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VERMONT HISTORY

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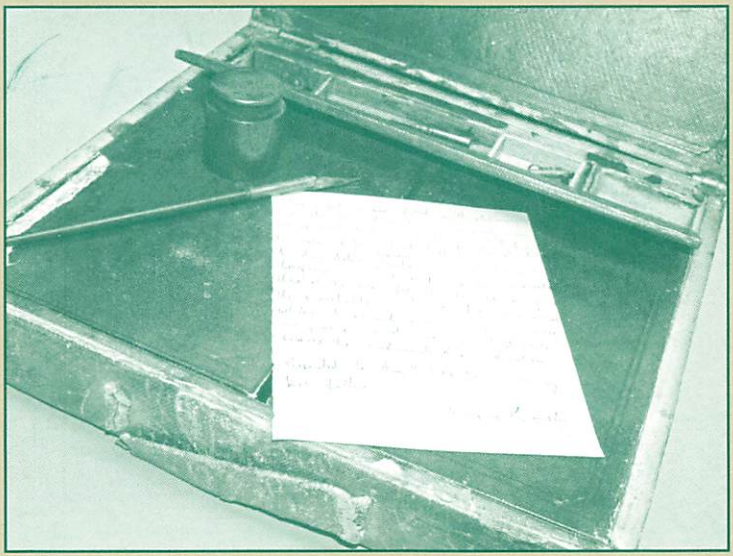

The Journal of the Vermont Historical Society

VERMONT

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HISTORY

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VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Explore many aspects of Vermont's rich heritage through the Vermont Historical Society, winner of the prestigious 2007 National Medal of Honor from the Institute of Museum and Library Services. Whether you're interested in a Vermont family, town, event, or person, you can research many topics in the library and museum collections of books, manuscripts, photos, maps, and artifacts from every geographical area and every chronological period in the state's history. Visit the award-winning *Freedom & Unity* museum exhibit at the VHS museum in Montpelier, next to the State House, and learn what it means to be a Vermonter. Throughout the state, Vermont's past can come alive for you at presentations and programs that change lives and build better communities.

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VERMONT HISTORY

Vol. 79, No. 1 Winter/Spring 2011

Book Reviews

More About Vermont History

Compiled by PAUL A. CARNAHAN

About the Cover Illustrations

Vermonters Working with Freedmen during and after the Civil War

At the end of 2010, a generous gift to VHS added to its already significant Civil War collections. The Twitchell family donated objects and documents owned or relating to their ancestor, Marshall Harvey Twitchell, the famous Vermont carpetbagger. His story was included in the PBS documentary, "Reconstruction: The Second Civil War" (http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/reconstruction/carpetbagger/ps_twitchell.html).

Twitchell was a courageous and daring Union soldier, who served in the Vermont Brigade. He rose through the ranks from private to captain, was severely wounded in the Wilderness campaign, and finally served as an officer of the 109th U.S. Colored Regiment. After the war he worked for the Freedman's Bureau in Northern Louisiana helping freed slaves obtain their new constitutional rights. Eventually Twitchell would marry a local plantation owner's daughter, purchase his own plantation, and become a successful planter, entrepreneur, and politician. All the while he supported the efforts of local African Americans to vote, get paid for their work, and acquire an education. Twitchell planned on living for the rest of his life in Louisiana and persuaded his mother, brother, and three sisters and their husbands to migrate to the South. Elected to the Republican-controlled Louisiana state senate and in charge of his parish's educational system, he became a target of white supremacists, who violently opposed post-war federally mandated efforts to provide African Americans their civil rights. In 1874 his brother, two Vermont brothers-in-law, his wife's brother-in-law, and twenty African Americans, all Republicans, were assassinated at the Coushatta Massacre by the Democratic-party-supported White League. Shortly thereafter, violence erupted in New Orleans as Democrats tried to depose the Republican-controlled state government. Federal troops were sent in but Twitchell's life and those of other Reconstruction Republicans, black and white, where under continued threat. In 1876 Twitchell was shot six

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Captain Marshall Harvey Twitchell, 109th U.S. Colored Troops. The 109th's insignia can be seen on the front of his hat.

times and lost both of his arms. His last surviving Vermont brother-in-law was killed.

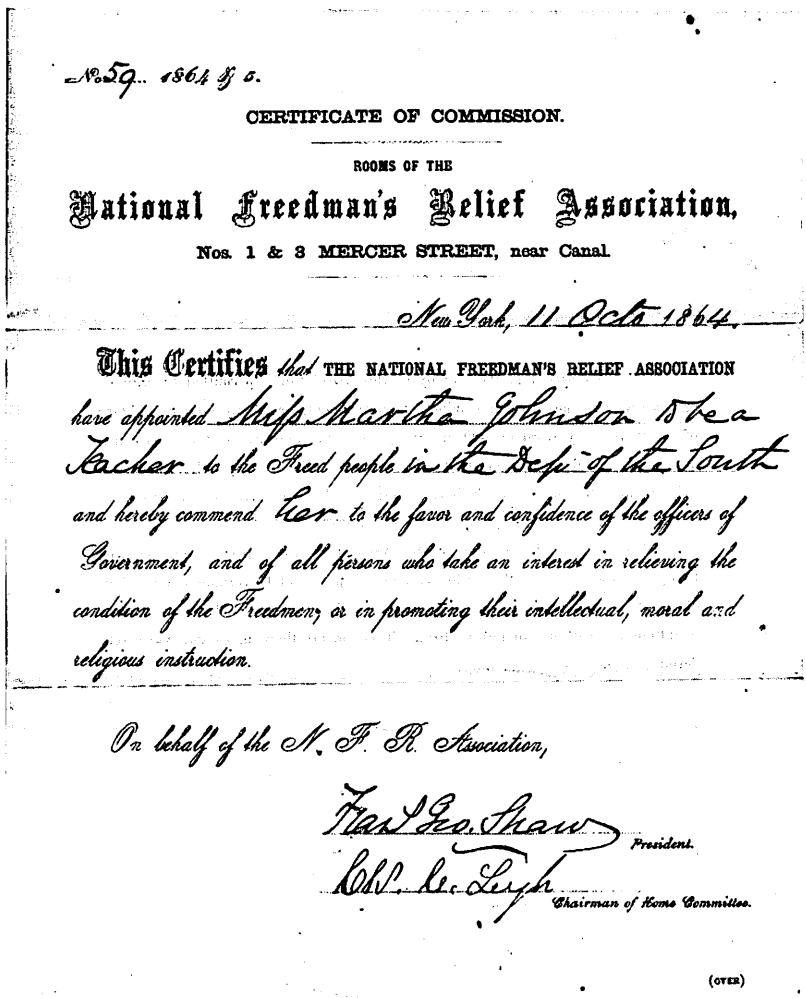
Twitchell's survival ensured that Republicans maintained control of the legislature, governor's office, and U.S. Senate in the next election. But the efforts of Reconstruction in Louisiana were coming to an end as the federal government withdrew its support. The violent struggle to protect and support the millions of freed African Americans was over as Democrats regained control in the South, and many civil rights laws were ignored by state governments or overturned by the U. S. Supreme Court.

Marshall Harvey Twitchell left Louisiana but continued to have an active and productive life. After a brief time of recovery in Vermont he was appointed in 1878 Counsel of the United States in Kingston, Canada, where he died in 1905. At the end of his life Twitchell wrote an autobiography in which he chronicled his life and defended his efforts in Louisiana during a time when historians were vilifying the Reconstruction era and romanticizing the Confederacy.

The Twitchell family gift includes a copy of the autobiography, two Civil War swords, including one given to Twitchell by the men of the 109th U.S. Colored Regiment (see back cover illustration), photographs of Twitchell and his family, letters, a scrapbook, and other miscellaneous

materials. This gift adds to the story of Vermonters who fought to end slavery and went south to help freed blacks.

Martha Johnson from Peacham went to South Carolina's Sea Islands in 1863 to teach freed slaves in the Port Royal/Beaufort area. Her letters in the VHS library collection document her work with the freedmen until her death from yellow fever in 1871.



No. 59. 1864 & 5.

CERTIFICATE OF COMMISSION.

ROOMS OF THE

National Freedman's Relief Association,

Nos. 1 & 3 MERCER STREET, near Canal.

New York, 11 Octo 1864.

This Certifies that THE NATIONAL FREEDMAN'S RELIEF ASSOCIATION have appointed Miss Martha Johnson to be a Teacher to the Freed people in the Dept of the South and hereby commend Her to the favor and confidence of the officers of Government, and of all persons who take an interest in relieving the condition of the Freedmen; or in promoting their intellectual, moral and religious instruction.

On behalf of the N. F. R. Association,

Fras Geo. Shaw President.

Chas. C. Leigh Chairman of Home Committee.

(over)

Martha Johnson's 1864 Commission to teach in the South from the National Freedman's Relief Association.

Another Vermonter who fought for freed blacks was Rufus Kinsley of Fletcher, Vermont. Kinsley began his service with Co. F, 8th Vermont and was somewhat of a rarity in the army, a radical abolitionist. Before the war Kinsley lived in Boston and was part of the city's abolitionist community. A lap desk donated by the Kinsley family to VHS in 1992 (see front cover) contained the following note apparently written by Kinsley.

> This writing case, filled with stationery and stamps, and containing a goodly number of gold dollars, was presented to Rufus Kinsley, superintendent of the May Street Sunday School [for?] Negroes, Boston on his retirement therefrom in 1857; and was by him carried through the war for the suppression of the slaveholders' rebellion, from 1861, to 1865, where it served a very useful purpose in giving a great many hundred (late) slaves the rudiments of an education. Presented to Amy L. Gelo, Jan. 21, 1911, by her father.
>
> Rufus Kinsley

Kinsley was vocal in his beliefs and in 1863 he was offered a commission as a 2nd Lieutenant to command Company B, 2nd Regiment, Infantry of the Corp d'Afrique. In 1864 he became 2nd Lieutenant of Co. G 74th US Colored Infantry and was in command of this company during the siege and bombardment of Fort Morgan, Mobile Bay, in August 1864. Kinsey recorded in his diary, now in VHS's library, his efforts throughout his service with these troops his work to teach them to read and write and their very strong interest in learning. It was this teaching that Kinsley was most proud of when recounting his military service. Like Twitchell and Johnson, Kinsley believed it was through education that former slaves would achieve equality in America.

During the next year VHS will participate in the Civil War commemoration with the exhibit *Service and Sacrifice: Vermont's Civil War Generation.* Included in the exhibit will be some of the artifacts and documents mentioned in this article. I would be very interested in learning about other Vermonters who worked with freed slaves as part of their military service or during Reconstruction.

JACQUELINE CALDER, *Curator*

Front cover photograph: Rufus Kinsley's portable writing desk and note with its history.

Back cover: The men of the 109th U.S. Colored Troops presented this sword to Captain Marshall Harvey Twitchell.

Julius Barnard (1769–after 1820) as Peripatetic Yankee Cabinetmaker

The life of Julius Barnard exemplifies the great mobility of many New England cabinetmakers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This mobility resulted in the transmission of design characteristics of one particular region to another and reaffirms a cultural connectedness of regions both within and outside New England, wherever Yankees went.

By Ross Fox

In the decades following the American War of Independence, the limits of Yankee settlement were pushed to the far corners of New England and beyond, to western New York, Pennsylvania, and the Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois territories.[1] People also spilled over into adjacent areas of Canada. Vermont was a major staging ground for much of this outward migration. It was a period of pervasive restlessness that weighed heavily on the trades, forcing many expert craft persons into a cycle of repeated geographic relocation and even occupational adjustment in search of a viable livelihood. The life of Julius Barnard exemplifies the great mobility of many New England cabinetmakers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Ross Fox is Associate Curator of Early Canadian Decorative Arts at the Royal Ontario Museum and an affiliated faculty member in the Department of Fine Art, University of Toronto. A decorative arts and material culture specialist who has been at the ROM since 2001, he works with furniture, silver, and ceramics that were either made in or have a long history in Canada.

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This mobility of cabinetmakers resulted in the transmission of design characteristics of one particular region to another, and raises a question about the reliability of any canon of so-called regional characteristics as a hard-and-fast indicator of the place of origin of a piece of furniture during this period. In reality, designs were carried over great distances in a dissemination of influences of far greater complexity than is sometimes recognized. They reaffirm a cultural connectedness of regions both within and outside New England, wherever Yankees went. Barnard, as a leading cabinetmaker in western New England, had a part in this transmission of furniture designs.

A native of Northampton, Massachusetts, Barnard apprenticed in East Windsor, Connecticut, worked briefly in New York City, and then in Northampton, Hanover (New Hampshire), Windsor (Vermont), Montreal, and Pittsfield (Massachusetts). This article attempts the first overview of Barnard's activity as a cabinetmaker, even though much has yet to be learned about him. The first part melds information from various publications together with some new documentation, and traces Barnard's activity in towns of the Connecticut River Valley, principally Northampton and Windsor. The second part, which is based on recently unearthed documents, adds two entirely new chapters to his story in a partial reconstruction of his activity in Montreal and Pittsfield.[2]

Early Years

Julius Barnard was born on July 18, 1769, in Northampton, the son of Rachel Catlin and Abner Barnard, a prosperous clothier or clothing merchant, who belonged to a long-established Deerfield family. During the mid-1780s, he served his apprenticeship under Eliphalet Chapin, who operated a large furniture shop in East Windsor, which was a training ground for many cabinetmakers in the region. A combination desk and bookcase in a private collection, thought to be from the Chapin shop, is inscribed with the names of Barnard and two others—William Flagg and Israel Porter—indicating a collaborative work. A date in the late 1780s has been suggested, when all three were most likely to have worked together under Chapin.[3] The only documentation to surface so far that fixes Barnard in the Chapin shop are five entries bearing his name in the account books of Daniel Burnap, clockmaker, instrument maker, silversmith, and brass founder of East Windsor. Listed under Chapin's account, these entries date from August 1788 to February 1790. They were for incidental items, for instance, a key for a flute and a watch crystal.[4]

Upon leaving Chapin's shop, Barnard went to New York City where he claimed "the most distinguished workmen" employed him. This experience introduced him to "the latest and most elegant patterns for

Chairs and Cabinet work,"[5] which meant he was well prepared when he set up shop in Northampton in late 1792. The town had a population of approximately 1,600. Barnard's shop was centrally located on Licking-water (later South) Street until 1796, and subsequently in the Tontine Building on Bridge Street. The latter was a large, brick, three-story purpose-built structure that housed eight shops for craftsmen in the first two stories.[6] The fact that Barnard advertised in the *Greenfield Gazette* as well as the *Northampton Gazette* during this period suggests that his customer base extended beyond Northampton to the towns of the Connecticut River in northern Massachusetts. No doubt the Greenfield newspaper was utilized in an attempt to attract the business of his many kinsmen in the nearby Deerfield area.

Barnard produced case furniture in cherry and mahogany and various kinds of seating furniture (plain chairs, easy chairs, compass chairs).

Cabinet Work.

Julius Barnard,

AT his ſhop in Licking-water Street Northampton, makes and has for ſale, Deſks, and Secretary's, Book-caſes, Cheſt upon Cheſt of drawers, Bureaus, Side-boards, Breakfaſt, Dining, and Tea-tables; Alſo, Card-tables, Beadſteads of all kinds, Clock-caſes, Fire-ſcreens, Nightſtools, Wineciſterns, Waſh-hand-ſtands, Sofa's, Eaſy Chairs, Compaſs, do. framed do. plain do, of all kinds, Crimping boards, Looking Glaſſes, framed and gilt, do. Bench planes and Moulding Tools. Flutes and Fifes, a variety of other articles made in the neateſt manner and on the ſhorteſt notice. The ſubſcriber having worked ſometime with the moſt diſtinguiſhed workmen in New-York, and being poſſeſſed of the lateſt and moſt elegant patterns for Chairs and Cabinet work, he flatters himſelf that he ſhall be able to give entire ſatisfaction to thoſe who may favor him with their commands.

N. B. The ſubſcriber is in immediate want of a quantity of good ſeaſoned Cherry and curl'd Maple Boards; alſo, a few good Sleigh runners, for which Caſh and the higheſt price will be given, by the

Public's Humble Servant,

JULIUS BARNARD.

Northampton, Dec. 5, 1792.

Advertisement in the Hampshire Gazette *(Northampton, Mass.), December 5, 1792. This and the other illustrations for this article are available in color at the* Vermont History *web page, vermonthistory.org/cabinetmaker.*

By the end of the decade Windsor chairs, which required a chairmaker who was an expert in the specialized skill of turnery, became a significant part of his shop's output.[7] In 1799 and again in 1800, he advertised for a Windsor chair maker.[8] He was also looking to purchase basswood for "three or four hundred" Windsor chair seats. In February 1801, he sought basswood for 1,000 Windsor chair seats and, in November of the same year, basswood for 400 Windsor chair seats.[9] Chairs often formed a sizable component of the stock-in-trade of larger furniture-making shops. Despite the success of his chair-making enterprise, Barnard was careful to clarify that he "continues the Cabinet-Making Business as usual."[10]

Apprentices and journeymen worked for Barnard. In 1796, he advertised for two apprentices, "one fifteen the other sixteen years of age."[11] Two years later he sought two young journeymen.[12] The 1800 federal census enumerated three males between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six in the Barnard household, suggesting that he had one or more apprentices and at least one journeyman working for him at the time. Once again in 1801, he advertised for two apprentices.[13]

The main body of furniture attributable to Barnard dates from his Northampton years and is found in the collection of Historic Deerfield. However, no single piece of furniture can be firmly ascribed to him on the basis of documentation. Moreover, he is not known to have signed, labeled, or otherwise marked any of his furniture so as to identify himself as maker, except for the desk and bookcase already mentioned. All attributions are therefore tenuous and based on design affinities and provenance.

The Historic Deerfield furniture includes a high chest of drawers made of cherry[14] that belonged to Caleb Strong (1744–1819) of Northampton, who was a state senator (1780–1789), United States senator (1789–1796) and governor of Massachusetts (1800–1807, 1812–1816). Despite Barnard's earlier boasting of his familiarity with the latest New York designs, at times he would have been compelled to revert to more traditional preferences, of which this high chest is an example. It was a form that, by the 1790s, had fallen out of favor in major urban centers, but lingered on in western Massachusetts, as in other rural areas of New England.[15] The Strong high chest adheres to a Chapin design—most apparent in the broken-arch scrolled pediment with latticework—which ultimately is Philadelphia-derived, reflecting Chapin's training in that city.[16]

Another high chest that sold at Sotheby's, New York, several years ago, is a simplified version of the Strong example. It lacks the quarter columns with brass mounts; otherwise it is remarkably similar in design and construction and likely derives from the same workshop.[17] It descended in

High Chests (1792/1800) attributed to Julius Barnard. LEFT: *Historic Deerfield (acc. no. HD 63.164). Courtesy of Historic Deerfield. Photo by Penny Leveritt.* RIGHT: *Sotheby's, New York, October 4, 2007, lot 143.*

the Porter family of New England and the original owner may have been William Porter (1763–1847) of Hadley, Massachusetts, who, when he died, "left a larger estate than any previously left in town."[18]

Three Chippendale side chairs with claw-and-ball feet are part of a former set of six that are also attributed to Barnard.[19] Again their character is decidedly Chapin school. The original owner of the chairs was Samuel Barnard (1746–1819), a first cousin of Julius. Samuel Barnard was a lawyer and justice of the peace in Deerfield who, upon encountering financial difficulties, moved to Vermont in 1795, where he became one of the first settlers in the new township of Montgomery. Therefore, the side chairs most likely date to the early 1790s.

It seems Barnard encountered considerable competition in the furniture making trade in Northampton. There were a number of skilled

Side Chair (1792/1800) attributed to Julius Barnard. Historic Deerfield (HD 57.022). Courtesy of Historic Deerfield. Photo by Amanda Merullo.

cabinetmakers in town: David Judd, Asa King, Oliver Pomroy (Pomeroy), Lewis S. Sage, and Anson P. Fairchild, among others. No doubt this situation motivated him to investigate prospects in Vermont.

Vermont Years

A letter written by Barnard from Royalton on February 28, 1801, indicates that he made an extended trip to various towns of Windsor County that winter.[20] This letter also provides a rare, immediate glimpse into Barnard's life and work. It was addressed to Mills Olcott (1774–1845), a prominent resident of Hanover, New Hampshire, who was the son of the first lieutenant governor of Vermont under statehood, and an attorney, businessman, and member of the New Hampshire House of Representatives. In his letter, Barnard stated that he had contact with an unnamed brother of Olcott's while visiting Woodstock. This brother arranged for Barnard to buy some cherry boards, with which he was to "employ me to make his cabinet work." This work was to be done in Norwich, implying that the brother was Roswell Olcott (1768–1841).[21] Barnard stated furthermore that, while in Norwich, he was ready to make furniture for Mills Olcott: "If there is any mahogany furniture wanted

[by you] there will be time to get it [i.e., mahogany] from Boston before I shall want it." Barnard sought other orders for furniture, requesting that Mills Olcott inquire of a Mr. Lang[22] if he wanted any. Prior to visiting Windsor County, Barnard had stopped in Hanover, intending to see Olcott, but the latter had "gone to Canada."

By June of the same year, Barnard was working in Hanover, in a shop near Dartmouth College. It was a temporary arrangement, for he announced in an advertisement that he intended to remain for "several months" only. Again, he offered to make "Mahogany or Cherry Furniture, of any description."[23] While in Vermont and New Hampshire during this period, Barnard retained his shop in Northampton.

In the past it has been proposed that a sideboard in the Hood Museum, Dartmouth College, might date from Barnard's Hanover stay.[24] Though Barnard advertised sideboards as early as 1792, none is attributable to him or any other cabinetmaker in western New England before 1800.[25] The Dartmouth College sideboard originally belonged to Mills Olcott. An account book of Olcott's records a payment of $25.00 to Barnard on July 9, 1801 as a "settlement for [unspecified] furniture."[26]

The Olcott sideboard is distinguished by a serpentine front with incurved side bays, bowed center with lower recessed cabinet, and canted

Sideboard (ca. 1800-05) possibly by Julius Barnard. Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire; bequest of Philip H. Chase, class of 1907 (acc. no. F.980.64).

front legs. Ultimately it is derivative of a form popularized by the English designer, Thomas Shearer, with the addition of a central cabinet.[27] The form was made in all major American cities along the seaboard, but the source of this particular version lies in New York furniture.[28] The panels inset with oval, circular, and elliptical inlays of contrasting crotch veneer are decorative features that also hark back to New York, as are the frames of stringing with lunette corners.[29] So are the bellflowers on the stiles, except they are inverted, a feature that has its closest parallels in the furniture of Concord, New Hampshire.[30]

On September 23, 1801, Barnard bought a tract of land with buildings near the courthouse common in Windsor, Vermont.[31] By November, he was back in Northampton, where he advertised as continuing business as usual, but intending to move from town in February.[32] The following June, he settled in Windsor,[33] which was the largest town in the eastern half of the state with a population of approximately 2,200.[34] His shop was "next door south" of Pettes's Coffee House (and hotel).[35] In 1805, he moved to a "brick-building next door south" of Samuel Patrick, Sr.'s tavern.[36] It was a new structure on the east side of Main Street "adjoining the brick shop of Samuel Patrick [Jr.] both being under one roof."[37] Elsewhere the property where it was located is described as having his "dwelling house Cabinet & Chair shop Black smith shop and barn and other buildings."[38]

Barnard is reputed to have operated the largest furniture-making shop in Vermont during his time.[39] He would have had both apprentices and journeymen working for him. The only one identified so far is the chairmaker John Wilder, who worked in Barnard's shop for an unspecified period up until 1804.[40] Chairs continued to be an important dimension to his trade. By 1807, Barnard had entered into partnership with the cabinetmaker Rufus Norton (1781–1818) as Barnard & Norton. A native of Suffield, Connecticut, Norton had his own shop in Windsor by 1804.[41]

No documented furniture from Barnard's Windsor phase has been identified so far. While his advertisements claim that he carried on the customary "cabinet and chair work," they also tell of a shift in his case furniture over the preceding decade, with some forms being added and others dropped, no doubt owing to changes in fashion. He no longer listed high chests, whereas sideboards figure prominently among his cabinetwork. Sideboards were a relatively recent introduction to American furniture in general. They included "sash-corner'd, commode, & strait front sideboards." Also new were "ladies writing desks and bookcases." Tables were always a part of his output—card, Pembroke, dining, and breakfast—and to these were added "circular and octagon end tables."[42]

Coach, Chaiſe, & Cabinet Work.

JULIUS BARNARD,

Informs the public that he now carries on his ſeveral branches of buſineſs in the Brick-building next door ſouth of Mr. Patrick's tavern, where he will make for ſale the following Articles, viz:

Saſh-cornered, commode, & ſtrait front Sideboards—Secretaries and Bookcaſes—Ladies Writing-deſks and Bookcaſes—Circular and ſtrait front Bureaus—Card and Pembrome Tables, Dining and Breakfaſt Tables—Circular and Octagon end Taoles—Candleſtands—Clockcaſes.—Field, High poſt, Low-poſt, and Croſs Bedſteads.—Sofas, Eaſy and Lolling Chairs, Windſor and Dineing Chairs, Bamboo and Cottage Chairs, Mahogany and Cherry fram'd Chairs, &c. &c. in the beſt and moſt faſhionable manner.

He is deſirous further to give notice, that he has employed accompliſhed workmen at each of the different branches for compleating Elegant or plain Coaches, Phætons, Jerſey-waggons, Gigs, or common Waggons.

Having taken the utmoſt pains to procure the beſt of timber from below, and materials of every kind, he flatters himſelf that he ſhall be able to give ſatisfaction to all who wiſh to encourage the above uſeful branches of buſineſs.

Lumber, Beef-Cattle, and moſt kinds of Country produce will be received in payment, and a generous diſcount will be made to thoſe who purchaſe to a conſiderable amount with caſh, and every favor gratefully acknowledged by the public's humble ſervant,

JULIUS BARNARD.

N. B. *Caſh will be paid for a quantity of* Bees Wax.

Windſor, Sept. 16, 1805.

Advertisement in the Post-Boy, and Vermont & New-Hampshire Federal Courier *(Windsor, Vt.), October 8, 1805.*

One of the last advertisements of Barnard & Norton in 1809 included an engraved image of a sideboard.[43] No doubt it represents a generic type, because it was reused in the same newspaper in subsequent advertisements for both Rufus Norton and Lemuel Hedge.[44] It may also have some basis in reality. The image suggests a sideboard with straight or bow (also "commode") front, panels with lunette corners and turned legs. An example of this type by William Lloyd (1779–1845)

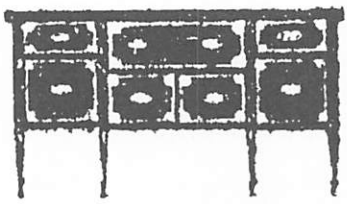
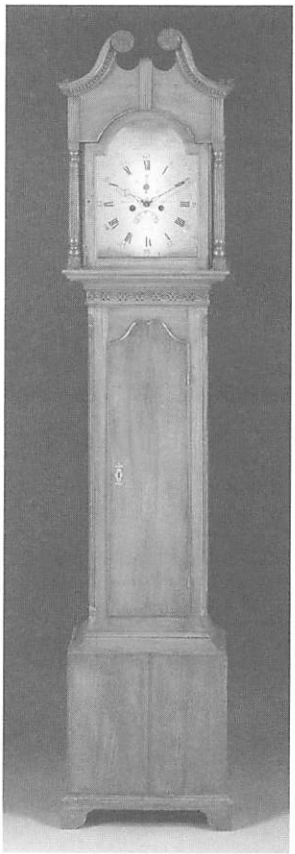


Illustration of sideboard in Spooner's Vermont Journal *(Windsor, Vt.), July 10, 1809.*

Sideboard (1811/20) by William Lloyd. Historic Deerfield (HD 1998.32). Courtesy of Historic Deerfield. Photo by Penny Leveritt.

of Springfield, Massachusetts, dated c. 1811–15, is in the collection of Historic Deerfield.[45] In other words, it reflects a design shared by cabinetmakers in the upper Connecticut Valley.

While in Windsor, Barnard's chief furniture-making competitor was John C. Dana in nearby Woodstock. Otherwise he, and later he and Norton, would have had a near monopoly of the Windsor area market. This, and the fact that throughout much of his career Barnard advertised the making of clock cases, lend validity to the speculation that he must have made clock cases for his contemporaries, Nathan Hale and Martin Cheney, who were Windsor's leading clockmakers. Hale was active in Windsor from 1796 until 1805, while Cheney was there from 1801 until 1809, that is, for almost the same period as Barnard, except the former arrived there a year earlier.[46] The shops of all three were in close



Tallcase Clock (ca. 1805–09), works by Martin Cheney, case probably from the workshop of Julius Barnard. Christie's, New York, Sale, January 21, 1994, lot 261.

proximity on the east side of Main Street and, until 1805, both Barnard and Cheney were in Pettes's Block. The following year the latter were among the founders of the Windsor Mechanics' Institute.[47] Barnard also owned property jointly with Samuel Patrick, Jr., who was Cheney's brother-in-law. Both Cheney and Barnard moved to Montreal in 1809. When Barnard's son and namesake died in 1812, Cheney was a signatory to the burial record (see below). These synchronous circumstances reinforce the plausibility of a craft linkage between the two.

Care must be exercised, however, when making attributions. Known tallcase clocks, with works from Cheney's Windsor phase, suggest the cases were made by at least two different cabinetmakers, but not necessarily from different shops. One of these clocks has stylistic features suggesting connections with the Windsor-Hartford-Colchester region of Connecticut.[48] This is seen in the tall, narrow bonnet with fluted

pilasters, steep scroll pediment, bold rosettes, and cornice with dentils.[49] It suggests a cabinetmaker trained in Connecticut made the case, possibly Norton, during his partnership with Barnard.

Still another new dimension to Barnard's output was coach- and wagon-making, or the carriage trade: "elegant or plain Coaches, Phaetons, Jersey Waggons, Giggs, or common Waggons."[50] Again it required many different specialized workmen, among whom joiners filled a critical role, and thus was a trade allied to furniture making. If advertisements are a true measure of his custom, the carriage trade formed a significant part of his business during his Windsor phase.[51] In 1807, he announced that he expected "to finish and have ready for sale by June next, Twenty Chaises and several four wheel carriages of various descriptions."[52] The previous year he charged Mills Olcott $15.00 for the repair of a chaise.[53]

While in Windsor, Barnard maintained ongoing contacts with Northampton, as seen in his occasional purchasing of furniture- and carriage-making supplies from the merchant John Breck. On March 29, 1806, Barnard had an order valued at £11 19s.[54] Among the items listed were five dozen rose handles, one dozen commode handles, six sets of drawer locks, one and a half dozen locks (twelve with keys), six pairs of chaise bits, and so on. Another order of May 21, 1807, was for "Swedes" and "Russia" iron valued at $158.81, no doubt for use in the carriage trade.[55] Breck was a major importer of hardware and other goods from Great Britain and the geographical range of his customers extended throughout western Massachusetts, southern Vermont, and southwestern New Hampshire. They included cabinetmakers and clockmakers, as wells as a cross-section of the broader population.[56] Breck's supplies for Barnard were usually shipped to Windsor by stage, except for the iron, which went by ferry.

On March 14, 1809, Barnard sold his shop and house in Windsor's center to Rufus Norton.[57] On June 1, the partnership of Barnard & Norton was formally dissolved, in preparation for Barnard's departure for Montreal in September.[58] Martin Cheney preceded Barnard to Montreal by just about six months.[59] The circumstances of their move were no doubt tied to the adverse economic conditions of the time.

Emigration to Canada

President Thomas Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807 followed by President James Madison's Non-Intercourse Act of 1809 precipitated a dramatic downturn in the economy of New England in the years immediately preceding the War of 1812. Foreign trade by sea was severely curtailed, while that by land with Canada, though illegal, increased exponentially. Many New Englanders, Vermonters in particular, flouted

the embargo and continued commerce with Canada.[60] Commodities such as lumber, potash, beef, pork, flour, tobacco, and tea flowed north; furs, salt, fish, rum, and manufactured products from Great Britain such as hardware and pottery flowed south. But this stream was far stronger toward the north than the south. A concomitant effect was an intensified movement of New Englanders north.[61] While this post-Loyalist (i.e., post-independence) emigration had gone on since the 1790s, at first as a trickle, it peaked just before the War of 1812. The *New-Hampshire Patriot* (Concord) provided a contemporary commentary on this phenomenon: "It is well known that by the enterprising spirit of the sons of New-England, within three years the consequence of Canada, particularly the city of Montreal, has been greatly increased. Many people, from the advantages held out to industry and speculation, have migrated thither."[62]

As the chief commercial center of Lower Canada, Montreal attracted many American traders and craftsmen. When Julius Barnard arrived there in 1809, it had a population of approximately 11,000–12,000, comparable to Salem. In New England, it was exceeded in size only by Boston with 33,000 people. Montreal's environment was not universally hospitable to the American newcomers, who were generally regarded as interlopers and faced with a linguistic and cultural divide between Francophones and Anglophones, with the former in the majority. Any estimation of the ethnic composition of the Anglophone population cannot be precisely delineated, owing to a lack of data, though Scots were relatively numerous, followed by Americans (including some Loyalist/Tory refugees from the American Revolution, but the vast majority were later seekers of economic opportunity rather than politically motivated),[63] Irish (including native Irish, Anglo-Irish and Ulster Scots), English, and Germans, respectively.[64]

The American emigrants to Lower Canada were most numerous in the southern borderlands known as the Eastern Townships, which was essentially part of the American frontier except in name. In 1801, William Barnard, a first cousin once removed of Julius Barnard, was awarded a grant of 40,200 acres in the Township of Brompton. Land allocation was according to the New England "leader and associates" system. In addition to William Barnard himself, of the thirty associates he had enlisted to participate in this settlement, twenty-three were from Deerfield, Massachusetts, including one of William's brothers. Six others were from nearby Bernardston, while the last, Samuel Barnard, Jr., was a son of Julius Barnard's earlier patron of the same name, who at this time resided in Montgomery, Vermont.[65] Consequently Julius Barnard must have had knowledge of this settlement, a fact that would have been a further inducement for him to try his own prospects in Canada.

Nahum Mower may also have been a factor in Barnard's decision to emigrate. Mower was a disenchanted Federalist and critic of Jefferson's policies who had been owner and publisher of the *Post-Boy* newspaper in Windsor. In 1807, he settled in Montreal, where he founded the *Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser.*[66] Ironically, of three Montreal newspapers, it was the most receptive to an American viewpoint. Nahum Mower and Martin Cheney were brothers-in-law,[67] so the assumption arises that Mower influenced Cheney to relocate and they in turn influenced Barnard.

In Montreal, Barnard became a hotelier as well as a cabinetmaker, both occupations in which Yankees were key players.[68] Effective May 1, 1810, he signed a three-year lease for a building to be called the Union Hotel. Eli Barnard, apparently no relation, was his partner. He is identified as an innkeeper and was no doubt the person who actually ran the inn, while Julius continued as a cabinetmaker. The inn was a building recently erected and owned by Pierre Berthelet, a real estate developer who was one of the city's major property owners. It was a stone structure of three stories with stables and outbuildings, which was located at the western end of the city, on St. Paul Street, where the city wall had recently been razed. The rent was the considerable sum of £225 for the first year, £250 for each of the remaining years.[69] An advertisement of 1811 stated the inn had a capacity whereby "ten or twelve Gentlemen boarders will be supplied with a private room and separated table."[70]

During this period, it was not unusual for a craftsman to invest in a business or businesses other than his craft, if he could afford to do so, and was characteristic of the Americans in Montreal. It reflected an ingrained entrepreneurial spirit that was aptly phrased by a contemporary writer to the *Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser*: "The American merchants recently settled in this city have taken the advantage of our incredulity and now enjoy the fruits of what we might have reaped, had we been more enterprising."[71] The same applied to craftsmen. The Americans in Montreal had an important role in the city's economic development during the ninteenth century.[72]

Like many of his compatriots Barnard was also interested in acquiring land. On December 3, 1811, he purchased property in the arrière-fief of La Gauchetière, to the north of the city.[73] A condition of the purchase was that he build a house within three years. These circumstances suggest that he intended to stay in Montreal permanently.

Julius Barnard operated a furniture shop adjacent to the inn, in another partnership as Barnard & Clark.[74] The partner has yet to be identified. No furniture by Barnard from Montreal is known—but Montreal furniture of this period has been poorly studied in general.[75] In 1811, he

Valuable and Extenſive Sale.

ON WEDNESDAY the 3d June and continued THURSDAY and FRIDAY, till the whole is diſpoſed of, at the *Houſe* of Mr. JULIUS BARNARD, end of St. Paul Street, near the new College.

All his valuable and extenſive HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE AND STOCK IN TRADE, and comprifing an elegant full trimed Couch, perfectly new, and ditto. Phaeton ditto, a pair of handſome young Horſes, warranted found, a complete ſet of plated harneſs, 51 Dining, Breakfaſt and Tea Tables, of every deſcription, perfectly new, Ladies work Tables, an elegant mahogany Sideboard, ditto. ditto. Sophs, with arms, 10 Mahogany and Cherry tree double and ſingle Cheſts of Drawers, new, a curled Maple Secretary, 35 new eight day Clocks, with and without caſes, 20 Feather Beds, of a ſuperior quality, Mahogany 4 poſt Bedſteads with curtains, Field and common ditto, 4 doz. Chairs, Matreſſes, Blankets, Bolſters, Pillows, Silver table and tea Spoons, Plated Ware, China and Glaſs Ware, table and Bed Linen, Kitchen Utenſils, table and tea Services, Carpets, &c. compleat aſſortments of Cabinet Joiners and Carpenters tools and Beſpoke, comprifing every article in the reſpective branches.

Several hundred pieces of boards, among which are Mahogany, curled Maple & Cherry, a quantity of Plated Mouldings, Carriage and Harneſs trimmings, carped Hair, Gum Capal, empty caſks, &c. &c. May be viewed on Tueſday, and the mornings of Sale.

Sale to commence at 10 o'clock each day precifely.

M'CNIDER & BRIDGE, A. & B.

May 30, 1812.

Advertisement in the Montreal Herald, *May 30, 1812.*

advertised as having "cabinet and chair work of all descriptions finished in a superior style . . . for sale."[76] An auction of his movable property the following year provides a clearer glimpse of his furniture output. His stock in trade included 51 dining, breakfast (i.e., Pembroke), and tea tables "of every description, perfectly new"; 10 mahogany and cherry "double and single" chests of drawers; four-post bedsteads with curtains, and field and common bedsteads; four dozen chairs; and "35 new eight day Clocks, with and without cases."[77] There was also a curly maple secretary.

If the above list correctly reflects the type of furniture Barnard was making in Montreal, it represents a great reduction in the types of his

casework and a shift to furniture dependent on turned elements. Consequently, he would have needed a turner. Could this have been the unidentified "Clark"? Equally revealing is the number of clock movements, whether cased or not. Eight-day movements most likely signify tallcase and mantel clocks.[78] Having thirty-five of them suggests Barnard was a specialist maker of clock cases at this time and, moreover, was one of the city's major retailer of clocks.[79] Furthermore, it reinforces the hypothesis that Barnard made clock cases for Cheney in Windsor, Vermont, a relationship that may have continued. The leading working and/or retail clockmakers in Montreal during the same period were Canadian-born Charles Arnoldi and the New Englanders, Benjamin Comens Jr., Joseph Lovis, Nathaniel P. Atkinson, and Cheney.

The new focus of Barnard's furniture may have been driven by different market conditions. Samuel Park, who operated a large wareroom, dominated the local market for English-style furniture. As outlined in an advertisement of 1812, the quantity and range of Park's stock was considerably greater than that of Barnard, and included a large amount of case furniture.[80] Yet, only six clock cases are listed. The conclusion may be adduced that Barnard turned to niche products rather than compete directly with Park.

There is nothing to suggest that Barnard adopted French designs while in Montreal. The evidence of the few known pieces by other cabinetmakers suggests that Anglo-American and, more specifically, New England versions of English designs prevailed in Montreal in the decade before 1812. This tendency reflects the origins of a great many of the English-speaking cabinetmakers themselves and does not necessarily imply a preference for American design over English per se. The cabinetmakers simply reproduced what was familiar to them, while most of their customers probably did not distinguish between Anglo-American and English design. Furthermore, many of their customers were of Anglo-American background.

In general, there is no evidence of Anglophone cabinetmakers producing French designs. Any exchange was in the opposite direction, usually by young French Canadians who apprenticed under English-speaking cabinetmakers. This division emanated in part from deep, ongoing ethnic tensions and concepts of identity.[81] To a certain extent design was symbolically charged and could be interpreted as a quasi-metaphor for national and/or political allegiances. A difference in basic construction techniques also inhibited the easy adaptation of designs by one or the other. Traditional French-Canadian case furniture utilized panel-and-frame construction and mortise-and-tenon joinery, whereas English and Anglo-American furniture relied on the more modern

dovetailed case construction.[82] The finest of French-Canadian furniture also lacked the refinement of its Anglo-Montreal counterpart. For instance, the latter used veneers and, occasionally, inlays, while the former did not. A dichotomy also existed in the woods used. While pine was ubiquitous for most common furniture, butternut was the customary primary wood for most French-style fine furniture, mahogany for English-style.

The wealthier echelons of colonial society, the preponderance of whom were English speaking, were naturally predisposed to current English or English-derived fashion in this period of British ascendancy at the turn of the nineteenth century. Many of the French-Canadian element among them were similarly disposed. Besides, French-Canadian furniture had not evolved past the Rococo style, which was long out of date. Among the middle and lower ranks of French-Canadian society, there was a stronger, inherent resistance to the shedding of traditional, outward trappings of ethnic identity, as in furniture design. It was a reflection of the natural conservatism of a people who, in their isolation from the homeland of France, feared the demise of their language and culture, if not of themselves as a people. The legitimacy of this anxiety rests undisputed.

The sale of Barnard's shop contents included several hundred mahogany, maple and cherry boards. In his New England advertisements, on the other hand, curly maple is only mentioned during his early Northampton years. It may mean that during his Montreal phase he made a fair amount of curly maple furniture, which was becoming more of a universal fashion by this time in the northeastern United States and Canada.

Many of Barnard's business and personal relationships in Montreal were with other Yankees, reflecting a strong sense of ethnic bonds. His partner, Eli Barnard, was from New England (possibly from Vermont).[83] In 1810, the Barnard partnership sublet one of their outbuildings, a two-story bakehouse, to the bakers Charles Lord and Nahum Hall.[84] The former was a native of Connecticut, the latter of New Hampshire. In a dispute with his landlord, Pierre Berthelet, Barnard was represented by Abner Rice, a native of Massachusetts.[85] Barnard belonged to the Scotch Church, or St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church, which had a large New England contingent among its membership. When Barnard's wife was buried,[86] a witness was Ebenezer Drury, who was of New England lineage, though possibly from New York. When Barnard's infant son and namesake was buried, the witnesses were Martin Cheney and Samuel Pomroy, another innkeeper, who was a native of Northampton, Massachusetts.[87]

Return to the United States

1812 was a year of tribulation for Barnard. Both his wife and youngest son died that year. Moreover, he seems to have encountered financial difficulties, which would account for the auctioning of all his possessions on May 30, 1812.[88] Another indicator of a troubled situation is that on June 26 he was issued a writ of *capias ad respondendum* by the Court of King's Bench for the District of Montreal for default on a debt of £12 6s.[89] He avoided prison, so the debt would have been paid.

Ironically, just two days earlier news had reached Montreal from New York City that the United States had declared war against Great Britain, which meant that Lower Canada, as a British colony, was also at war.[90] While authorities always harbored suspicions about the loyalty of Americans living in the colony, this distrust quickly escalated into a form of xenophobia. All Americans were regarded as potential enemies. On June 30, Sir George Prevost, governor of Lower Canada, issued a proclamation ordering "all persons who are Subjects of the United States of America, to depart from this Province within Fourteen days."[91] Two weeks later this proclamation was followed by more specific regulations whereby American citizens were given the option of remaining if they took an Oath of Allegiance, conditional upon their consenting to bear arms on behalf of Great Britain.[92] Many could not agree to these terms and departed the colony.

Among the latter were both Julius Barnard and Eli Barnard. On July 2, they transferred their lease on the Union Hotel to Jesse Hollister,[93] an innkeeper from New York, who chose to take the oath. Julius Barnard's youngest son died in Montreal on December 2, but it is likely that Julius himself left the city months earlier, for he is listed in the tax records of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, on December 30.[94] He would remain in Pittsfield for at least the next eight years.

Beginning on August 3, 1813, Barnard announced in a series of advertisements that he had opened a furniture shop "a few rods east" of the Pittsfield Hotel in the center of town. He also indicated that he was seeking "two or three journeymen . . . and an active lad as an apprentice."[95] Though apparently back in business, nothing is known about the furniture of his Pittsfield phase. No newspaper advertisements have been traced after 1814.

Pittsfield had a population of about 2,700[96] and apparently was sufficiently supplied with furniture makers. Among them were the chairmakers John Ayres[97] and George W. Fish,[98] and the cabinetmakers Amos Barns,[99] Augustus Hitchcock,[100] John Garland,[101] and Calvin Taylor.[102] Just as in Montreal, Barnard faced strong competition. A failure

to gain a firm foothold in the local trade may explain his seeming financial adversity for the remainder of the decade.

Court records indicate a succession of legal difficulties, mostly for the non-payment of debts. To cite some examples, in 1814, Jonathan Edwards of Montpelier, Vermont, pursued Barnard to Pittsfield for repayment of $250.00.[103] In 1817, he was involved in a business deal gone sour concerning the sale of patent rights on the Hotchkiss straw cutter for fifteen counties in the State of New York.[104] Invented by Elihu Hotchkiss of Brattleboro, Vermont, the straw cutter was a machine for cutting straw and hay as feed for horses.[105] Barnard's diversification into such an enterprise intimates that his furniture business was not faring well.

He left town before 1821, for a legal action against him that year refers to him as "Julius Barnard late of Pittsfield" and that he was now living "out of this Commonwealth."[106] Barnard had defaulted on $70.00 for board and lodging that he had incurred in 1816, further confirming that he had fallen on hard times. The great economic depression or Panic of 1819 may have dealt the final blow to his financial troubles. Afterwards his whereabouts prove elusive. He may have gone to Westfield, Massachusetts, where his daughter, Olivia, was married in 1824.[107] It is more likely, however, that he went to Seneca County or the adjacent burgeoning Genesee Country of New York. His two younger daughters were married and living in Waterloo, Seneca County, by the mid-1820s. Sometime in the next decade both of these daughters migrated with their husbands to Michigan.[108]

Barnard's later obscurity was a harbinger of the fate of a hard-pressed craft tradition in western New England in the advanced stages of proto-industrialization. A general surplus of highly trained craftsmen coupled with the essential rural character of the region, which had no large urban centers, meant intense competition for a limited market. As a result, craftsmen were often compelled to relocate or take on other occupational endeavors. Adaptability was requisite. But this was just one aspect of the instabilities and adversities arising from a much greater migratory phenomenon: the relentless Yankee exodus that characterized eastern and central North America during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These people were not intimidated by political boundaries. Some, like Barnard, ventured to Lower Canada, while others went to Upper Canada (Ontario). Vermont was a hub for this migration.

These conditions had an impact on furniture history, as designs were carried along the path of migration, northward up the Connecticut River Valley and beyond and, no doubt, westward, though the latter has yet

to be studied properly. Barnard must have been a player in this transmission. During the 1790s, he was a leading cabinetmaker and chairmaker in Northampton, Massachusetts, a role that was repeated in Windsor, Vermont, the succeeding decade. His stay in Montreal was more short-lived, and not as easily evaluated. But he was representative of an influx of skilled Yankee craftsmen into that city in the decade before the War of 1812. The furniture makers among them compensated for a shortage of local craftsmen who were familiar with essential English design and fabrication techniques. Rather than relinquish his national allegiance, Barnard returned to Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where later financial troubles would compel him to relocate once again, to an as yet unknown destination. The vicissitudes experienced by Julius Barnard were far from anomalous in this age of migration.

Appendix

Besides Julius Barnard, the writer has newly identified other furniture makers who went to Montreal from Vermont during the same period.[109] It is the product of broader, ongoing research of Montreal furniture makers. Those with Vermont connections were among several dozen American furniture makers in Montreal, some of whom settled there while others, like Barnard, stayed only temporarily, returning to the United States or moving on to Upper Canada. Unlike the western destinations, those settlers who went to Lower Canada encountered a different political and legal system, and an alien culture. The government was overseen by an appointed British governor, there was less respect for democratic principles, the civil law was French in origin, and the vast majority of the population was Roman Catholic and French speaking. These factors were a discouragement for many new arrivals, making them less inclined to stay permanently. This situation is reflected in the experience of the Vermonter, Abraham Brinsmaid, who wrote in a journal entry for 1793, "it was a lonesome place especially for a stranger that could not speak French."[110] The War of 1812 and the decades following witnessed overt hostility toward Americans, which was a further deterrent to emigration. Despite these drawbacks, many did so anyway.

Jacob Buhanan (Buchanan?) of Fairfax, Vermont, is the earliest of these furniture makers to be uncovered so far. According to a contract of August 7, 1798, he agreed to make "four hundred of dining fan back Windsor chairs and one hundred of new fashioned armed Windsor chairs" for Samuel Park.[111] Nothing else is known about his activity, either in Canada or Vermont.

The brothers James and Robert Perrigo exemplify rare cases of

young Montrealers going to Vermont to train as chairmakers. Why they did so has two possible explanations. They were actually born in Vermont, emigrating to Canada with their parents as young children; at this time Montreal likely had a shortfall in skilled chairmakers who were versed in up-to-date English or Anglo-American designs. The brothers were apprenticed to the chairmaker, Mark Rice, originally from the Boston area, who operated a shop in Burlington. James's indenture papers date from 1801, when he was fourteen years old, and committed him to serve his apprenticeship until he was twenty-one.[112] Apparently he did not complete the agreed term because he was back in Montreal three years later, where he was engaged to Henry Corse for a year to learn the "trade of painter."[113] Corse was a native of Northfield, Massachusetts, who worked for a spell in Peacham, Vermont, before settling in Montreal in 1803.[114] Many chairmakers, such as Corse, were trained as decorative painters, which explains James Perrigo's spell under him.[115] In 1804, Robert Perrigo followed his brother to Rice's workshop.[116]

The following year Uriah Mitcham (also Meacham) was described as a cabinetmaker upon his marriage in Montreal's St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church.[117] He was from Strafford, Vermont. Earlier in the year he had been confined to prison in Danville for debt, which may explain why he subsequently left the state.[118] The same church register contains an entry for the burial of Jabez Swift in 1808. Again his occupation is that of cabinetmaker. In 1805, Swift had run into financial difficulties while residing in Bridport, Vermont, and was confined to jail in Middlebury.[119] He was originally from Kent, Connecticut.

The person who most closely parallels the situation of Julius Barnard is Michael Stevens, who was born in Connecticut and raised in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where he presumably trained as a cabinetmaker. In 1808 he was in Middlebury and in 1809 in Orwell, Vermont, where he was in a brief partnership with Timothy F. Cook.[120] By early summer 1810 he was in Montreal, when his son was baptized.[121] Stevens, like Barnard, declined to take the oath of allegiance and went to Pittsfield. Unlike Barnard, he returned to Montreal and is recorded there before the end of the war.[122]

Notes

[1] Stewart H. Holbrook, *The Yankee Exodus: An Account of Migration from New England* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1950), 10–38.

[2] I thank Philip Zea, president of Historic Deerfield, whose critical reading of the text yielded some corrections and expanded insights. A special debt of gratitude is also due Susan Denault, archivist, Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts, whom I enlisted to explore documentary sources on Barnard in Pittsfield repositories; Barbara L. Krieger, archives supervisor, Rauner Library, Dartmouth College, for copies of the Mills Olcott papers; Rebecca Woodbury Tucker for research in the town clerk's office and Windsor Public Library, Windsor, Vt.; Marie Panik, archivist, Historic

Northampton Museum; and Jeanne Solensky, librarian, The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts & Printed Ephemera, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

[3] This piece is discussed in Thomas P. Kugelman, Alice K. Kugelman et al., *Connecticut Valley Furniture: Eliphalet Chapin and His Contemporaries, 1750–1899* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society Museum, 2005), 162–164.

[4] "Ledger Account with Eliphalet Chapin, East Windsor," in Penrose R. Hoopes, *Shop Records of Daniel Burnap Clockmaker* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1958), 78–79. In 1788, Barnard's name is also found in an account book of Ezra Clark of Northampton, indicating Clark loaned him £18 in June. Another entry for January of the same year, which immediately precedes that for Barnard, concerns purchases made by Eliphalet Chapin. Clark was a tavern owner and keeper of a toll gate. The precise implications of these entries remain uncertain, but suggest Chapin had business dealings in Northampton, as did Barnard (on Chapin's behalf?), when the latter resided in East Windsor. Historic Northampton Museum, Ledger of Ezra Clark and Jonas Clark (1788–1802), f. 6. Also see n. 10, below.

[5] *Hampshire Gazette,* 5 December 1792; *Greenfield Gazette,* 27 December 1792. For other early newspaper references to Barnard's activity in Northampton see Leigh Keno, "The Windsor-Chair Makers of Northampton, Massachusetts, 1790–1820," *Magazine Antiques* 117, 5 (May 1980): 1104.

[6] *Historical Localities in Northampton* (Northampton, Mass.: Gazette Printing Co., 1904), 36–37; Christopher Clark, "The Roots of Rural Capitalism," in *A Place Called Paradise: Culture and Community in Northampton, Massachusetts, 1654–2004,* ed. Kerry W. Buckley (Amherst and Boston: Historic Northampton in association with University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 209.

[7] Nancy Goyne Evans, *American Windsor Chairs* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1996), 391.

[8] *Hampshire Gazette,* 13 November 1799 and 30 July 1800.

[9] Ibid., 4 February and 11 November 1801.

[10] Picture frames formed another, albeit small aspect of his business. On June 13, 1794, Barnard received payment of £2 15s 2d from the Northampton firm of Robert Breck & Son for 16 picture frames and a table, the latter for John Breck, the son. Winterthur Museum, The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Breck Family Daybooks, vol. 1, f. 4. On June 4, 1789, while still in East Windsor, Barnard is credited with supplying Ezra Clark of Northampton with six picture frames. Ledger of Ezra Clark and Jonas Clark, f. 10.

[11] *Greenfield Gazette,* 25 August 1796.

[12] *Hampshire Gazette,* 24 January 1798.

[13] Ibid., 11 November 1801.

[14] Kugelman, *Connecticut Valley,* 178–180.

[15] The "House Joiners' and Cabinetmakers' Price List" for Hampshire County that was published in 1796 listed high cases (i.e., high chests) with scrolled head, such as that for Caleb Strong. Gerald W. R. Ward and William N. Hosley, Jr., eds., *The Great River: Art & Society of the Connecticut Valley, 1635–1820* (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1985), 474.

[16] Kugelman, *Connecticut Valley,* 142–155.

[17] Sotheby's, New York, 4 October 2007, lot 143.

[18] Josiah Gilbert Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts: The Counties of Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin and Berkshire.* vol. 2, bk. 3 (Springfield, Mass.: Samuel Bowles and Company, 1855), 227.

[19] Historic Deerfield acc. nos. HD 57.022A-B; Kugelman, *Connecticut Valley,* 179–180. According to Philip Zea, the other three chairs remain with descendants of Samuel Barnard.

[20] Rauner Library, Dartmouth College, Papers of Mills Olcott and the Olcott Family, Julius Barnard to Mills Olcott, 28 February 1801.

[21] Mills Olcott had two brothers living in Windsor County, Roswell and Timothy, who, according to the 1800 census, lived in Norwich and Chester respectively. Roswell was a trader, member of the Vermont House of Representatives, justice of the peace, and brigadier general in the Vermont militia. He later emigrated to the Eastern Townships of Quebec.

[22] Probably Richard Lang, who was the first in Hanover "to engage in general merchandizing on a large scale, and was by far the prince of business men here of that day." John King Lord, *A History of the Town of Hanover, N.H.* (Hanover: Dartmouth Press, 1928), 25.

[23] *Dartmouth Gazette,* 13 June 1801.

[24] Barbara J. MacAdam, *American Art at Dartmouth: Highlights from the Hood Museum of Art* (Hanover: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College/University Press of New England, 2007), 217. Another possibility is that it was made by another local cabinetmaker, such as Elijah Pomroy, who advertised in the *Dartmouth Gazette,* 9 January 1803.

[25] Ward and Hosley, *Great River,* 256, n. 2.

[26] Accounts of Mills Olcott, 1800–1840, vol. 1, f. 11v. Also see Margaret Moody Stier, "Note," *Dartmouth College Library Bulletin* 22 (April 1982): 84–86.

[27] *The Cabinet-Maker's London Book of Prices, Designs of Cabinet Work,* 2nd ed. (London: London Society of Cabinetmakers, 1793), 129–130, pl. 4, fig. 1.

[28] Deanne Levison and Harold Sack, "Identifying Regionalism in Sideboards: A Study of Documented Tapered-Leg Examples," *Magazine Antiques* 141, 5 (May 1992): 827–829.

[29] Bradford L. Rauschenberg and John Bivins, Jr., *The Furniture of Charleston, 1680–1820,* 3 vols. (Winston-Salem, N.C.: Old Salem Inc./The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, 2003), 2:632. Also note Bernard and S. Dean Levy, Inc., *Gallery Catalog* 6 (New York), 171.

[30] Cf. a sideboard attributed to George Rogers with C. L. Prickett of Yardley, Pa., http://www.clprickett.com/ (accessed 29 January 2009).

[31] Town clerk's office, Windsor, Vt., Land Records, September 23, 1801, Bk. 7: 165–166.

[32] *Hampshire Gazette,* 11 November 1801.

[33] Ibid., 30 June 1802. Also see Charles A. Robinson, *Vermont Cabinetmakers & Chairmakers Before 1855: A Checklist* (Shelburne, Vt.: Shelburne Museum, 1994), 31; William N. Hosley, Jr., "Vermont Furniture, 1790–1830," in *New England Furniture: Essays in Memory of Benno M. Forman* (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1987), 248, 262–263, 268.

[34] In a contemporary appraisal of Windsor, Timothy Dwight wrote: "More mercantile and mechanical business is done here than in any other town on the river north of Massachusetts." *Travels in New England and New York,* 4 vols. (1821; reprint, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1969), 2:321.

[35] *Spooner's Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 13 July 1802.

[36] Ibid., 8 October 1805.

[37] Town clerk's office, Windsor, Vt., Land Records, 6 July 1805, Bk. 8: 214–215; ibid., 24 January 1806, Bk. 8: 303–304. This second Samuel Patrick was the son of Samuel Patrick, Sr. He was a hatter.

[38] Ibid, 9 April 1808, Bk. 9: 205–206.

[39] Hosley, "Vermont Furniture," 248.

[40] Robinson, *Vermont Cabinetmakers,* 111; Evans, *Windsor Chairs,* 525–526.

[41] *Spooner's Vermont Journal,* 4 December 1804.

[42] *Post-Boy, and Vermont & New-Hampshire Federal Courier* (Windsor), 8 October 1805.

[43] *Spooner's Vermont Journal,* 3 July 1809.

[44] Ibid., 17 September 1809; 30 December 1811.

[45] Philip Zea, "William Lloyd and the Workmanship of Change," in *Rural New England Furniture: People, Place, and Production,* The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Annual Proceedings (Boston: Boston University, 1998), 72–73, fig. 8.

[46] Cheney was in Windsor by June 30. *Spooner's Vermont Journal,* 14 July 1801.

[47] *Weekly Wanderer* (Randolph, Vt.), 24 November 1806.

[48] Christie's, New York, Sale, 21 January 1994, lot 261.

[49] Thomas P. Kugelman and Alice K. Kugelman, "Furniture in the Colchester, Connecticut, Style," *Magazine Antiques* 168, 3 (September 2005): 98; Kugelman, *Connecticut Valley,* 337.

[50] *The Post-Boy,* 8 October 1805.

[51] Ibid., 29 April 1806.

[52] Ibid., 24 March 1807.

[53] Papers of Mills Olcott and the Olcott Family, Julius Barnard to Mills Olcott, 12 June 1806.

[54] Breck Family Daybooks, vol. 3, f. 178.

[55] Ibid., vol. 3, fol. 229

[56] In the *Hampshire Gazette* of May 8, 1801, Breck advertised that he had just received from Bristol and Liverpool (via Boston) "Brass and Cabinet Wares, Cutlery, Common and Plated Sadlery Wares, Coach and Harness wares, Clock and Watch Wares, Carpenter's, Cabinet-Maker's, Joiner's, Saddler's, Shoemaker's, Watch and Clock-Maker's Tools" etc.

[57] Town clerk's office, Windsor, Vt., Land Records, Bk. 9. Later that year he also sold a house to the cabinetmaker, William Ayres, who had just moved to town. Ibid., 10 October 1809. Ayres experienced financial difficulties in 1819 and absconded to Montreal, where he lived until his death in 1832. *Spooner's Vermont Journal,* 10 July 1809; *Brattleboro Messenger,* 7 July 1832.

[58] *Spooner's Vermont Journal,* 10 July 1809.

[59] Ibid., 3 April and 7 August 1809.

[60] Michael Sherman, Gene Sessions, and P. Jeffrey Potash, *Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont* (Barre: Vermont Historical Society, 2004), 155–156.

[61] Marcus Lee Hansen and John Bartlett Brebner, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 89.

[62] Cited in *Old Colony Gazette* (New Bedford, Mass.), 6 September 1811.

[63] Holbrook captured the essence of their motivation in this analogy: "Ethan Allen was unquestionably more typical of the Yankee migrants . . . he left home with the idea of bettering himself materially, nor was he too particular as to how it came about." *Yankee Exodus,* 14.

[64] Modern historians have tended to downplay or even ignore the size and relative importance of Montreal's American community during this period, as was the case more recently with Daniel

Massicotte, "Dynamique de croissance et de changement à Montréal de 1792 à 1819: le passage de la ville préindustrielle à la ville industrielle," *Urban History Review* 28, 1 (October 1999): 19. Presbyterians were the largest Protestant denomination in Montreal and many of its adherents were American as well as Scottish, reflecting the Calvinist heritage of New England. As the Rev. Robert Campbell, who was more immediate to the situation, wrote: "One of the most interesting features of Montreal at the beginning of the century, was the large New England element of its population. . . The skilled mechanics, who ministered to the comfort of the inhabitants, and helped to build up the city, 75 or 100 years ago, were mainly drawn from across the line 45°." *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal* (Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co., 1887), 251–252.

[65] R. W. McLachlan, "The Original Settlement of the Township of Brompton," *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal* 11, 3 (July 1914): 100–103.

[66] The editor of the Walpole, New Hampshire, *Political Observatory* (5 June 1807), remarked on Mower's move: "In the 'King's dominions' he will doubtless receive more extensive patronage than here, as he will there find many whose principles are congenial with his own."

[67] Mower was married to Freedom Patrick, while Cheney was married to her sister, Fanny.

[68] In an ongoing study of cabinetmakers in Montreal between 1790 and 1812, so far the writer has identified some two score cabinetmakers and chairmakers from the United States. They were overwhelmingly from New England, with a few from New York. See the appendix for some furniture makers from Vermont in Montreal.

[69] Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de Montréal (hereafter BAnQ), Greffe Louis Chaboillez, 12 March 1810.

[70] *Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser,* 15 April 1811.

[71] Ibid., 25 February 1811.

[72] Gerald J. J. Tulchinsky, *The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837–53* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 10–13.

[73] BAnQ, Greffe Louis Chaboillez.

[74] *Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser,* 15 April 1811.

[75] Early Montreal furniture is treated by Donald Blake Webster, "Furniture of English Quebec," in *The Book of Canadian Antiques* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1974), 53–70; and *Early Canadian Furniture of the Georgian Period* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979); but there is no discussion of cabinetmakers or workshops in either publication. The other seminal work, based on information extracted from early newspapers, is Elizabeth Collard, "Montreal Cabinetmakers and Chairmakers, 1800–1850: A Check List," *Magazine Antiques* 105, 5 (May 1974): 1132–1146. The Royal Ontario Museum is the only public institution that proactively collects early English-style Montreal furniture, a course assumed at the initiative of Donald Webster.

[76] *Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser,* 15 April 1811.

[77] *Montreal Herald,* 30 May 1812.

[78] They most likely had brass movements, which would have been imported from England. If it were not for the early date, it would be safer to speculate that such a large number of clocks must have been indicative of much cheaper wooden movements. I want to thank James Connell, Philip Morris, and Gary R. Sullivan for their thoughts on this matter.

[79] Sullivan has demonstrated that some cabinetmakers in southeastern Massachusetts retailed clocks in numbers comparable to clockmakers. These same cabinetmakers were usually specialist makers of clock cases, who made cases for clockmakers, or acquired clock works from the latter, which they cased and sold themselves. This phenomenon is indicative of complex retailing practices in the clock trade, which likely occurred in other regions of New England as well. "Clockmaking in Southeastern Massachusetts: The Bailey Family of Hanover," in Brock Jobe, Gary R. Sullivan, and Jack O'Brien, *Harbor & Home: Furniture of Southeastern Massachusetts, 1710–1850* (Hanover, N.H. & London: University Press of New England, 2009), 40.

[80] *Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser,* 10 February 1812. Samuel Park was at the hub of a network of cabinetmakers and chairmakers in the city, consisting of outworkers and jobbers, mostly American emigrants, who worked for him. Park himself was originally from the Boston area (Framingham).

[81] See F. Murray Greenwood, *Legacies of Fear: Law and Politics in Quebec in the Era of the French Revolution* (Toronto: The Osgoode Society, 1993).

[82] See Jeffrey P. Greene, *American Furniture of the 18th Century* (Newtown, Conn.: The Taunton Press, 1996), 7, 137–139; and Donald Blake Webster, *Rococo to Rustique: Early French-Canadian Furniture in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 2000), 30–31.

[83] Eli Barnard is probably the person who later operated the Green Mountain House, an inn in Burlington, Vermont. W. S. Rann, ed., *History of Chittenden County, Vermont* (Syracuse, N.Y.: D. Mason & Co., 1886), 504.

[84] BAnQ, Greffe Louis Chaboillez, 10 October 1810.

[85] Ibid., 25 December 1811.

[86] His wife was Lovisa Pynchon Pomeroy, a native of Northampton. They married on 28 August 1796.

[87] BAnQ, Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church, Montreal, 29 February and 2 December 1812. Pomroy resided in Derby Line, Vermont, before going to Montreal. Albert A. Pomeroy, *History and Genealogy of the Pomeroy Family* (Toledo, Oh.: Franklin Printing and Engraving Company, 1912), 306.

[88] *Montreal Herald,* 30 May 1812.

[89] *Appendix to the XXXVIIIth Volume of the Journals of the House of Assembly of the Province of Lower-Canada, Second Session of the Thirteenth Provincial Parliament, Sess. 1828–29* (Quebec: Neilson & Cowan, 1829), n. pag.

[90] *Montreal Herald,* 27 June 1812.

[91] Ibid., 4 July 1812.

[92] *Regulations, Established by His Excellency the Governor, Respecting American Subjects, Now Residing in the Province of Lower Canada* (Montreal: Gray, 1812).

[93] BAnQ, Greffe Louis Chaboillez, 12 March 1810 and 2 July 1812.

[94] Berkshire Athenaeum (hereafter BA), Pittsfield, Mass., Local History and Genealogy Collection, Tax Records. Barnard is listed in tax records up until 1 July 1818.

[95] *Pittsfield Sun,* 12 August 1813.

[96] Jesse Chickering, *Statistical View of the Population of Massachusetts from 1765 to 1840* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), 28.

[97] *Pittsfield Sun,* 28 December 1815.

[98] Ibid., 28 November 1822.

[99] Ibid., 19 July 1816.

[100] *Berkshire Star* (Stockbridge, Mass.), 18 December 1817.

[101] *New-Hampshire Patriot & State Gazette* (Concord), 5 November 1821.

[102] *Pittsfield Sun,* 22 August 1821.

[103] BA, Court of Common Pleas, 18 April 1814, Bk. 32: 536.

[104] Ibid., 7 March 1819, Bk. 39: 149–151.

[105] *American Beacon and Commercial Diary* (Norfolk, Va.), 7 June 1817; *American Farmer* (Baltimore), 9 June 1820.

[106] BA, Court of Common Pleas, Bk. 42: 314–315.

[107] *Hampshire Gazette,* 26 May 1824. Olivia Barnard was born in Northampton on January 12, 1800, and died in Sharon, Connecticut, on March 25, 1825. Lawrence Van Alystyne, *Burying Grounds of Sharon, Connecticut, Amenia and North East, New York* (Amenia, N.Y.: Walsh, Griffin & Hoysradt, 1903), 6.

[108] George H. Swift, *William Swyft of Sandwitch and Some of His Descendants* (Millbrook, N.Y.: Round Table Press, 1900), 83; Pomeroy, *Pomeroy Family,* 323.

[109] None of the furniture makers in the appendix are listed in Robinson, *Vermont Cabinetmakers.*

[110] C. W. Walton, "A Vermont Sketchbook: Abraham Brinsmaid, Vermont Silversmith," *Vermont History* 25, 3 (July 1957): 225.

[111] BAnQ, Greffe Louis Chaboillez, 7 August 1798.

[112] BAnQ, Greffe Jonathan A. Gray, 27 August 1801.

[113] "Fancy" or painted furniture, which came into vogue in the United States at the turn of the nineteenth century, required the skill of decorative painters. The term "fancy" applies chiefly to seating furniture. The painting was often outsourced to specialists, some of whom, like Corse, became involved in the furniture trade to the point of retailing "fancy" seating furniture themselves. Dean A. Fales, Jr., *American Painted Furniture, 1660–1880* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1986), 102, 133.

[114] *Green Mountain Patriot* (Peacham), 19 January 1803; *Montreal Gazette,* 8 August 1803.

[115] Corse advertised in the *Montreal Gazette* (4 August 1806) that he had "on hand a large assortment of chairs of the newest fashions, consisting of japann'd, gilt, cane bottomed drawing room chairs; japann'd, gilt and painted bamboo chairs and sofas; dining chairs of every description. He will have made on short notice fancy drawing room chairs, sofas, cornices, window seats, bed steads with and without cornices, after any particular pattern."

[116] BAnQ, Greffe Jonathan A. Gray, 9 July 1804.

[117] BAnQ, Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 16 December 1805.

[118] *Green Mountain Patriot,* 30 April 1805.

[119] *Middlebury Mercury,* 8 January 1806.

[120] Ibid., 14 September 1808; 19 April 1809; Robinson, *Vermont Cabinetmakers,* 43.

[121] BAnQ, Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church, Montreal, 11 July 1810.

[122] BAnQ, Greffe Joseph Desautels, 24 January 1814.

"Death Is Every Where Present"

New interest has been focused recently on the meaning and impact of death, mourning, and memorial practices that resulted from the nearly 700,000 fatalities during the Civil War. How did Vermonters deal with these circumstances both on the battlefield and at home?

By J. DAVID BOOK

Private Hazen B. Hooker, 3rd Regiment, Company G of the Vermont Volunteers, wrote these words to his parents in Peacham on April 2, 1864, in response to the news that his cousin, Sergeant Sanford Hooker, had succumbed to pneumonia at Mansfield General Hospital, Morehead City, North Carolina:

> I was very sorry to hear of the death of Sanford. It is a sad thing for his folks. He was a good boy. I always thought a great deal of him. *Death is every where present,* on the field of battle, in the camp and at home but it will not do for soldiers to think of such things, that is to dwell upon them, for if he does he will be miserable all the time. But he ought to think enough of it to cause him to live an upright honest life.[1]

Only a month later, Hazen Hooker was killed at the horrific Battle of the Wilderness, May 5, 1864.[2] Hooker's words clearly suggest the intimacy and nearness of death familiar to most of the nearly 35,000 men and boys from Vermont who traveled south to support the Union cause,

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and the hundreds of thousands who experienced the bloodiest conflict in American history.

Vermonters were well acquainted with death prior to the Civil War. Childhood mortality was extremely high. Smallpox, scarlet fever, and diphtheria took a huge toll. Those who managed to survive the early years of life could expect to live only into their late thirties. Thus, death became an integral part of the social fabric of home and community. Family members were close at hand to minister to the immediate needs of the sick and dying. At death neighbors gathered to assist the family in washing and clothing the body. The corpse was "laid out" in the home of the deceased. Interment in a grave dug by the hands of those who knew the deceased, often in a family plot, usually occurred the day after the death as family, friends, and neighbors accompanied the remains to a nearby village cemetery. In most instances, death became a shared community experience, a time to "rally around" the bereaved families with concrete gestures of care and concern.[3] This close and personal awareness of human mortality, however, did little to prepare Vermonters and other Americans for the carnage of the Civil War.

The military, political, economic, and social ramifications of that era have been the subject of many studies. Recently, new interest has been focused on the meaning and impact of death, mourning, and the memorial practices that resulted from the nearly 700,000 fatalities.[4] How did Vermonters deal with these circumstances both on the battlefield and at home? In Vermont, 34,238 men enlisted, more than 10 percent of the population of the state when the war began. Of this number, 5,237 died.[5] How did Vermonters cope with the catastrophic loss of its men who died so far away from the quiet villages and farms of the Green Mountains?

There is no doubt that death was very much on the minds of Vermont volunteers. Their letters and diaries are permeated with references to death. A few reflected a cavalier attitude toward their own mortality. Henry Marsh, 4th Regiment, from Cabot, wrote his mother the ironic words, "tell the folks that the ball is not made to kill me."[6] He died as a result of a wound suffered at the Wilderness.[7]

Another Cabot volunteer, Wallace Paige, 3rd Regiment, commented with a trace of humor to his sister in a letter from Camp Griffin, Virginia, "you tell mother to keep up good courage fore I shall be at home sometime if I don't get killed and I guess I shant if they don't do better since they have been out here and they will keep us here till we all dye."[8] Daniel White of Cavendish, a captain in the 2nd Regiment, displayed a philosophical struggle with death in a letter to a friend.

> Some ideas occurred to one of us who read your question "isn't it awful to die?" And under these circumstances I would not speak of it. People fear a natural death at home where all the comforts of life are to be had and a large circle of friends to administer to your every want but it is with us here we may be hit mortally wounded and lie flat in the cold ground with no pillow under the aching head and no one to administer one single act of kindness . . . I can't say that I fear being killed in battle still I may but it don't seem so but a dread of death naturally takes possession of one and it secures that a natural death would be only a pleasure [i.e., compared to the horrid death on the field] but see on dying from wounds so common that most all turn instinctively away without uttering a word.[9]

Orlando Burton, a Manchester corporal in the 5th Regiment, complained about the peril of death by disease, the frequency of which came as a surprise to many. "We have already buried five of our Company [from disease] may they be the last. We had rather die by the bullets of the enemy than by disease, but we cannot choose."[10] Burton had experienced neither a battle nor its resulting devastation when he lamented death from disease.

Wilbur Fisk, private in the 2nd Regiment and prolific correspondent to the *Green Mountain Freeman* published at Montpelier, reflected a very different perspective after viewing the carnage at the "Bloody Angle" near Spotsylvania Courthouse.

> In some places the men were piled four or five deep, some of whom were still alive. I turned away from that place, glad to escape such a terrible, sickening sight. I have sometimes hoped that if I must die while a soldier, I should prefer to die on the battlefield, but after looking at such a scene, one cannot help turning away and saying, any death but that.[11]

Fisk also realized that after soldiers were around death so often, they became insensitive to it, although he never seemed to be so himself. After the first day's fighting at Fredericksburg he wrote:

> The men fell fast on right and left. It is difficult to realize in the time of an action, the extreme peril one's life is in. Death there seems of less consequence than anywhere else, one gets so used to it. Let a railroad accident happen, or a factory tumble to the ground, mangling a great many, and terrifying numbers more, and the whole country shudders, but the same numbers may be killed and maimed in a brisk skirmish, and the affair is very "brilliant."[12]

Private William Cheney concurred: "a man soon becomes hardened so he has not but little feeling for himself." He observed that corpses were treated "just the same as you would load a piece of beef."[13] Peacham's Hazen Hooker wrote his mother from the field near Bell Plains, Virginia, December 28, 1862, regarding the death of a friend back home.

> Marm you cannot imagine how different my feelings are from what they were when I left home. I cannot look upon death as I did at home. It makes me feel bad to see and hear of the death of my friends and school mates, but I have become so hardened that it does not have but little affect on me to what it used to have.[14]

While on picket duty in St. George's County, Virginia, Wilbur Fisk reflected further on the killing:

> We are between two hostile armies, both of them drilling and exercising their men, and teaching them, as fast as they can, the arts of killing each other, and practicing those that are already learned, that they may not forget them. Brethren once, born under the same flag, reared under the same beneficent Government and prosperous by the same happy Union, now at deadly variance, seeking to imbrue our hands in each other's blood and striving by all means we can command to injure and destroy each other. Already has mourning been spread throughout the land, and poverty, suffering and desolation scattered everywhere.[15]

Regardless of the ever-present danger of death, most soldiers believed they would survive the conflict and return home. And if they were destined to die, they would be giving their life for a noble and just cause. Lt. Col. Samuel Pingree of the 3rd Regiment expressed this sentiment well in a letter to his parents, May 13, 1864: "If I survive I shall consider myself of singular luck. If not I am sure I shall have died in a cause which commends itself to both judgment and conscience."[16] However honorable the cause, a disturbing word of prophecy was written by Rufus Kinsley of Fletcher, serving in Ship Island, Mississippi, to his father, May 29, 1864. "I think there are many men alive now, who must be killed before the war can die; and that the courage needed just now is courage to kill, rather than courage to die."[17]

The men of Vermont's regiments were constantly reminded that death was the work of war, but what systems were in place to deal with the mounting death toll? How were bodies identified and how were family and friends notified?

If a soldier was ill in a field or general hospital, in all probability his identity would be known to hospital staff and his whereabouts known to his regiment. However, on the battlefield the possibility of becoming an anonymous casualty greatly increased. No specific plan had been designed by the federal government to provide official identification, as "dog tags" were not issued to the military until 1899.[18] To avert being listed among the "unknowns," American soldiers for the first time in any war made a deliberate effort to ensure that their identities would be acknowledged should they die. Many wrote their name and regiment on pieces of paper and pinned this crude "ID" to their clothing.

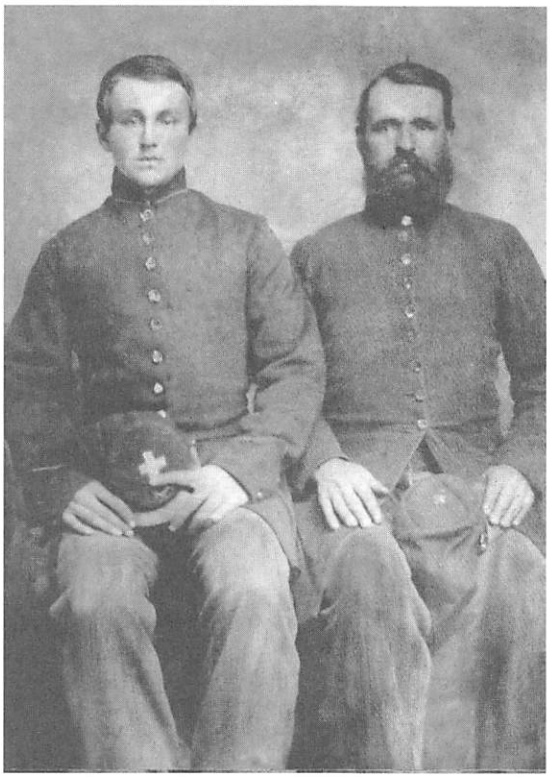
However, because of natural deterioration and the fact that many corpses were stripped of their clothing by Rebels, this method was less than foolproof.[19] Some troops carved their names onto pieces of wood, boring a hole in one end in order to insert a string that could be worn around the neck. *Harper's Weekly Magazine* offered by mail-order "Soldier Pins" made of silver or gold which could be engraved with the soldier's name and regiment. Enterprising vendors, who often set up their wares near encampments, sold ornate identification badges just prior to major battles.[20] Many Vermont soldiers made such a purchase.[21] "If a soldier could not save his life, he hoped at least to preserve his name."[22] In spite of individual attempts to maintain personal identity, 141,106 Union men, more than 40 percent of those who died, are "unknown."[23]

Not surprisingly, neither was there an official department established to notify families regarding the status of their fighting men. Two voluntary organizations endeavored to fill the gap created by the lack of military and governmental resources by attempting to provide information about soldiers to inquiring families. The Christian Commission and the Sanitary Commission in the later years of the war made communication with soldiers' families a priority.[24] However, the volunteers of these two organizations were severely limited in their ability to access information. Often located far from battlefields and hospitals, they had to rely on reports that were inaccurate and unreliable. Charles S. Cushing, a delegate from the Christian Commission, wrote Mrs. Mary J. Hinkson in Worcester, Vermont, regarding the status of her mortally wounded son, Calvin Hinkson, a member of the 2nd Regiment, U.S. Sharpshooters:

> Dear Mother,
> I am requested by your son Calvin C. Hinkson to write you a line to inform you that he is here in Hospital slightly wounded in the back of the head. His wound is quite painful at present though not probably dangerous. He wants you to pray for him and says he has tried to be a good boy since he has been in the army and prays for himself. We will make him as comfortable as we can.[25]

Sometimes initial news that a death had occurred was gleaned from lists of casualties that were usually printed in local newspapers several days or even weeks after a major battle; but most often, a letter written by the chaplain, friends or relatives in the same regiment, or the soldier's immediate military superior, brought the sad news back home.

Most regiments had a chaplain for part of their service, but not consistently. Chaplain N. M. Gaylord wrote Lydia Marsh of Cabot on the occasion of her son's death and her husband's disabling wound from Campbell Hospital, Washington, D.C., on May 15, 1864:



James and Henry Marsh of Cabot, father and son, prior to the Wilderness tragedy. Photo courtesy of Veronica Hamel Kivela.

> Dear Madam,
> I write you because it is my duty and because I feel an interest in your husband and sympathy for you both in your present great trials. I know how fearful a blow to you was the sad tidings of your poor son's death. . . . think how the heart of the poor Father must have been as he lay helpless on his own bed looking into the face of his dying son. . . . And now what shall I say to you for yours is a double sorrow, that for the dead son and for the absent husband. . . . He will in a few days go home on furlough. He will see you and when you have shared your grief together you will find the burden less heavy. He will return here after his furlough expires and I promise you to do my utmost to have him retained on duty in this place.[26]

The father, James Marsh, was mustered out and returned to Cabot where he was able to draw a pension for his disability.[27] His son, Henry O. Marsh, was interred at Arlington National Cemetery not far from where he died.[28]

Friends and even relatives often served together in the same regiment and company. Families particularly appreciated receiving details of the last breaths of their soldiers as related by trusted friends or relatives who were present then and there. Such was the case of the letter written to Mrs. Bennett upon the death of her son, Willard, by Henry Styles of Company A, 2nd Vermont Regiment, on July 5, 1862.

> I write you today because I promised Willard I would do so, you have no doubt heared of the sad fate of Co. E at the battle of Savage Station Sunday evening June 29. My co. was deployed as skirmishers and were scattered somewhat. We were on the left of the fight but towards the close of the fight I passed to the right to find my Regt. Pausing a moment amid a shower of bullets, I heard someone speak and I knew it was Willard's voice. I asked him if he was hurt and he said he was fatally wounded in the center of the bowels. I then went up to him to help him from the field but he wished me to leave him for he said it is no use–I cannot live. I urged him to try to get away to the Hospital. He finally concluded to try. I helped him to his feet and leaning upon me he walked a short distance and said he could go no further. The order then came for the brigade to form a new line. He said he would try to go back of the line which I assisted him to do and then went for a stretcher but could not find one. I procured a piece of canvas and with the help of three others, carried him some distance when we met men with a stretcher. We laid him on it. He was then carried to the hospital. As soon as he was placed on the stretcher I went to assist in carrying the others from the field. I did not see him again. I understand the surgeon could do nothing for him. The ball did not pass through him. I promised I would write you–his great care seemed to be for his mother. He did not wish to live for himself but for his mother. Said he "Oh what will my poor mother do, what will my poor mother do." The hospitals are now in the hands of the rebels. When we hear from them we can learn of Willard's fate. I do not think it possible that he could live but a short time but perhaps he is alive.[29]

According to another's recollection, Willard lived but eight hours. Not many families would be so well informed regarding the fate of their loved ones. Most would never learn about those final circumstances.

In Tunbridge, Vermont, Mrs. Frances Bixby received a letter from Lt. Henry Hayward of the 2nd Vermont regarding the death of her husband, Captain Orville Bixby.

> Mrs. Bixby,
> It becomes my painful duty to inform you of the death of your husband Capt. Bixby although I understood the Chaplain of the 2nd Regt. has written to you before this. He was mortally wounded in the 5th of May by a ball in the head. We supposed him killed instantly. I took his watch Diary Pocket book containing $63, several letters and other things all which I gave to Mark Sergent for safe keeping until I

> could send them to you. Finding him still alive I sent him to the Hospital where he died that night. His trunk is with the train at Fredericksburg which I will send to you the first opportunity if you will write to me where to send it.[30]

As the war progressed, the telegraph became the quickest and most efficient means to notify family of a casualty. However, someone, a friend, superior officer, or chaplain, had to initiate the dispatch. Sometimes in the chaos and discord of a pitched battle when so many uncertainties existed, i.e. wounded, captured, or missing, the telegram was not feasible, and it might not have been affordable for some.[31] Hundreds of Vermonters would have to wait months after the war concluded to learn the fate of their soldiers. Many would never know for certain. Such situations intensified mourning and made closure extremely difficult.

The system for the disposal of bodies was equally disorganized. It was certainly the intention of the federal government to give every soldier a dignified and respectful burial. The chances of that happening were much greater if a soldier died at a general hospital than if death occurred at a field hospital or on the battlefield. The former had greater resources to deal with proper disposal and, often, interment took place on the hospital grounds or in nearby civilian cemeteries where better records were kept. The prospects for an identifiable and decent burial were even better in some instances if one died in a prison setting. The 9th Regiment was on parole duty at Camp Douglas near Chicago, guarding Confederate prisoners during the winter of 1863. Commanding officer Edward Ripley noted the mounting toll from smallpox in the camp.

> Every afternoon the undertaker who has the contract for burying us all, Secesh [derogatory nickname for secessionists] and Union all alike, comes and gets his load, and puts them in very respectable pine stained coffins, and buries them in the United States Army Cemetery about 8 miles out from here. Each coffin and grave are numbered, and he keeps a big book, containing the descriptive list on each one, copied, so it is kept very straight and proper.[32]

As the war grew in intensity and mortality, the disposal of bodies became more problematic. Most of the Union soldiers who were killed in battle were quickly buried, often in mass graves, marked with only crude wooden headboards. After the war, a massive effort was undertaken to locate those graves and reinter the dead in national cemeteries.[33] Wilbur Fisk was witness to some of these mass burials. "I saw as many as a dozen buried side by side in one grave, all from one company. Perhaps in other places there were even more than that."[34] On occasion, a truce would be called to remove the dead and wounded from the battlefield. Fisk's observations regarding the nature of the fighting at the Wilderness reveal circumstances that did not permit that kind of recovery:

> Our dead comrades lay on the ground, just as they had fallen, many of whom we recognized. We would have gladly fallen out to give them a decent burial, but we had no time to think of that. . . . We had to leave our dead and wounded, and without much ceremony or order retreat out of that place, leaving all that we had gained in the hands of the enemy.[35]

An unknown correspondent from the 12th Regiment wrote of his sad experience while walking the battlefield of Chantilly, Virginia, on Christmas day, 1862. The battle had taken place four months before.

> We were not long in discovering the traces of the conflict. Only a short distance from the woods in a narrow gully, a number of bodies had been rudely thrown, with nothing but a scant covering of earth which the rains had already washed away, leaving their bleached skeletons partially exposed. We gave such burial as our means afforded and passed quickly on. A little further on in the edge of the woods, we found the skeleton of some poor fellow lying at the roots of an old oak tree, wholly unburied. His accouterments were beside him, even to his shelter tent. His musket stock had been shot away, and lay beside him. It furnished the only identification, being marked "J.B.H." Alone and unhonored he died; who shall answer for it? A bountiful supply of mother earth was all we could give him and we passed on.[36]

Soldiers' burial at Camp Griffin, Virginia. Mass graves were common. Photo by George Houghton, courtesy of Vermont Historical Society (Houghton, #29).

The prospect of loved ones dying far away from home and being buried in Southern soil was not comforting for Northern family and friends, many of whom considered that soil to be profane. This possibility caused even more anguish and outrage because it ran counter to the accepted social norms in American culture when death was experienced in a family and community setting. This topic was addressed directly in a speech delivered before the Reunion Society of Vermont Officers in the hall of the house of representatives at Montpelier by George T. Childs on November 5, 1874:

> One of the keenest sorrows of our soldiers, and one of the hardest trials of the brave at home, was the fear that they or their loved ones might sleep in unknown graves, where no loving mother's tears might water them; no children came to bend above a father's grave; and I think there are thousands of homes that would be less desolate, tens of thousands of hearts whose anguish would be less bitter, if only they might know where their heroes were lying.[37]

A similar sentiment is expressed in letters from soldiers in the field. Wilbur Fisk bemoaned the death and burial of a comrade by strangers:

> Stranger hands bear him to his long home, and stranger hands bury him from mortal view. . . . Somewhere among the wild hills of Vermont there are dear friends of this man, whose hearts will be pierced with sorrow when they see that name mentioned among the dead. And to know that he died among strangers, with no friendly hand to minister to his last wants, will be the keenest pang of all.[38]

Every effort was made to send a body back to Vermont for final burial at home. As a result of this desire all across the Union, a new approach to treating the dead appeared and gave birth to the modern funeral industry and a new role for the undertaker.

Although centuries old, embalming was not a common practice in America prior to the Civil War. Thomas Holmes, a highly respected member of the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University in New York, is credited with developing inexpensive and effective embalming fluids and procedures.[39] The cost of embalming varied, more expensive for officers than the enlisted man. The general expense was $50 for officers and $25 for enlisted men. Later, prices increased to $80 and $30, respectively.[40] Embalming was especially necessary if the body would be shipped during the hot summer months.

The embalmed bodies were placed in coffins which were shipped by rail in long wooden boxes along with appropriate papers and personal effects. The federal government sent no coffins to the front, although they were available at large assembly points and at general hospitals. The undertaker usually had an additional vocation of either cabinetmaker or furniture maker. The undertaker could, therefore, make his

own coffins, constructed with wood, most commonly pine, which typically sold from $4 to $7 each.

Shipping the body home was no simple or inexpensive task. It is impossible to determine the number of Vermont's dead who were returned to the Green Mountains for final burial. Demand was adequate for the following notice to be published in the *Burlington Free Press*:

> SENDING HOME SOLDIERS' REMAINS–We are permitted to make the following extract from a letter from Frank F. Holbrook, Commissioner for Vermont in Washington, to the Adjutant General:
>
> In regard to sending the remains of soldiers home, when desired by the friends. It is necessary for them to arrange with the express agent at their place or the nearest point, and have the agent guaranty the express charges to the companies here, either Adams' or Harnden's, and advise by Telegraph, as they will in no case forward the remains of a soldier without said guaranty, unless the express charges are prepaid.
>
> He further says that the bodies are embalmed at the Campbell and Armory Hospitals free of expense, but if done elsewhere it costs from $18 upwards, according to the ability of the parties to pay, while it is not so well done as at the hospitals. The undertaker charges for an outside case and for delivering to express company, $6, and $8 for disinterring one body. By way of advice he adds:
>
> Whenever friends desire to have the remains of a soldier sent home it is best for them to advise the surgeon in charge at the hospital as soon as possible, by telegraph, and have the body embalmed at the hospital, if possible.[41]

Unfortunately, embalming was not available in many places, especially near a battlefield, effectively prohibiting the return of the remains.

Costs of embalming and shipping varied from place to place. The letters of several soldiers make reference to that expense. Jabez H. Hammond of West Windsor wrote on June 22, 1863, "D. Parker died last Sunday morning with typhoid pneumonia. the orderly went to Ax. with his remains & got them embalmed & started for home yesterday. the cost of embalming & for transportation to Proctersville was $59.63."[42] Chester Leach responded to his wife, who asked the expense of shipping a friend home:

> You asked in your last letter about the expenses of sending Samuel home and I forgot to say. The whole expense including the telegraph dispatch was $57.28. The undertakers charge was $26.00, and the express $30, telegraph 1.28. Smith went to Georgetown with the corpse and the undertaker took it to the express office.[43]

Leach would have a more personal experience a few years later when his older brother, William H. Leach, died of typhoid fever in a regiment hospital near Brandy Station, Virginia. Chester's letter of March 26, 1864, reports the details of the effort he made to send the body home.

> I started as soon as possible to make arrangements to send his body home. I learned that there was an office for embalming at Brandy Station so I got an ambulance & went there Thursday afternoon, got a coffin to take the body in & sent it to the Station that night. Yesterday (Friday) I went down again and selected a coffin, although I did not have much choice as the one I got was the only one there except some that were not lined at all, & the body is to be sent this morning. . . .
>
> The expenses, including telegraph dispatch, were ninety-eight dollars & eighty cents ($98.80), 45 for coffin, 36 express charges, 15 for embalming & 2.80 telegraphing.
>
> I would very much liked to have taken the body home myself but I knew there was no use to try, therefore I have done all that I can do, & hope it may reach home without accident. There will be some of his clothes in the box, & if I had thought about it before I went to the Station I should have sent everything he had that was worth sending, as it would cost nothing, & help hold the coffin steady in the box.[44]

In subsequent letters, Chester indicates that the body had arrived safely in Fletcher prior to April 9, and further laments, "I would have given most anything to have been present at the funeral but that was impossible."[45]

There are numerous indications that many bodies were embalmed and sent home regardless of the cost. However, if that were the norm, it would not have been noted as often as it was. Aldace F. Walker, captain in the 11th Vermont, from Middlebury, wrote his father on August 23, 1863, regarding the effort to return the body of Lt. Col. Chamberlain after he died from wounds.

> Chaplain Little, his friend and classmate, was with him all the time, and is making strong efforts to take the body home. There are no facilities for embalming here, and the railroad will not take a corpse without that process, so I fear he will not succeed.[46]

Captain George Quimby was killed at the battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, at the age of twenty-seven. Extra effort was necessary to get his body home.

> The second lieutenant, Charles Kinsman...gathered some men, who carried the body to a nearby hospital and placed it in the care of the Fourth's chaplain. The next day, just after the chaplain secured a permit to transfer the remains to Washington, enemy fire hit the hospital. The chaplain was ordered to evacuate, leaving Quimby's body behind. When he returned it was gone. During his absence, a detail of soldiers, unaware of the situation, shuttled the body across the nearby Rappahannock River and buried it. The chaplain acted quickly, "I immediately sent across the River for an Ambulance, had the body disinterred, and by 3 of the o clock it was on its way to Washington" in care of a corporal. He brought the remains to an embalmer, who removed Quimby's worn, mud-splattered and blood-soaked uniform and prepared the body. Afterwards, it was transported via train to his mother and father in Lyndon, Vermont.[47]

E. F. Palmer relates in his history of the 2nd Brigade that when the first lieutenant of his company died of typhoid, the members of the company met and voted to pay the expense of sending his body home.[48] A few months later, Palmer claimed that nearly all the bodies of those who had died in his brigade had been embalmed and sent home "at the expense of the companies to which they belonged."[49]

The 5th Vermont, Company E, was composed of eighty-seven men whose home was the northern section of Bennington County, who came to be known as the Equinox Guards. Many of their number died during the three years the regiment served. After Charles Tufts succumbed to disease, the Guards decided to pay for his body to be sent home. The bodies of Selden Hall, an eighteen-year-old Guard from Rupert, and Abel Tarbell of Mount Tabor, were both sent home at the expense of the Guards upon their deaths.[50] One of their members, Cyrus Hard, recommended a different policy. He suggested that each town should pay for sending their men home.[51] There is no indication that any town implemented that suggestion.

The expense of shipping remains home was significant, and certainly not all were so fortunate to have comrades-in-arms who could afford the cost. Private Willard M. Thayer of Warren wrote to his wife, Esther, of such a situation:

> the first one that died or the one that died the 14th was sent home his home was in Ludlo and was a young fellow just married the one that was buried here his foalks lived in the north part of the State the Co could not rase money enough to send him thare he had a brother in the same Co O he felt bad I tell you and who wouldent.[52]

In a few sad cases, there was no one at home to receive the remains. Isaac N. Watts, Peacham, 11th Regiment, reported such a situation. "We lost another man last week and he was buried yesterday as he had no particular friends at home to be sent to."[53]

Although it is unlikely that existing records could reveal the number of Vermont soldiers whose bodies were embalmed and shipped home, an examination of the Revised Roster for the nineteen towns of Washington County, discloses interesting data: 2,679 men from Washington County served in the various regiments of the Vermont Volunteers; 601 of those men died from all causes, 403 from disease and 198 from battle.[54] Cataloging the burial sites for these 601 casualties affords some perspective. Two hundred and thirty-nine men are interred in Vermont cemeteries, 203 are buried in national cemeteries, and 159 rest in "unknown" graves.[55] There are many variables not considered in these numbers, i.e., soldiers who were already in Vermont when they died, those returned to Vermont having been disinterred and identified after

Burial site of 3rd Vermont soldiers killed at Lee's Mills. Photo by George Houghton, courtesy of the Vermont Historical Society (Houghton, #14).

the war concluded, etc. Although no firm conclusions can be surmised, the numbers reflect the desire of the survivors of Vermont's fallen to have them buried at home whatever the cost.

Due to the anguish resulting from the prospect of loved ones dying far away from home and being buried there without the traditional funeral or even a simple gravestone, some Vermonters and other Northern families either made the trip south themselves or paid someone to locate, retrieve, and ship the body home. Cyrus Hard, the member of the Equinox Guards who had suggested that towns should bear the recovery cost, died of disease near Yorktown on May 13, 1862, and was buried in a rough pine box in Virginia "with a headboard with proper identification." The grave was located by his father within a few weeks of his burial, and his body was returned to Manchester for funeral services at the Congregational Church on June 5, 1862.[56]

A number of agents made their services available to locate and return the remains of soldiers from the South to their families in the North. The William Church family engaged the services of J. S. Foof to locate and return the remains of Corporal Church of the 13th Regiment, killed at Gettysburg on July 3, 1863. Ralph Orson Sturtevant, historian of Company K, 13th Regiment, described the initial burial of Corporal Church.

> After the battle was won, and the victory was ours, and we were returning to a position in the front line, a hostile shell hit him and burst causing almost instant death. Among all the bodies that I had seen

> on this gory field, his was the most horribly mangled. On the following day we carefully gathered up his remains, moved them to the brow of a hill where we had dug a shallow grave and lovingly and tenderly placed him in it and at the head we set a mark that the place might be found should occasion require it.[57]

Letters from Mr. Foof and David Wills, the newly appointed superintendent of Gettysburg, the first national cemetery, reveal the difficulties and confusion that could thwart the recovery process. Mr. Foof reached Gettysburg in early November 1863, and wrote Mr. Melvin Church regarding his lack of success.

> I looked until so dark I could not see to read any more and returned to the hotel a little disappointed in not finding it. I found the log barn and a great many graves near and about it. I should judge one half or more of the graves were marked that had not been disturbed. They seemed quite busy about the fields in moving those not marked to the National Cemetery; and on the North side of the old log barn the field has been ploughed and sown to winter wheat up even with the barn and in the evening at the hotel I saw Mr. Miram Warren the man that wrote you. He told me he could not find the grave for some of the board had been moved since he wrote you, and we both started this morning and looked steadily until two o'clock P. M. Went out again at half past 3 o'clock and came in at 6, and I am sorry to say quite discouraged. The board is since gone either by the cattle in the field, the cemetery trams driving through or by other persons finding the board down and using it to mark other friends graves, which or how we never came to know. I am afraid; I find that Mr. Fry and Mr. Mann in the same business of Mr. Warren has precisely the same location and field and barn of the grave of Corporal Church and Regiment. He also tells the board has been moved or torn down somehow, and it is useless to look, but I shall go out in the morning again with Mr. Fry but have very little hopes of success and will write you again tomorrow night. There are several at this hotel that have looked the whole week in vain but they did not know the location so nearly as I do of your son's grave.[58]

After several more days of searching, Foof reported to Melvin Church in a letter dated November 9, 1863, that his efforts have been futile. The probable reason that Foof was unsuccessful in finding the remains of Corporal Church was that they had already been recovered by Captain Blake who had assisted in the initial burial on July 4. Sturtevant's history of the 13th Regiment recorded:

> In a short time Captain Blake after he had mustered out returned to that great battlefield where many thousands had been buried, and guided by the mark we left, readily found the grave, opened it, and found the body, and brought it to Vermont, and he was buried in the Church street cemetery at Swanton Falls, and a modest headstone now marks his last earthly resting place.[59]

By comparing Vermont casualties at Gettysburg with the battlefield cemetery records and the records of burials recorded in Vermont, an approximate estimate can be determined of those who were brought home. Ninety-three Vermonters died at Gettysburg. Sixty-one bodies rest in the soldier's cemetery there. According to records, nineteen Vermonters lie in unknown graves at or near Gettysburg. If this documentation is accurate, the remains of thirteen soldiers were returned to Vermont for burial.[60]

An analysis of the burial statistics from the town of Cabot, where more than 50 percent of the adult male population served in Vermont regiments, provides further perspective. Of the forty-five men who died from the 135 participants, fifteen were buried in Vermont. Three of the fifteen died from disease in Vermont shortly after being discharged due to disability. Only two of the remaining twelve died in action, the remainder from disease.[61]

In the town of Worcester, twelve men of eighty-one in the service died. The remains of eight were returned home. Three are buried at Chalmette National Cemetery near New Orleans and the other is an "unknown." Of the eight who are buried in Worcester, four died as a result of battle, four from disease.[62] This limited data from Cabot and Worcester does not support any trend or particular conclusion but does give credence to the practice still prevalent today to return the body home for burial.

It is not possible to determine the exact number of successful recoveries from the southern fronts. Certainly there were failures. Wilbur Fisk, in an oration delivered on "Decoration Day" at Alden, Minnesota, in 1894, bemoaned the unsuccessful attempts to recover an unnamed cousin from the battlefield of Fredericksburg. On three different occasions his widowed mother employed agents to recover the body, "but the difficulties in the way of getting him through the lines were so great that they could not get him though they found the body and identified it."[63]

Unusual measures taken by Captain Edwin J. Morrill of the 11th Regiment, Company A, led to the successful recovery of his remains after the war concluded. Morrill, native of Cabot, was captured along with 435 members of the 11th at the debacle known as the Weldon Railroad, June 23, 1864.[64] Four days later, having survived squalid conditions and meager rations, the Union prisoners arrived at the Richmond depot for transport to Georgia; the officers were sent to Macon, the enlisted men to a place near Americus called Andersonville. Captains Morrill and James Eldridge, Company H, were assigned to the same car, where they plotted an escape attempt. Within a month of

their partially successful effort at liberation, Eldridge described the plan and its outcome in a letter written to newspapers in Vermont.

> When we got two miles out of Appomattox Station, and about 25 miles east of Lynchburg, Captain Morrill of Company A, 11th Regiment, and myself tried to make our escape by jumping out of the car window when they were running about twelve miles an hour. The guards which were at the top at each end of the car saw us and fired, and I think gave Capt. Morrill a mortal wound. I got him back to the station and stayed with him there until daylight, and then left him in the care of the station master and some Negroes. I think he could not have lived but a short time.[65]

Captain Eldridge successfully made his way to Union lines and was later brevetted for his bravery. Captain Morrill died from his wounds, but before he succumbed, he wrote in the flyleaf of his Bible instructions for the disposal of his body and his possessions. The New Testament was sent to his family in Cabot after his death. He wrote:

> I wish that my body to be buried so that my family can get it after the war. I have $75 greenbacks and $30 Confederate to purchase a coffin. One of my watches sent to my mother as a relic. The other to my friend Mrs. Robertson for her kindness to me. My memorandum Book to be sent to my father and my ring to my sister. E. J. Morrill, 1st Vt. Art.[66]

After the hostilities had ceased, Abel Morrill, Sr. engaged Chaplain J. L. Roberts, 4th Regiment, to locate the body of his son. Roberts was from Chelsea, and served as one of two chaplains in the regiment between 1862 and 1865.[67] He was successful in this undertaking and summarized the results in a letter from Washington, D.C., dated March 20, 1866, to Abel Morrill in Cabot.

> Dear Sir:
>
> I have received of Mes. Col. Kimball the sum of ninety-seven dollars ($97.00) in full for expenses in money paid out in obtaining the remains of your son Capt. E. J. Morrill and forwarding the same to Vermont.
>
> My disbursements are as follows:

Fare for self from Petersburgh to Appomattox	$6.00
Disinterment of body	$10.00
Supper, lodging and breakfast at Appomattox	$5.00
Man and team to take body to depot	$10.00
Rough case for enclosing coffin	$5.00
Supper, lodging and breakfast in Petersburgh	$5.00
Fare from Appomattox to Petersburgh	$6.00
Express remains to Montpelier, Vermont	$50.00
TOTAL	$97.00

> The foregoing bill is near the Southern standard, since the war, it would be quite moderate during the rebellion. I was happy to learn

that the remains were safely received.–I will here state what may be of interest and I trust consolation to friends to know.

I was informed that your son received all the attention which could under the nature of surrounding circumstances be afforded him.

I was informed by a Mrs. E. H. Lee who was present from the time he was wounded until he died, that he was kindly treated–that his sufferings were intense, but endured with great patience–that he asked her to send word to his mother that he had died happy, that he served God and his Country, that he believed the fatal shot was accidental, that he requested one John Robinson to take charge of his burial and made him a present of a watch, that the body was neatly attired, etc.

There is an incident in the history of his sad fate interesting indeed–it is this: he was the first who fell at Appomattox on either side, he was shot below the station, that is south and brought back to the station where he died; he was then taken for burial within three rods of the place where he fell, and buried in a mound made of the excavations of rail road on which he was being transported south; the mound is a high point overlooking the place where he died, which place was subsequently the closing battlefield of the rebellion, also the only point in the vicinity from which Lee and his army could be seen at the time of his surrender to Gen. Grant–he was the first to fall in this vicinity yet the spot where he rested is now surrounded with the graves of the fallen on both sides, but none were buried on the mound, he seemed to rest there not only the first martyr in the neighborhood, but enthroned above them all. . . .[68]

I am informed that his coffin cost $50.00, his Robe and burial $80.00. I therefore judge that his effects were principally used in his internment.[69]

When the ground thawed in the spring of 1866, allowing the gravesite to be prepared, the remains of Captain Edwin Morrill were laid to rest in Cabot's Durant Cemetery. Abel and Margaret Morrill had fulfilled their son's desire to bring his remains back to Vermont.

Frances Bixby, widow of Captain Orville Bixby of the 2nd Regiment, persisted in her efforts to locate and recover the remains of her husband, who had died on May 5, 1864. She learned that he had been buried near a Union field hospital which had served the Wilderness battle not far from the Brock and Plank Road intersection in Virginia. She located a soldier who had been in the same hospital where her husband had died, who drew for her a map of the location of his grave. The remains of Captain Bixby were disinterred in the spring of 1865 and shipped home in an "air tight casket." Frances Bixby never remarried and was laid to rest beside her husband fifty-one years later.[70]

By far the most common and socially acceptable form of grieving and remembering the dead was a public funeral. Such a service, usually religious in nature, would take place both on the front and at home, even if the remains were not present. E. F. Palmer described a typical funeral.

Captain Edwin J. Morrill, courtesy of the Vermont Historical Society.

> In the afternoon there was a funeral. The soldier died last night at the village, and wished to be buried there, saying that his wife could not endure the sight of his dead body. The chaplain, musicians, his company, and such as chose to from the regiment, follow him to the grave. His is placed, before leaving the hospital, in a government coffin, made of boards painted black—with the clothes on that he wore when alive. He is now laid in the ground four feet deep; twelve of his comrades fire their farewell shots; the chaplain speaks consoling words, offers a prayer to God and pronounces a benediction; and we turn away, not as when we came, with a slow and measured tread—the drummers beating the dead-march–but with quicker steps, a livelier air—Yankee Doodle.[71]

Martin J. McManus reported the funeral of Private Benjamin Underwood of Bradford, who was an early victim of disease at Fort Monroe, May 20, 1861.

> The funeral of our comrade, Underwood, took place about four o'clock May 20th, and the occasion was very impressive as we followed his remains to the place of burial along the coast of Old Virginia, the boisterous waves dashed with majestic swell, and broke in mournful sound beneath the wheels of the ambulance which conveyed his remains to

> their last resting place. The usual salute was fired over the grave of the young hero, and the grave quickly filled by brother soldiers, whose eyes were moistened with the soft tears of sorrow, and all was over. Then again the martial airs of music filled with animating liveliness the grove in which he rests and drowned, to a great extent, the feeling of gloom and sadness.[72]

Wilbur Fisk was a witness to many funerals on the front. They always seemed to move him. He wrote of them, "Funeral scenes are always sad, but the saddest of all, it seems to me, is the soldier's funeral. There are seldom any mourners here to follow him to his grave, and no tears of sympathy and grief fall on his coffin, as it is lowered into the silent tomb."[73] Chester Leach concurred. He complained about the lack of mourners for the funeral of a Sergeant George Allen, who had drowned while bathing in a river near Harrison Landing, Virginia.

> What a difference between a soldier & a citizen. Should a citizen be drowned in that way, the inhabitants would turn out for miles around. But here where hundreds were sitting around within 50 rods & none thought of going to see him, even after his body was taken out. He was buried near the church, no ceremonies excepting a prayer made by some chaplain of this brigade, I don't know which one.[74]

Burials in the midst of battle, of course, were not accompanied by the usual observances. Private Eugene Mead wrote his family in Rutland describing the death and burial of his brother, Charles. "He died at half past eight.... With the aid of three others, detailed to assist him, a place is selected, a strong box made, and when the darkness will allow, the body is brought away, and at the hour of ten is deposited in its lonely grave."[75] Often, even this individual attention to a soldier's remains was made impossible by the imminent danger of capture or an order to retreat. No doubt, as the carnage accelerated, the opportunity for a proper funeral declined.

Back in Vermont, funerals were common and frequent, with or without the remains present. The remains of Captain Charles Dudley of Manchester, killed at Savage Station, were present in the Congregational Church in that town when his funeral was described in the *Manchester Journal.* A flag and sword were placed upon his coffin and the Reverend R. S. Cushman officiated. The church was "so crowded that some were unable to obtain an entrance and a large concourse of people attended the remains to the graves."[76]

Don Carlos Walbridge, 7th Regiment, of Cabot, died at General Hospital in Pensacola, Florida, from "disease of the lungs," November 27, 1862. He was buried at Barrancas National Cemetery in Pensacola. Funeral services were held in Cabot at the Congregational Church on

December 28.[77] Lieutenant Albert A. Crane, a correspondent to the *Rutland Herald,* was killed in action during the Wilderness fighting, May 5, 1864. He was interred with 15,000 other Union soldiers at the Fredericksburg National Cemetery. His family held a funeral service in memory of their son at the Bridport Congregational Church on June 12. A marble stone, carved with crossed flags and swords, was erected in Central Cemetery in memory of Crane.[78] Many such cenotaphs exist in Vermont cemeteries, often inscribed with the sad words, "Buried on the Battlefield."

Resolutions were a device frequently employed to express grief and respect to the fallen soldiers. The *Burlington Free Press* printed resolutions from the 9th Regiment upon the death of Major Amasa Bartlett of Irasburg, who perished March 16, 1864, from "brain fever."[79]

> WHEREAS, It has pleased Almighty God, to remove by death our esteemed friend and gallant brother–in–arms, Maj. Amasa Bartlett, while engaged in the active discharge of his duties in defence of his beloved country; and
> WHEREAS, it is ever becoming to pay just and suitable tribute to departed worth. Therefore,
> *Resolved,* that while we mourn with most sincere sorrow the untimely death of Maj. Bartlett, we tender to the relatives and friends of the deceased our heartfelt sympathy and condolences; for as they weep the loss of a noble and affectionate son, brother and friend, we mourn the loss of a sincere patriot, and a brave and zealous soldier. And we ever cherish his memory with sincere respect. . . .
> *Resolved,* That copies of these resolutions be sent to the family of the deceased, and to the *Orleans Independent Standard* for publishing with request that other Vermont papers copy. J. C. Baker, Secretary, Newport Barracks, N.C., March 17, 1864.[80]

The extent to which mourning clothes were worn in Vermont to express grief is difficult to determine. The practice is seldom mentioned in letters or other documents beyond an occasional reference. The "usual badge of mourning" was probably a black arm band worn around the left arm, the arm nearest the heart.[81] It appears to have been a common practice for soldiers to wear "a badge of mourning" for a thirty-day period.[82] It is probable that bereaved women sometimes wore some of the black attire associated with mourning. The custom of wearing mourning apparel was roundly criticized in a letter to the editor of the *Cabot Advertiser,* September 2, 1868. The writer, C. Bond, minced no words in condemning the practice: "It is but a foolish and useless custom, we aught to abandon it surely; and if not, give a reason for its continuance."[83] Obviously, some features of the tradition must have been in vogue at the time for the subject to have been addressed.[84]

Grief often took the form of written expression. Margaret Scott, newly married to Erastus H. Scott of Cabot, lamented with deep sorrow to her sister-in-law at the news of the death of her husband.

> He is dead. I never shall see him again. Oh I cannot have it so all my hopes in life are o'er. There is nothing but disappointment and trial in this World. He was shot in the head and died instantly. Oh how like a knell it rings in my ears. I lay in a fainting condition most all night and am so weak in body and mind have pity on me to think he lays in the Battlefield so far away without one moments warning and could not send no message to the wife he loved so well. My poor Mother is almost beside herself they all loved him so well. I can't write anymore–write your Father.[85]

William Henry Herrick, Cabot musician diarist, had mustered out of the Brigade Band in 1862. His boyhood friend, Charles Perry, served in the 4th Regiment and died at Cold Harbor, June 3, 1864. Herrick and Perry had maintained their friendship, had visited each other while in the military service, and had corresponded frequently. Herrick learned of Perry's demise from the newspaper and made this entry in his journal:

> After tea I opened the Journal and looking down a long list killed and wounded almost the first name that arrested my attention was that of C. H. Perry–died of wounds received June 3rd. I sat for a moment utterly stupefied and incapable of taking in the truth of which the types declared–unable to realize that among that noble army of martyrs' was the friend that I had known and loved so well; then as the bitter truth became plain, I cried out in bitterness of spirit. . . . I know not how he died, but of this I am sure–it was doing his duty manfully, and faithfully.[86]

The following day was cold and bleak and the grieving Herrick wrote, "I looked over my letters and picked out all that I had received from Charlie since I came back from the army. . . . I cannot get reconciled to his death as if he were my one brother."[87] Herrick's journal continues to reflect deep remorse at the death of his friend. On July 2 there was a sad meeting with Elijah Perry, Charlie's father, in Cabot. "Mr. Perry met me but could hardly speak, and I was quite broken down, the thoughts of Charlie and his sad death coming so freshly to my mind in that place." On July 4 he reread a large bundle of the letters Charlie had written to him while he was in St. Johnsbury, "and looked them all through with mother sitting in the parlor–went up to Chas Perry's this morning to get Charlie's pictures which they want copied." A journal entry of August 21, 1864, brings final perspective to the loss suffered by family and friends.

> August 21, 1864 in Cabot. . . . Then I went up to see Helen and carry Charlie's pictures–had a very pleasant talk with them all, and finally

> alone with Helen; she talked very freely of her engagement to Charlie, saying she felt perfectly free to talk to me, who knew and loved him so well, and seemed to feel better from talking to someone of it–poor girl. Her life has brought her not much but sorrow and she has suffered much–she gave me the many letters I have written to him and after I came home I looked them over and read some of them–it has made me very sad–to think that I will never clasp his hand again–never hear his hearty, heartfull voice. A truer friend was never had than he has been to me.[88]

Sometimes, grief altered lives in a more profound fashion. In Cabot, Miss Mary Josephine Lance, engaged to Captain Edwin J. Morrill, 11th Regiment, became a recluse after learning of his death in the foiled escape attempt.[89] The lives of thousands of Vermonters were dramatically affected by the carnage suffered by the Vermont brigades. William Riley, from Rutland, commented to his brother, Ed, who was stationed near Suffolk, Virginia, regarding the terrible losses of the Second Brigade: "The entire State is in mourning."[90]

Public memory, defined as the "body of beliefs and ideas about the past that help a public or society understand both its past, present, and by implication its future,"[91] took various forms after funerals subsided and the veterans of Vermont's regiments returned home. Certainly the formation of the veteran's organization, the Grand Army of the Republic, was an important vehicle for those who had survived the war to remember those who had not. Thousands of veterans became members of a local post, attended regular meetings, and participated in annual reunions, sometimes traveling to the actual areas of combat. More than 115 posts existed in Vermont, and almost all of them bore the names of local Civil War soldiers who had given their lives for the cause.[92] Worcester Post #13 bore the name of Captain Edward E. Hall, who was killed during the Battle of Cedar Creek, October 19, 1864.[93] Cabot Post #71 honored the Morrill brothers. In every post, the sacrifices of those who had fallen were kept alive.

The most evident indications of the growing tribute to the memory of the Civil War dead and survivors began to be seen on the village squares. The monuments that were commissioned and constructed after the war became part of the public memory of Vermont towns. Derby, near the Canadian border, had the distinction of erecting the first public monument to its soldiers on October 31, 1866. Other communities soon followed. Even before the war's cessation the Vermont General Assembly in 1863 encouraged such memorials by enacting legislation.[94] At least fifty Civil War-related monuments were erected between 1866 and 1924.[95] Most, like Derby and Peacham, listed all participants from their town. A few, like Cabot, only enumerated those who died.[96]

It was not always an easy task to get the community to underwrite the expense of erecting a monument. Peacham is a case in point. According to town historians Mary Morrison and Lynn Bonfield, getting a "war memorial for Peacham was the last major battle of the Civil War for the town's veterans." Isaac N. Watts described a town meeting in a diary entry for April 29, 1867. "Fixed fence this A.M. and went to Town Meeting called to see if the town would build a Soldiers monument or Memorial Hall. A majority refused to do anything and never acted meaner about anything." Peacham citizens finally relented in 1869, stipulating that there should be no cost to the town except $100 to purchase land for the monument. Private subscriptions in the sum of $3,000 were pledged to pay for the twenty-four-foot monument of Blue Mountain granite. More than a thousand people attended the dedication on July 4, 1870.[97]

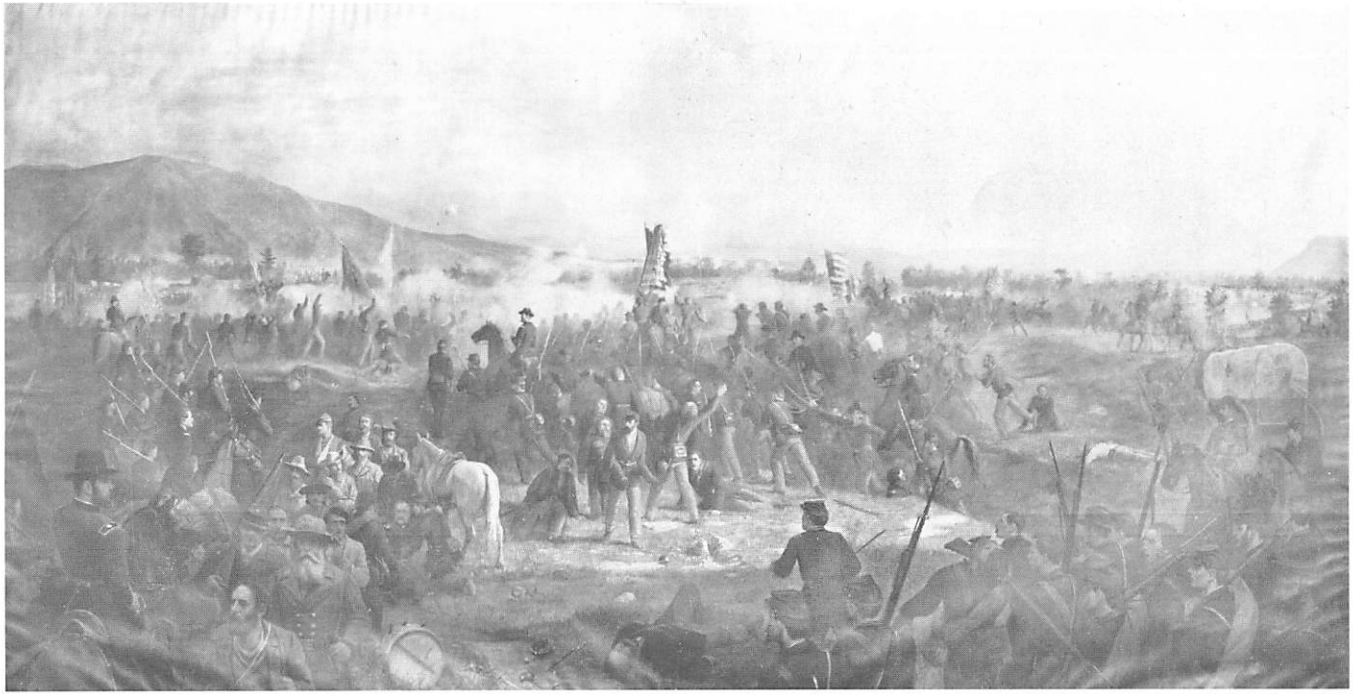
The most centralized place of public memory, the focus of statewide commemoration of the Civil War, was the stately Italian Renaissance structure standing on a hill in Montpelier. In the years following the war, Vermont's State House "took on the quality of a shrine to Vermont's war heroes."[98] Flags, photographs, bronze tablets, silver plaques, and paintings were all employed after 1865 to ensure a lasting public memory of the cost that Vermonters paid to hold the Union together and abolish slavery. That many of these symbols of victory and sacrifice are still features of the State House décor attests to their permanence as part of the public memory.

As early as 1865, flags from the various regiments began to be displayed from the pillars of the Senate and House of Representatives under authority of Number 52 of the Acts of 1863. The colors would be returned from the field when they were no longer serviceable. On June 14, 1865, the War Department ordered that the colors of all returned regiments be delivered to the governor of the state. In 1870, a joint resolution was adopted by the legislature to place the sixty-eight flags in glass cases in a conspicuous place in the State House.[99] Two cases were constructed on either end of the foyer of the House of Representatives which was aptly named "The Hall of Flags." A descriptive report from the adjutant and inspector general gave vivid testimony to the service they had rendered. "Many of them have been pierced by shot and shell, until they are mere tattered remnants of the original . . . some with their staffs scarred by rebel bullets and many of them baptized by the blood of their bearers."[100] The flags remained there until the summer of 2003, when they were removed for restoration and preservation. They now are stored in protective cabinets at the Vermont History Center in Barre. Replicas of some of the collection are currently displayed in the original glass cases at the State House.

Bronze tablets were installed throughout the State House commemorating Vermont Civil War leaders following 1865. Among those so recognized are Major General William Wells, General Lewis A. Grant, Major General William ("Baldy") Farrar Smith, Major General George G. Stannard, and General Stephen A. Thomas. A bronze tablet inscribed with Lincoln's Gettysburg Address was presented to the state by the Woman's Relief Corps in 1926.[101] Ex-Governor John A. Mead, who had served as a volunteer in 12th Regiment, was honored with such a tablet dedicated to the "MEMORY OF THE COMMON SOLDIERS OF THE CIVIL WAR WHO WENT FROM VERMONT TO HELP SAVE THE UNION." Campaigning in Vermont for the presidency, William Howard Taft delivered an address at the formal dedication of this tablet at the State House on October 9, 1912.[102]

Perhaps the most memorable declaration of Civil War memory made by the legislature was the decision to commission as a permanent State House memorial a painting of Vermont regiments in action against Confederate forces at the Battle of Cedar Creek, which was fought near Winchester, Virginia, October 19, 1864. In 1870, twenty-four-year-old Julian Scott, a native of Johnson, Vermont, a member of the National Academy of Design, and a former drummer/fifer in the 3rd Regiment, was chosen to paint this action, which portrays more Vermont regiments under fire than in any other battle of the war.[103] Since its completion in 1874, it has been proudly displayed and visited by millions of visitors from all over the world. This largest painting in Vermont highlights the chaos and pathos of Civil War conflict. A critic with an art journal of the period, *The Aldine,* commented, "Mr. Scott has given prominence to the privates, who did the hard work, and has pictured the scene as it really was, a battle in earnest, full of élan, courage and determination, but also full of glory, pomp and horror."[104] This remarkable work of art occupies the entire wall in the aptly named Cedar Creek Room, the major reception room at the State House.

Two representations of the Civil War are no longer in evidence at the State House. Between 1865 and 1946, the photographs of more than 1,000 Vermont officers were displayed in the hall off the main lobby, an area now known as the Hall of Inscriptions. Those collages are now in the holdings of the Vermont Historical Society.[105] When the flags of the regiments were displayed from the pillars of the Senate and House of Representatives prior to their 1870 enclosure in glass cases, they were accompanied by silver plaques that identified the regiments to which the flags belonged, as well as the specific battles each regiment had seen. These plaques are now in the possession of the State House archives and are in need of restoration.[106]



Julian Scott's painting "The Battle of Cedar Creek" can be viewed at Vermont's State House. Photo courtesy of Vermont Historical Society.

Upon entering the front door of the State House one cannot avoid the presence of another reminder of the Civil War. The bust of Abraham Lincoln sits on a pedestal in the hall directly off the lobby. The sculptor was Larkin Goldsmith Mead, a renowned nineteenth-century artist who was a native of Brattleboro, Vermont. This bust was created by Mead as a study for the full-length bronze figure of Lincoln that stands at the Lincoln Tomb in Springfield, Illinois. It was given to the state by Mead's widow in 1910. The presence of Lincoln's likeness always engenders memories of those dark days in American history.[107]

In 1878, the legislature by act appointed George Grenville Benedict as state historian for the purpose of writing a definitive account of Vermont's role in the Civil War. He published the two-volume work, *Vermont in the Civil War,* in 1886. It has been the standard secondary source for Civil War scholars since.[108]

Through six international conflicts, the depression, cold war, and the communication's revolution, the memory of the Civil War remains vivid and central in Vermont's heritage. The evidence of this memory permeates the culture. Two Civil War Round Tables meet monthly with programs related to the conflict; the Sons of Union Veterans of the Civil War has three camps in Vermont; a reenactment group, the Hemlocks, is very active in the state, usually present at fairs and parades; and the 18th Vermont Regiment exists exclusively for the educational and charitable purposes of historic preservation, including raising funds for the preservation of Civil War battlefields where Vermonters fought, the identification and preservation of historical collections, and conducting educational programs to promote and protect Vermont's rich Civil War heritage. Periodically this organization has sponsored the Civil War Expo at the Tunbridge Fairgrounds. Further confirmation that Civil War memory is healthy and sustained today includes the publication in the last two decades of dozens of books, collections of letters, and diaries related to Vermont's involvement in the Civil War. Vermont Civil War Enterprises in Newport has more than thirty titles on its publication list dealing with Vermont's role. The Vermont Council on the Humanities is supporting a project to identify Civil War-related sites on the home front, with the goal of identifying one in every town. The Vermont Historical Society is planning special programs and exhibits for the sesquicentennial of the War, and a statewide commission has been appointed to promote and organize commemorations. The web site Vermont in the Civil War (www.vermontcivilwar.org) is a treasure of valuable information.

To what extent did this enormous expenditure of human resources bring impact and change to Vermont? It is nearly impossible to even

speculate. The sense of grief affected nearly all the population. Many of those who survived the war returned home wounded, maimed, or of broken spirit, weakened by disease and hard conditions, their lives never to be the same. Certainly, those who had experienced travel away from Vermont for the first time were now more prone to migration and westward settlement, as evidenced by the hundreds who did not return to Vermont. There is no doubt that those, especially the women, who remained at home to plant and harvest the crops, raise and teach the children, spin the wool, milk the cows, provide support for the soldiers, and undertake those numberless tasks that had to be completed for society to go on, were extensively and immeasurably affected.

Did the culture's perspective on death change? That is even more difficult to ascertain. There were some obvious innovations. Embalming became more acceptable. Undertakers took on an increasingly active role in providing services. The rise of the national cemetery had tremendous importance to the nation as it grappled with redefining its identity.[109] But in Vermont, social attitudes toward death did not seem to be altered. Certainly the war caused emotional trauma, and family sorrow was real; but the acceptance of death as a normal and familiar part of life already may have lessened the shock and despair that war casualties brought.[110]

Decades after the last Civil War veterans were laid to rest, Vermonters remain undeniably intent on keeping the memory of their valor and sacrifice fresh and hallowed, being true to the words of one of the resolutions expressed at the funeral of the Morrill brothers:

> To the brave and noble living, we accord honor and an enduring remembrance, with sincere and grateful thanks. To the heroic dead, an imperishable record of their valor and virtue upon the brightest pages of history, which shall be transmitted and taught to our children's children to the latest generations.[111]

Notes

[1]Hazen Blanchard Hooker Civil War Letter, Peacham Historical Association. Camp near Brandy Station, 2 April 1864, courtesy of Lynn A. Bonfield. Emphasis added.

[2]Theodore S. Peck, *Revised Roster of Vermont Volunteers* (Montpelier, Vt.: Watchman Publishing Company, 1892), 94.

[3]Daniel E. Sutherland, *The Expansion of Everyday Life* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 129.

[4]Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War* (New York: Knopf, 2008). This fresh treatment of death during the Civil War describes in detail the many facets of this concept.

[5]Howard Coffin, *Full Duty* (Woodstock, Vt.: Countryman Press, 1993), 356.

[6]Letter from Henry Marsh at Chain Bridge, Va., to Mrs. Lydia Marsh in Cabot, Vt., dated 28 September 1861. Compiled Military Service Records, Private Henry O. Marsh, Company G, Fourth Vermont Infantry, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[7]Pension file for Private James Marsh, Company G, Fourth Vermont Infantry, applicant James Marsh, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Henry Marsh is buried at Arlington National Cemetery, Virginia.

[8] Letter from Wallace Paige in Camp Griffin, Va., to Sister in Philadelphia, 2 September 1862. Compiled Military Service Records, Private Wallace Paige, Company G, Third Vermont Infantry, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Paige died at Cold Harbor, June 3, 1864. His burial site is unknown.

[9] D. S. White Collection, Vermont Historical Society, Barre, Vermont.

[10] Brian L. Knight, *No Braver Deeds: The Story of the Equinox Guards* (Manchester, Vt.: Friends of Hildene, 2004). Letter written to *Manchester Journal*, 3 February 1862.

[11] Emil and Ruth Rosenblatt, eds., *Hard Marching Every Day* (Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 1983), 221. Letter written from the battlefield, 9 May 1864.

[12] Rosenblatt, *Hard Marching*, 79–80.

[13] Jeffery D. Marshall, ed., *A War of the People: Vermont Civil War Letters* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999), 10.

[14] Hooker Civil War Letter.

[15] Rosenblatt, *Hard Marching*, 65.

[16] Howard Coffin, *The Battered Stars* (Woodstock, Vt.: Countryman Press, 2002), 226.

[17] David C. Rankin, *Diary of a Christian Soldier* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 151.

[18] Richard W. Wooley, "A Short History of Identification Tags," http://www.qmfound.com/short_history_of_identification_tags.htm.

[19] Otto Eisenshiml, ed., *Vermont General: The Unusual War Experience of Edward Hastings Ripley* (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1960), 216. Vermont Brigadier General Ripley reports claims made by some Rebel prisoners: "All the clothing they boast of inhumanly stripping from our dead and wounded. And they even stripped two of their own men wounded, left behind, expecting them to die. We had the naked Rebs brought in and Dr. Carpenter says they will live."

[20] Wooley, "A Short History of Identification Tags."

[21] John Gibson Collection. Privately owned. See the virtual exhibit of thirty-nine Vermont identification disks at http://www.vermontcivilwar.org/museum/idtags.php.

[22] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 123.

[23] "The Barry Report on National Cemeteries, www.vermontcivilwar.org/barry/preface/shtml.

[24] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 107. With only 5,000 volunteers, these organizations could not overcome the backlog or keep up with the massive numbers of requests from families. Not until 1864 did the Commission organize a department that was specifically designed to respond to families regarding the fate of individual soldiers.

[25] Letter from Charles W. Cushing in Fredericksburg, Virginia to Mrs. Mary J. Hinkson, Worcester, Vt., dated 16 May 1864. Compiled Military Service Records, Private Calvin C. Hinkson, Company L, Eleventh Vermont Infantry, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[26] Letter from N.M. Gaylord in Washington, D.C., to Lydia Marsh in Cabot, Vt., dated May 15 1864. Compiled Military Service Records, Private Henry O. Marsh, Company G, Fourth Vermont Infantry, National Archive, Washington, D.C.

[27] Pension file for Private James Marsh.

[28] Peck, *Revised Roster of Vermont Volunteers*, 755.

[29] Knight, *No Braver Deeds*, 195.

[30] Coffin, *Battered Stars*, 255–256.

[31] Edward J. Feidner, ed., *The Civil War Letters of Chester K. Leach* (Burlington: The Center for Research on Vermont, 2002), 42, 192. Chester Leach, 2nd Regiment, of Fletcher, Vermont, references two telegraph charges incurred in sending bodies home from Virginia. On January 23, 1862, the cost of a telegram was $1.28. By March 26, 1864, the cost had risen to $2.80. The salary drawn by the rank and file soldier was $20.00 per month and that pay often did not come on time.

[32] Eisenschiml, *Vermont General*, 73.

[33] "Veterans Cemeteries and their Origins," www.deathcare.com/2009/veterans-cemeteries-and-their-origins.html.

[34] Rosenblatt, *Hard Marching*, 24.

[35] Ibid., 216.

[36] Donald H. Wickman, ed., *Letters to Vermont: From Her Civil War Correspondents to the Home Press*, 2 vols. (Bennington: Images of the Past, 1998), 1: #136.

[37] George T. Childs, *Addresses Before the Re-union Society of Vermont Officers* (Burlington: Free Press Steam Shop Printing House, 1874), 3.

[38] Rosenblatt, *Hard Marching*, 242–243. Wilbur Fisk does not identify this fallen soldier.

[39] Edward C. Johnson, "Civil War Embalming," *Funeral Director's Review* (June 1965). Holmes received acclaim for the embalming of Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth, shot by a disgruntled Southern-leaning innkeeper on May 24, 1861, in Alexandria, Virginia, on the occasion of Ellsworth's unsuccessful attempt to remove a Confederate flag. Ellsworth was a close friend of President Lincoln, who brought his body to lie in state at the White House. Thomas Holmes's good work was on

display for all to see and, as a result, his services were in great demand. Most of the undertakers of the day were trained to use his embalming instruments and to purchase the embalming fluid at $3.00 per gallon.

[40] www.historynet.com/the-undertakers-role-during-the-american-civil-war.htm/print.

[41] *Burlington Free Press*, 28 March 1864, 2.

[42] www.vermontcivilwar.org/units/12/hamltrs5.php#44. Original at Vermont Historical Society.

[43] Feidner, *Civil War Letters of Chester K. Leach*, 42.

[44] Ibid., 192.

[45] Ibid., 195–197.

[46] Aldace F. Walker Letters, Vermont Historical Society. The chaplain was successful. Col. Chamberlain was buried in St. Johnsbury. Coffin, *Full Duty*, 298.

[47] Linda M. Welch, www.vermontcivilwar.org/units/4/obits.php?input-4828.

[48] E.F. Palmer, *The Second Brigade History or Camp Life by a Volunteer*, 1864, as available at www.vermontcivilwar.org. Chapter 2, October 29, 1862.

[49] Ibid., Chapter 8, January 19, 1863.

[50] Knight, *No Braver Deeds*, 110–119.

[51] Ibid., 97.

[52] Marshall, *War of the People*, 116.

[53] Isaac N. Watts in Fort Slocum, Washington, D.C., to Alice Watts in Peacham, 28 February, 1864, John W. Turner Collection, Peacham Historical Association, courtesy of Lynn A. Bonfield.

[54] Peck, *Revised Roster of Vermont Volunteers*. Statistics from the towns of Barre, Berlin, Cabot, Calais, Duxbury, East Montpelier, Fayston, Marshfield, Middlesex, Montpelier, Moretown, Northfield, Plainfield, Roxbury, Waitsfield, Warren, Waterbury, Woodbury, and Worcester. Montpelier, Northfield, Waterbury, and Barre had the greatest number of soldiers. Northfield had the highest number of deaths, 51 from disease, 13 from battle. Only Fayston, Duxbury, and Woodbury have more men interred in home cemeteries than elsewhere.

[55] www.vermontcivilwar.org/rr.php. Revised rosters combined with the Barry Report by town.

[56] Knight, *No Braver Deeds*, 155.

[57] Ralph Orson Sturtevant and Carmi Lathrop Marsh, *Historical and Biographical History of the 13th Regiment Vermont Volunteers* (Albany, N.Y.: Albany Engraving Company, 1910), 708.

[58] Doug Marsh Collection. http//vermontcivilwar.org/units/13/churchl.php. Letter undated.

[59] Sturtevant, *History of the 13th*, 708.

[60] www.vermontcivilwar.org. Several lists are available at this web site including the Barry Report. It should be noted that the Rosters, printed in 1892, lists only 38 Vermonters buried there. The Vermont burial records do not distinguish between actual grave markers and those that may be cenotaphs. Several lists of Gettysburg causalities also vary between 87 and 93 killed. Therefore, this comparison is to be understood as only an estimate.

[61] J. David Book, *It Is Sweet and Honorable to Die for the Fatherland* (Newport, Vt.: Vermont Civil War Enterprises, 2007), 132–135. Thirteen men from Cabot are "unknowns."

[62] J. David Book, *Civil War Warriors from Worcester* (Worcester, Vt.: Worcester Historical Society, 2008), 58.

[63] Rosenblatt, *Hard Marching*, 357.

[64] David Faris Cross, *A Melancholy Affair at the Weldon Railroad* (Shippensburg, Pa.: White Mane Publishing, 2003). This annotated treatment of a sad chapter in Vermont's Civil War service is definitively chronicled by Cross, supplying helpful appendices and brief biographical material about all involved.

[65] *The Caledonian*, 22 July 1864.

[66] Morrill's Bible is owned by Susan C. Walbridge, Montpelier, Vermont. Used by permission.

[67] Peck, *Revised Roster of Vermont Volunteers*, 437.

[68] On April 8–9, 1865, the armies of Lee and Grant battled at Appomattox Courthouse. There were an estimated 500 casualties. On the grounds of the National Historical Park is a cemetery where nineteen soldiers are purported to be buried, eleven of them unknown. According to park historians (Patrick A. Schroeder, *The Confederate Cemetery at Appomattox*, 1999) at least one of the unknowns was a Union soldier.

[69] J.S. Roberts in Washington, D.C., to Abel Morrill, Cabot, Vt., 20 March, 1866. Letter is owned by Susan C. Walbridge, Montpelier, Vermont. Used by permission.

[70] Coffin, *Battered Stars*, 380.

[71] Palmer, *Second Brigade History*, Chapter 8.

[72] Wickman, *Letters to Vermont*, 1: 15–16. Underwood was the first death among Vermont troops and died of measles. Roswell Farnham, historian of the 1st Vermont Infantry Regiment commented on Underwood: "His remains still lie in the little cemetery on the shores of the Chesapeake Bay, where his comrades discharged the last volleys over his grave." *1st Vermont Infantry Regiment History*, www.vermontcivilwar.org. Only six soldiers died from this 90-day regiment; four from disease, one by accident, and one killed in action. Peck, *Revised Roster*, 26.

[73] Rosenblatt, *Hard Marching*, 183.
[74] Feidner, *Civil War Letters of Chester K. Leach*, 81.
[75] Coffin, *Battered Stars*, 347.
[76] Knight, *No Braver Deeds*, 233.
[77] *Caledonian*, 26 December 1862.
[78] Wickman, *Letters to Vermont*, 1: 202–203.
[79] Peck, *Revised Roster of Vermont Volunteers*, 340.
[80] *Burlington Free Press*, 30 March 1864.
[81] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 148.
[82] George G. Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War* (Burlington: Free Press Association, 1888), 2: #225. Benedict cites the wearing of such garb by the officers of 9th Regiment upon the death of Major Charles Jarvis.
[83] *Cabot Advertiser*, 2 September 1868. Available at Cabot Historical Society Museum.
[84] Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, 146–156. Faust outlines the various components of mourning fashion.
[85] Erastus Scott, Civil War Letters, University of Vermont Special Collection, Bailey/Howe Library, Burlington. Letter dated June 2, 1864. Scott had been felled on May 12 in the vicious fighting at Spotsylvania's Bloody Angle.
[86] William Henry Herrick Collection, Journals, Volume 2, Fairbanks Museum, St. Johnsbury, Vermont.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Fred B. Blodgett, "History of My Generation in Cabot, Vermont, 1874–1951." Unpublished manuscript, Cabot Historical Society. "About the year 1895, a Miss Mary Lance, who since the days of the Civil War had lived the life of a recluse, left the Methodist church the sum of $1000, as a memorial, for the purchase of a pipe organ. I may as well here, as anywhere, relate the story of Miss Lance. It seems she was engaged to a young soldier by the name of Morrill, whose name appears on the Cabot monument, I think as Capt. Morrill and for whom the G.A.R. Post in Cabot was named. He died, or was killed in the war, and from that time on Miss Lance rarely, and I think I am correct in saying, never was seen in public afterward. She lived and died in the large white house back of the gristmill dam now owned and occupied by Mrs. Earl J. Rogers .... A picture of Miss Lance now hangs in the gallery of the United church."
[90] Eisenschiml, *Vermont General*, 216.
[91] John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the 20th Century* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 15.
[92] www.vermontcivilwar.org. See listing for all the posts in the state and a history of the GAR in Vermont by following the Grand Army of the Republic on the website map.
[93] Book, *Civil War Warriors from Worcester*, 33–35.
[94] *Laws of Vermont, 1863*, 6.
[95] David G. Rous, "The Soldiers Monument: Civil War Commemoration in Vermont, 1866–1924" (Master's Thesis, University of Vermont, 2000), 5.
[96] Jaclyn Levesque, "Grief or Celebration: Reading Vermont Civil War Monuments and their Commemoration Ceremonies," Thesis, Lyndon State College, December, 2008. The author examines eight Civil War monuments using these criteria: "The first question asked whether the monuments and ceremonies tended to celebrate triumph for the end of the War, or if they tended to express grief for the loss of loved ones and the community. The following question I used looked at whether the monuments and ceremonies changed over time, and if change did occur, what exactly did change." See also Anne Lawless, "Save Outdoor Sculpture! Records, 1992–93," *Vermont History* 62(1994): 166–182, for a thorough report on efforts to document 242 outdoor sculptures in Vermont, including many Civil War monuments, as part of a nationwide survey.
[97] Mary C. Morrison and Lynn A. Bonfield, "The Peacham War Monument," *The Peacham Patriot*, May 1996. The authors suggest that a possible reason for the refusal to fund the memorial was the high cost of paid bounties to the volunteers. $28,668.72 was paid to eighty-five Peacham volunteers.
[98] Daniel Robbins, *The Vermont State House: A History and Guide* (Montpelier: Vermont Council on the Arts, 1980), 69.
[99] Mary Greene Nye, *Vermont's State House* (Montpelier: Vermont Publicity Service, 1936), 35. Nye lists each flag in the collection by regiment.
[100] Adjutant and Inspector General's Report, 1865, 24–25.
[101] Nye, *Vermont's State House*, 22.
[102] Ibid. 29.
[103] Robert J. Titterton, *Julian Scott: Artist of the Civil War and Native America* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 1997). A Vermont author, Titterton gives a detailed account of this amazing work of art.

[104] Nye, *Vermont's State House,* 70.

[105] Robbins, *The Vermont State House: A History and Guide,* 61.

[106] Nye, *Vermont's State House,* 39–45. Nye records the wording of each plaque.

[107] Robbins, *Vermont State House,* 127.

[108] Coffin, *Full Duty,* 359.

[109] Susan-Mary Grant, "Patriot Graves: American National Identity and the Civil War Dead," *American Nineteenth Century History* (2004), 74–100. See also Garry Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), for analysis of the "rural cemetery" movement and its affect on the development of the national cemetery system, especially Gettysburg. Chapter 3, "Gettysburg and the Culture of Death," 63–89, is particularly insightful.

[110] Stephen R. Whalen, "Everything is the Same: The Civil War Homefront in Rural Vermont," (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Maine, 1999), 325. Dr. Whalen argues that "the Civil War deaths of one and one-half percent of the population were not a great burden to Vermont society in the 1860s."

[111] *Caledonian,* 19 August 1864.

The Dairy Farmers' Union in Vermont, 1939–1942

Here it was that from 1939 to the early 1940s, a small group of Vermont dairy farmers—probably no more than a few hundred—not only became unionized, but joined an organization that consciously followed the industrial model of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.), which John L. Lewis and others had founded in 1935 after breaking with the American Federation of Labor (A.F.L.).

By Nicholas Clifford

For many of us, American agrarian radicalism has been largely a phenomenon of the farm belt and perhaps the South, while our common image of the northeastern farm tradition is that of a proudly conservative independence and self-reliance. Here as elsewhere, however, agricultural change in the early twentieth century brought movements of varying success that sought to channel dairy farmers into modern cooperative organizations for the production, transportation, and marketing of their milk. It was a matter of considerable importance to Vermont, for by the 1930s, some 80 percent of the state's milk production was marketed beyond its borders, and dairying provided roughly 70 percent of Vermont's agricultural income. The work of the Grange, the State Farm Bureau, and the educational and advisory programs of

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the university's Extension Service all testified to this, as did the sometimes differing policies of the state's commissioners of agriculture, notably Elbert Brigham (1919–24) and E. H. Jones (1924–44). Half a century ago, the long and complicated story of these efforts in Vermont, with their intermittent successes and failures, was set forth by Edwin Rozwenc in his survey of the state's agricultural history.[1]

Perhaps it's not surprising then, that even in this most archetypically rural and independent state came occasional glimpses of more radical approaches. This article examines a short-lived movement among Vermont's dairymen towards the end of the Great Depression. Here it was that from 1939 to the early 1940s, a small group of Vermont dairy farmers—probably no more than a few hundred—not only became unionized, but joined an organization that consciously followed the industrial model of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (C.I.O.), which John L. Lewis and others had founded in 1935 after breaking with the American Federation of Labor (A.F.L.). They were among those who sent their milk—between a quarter and a third of Vermont's production—to the New York metropolitan market, rather than to Boston, the destination for most northern New England dairies.[2] While Rozwenc's work follows in some detail the tangled history of marketing in the Boston milkshed, it says nothing of those counties on the western side of the state—parts of Chittenden, Franklin, Bennington, Rutland, and most particularly Addison Counties—that helped supply the larger and more contentious New York shed. Yet the New York market shared with Boston much of the same uncertain history of experiments and tensions between producers and marketers, of the development of cooperative organizations, and of the ultimate intervention of price-setting mechanisms, developed by the Department of Agriculture in the form of federal-state milk marketing orders.

Though most of New York City's supply came from upstate, of the roughly 60,000 farmers in the shed, a substantial minority lived in neighboring states, Vermont among them. Unfortunately, neither the federal agricultural censuses nor the biennial reports of Vermont's commissioner of agriculture give figures on the markets into which the state's milk was sold. According to a press report, however, of the shed's total production of 700,078,105 pounds in May 1941, 78 percent came from New York, 13.5 percent from Pennsylvania, 4.1 percent from Vermont, 3 percent from New Jersey, and a fraction from Connecticut and Massachusetts.[3] Much of the shed's distribution and marketing was in the hands of three large firms. Sheffield Farms, since 1926 a subsidiary of the huge National Dairy Products Company, through its Sheffield Producers Co-operative Association, bought from thousands of farmers

who were its members.[4] The Dairy League, having started life decades earlier as a small farmers' group, by 1919 had incorporated itself as the Dairy League Co-operative Association (D.L.C.A.), becoming a business and marketing organization with its own plants and distribution networks. Though technically it did not sell directly to New York City, in 1922 it had reached an agreement with the third great firm, Borden, which took the League's milk, under the name Dairylea, for its own marketing.[5]

For decades, the pricing of milk in both the New York and Boston markets had been a matter of dispute between farmers and their distributors, and Rozwenc describes the efforts made by Commissioners Brigham and Jones to encourage the formation of farmer-owned and controlled cooperatives to sell their production. Though their success was limited, the system worked well enough to survive through the 1920s. Then, however, the Depression brought widespread distress to dairymen, making clear to them the shortcomings of the usual marketing arrangements. Milk prices were measured by the hundredweight (cwt., or 46.51 quarts) and the price received by Vermont's dairy producers, which had averaged $2.831 in 1929, fell to $1.508 in 1932. By 1939, the state average had recovered only to $1.917, though in Addison County it reached only $1.762, lower than all other counties but one. Meanwhile, as the demand for milk in urban markets dropped, Vermont's production continued to rise. By 1939 it was 25 percent higher than it had been ten years earlier; yet despite the increased volume, the total value of milk and cream that year was 22 percent under its 1929 level.[6]

How many Vermont farms were lost through foreclosure or for other reasons in these desperate years, it is impossible to say. In fact the number of farms of all sorts in the state actually rose somewhat during the mid-thirties, probably because of a return to the land by some who had earlier gone to the cities and now found themselves jobless. Commissioner Jones thought the conservative nature of Vermont farmers probably kept their level of indebtedness lower than in some other parts of the country. Still, in his biennial reports, he spoke of the declining prices paid to producers, whose fixed costs—taxes, interest payments, and equipment prices—generally remained stable. The result, if not a loss of farms, could still be seen in unmaintained and unpainted farm buildings, and the decay of equipment.

Conditions like these encouraged dairymen to overcome their traditional reluctance to look to the state and even to the federal government for help. A federal licensing system for milk sales took effect in the Boston market in February 1934 (Commissioner Jones thought it a boon for producers), and though it was threatened by legal challenges,

it ultimately took hold. In New York the federal-state system, set up in September 1938, had to face similar problems. It was suspended as unconstitutional in early 1939, and though the Supreme Court swiftly overruled the decision, for a few months the dealers were able to slash the prices they paid to farmers, worsening the already tenuous ability of dairymen to stay in business.[7]

Under the terms of the new arrangement, a New York Metropolitan Milk Marketing Administrator was appointed both by the secretary of agriculture in Washington and the New York State commissioner in Albany, to oversee the milk order. With his staff, which by 1940 consisted of some 190 inspectors, auditors, and others, the administrator was responsible for looking after the interests of New York's consumers, making sure that the farmers received a fair price, and that the distributing companies—Borden, Sheffield, the League, and a host of smaller independent ones—derived a reasonable profit. The task was a highly complex one. Milk, on being drawn from the cow, was divided into nine separate grades—fluid milk, milk for butter, cheese, ice cream, manufacturing, and so forth—each bringing a different price, and the arcane nature of the system provided numerous chances for evasion, neglect, and outright fraud. Yet on the whole, farmers benefited from this new price setting, and according to one analysis, after the New York Order's first full year of operation, the shed's farmers profited collectively by some $25,000,000.[8]

A few years earlier, after upstate New York had seen a few unsuccessful milk strikes, a new organization was born in 1936, in Heuvelton, near Ogdensburg in St. Lawrence County. The guiding spirit of this new Dairy Farmers' Union (D.F.U.) was Archie Wright, who, though himself raised on a dairy farm, had an unusual background for such work. Jailed as a pacifist during the Great War, he later worked as a merchant seaman, as an organizer for the International Workers of the World, and as a journalist, before coming back to the family farm. His view of dairying was, as one historian puts it, "a mixture of Marx and Jefferson with a bit of the Populist movement thrown in," all undergirding his passionate belief that the small family farm, the taproot of American democracy, was now under threat from the big dealers such as Sheffield, Borden, and the Dairy League.[9] In 1937, the D.F.U. pulled off a small strike against Sheffield, and a far larger and more successful one followed in August 1939. By then, not only had farmers suffered from the temporary suspension of the new marketing order, but the summer also brought an extraordinarily severe drought in the North, forcing farmers to buy feed for their herds. Managing to cut the metropolitan milk supply by more than half, the strike brought the direct

intervention of Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia on the farmers' side. After nine days, it came to an end, and although the exact terms of the settlement remained in dispute, many saw it as a victory for the dairy farmers.

Though Wright had predicted that dairymen from western Vermont would join the strike, there is no evidence from the press that any of them did so. Granville, just over the New York border from Rutland County, saw some signs of violence, and from the Vermont side came reports of suspiciously large numbers of cars bearing Michigan license plates.[10] Though there was probably little truth in the stories, their implication was that the D.F.U. was a child of John L. Lewis's C.I.O. (indeed it was sometimes misidentified as such in the press), which had recently organized many of Detroit's automobile workers. Yet though there was apparently no interference with milk shipments from Vermont, and though the *Middlebury Register* reported a vote against the strike in Addison County (where most dairymen were members either of the League or the Sheffield Farms cooperative), at least some Rutland County farmers threatened to withhold their milk unless a quick settlement was reached.[11]

Still, there is no doubt that the strike's apparent success brought thousands of new members into the D.F.U. later that year, not only in New York but in western Vermont as well, so that by the end of 1939 the Union claimed some 15,000 members. Not surprisingly, Addison County, producing roughly 13 percent of Vermont's milk sold (that year it ranked second only to Franklin County) became the center of activity, which also spread to Rutland County, where another 10 percent of the state's milk was produced.[12] That fall, a D.F.U. organizer in Addison County reported that his work was proceeding successfully, saying that while the Union was pleased with the price of milk, it was going to have to be "on guard against the producers being at the mercy of the dealers during next spring's 'peak production'" (the so-called "milk flush" after the winter months).[13] At the same time, disputes over the precise terms of the settlement mediated by LaGuardia in August led to charges by some D.F.U. farmers in New York that they were being undercut by non-union sales from Vermont. Threats of violence, perhaps more imagined than real, led to a ruling by Vermont's Attorney-General, Lawrence C. Jones, that farmers had a right to protect their milk shipments, by force of arms if necessary. At a meeting of 24 October in Vergennes, called by Sheffield Farms, the D.L.C.A. and Sussex (another marketing group), a "Committee of Safety" was set up and (so said a Boston paper, playing on the common Vermont stereotype) "ancient muskets and more modern fowling pieces came down from

the walls, as the latter-day Green Mountain Boys prepared to defend their rights."[14]

Still, 450 farmers and others crowded into the gymnasium of the Middlebury High School on December 6, 1939, for a lively discussion of the production and marketing of milk and the role of the Union. Eighteen days later, Archie Wright himself addressed five hundred people in Middlebury, and though there was some hostility, he had the sympathy of most of the crowd. Denying charges that the D.F.U. was trying to break the New York Marketing Order, he stressed its concern in keeping the family farm alive at a time of falling prices, warning that if the trend continued, "we'll go the way the farmers in Rome went, like the farmers of China we'll be ground down by the landlords."[15] He returned to Vermont in late January 1940, coming to Rutland County to support Roy Lewis, a Brandon farmer who had been expelled by the Sheffield cooperative, presumably because of his membership in the D.F.U.[16] Some three months later, on April 23, 1940, Harry Carnal, the Union's secretary-treasurer, told the Middlebury Community Forum that while he supported the marketing order, it was insufficient to get the farmer a fair price. Two months later, on June 18, when Charles W. Child of Weybridge was elected chairman of the new Addison County chapter of the D.F.U., Archie Wright was once again present, accompanied by two members from Rutland County, and claiming that the Union was now at work in other parts of the state.[17] Clearly the D.F.U. was now building up strength in western Vermont, and enjoyed some backing from the local press as well. The *Middlebury Register,* for instance, contemptuously dismissed Sheffield Farms' claims of its contributions to Vermont's agrarian economy, accusing them of having "played [the farmers] for suckers."[18]

While the D.F.U. itself might have been prospering, however, Archie Wright's own fortunes were faltering. His leadership of the strike in 1937 had brought claims from some of his opponents that he drew support both from the C.I.O. and the Communist Party. Now, after the greater strike of 1939, these charges were renewed, backed by some farm papers like the *American Agriculturalist* and others. The historian Lowell Dyson concludes that while Wright was never in fact a Communist, he was, at least in later years, a "consummate fellow traveler,"[19] and certainly there was a whiff of *Red Star Over China* (1938), Edgar Snow's laudatory account of Mao Zedong's communism, in his warning that Vermont's farmers might face the same future as did the exploited peasants of that country. In 1940, of course, thanks to the Nazi-Soviet pact of August 1939, American Communists and Popular Fronters often found themselves in an odd alliance with old isolationists and America Firsters,

and surely it was no help to Wright that the summer of 1940 brought a minor flurry of communist activity and anti-communist response in Vermont. There, in mid-August, in the unlikely Addison County town of Bristol, a crowd broke up and destroyed a puppet show put on by the Farmer-Labor Vacation Committee, a group suspected of communist ties, when it denounced, among other things, the imperialist warmongering of President Franklin Roosevelt. Meanwhile there came reports of communist organizers seeking to infiltrate Addison County farm groups, and a local D.F.U. official proudly announced he would have nothing more to do with his union if the Communists influenced it.[20]

Whatever the truth of such allegations, Wright was badly wounded, and his own actions did little to help his cause. In June 1940, he stepped down temporarily from the Union's leadership, and though two months later he returned to power, his position remained insecure. At the Union's convention in Utica on September 3, he did manage to fight off a resolution that would have denied the body's alleged communist links (an invitation to a witch-hunt, he maintained).[21] The same meeting also called for new amendments to the marketing order to bring higher prices, and two weeks later in Middlebury, the Addison County chapter voted a strike if the demands were not met. The threat in fact never materialized, thanks in part to the renewed intervention of Mayor LaGuardia, who flew to Utica with N. J. Cladakis, the recently appointed New York Milk Order Administrator, and promised to throw his support to the farmers.[22]

Yet this mid-September gathering in Middlebury reflected the problems now facing Archie Wright in his own organization. After a discussion of the strains in the Union's leadership, Charles Child introduced precisely the sort of resolution Wright had opposed, and the meeting passed it. While it decried attempts to link the D.F.U. to communism or any other form of totalitarianism, it also condemned such philosophies, protesting the Union's patriotism and its support for the national defense effort. Child also announced the formation of a new six-member advisory board (he himself represented Vermont) to oppose both communists seeking a foothold in the D.F.U., and those who would use the specter of communism to discredit the Union. By early December 1940, opposition to Wright within the chapter was carrying the day. Child, together with several others from Vermont, was among the roughly fifty D.F.U. members signing an open letter urging that Wright be replaced as leader. The Union could not continue, the signers maintained, "as a radical or subversive organization," and they warned that farmers, subjected for years to the oppression and abuses of the dealers, would "fare no better as the cat's paw of the Communist Party." Alleging that Wright

was connected to communist attempts to gain control of the D.F.U., and had failed to repudiate communist support, they urged the election of a new General Organization Committee that would include neither Wright himself nor any other nominees "against whom there is substantial cause for suspicion of either Communist sympathies or conduct."[23]

An open meeting in Middlebury's Grange Hall on December 7, 1940, brought out some hundred farmers to hear the pro- and anti-Wright partisans put their cases. A week later, Addison County's delegates to the forthcoming D.F.U. convention in Utica received a long letter from Wright, which they mimeographed and sent out to the other members. In it, Wright attacked the open letter signed by Child and others, calling it "a tissue of lies" and charging his opponents with having become tools of the "milk trust" that was trying to smash the D.F.U.[24] Though he was comfortably re-elected chairman on December 15, it was a Pyrrhic victory, since all Wright's candidates for the General Organizing Committee went down to defeat, and his opponents swept the field. Not ready to give up, he called a new convention for two days after Christmas, and there demanded the expulsion of the signers of the open letter. After a heated debate, the convention voted 188–51 to refuse his call for a purge, and Wright thereupon resigned. This time, he said, his going would be permanent: "You cannot call for Archie any more." In early January 1941, he was succeeded by Holland Foster, who was considered neutral. On the eleventh, a special D.F.U. meeting in Middlebury discussed the recent in-fighting, but it was led by two of Wright's opponents from the new organizing committee.[25]

For a while, Wright tried to fight back. Unsuccessful in the end, in May 1941 he broke away with a handful of followers to form a new organization, the Farmers' Union of the New York Milk Shed, promising to combat the "dictatorship tactics" of the D.F.U. Of course it's impossible to say what sides Vermont dairymen, both in and out of the D.F.U., took in the leadership battles, though Charles Child and some others were clearly in the anti-Wright camp. Some may well have been troubled by the Union's emphasis on an industrial style of collective bargaining, and no doubt many worried about the allegations of Wright's leftist leanings and connections. Still, though Lowell Dyson suggests that Archie Wright's departure left the D.F.U. split and without any clear direction, the organization was by no means dead yet, and in Vermont, it still had a role to play. "Now Farmers, Go to It," urged an editorial the *Middlebury Register,* relieved that the disputes were over, and calling on the Union to get back to working for the farmer, while deprecating at the same time both "Communist wrecking" and "subtle invitations for a witch hunt."[26]

As the D.F.U. was embroiled in its internal politics, the farmers of the New York shed had once again been presented with a new series of amendments to the marketing order. Despite the backing of the D.F.U. and other groups, those voting failed to return the 66 percent approval needed by law. The reasons for the defeat were unclear, all the more so since N. J. Cladakis, the administrator, predicted that the changes would increase the shed's dairy revenues by roughly $5,000,000 annually. At the same time, however, he had warned farmers against false propaganda opposing the amendments, perhaps referring to the opposition of some of the cooperatives and milk receiving plants, where the so-called "diversion fees" charged to farmers for handling their milk would have been lowered.[27] Believing that many farmers had not realized that the defeat of the amendments would mean suspension of the entire milk order, Secretary of Agriculture Claude Wickard called immediately for a new vote. Though some of the marketing groups, notably the Dairy League, challenged his call, when the vote took place in February 1941, the League rather grumpily cast its ballots in favor, but under protest. This time, the amendments passed by a 99 percent vote, and in Addison County, 697 of an eligible 841 producers turned out.[28]

The lopsided victory was by no means a sign of farmers' satisfaction, however. Though press reports of increases in the milk pool payments might suggest to consumers that dairymen were doing better than ever, that was not the way many of them saw it. Payments fluctuated monthly, and one of Archie Wright's aims in 1939 had been to secure a flat price for all milk, no matter how it was classified, and valid for a year, so that farmers would have a guaranteed income. Not only did he fail in this, but by the late spring and early summer of 1941, dairymen faced two serious problems. The first was the onset once again of a severe drought in the northeast—the worst in thirty years, claimed a group of Dairy League members in New York and Vermont. By late June the hay crop was badly hurt, particularly in western Addison County on the shores of Lake Champlain, forcing farmers to buy expensive feed for their herds.[29] Meanwhile, in addition to nature's vagaries there had come a new difficulty. Though America was still six months away from war, the steady growth of national defense measures (as well as the new lend-lease commitments to Britain) brought not only a military draft, taking young men from the farms, but also the emigration of farm workers to the expanding defense industries where hours were shorter and wages higher.

It did not take long for the implications of this to come home to farmers. At a meeting of some 300 of them in Middlebury on April 29, 1941 —called by the D.F.U. but including other producers' groups as well—a

resolution was passed, to be sent to Washington and New York, seeking higher prices to offset labor costs. By the early summer of 1941, according to the commissioner of agriculture, there was a 40 percent shortage of farm labor.[30] Yet as workers and equipment became more expensive and more difficult to find, Washington was urging farmers to increase production. In the eyes of some dairy leaders, whatever good the milk orders had done in stabilizing prices, they now served to restrain the amount received by farmers while the costs of needed goods and services rose. "The Northeastern milk situation may very likely be the next important conflagration on the labor front," wrote a dairy farmer to the *New York Times* that spring, warning that dairymen had been "seething" for years at Washington's "untimely coddling" of organized labor, and at the huge payments made by the Treasury to the states of the farm bloc, which benefited northeastern agriculture not at all.[31]

On June 16, 1941, ballots went out to the milkshed's farmers to authorize a new series of amendments that would, among other things, raise the price of Class I (fluid) milk first to $2.65 per cwt. in July, and then to $2.88 from August through April 1942. Cladakis reported a vote in favor of over 98 percent (in Vermont, the number was 1,791 for and 3 opposed). That, however, was not good enough for the D.F.U., which now demanded a flat price for all classes of milk of $3.00 per cwt., rather than the $2.00 or $2.15 blended price (average of all classes) that the new amendments would bring. An impossible demand, said Cladakis, for it would have meant raising the price of fluid milk to $4.81.[32] By now, however, the Dairy League was also arguing for higher prices, while in Montpelier, Commissioner Jones, a firm supporter of the marketing orders, warned that the country was facing a competition between agricultural and industrial labor, just as it had in 1917–1918. This time, however, price controls, virtually unknown twenty years earlier, had become widespread.[33]

Did the overwhelming approval of the new amendments mean, asked the *Burlington Free Press,* that the D.F.U.'s demand for a $3 flat price reflected the views of only a small minority of the shed's dairymen? Or did it mean, as some were now charging (including Wade Walker of Bridport, who had now replaced Child as chairman of the Addison County chapter), that many farmers had not voted at all because the ballots were sent out too late?[34] Whatever the case, by June's end, the threat of a new strike was very much in the air. "We do not feel," said Holland Foster on June 20, announcing a forthcoming D.F.U. vote on a "milk holiday" (a term the Union deemed preferable to "strike"), that the new amendments would "make a sufficient difference to compensate for extreme drought losses, higher labor costs, and other extraordinary

influences." A week later, the Union set a deadline of June 30 for an acceptance of their $3.00 flat price proposal. "Otherwise," warned Foster, "the war would be on." On the 27th the D.F.U. wired President Roosevelt, promising that while farmers would do their best to meet the needs of national defense, dairy price structures, together with the drought and loss of farm labor, made it impossible for them and threatened the very survival of thousands of farm families.[35]

Mass meetings, as the D.F.U. called them, then took place in the twenty-eight counties of the shed that had chapters. On July 1, some thousand or more dairymen crammed themselves into the New Haven Town Hall, about half of them said to be D.F.U. members. There, in a meeting chaired by Walker, they voted overwhelmingly to join the "milk holiday." Charles Child's house was to serve as headquarters, with pickets reporting there for assignment, and Walker appealed to his members to keep the picketing peaceful and avoid any violence or forcible milk dumping. There was apparently no similar meeting in Rutland County, though there may have been local ones. Although the *Burlington Free Press* reported that one of the aims of the New Haven meeting was the picketing of every plant delivering either to New York or Boston, there was no evidence that the Boston shed was at all affected.[36]

A *Free Press* editorial the next day took a very tolerant view of the "holiday," sympathetic to the farmers' problems, if not to their call for a $3 flat price (it also managed a very Republican swipe at the power of organized labor). Over the next few days, newspapers reported that the stoppage was having an immediate effect, as roughly 1,200 Addison County farmers, D.F.U. members as well as others, withheld their milk, as did some in neighboring counties, virtually drying up some of the major plants in Middlebury, New Haven, Vergennes, and elsewhere. Though Vermont's Dairy League voted not to join the strike, Donald Downs of Cornwall, the secretary-treasurer of the Addison County D.F.U., claimed that 97 percent of the county milk supply was being held back. Whether or not that figure was accurate, the larger strike undoubtedly had an impact, and by July 4 the New York City health commissioner admitted that roughly 3 million quarts of the city's normal daily inflow of 7 million were not being delivered.[37]

"We are trying to conduct the strike like gentlemen," Downs told the press. "We don't want any trouble. We simply have refused to let the purchaser set the price of milk for us. We, as producers, have our own idea of what the price should be in order for us to live. Otherwise we might just as well quit our farms and go to work in the factories somewhere." By then, though, there were already reports of violence and preparations to counter it: the dumping (helped by a deputy sheriff,

according to one report) of 15,000 gallons of milk from two intercepted trucks in the town of Addison, threats to use tear gas against pickets outside the Sheffield plant at Charlotte, just over the border from Addison in Chittenden County, and deputy sheriffs patrolling the roads of Rutland County near the New York state line.[38]

Then, on the morning of July 3, came tragedy. Ray Russell, a deputy sheriff from Monkton, was riding through the little town of Waltham on a milk truck trying to make a delivery to the Charlotte plant. Precisely what happened is unclear. Somehow he fell from the truck, perhaps by accident, perhaps because of a tussle with pickets trying to board to dump the cargo. Different witnesses had different stories, but Russell fell under the truck's wheels and was killed. By the end of the day four farmers had been arrested and were in the Middlebury jail, held on charges of manslaughter.[39]

The news, of course, came as a terrible shock. During the D.F.U.'s 1939 strike, a man had also died, but that was in far-off Pennsylvania, and Vermont had no part in it. Through the 1930s, the state had seen violence in a wave of industrial strikes: in the Barre granite sheds, in the textile mills, and above all during the great Vermont Marble Company strike in Proctor. But there had been no loss of life. (Ironically enough Russell, a member of Monkton's small Quaker community, had also played a role in the attempt to break the Proctor strike.) The milk holiday would continue, claimed Wade Walker, reminding his shaken listeners that the Union had repeatedly warned against violence, and that tragic as it was, Russell's death "had no logical bearing on whether or not farmers are to get a living wage for their toil." From New York, however, Cladakis had a different message: Though the city's milk supply had not been substantially hurt, "terrorism is now the weapon being used to enforce the strike demand. By terror and terror alone it is now the design of strikers to frighten non-strikers into keeping their milk at home."[40] Hyperbolic though his words may have been, what happened in Waltham that morning seems to have taken the heart out of the milk holiday, at least in Vermont, if not among the strikers of New York and Pennsylvania.

For a few days, though, the movement threatened to grow worse. Despite the refusal of the Addison County Dairy League to participate, meetings elsewhere in the shed suggested the League members might be willing to join, and indeed about 20 percent of its producers were said to be withholding their milk already. Were the entire League to follow suit, predicted the *New York Times,* some 86 percent of the shed's farmers would hold back their production, thus presenting the city with a situation far worse than that of 1939. As it was, while the D.F.U.'s

claim to have halved the city's daily supply might at first have been a bit premature, at the strike's height the figure was probably roughly accurate, and came close to matching the results achieved two years earlier.[41]

Yet by now the D.F.U. itself was looking for a face-saving way out. It came from Van Hornesville, New York, where Owen D. Young, the former chairman of General Electric (and author of the Young Plan for German war reparations) owned several dairy farms. A "returned farmer," rather than a "retired industrialist," he liked to call himself, and even before the strike he had thrown in his lot with the dairymen, arguing the case for substantially higher payments, and suggesting to Washington a drastic simplification of the milk classification system for the benefit of both farmers and consumers.[42] Now, as the strike began, Young withheld his own milk, calling for a mediation board to determine a fair price for producers, and arguing that the milk order lacked the flexibility needed to meet emergencies such as the drought and the labor shortage. He then invited representatives from six dairy organizations to meet at his farm on July 5, there to work out a plan of action. Four of them, including the D.F.U., came; two others did not. One was the Eastern Milk Producers Association (whose milk went to Sheffield Farms) and the other was Archie Wright's new Farmers' Union. A day later, the Young group traveled to Albany on Governor Herbert Lehman's invitation, and there hammered out a petition for new amendments to the milk order. Though at first Holland Foster dismissed the move, saying that the D.F.U. would continue the stoppage, in fact his Union gave way, voting not for an end to the strike, but for a "recess" (in practice the same thing) while the talks continued. The news spread rapidly in Addison and Rutland counties, and at a meeting of nearly a thousand farmers in the Middlebury High School, gathered to hear Walker's report, the 152 D.F.U. members present voted their approval of the recess.[43]

Despite subsequent interventions by Young's group, clashes over pricing continued for the next months. While Cladakis had found the D.F.U.'s demand for a flat $3 price unrealistic, Wade Walker, quoting Young, claimed that it could be met if dealers were to take less. Though by September 1941 the blended price had risen to $2.54, most of that apparent gain was wiped out by the rising cost of feed (up almost a third over the year), and a study by the deans of three agricultural colleges, one of which was the University of Vermont, predicted that the production costs would be well over $3 per cwt. for the next few months. In August, Walker and Donald Downs traveled to Albany for hearings on new amendments to the milk order, and though the changes passed

overwhelmingly, they did little to satisfy the producers.[44] "I have lost what little faith I had in the . . . Federal-state milk marketing Order," declared Holland Foster at another D.F.U. convention in early September, and though he opposed another strike just then, he warned his audience to prepare for a coming "finish fight for a living price of milk." The convention also passed a resolution seeking the removal of the "unfair" and "incompetent" Cladakis, as well as—interesting in view of what would come—a proposal to consider a D.F.U. affiliation with the A.F.L.[45]

Nor was it the D.F.U. alone that held such sentiments. In late September, a group of six leading Addison County members of the Dairy League, all of them also bank directors, sought the help of Senators Warren Austin and George Aiken in initiating an investigation of the New York milk order. While it was supposed to protect the interests of farmers, they argued, it had now become an instrument of price control, unfairly holding back their receipts while industry and labor saw no such restrictions. Aiken thereupon wrote both the Department of Agriculture and the Department of Justice seeking explanations, while warning his correspondents that if farmers did not unite, they stood "to become a class of peasantry, dependent on crumbs in the form of subsidies which are thrown to them by the Government." Though the D.F.U. itself seems not to have been directly involved, it was at the same time demanding its own investigation of New York pricing. In both cases the impetus must have come at least in part from the meetings chaired by Owen Young, in which the Union and the Dairy League both took part.[46]

By November, the blended price had risen to $2.75. America's entry into the war after December 7, 1941 brought patriotic pledges from dairymen to redouble their efforts in the battle for production, but despite a report by the Extension Department that in 1941 farmers had enjoyed their best year since the Depression, the underlying imbalance between milk production costs and milk pricing continued. In the meantime, nothing came of the D.F.U.'s exploration of an affiliation with the A.F.L., thanks to that body's view that dairy farmers, as employers of labor themselves, were not candidates for unionization.[47]

The D.F.U. had one more great surprise up its sleeve, however. Suddenly, in mid-January 1942, at a time when newspapers carried almost daily reports of one disastrous defeat after another suffered by America and its allies at the hands of Japan, there erupted into the domestic arena a new enemy far more frightening to many than William Green's relatively well-behaved A.F.L. John L. Lewis, who had stepped down as head of the C.I.O. after backing Wendell Wilkie's presidential bid in 1940, now announced that his powerful United Mine Workers (then

still a unit of the C.I.O.) was about to launch a new drive to organize the nation's three million dairy farmers. Though editorial writers had some fun speculating on the connection between cows and coal, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* printed a cartoon of Lewis in Napoleonic dress and riding a cow, others were seriously worried. Within the U.M.W. there existed a body known as District 50, which sought to organize workers in coal's by-products, such as chemicals, dyes, plastics, and so forth. As Ora Gasaway, the District's president pointed out, casein (a milk derivative) was used in the manufacture of plastic buttons, thus leading to the logical conclusion that milk producers should also be the object of the U.M.W.'s benefactions.[48]

Lewis, of course, had his admirers and disciples. To many, however, even within the labor movement, he and his union were objects of fear, disgust, even hatred. His labor career, effective as it might be, had been stormy. His antipathy toward Roosevelt and his support of Wilkie in 1940 had cost him dearly, as many in his own movement refused to abandon their New Deal leanings to vote Republican. Though few would have accused him of communist sympathies, after September 1939, his ties to the America Firsters made him a natural ally of Communists in the labor movement, until the Party's sudden about-face on June 22, 1941 from rabid isolationism to rapid interventionism. Yet no one denied either the strength or the effectiveness of his U.M.W., and over the months that now followed, many feared that his invasion of agriculture was not only an attempt to turn the powerful miners' union into a third huge labor movement against his rivals in the A.F.L. and C.I.O., but also marked nothing less than the opening of a drive to control the nation's very food supply itself.

Lewis's first foray into agriculture had come when 5,000 Michigan dairy farmers, moved by his successes in the organization of Detroit's automobile industry, gave him their allegiance. His next target was the New York milkshed, where presumably he was attracted by the radical history of the D.F.U., which at that point still claimed 22,000 members. By early February 1942, the Union's General Organizing Committee, moved by what they called "the brilliant and fruitful labor statesmanship of Mr. Lewis," voted at their Utica headquarters to affiliate with District 50, and thus to become a new group, now to be known as the United Dairy Farmers, C.I.O. "An admission of bankruptcy of intellect and finance," the embittered Archie Wright called the move, but later that month Ralph Marlatt, who had emerged as the national head of the new U.D.F., announced that the gains in New York and Michigan were but the beginning of a drive that would eventually embrace the dairy producers of the entire nation.[49]

The Utica vote did not bind the D.F.U.'s county chapters, however, and news of the proposed affiliation with Lewis came as a surprise to Vermont dairymen. He knew only what the papers told him, said Wade Walker, adding that while for the moment he opposed the move, he would keep an open mind till he had been to Utica to learn more.[50] There he went with Donald Downs, and as soon as he was back home, he sounded very different indeed. "Walker Announces Plans to Affiliate Vermont Dairymen with United Mine Workers," ran a headline in the *Rutland Herald,* reporting his announcement on March 18, 1942, of a forthcoming campaign to organize Addison County's dairymen into the new U.D.F. Of course, he added, some details still had to be worked out, and he would presently return to Utica for further discussions with Kathryn Lewis, the fiercely loyal daughter of the U.M.W. chief and secretary-treasurer of District 50, and Ray Thomason, the former chairman of District 50 in Michigan, who would direct the U.D.F.'s organizing. In the meantime, he reassured his audiences that the U.M.W. was not interested in organizing farm labor, thus countering fears, real or imagined, that the hired man would suddenly demand a forty-hour week, time and a half for overtime, and double pay on Sundays and holidays. To his audience, Walker listed the advantages of affiliation, adding that the Dairy Farmers' Union would remain in complete control of its own affairs, and stating his conviction that not only were no Communists involved, but that Lewis was actively rooting them out of the U.M.W., and indeed that most attacks on Lewis were now coming from Communists and their sympathizers.[51]

"Someone in Utica seems to have done a good sales job on Wade Walker," the *Free Press* noted wryly, surprised that the former skeptic had suddenly become a true believer, and adding that his characterization of Lewis as a "man who generally gets what he goes after" could be said just as well of Adolf Hitler. "If," remarked the *Rutland Herald,* "the rest of the Vermont members of the union are converted as quickly and easily, there will be a strong affiliate of Lewis' U.M.W. in this state." From Vergennes, F. M. Dana, an active opponent of the 1941 strike, wrote an open letter to Walker, denying that communism was in fact being driven from the U.M.W., and taking issue with his statement that most of the attacks on Lewis now came from Communists and their sympathizers. Attacks like those from the National Grange? he asked. Or from the American Farm Bureau Federation, or the National Council of Farmers' Cooperatives, all of which had condemned Lewis's move? He was equally upset by Walker's plan to meet with Kathryn Lewis, reminding him "that there are hundreds of farmers who do not intend to be caught courting any petticoat government in this part of

the milkshed. With all due respect to Miss Lewis in her proper realm, we are emphatically opposed to any such scheme, and have yet a little confidence that there is yet a little Yankee blood left in some of the Vermont farmers to shun that unholy alliance" (a phrase that left some doubt whether it was Mr. Lewis's miners or Miss Lewis's sex that represented the chief threat to agricultural integrity). In private, S. Seeley Reynolds of Middlebury, a director of the Eastern States Farmers' Exchange, wrote to Governor William Wills, asking that something be done to counter Walker's views (the governor, on reflection, decided not to intervene).[52]

Two months later, however, when the Addison County D.F.U. gathered to elect its officers, Walker sounded a very different note indeed, claiming that the press had badly misrepresented his supposed enthusiasm for affiliation. On May 7, 1942, in the presence of District 50's Ray Thomason and another U.D.F. organizer, he first announced that he would not stand for reelection. He then roundly denounced any kind of alliance between dairymen and organized labor. The latter, he maintained, wanted milk prices to stay low; their tactics all too often demanded sacrifice from their workers; and the U.M.W.'s proposed "exorbitant" dues structure would build up "a tremendous treasury at the farmers' expense."

Donald Downs, on the other hand, supported the affiliation, arguing that it would substantially help both farmers and consumers, cutting back on the profits made by dealers at the expense of both. How Thomason, who addressed the gathering at some length, blaming the "milk trust" for dairy's hardships, responded to this development was not recorded. Nor was his reaction to the vote of the D.F.U. members present, who, faced with this split in their own leadership, and despite Walker's withdrawal of his own candidacy, proceeded to reelect both him and Downs to office.[53] Nor, save for reporting Walker's claims of misrepresentation, did the press try to explain the startling difference between his apparent views in March and those later in May. Yet was it really possible that three papers—in Burlington, Rutland, and Middlebury—had all misunderstood him so badly at first? Did he simply, in those two months, come to find the anti-Lewis arguments more persuasive than earlier? Had others talked him round? Or had Walker perhaps only appeared to favor Lewis at first, in order to drive home to the public the dairyman's plight?

Whatever the reasons, Wade Walker was a man whose words were highly respected locally, and whose constituents had sent him to represent them in the General Assembly. In any case, the metamorphosis of the Union in February from old D.F.U. to new U.D.F. District 50,

together with Walker's opposition to affiliation, appear to have left the Addison County chapter something of an orphan, and by and large its activities thereafter disappeared almost entirely from the pages of the state's newspapers (perhaps it was telling that only fifty members had shown up at the May meeting). On the other hand, the larger threat from Lewis in 1942 called forth a broad opposition not only from the press but also from the older and more established agricultural associations. The state Grange's executive committee, for example, issued a strong condemnation of any merger of farm interests with organized labor, encouraging farmers to uphold "their traditional independence and unity of purpose" by working through organizations, such as cooperatives, that they owned and controlled themselves. Meanwhile from Montpelier, Commissioner E. H. Jones, mixing Biblical and Virgilian allusions, urged dairymen not "to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage," and to "beware of Greeks bearing gifts." The *Rutland Herald* found the commissioner's remarks somewhat intemperate, but many others applauded him.[54]

More significant at the time seemed to be the formation, in the spring of 1942, of two new organizations dedicated to blocking the U.M.W.'s dairy drive in the northeast. Late March saw the emergence of a group called the Free Farmers, Inc., with a membership drawn primarily from New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, though with a scattering of Vermont representatives as well, including S. Seeley Reynolds of Middlebury.[55] Meanwhile, a conference of dairy interests met on March 19 in Boston (Jones was among those attending), and out of this emerged in late April a similar group called the Agricultural Council of New England. Like the Free Farmers, it came to embrace not only the state Granges and Farm Bureaus but other farm groups as well. Like the Free Farmers, it made no secret of the fact that its chief purpose was the defeat of Lewis's drive, but at the same time it promised to work more broadly for the interests of New England agriculture as a whole, doing for the region's farmers what the New England Council had done for business and industry (a hope welcomed by Commissioner Jones).[56]

Not surprisingly, District 50 immediately attacked both groups as being little more than tools of the "milk trust."[57] Yet as spring lengthened into summer and beyond, it became increasingly clear that the U.M.W.'s organizational attempts were running into their own difficulties. In early July, Charles Fell, a District 50 leader, praising the work already done in Vermont, announced the imminent opening of the larger New England drive, led by Cecil Crawford of Barre, at a big meeting to be held in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Yet only fifteen local dairy farmers showed up at that city's Hotel Wendell on July 15, and their mood was

far from enthusiastic.[58] At the end of September 1942, Joseph Mayo, a regional director of the District, promised the launch of the New England drive in October, and he too referred to what had already been accomplished in Vermont. Indeed, wrote the *Christian Science Monitor* at the time, Vermont—and Addison County in particular—promised to be "the major battleground of New England in the scheduled struggle between Mr. Lewis' union and the farm organizations for control of the dairy farmers." Yet once again, only silence followed Mayo's announcement. The spring of 1943 brought still more promises, as well as boasts from District 50 about the splendid progress being made in New England. But it also brought news of the withdrawal of Ora Gasaway and Ralph Marlatt from the campaign, as well as the customary failure to follow up with any real organizational work. Nor, it appears, after the conversion of the old D.F.U. the past spring, did the efforts of the new U.D.F. in New York have much better luck, though not surprisingly, the claims made by the union and its opponents were wildly at variance.[59]

If Vermont in general, and Addison County in particular, were supposed to be central to Lewis's New England organization, that organization was well hidden. Despite all the promises and all the claimed progress in organizing dairymen, before the end of 1944 even the Free Farmers realized that Lewis had been defeated (or had simply withdrawn) and not surprisingly gave themselves credit for his vanquishing. As the *Christian Science Monitor* concluded late that year, for all the claims of District 50's move into New England agriculture, in the end there had only been two minor forays, presumably a reference to Ray Thomason's trip to Middlebury, when Wade Walker made known his opposition to affiliation, and the meeting shortly thereafter of fifteen skeptical dairymen in Pittsfield. Nor was it only District 50 that vanished. In the end, for all its promises to serve as a coordinating body to deal with the varied problems of New England agriculture, once the threat from the U.M.W. had disappeared, so too the new Agricultural Council also faded away. With Lewis gone, it simply no longer seemed to have a job to do.[60]

Was Lewis—at least in the dairy field—simply another Hotspur then, calling spirits from the vasty deep, but unable to guarantee their coming? Perhaps so, but for a while he struck fear into a good many hearts. "A perfect pattern for American dictatorship," Thomas Dewey, running for the governorship of New York in April 1942, called his supposed threat to control the nation's food supply, and indeed a year later an opinion poll showed Lewis to be the most hated man in America.[61] Meanwhile his District 50 somehow managed to spend over

$3,000,000 in this petty and unsuccessful effort. A number of reasons can be suggested for their failure, quite apart from the prejudices that many, perhaps most, farmers had against organized labor, "coddled," as they thought, by the same Roosevelt administration that simultaneously held them back.[62] For reasons having little to do with agriculture, District 50 became something of a pawn in labor politics, and many saw Lewis using it simply to enhance his personal position against both the C.I.O. and the A.F.L., each of which understandably now regarded him with deep suspicion. Finally, two of Lewis's biographers fault him for leaving the dairy drive in the charge of old U.M.W. hacks of little imagination or organizing skill. These were virtues which his daughter, Kathryn Lewis, had in abundance. But she was merely District 50's secretary-treasurer.[63]

So the Dairy Farmers' Union gradually faded from sight in Vermont. It had come to the state late, only after several years of existence in New York, and then had seen its parent suddenly swallowed up by the U.M.W. in early 1942. The D.F.U. was always a New York group, and in Vermont affected only those western counties that formed part of the New York milkshed. Despite occasional claims to the contrary by Archie Wright and others, it did virtually nothing to enter the Boston shed, into which the majority of Vermont dairymen sold. Perhaps, too, in retrospect it owed its brief popularity in Vermont to causes somewhat different from those evident in New York. There, the Union had been a child of the bleakest years of the Great Depression. In Vermont, on the other hand, the growth of the D.F.U. after mid-1939 may well have owed more to the state's gradual economic recovery than to the Depression's actual hardships, severe as they had been.

In his biennial report of mid-1940, Commissioner Jones was able for the first time to point to a slowly improving situation and a rising standard of living, all giving hope for the future. Among other things, he noted that while farm equipment still remained too expensive, farm labor was available at a reasonable cost, and he praised the coming of federal intervention stabilizing milk pricing through the New York and Boston milk orders. There are two points worth noting about the New York milk order, however. First, price stability did not always improve the farmers' situation. Though the Depression might be easing, Addison County, which provided almost half the Vermont milk sold to New York, continued to receive prices for its milk that were, as in the past, well below the state average, and more often than not at or near the bottom of annual county listings.[64]

Second, it was not until mid-1939 that the New York milk order was firmly established, and by then perhaps it was simply too late.

Even as Jones issued his moderately optimistic 1940 report, things were beginning to change, and by no means for the better. Within months of the milk order's inception in 1939, the outbreak of war (as Jones himself would point out in his next report of 1942) brought the growth of a national defense economy that once again seemed to threaten whatever gains dairymen at last might be making. Their promising pool of workers vanished, as young men were called up in the draft, and the expanding defense industries encouraged an emigration from farm to factory, severely limiting the availability of farm labor and driving up its price. Meanwhile, an industry shifting toward war production raised the price and reduced the availability of farm equipment. Thus, quite apart from the bad droughts of 1939 and 1941, northern farmers saw their modest recovery from the Depression once again under threat. Though urged by the government to increase production for national defense, many saw the federal-state order obliging them to sell their milk at prices set below their rising production costs. The sense that the Roosevelt administration "coddled" organized labor, imposing no restraints on the industrial or transport unions while holding back farm prices, was already common well before the Gallup poll of 1943 cited above. Under such conditions, unionization—even for some, affiliation with a group like the U.M.W.—may well have looked like a way to preserve the modest gains that seemed endangered almost as soon as the Depression began to ease.

In the end, though, the history of the Dairy Farmers Union in the state is little more than a footnote to the larger (and still to be written) history of agriculture in twentieth-century Vermont. Indeed, for all the changes that have taken place since then, it is surprising (and depressing) to observe the similarities between the woes of the state's dairy farmers today and those of sixty years ago.[65] Dairy farmers saw themselves, and others saw them, as businessmen. But then why were they not allowed to be normal businessmen? Perhaps, suggested Commissioner Jones after the 1941 strike, Washington's efforts to hold back New York milk prices were part of a plan to curb the inflation seen during the first world war—"but since government has been powerless in preventing the inflation of production costs it leaves the dairymen in a position as unjustifiable as it is untenable." Or, as a "Sudbury Producer" asked in a letter to the press, "does Mr. Ford produce airplanes for Uncle Sam without any profit or below the cost of production? Does the laborer in munitions factories work for his board and room? Does the textile factory make clothes for Uncle Sam's armies below cost?"[66] These were questions that at the time appeared to have no good answers.

Notes

[1] *Agriculture of Vermont: Seventeenth Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture of the State of Vermont, 1933–1934,* 6; *Twenty-first Biennial Report, 1941–1942,* 4; Edwin C. Rozwenc, *Agricultural Policies in Vermont, 1860–1945* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1981).

[2] E. H. Jones, quoted in the *Christian Science Monitor* (hereafter *CSM*), 13 April 1942, 1.

[3] *Middlebury Register* (hereafter *MR*), 27 June 1941, 1. Production figures varied from month to month, of course, and May, as part of the spring "milk flush," saw higher figures than those in fall or winter. *Agriculture of Vermont: Eighteenth Biennial Report, 1935–1936,* lists the percentages of Vermont milk and cream in the New York and Boston markets, from 1927–1935 (see pages 59–62).

[4] A brief history of National Dairy can be found in the Lehman Brothers collection at the Baker Library of the Harvard Business School, Cambridge, Mass. http://www.library.hbs.edu/hc/lehman/chrono.html?company=national_dairy_products_corporation; accessed 20 Aug. 2009.

[5] Lowell Dyson, *Red Harvest: The Communist Party and American Farmers* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982), 169–170; Thomas Kriger, "The 1939 Dairy Farmers' Milk Strike in Heuvelton and Canton, New York: The Story in Words and Pictures" (hereafter "Milk Strike 1939"), *Journal of Multimedia History,* 1 (Fall 1998), Part I, 30, at http://www.albany.edu/jmmh/vol1no1/dairy1.html.

[6] *Agriculture of Vermont: Twentieth Biennial Report, 1939–1940,* 46, 62.

[7] For the Boston market, see Rozwenc, *Agricultural Policies in Vermont,* 170–177; *Agriculture of Vermont: Seventeenth Biennial Report, 1933–1934,* 6; *1935–1936,* 6; Michael Sherman, Gene Sessions, and P. Jeffrey Potash, *Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont* (Barre: Vermont Historical Society, 2004), 461–463. For New York's problems, see Dyson, *Red Harvest,* 171.

[8] *New York Times* (hereafter *NYT*), 1 February 1941, 19. See also N. J. Cladakis and Anson J. Pollard, "Some Economic Problems Encountered in Milk Control Administration," *Journal of Farm Economics,* 24 (February 1942): 326–332.

[9] General histories of the D.F.U. can be found in Thomas Kriger, "Syndicalism and Spilt Milk: The Origins of Dairy Farmer Activism in New York State, 1936–1941," *Labor History* 38 (April 1997): 266–286; Kriger, "Milk Strike 1939," Part I, 4; Lowell Dyson, "The Milk Strike of 1939 and the Destruction of the Dairy Farmers' Union," *New York History,* 51 (October 1970): 523–543; Dyson, *Red Harvest,* 168–185.

[10] Kriger, "Milk Strike 1939," part II, says that some D.F.U. farmers from western Vermont participated in the strike vote of 12 August 1939, but if so, the press was silent on any Union activity in the state. See *Burlington Free Press* (hereafter *BFP*), 14 August 1939, 1; 22 August, 6; *Rutland Herald* (hereafter *RH*), 17 August 1939, 2; 18 August, 1, 3; 21 August, 4; 22 August, 1; *CSM,* 31 October 1939, 1.

[11] *RH,* 21 August 1939, 1–2; *MR,* 25 August 1939, 1; *BFP,* 16 August 1939, 14.

[12] U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Agriculture,* Volume I: *Vermont,* Table 3, 73, and County Table IV, 95–56; *Agriculture of Vermont: Twentieth Biennial Report, 1939–1940,* 47–62. Though comparable sales figures are scattered, some idea of size comes from a report that in December 1941, of the 19,723,855 lbs. of milk sent from Vermont to the New York market, 44.5 percent came from Addison County, and almost 30 percent from Rutland County. (*MR,* 30 January 1942, 1).

[13] *MR,* 27 October 1939, 1; 1 November, 1; 17 November, 1.

[14] *CSM,* 31 October 1939, 1; *MR,* 27 October 1939, 1.

[15] *MR,* 8 December 1939, 1; 22 December, 1.

[16] Ibid., 22 December 1939, 1; 5 January 1940, 1; 13 January, 1; 2 February, 1.

[17] Ibid., 26 April 1940, 1; 21 June, 1.

[18] Ibid., 22 March 1940, C-1; see also 5 January 1940, 3.

[19] Dyson, *Red Harvest,* 184.

[20] *MR,* 16 August 1940; 27 September, 1–4; *CSM,* 24 September 1940, 14; 1 October, 10; 8 October, 10.

[21] Kriger, *Syndicalism,* 282–283; Dyson, *Red Harvest,* 176–180.

[22] *MR,* 18 October 1940, 2; *NYT,* 4 October 1940, 24; 15 October, 25.

[23] Ibid., 6 December 1940, 1.

[24] *MR,* 13 December 1940, 1.

[25] *BFP,* 28 December 1940, 1; *NYT,* 28 December 1940, 11; 2 January 1941, 19; *MR,* 10 January 1941, 1.

[26] *NYT,* 12 May 1941, 10; Dyson, *Red Harvest,* 182; Dyson, "The Milk Strike of 1939," 542–543; *MR,* 10 January 1941, 3.

[27] *NYT,* 12 December 1940, 13; 17 December, 16; Cladakis and Pollard, "Economic Problems," 328.

[28] *NYT*, 27 December 1940, 11; 19 February 1941, 23; 21 February, 21; 27 February, 42; *MR*, 10 January 1941, 1; 17 January, 1, 10; 14 February, 1.

[29] *BFP*, 25 June 1941, 1; *MR*, 13 June 1941, 1; telegram, James Candon and others to E. W. Gaumnitz of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, 26 June 1941, George D. Aiken Papers, University of Vermont, Bailey/Howe Library, Crate 7, Box 1, folder 7-1-3.

[30] *MR*, 2 May 1941, 1; Wade Walker to Aiken, 1 May 1941, Aiken Papers, Carton 7, Box 1, folder 7-1-3 (Walker, who would presently become chairman of the Addison County D.F.U., did not speak of the Union's role in arranging the meeting); *Agriculture of Vermont: Twenty-First Biennial Report, 1941–1942*, 3–4.

[31] Helen S. K. Willcox in the *NYT*, 30 May 1941, 14.

[32] *RH*, 25 June 1941, 2; *BFP*, 2 July 1941, 6; 5 July, 1; 10 July, 4.

[33] *BFP*, 27 June, 18; 2 July, 12; 3 July, 6.

[34] Ibid., 5 July 1941, 2.

[35] *NYT*, 21 June, 1941, 9; *BFP*, 27 June 1941, 1; 28 June, 1.

[36] *BFP*, 1 July 1941, 12; 2 July, 6; *MR*, 4 July 1941, 1. Was the number of 1,000 farmers correct? There are no accurate figures for the number of Addison County farms producing milk for sale beyond Vermont, though roughly 1,550 farms reported milking cattle. U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940: Agriculture*, Volume I: *Vermont*, County Table IV, 95.

[37] *BFP*, 2 July 1941, 6, 28; 3 July, 14; *NYT*, 4 July 1941, 1.

[38] *BFP*, 3 July 1941, 14; 4 July, 2; *RH*, 2 July 1941, 1; 3 July, 1, 3; Erwin S. Clark to George D. Aiken, 3 July 1941 (Aiken Papers, Crate 7, Box 1, folder 7-1-3).

[39] *BFP*, 4 July 1941, 1; *MR*, 4 July 1941, 1; *RH*, 4 July 1941, 1.

[40] *BFP*, 4 July 1941, 1, 10; *MR*, 11 July 1941, 1, 8.

[41] *BFP*, 4 July 1941, 2; *NYT*, 4 July 1941, 1; 5 July, 2; 7 July, 1. The exodus of many from the city over the Independence Day holiday reduced the normal demand for milk for a few days.

[42] *NYT*, 22 May 1941, 23; 23 May, 42.

[43] *CSM*, 7 July 1941, 3; *NYT*, 7 July 1941, 1; 8 July, 21; *MR*, 11 July 1941, 1.

[44] *MR*, 11 August 1941, 1, 8; 22 August, 1; 19 September, 1; 3 October, 1.

[45] *CSM*, 4 Sept 1941, 9; *NYT*, 4 September 1941, 24.

[46] The correspondence and newspaper clippings can be found in the Aiken Papers, Crate 38, Box 1, folder 38-1-1; Crate 7 Box 1, folders 7-1-3 and 7-1-4; see also *MR*, 3 October 1941, 1; 10 October, 1; *BFP*, 31 October 1941, 14, 18; 1 November, 4; *RH*, 10 October 1941, 8; 31 October, 1–2; and exchange of correspondence between Governor Wills and John Riley, in the Vermont State Archives, Governor William Wills Papers, Film S-3197, 691–694. Aiken, with his rural background, had always been a strong supporter of Vermont farm interests, and sought a degree of cooperation between labor and agriculture; see Samuel B. Hand and Paul M. Searls, "Transition Politics: Vermont, 1940–1952," *Vermont History* 62 (Winter 1994): 5–25; Sherman, et al., *Freedom and Unity*, 460–463, 471–472; *BFP*, 1 October 1941, 12, reports on the D.F.U.

[47] *MR*, 26 December 1941, 1; 9 January 1942, 2; *CSM*, 6 May 1942, 2; 12 November, 22.

[48] *NYT*, 18 January 1942, 37.

[49] Ibid., 8 February 1942, 37; 26 February, 38; 11 March, 28; *BFP*, 10 February 1941, 4; *RH*, 8 February 1942, 8.

[50] *MR*, 13 March, 1; *BFP*, 10 March, 2.

[51] *MR*, 13 March, 1942, 1; 20 March, 1; *BFP*, 10 March 1942, 2; 20 March, 20.

[52] *BFP*, 20 March 1942, 6; *RH*, 20 March 1942, 8; 28 March, 42; Reynolds to William Wills, 20 March 1942, Wills Papers, Film S-3197, 800–801.

[53] *BFP*, 8 May 1942, 18; *RH*, 8 March, 1942, 3.

[54] *BFP*, 23 March 1942, 14; 25 March, 1; 26 March, 16; *RH*, 27 March 1942, 6.

[55] Dyson, *Red Harvest*, 182–183; *NYT*, 13 April 1942, 1. It's unclear whether Reynolds was part of the original group, though later he was a director (*NYT*, 16 April 1944, 36). A small collection of papers relative to the Council can be found in the Vermont State Archives, PRA 063, Records and Correspondence of the Commissioner of Agriculture, container PRA-00298, folder "The Agricultural Council of New England."

[56] *CSM*, 22 April 1942, 2; 25 July, 2; *BFP*, 23 April 1942, 4; 30 October, 18. Similar moves against Lewis's dairy drive took place in other states; see, for example, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 12 April 1942, 20; *NYT*, 19 April 1942, E10; *CSM*, 24 May 1942, 8.

[57] *NYT*, 22 April 1942, 25; *CSM*, 20 August 1942, 2.

[58] *CSM*, 9 July 1942, 2; 15 July, 2; 25 July, 2.

[59] Ibid., 30 September 1942, 5; 6 October, 3; 1 May 1943, 4; *Washington Post*, 25 February 1943, 4; *NYT*, 28 May 1943, 14.

[60] *CSM*, 1 May 1943, 4; *NYT*, 16 April 1944, 36; *CSM*, 18 December 1944, 1–2. Indeed, when a few years later a new New England agricultural commission was proposed for similar purposes, there was no mention at all of the old Council (*CSM*, 21 November 1947, 2).

[61] *NYT,* 26 April 1942, 35; Richard J. Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941–1945* (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1972), 165.

[62] James Wechsler, *Labor Baron: A Portrait of John L. Lewis* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1944), 190–191; for the "coddling," see George Gallup in the *Washington Post,* 26 December 1943, B5.

[63] Wechsler, *Labor Baron,* 190–191; Saul Alinsky, *John L. Lewis: An Unauthorized Biography* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949), 256–257. See also Melvyn Dubovsky and Warren Van Tine, *John L. Lewis: A Biography* (New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., 1977), 449–450.

[64] See the county tables in the various biennial reports of *Agriculture of Vermont.* It's tempting to conclude that milk sent to New York brought lower prices than that sent to Boston, and perhaps that's generally true; but it's worth noting that Franklin County, which usually ranked with Addison as the state's leading producer of milk marketed beyond its borders, also received lower than average prices, and most of its milk went to Boston. Rutland County's milk prices were also below the state average, though usually not as much as those in Addison.

[65] See the articles headed "Dairy in Crisis" run by the *Addison Independent,* successor to the *Middlebury Register,* in March 2009.

[66] Vermont Department of Agriculture, *Agriview,* July 1941, 4; Wills papers, Film S-3197, 751.

IN THEIR WORDS

This occasional section offers readers selections from manuscripts—usually letters and diaries—in public and private collections, with commentary, elucidation, and editing. Information about access and cataloging details appears at the end of the article text.

The Lure of the West and the Voices of Home: Excerpts from the Correspondence of William Spaulding Burt

By RUTH BURT EKSTROM[1]

There was considerable migration out of Vermont in the nineteenth century. "Even before Vermont itself was half settled, migration from Vermont began."[2] People started leaving the state in large numbers after 1816, sometimes called "The year without a summer." The outflow increased after the economic panic of 1819 and became even greater after the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825. "After 1830 emigration rose from a steady stream to a freshet, not to say a flood. The year 1836 broke all records by the size of its exodus. For the

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first time emigration became a public question in Vermont."[3] Historians have asked: Who left? Where did they go? Why?

While many of the emigrants of the early 1800s were probably farmers who hoped to find better land, "it was through the Vermonters' skill in, and love for, tools that the largest avenue of migration was opened. The highways westward seem to have been dotted with Vermont carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, printers, masons, coopers, and the like."[4] "After 1820 there seems to be a fairly clear distinction between two types of migration: the familiar family type going out with considerable equipment and a more or less definite destination; and the young, unmarried men who started off without any real idea of where they were going and with almost no means of getting there. The latter worked their way from town to town, changing their plans at the suggestion of some acquaintance, and at last settling down at some place where prosperity finally dawned upon them."[5]

Information about where the migrating Vermonters settled most frequently has been determined from United States census returns. In 1850, 52,599 individuals who had been born in Vermont had moved to New York State; 14,320 native Vermonters were living in Ohio, 11,381 in Illinois, 11,113 in Michigan, and 10,157 in Wisconsin.[6] But we know little about how individuals made the decision to migrate. This would have been based in part on what they heard about "the West" and the source of that information.

Background

This article provides insight into how one family of Vermonters viewed the potential advantages and disadvantages of moving to "the West" in the early 1830s. It is based on correspondence between William Spaulding Burt (1812–1896), his family, and his friends from 1832 to 1837. The main theme in these letters is the desire of young adults to become more independent and the concerns of their parents about their activities—something as familiar today as in the 1830s.

Spaulding, as he was known in the family, was the third child and oldest son of William Burt, Jr. and Catharine (Knox) Burt. Spaulding had two younger brothers, Daniel and Job, and five sisters, Catharine, Sarah, Ruth, Almira, and Amanda. His father's parents, William and Ruth (Robinson) Burt, and their six children settled in Bennington, Vermont, about 1789. Catharine Knox and her family came to South Woodford, Vermont, about 1801, when her father was involved in the development of the Windham Turnpike. By 1820, Catharine's brothers, James and Lyman Knox, and three of her sisters had left Vermont and moved to New York State.

Communications from these relatives probably influenced Spaulding's decision see what life was like outside of Vermont. He would have heard that better land was available in the west and that these regions held better opportunities than did Vermont. The years when Spaulding was reaching adulthood were a period when migration from Vermont increased greatly.

Travels in New York State

Letters written in 1833 provide the first evidence of Spaulding's travels away from Vermont. In September of that year Spaulding and his friend, Samuel Safford Pratt, went to Potsdam, New York. After he had been in Potsdam for a month, his father wrote saying "we all think that it is best for you to come home and go to School this winter you need more Schooling and if you do not attend to it now you will be to old." This remark did not produce the desired result. Despite other letters and urgings from his family, such as his sister Sarah's December note that "Mother feels very anxious to see her boy," Spaulding did not return to Bennington until the spring of 1834.

In December 1832, Spaulding received a letter from Oliver Perry Knox, his cousin who lived in Monroe County, New York, describing job prospects in that area. Oliver, the son of James and Hepzibah (Perry) Knox, was born in Woodford, Vermont, in 1813. He wrote, "I went last spring to learn the masons trade. I worked in Rochester last summer I [made] twelve dollars a month I have been offered $20 dollars a month for eight months but I think I can do a little better." This letter, as well as his experience in Potsdam, probably led Spaulding to explore the Genesee region in western New York State. "Genesee Fever" had, according to Stuart Holbrook, "threatened for a while to depopulate many towns" in New England. He quotes advertisements that offered ten thousand acres to "the industrious yeomanry of Vermont and New Hampshire who wish for farms not lying edgeways."[7]

Correspondence from the summer of 1834 shows that Spaulding was in Rush, New York, at the home of his mother's sister, Eleanor (Knox) Diver, and her husband Daniel. Spaulding wrote his brother on June 8, 1834: "I got to uncles it is a fine place I have seen 100 acres in one field of wheat it is good and so is corn and grass. I am to work for a man write by the Gennesse river the steam boat goes buy every day[.]" He sent a similar positive description to his father:

> It is a handsome place here you can see wheat of 100 or 75 acres in a lott. I am to uncles today they have built a large where house since you were out I have seen uncle James [Knox] he is the same as ever he was that he is going to Bennington this fall Jane [Knox] is married

> and gone to Mihegan Perry [Knox] I havent seen yet Sumner and J. Dewey [Knox] are both smart they live write across the crick . . . I no not how long I shall stay here uncle told me that I had better work in Rochester so I work one mile and a half from uncles.

Enclosed with this was a letter from Daniel Diver, Jr. (born in Woodford in 1803) to his relatives in Vermont: "I have bought me A farm in Henrietta of one hundred Acres where we now live About two miles north our Grapes are promising At present We wish you would Sell and Come in to the land of plenty Clothed with milk and honey."

Spaulding's father wrote him on July 8, 1834, saying:

> We received your letter the latter part of June we had been in formed by Bliss and French that you had gone a whaleing for 3 years . . . we were very glad to find that they ware mistaken . . . We want to hear from you again and we want to hear more particular from Every person how and what they are Doing and when they are Coming to the East.

Spaulding's mother added to this letter writing, "I want you should go and see your aunt Synthia [Cynthia (Knox) Diver, wife of Calvin Diver] and her family before you come home I want you should be more particular when writing I want to know if Eleanor is able to do her work and want to know what James is doing." Spaulding's brother, Daniel Burt, added a note with news of their generation: "Pratt has gone to Michigan."

Michigan Fever

While western New York State still attracted many emigrants from Vermont, other areas became of greater interest during the 1830s. Stilwell observes, "the part of the West which really beckoned consisted of three almost virgin regions—southern Michigan, northern Illinois, and southeastern Wisconsin."[8] So it is not surprising that Spaulding told his family that he would like to go to Michigan.

On September 21, 1834, Spaulding's cousin, Russell Judd [son of Isaac and Ruth (Burt) Judd], who was learning the carpenter's trade, wrote to him from Bennington:

> Daniel [Burt] tells me that you are going to the Michegan this present fall and spoke of my going with you . . . I have got the western fever so bad that I am not contented here I have got to work about 32 days to make out my 6 months and it is uncertain about my staying any longer . . . I want to know what wages you get where you be and what for a chance you think I should stand for work there a short time and I want to know if Cash is plenty there it is very scarce here I have had 10 dollar this summer hardly enough for spending money

> and some tools and I don't think I can stan my hand long at this rate I want to know how long you think of staying in the Mishegan . . . I want you to write as soon as possible. . . . I cant write much about the affairs here but we have good times here we have girls fair fond and frisky.

The "fair fond and frisky" girls apparently won out over the "western fever." Russell Judd remained in Bennington and married in January 1836.

The prospect of Spaulding going to Michigan did not produce a positive response from his parents. In September 1834 his father wrote: "We received your letter dated the 7th in which you told of going to Meshigan. I think you had better not go to that place your health would be in danger . . . I had rather you would come home. We should be very glad to see you. We think you had better not go to Meshigan until you have been home." His mother wrote a more emotional appeal:

> I would write a few words to you to inform you of my feelings respecting your going to the Meshugain. I have heard it is a very unhealthy place. Harry Hinsley went their and staid five or six months and spend 2 or 3 100 d[ollars]. they were sick all the time they were their they were glad to get back alive – I feel very bad about you going any further from us we are a going old I feel that I cant live but a little while at longest and I want my Children where I can see them often. Spaulding you are very near and dear to me it seems hard to me to be separated from you I think you can suit your self as well where you are or this way as you can their [.]

Negative attitudes about the West were not unusual. Stilwell points out that while many writers described the West as an almost utopian promised land, others said the claims made were false and misleading. These reported that "the West was an unhealthy place, where the drinking water was uniformly bad, and men sickened and died of fever and ague."[9]

His parents' concerns apparently had the desired effect on Spaulding. Correspondence from early May 1835 shows that he and his brother, Daniel, were working by the month at jobs in Auburn, New York. Their mother wrote asking if they were near Homer, where her sister, Lydia (Knox) Dailey, lived. But by June of 1835 Daniel had returned to Bennington. The reason for Daniel's short stay in Auburn is evident in an August 2, 1835, letter in which William Burt asks Spaulding if Daniel had been very homesick. But Spaulding had no such problem. Letters from his Knox relatives and their friends in the Rochester area raised the possibility of his joining them and going to Michigan or Illinois. On July 24, 1835, Lyman Sumner Knox [the son of Lyman Knox] wrote from Rush:

> I want you to be shure and come and go to the west Stephen Crow is a going George Berry says he is a going and J Willson William I believe you and I and Joseph can make great wages a hunting and traping I see a man that has ben to the Illanois this several year he says that a man can make $30 a month all the fall and winter as well as not fur is plenty if you Don't come and the rest of the boys Don't go I shall go with Crow I want to go the fore part of September I want you to write to me as soon as you get this letter and write whether you can go or not [.]

Traveling to a new location without a specific contact or job opportunity was not uncommon during this period. Stilwell writes, "It was by no means rare for young men to leave Vermont without a definite destination or intention of any sort. Their way was to drift along from town to town until they got wind of a good job or until some friend suggested a lucrative objective. If their money gave out, they would stop a while at that point to earn a little at odd jobs. Then on again."[10]

Spaulding remained in New York State through the fall of 1835. An August letter from his brother Daniel had supplied news of their generation in Bennington, including developing romances, travels to the west, and the return of a friend.

> As I expected R[ussell] Judd has been gone 4 days with Cromacks sister—I[saac] Judd is going to see Julia Philups and the Story is they are going to be Married but I don't know whether they will or not . . . S[amuel] S Pratt was in Chicago the last they heard of him two months ago . . . B Vandeet has got back he has been here about two month I have not seen him They say he has not Made anything at all.

Ohio

Instead of going to Michigan or Illinois, Spaulding and a friend decided to investigate the Ohio region and even contemplated going south to New Orleans. The reaction from home was not positive. In March 1836, Spaulding's parents wrote to him in Cincinnati. His father said: "I learnt that it is an unhealthy place Whare you are and that you talk of going to New Orleans I would not go there the prospect for work here is better than it was we should be glad to have you Come home we Cannot bare the thought of your going any further write immeditly and let us know when you will be home." His mother wrote in a similar tone:

> I write a few lines thinking I might have some little influence on your mind I would advise you as a friend to flee from that place We have heard that place is called the most unhealthy place in the world I do feel very bad about your living in that place the Colery raged there you know to a great degree my earnest desire is that you would Come from Sinsenetta if you have any regard for yours Come and see us once more I think you might lay up as much property here as

> you will there but if you Could go to a healthy place I Would not feel as bad about you as I now do. we hear some times in the state of Ohio is healthy and the Land very good if you could get a little land in a healthy place I should feel better than I now do [.]

An enclosed letter from Spaulding's brother, Daniel, told of the marriage of Russell Judd and of several other young people in Bennington, as well as who was "keeping company" with whom. Daniel reported escorting a young lady home and added, "we had perty fair times." He noted that Spaulding's friend, Samuel Pratt, was living in Plainfield, Cook County, Illinois.

In June 1836, while Spaulding was still in Ohio, Pratt wrote to him from Illinois, saying he had bought "a pese of land and Sold it for 5 hundred dollars and have Set up business for me Self and partner in Plainfield . . . as for the cuntrie it is won of the finest cuntrie I ever Saw and carpenters Get most any wages they ask and now Burt I think that you would do well to come here you can get bord for to dollars a weak we have got stuff for 1 thousand Chairs and find Sale for them as fast as we can get them done and if you will come here I think you never will be Sorry" [.]

Spaulding apparently did not find the description of Illinois attractive enough to travel there. But he did not leave Ohio. This did not make his parents happy. They wrote him again in Cincinnati in June 1836, his father taking a stronger tone than earlier:

> I now under take to advise you to Come home imediately you will Say that you Can get the most wages thare but I do not think so you can get a dollar and 25 cents per day and I hope you will Come home imediatly we want to see you very much we are ferfull that you will get sick and dy thare Come Spaulding and be one amongst us we want you . . . If you should live thare in growing abundance and lose your health you would not be the better—you can do as well here as any where quit the unhealthy place and Come home and if you cannot Start for home next week write to us when you will be at home [.]

Catharine Burt wrote just as forcefully:

> Since we heard from you I began to think we never Should hear nor see you again your last letter dated march informed us that it was very sickly where you lived and we wrote to have you leave that place as soon as posable I now would instruct you as a Mother to come from that place wages is very high here there is a great Call for Mens work if you don't want to Come home I wish you to go to some healthy place I expect there is healthy towns in the state of Ohio I do beg of you not to stay in that unhealthy place it has been noted for being sickly for a number of years it is through the mercy of God your life is spared until now [.]

LEFT: Catherine (Knox) Burt (1787–1878), Spaulding's mother. No date (early 1870s?). Courtesy of James Hayden. RIGHT: Daniel Robinson Burt (1815–1880), Spaulding's brother, and Daniel's wife, Elizabeth (Ford) Burt (1820–1888). Daguerreotype, no date (early 1840s?). Case label: "Holmes Daguerreotype," possibly the work of Henry Holmes of Troy, New York. Courtesy of the Bennington Museum.

An enclosed note from Spaulding's sister, Almira, updated her brother on other family news: "Daniel is paying attention to Betsey Ford pretty steady for he didn't get home last Sunday night to about day light." Daniel Burt and Elizabeth "Betsey" Ford were married in October 1836.

RETURNING EAST

Parental pressure apparently was sufficient to make Spaulding leave Cincinnati and return to Auburn, New York, by September 1836. William Burt, Jr. wrote his son:

> We are glad that you are so far back towards home and that there is so good a prospect of you coming . . . you inquire the price of labor a good Workman Can get from 1.25 to 1.50 and Some 2.00 per day and be found labor it is very much wanted a man can get more if he boards him self and board is from 1.25 to 2.00 per week there is factorys and houses building in the East village of Bennington and we should all be glad to have you Come home we have been fearful

> that you would not Come very soon . . . Isaac Hathaway Esra Tuttle and others say that joiner and carpenter work is better here than for years past . . . I do not know your situation Nor how Long you can do with out your money and So I Cannot tell you what is best but work is high and we Should be glad to see you.

Spaulding did not reply quickly. William wrote him on October 20, 1836: "We have Sent two letters but have heard nothing from you . . . we are fearfull that there is Something the matter but we hope that you are well and we wish to see you . . . and if you are not Coming home imediately I want you to write to me."

Apparently Spaulding returned home for a visit during the winter of 1836–37, but by June he was back in Auburn. His father wrote: "We are enjoying a tolerable good Degree of health it is a tolerable healthy time but provision continues to be scarce . . . Charles [Cromack] has tried a place on our land and thinks it will do . . . thought of placing the building in between here and Jobs . . . the whole family send their love to you and if you Do not Come back this Sumer Write imediately."

Daniel Burt wrote: "We are all well and hope to remain So they say that S Ovidt Cried 2 days after you left but she has got over it now . . . For my part I have not much to do business is very dull and is like to be J[oseph] Cromack has Bot the Hicks farm and taken Possession now R[ussell] J[udd] is at work about ½ the time and Hardly that."

If business was slow in Bennington, it was much worse in many other places. The Panic of 1837 had begun. "Farmers went on growing crops for lower prices, but outside of the agricultural sector, economic activity declined."[11] Vermont was less affected by the Panic than were many western states and emigration began to decline. "When the crash came, therefore, the prospective emigrant found he was about to leave a community in which there was nothing much to crash, and about to go to a community where everything was toppling."[12]

By 1839, Spaulding had returned to Vermont and he remained there for the rest of his life. The next item in the correspondence, a January 1, 1839, letter to him from Eleanor Bowker of Sandgate, enclosed a poem beginning, "O give me back my Heart again." Eleanor and Spaulding were married on November 11, 1839. For nearly thirty years they lived in Bennington where Spaulding worked as a carpenter.[13] They had four sons and one daughter. In 1864, Spaulding purchased a farm in Sunderland, Vermont; by 1868, both Spaulding and his son, Henry, a Civil War veteran, had moved to Sunderland.[14] William Spaulding Burt died there on March 27, 1896.

It might have been expected that Spaulding, as a young carpenter,

William Spaulding Burt (1812–1896) and his wife, Eleanor (Bowker) Burt (1815–1871). No date (late 1860s?). Reverse labeled: "Copied by H. P. Moore, Concord, NH—The only manufacturer of silvertypes." Courtesy of James Hayden.

would have remained in the West, perhaps joining his Knox and Diver cousins in Michigan or his friend, Samuel Pratt, in Illinois. But several other factors influenced his decision to return to Vermont. They included the economy, his parents' wishes, and his interest in an attractive young woman. He had sampled life in several western states and despite the urgings of his friends and relatives to join them there, he found the possibilities of those places could not compete with what he knew of Vermont.

Manuscript Location Information

Photocopies and transcriptions of the letters of the correspondence of William Spaulding Burt are included in the file of Burt-Hayden Family Papers at the Bennington Museum Library.

Notes

[1] The author wishes to thank Jim Hayden, the great, great grandson of William Spaulding Burt, for sharing this correspondence with her.

[2] Lewis D. Stilwell, *Migration from Vermont* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1948), 64; Harold A. Meeks, *Time and Change in Vermont: A Human Geography* (Chester, Ct.: The Globe Pequot Press, 1986), 80.

[3] Stilwell, *Migration from Vermont,* 171.

[4] Ibid., 150.

[5] Ibid., 167–168.

[6] Ibid., 214.

[7] Stuart A. Holbrook, *The Yankee Exodus: An Account of Migration from New England* (New York: Macmillan, 1950), 17.

[8] Stilwell, *Migration from Vermont,* 188.

[9] Ibid., 183.

[10] Ibid., 191.

[11] Daniel W. Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 505.

[12] Stilwell, *Migration from Vermont,* 179.

[13] US Census, 1850, Population, Vermont, Bennington County, Bennington, 211.

[14] US Census, 1880, Population, Vermont, Bennington County, Sunderland, 526.

BOOK REVIEWS

Discovering Black Vermont: African American Farmers in Hinesburgh, 1790–1890

By Elise A. Guyette (Burlington, Vt.: University of Vermont Press, 2010, pp. 232, $26.95).

Our understanding of Vermont's past has gained richness and nuance in recent years as historians have worked to tell the stories of people who have largely been ignored. Lately, we've seen works about the lives of women, Abenakis, the Irish, and laborers in Vermont, among others.

Elise A. Guyette's *Discovering Black Vermont: African American Farmers in Hinesburgh, 1790–1890* is a valuable contribution to this effort. Guyette uses the experiences of a community of black families in Hinesburg to explore the African-American experience in Vermont from the state's founding to the end of the nineteenth century.

African Americans have always been part of Vermont, as Guyette makes clear in the book's opening pages. When the first African-American settler to this part of Hinesburg visits the land he is buying, a seemingly primordial forest looms before him. "Shubael Clark paused his horse at the bottom of the Hill and studied the 2,000-foot rise that was darkened by a canopy of old-growth beech and maple trees, many six feet around, that prevented the sunshine from reaching the forest floor" (p.16). The year is 1795. Clark is moving with his wife, Violet, from nearby Monkton, where they had been living. The Clarks' choice of the hilltop spot, Guyette writes, suggests that they were in this for the long haul. More easily accessible land was available in the valley below, but if they were willing to put in the back-breaking effort of clearing trees, this hilltop

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held more promise. Crops planted here would get more sun than those planted in the valley below.

The hilltop might also have offered some seclusion, Guyette writes. Although Vermont was the first state to outlaw adult slavery in its constitution, racism still lurked in the Green Mountains. In delving into the lives of family members, Guyette didn't have anything as simple as a diary or extensive correspondence from which to work. Instead, she had to rely on grand lists and pension and probate records, and the experiences of other black Vermonters, to get a feel for their lives. Such an approach can seem off-putting at first, as if a historian is taking liberties by making suppositions, but Guyette uses the technique judiciously. For example, she notes that other African Americans in Vermont often suffered vandalism, slanders, and lawsuits from their neighbors, so the Clarks and the other families were probably not immune from such strife.

To understand the racism that the families of the Hill (now known as Lincoln Hill) might have experienced, Guyette draws on the experiences of Charles Bowles. A black, Free Will Baptist preacher who lived in nearby Huntington, Bowles learned that some whites objected to being preached to by a black man. When Bowles arranged to lead a group of parishioners to a Hinesburg lake and baptize them, a gang of white men schemed to seize him, tie him to a wooden horse, and throw him into the water. Bowles got wind of the plan and announced that he would continue to sing and preach, even if he were attacked. According to Bowles' biographer, the gang dropped the plan when they realized that the preacher refused to be intimidated.

Guyette also found evidence of trust between the races. For example, one African-American widow turned to a white neighbor, whom she had long known, to represent her in probate court when she could have asked a black neighbor to help. In general, however, it is unclear how much the families of the Hill interacted with whites in the surrounding area. Since a network of rural exchange existed, the Clarks and the other African-American families of Hinesburg could have limited these interactions. We do know, however, that the three adult males living in the Hill community in 1808 were paying poll taxes, which indicates that they were making the trek into town to vote. They took on other civic responsibilities as well. Men from the families fought in the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and the Civil War.

By scouring the town grand list and probate records, Guyette tracked the families' fortunes as they rose after the Revolution, with more cleared land and livestock being added to the farmsteads. But they couldn't maintain their prosperity. Rising economic uncertainty and racism in the years preceding the Civil War played a role in the families' declining

fortunes. One by one during the second half of the nineteenth century, they decided to leave the Hill, hoping to find better opportunities. Some moved out of state, while others resettled elsewhere in Vermont. The only ones who remain on the Hill today are those who rest in the burying ground there.

Guyette believes that the story of this African-American community is integral to understanding Vermont today. Thinking of Vermont as one of the whitest states in the nation is misleading, she argues. It has always been more of a blend than most people realize. "[W]e need to see whiteness as the complex combination of color that science reveals—reflecting all the colors of the visible light spectrum," she writes. "More of the histories and stories we tell our children need to reflect the mix of peoples and ideas that led to what we are today" (p. 13).

MARK BUSHNELL

Mark Bushnell writes a regular Vermont history column, "Life in the Past Lane," for the Sunday Rutland Herald *and* Barre-Montpelier Times Argus. *He is the author of* It Happened in Vermont, *published by Globe Pequot Press.*

The Indian History of an American Institution: Native Americans and Dartmouth

By Colin G. Calloway (Lebanon, N.H.: University Press of New England for the Dartmouth College Press of Hanover, N.H., 2010, pp. xxiii, 256, paper, $24.95).

Near the Connecticut River at Windsor, Vermont, a band of Abenakis erected two wigwams in 1834–1835 to shelter themselves from the winter cold. A Vermont newspaper reported they came from "the eastern shore of Lake Champlain, and are on a journey to Hanover, N.H. for the purpose of entering a member of the family in Dartmouth College" (p. 74). But did the prospective student, age 17, actually register and attend classes at Dartmouth? No record in the college archives shows that he did.

This perplexity is typical of the problems Colin G. Calloway confronted while researching this book, but readers will marvel at how adroitly he has weaved his narrative from "scattered glimpses" of Indian students at Dartmouth and its sister institution for younger students, Moor's Charity School. Some got into the administrative records solely by their first names, such as "Katharine," "Margaret," and "Abigail." (Yes, Eleazar Wheelock, Dartmouth's founder, was admitting female

students two centuries before Dartmouth's stormy passage to coeducation in 1972.) Others are identified as "Peter Indian," "Andrew Indian," and "David Indian." Entries for "Lewis Indian," "Lewis Lovet," and "Lewis Vincent" are likely for a single student. Letters to Wheelock were sometimes dictated by Wheelock to dutiful students, especially when they had to confess to frolics in taverns. In one instance a letter of remorse to Wheelock matches Wheelock's handwriting.

Fortunately for Calloway, a resident of Norwich, Vermont, and professor of Native American Studies at Dartmouth, other sources compensated for these fragmentary records. Wheelock's most famous student, Samson Occom, authored the first autobiography written by a Native American and left about 1,000 pages of manuscript material, a resource not matched until the physician Charles A. Eastman, class of 1887, started writing early in the twentieth century. Most useful to Calloway were the records of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge in the Highlands and Islands and the Foreign Parts of the World, which funded the education of many Native Americans at Dartmouth with the prospect of returning them as Christian missionaries to their tribes-people. Because Dartmouth depended heavily on these donations, the record keeping was meticulous, explaining how every cent was spent. Calloway and his student assistants were equally meticulous in mining these financial records.

The result is an admirable account, thoroughly contextualized, of all that can be learned about "Indian History" at Dartmouth to 1970. Only a trickle of students were admitted in the college's first 200 years and only a handful graduated, but Wheelock's commitment to educating Native Americans became the tradition underlying Dartmouth's renewal in 1970 of the college's historic mission. Calloway's two longest chapters center on the emotional controversy about Dartmouth's Indian symbol and related issues, and give an overview of the enrollment of more than 700 Native Americans from more than 160 tribes since 1970. Today only the tribal colleges likely match Dartmouth's vigorous support of Native American education.

Rarely will Calloway's readers be frustrated by contradictory facts or assertions, but there are a few worth noting. He has Moor's Charity School ceasing to function in 1849 or 1850—the evidence is unclear—but he has the last student at Moor's arriving in 1854 and departing in 1856. Avid Dartmouth alumni will wince at the charge their alma mater was not "a first-tier academic institution" until after James O. Freedman became president in 1987. Persnickety sorts will wonder how Edward Connery Lathem's last name got misspelled. As Dartmouth's long-time librarian and a prolific editor of historical documents his book *Your*

Son Calvin Coolidge: A Selection of Letters From Calvin Coolidge to His Father, was published by the Vermont Historical Society in 1968.

Calloway's subtitle is "Native Americans and Dartmouth," not "at" Dartmouth, and accordingly he recounts how Dartmouth alumni who were not Native Americans have historically been involved, honorably and otherwise, in Indian affairs. Many Vermonters who became missionaries after attending Dartmouth make cameo appearances: Cutting Marsh from Danville, Alfred Finney from Randolph, and Edward Hyde Alden from Windsor, who came back to Tunbridge after thirty-five years working with Native Americans in Minnesota and the Dakota Territory. Redfield Proctor (Dartmouth class of 1851) is here because, as secretary of war for President Benjamin Harrison, he tried to find a suitable site for imprisoned Chiricahua Apaches. Albert Carrington (Dartmouth 1834) from Royalton is here because, as the first college graduate to convert to the Church of Latter-day Saints, he mapped and surveyed where the Utes lived in the Great Salt Lake Basin. A Hanover native, Asher Wright, is here because of his work defending the Senecas in western New York, and readers familiar with Vermont-born women as historical figures might wish more credit was given to his spouse, Laura Marie Sheldon Wright, born in St. Johnsbury, raised in Barnet, and educated at Newbury Seminary.

Calloway's overview of Native Americans at Dartmouth since 1970 merits an amplified book-length version worth writing within the next decade or two. But the pre-1970 narrative he gives us is so commendable I cannot envision any critic arguing this topic deserves a fresh look. He is thorough. He is comprehensive.

CHARLES T. MORRISSEY

Charles T. Morrissey is a Dartmouth College alumnus (1956), a former director of the Vermont Historical Society, and author of Vermont: A Bicentennial History *(1981).*

Run Chamberlain, Run: Solving the 200-Year-Old Mystery of Runaway Pond

By Dennis D. Chamberlain (N.p.: Mount Olympus Publishing Company, 2010, pp. 140, paper, $12.95).

Dennis D. Chamberlain's book *Run Chamberlain, Run* has two related missions. The first is a detailed account of what happened when workers in June 1810 inadvertently destroyed the northern barrier

of Long Pond, a large mountain lake in Greensboro and Glover, Vermont, sending its entire contents into the valley below. Chamberlain also endeavors to determine the identity of one of the workers who, realizing that an immense wall of water was going to engulf a string of houses and mills in Glover, managed to run ahead to warn residents of the impending disaster.

The story of Runaway Pond is one of the better known sagas of early Vermont. When the first settlers came to Glover in the late 1790s they found a beautiful mountain lake, which they christened Long Pond. The lake was perched precariously on a height with a smaller body of water, Mud Pond, lying below its north end. Water from Long Pond flowed south toward Hardwick, while a scant flow of water from Mud Pond was the starting point of the Barton River, which flowed north. A mill belonging to Aaron Wilson on the Barton River often had to suspend operations because of the lack of water in Mud Pond. Therefore, Wilson and a group of local farmers who often frequented the area devised a scheme whereby they could cut a channel from Long Pond down to Mud Pond to increase the flow of the Barton River.

What Wilson and his cohorts did not realize was that the northern end of Long Pond consisted of quicksand deposited by a glacier thousands of years ago. What kept Long Pond intact was a thick crusting of hard clay next to the water. When Wilson's diggers cut through the clay that held the sand in place, the huge pressure from the lake caused its north end to explode. A huge wall of water sixty to seventy feet high and 100 yards wide rolled down the valley toward Barton, finally reaching Lake Memphremagog within six hours. Wilson's mill disappeared forever, as did other houses, barns, and business establishments; but miraculously, nobody was killed.

According to legend, one of the laborers, Spencer Chamberlain, a tall, athletic young man, was able to run just ahead of the flood just in time to save Aaron Wilson's wife, working at the mill. Other local historians, however, have cast doubt that it was Chamberlain who made the run, but rather one Solomon Dorr, the millowner's son-in-law. Whoever did get there first did indeed warn Mrs. Wilson in time to leave the mill before it was obliterated. The author, the great-great-great grandson of Spencer Chamberlain, argues that Spencer, not Solomon Dorr, was the legendary runner who managed to race ahead of the initially slow-moving wall of water.

The author also carefully documents how the destruction of Long Pond created a long strip of very fertile ground that proved beneficial to later area farmers. He also hypothesizes that the very fragile structure of Long Pond might well have led to a disaster at some later date when the area was much more densely populated.

Dennis D. Chamberlain's search for the identity of the brave runner is an interesting quest, but he tends to devote too much time to this one issue and can be a bit repetitive. Nevertheless, he has written an interesting and useful book that gives the reader a very good picture of what happened that fateful day. The book is well researched and clearly written. The author employs abundant primary source material as well as a useful map to provide an excellent overview of this incident.

DANIEL A. MÉTRAUX

Daniel A. Métraux is a professor of Asian Studies at Mary Baldwin College and adjunct professor in the graduate program at Union Institute and University. His most recent book is The Asian Writings of Jack London. *He lives in Staunton, Virginia, and Newton, Massachusetts.*

Loyalties in Conflict: A Canadian Borderland in War and Rebellion, 1812–1840

By J. I. Little (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: University of Toronto Press, 2008, pp. ix, 182, paper $24.95).

Loyalties in Conflict consists of two long chapters that present well-documented essays about particular aspects of the Eastern Townships of Canada that border Vermont (and to a much lesser extent New Hampshire and Maine). J. I. Little, professor of history at Simon Fraser University, does not attempt to write a comprehensive history of the border area. The first chapter focuses on the War of 1812; the second on the Lower Canadian Rebellions of 1837–1838.

American and Vermont historians have generally stopped at the south side of the border, as have Canadian scholars on the other side. The history of the Eastern Townships, which has enjoyed increasing attention of serious scholars, especially in the last two decades, makes little effort to cross into Vermont. Little asserts that seeing history though the analytic prism of a borderland provides a different view, but his attention remains focused primarily on the Eastern Townships and Canadian history.

In times of peace, especially with a permeable border that witnessed largely unfettered trade and free movement of people, the boundary had little palpable influence on the lives of those on either side. In times of commercial interruption, war, and rebellion, the borders took on heightened definition. During U.S. President Thomas Jefferson's embargo (1807–1809) and Non-Intercourse Act (1809), and the War of

1812, the border along the Eastern Townships experienced sudden tensions. The British officials in Lower Canada distrusted the loyalty of much of the population of the Eastern Townships, many of whom had recently drifted over that border from the United States in search of new land. The government would not provide uniforms or arm much of the local militia, fearing they might support their former neighbors to the south.

For the settlers in the Eastern Townships, intent on creating farms and building institutions, localism prevailed over nationalism and profit trumped war. They welcomed the markets stimulated by the war, and, with the help of their neighbors to the south, smuggling cattle and other items across the border to help provision the British Army became a lucrative cottage industry. The settlers performed militia service perfunctorily, and when called to active duty away from their homes, many, particularly the young and unmarried, fled to the United States. Though they did not respond to "tensions" along the border, a real threat produced a very different reaction. In 1813 the American construction of a large barracks for 1,200 soldiers in Derby at the south end of Lake Memphremagog and a blockhouse and military depot at Stewartstown, New Hampshire, on the Connecticut River, directly threatened the Eastern Townships. British authorities had no difficulty rallying "sedentary" militia units. Their ensuing attack at Derby in December 1813 destroyed the American barracks, stables, and storehouses and carried off a large quantity of military supplies. A subsequent attack a few days later at Stewartstown also achieved success.

Two decades after the War of 1812, when armed rebellions against the British colonial governments of Upper and Lower Canada erupted, the Eastern Townships had grown beyond fledgling settlement and had achieved a degree of maturity in economic and institutional development. They had formed churches and adopted millennialism and social movements like temperance and anti-Masonry that had drifted north from Vermont. But the Eastern Townships exhibited more interest in property, economic development, and political institutions responsive to local interests. Newspapers (despite a few printed in Vermont with Canadian mastheads), the powerful British American Land Company, and the vital infrastructure of roads and the promise of canals and railroads fixed the Eastern Townships' attention much more on the urban entrepôt of Montreal and the seat of government at Quebec than on the United States.

The French-led reformers in Lower Canada wanted the Provincial Assembly to manage the revenues, bestow or withhold the patronage controlled by the British placemen, elect the Legislative Council to

replace the one with members appointed for life by the Crown, and have the Executive Council, or administration, responsible to the elected legislature. They also hoped to break the sway of the English-dominated Montreal merchant oligarchs. Many in the Eastern Townships, underrepresented in the provincial government and displeased with what they regarded as economic isolation, easily related to and often supported the reform agenda.

But the primarily English-speaking residents of the Eastern Townships did not embrace the Patriot Rebellion when it turned to the rhetoric of the American Revolution for inspiration and to Vermont for military support and refuge. Also, they did not countenance the ethnic nationalism or, in Lord Durham's term, racial aspirations of French Canadians. Fearing reprisals for their early support of reform, some families and prominent spokesmen moved back to the United States. Most, however, adopted what Little describes as "a more pragmatic political stance thereafter, and politics would centre around economic development more than constitutional issues" (p. 95). The militia would also participate in the defense against the Patriots' raids launched from south of the border and post-rebellion marauding, more outlaw than political, that took place near Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River on the western fringe of the Eastern Townships.

Little sees the War of 1812 and the Patriot Rebellions of 1837–1838 as important to "transforming the borderland on either side of the forty-fifth parallel into a distinctively bordered land" (p. 108). His monograph (which would profit from a clear map rather than a marginally legible historic reproduction) demonstrates serious research and control of the primary and secondary sources. Little succeeds in defining "a Canadian borderland" and describing the Eastern Townships' developing loyalty to British North America in the context of their American neighbors.

H. NICHOLAS MULLER III

H. Nicholas Muller III, currently treasurer of the Vermont Historical Society, formerly taught Canadian and Vermont history at the University of Vermont. He has published on the Patriot Rebellions of 1837–1838 (with John J. Duffy) and on commercial and smuggling relations with Canada during the Embargo and the War of 1812.

Voices without Votes: Women and Politics in Antebellum New England

By Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2010, pp. x, 306, paper, $35.00).

On June 30, 1840, Mary Pierce of Brookline, Massachusetts, informed her fiancé that, "The Whig association . . . have been making a great fuss and everybody is so full of Harrison and log cabins that there is really a strong temptation to turn a Loco foco [Democrat] for effect" (p. 88). Introduced to Whig campaigning by her fiancé, Pierce was eager to gratify him with evidence of her partisan fervor. "I feel almost as much interest as the voters can," she had told her parents earlier (p. 69). Neither Pierce nor any other woman in antebellum New England could vote, but that did not limit their interest in "talking politics," according to Ronald and Mary Saracino Zboray. Indeed, the authors of *Voices without Votes* show that at least by 1840, many literate women were active partisans, engaging in civic culture through conversing and electioneering at rallies, picnics, and fairs. Less convincingly, they assert that these "politicos" persuaded voters and influenced lawmakers by taking sides.

Voices without Votes contributes to a growing body of evidence documenting the politicization of women in the nineteenth century, particularly their engagement in party politics. Scholars of print culture, the Zborays perused a vast number of letters and diaries (2,202) in search of New Englanders' responses to reading. In the process, they uncovered a surprising amount of political commentary from women, amounting to 41 percent of those sampled (448), and an equal percent who read newspapers. The volume contains only scattered references to women from Vermont, either because of a dearth of material or research limitations (only one repository in the state, the Vermont Historical Society, is listed). In fact, with the exception of two chapters, the cited documents are largely drawn from middle- and upper-class women in Massachusetts, whose families were likely to preserve a record of the past and, for the most part, were associated with the antebellum political establishment. The authors recognize this pitfall but tend to neglect the class and regional biases of their data base by extending their conclusions a bit too far and failing to place New Englanders within the national political scene.

Despite this limitation, the Zborays are adept at showing the evolution of conservative women's political awareness and integrating their

personal lives with state and local politics. Overall, readers will be struck by how often male relatives and economic insecurity sparked women's partisanship, reinforcing the notion that politics is personal. Structured chronologically, from the rise of the second party system to the Civil War, the volume is enlivened with chapters on specific women alternating with those on regional political developments. For example, the story of Eliza Bancroft Davis, who enhanced her husband's career as a U. S. senator in the mid-1830s and was dubbed the "most intellectual woman in Washington," is sandwiched between chapters about anti-Jacksonism and the advent of Whig electioneering in 1840.

As other scholars have shown, Whigs developed a style of public campaigning that appealed to the masses and relied partly upon the participation of women, whose supposed virtue, nonpartisanship, and patriotism were invoked to validate the party's pure motives. The Zborays contradict this notion that feminine ideals had much to do with women's engagement, emphasizing instead how the women in their sample became committed to Whig goals despite the proscription on female partisanship. The sociability Whigs offered allowed women to join—even organize—partisan events, to enjoy campaign rallies, and to converse about political and economic issues, albeit in a "diffident" or self-effacing style. More comfortable with stable party alignments, conservative women retreated from partisanship as Whigs fell apart during the late 1840s and 1850s and found nothing to cheer about until John Frémont and his wife Jesse galvanized political women into the Republican camp in 1856. During the presidential campaign, Sarah Hurlburt of Colchester, Vermont, queried her cousin Henry in Massachusetts, "*I* am Fremont, how is it with you? I *think* you are the same" (p. 179). Similar political talk from Democratic women is sparse, partly as a result of documentary limitations, but also because party stalwarts failed to appeal to women before northern Democrats splintered over slavery.

The Zborays' chapter on Dorrite women, who allied with Democrats in Rhode Island, provides a welcome exception, proving that women's partisanship during the era was not limited to the political establishment. Supporters of the Dorr Rebellion organized their own political associations, spoke in public, and commented in the press during the 1842–1844 campaign to expand the adult male franchise.

The fervor of Dorrite women highlights the most significant contradiction in *Voices without Votes*: Why did these politicized women not object to their own disenfranchisement? The Zborays believe that they were reluctant to weaken their potential female influence with any hint of radicalism, a conclusion indicating the power of separate spheres ideology to circumscribe their lives rather than its irrelevance. A more

systematic comparison of these partisan voices with those of their more outspoken contemporaries in the antislavery, temperance, and woman's rights movements, who challenged prevailing feminine ideals to varying degrees, would strengthen the analysis. Also problematic is the absence of comparative men's voices and sufficient evidence to indicate that these female partisans garnered influence with voters. The authors suggest that politically aware mothers schooled their daughters, yet the authority to persuade the electorate is what matters. Though *Voices without Votes* provides only a hint about that elusive dynamic, the Zborays' painstaking research is a welcome addition to the history of women's political engagement.

MARILYN S. BLACKWELL

An independent scholar, Marilyn S. Blackwell has written widely on Vermont and women's history and recently co-authored, Frontier Feminist: Clarina Howard Nichols and the Politics of Motherhood *(2010).*

The First Vermont Cavalry in the Civil War—A History

By Joseph D. Collea, Jr. (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2010, pp. 336, paper, $45.00).

This book is about a different Civil War than the one you may have read about before. Most of the men who served in both armies were foot soldiers. Thus, the usual histories describe exhausting marches and counter-marches, long periods of inactivity broken by picket duty, and perhaps a dozen or fifteen pitched battles. The First Vermont Cavalry fought seventy-five official battles, and uncounted skirmishes where shots were exchanged and men killed, yet no one has written a comprehensive history of their exploits.[1] Mr. Collea has finally rectified this omission. He makes skillful use of letters, diaries, and pension files as good substitutes for the memories that might have been tapped soon after the war. The result is a very valuable addition to the literature of Vermont's Civil War.

The First Vermont Volunteer Cavalry Regiment was not supposed to happen. Governor Erastus Fairbanks did not believe that the militia laws authorized him to raise a cavalry unit. But a politically well-connected Colchester farmer, Lemuel Platt, obtained authority directly from the Secretary of War to raise a cavalry regiment in Vermont, along with a colonel's commission. However, he had to do it in forty days. A thousand

men signed up in time. Recruiting for the Vermont cavalry always seems to have been easy. Going to war on horseback appealed to the romantic, and the practical assumed that riding would be less work than walking. As a young recruit wrote to his mother, "I have enlisted in the First Vermont Cavalry, Company H, so I shall not have to walk. I chose it before carrying a nap sack" (p. 207). But they overlooked the constant work required to maintain a horse. When the infantryman stopped marching, he could sleep, while the cavalryman had to spend another hour looking after his horse.

Mr. Collea does not permit the reader to believe that there was anything romantic about the real world of the Civil War cavalry. Dozens of their battles and skirmishes are described using writings of the participants themselves, including occasional Confederates. Many are spectacular examples of nineteenth-century prose, and downright frightening for a reader with imagination. Drawing on 157 pension files, he concludes each account of a fight with the details of wounds received by several of the survivors. "Private Henry O'Hayer was hit by a bullet that entered through his left lung and exited through his back. . . . Being unhorsed by the impact of the minie ball, O'Hayer fell to the ground, whereupon the following trooper's horses 'went over him and injured his knee'" (p. 66). This also illustrates another difference between infantry and cavalry: The cavalryman could be injured just by falling off his horse, and often was at risk of being ridden over. He also risked probable capture if his horse failed him, leaving him on foot and alone. An incredible 582 First Vermont cavalrymen were taken prisoner, some more than once.[2] One hundred seventy two died in Confederate prisons.[3] By contrast, the Second Vermont Infantry, which fought twenty-eight battles from Bull Run to Appomattox, had 104 taken prisoner, of whom twenty-two died.[4]

The Civil War was the sunset of mounted troops, though armies continued to maintain them even into the Second World War. Union officers were still trying to resolve the best use of horsemen. Was it to charge into the ranks of the enemy with sabers, thrusting and slashing, or to ride swiftly to the battlefield, where they would dismount and fight with rapid-firing breech-loaders? This issue came to a head in the equipment and tactics of the First Vermont Cavalry. Yet the author does not discuss it, and it surfaces only in isolated remarks.

George Armstrong Custer was an advocate of the saber charge. The author notes that the First Vermont was delighted when he was promoted to command their division, for he fought their way.

> When Custer assumed command of the 3rd Division in late September [1864], Horace Ide spoke for most of the Vermont boys when he

> confided to his diary how much 'this change delighted the men in the regiment who felt wronged when they were removed from Custer's brigade during April.' [Brigadier General James] Wilson had never been a popular leader among the men (p. 231).

Wilson preferred fighting dismounted. But does Ide speak for the whole regiment?

Originally only ten carbines were issued to each company of 100 men, so they were a regiment of saber wielders (p. 23). In 1862, after Banks's retreat from the Valley, new Sharps breech-loading carbines were issued, but only to four companies, designated "heavy cavalry" (p. 79). The other eight companies continued to rely on the saber. In December, 1863, Major William Wells wrote in a letter that he was trying to replace the Sharps with the seven-shot Spencer (p. 205). But we never learn whether some men, or all of the men, eventually received the Spencers. Did the regiment remain divided between saber swingers and shooters?

Another intriguing set of problems revolved around horses. The Vermonters were proud of riding Morgans. But did they for the whole war? The regiment left Vermont in February 1862 with a thousand Morgans. In September 1862, the regiment dragged into camp with only 335 horses, all but 14 of them broken down and of no further use (p. 93). By June 16, 1863, 879 men were mounted, implied by Collea on Morgans (p. 94). After that? Horses were continually dying in battle and breaking down. In 1863, General Henry Halleck, general-in-chief of the Union Army, remarked mournfully that he had to replace the equivalent of all the Army's horses every two months.[5] What was done to replace the First Vermont's horses after June of 1863? Did they ride army remounts, rather than buy Morgans from home? Or did a large percentage of the regiment end up periodically as "doboys"—dismounted cavalry serving as infantry? If so, it would be worthwhile to learn about their contribution to the defeat of the Confederacy.

The book provides a mine of information about the life and death of the cavalry soldier and his regiment. Like the infantry, he spent a good deal of time in camp, but he rode out often, as commanders took advantage of the horse's mobility in picketing, scouting, and raiding. For the first half of 1863 the regiment confronted the rebel guerillas of John Singleton Mosby, fighting in small groups but mostly risking capture instead of death. As Lee marched toward Gettysburg in June 1863, they were sent to the Army of the Potomac. From then on they were in the mainstream of the war.

Long distance raids, two to the outskirts of Richmond, and many saber-waving cavalry charges enliven the book and distinguish it from

almost anything you have read about Vermont soldiers. It should be an essential part of any Civil War library.

GRANT REYNOLDS

[1]G.G. Benedict's *Vermont in the Civil War* (Burlington, Vt.: Burlington Free Press Association, 1888) does have a 161-page section on the First Vermont Cavalry (2: 533–694). Perhaps that discouraged other writers. Benedict's account is quite detailed, but reads as if it was taken from the regiment's orderly books. Mr. Collea's account is far more interesting.

[2]vermontcivilwar.org; original source the Vermont Adjutant General's Revised Roster of 1892.

[3]Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War,* 2: 694.

[4]vermontcivilwar.org; original source Vermont Adjutant General's Revised Roster of 1892, and Benedict, ibid., 1: 22.

[5]George W. Smith and Charles Judah, *Life in the North during the Civil War* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), 171. On the same page Smith and Judah note that Vermont had 69,071 horses in 1860 and 49,222 in 1866. Some of them must have gone to the First Vermont Cavalry!

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The History of Shelburne Farms: A Changing Landscape, an Evolving Vision

By Erica Huyler Donnis (Barre, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society; Shelburne, Vt.: Shelburne Farms, 2010, pp. 365, paper, $34.95).

This book began as a documented reference account, for primarily internal use, of Shelburne Farms up to its 1972 establishment as a non-profit organization. Erica Donnis (the Farms' curator of collections from 1998–2002) has turned it into much more—a fascinating, accessible, comprehensive, and inspiring history of the estate from its pre-history to the present.

Shelburne Farms is a place of superlatives, each a story in itself: its extent—at its peak, almost 4,000 acres, combining thirty-two farms; its setting—with a view of lake and mountains declared by travel-writer William Dean Howells more beautiful than that of the Bay of Naples; its landscape of park, forest, and farm—shaped in consultation with landscaper Frederick Law Olmsted and forester Gifford Pinchot and realized over decades of planting up to 155,000 trees per year; its architecture—including the largest house in Vermont, the fairy-tale main barn embracing a two-acre courtyard, and a breeding barn built as the largest unsupported interior space in the United States; its connections to America's fabled Golden Age elite—Webbs, Vanderbilts, Pulitzers, Havemeyers; its prolonged economic impact—employing hundreds of local workers; its prize-winning artisanal cheese production; and its pioneering

role as a non-profit educational institution dedicated to environmental sustainability on the land.

As the Farms' National Historic Landmark status may attest, many of these stories connect with significant patterns in American history. Between the 1880s and World War I, New York's financial and social élite built elaborate seasonal retreats amidst fine gardens. Lila and Seward Webb's siblings alone were responsible for ten great houses in Newport, Rhode Island (including The Breakers and Marble House), the Hudson Valley, the Berkshires, New Jersey, and North Carolina. In its own way as ambitious and extravagant, the Webbs' creation differed from most of their families' vacation palaces by its additional goal of establishing a sustainable forest and farming operation that would encourage the most progressive agricultural models—a program embraced as well by Lila's brother George Washington Vanderbilt when he took over her Olmsted/Pinchot design team for Biltmore in Asheville, North Carolina.

The fascinating vision of the Webbs' house and lifestyle—their carriages, yachts, private railroad cars, greenhouses, stables, hunts, private golf course, illustrious guests, and extensive staff—was the subject of Joe Sherman's contextual and anecdotal *The House at Shelburne Farms* (Middlebury, Vt.: Paul S. Erickson, 1986), written at the time that the house was converted into a luxury inn. Donnis's history is more scholarly, substantial, and multifaceted. While giving the spectacular buildings and lifestyle of the founding Webbs their due, she taps the resources of the Farms' precious archives (facts, photographs, and illuminating quotes) to paint a more comprehensive history of the overall estate as her real subject.

Important to her story are the progressive vision that informed the formation of the estate and the dedication of the Webb family through multiple generations to preserving their land. While its counterparts became museum houses, golf clubs, and university campuses, the Webbs managed Shelburne Farms' survival through the diminishing of the great Golden Age fortunes, wartimes, depression, the depredations of time, the vicissitudes of regional agriculture, and inevitable pressures for subdivision and development. Shedding over time the trappings of almost inconceivable privilege, they held to the love of the land and the agricultural interests of the founding generation. Through what Tom Slayton in his foreword calls an "act of creative relinquishment," they pursued new land use, economic, and organizational models to foster a pioneering vision of holistic sustainability through example and education.

In focusing on the estate and its evolving vision, Donnis has written a book that not only is of general national interest for its treatment of one of America's great estates, but is also of particular relevance as Vermont history. Shelburne Farms is not an imported aberration. In

Vermont from the 1860s through World War I, native sons and newcomers alike, supported by wealth garnered out of state, returned to the land to form gentleman farms notable for their progressive ideas of agricultural improvement and land conservation: the Billingses in Woodstock, the Parks, Everetts, and Colgates in Bennington, Battell in Middlebury, the Lincolns in Manchester, the Martins in Plainfield, the Darlings and Vails in Lyndon. They introduced improved breed stock, technologies, and methods. Their idealistic goals of improving Vermont agriculture through example did not necessarily bear immediate fruit. But they laid the groundwork for values of continuing agricultural experimentation, local production and marketing, and, most importantly, appreciation for and conservation of the working landscape that have become an important part of the contemporary Vermont identity. Most of their stories have yet to be told and likely can never be so thoroughly documented. However, by documenting Shelburne Farms' embodiment of an enduring attachment to the land as a productive as well as a beautiful resource and its tempering of manifest wealth with social and environmental relevance and responsibility, Donnis has underlined special Vermont qualities of this remarkable place and opened a window onto what was a broader and significant phenomenon within the state.

GLENN M. ANDRES

Glenn M. Andres is professor of the History of Art and Architecture at Middlebury College.

Why Coolidge Matters: How Civility in Politics Can Bring a Nation Together

Compiled by National Notary Association (Chatsworth, Calif.: National Notary Association, 2010, pp. xxvii, 172, $29.95).

The High Tide of American Conservatism: Davis, Coolidge, and the 1924 Election

By Garland S. Tucker III (Austin, Tex.: Emerald Book Company, 2010, pp. 325, paper, $29.95).

Most readers of this review who can recall their school-day depictions of Calvin Coolidge will remember him portrayed as a taciturn, do-nothing president. Both these volumes are contributions to the burgeoning Coolidge renaissance, inaugurated when Ronald Reagan took down Truman's portrait from the White House cabinet room and

replaced it with one of Coolidge, elevating his reputation to that of a great or near-great president. *Why Coolidge Matters,* the more persuasive of the two volumes, is a coffee table book compiled by the National Notary Association that includes nineteen essays, some by historians and others by public figures familiar to most readers. A consensus proclaims Coolidge's civility as a lasting value for American life and politics but also asserts additional still relevant policies.

People do not generally know that as governor of Massachusetts Coolidge promoted the expansion of a beneficent government to aid the underprivileged to a greater extent than he is credited. However, he was never the advocate of aggressive federal action as Woodrow Wilson had been or Franklin Roosevelt would become. One of the sidelights to Coolidge's story is his disapproval of Herbert Hoover's efforts to intervene in the economy during its decline after he left office. In fact, the prosperity during his administrations is credited as a Coolidge achievement brought about by reductions in taxes as well as the national debt, a process inaugurated by Warren Harding. His success in surmounting the Harding scandals is also regarded as an achievement. As well, Coolidge came into the presidency at the same time the radio came of age and used it frequently and quite effectively.

Among the more interesting essays in *Why Coolidge Matters* is the one by Alvin Felzenberg of the University of Pennsylvania, who records Coolidge's seldom commented upon efforts in behalf of religious and racial tolerance. Coolidge's political prominence coincided with the rise of the second Ku Klux Klan, with a membership of five million, whose founding was attributed in part to the popularity of the film *Birth of a Nation.* Coolidge had voted while lieutenant governor in favor of a bill to restrict the showing of the film and as president had refused to allow the Klan to gather in a federal building. He dedicated a veterans' hospital at Tuskegee, and when he learned the all-white staff was abusing the patients, he dismissed them and directed the hiring of a black staff instead.

The High Tide of Conservatism: Davis, Coolidge, and the 1924 Election, by Garland S. Tucker III, reads like a promotion of conservative values and their effectiveness when implemented. Tucker, the CEO of a finance company and not a trained historian, unlike the contributors to *Why Coolidge Matters,* accompanies his text with endnotes, which are not always reassuring. For example, when referring to a practice that is said to continue at Washington and Lee University to the "current day," he cites a 1981 publication.

Tucker's enthusiasm extends not only to Coolidge but to John Davis, Coolidge's Democratic opponent in the 1924 presidential election. Davis,

according to Tucker, was as insistent as Coolidge in his opposition to federal intervention in the economy except to lower taxes and reduce the national debt. Tucker credits Coolidge with being the last president to treat "a major industrial recession by classic laissez-faire methods, allowing wages to fall to their natural level" (p. 127). His message that the 1924 election was the high point of American conservatism is persuasive. Davis was the last nominee from the conservative, Jeffersonian wing of the Democratic Party. Since then "the Republican Party has set on an increasingly conservative course while the Democratic Party shifted ever leftward."

It is notable as well that admirers of Coolidge's epigrammatic wit will find new material to delight them in both of these books.

SAMUEL B. HAND

Samuel B. Hand is professor emeritus of history at the University of Vermont, a past president of the Vermont Historical Society, and author and editor of many works on Vermont history, including The Star that Set: The Vermont Republican Party, 1854–1974 *(2002).*

Managing the Mountains: Land Use Planning, the New Deal, and the Creation of a Federal Landscape in Appalachia

By Sara M. Gregg (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 2010, pp. xviii, 285, $40.00).

Vermonters may not always think of themselves as living in Appalachia. They may not always make connections between their state's environmental history and that of states to the south. And they may not always appreciate the degree to which federal initiatives have shaped the Vermont landscape. But as Sara Gregg demonstrates in *Managing the Mountains,* both the southern and northern Appalachians (of which the Green Mountains are a part) share a history of federal land use management with roots that date back to the early decades of the twentieth century. Gregg, who teaches history at the University of Kansas, focuses on Vermont and Virginia, tracing Progressive Era and New Deal policies that ultimately transformed the Appalachian landscape from one "dotted with small subsistence farms into a patchwork of federal landscapes" (p. 4). In the process she speaks to larger points in related literature by environmental and political historians. Her work draws attention to divergent perspectives between federal officials and local residents,

highlighting the contested nature of conservation policy in the United States, and it elaborates on the expansion and intensification of federal land policy leading up to the New Deal.

Following a preface and introduction, the book is presented in two sections, each with three chapters. Part one begins with a chapter on Virginia's Blue Ridge Mountains, in which Gregg examines natural resource development, ecological change, and the largely self-sufficient nature of farming in the region. Gregg highlights differences between local perspectives on the region's economic viability and those of federal researchers in the 1920s, who framed agriculture in the region as largely futile. Their views, she argues, helped define the approach taken to the region by federal policymakers during the 1930s. Chapter two turns to Vermont, offering a parallel examination of land use and economy during the early decades of the century. But unlike in Virginia, where federal officials took the lead in managing reform, Vermont's approach to land use reforms were managed primarily at the state and local levels. Here Gregg offers a detailed account of farm life in Vermont, examining cultural meanings associated with the idea of rural self-sufficiency. She highlights work by the Vermont Commission on Country Life (1928) and others designed to improve land use efficiency in the state, in part through the contexts of tourism and forestry. Chapter three breaks with the regional configuration of the previous chapters to trace the academic, political, and policy roots of land use planning in the United States during the first three decades of the century. This is an important but tricky chapter: Despite its national focus, Gregg works hard to maintain links to Vermont and Virginia, though at times it feels as if her regional approach fades into the background. Readers with specific interests in Vermont will need to wait a bit longer for the state to make another appearance.

Chapter four explores the creation of Virginia's Shenandoah National Park (1936). Gregg highlights the growing willingness of federal officials to acquire private property for the sake of land use initiatives. This required that the park's promoters reinterpret (and reconstruct) the area's long history of human settlement in favor of a more pristine view, and it required that they dispossess mountain residents of their homes—a process fraught with complexity, confusion, and heartbreak. Chapter five turns back to Vermont, again contrasting it with Virginia's experiences. Gregg reminds readers of the willingness among Vermont officials to work in limited partnership with the federal government, drawing at times on its resources, but always in ways that prioritized local- and state-level control. Chapter five also tackles some familiar terrain for many who follow Vermont history, including the flood of 1927, the Green

Mountain Parkway, and the establishment of the Green Mountain National Forest (1932), though each is packaged in new ways designed to speak to the book's larger points. Chapter six examines the work of the federal resettlement administration in both Vermont and Virginia. Gregg examines efforts to relocate families displaced by Virginia's national park to productive homesteads, and she traces contentious and failed efforts in Vermont to relocate farm families from "submarginal" to productive farmland. The book concludes with an epilogue reiterating the book's main points through discussions about returning forests in Appalachia and the passage of wilderness legislation in Vermont.

Managing the Mountains is an ambitious book, in part because it deploys a comparative strategy between two regions that followed very different tracks relative to federal land use policy in the early twentieth century. The extent of these differences makes it critical that Gregg remind readers of the common historical threads that bind them and that make it logical to pair them in the same book. At a few points these threads become a bit harder to follow, yet on balance Gregg pulls them together effectively, using both differences and similarities to constructive ends. Readers with interests in Vermont land use and in comparative approaches to historical storytelling (whether involving Vermont or not) will find value and interest in that.

BLAKE HARRISON

Blake Harrison teaches in the Department of Geography at Southern Connecticut State University and is the co-editor of the forthcoming book, A Landscape History of New England.

Forty-Six Years of Pretty Straight Going: The Life of a Family Dairy Farm, The Wyman Farm, Weybridge, Vermont

By George Bellerose (Middlebury, Vt.: Vermont Folklife Center, 2010, pp. 224, paper, $25.00).

There is no dearth of books about the family farm, but even if your shelves are crowded, make room for this one. It is the story of a small Addison County farm and the efforts of the Wyman and Kehoe families to keep it going against great odds. Attractive, engagingly organized and written, cleareyed and informative, this ambitious book takes you into the vital center of a perilous, shrinking enterprise.

The author's superb black and white photographs both please the eye and instruct. The moody landscape views suggest one of the pleasures of working the land, but a corn chopper mired in mud and a breeding technician with his arm inside a cow remind us of unromantic realities. The photographs are just one feature of a splendidly designed book with every element from paper quality to font choice revealing the finest professional care.

The text consists of four distinct parts repeated over the course of ten chapters dealing with the land, cattle, machinery, finances, family life, retirement, and the future of farming. First there are the words of George Bellerose, introducing the book and prefacing each chapter, providing much of the book's statistical and other hard information. Next, also by Bellerose, are monthly summaries, April 2004–December 2005, giving a calendar of events and activities and often quoting Larry Wyman's notebooks. An unusual feature are the extended commentaries by family members in their own words, twelve by Larry Wyman, thirteen by his brother Grayson, and a few by other people. These contribute much to the intimate human story of the farm. Finally, there are twenty-one small sections called "A Look Back," drawing on documents from Vermont's agricultural history. These excerpts provide some perspective. The life of the small farmer is always difficult, but it would be hard to beat the exertions of one Seth Hubbell, an eighteenth-century pioneer in Wolcott, Vermont, who wrote that "My family necessities once obliged me to carry a moose hide thirty miles on my back, and sell it for a bushel of corn" (p. 97).

The book is rich with information, some of it general and more or less familiar, much particular to this farm. We are reminded of Vermont's precipitous decline in the number of farmers and cows over several decades: In 1965, about 12 percent of the people were on farms and earning at least part of their income milking some 233,000 cows; in 2006, about 1 percent were milking 141,000 cows. But we are also told that some dairy operations are absorbed by other, bigger, ones, and that thanks to better breeding and nutrition Vermont's production remains more or less constant, making up more than 60 percent of New England's milk with 80 percent of it, either liquid milk or other dairy products, sold out of state. Long-range difficulties remain, however, and are probably getting worse. The farmer has no control over pricing, which is boom or bust—all too often bust. Prices drop, the farmer produces more to make up, and overproduction depresses prices further. Big operations benefit from economies of scale, and for big you have to look beyond the so-called megafarm of the East, 500 to 1,000 cows, to the colossi of the West. The web site of Idaho's Bettencourt Dairies tells us that the

company operates thirteen "milking facilities," employs 465 people, and farms 30,000+ acres to feed its 60,000 cows (http://www.bettencourt dairies.com).

A brief review cannot do justice to the book's detailed account of the Wyman farm. To take just Chapter 6, "Pamper the Cow," we learn about the farm's breeding program, the desired conformation of a cow (tall legs, high udder), the costs and advantages of artificial insemination, the complexities of feeding, and the various ailments of these animals, which Larry Wyman characterizes as "very complicated pieces of machinery" (p. 123). In this chapter and throughout, what emerges is the precise knowledge successful farming requires, the experience it takes to acquire it, and the unremitting labor demanded to put it into practice.

What really touches the heart, however, is the family narrative. The story has an arc: early struggles, heavy labor and deep satisfaction, modest success, the ills of advancing age, retirement, the sale of the cows. The Wymans sell the development rights to the Vermont Land Trust to keep the land in agriculture. The Kehoes are hired in 1997 and become like members of the family. After Jeanne dies of leukemia in 2005, Dan, an expert mechanic, carries on, leasing the farm and hoping to buy it, not to milk but to add to his repair business a mix of other ventures such as cropping and raising beef and veal. All this is told with deep feeling but no sentimentality. This is life.

Finally, mention should be made of the book's helpful bibliography and Tom Slayton's foreword, a fervent plea to preserve what is left of Vermont farming.

CHARLES FISH

Charles Fish is the author or co-author of four books about Vermont, including In Good Hands: The Keeping of a Family Farm *(1995) and* In the Land of the Wild Onion: Travels Along Vermont's Winooski River *(2006).*

MORE ABOUT VERMONT HISTORY

Recent Additions to the Vermont Historical Society Library

BOOKS

Allen, Patricia Chase, *Hands in the Earth: Lessons from My Father.* South Burlington, Vt.: Book in Hand Publishers, 2010. 317p. List $22.50 (paper). Growing up on a Randolph, Vt., farm in the 1950s.

*Bathory-Kitsz, Dennis, *Country Stores of Vermont: A History and Guide.* Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2008. 254p.

*Bellerose, George, *Forty-six Years of Pretty Straight Going: The Life of a Family Dairy Farm: The Wyman Farm, Weybridge, Vermont.* Middlebury, Vt.: Vermont Folklife Center, 2010. 233p. List $25.00 (paper).

Beardsley, William Henry, and Anna Hartness Beardsly, *Letters, 1911–1915: William Henry Beardsley to Anna Jackson Hartness before Marriage, Anna Hartness Beardsley to Lena Pond Hartness after Marriage and a Few Others.* Brownsville, N.H.: The author, 2010. Unpaginated. Source: The author, 166 Jewett Road, Brownsville, NH 05037. List: Unknown (paper). Springfield, Vt., family.

Benton, William, and Greg Hamilton, *Through the Eyes of Custer Ingham: A Special Presentation of His Art.* Basin Harbor, Vt.: Lake Champlain Maritime Museum, 2010. 45p. Source: The publisher, 4472 Basin Harbor Rd., Vergennes, VT 05491. List: $14.95 (paper).

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

Vermont History Vol. 79, No. 1 (Winter/Spring 2011): 116–119.
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*Blackwell, Marilyn S., and Kristen T. Oertel, *Frontier Feminist: Clarina Howard Nichols and the Politics of Motherhood.* Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2010. 344p. $39.95.

*Brookfield Historical Society, *The History of Brookfield, Vermont.* Brookfield, Vt.: Brookfield Historical Society, 2010. 272p. List: $40.00 (paper).

Buckeye, Robert, *GRACE Notes.* East Middlebury, Vt.: Quarry Books, 2010. 11p. Source: Amandla Publishing, P.O. Box 431, East Middlebury, VT 05740. List: $8.00 (paper). History of founding of GRACE (Grass Roots Arts and Community Effort), an art workshop program for the disabled and elderly.

Coffin, Larry, *In Times Past: Essays from the Upper Valley.* Lebanon, N.H.: Whitman Communications, 2010. 120p. Source: Bradford Public Library, 21 South Main St., Bradford, VT 05033. List: $19.95 (paper).

*Davis, Jeremy K., *Lost Ski Areas of Southern Vermont.* Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2010. 158p. List: $19.99 (paper).

Eurich, Kevin, *Waterbury: The Other Love of My Life: At the Crossroads of Route 2 & Route 100 in Vermont.* Poultney, Vt.: Historical Pages Company, 2008. 138p. List: $14.95 (paper).

*Goodwin, Neil, *We Go as Captives: The Royalton Raid and the Shadow War on the Revolutionary Frontier.* Barre, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 2010. 293p. List $24.95 (paper).

*Harold, Roberta A., *Heron Island.* Montpelier, Vt.: Station Road Press, 2010. 411p. List: $19.95 (paper). Historical novel set in Champlain Islands, Burlington, and Barre in 1903.

*Hilferty, John, and Ellie Hilferty, *Skiing in the Mad River Valley.* Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2010. 127p. $21.99 (paper).

*Hudson, John W., II, and Suzanne C. Hudson, *Scenes along the Rails: The Rutland Railroad: Rutland to Bellows Falls.* Loveland, Ohio: Depot Square Publishing, 2010. 108p. List: $44.95.

*Hunter, Robert, ed., *Frog Hollow: The First 40 Years of the Nation's First State Craft Center.* Burlington, Vt.: Kasini House Books, 2010. 152p. List: $24.95 (paper).

Lewis, Norman L., *A Fifteen Minute History of Lyndon State College & Vermont Rural Education (with addenda): A Farm Boy's Route to Lyndon.* Lyndonville, Vt.: Lyndon State College, 2008. 20p. Source: Alumni Relations and Development, Lyndon State College, P.O. Box 919, Lyndonville, VT 05850. List: $15.00 (paper).

McIntosh, Bruce M., *A Brief History of the Vermont Copper Crafters, 1946–1951.* Salem, Oregon: The author, 2009. 77p. Source: The author, 1339 High St., S.E., Salem, OR 97302. History of a company located in Townshend, Vt., 1947–1951.

Members of Beth Jacob Synagogue, *Harrison Avenue Memories: Perspectives on Beth Jacobs' Past.* Montpelier, Vt.: Beth Jacob Synagogue. 28p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 1133, Montpelier, VT 05601. List: $15.00 (paper).

National Notary Association, compiler, *Why Coolidge Matters: How Civility in Politics Can Bring a Nation Together.* Chatsworth, California: National Notary Association, 2010. 172p. List: $29.95. Essays by various authors.

Pilcher, David B., and Michael G. Curran, *Catamount Surgeons: Surgery and Surgical Education at the University of Vermont, 1804–2008.* Burlington, Vt.: University of Vermont, College of Medicine, Department of Surgery, 2010. Source: The publisher, Fletcher House 311, 111 Colchester Avenue, Burlington, VT 05401. List: Unknown.

Sherman, Joe, and Martina Tesarova, *Young Vermonters: Not an Endangered Species.* Montgomery, Vt.: Black Falls Press, 2010. 208p. List: $15.95 (paper). Contemporary biography.

Strong, Cora Belle, *A Teaching Journal, Fall Term of 1886: Miss Cora Strong, West Addison, Addison Co., Vermont: Sherman Academy, Moriah, N.Y., Essex Co.* Vergennes, Vt.: John Strong Mansion Museum, 2010. Unpaginated. Source: The publisher, 6656 Route 17W, West Addison, VT 05491. List: $7.00 (spiral bound). Facsimile of lesson book kept by Vermont history teacher.

*Swainbank, Dan, *Mr. Vail Is in Town: T. N. Vail, AT&T, and His Lyndon Legacy.* Lyndon Center, Vt.: Lyndon Historical Society, 2010. 134p. List: $19.95 (paper).

*Swett, Steven C., *Josiah's Journey: Chapters on the Life of the Rev. Josiah Swett, DD, Teacher, Preacher, Poet in 19th-Century Vermont.* Hanover, N.H.: Bragg Hill Press, 2010. 121p. List: $24.95 (paper).

Vermont Symphony Orchestra, *Vermont Symphony Orchestra's 75th Anniversary Commemorative Program.* Burlington, Vt.: The orchestra, 2009. 39p. List: $5.00 (paper). Includes essays by Tom Slayton, David Ludwig, Anson Tebbets, Jim Lowe, and others.

*Zeller, Paul G., *Williamstown, Vermont, in the Civil War.* Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2010. 190p. List: $19.99 (paper).

ARTICLES

Benton-Cohen, Katherine, "The Rude Birth of Immigration Reform." *Wilson Quarterly* (Summer 2010): 16–22. Vermont's U.S. Senator William P. Dillingham was at the forefront of immigration reform in the period 1907–1911.

Heller, Paul, "Fred Bacon and the Early Days of the Bacon Banjo Company." *The Old-Time Herald: A Magazine Dedicated to Old-Time Music,* 12, 8 (December 2010–January 2011): 14–26. History of company located in Forest Dale, Brandon, Vt., 1906–1938.

Myrback, Margrit, "Bringing a Photograph to Life: The Story of Joseph L. Miner." *American Ancestors,* 11, 4 (Fall 2010): 29–31. Family from Quebec and Vergennes, Vt.

Hudson, Mark S., "Extraordinary Beast: In the Late 1790s, Matthew Lyon Served Vermont in Congress in His Singular Tough-and-Tumble Style." *Vermont Magazine,* 22, 4 (July/August 2010): 59–61.

Ouimette, David S., "Proving the Parentage of John Bettis: Immigrant Ancestor of Bettis Families in Vermont." *National Genealogical Society Quarterly,* 98, 3 (September 2010): 189–210.

GENEALOGY

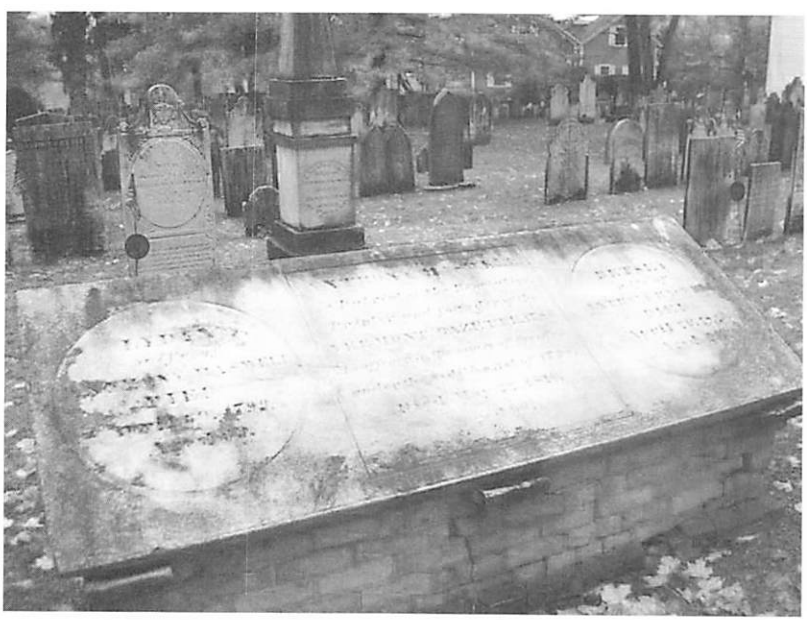
Lynn, Polly Knight, *Drake Family Ironmen: From Otis Drake (1777–1850/1860) of Bennington, Vermont to Mary Dell Drake Knight (1851–1926).* Edwardsville, Illinois: The author, 2010. Various pagination. Source: The author, 108 S. Charles St., Edwardsville, IL 62025. List: Unknown (spiral bound).

Vermont French-Canadian Genealogical Society, comp., *Baptism and Burial Repertoire, Saint Mary's Church, St. Albans, Vermont, 1847–1934.* Burlington, Vt.: The compiler, 2010. 340, 25p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 65128, Burlington, VT 05406-5128. List: $45.00.

_____, *Baptism Repertoire, Saint Peter's Church, Vergennes, Vermont, 1855–1945.* Burlington, Vt.: The compiler, 2010. 305p. Source: The publisher, P.O. Box 65128, Burlington, VT 05406-5128. List: $40.00.

Correction

The photograph on page 141 of Robert Rachlin's article, "The Sedition Act of 1798 and the East-West Political Divide in Vermont" (v. 78, no. 2: 123–150) identified in the caption as Anthony Haswell's gravestone in the First Congregational Church cemetery is not his gravestone and is not in that cemetery. It is, as the wording describes, a stone commemorating Haswell's role in exercising freedom of the press. It was placed on the site of Haswell's print shop, just to the east of the Bennington Battle Monument, in 1942 by the Sigma Delta Chi Honor Society, now known as the Society of Professional Journalists.



The above photograph by Tyler Resch, librarian at the Bennington Museum, shows Haswell's gravestone in the Old First Church Cemetery, properly known as the Bennington Centre Cemetery. It is a triple stone, with himself in the center and wives Lydia at left and Betsy at right. The inscription, barely readable, says: "ANTHONY HASWELL, a patriot of the Revolution, printer and founder of the VERMONT GAZETTE, 1783. A sufferer in the cause of freedom under the Sedition Act of 1798. Died May 22, 1816." Our thanks to Mr. Resch for providing the correct information and photograph.

VERMONT HISTORY

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