that attracts the reader interested in Vermont history, the Civil War, or the history of medicine, but there are distressing gaps. For example, although we may not have much direct evidence of Dr. Janes's education and training in medicine, I would have appreciated somewhat more depth than the single sentence devoted to his course and teachers at the College of Physicians and Surgeons. For all of its weaknesses in the 1850s, P&S was one of the leading medical educational institutions in the country at the time.

The quotation at the beginning of this review comes from Janes's article entitled "Why is the Profession of Killing More Generally Honored than that of Saving Life?" in the 1903 volume of the annual *Transactions of the Vermont State Medical Society* (pp. 186–206). Citations in the book state that it "is believed to have been published in the *Journal of the Vermont Medical Society*" with "publication date unknown" (pp. 106–107, 122). (No publication with that title has ever existed.) This is not a trivial lapse in historical citation: the 1903 article gives us probably the best insight we have on the impact that Dr. Janes's Civil War experiences had on his mind and philosophy in later life. Furthermore, another Janes article of less importance in the same *Transactions* volume is given a full and accurate citation (p. 98).

There are less egregious but nonetheless noticeable lapses which more assiduous editing would have caught. I will restrict my list to a few varied examples. Dr. Janes's maternal grandfather, Ezra Butler, was Vermont's tenth Governor, not its second (p. 1). Including scurvy in a list of infectious diseases to which weakened immune function would have predisposed soldiers (p. 28) misses a useful point about the soldiers' inadequate diets and likely vitamin C deficiency. "Enysipelas" (p. 95) is a mistranscription from a manuscript document of "erysipelas." "Forebearers" (p. 22) reproduces an error in a quoted book.

A full scholarly account of Dr. Janes's life and accomplishments may have to wait for another day, but this volume has given us an intriguing introduction.

JOHN A. LEPPMAN

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The St. Albans Raiders: An Investigation into the Identities and Life Stories of the Bold and Enigmatic Confederate Soldiers Who Attacked St. Albans, Vermont, on October 19, 1864 (Papers of the Blue & Gray Education Society, Number 19)

By Daniel S. Rush and E. Gale Pewitt (Danville, Va.: McNaughton and Gunn for the Blue & Gray Education Society, 2008, pp. 96, paper, $10.00).

The events of October 19, 1864, in St. Albans have long resided in the annals of infamy among Vermonters, part legend and part documented fact. Over the years scholars and non-scholars alike have picked away at the story, approaching it as a tale of "daredevil raiders" (Oscar Kinchen's *Daredevils of the Confederate Army,* 1959), a case of blundering international diplomacy (Dennis K. Wilson's *Justice Under Pressure,* 1992), and even as a Hollywood romance (director Hugo Fregonese's *The Raid,* starring Van Heflin and Ann Bancroft, 1954). Authors Daniel S. Rush and E. Gale Pewitt, in their brief but well-documented treatment, emphasize the social and familial relationships of the raiders and how their backgrounds contributed to the success of the raid.

It has long been known that most of the St. Albans raiders were escaped Confederate prisoners of war and that many had served in John Hunt Morgan's cavalry. Morgan operated largely in Kentucky before he and most of his troops (including a suave young lieutenant named Bennett Henderson Young) were captured in July 1863, on an ill-advised raid in Ohio. Rush and Pewitt reveal that the men chosen to participate in the St. Albans raid were not only well acquainted with each other but were mostly raised in the same Bluegrass counties of Kentucky, and that a core group of eight were related to each other, while many others had been friends from childhood. They came largely from the Bluegrass aristocracy and were unusually well-educated. The authors offer persuasive though circumstantial evidence about the identities of three raiders whose names have long stumped researchers. Much of this biographical evidence comes from the records of Confederate veterans' organizations, the archives of former Confederate states and of Kentucky, and interviews with raider descendants—sources that previous researchers have almost completely ignored, except in the case of Bennett Young.

It was Young who, having escaped to Canada from a Union prison, sought and received permission from the Confederate government to carry out the raid on St. Albans. He selected the site and the men he was to lead. His plan, in brief, was to assemble over the course of several days twenty to thirty men in St. Albans, dressed as civilian travelers; to rob the three Main Street banks at an opportune moment; to set the business district on fire; and to escape on commandeered horses. Rush and Pewitt conclude that the close relationships among the men, their common social background, and Young's knowledge of their capabilities allowed the raiders to achieve complete surprise on the afternoon of October 19, and to escape with a great deal of money and only one serious casualty among them. Except for their failure to burn down the town (their "Greek fire" grenades failed to ignite), the raiders achieved everything they had desired.

Even so, it is hard to see the St. Albans raid as anything but a desperate, futile adventure by a group of young devotees to the Confederate cause. The larger conspiracy among Confederate government representatives, escaped soldiers, and sympathizers in Canada to wreak havoc on the border, of which the St. Albans raid was a part, was a great failure. The raid raised interesting questions about the rights of combatants operating out of a neutral state, but the hour had long passed when there was any chance of provoking war between the United States and Great Britain, as the Confederacy had long sought to do. Although the raid caused some panic in northern Vermont, and some federal troops were shifted closer to the border as a precaution, it had no effect on Union

military dispositions at the seat of war. No federal troops were going to be pulled away from the siege of Petersburg, where a Confederate collapse was just a matter of time, in order to chase a handful of renegades in northern New England. Bennett Young and his raiders were probably smart enough to know this. Why, then, were they so motivated to carry out the raid? Perhaps it was best summed up by raider Alamander Pope Bruce, who testified that "Yankee plundering and cruel atrocities without parallel, provoked the attack on St. Albans as a mild retaliation" (p. 45). Witnesses quoted similar statements made by the southerners during the raid. In fact, Young himself referred to his company of raiders as the "5th Company CSA Retributors" (p. 40).

The St. Albans Raiders is by no means a sociological study of the motivations of Confederate soldiers and sympathizers. The evidence Rush and Pewitt present does, however, support the conclusion that the St. Albans raiders were ideologues, conditioned by their upbringing to become devotees of the Confederate cause, and bound by kinship and friendship to a high standard of loyalty. Most of them, in fact, returned to the South after being pardoned to lead successful lives in the new (old) order, and almost all of them joined chapters of the United Confederate Veterans, of which Bennett H. Young eventually became commander-in-chief.

Rush and Pewitt thus add an important new dimension to our understanding of the St. Albans raid. One serious deficiency of the book, however, is the lack of a bibliography. It is impossible to judge from endnotes alone which sources are to be trusted, and the reader looks in vain for any analysis of primary sources, some of which have never been cited in previous works on the raid.

JEFFREY D. MARSHALL

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The Coming of the Train: The Hoosac Tunnel and Wilmington and Deerfield River Railroads and the Industries They Served, Volume I, 1870 to 1910

By Brian A. Donelson (Rowe, Mass.: NJD Publishing, 2008, pp. 377, $49.95).

This is a large, heavy book that describes with unusual visual and verbal abundance a nostalgic and appealing turn-of-the-century Vermont subject, the two shortline railroads that once served the Deerfield Valley of south-central Vermont and nearby towns in Massachusetts. The book is clearly a labor of love by an author who has compiled a treasury of photographs, enhanced maps, and fascinating ephemera to document the business barons of a particular era. The book's covers are solid boards, the typefaces are large, the paper is coated stock, and the old photographs are plentiful, sourced from historical societies and company archives, with many maps and documents in color.

The basic story is nicely summarized in this sentence: "The Hoosac and Wilmington Railroad traveled, at it's [sic] longest, 24 miles from the Hoosac Tunnel Depot in Massachusetts to Wilmington, Vermont. It wound along the east bank of the Deerfield River, through some of the most beautiful and difficult terrain in New England and for the first 28 years of its existence it was narrow gauge (3′). It survived floods, landslides, wrecks, bankruptcy, track relocation, poor management, old equipment, and a shortage of customers for 86 years" (p. F-2).

Subjects covered are by no means confined to the railroad itself but expand into the networks and machinations of companies that profited from the enormous timber resources of south-central Vermont at a time when raw clear-cutting of the forests was just not a problem. The company town of Mountain Mills, two miles west of Wilmington, is amply described and illustrated. This village had identical row houses, a school, a store, and a hospital, as well as large timber- and pulp-processing factory buildings. Today Mountain Mills has vanished under the waters of the north end of the Harriman Reservoir, which rose up in 1923 to flood the Deerfield River as part of a hydroelectric complex.

Yet *The Coming of the Train* has numerous flaws, a major one being its unusual pagination. There are no page numbers from start to finish. Each unit is given its own Roman numeral and separate set of page numbers. This is true for every one of fourteen chapters as well as a

foreword, an afterword, acknowledgments, an appendix, a bibliography, a glossary, and an index, resulting in a profusion of hyphenated Roman numerals and Arabic numbers. (I counted laboriously to reach an overall total of 377 pages.) A copy editor could have improved the text greatly by smoothing out chronic instances of misused apostrophes, style inconsistencies, unexplained details, and a truly tedious number of sentences that begin with "However, . . ." The Lime Hollow section of Whitingham is illustrated (pp. II-10 and II-11) and the text tells how lime was mined, processed, and transported, yet there is no hint about what the product was used for. One hopes that a proposed Volume II will remedy some of these faults.

But on with the positives, of which there are many indeed. The story begins with a chapter about the Hoosac Tunnel itself, that arduous, dangerous civil-engineering project that bored a railroad tunnel nearly five miles through the solid Appalachian Mountain range in the western Massachusetts town of Florida. After pioneering the use of nitroglycerin as an explosive—with all the attendant casualties—the tunnel finally opened to rail traffic in 1875. It had required 25 years and 196 lives to complete at a cost of $20 million, five times the original estimate.

Author Brian Donelson, a retired businessman and lifelong railroad buff, traces the transformation of the Deerfield Valley from the 1870s, when there was a shortage of work in the isolated and self-sufficient villages of Readsboro, Somerset, Whitingham, and Wilmington, to the 1880s and 1890s when there was a shortage of labor to work in the sawmills and pulp operations of the six entrepreneurial Newton Brothers, who had brought their water- and steam-power technology to Vermont from Holyoke, Massachusetts. The small Vermont towns blossomed into industrialization to produce not only lumber but also chairs, paper, boxes, and shoes, as well as lime. Serving all these industries was the railroad, which in 1891 expanded its tracks from Readsboro to Wilmington and later stretched north into the deep forests of Searsburg, Glastenbury, and Stratton for intensive logging and a series of temporary but legendary logging camps. Donelson presents many photographs with enlarged details, and a generous offering of maps in topographical and schematic detail.

The intensive industrialization of this remote valley can be seen in the context of the Paul Searls's analysis in his book, *Two Vermonts: Geography and Identity, 1865–1910* (2006; reviewed in *Vermont History* 75: 51–53). The turn of the century was a time when a vigorous Greater Vermont Association and the progressive magazine *Expansion* sought to counterbalance Vermont's backward agricultural base by a thrust toward modernization that would usher in a "new Vermont." Statewide, as

Searls relates, these aspirations did not materialize. But one could conclude that in the timber- and waterpower-rich Deerfield Valley, aggressive business acumen and a couple of shortline railroads truly brought about that desired "new Vermont"—for a while. As *The Coming of the Train* points out, this energetic era was phased out by a combination of factors that included a series of disastrous fires and the inevitable result of the clearcut mentality. Donelson proposes to compile Volume II to cover the time of the hydroelectric development of the valley, the relocation of the HT&W tracks, the demise of train service to Wilmington, and the use of these rails to construct one of the nation's first nuclear power plants, Yankee Atomic, in the author's home town of Rowe, Massachusetts, just over the Vermont border.

TYLER RESCH

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More Than Petticoats: Remarkable Vermont Women

By Deborah Clifford (Guilford, Conn.: Globe Pequot Press, 2009, pp. viii, 135, paper, $14.95).

Remarkable Vermont Women, a volume in the "More Than Petticoats" series, is likely to be the late Deborah Clifford's final publication. Short biographies of Vermont women are equally divided between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. None are as long or detailed as Clifford's account of the relatively obscure Mary Catherine Winchester that appeared in the winter/spring 2009 issue of *Vermont History.* A theme that permeates all these sketches, however, is the struggle that young women fought to receive an education. Arguing against male (and often female) assertions that women's fate was to serve as wives and mothers and thus the education provided for males was irrelevant or unseemly for them, these ambitious women often accepted their destinies as wives and mothers but insisted that education enhanced their usefulness. As educated women they could play a larger role in civil society.

Abby Maria Hemenway, the subject of a full biography authored by Clifford (*The Passion of Abby Hemenway,* Vermont Historical Society, 2000), was told that "history was not suitable work for a woman" (p. 56). Nothing better illustrates changing social norms than that the women

chosen for the twentieth century, including Lieutenant Governor Consuelo Bailey, author Shirley Jackson, and folklorist Helen Hartness Flanders, all achieved fame and "usefulness" in activities not formerly regarded as respectable for women.

In many ways Helen Hartness Flanders was the most unusual of the group. The daughter of the president of the machine tool company Jones and Lamson and a Vermont governor, she also became the wife of a United States senator. Her financial resources and access to the corridors of power distinguished her from most other women. Her fame, which rests upon preserving ballads brought to America by early settlers, was made possible by Governor John Weeks, who asked Mrs. Flanders to serve on the Vermont Commission on Country Life, where her efforts centered on the committee on Vermont traditions and ideals. In addition to personally collecting ballads, a practice at which she proved particularly adept, she also financed collecting by others.

It is, however, the tales of the earlier remarkable women that most readers will find most engrossing. Of these, only Clarina Nichols struggled to reform the electoral and legal system to alleviate the disadvantages experienced by women. Institutionalized impediments influenced most aspects of nineteenth-century women's lives, including the choice of a male mate. The fact that Clarina Nichols chose to speak in public was itself dismissed as unfeminine. That the Vermont suffrage movement is not treated in detail in this volume is not assumed by this reviewer as an important omission: the author clearly had a different purpose for her book. More significant is the failure to include Deborah Clifford, often the first woman to grace the presidency of venerable Vermont institutions, among remarkable Vermont women.

SAMUEL B. HAND

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Twentieth-Century New England Land Conservation: A Heritage of Civic Engagement

Edited by Charles H. W. Foster (Petersham, Mass.: Harvard Forest, 2009, pp. xvi, 388, $24.95).

Charles H. W. Foster's *Twentieth-Century New England Land Conservation* is the region's first state-by-state history of land conservation, making it a significant addition to the regional literature. Academics, policy makers, and other interested New Englanders will appreciate the book's comprehensiveness and its concise, neatly packaged state-level histories.

Twentieth-Century New England Land Conservation is written by a range of conservationists involved in state- and regional-level land use. Foster and the book's other authors bring decades upon decades of direct experience and leadership to the task, meaning that this is a book whose creation is itself informed by the heritage of civic engagement gestured to in its subtitle. There is a great deal to appreciate about this fact.

The book includes an introductory chapter by Foster, six substantive chapters on each of the New England states, a chapter on the federal government's role in the region, and a concluding chapter, again by Foster. For the sake of keeping the book manageable in scale and scope, it limits its attention to the twentieth century and to "land conservation," although perhaps predictably, the authors frequently needed to grant attention to water resource management as well.

Foster's introductory chapter outlines six themes (or cultural traditions) that have guided New England's engagement with conservation: self-determination; innovation; individual leadership; a sense of place; civic engagement; and moral-ethical imperatives based on balancing use with preservation. A great deal of thought went into these categories, yet the ways in which they are described at times leads the book down a potentially counterproductive road, about which I will say more in a moment.

Readers of *Vermont History* may be most interested in the Vermont chapter, but the other chapters are also well worth reading. The book's chapters on Maine by Thomas A. Urquhart and New Hampshire by James C. Collins and Richard Ober contain a wealth of information about forest management and on the politics of consensus building and multi-institutional approaches to conservation. The Massachusetts chapter by Charles Foster offers detailed insights into the workings of governmental agencies and citizen-based organizations, providing a valuable look at the complexity of private/public initiatives. Rhode Island's

story, written by Peter B. Lord, is framed according to that state's dramatic turnaround in environmental quality as compared to the early twentieth century, while Connecticut's chapter, by Russell L. Brenneman, focuses on how its citizenry used creativity, collaboration, and personal generosity to save parcels of land at a variety of scales. These state-by-state chapters are followed by a fine chapter by Robert W. McIntosh, Rolf Diamant, and Nora J. Mitchell exploring the ways in which regional residents adapted federal projects to fit local needs. Charles Foster concludes the book with a look back at its six guiding themes and a look forward at future challenges facing the region.

The Vermont chapter is one of the strongest in the book for its mix of factual detail and interpretation. The chapter's authors—Robert McCullough, Claire Ginger, and Michelle Baumflek—argue that Vermonters were slow to embrace organized conservation efforts during the early to mid twentieth century, and that when they did, it was often with reference to tourism and recreation. That pattern changed dramatically by the late 1960s due to increasing pressures on the state's resources, such that Vermont became a regional and national leader in conservation. The chapter examines this leadership through discussions of billboard legislation, acid rain mitigation, Act 250, and farmland preservation, among other topics. Despite differences in approach and intensity, the authors note, land use throughout the century was fueled by recognition of the links between land use conservation, aesthetics, and economics.

Without a doubt, this book will be an enormously useful reference for many New Englanders. I, for one, learned a great deal by reading it, and I can easily see myself returning to it time and again to brush up on a particular agency, event, or individual. Nonetheless, the book's larger conceptual framework (spelled out in the introduction and echoed to a lesser extent in the preface) is hampered by what might strike some readers as an oversimplified approach to regional culture. The book's introduction includes a number of passages that seem to suggest the presence of a normative regional culture defined predominantly by a rural, Anglo, northern-New England experience, and excluding the urban, immigrant, non-Anglo, non-white plurality so common across the region during the past century. On a number of occasions, Foster uncritically ties regional culture back to Revolutionary War-era experiences, leaving readers to wonder if residents who do not trace their heritage to that time have had any appreciable impact on the region's history—conservation or otherwise.

Oversimplified notions of regional culture and history matter for this book not because they run counter to vogue academic notions about cultural plurality or social constructionism, but because they have the

potential to undermine the book's mission to advance conservation, both in New England and elsewhere. One the one hand, the near complete silencing of cultural pluralism in the book's framework may run the risk of alienating minority (often urban) citizens and organizations, possibly giving them cause to think of conservation as something closed or unresponsive to their needs. On the other hand, the celebratory ways in which New England culture is portrayed may run the risk of alienating conservationists in other regions of the country. There is much to be proud of in New England's conservation history, as Foster and the other authors rightly note. Yet the degree to which the book's introduction and conclusion seem to attribute those successes to the superiority of a reified New England culture might strike some extra-regional readers as troubling, for this could be read as suggesting that conservation in other regions of the country has somehow failed due to the cultural shortcomings of their citizenry. My sense is that some conservationists from outside New England could be confused by some of the more self-congratulatory passages and claims in the book: After all, a quality like self-determination—so often cited by Foster as a key reason for conservation's successes in the region—is not unique to New Englanders. Just ask any rancher from the intermountain West and they will tell you that.

As proud New England residents, scholars, and conservationists, we must be careful not to risk letting our appreciation of the region's history alienate others who may stand to benefit from the lessons it offers. The stakes are too high for that and the fine examples raised in so many places in this book are too important to go unheeded.

BLAKE HARRISON

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So Clear, So Cool, So Grand: A 1931 Hike on Vermont's Long Trail

By James Gordon Hindes, *Edited by* Reidun D. Nuquist (Waterbury Center, Vt: The Green Mountain Club, 2008, pp. xvi, 79, $8.95).

For five weeks during the summer of 1931, two Dartmouth students, Gordon Hindes and John Eames, celebrated time away from their studies with an end-to-end hike of Vermont's recently completed Long Trail. *So Clear, So Cool, So Grand* is Hindes's journal of their adventure.

The title, Hindes's reaction to a morning at Killington Mountain, expresses his deep appreciation for the many scenes of beauty encountered on their hike. Although he was from Massachusetts, "Din" (as Gordon was called by his friends) had formed a fond appreciation of the Green Mountain State's landscapes and vistas while a student at Vermont Academy in Saxtons River, whose curriculum emphasizing "life in the open" was a residual legacy of James Taylor's tenure as an assistant principal.

More than simply a chronicle of their journey, *So Clear, So Cool, So Grand* illuminates the rural landscape of Vermont in the early 1930s—demonstrating both its continuity and evolution since that time. Throughout their long journey, "Din" and John were greeted with hospitality and kindness from Vermont farmers, who shared such necessities as fresh milk, a hot meal, and a dry place to rest. Most memorably, the hikers were treated at the conclusion of their first day on the trail to quarts of German beer, undoubtedly welcome refreshments for the two college boys.

Through Hindes's narrative, the reader is introduced to a colorful assembly of rural Vermonters, admirable for their "frank simplicity" (p. 7). These included people like the Kruegers, the German family who shared their brew and "clean and honest fun" (p. 11) with the hikers, and the Duesos, a French-Canadian family described as "crude folk, but as kind hearted as they make 'em" (p. 63). Hindes's affection for these rural folk is expressed most clearly in his introduction to the journal: "They come as near knowing the fullness of true life as is possible today" (p. 7).

These encounters, coupled with Hindes's expressive writing style and sense of humor, allow *So Clear, So Cool, So Grand* to transcend the tedium that so often characterizes hiking journals. His descriptions of common events along the trail are vivid, without being florid. The reader shares in his discomfort while sloshing through a July 8 thunderstorm, a situation that Hindes described as being "so pathetic that it was funny" (p. 17). Animated descriptions of encounters with porcupines are found throughout the journal and range from the lively antics of Sal and Hal, who entertained the hikers near Glen Ellen Lodge on July 27, to the unfortunate events of July 13: "Compassion got the best of us and we clubbed him to death and set about to de-quill Jack's boot which looked like a Christmas tree after New Years Eve" (p. 26).

Ultimately, Gordon Hindes's descriptions of the Long Trail's scenery provide the finest examples of his creative prose. Upon the completion of one of their first days on the trail, Gordon and John drifted to sleep watching the twinkling lights of the Champlain Valley below, an event Gordon described as "our first intimate communion with nature" (p. 13).

While watching the setting sun pass beyond Lake Champlain, he was later inspired to write, "I wondered how a man could witness such a view and not feel a little closer to God" (p. 39).

The journal, written on the trail in 1931, is accompanied by additional materials that, despite some redundancy, enhance the core work to varying degrees. A foreword by Robert Northrup offers his reflections of the Long Trail in its early years. A short essay by Gordon Hindes's children is both a tribute and a biography. Reidun Nuquist shares additional biographical context and notes on the origin of the journal in her introduction. Gordon Hindes himself provides prefatory comments. Appended to the journal is a brief but useful glossary of place names mentioned in the journal; a detailed map noting the location of these places would have enhanced the usefulness of this feature. The book is illustrated with images taken by Hindes and Eames during their 1931 journey, as well as photographs from the collections of the Vermont Historical Society and the Green Mountain Club.

So Clear, So Cool, So Grand offers inspiration and insights into rural Vermont in the early 1930s. Written during the infancy of the Long Trail, the book also documents how the trail experience has evolved in the past eight decades, while highlighting how little the landscape has changed over time. More than anything, however, the book, which can easily be read in a single sitting, is an entertaining chronicle of two men's adventures during their summer break from college.

MARK S. HUDSON

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Historic Photos of Vermont

Text and captions by Ginger Gellman (Nashville: Turner Publishing Company, 2009, pp. x, 206, $39.95).

This 10" by 10" volume contains just under 200 images that are almost all of outstanding photographic quality and historical interest. The two-page title page spread of a view of the village of Moretown on the Mad River is an ideal preparation for the visual treats that lie ahead. The high quality detailed image invites speculation about life in that community. But the caption, "This view down Main Street shows a typical Vermont village scene after 1860," did make this reader suspicious about the amount of site and date specificity that could be anticipated.

Seventy-four photographs from the University of Vermont's Bailey/Howe Special Collections, 35 from the Library of Congress, and 32 from the Vermont State Archives provide some statewide coverage, primarily in the northern part of the state. Those from the Morristown Historical Society/Noyes House Museum (29) and the Jericho Historical Society (13) are more narrowly focused. (The remaining dozen images are from eight other public archives and one private collection.)

The four chapters of *Historic Photos of Vermont* cover just over a century of Vermont's history, from 1860 to 1970. Notes on the photographs give sources and occasionally a photographer's name. Each chapter opens with a two-page spread of a photograph and a page of text. Accompanying each photograph is an extended caption full of well-researched historical facts and stories.

The front jacket flap states: "*Historic Photos of Vermont* tells the story of the nation's 14th state in nearly 200 striking black-and-white photographs." There is, however, no summation of the state's story, which the pictures and accompanying text proceed to illustrate, nor do chapter openings set the stage for the following pages.

In Chapter 1, "Old Yankee Country (1860–1899)," a two-paragraph description of Moretown in the nineteenth century is followed by one paragraph each about Vermonters leaving the state, and the community institutions built by those who stayed. Facing the text is a posed photograph of the Bentley family and their sugarhouse in Jericho, with some information about maple sugaring in Vermont. (A reader may wonder whether these Bentleys were related to Jericho's famous Snowflake Bentley.)

Chapter 2, "Two Worlds Collide (1900–1926)," opens with the establishment of Rural Free Delivery and comments about old and new, rural and urban, and the increasing number of immigrants, with a photograph of a Central Vermont locomotive at the Randolph railroad station.

Grace Coolidge accepting a mink coat, and an essay on the flood of 1927, emphasizing Vermont's reluctance to accept federal aid and its eventual capitulation, open Chapter 3, "A Flood of Change (1927–1949)."

Chapter 4, "The Beckoning Country (1950–1970)," begins with a picture of the construction of a hiking lodge by members of the Green Mountain Club, with the book's most successful chapter essay, about Brattleboro being designated an All-America City and other examples of Vermont arriving with greater fanfare into the national consciousness.

Historic Photos of Vermont's preface, chapter introductions, fine photographs, and extended captions contain a great deal of interesting information. Readers, however, are given insufficient assistance to access that information. Those who have some grounding in Vermont history and

Vermont towns will find it hard to relate any new information to what they already know. Locations and dates are not consistently provided for the photographs; questions likely to be raised by the content of the photographs are often not answered in the captions. There is no index.

There seem to be two motivating considerations for the book: What can we say under this wonderful photograph? and What picture can we use above this important Vermont information?

Some pairings are particularly successful: "Moss Dealers" (p. 22), "Rock Dunder" (Odzihozo) (p. 60), and "Aunt Sally Horton" (p. 37) with discussion about Vermont's African-American and Abenaki populations respectively; the caption and image of The Randall Hotel (p. 172) (although they are exclusively focused on Morrisville history); and the image of Vice President Nixon and Governor Robert Stafford and its caption (p. 180). These both explain the photographs especially well and set the people, events, or places in a larger context.

Others have wonderful historical value. The caption for "Biplane crash, Burlington" (p. 128) describes the establishment of the town's first airport in a leased cornfield and draws on an oral history interview with the first woman licensed to fly in Vermont. The spectacular results of a scrap metal drive in Morrisville in 1942 are spread over two pages (pp. 144–145); the caption puts Vermont's wartime effort in a national context. Readers would probably also like to know how long it took to accumulate that much scrap, and how it was relocated!

A few are more problematic. A picture of a brickyard (p. 17) raises questions about the location and date of the image, the size and success of the operation, and what demand could stimulate that scale of operation. Instead, beginning with "The contraption in this photograph is a pug mill," readers are given an interesting essay on the brick-making process—and no comment about the visible horse power. Similarly, the only link between the image on p. 156 and its caption about "one-town, one-vote" representation in Vermont is that the farmer pictured might be a "farmer-politician."

The extended captions might have worked better as sidebars that are adjacent to the photographs, but don't suggest to the reader that they provide context for the picture (or that the caption is specific to that picture.) When captions expand to cover all of Vermont and a broad time period, knowing the date and place of the photograph would be particularly useful.

While *Historic Photos of Vermont* is not an illustrated story (or history) of Vermont, the book does supply readers with many visual and textual pieces from which they can construct or add to their own knowledge and a fascinating assortment of rare and well-reproduced photographs.

This book, one of the Turner Publishing Company's series of 136 titles, would make a worthy addition to Vermont history and Vermont photography collections.

TORDIS ILG ISSELHARDT

Tordis Ilg Isselhardt is the Publisher/President of Images from the Past, Inc., in Bennington.

The Vermont-Quebec Border: Life on the Line

By Matthew Farfan (Portsmouth, N.H.: Arcadia Publishing, 2009, pp. 128, paper, $21.99).

Matthew Farfan's *The Vermont-Quebec Border* is one of those collections of local photographs in the "Images of America" series produced by Arcadia Publishing. Its 128 pages contains 186 black-and-white images of the towns and villages on both sides of the ninety-mile Vermont-Quebec border from East Hereford, PQ/Beecher Falls, Vt., on the east, to Clarenceville, PQ/Alburg, Vt., on the west.

A four-page introduction provides the history of the establishment of the U.S.-Canadian boundary, the settlement of this border region, and the interconnectedness of communities on both sides of the border. The book is divided into eight topical chapters, such as "Crossing the Line," which documents the many customs stations, and "When Disaster Strikes," which focuses on fires, floods, and train wrecks. Each chapter starts with a one-page essay that links the images in that chapter. The bulk of the text is in the form of captions for the images. The main point of these essays is that border villages were trans-national communities artificially intersected by an international border, and that, since 9/11, the "War on Terror" and the security concerns of the U. S. Department of Homeland Security have had a disruptive impact on the workings of these communities. Many of those interviewed for the book were former customs and immigration agents who are critical of the increased security and technology used, which threatens the social fabric and economies of the border communities.

One useful feature of this book is the excellent map of the border region on pages 12–13. This allows the reader to locate spatially towns mentioned in the captions. In most cases the images and captions collected in each chapter are well integrated with the theme of the chapter.

An analysis of the sites of the images in this volume confirmed the reviewer's impression that the book is biased in favor of the region in

the center of the Vermont-Quebec border, the Stanstead, PQ/Derby-Newport, Vt. area. There are forty-two images of the town of Derby, forty-one of the township of Stanstead, and twenty-four of the city of Newport. These do not include fourteen other images of Lake Memphremagog. This analysis also showed that there are twice as many images of the U. S. side of the border than the Canadian side. This is surprising in that the author is a Canadian.

An analysis of the dates of the images also reveals some interesting patterns. It is not surprising that only three images exist from years prior to the Civil War and the widespread use of the photographic camera. The most commonly reported date of images is the first decade of the twentieth century, followed by the next two decades. While there are nineteen images from the 1870s, and several from the decade on either side, it is surprising that there are no images from the 1890s. Images from after the middle of the twentieth century drop off dramatically, with no dated photographs after the 1970s. While this is not surprising in books that are selling nostalgia, there is no visual evidence that two Interstate highways, the major ports of entry between New England and Canada, also affected the life and growth of communities along the Vermont-Quebec border. It is incumbent upon those interested in preserving local history to continue to collect images to the present.

This is a book that all interested in the communities along the Vermont-Quebec border will want to own. It allows individuals to have easy access to many historic images of these communities.

ALLEN R. YALE, JR.

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Montpelier: Images of Vermont's Capital City

By Paul A. Carnahan and Bill Fish (Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2008, pp. 128, paper, $19.99).

Often the value of our historic built environment, if occasionally blurred in the background of daily routine, can be returned to sharp focus by photographs of the past, wishfully as it might still be today. Or, stated another way, awareness of what has already been lost heightens our appreciation for what remains. Unfortunately, the loss of important historic buildings seems almost habitual in many American cities. Natural causes such as fire and floods inevitably take a toll, and

although the resulting voids are saddening, we somehow come to terms with these events. In other instances, however, the memories of unnecessary extractions, far too often pursued with stubborn and narrow intent, tend to linger much longer.

Paul Carnahan and Bill Fish's recent book, *Montpelier: Images of Vermont's Capital City,* is an absorbing collection of photographs showing that Montpelier is more fortunate than many American cities. This is a city for pedestrians, and its residents are rewarded daily by a richly historic built environment. The photographs *are* the book, and should be considered an invitation to a leisurely stroll through the downtown, capitol district, or surrounding residential neighborhoods, where an abundance of historic buildings continue to be as functional as they are architecturally appealing. Equally important, the city's informal pattern of streets has managed to withstand an eighty-year onslaught by automobiles without substantial change, other than the absence of soft summer light filtered by tall tree canopy.

Don't be misled. Montpelier has not been immune to the effects of catastrophic fires, nor to lapses in judgment, and Carnahan and Fish's images chronicle the considerable changes that have taken place during a one-hundred year period, roughly 1840 to 1940. Many of the best-composed photographs are from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although nostalgia is just around the corner on many pages, the authors never let the reader stray very far from what is still visible today, and to those who know Montpelier well, the book is also a subtle and valuable guide to the living, historic city. The book's thoughtful organization may be part of the explanation, or perhaps it is simply the city itself that is so visually bound to its past.

The book's principal strength, and its inherent value, is that it provides an easy-to-use introduction to the city. Many of the images will force a tinge of regret from readers, and justifiably so. For instance, a commanding Richardsonian Romanesque post office is gone, and a parking lot now occupies the former site of a Stick Style railroad depot; current debate about a multi-modal transportation center might be unnecessary had the city been more farsighted with its train station. Yet the authors skillfully draw the reader from present to past, and back again, with gentle direction. In the process, readers will hopefully strengthen their resolve to accommodate the present and future without giving up what remains of the precious and all-too-fragile past. That the book is aimed at a broad, public readership strengthens its value considerably. I also recommend that the book be kept handy when members of the city council periodically consider rearranging the community for the sake of convenience to motorists.

Published collections of photographs have done much in recent years to generate greater awareness of local history, and the genre is a useful one. The Images of America series by Arcadia Publishing is probably the most widely recognized example among these. The History Press is producing a similar series, and Carnahan and Fish also present their information in a prescribed format, which, however, has some significant improvements. The all-important introductions to each chapter provide essential context and help to pull the reader into the images in greater depth. In addition, the images are slightly larger than those in Arcadia's books (a key consideration) and have been selected carefully, with an eye to composition and contrast in the mostly black-and-white venue. A generous sequence of color images, including tinted post cards, increases appeal, and the authors tackle the deceptively difficult task of caption writing with agility. Only a map is missing, and the importance of the city's historic pattern of streets, most clearly visible in two-dimensional plan, makes that an essential part of the story; orientation to streets identified in the captions is easier with a map at hand, as well.

The book is also valuable as a tool to increase public awareness and use of the Vermont Historical Society's outstanding collection of photographs, and hopefully this collection will generate future publications. The best example of this genre that I have used is a two-volume set annotated and compiled by Maine historian W. H. Bunting, *A Day's Work: A Sampler of Historic Maine Photographs* (Gardiner, Me.: Tilbury House Publishers, 1997). The format is quite large, and Bunting usually assigns one image, but never more than two, to a single page, and the entire facing page is devoted to a lengthy interpretive essay that explains each image's content in extraordinary detail. Readers can spend an entire evening studying just one or two images and emerge from that travel quite refreshed. I hope Carnahan and Fish will continue to explore and interpret the Vermont Historical Society's photographs in a similar fashion.

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Blodgett, Fred Blaney, *The Blodgett Papers: My Generation in Cabot and History of the Blodgett Family in America.* Cabot, Vt.: Cabot Historical Society, 2008. Various pagination. Source: The Publisher, P.O. Box 275, Cabot, VT 05647. List: $21.95 (paper).

*Clifford, Deborah Pickman, *More Than Petticoats: Remarkable Vermont Women.* Guilford, Conn.: Globe Pequot Press, 2009. 135p. List: $14.95 (paper).

Council on the Future of Vermont. *Imagining Vermont, Values and Vision for the Future: Final Report of the Council on the Future of Vermont.* Montpelier, Vt.: Vermont Council on Rural Development, 2009. 107p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 1384, Montpelier, VT 05601. List: Free (paper).

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

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Dann, Kevin T., *A Short Story of American Destiny, 1909–2009.* San Rafael, Calif.: Sophia Perennis, 2008. 175p. List: $18.50 (paper). Includes Lake Champlain Tercentenary in 1909.

Drysdale, M. Dickey, *Not a Bad Seat in the House: Albert B. Chandler and His Marvelous Music Hall.* Randolph, Vt.: Chandler Center for the Arts, 2007. 106p. Source: The publisher, 71-73 Main Street, Randolph, VT 05060. List: $14.95 (paper).

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Hindes, James Gordon, *So Clear, So Cool, So Grand: A 1931 Hike on Vermont's Long Trail.* Waterbury Center, Vt.: Green Mountain Club, 2008. 79p. Source: Green Mountain Club. List: $8.95 (paper).

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*Newcomb, Tim, *A Gaggle of Governors: 25 Years of Vermont Cartoons, Selections from 1982–2008.* Montpelier, Vt.: Newcomb Studios, 2008. 240p. List: $18.95 (paper).

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Shop, 200 Wake Robin Drive, Shelburne, VT 05482. List: $19.95 (paper).

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Van Camp, Julie Foster, *Searching for Ichabod: His Eighteenth Century Diary Leads Me Home.* Charleston, S.C.: BookSurge, 2009. 231p. List: $16.94. Resident of Whiting in the 1790s.

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