

VERMONT



HISTORY

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*The Journal of the
Vermont Historical Society*

HISTORY

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About the Cover Illustrations

Green Mountain Vermont Maple Syrup

Broadside, ca. 1925

Before maple syrup was packaged in the plastic jugs, decorative glass bottles, and rectangular “tins” that fill store shelves today, it was packaged in standard columnar cans. At least it was if it came from the Green Mountain Packing Company of St. Albans. A 9.75" × 12.25" poster in the library of the Vermont Historical Society, donated by the Essex Community Historical Society in 2004, depicts an attractive can of this type.

A 1904 article in the *St. Albans Messenger* describes the extensive operations of the Green Mountain Packing Company. It was located in a large building known as the “canning factory,” just west of the railroad tracks, and employed seventy-five people. At that time the factory may not have been canning maple syrup, because the article does not mention this product. Instead the *Messenger* inventories the impressive number of cans of fruits and vegetables that the company dispensed from its factory from April through December: 24,000 cans of blueberries, 160,000 cans of string beans, 150,000 cans of baked beans, and 25,000 cans of beets. On top of it all, the company also usually harvested enough corn from local farmers to fill 800,000 cans.

The company's line of canned vegetables received a promotional boost in 1925 when the explorer Captain Donald B. MacMillan took canned baked beans and string beans from the St. Albans company to the Arctic aboard the schooner *Bowdoin*. A photograph of the boxes of canned beans, stenciled with the company's name, on the coast of North Greenland near the North Pole was circulated at a St. Albans area Rotary Club meeting in that year, much to the delight of the audience. A poster advertising the three kinds of the company's baked beans, although without reference to the North Pole expedition, is also in the collections of the Vermont Historical Society.

In 1926 the company's maple products received a promotional boost of their own aboard the state's “Sugar Train.” The “Vermont Maple Sugar Special Train” included three baggage cars fitted with exhibits



Green Mountain Packing Company promoted three kinds of Vermont baked beans using images of a happy, three-generation family.

from the Associated Industries of Vermont and one carrying “family packages” of maple products. These packages, which were probably given away to visitors en route, contained two quarts of maple syrup, a five-pound pail of maple sugar, and a one-pound box of maple sugar candies. More than 100 Vermonters joined the eleven-day excursion, which made stops in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Cleveland, Chicago, and Buffalo. According to the *Messenger*, the company “benefitted much from the advertising the firm received.”

Color scans of these Green Mountain Packing Company advertisements can be viewed at www.vermonthhistory.org/GreenMountainPacking.

PAUL A. CARNAHAN, *Librarian*

Back cover: The Green Mountain Packing Company did not limit their product line to pure Vermont maple syrup. They also blended their maple syrup with cane sugar to make a different product they called “Brier Rose Syrup.” They were not alone in this practice.



Major Valentine's Swedes

The story of the state program to recruit Scandinavians to take over available Vermont farms in 1890 has much to say about the political, social, and ethnic dynamics of Vermont in the Gilded Age. Major Valentine's Swedes became Vermonters, sure enough, but not in the way that he had predicted.

By PAUL SEARLS

In the summer of 1890, fifteen-year-old Charlotte Nyren left her native Swedish village of Glava forever. Leaving might have been harder for her than it was for the two siblings with whom she traveled: her brother Oliver, six, and four-year-old Anna. For them, memories of Glava would fade more quickly. Led by their mother Magdelina, the three Nyren children made their way to Liverpool, England. There they boarded the *British Princess* in late July for the two-week voyage to America. They arrived in Philadelphia on August 5, 1890. The immigration agent in Philadelphia recorded the Nyrens' nationality incorrectly as Norwegian. In the box noting the family's destination, either the agent misunderstood Magdelina Nyren's accent, or Magdelina herself was confused about the name of her new home. The agent recorded their destination as "Fairmount." In fact, they were headed to join two family members who had immigrated earlier in the summer, father August and seventeen-year-old son Carl, in Landgrove, Vermont.¹

Charlotte Nyren may or may not have known that the process that led to her immigration to Vermont was unlike that of almost any other

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Swedish immigrant to Vermont in that era. It is doubtful she understood the large controversy that process had provoked in Vermont. Most Swedish immigrants to Vermont in the late 1800s moved to industrial centers, such as the Rutland area, where many were employed by the Vermont Marble Company, or to Brattleboro to work for Estey Organ Company. These and other companies actively recruited Swedes to their workforce, prizing them highly as skilled workers and as the raw material of good citizens. As one historian recently wrote, Scandinavians were valued by employers over the Irish, for example, because employers considered them "most likely to become hard-working, Protestant Vermonters."² The Nyrens were different. They were one of a handful of families recruited to Vermont by its state government, as part of a program that aspired to repopulate Vermont's "abandoned" farms. The Nyrens were among Major Valentine's Swedes.

The story of the state program to recruit Scandinavians to take over available Vermont farms in 1890 has been told in brief by a number of recent historians.³ These narratives generally tell the same story: The state legislature established a new appointed office, Commissioner of Agriculture and Manufacturing Interests, in 1888. Creation of the position was a response to widespread concern among state leaders about the apparent decline of rural Vermont, both in population numbers and in the quality of its inhabitants. The man who occupied this position, Major Alonzo B. Valentine of Bennington, largely devoted his two years in the office to recruiting Scandinavians to settle available farms. Valentine focused on Scandinavians because he considered them superior to the "undesirable" people of French-Canadian heritage who at the time were often the ones settling on these farms. The product of his labors was a handful of Swedes who moved to three Vermont towns in 1890. Those Swedes quickly moved on, however, never establishing the cohesive colonies that Valentine hoped would attract more Scandinavians. The state legislature judged the program to be an expensive failure, and ended both the program and the position of commissioner in the session of 1890. Summing up what I believe to be historians' consensus on the topic in my book *Two Vermonts*, I called the Swedish recruitment program "a fiasco."⁴

Historians are interested in the story of Valentine's Swedes for a number of reasons. The story illustrates the degree to which the state's Gilded Age elite saw its farming districts as in a state of crisis. Controversy over the program is also evidence of the deep divisions between urban and rural perspectives that characterized Vermont society, manifest in both state politics and in society at large. It suggests the extent to which state leaders did not perceive that the purchase of farmsteads as

summer homes, rather than as working farms, would be to a large extent the future of rural Vermont. It speaks volumes to the extent to which the state's urban-minded leaders profoundly misunderstood the sources and character of the strong communal bonds that knit together the dwellers of small towns. Perhaps most of all, the story illustrates the pervasive anti-Catholic bias of the era, particularly as it applied to immigrants from Québec and their descendants.

Despite historians' interest in the story, a great deal of confusion exists about it. There is uncertainty about how many Swedes came to Vermont as part of the program; recent accounts of the story range from twenty-three to fifty-five families.⁵ There is also uncertainty about what happened to them after Valentine's cohesive Swedish colonies failed to materialize. In one account they moved to "industrial centers," while another depicts them as being drawn away to work "in lumber camps, quarries and factories," with only some remaining in Vermont.⁶ The best source on the outcome of the scheme is Dorothy Mayo Harvey's article "Swedes in Vermont," which first praises Valentine's program, and then, in a brief section on the program's results, specifically identifies three families as having persisted for a few decades in Weston.⁷

The origins, execution, and consequences of Valentine's Swedish recruitment project are, in fact, complex and fraught with irony. The program, as measured by the lives of Weston's Swedes and their descendants, has much to say about the political, social, and ethnic dynamics of Vermont in the Gilded Age. It illustrates many of the tensions that existed between the state's tradition of local control and the movement toward increased centralization. Analysis of Valentine's immigration program sheds light on the origins of the boom in summer tourism that Vermont experienced in the 1890s. The lives of Valentine's Swedes in the decades after they arrived also make clear in telling ways the absurdities and ironies of the program. It was founded on the premise that Scandinavians would prove themselves superior to many of those who performed Vermont's hardest labor. It was, instead, largely characteristic of Weston's Swedes that they fit right in with that same class of people. The program was also premised on the idea that Scandinavians would be accepted as community members in small towns more quickly than Catholics. They would find it relatively easy to become Vermonters, supporters of the program claimed. Valentine's Swedes became Vermonters, sure enough, but not in the way that Valentine had predicted.

THE ORIGINS OF THE PLAN

For all the long-term complexity and irony surrounding the Swedish immigration program, its origins are clear. The era was rife with dolorous

descriptions of the decline of rural Vermont. These fears were not new in 1888, the year of the recruitment scheme's conception. Such fears stretched back more than half a century. The intensification of concerns about Vermont's decline are illustrated by the many papers addressing the subject appearing in the Vermont State Board of Agriculture's reports, such as an 1878 article titled "The Depopulation of Our Rural Districts."⁸

Vermont was, at the same time, coming to occupy an increasingly special place in the American mind. In a nation being transformed by immigration and urbanization, northern New England was increasingly prized for its imagined Yankee purity. As they watched the cities of the East Coast become progressively more industrial and ethnically heterogeneous, successful city dwellers constructed a narrative about the past based on visions of a better, purer "Old New England" free from the poverty, disharmony, and confusion around them.⁹

Both inside and outside Vermont a growing sentiment demanded that the integrity and purity of rural Vermont be saved. For many of the state's leading citizens, this unique place in the American mind was endangered by the fact that Vermont was mainly attracting what they saw as the wrong kind of immigrants. By 1890 about one-third of Vermont's residents were either first- or second-generation French Canadians. Governor William Dillingham, under whose watch the Swedish program was launched, was among those with a strong anti-Catholic bias. Dillingham's inaugural address called for legislation to correct the many social ills that he ascribed to immigrants.¹⁰ He was hardly alone; in an 1889 article titled "Regenerating Vermont," the *Boston Evening Transcript* noted a common complaint in Vermont that "a considerable proportion of the hired men have of late been French Canadians" who had taken up "some of the disused back farms" and occupied "slab shanties which are an eyesore and a menace to the thrifty native farmers." The *Transcript* concluded that, "For a variety of reasons, the Vermonters regard the occupation of the land by French-Canadians and Irishmen as undesirable."¹¹ In addition to prejudice against various Catholic groups, state leaders also sensed a decline in the quality of the rural Yankee population. In an 1890 letter to the *Deerfield Valley Times* of Wilmington, attorney L.H. Wiler summed up the feelings of many elite Vermonters by writing that emigration had taken away "those with the most energetic push," leaving behind a dissipated population that merely lived off the work of previous generations. Lamenting that no effort had been made to "keep up the grade" of rural Vermonters, Wiler frowned that "cousin has married cousin until the race has about run out."¹² For many observers of rural Vermont, it

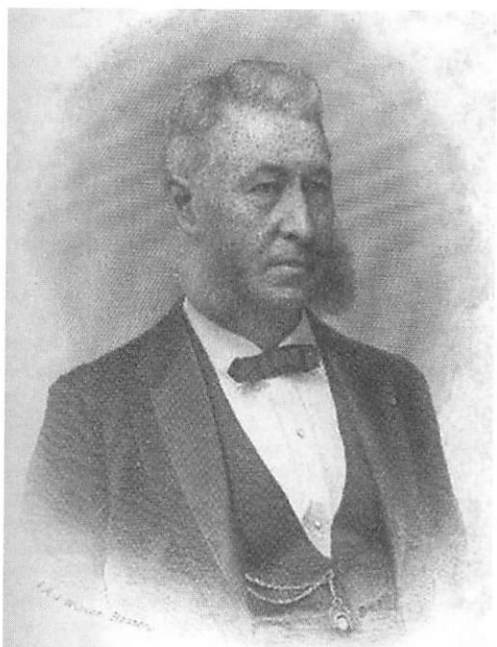
was not just the economy that needed to improve, but also the quality of its inhabitants.

In the legislative session of 1888, state Senator Hosea Mann, an ambitious young lawyer from Wilmington, introduced a bill to create a commission to address rural Vermont's ills. The Commission on Agricultural and Manufacturing Interests was given the broad mandate of gathering information on the condition of Vermont, and devising programs that might remedy the shortcomings it discovered. In particular, the commission was given the task of doing what it could to encourage immigration to Vermont, or at least do its best to prevent emigration. The act provided that, should the two-year position prove its worth, a permanent bureau or commissioner of immigration would be established in the 1890 legislative session. Appropriated \$2,000, the office of Commissioner of Agricultural and Manufacturing Interests was ready to do its part to save rural Vermont.¹³

THE PROGRAM TAKES SHAPE

Governor Dillingham first offered the position to Hosea Mann, who declined on account of other pressing political obligations. The offer then fell to Major Alonzo B. Valentine, who accepted it in February 1889. Son of a Bennington mill owner, Valentine had gone west in 1852 to try his luck in California's gold fields. Upon his return to Bennington, he went into grist milling. Entering the Union Army as a lieutenant in 1862, Valentine ended his service as a brevet major. After the war he opened a successful knitting mill in Bennington. An ardent advocate of school reform, Valentine was elected to the state senate in 1886. An energetic and confident man, he threw himself into the commissioner's work immediately. Prohibited by the legislature from spending any of his commission's allowance on newspaper advertisements, Valentine had to seek other ways to reverse the declining population of many of Vermont's rural districts.¹⁴

After hiring his daughter as clerk, Valentine set about gathering data on Vermont. During a lengthy March interview with the *Burlington Free Press*, Valentine produced rough drafts of two surveys to distribute, one to town listers and the other to farmers and manufacturers. Among the information sought by the listers' survey was, "How many abandoned farms and acreage of same" existed in town. Valentine was not the first to use the word "abandoned" to describe some Vermont farms, but for whatever reason he used it incessantly and consciously in the next two years. For both his supporters and detractors, Valentine's description of Vermont as a state full of "abandoned farms" distilled the controversial nature of his work.¹⁵



*Major Alonzo B.
Valentine, no date.*

In March, Valentine ambitiously printed 65,000 copies of his first circular, distributing packets of them to listers in each town. These were to be given out to taxpayers, who would list on them the value of any agricultural and manufacturing enterprise in which they were engaged. The circulars were then to be gathered by listers and returned to Valentine by June 1, 1889.¹⁶ To Valentine's disappointment, only about half of the towns returned any circulars at all, and even fewer provided information that he considered of any use. Undeterred, Valentine sent out a second circular in July, but even though this time he included return postage, the response was again, as he wrote later, "very meager" and of "little value."¹⁷

Even as the circulars continued to trickle back into his office, Valentine had already set his mind upon a course of action: recruiting farmers from Scandinavia. Valentine later wrote that in the course of "extensive" travels in the West, his "attention had been called to the thrift [*sic*], hard-working, honest Scandinavian, especially from Sweden," a place Valentine imagined to resemble Vermont in climate and physical conditions very closely, even though he had never been there. In Valentine's experience, which consisted of western business dealings, Swedes were attractive immigrants because, among other things, they

“Americanize sooner than any other class of immigrants.”¹⁸ In particular, he thought, Swedes would naturally become good Vermonters. In the coming year, he and his supporters continuously attached to Swedes in general such “Vermontish” characteristics as frugality, honesty, industriousness, and patience. Valentine wrote in the magazine *The Quill* in 1890 that he pursued Scandinavians because they were Vermonters’ “cousin[s] with like instincts of freedom, secular and religious.”¹⁹

Valentine was not the first Vermonter to envision a state program to attract immigrants. In his inaugural speech in 1882, Governor John Barstow requested that the legislature appoint a state officer responsible for attracting the right kind of immigrants to Vermont.²⁰ There was some discussion among state legislators in 1888 of launching a program to attract farmers from England, but it had gone nowhere.²¹ For years, a few Vermont leaders had looked enviously at Maine’s success in establishing New Sweden in 1870, a settlement of Swedish farmers on state land.

As early as March 1889, Valentine was telling newspapers that he had in mind the operations of a Swede in Nebraska with whom he was acquainted. The man was in the business of buying farmland near railroads and selling it to colonies of settlers from his native country. As a means of repopulating rural Vermont, Valentine told the *Free Press*, the idea of pursuing a similar strategy was “a good one.”²² He first acted on this idea by distributing a new circular at the beginning of August soliciting opinions on the advisability of recruiting Scandinavian farmers. Valentine wrote that he had been corresponding with a Swedish friend, John G. Nordgren, a Nebraska farmer and land speculator who had had success attracting Swedes to his state.²³ Nordgren had agreed to tour Vermont to assess the suitability of its available farms for Swedish immigrants. But according to Valentine, even without having visited the state, Nordgren had assured Valentine that, given the proper funding, he could easily bring fifty families back from Sweden to Vermont.²⁴ The circular requested from town listers information on the availability and price of land on which Nordgren’s Swedes might settle. It also requested citizens in each town to volunteer to serve as contacts for the potential settlement of Swedes, and more generally for inquiries about land for sale.

As Valentine himself wrote, this new circular “seemed to excite much interest through this and neighboring states.”²⁵ Reporting on the situation in Vermont, the Troy, New York, *Weekly Budget* described Valentine’s announcement as provoking a “general and spirited discussion.”²⁶ The *Boston Evening Transcript* called the proposal very interesting and noted that Swedes were “not unlike . . . the people of New England;

they are Protestants, and thrifty and peaceable. Moreover, they assimilate more readily than any other emigrants who come to us.”²⁷ Like many newspapers, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* focused on the ethnic dimensions of the program, reporting that the Swedes would find the climate congenial and be happy in places “which the Irish and Canadian French invaders have so far spared.”²⁸ The *Register* of New Haven, Connecticut, guaranteed that, should the first Vermont colonies succeed, other Swedes would flock to the state in large numbers.²⁹ Newspapers in Baltimore, Detroit, Chicago, San Francisco, and Macon, Georgia, among others, also reported on the plan soon after the circular’s appearance.³⁰ Valentine provoked another wave of publicity by releasing a new circular on August 28 that concluded that the plan to establish colonies of Swedes in rural Vermont was viable. In all of this, Valentine appears to have set his mind on larger goals than just Scandinavian immigrants. In the wake of the late August circular, Valentine told newspapers that agitation on the topic had already resulted in a “boom” for Vermont land sales, and that his office was “flooded” with inquiries from residents of other states.³¹ Whether the reaction was good or bad, the Swedes program was certainly bringing Vermont a lot of free publicity.

In mid-September, Valentine hosted a well-publicized tour of the state by Nordgren. By then, Valentine had already settled on Wilmington and Weston as the locations of the first Swedish colonies. This decision was based on tours of the state he had taken during the summer, and on correspondence with leading citizens of those towns. Wilmington possessed a particularly ambitious set of businessmen and lawyers who, already heartened by the completion in 1889 of a new hotel on the shores of the town’s principal lake, were planning a town celebration in the summer of 1890, and were eagerly anticipating the imminent extension of a railroad line to town. Wilmington’s local business community, led by Hosea Mann, assured Valentine that the Swedes would receive the support they needed. The Weston colony was to be comprised of a few farms in the district of town adjacent to the neighboring town of Peru. In his travels during the summer, Valentine had been impressed by the farms available in the towns of Weston, Peru, Landgrove, and Mount Tabor, and he often held up the area as a shining example of where good farms had been “abandoned” and could be had cheaply.³² By all reports, Nordgren was impressed by the farms, both “unoccupied” and for sale, in both Weston and Wilmington, and also with available farmland in Orange County. He left Vermont assuring Valentine that he would bring back from Sweden a minimum of fifty families.³³

As the story of the Swedes scheme spread around the country, so did confusion about what exactly was Valentine’s job. A North Dakota

newspaper called him Vermont's "land commissioner," while one in West Virginia gave him the title "State Commissioner of Immigration."³⁴ But it was clear by the fall of 1889 that word was getting out in the United States about the availability of cheap Vermont farms. Articles in the largest New York City newspapers, such as the *New York Times*, were reprinted around the country.³⁵ Stories about the colonization plan appeared in newspapers as far away as the *Grey River Argus* of Greymouth, New Zealand, which reported that the Swedish colonies were a response to the "incredibly large" number of "vacant" Vermont farms.³⁶ The *Bennington Banner* reported in November that Valentine's correspondence had reached "worldwide proportions," specifying a letter of inquiry about Vermont farms received from an officer of the "agricultural department of the British Empire in India."³⁷ Valentine did not have to pay for this coverage, and if there was one essential message that was getting out, it was that, as the *Boston Daily Journal* reported in October, in Vermont "lands are good and cheap."³⁸

Not all of the press coverage outside the state praised the Swedes proposal. The *Telegraph* of Macon, Georgia, commenting on an article about the Swedish program in the *New York Post*, ascribed Vermont's abandoned farms to the high tariffs protecting its manufacturers, concluding that preference was being given to Swedes only because they were accustomed to hard work and poor living.³⁹ Most articles in that autumn, however, tended either to treat the plan as a curiosity or write about it favorably. Much of this positive coverage seems merely to have derived from the idea's exotic nature, but it was by no means treated as a joke. So seriously was the Swedes idea taken in New Hampshire that, having created its own commissioner of immigration in 1889, the state legislature pondered pursuing a similar program, thereby launching what the *Boston Herald* predicted would be a rivalry between the two states for Scandinavian farmers.⁴⁰ The *Boston Evening Transcript* typified the positive press that the scheme was receiving when it commended Valentine on pursuing "judiciously chosen Swedish agriculturists" who were sure to prove "a class of hardy, thrifty, and Protestant citizens." Valentine's many critics in Vermont, the *Transcript* wrote, were just a bunch of "shouters."⁴¹

In Vermont, the reaction to the proposal was more deeply divided. There seems to be little pattern to the opposition, with newspapers in both cities and smaller towns in disagreement. Many newspapers were very enthusiastic about it, with the *St. Albans Messenger* and the *Burlington Free Press* among the most supportive. Ludlow's *Vermont Tribune* shared their enthusiasm, reporting that agitation over the colonization project had already resulted in a "boom" that had left Valentine

cosmopolitans saw ethnicity as a determining feature of the ease of assimilation, locals rooted the process of joining communities in long-term relationships of interdependence.⁵⁰

Valentine pressed on despite the rising opposition. In October he settled on Vershire as the location for a third Swedish colony, announcing it to the town at a public meeting. In Vershire, as with Wilmington, Valentine's project stimulated the town to act on its own to publicize further its land for sale. After Valentine's announcement, Vershire's town clerk issued a free pamphlet combining a list of available farms with general descriptions of the town's appearance and services.⁵¹ Valentine, meanwhile, moved the process along in November by issuing a new circular for town clerks titled "Schedule Relating to Unoccupied or Abandoned Farms" that requested information on the number, size, and price of farms for sale in towns.⁵²

PREPARING FOR THE SWEDES

In December 1889, Nordgren sailed for Sweden. He brought with him a map that Valentine had drawn up based on the information he had gathered through his circulars. With text in both English and Swedish, the map specified where cheap farmland was available, and described the natural attractions of Vermont. The map's text promised "Good farms with impeccable buildings," for which "payments are easily done."⁵³ Armed with the map, Nordgren went to the region where he had grown up, Varmland.⁵⁴ According to later reports from Nordgren, he experienced a great deal of resistance in Sweden to his quest, both from Western land agents with whom he was competing, and from government officials and Swedish newspapers. For the consumption of Vermont newspapers, he attributed Swedish resistance to the fear that he was getting the nation's "best blood."⁵⁵ Bizarrely, Nordgren had private sector competition in his quest to bring Swedes to Vermont: Nicholas Mannall, a businessman from Springfield, Massachusetts, who was

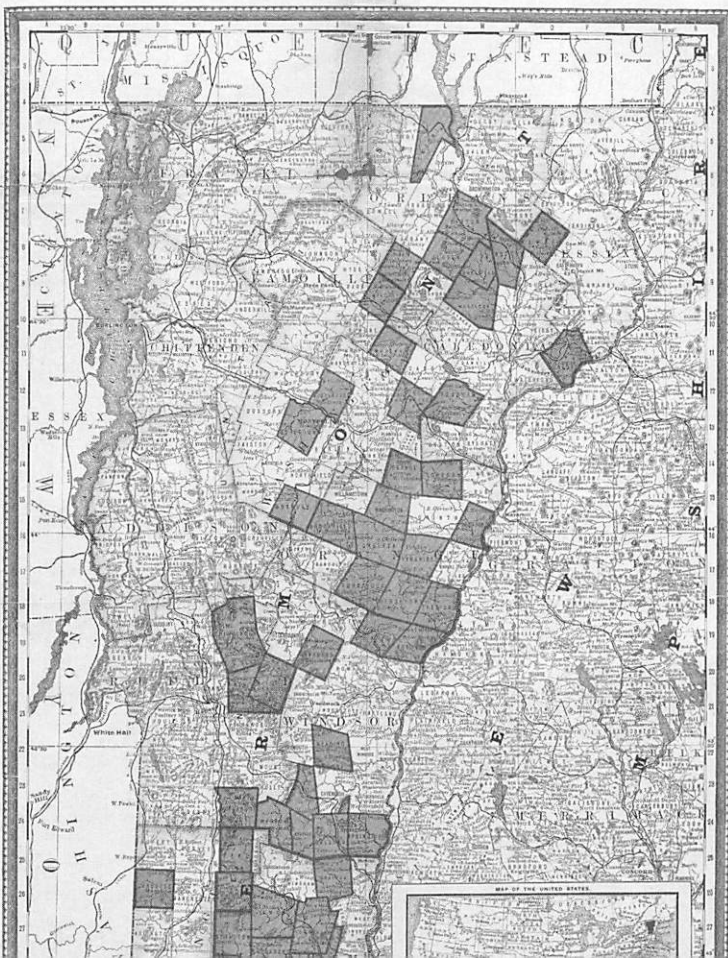
overrun with inquiries from citizens of other states about farms for sale.⁴² But a significant portion of the state's press was either skeptical or hostile. In particular, there was a widespread perception that Valentine's repeated description of Vermont as a place where farmers had simply abandoned land did great harm to the state's reputation. Montpelier's *Argus and Patriot*, which was particularly contemptuous of the program, insisted that there was no good land in the state that had been abandoned.⁴³ The *West Randolph Herald and News* similarly called talk about abandoned farms "wild" because there was no such thing, only "tracts on steep hill and mountain sides which have been allowed to grow into forest."⁴⁴ The Brattleboro, *Vermont Phoenix* complained that Valentine's efforts had given outsiders "false impressions" of the state as a deserted and desolate place.⁴⁵ Many years later, the poor impression of the state created by Valentine's emphasis on "deserted" land remained the chief memory of the scheme for many: The St. Albans *Messenger*, recalling in 1921 the "tremendous controversy" over the program, wrote that "the discussion led the press of other states to speak of our commonwealth as a state of abandoned farms, and no end of damage was done as a result."⁴⁶

There were other objections. Many Vermonters wondered why Vermont was pursuing a program that appeared to favor immigrants over native-born Vermonters. Members of the Democratic Party circulated a conspiracy theory that state leaders wanted to attract Swedes because they were certain to vote Republican.⁴⁷ The scheme particularly provoked opposition to its premise that Scandinavians would seamlessly blend into rural communities, becoming Vermonters in ways that Catholics could not. The *West Randolph Herald and News* wrote that it did not want "the Swedes or any other foreigners to colonize the state," though it did write that Swedes were "generally admitted to be better than Italians or Bohemians."⁴⁸ The president of the state's Dairymen's Association, F.D. Douglas, spoke for many Vermonters in October when he sharply criticized the idea that Vermont could benefit from "calling on the heathen from the old world to come and occupy our so-called deserted lands," which he emphatically denied existed in the first place. "The so-called desertion," Douglas continued, "is but a conversion of the soil to a more rational use." Dismissing Valentine's contention that Swedes were the excellent raw material of state residents, Douglas concluded, "Let Vermonters still occupy Vermont."⁴⁹ In this discussion, the fundamental differences of perception between cosmopolitans like Valentine and residents of small towns were laid bare. Where the cosmopolitans saw emigration as abandonment, locals saw natural and rational evolution in the use of local resources. Where

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utvisande läget af obrukade farmar, äfvensom brukade landsträckor, hvilka kunna köpas för ungefär samma pris som de obrukade. Goda farmar med oklanderliga byggnader och lömsocker-träor äro kunna köpas för ett pris af \$3 till \$5 per acre. Andra med bättre byggnader och nära järnväg eller by kunna köpas för \$5 till \$10 per acre. Inlet af dessa land är långt aflägsat från en god marknad, och alla lönja sig väl för mejeri-hantering. Beträffande gördas lätta. Farmarbetare äro mycket efterfrägade och erhålla goda löner. I många sektioner kunna de, som så önska, erhålla arbete vintern igenom med huggning af timmer och ved.

Dessa uppgifter äro grundade på officiella rapporter, sammanställda af kommissionären för agrikultur- och manufaktur-intressen. Address: BENNINGTON, VERMONT, U. S. A. Den 1. Jan. 1890.



newspaper called him Vermont's "land commissioner," while one in West Virginia gave him the title "State Commissioner of Immigration."³⁴ But it was clear by the fall of 1889 that word was getting out in the United States about the availability of cheap Vermont farms. Articles in the largest New York City newspapers, such as the *New York Times*, were reprinted around the country.³⁵ Stories about the colonization plan appeared in newspapers as far away as the *Grey River Argus* of Greymouth, New Zealand, which reported that the Swedish colonies were a response to the "incredibly large" number of "vacant" Vermont farms.³⁶ The *Bennington Banner* reported in November that Valentine's correspondence had reached "worldwide proportions," specifying a letter of inquiry about Vermont farms received from an officer of the "agricultural department of the British Empire in India."³⁷ Valentine did not have to pay for this coverage, and if there was one essential message that was getting out, it was that, as the *Boston Daily Journal* reported in October, in Vermont "lands are good and cheap."³⁸

Not all of the press coverage outside the state praised the Swedes proposal. The *Telegraph* of Macon, Georgia, commenting on an article about the Swedish program in the *New York Post*, ascribed Vermont's abandoned farms to the high tariffs protecting its manufacturers, concluding that preference was being given to Swedes only because they were accustomed to hard work and poor living.³⁹ Most articles in that autumn, however, tended either to treat the plan as a curiosity or write about it favorably. Much of this positive coverage seems merely to have derived from the idea's exotic nature, but it was by no means treated as a joke. So seriously was the Swedes idea taken in New Hampshire that, having created its own commissioner of immigration in 1889, the state legislature pondered pursuing a similar program, thereby launching what the *Boston Herald* predicted would be a rivalry between the two states for Scandinavian farmers.⁴⁰ The *Boston Evening Transcript* typified the positive press that the scheme was receiving when it commended Valentine on pursuing "judiciously chosen Swedish agriculturalists" who were sure to prove "a class of hardy, thrifty, and Protestant citizens." Valentine's many critics in Vermont, the *Transcript* wrote, were just a bunch of "shouters."⁴¹

In Vermont, the reaction to the proposal was more deeply divided. There seems to be little pattern to the opposition, with newspapers in both cities and smaller towns in disagreement. Many newspapers were very enthusiastic about it, with the *St. Albans Messenger* and the *Burlington Free Press* among the most supportive. Ludlow's *Vermont Tribune* shared their enthusiasm, reporting that agitation over the colonization project had already resulted in a "boom" that had left Valentine

overrun with inquiries from citizens of other states about farms for sale.⁴² But a significant portion of the state's press was either skeptical or hostile. In particular, there was a widespread perception that Valentine's repeated description of Vermont as a place where farmers had simply abandoned land did great harm to the state's reputation. Montpelier's *Argus and Patriot*, which was particularly contemptuous of the program, insisted that there was no good land in the state that had been abandoned.⁴³ The *West Randolph Herald and News* similarly called talk about abandoned farms "wild" because there was no such thing, only "tracts on steep hill and mountain sides which have been allowed to grow into forest."⁴⁴ The Brattleboro, *Vermont Phoenix* complained that Valentine's efforts had given outsiders "false impressions" of the state as a deserted and desolate place.⁴⁵ Many years later, the poor impression of the state created by Valentine's emphasis on "deserted" land remained the chief memory of the scheme for many: The *St. Albans Messenger*, recalling in 1921 the "tremendous controversy" over the program, wrote that "the discussion led the press of other states to speak of our commonwealth as a state of abandoned farms, and no end of damage was done as a result."⁴⁶

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cosmopolitans saw ethnicity as a determining feature of the ease of assimilation, locals rooted the process of joining communities in long-term relationships of interdependence.⁵⁰

Valentine pressed on despite the rising opposition. In October he settled on Vershire as the location for a third Swedish colony, announcing it to the town at a public meeting. In Vershire, as with Wilmington, Valentine's project stimulated the town to act on its own to publicize further its land for sale. After Valentine's announcement, Vershire's town clerk issued a free pamphlet combining a list of available farms with general descriptions of the town's appearance and services.⁵¹ Valentine, meanwhile, moved the process along in November by issuing a new circular for town clerks titled "Schedule Relating to Unoccupied or Abandoned Farms" that requested information on the number, size, and price of farms for sale in towns.⁵²

PREPARING FOR THE SWEDES

In December 1889, Nordgren sailed for Sweden. He brought with him a map that Valentine had drawn up based on the information he had gathered through his circulars. With text in both English and Swedish, the map specified where cheap farmland was available, and described the natural attractions of Vermont. The map's text promised "Good farms with impeccable buildings," for which "payments are easily done."⁵³ Armed with the map, Nordgren went to the region where he had grown up, Varmland.⁵⁴ According to later reports from Nordgren, he experienced a great deal of resistance in Sweden to his quest, both from Western land agents with whom he was competing, and from government officials and Swedish newspapers. For the consumption of Vermont newspapers, he attributed Swedish resistance to the fear that he was getting the nation's "best blood."⁵⁵ Bizarrely, Nordgren had private sector competition in his quest to bring Swedes to Vermont: Nicholas Mannall, a businessman from Springfield, Massachusetts, who was acting as an agent for a Boston land speculator, was at the same time on a tour of Sweden and Norway, searching for people willing to be transplanted to a Scandinavian colony he proposed for the town of Norton, on Vermont's Canadian border. Mannall stated his aim was to bring at least 250 Scandinavian families to Norton.⁵⁶

While waiting for the Swedes to arrive in the winter of 1889-90, Valentine kept busy expanding his list of available farms. In January he released his map to the general public. The domestic version included a list of towns throughout the state where "unoccupied" farms were for sale, and the names of persons in each town to whom inquiries could be made.⁵⁷ The map drew yet another round of intense discussion, both

KARTA ÖFVER VERMONT,

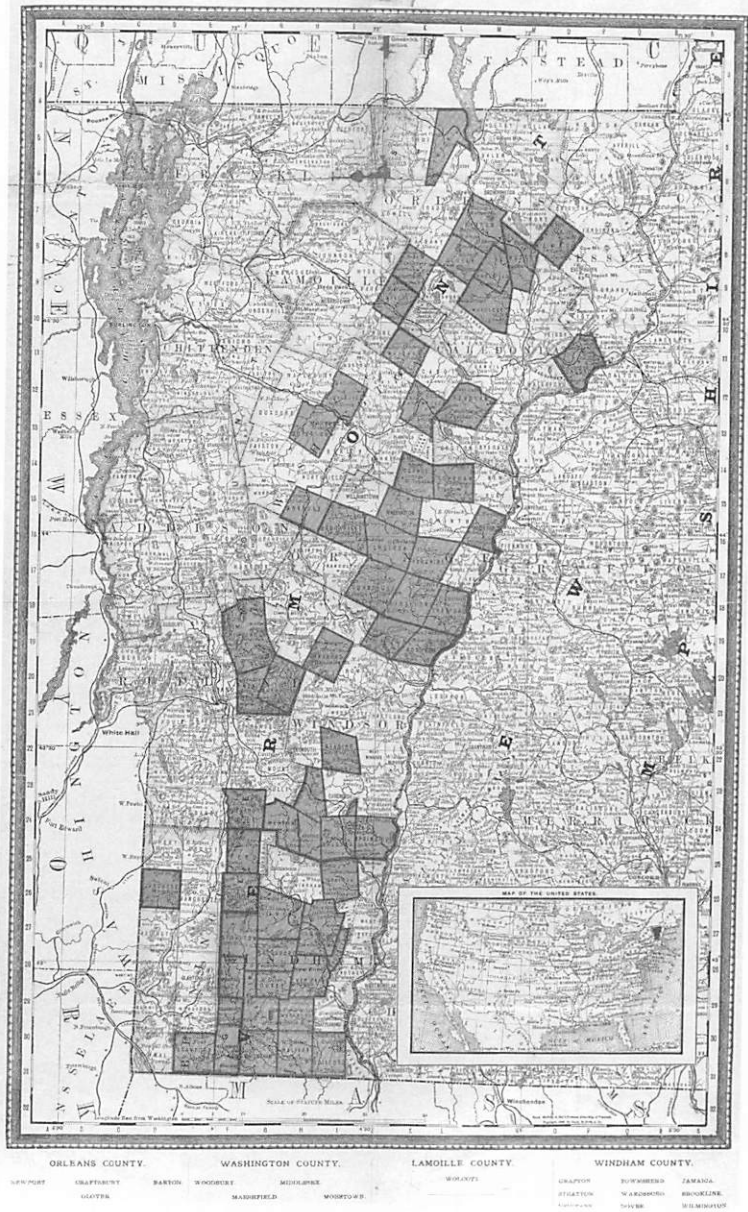
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Goda färmar med eklanderill, byggnader och lännsöckerfrön. Färdiga kunnas köpas för ett pris af \$8 till \$5 per acre. Andra med lätta byggnader och nära jernväg eller by kunna köpas för \$4 till \$10 per acre. Intet af dessa land är långt afståget från en god marknad, och alla lämna sig väl för mejeri-handtering. Beträffande goda lätt. Farmarbetare är mycket efterfrågade och erhålla goda löner. I många sektioner kunna de, som så önska, erhålla en liten vinst inhemt med huggning af timmer och ved.

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Address: BENNINGTON, VERMONT, U. S. A.

Den 1 Januari 1890.



"Karte öfver Vermont" [map of Vermont]. Broadside circulated in Sweden to advertise available farmland, January 1890. Courtesy of Special Collections, Bailey-Howe Library, University of Vermont.

within and outside the state. Legitimizing the fears of many Vermonters that Valentine's immigration campaign was casting Vermont in a bad light, the *St. Louis Republic* called it a map of Vermont's "desolate regions," and wondered why Swedes would stay on such farms any more than those who had abandoned them. In Vermont, the press reaction was again mixed. The *Burlington Free Press* was among those lavishing praise on the map, calling it "a very happy idea," while the *Argus and Patriot* asserted that it "shows the folly and nonsense of the 'deserted farm' bugaboo."⁵⁸

Whether there was legitimacy to the fears of many Vermonters that Valentine's depiction of rural Vermont as full of "abandoned" farms was giving outsiders the impression that it was a desolate place, Valentine was indisputably bringing attention to the land available in Vermont. The *Providence (Rhode Island) Daily Journal* wrote in early January that Valentine was "sending out maps like a Western land agent," adding that so far there had been little actual agricultural immigration into the state, except for "the cultivation of the summer boarder."⁵⁹ As far as Valentine's work was concerned, that might have been just as well. Whether or not it had been Valentine's intention all along, over the previous year he had been carefully building a system to facilitate the sale of Vermont land to summer tourists. Valentine had already undertaken what amounted to the first comprehensive survey of land for sale across the state. In late January, he distributed yet another circular that provided a list of "gentlemen" in a number of Vermont towns to whom communication could be sent about buying land.⁶⁰ Combined with the outside attention the Swedes project had received, this information, Valentine believed, was stimulating the sale of Vermont farms. Most of these, apparently, were to people in search of vacation homes.

Whatever success Valentine anticipated the scheme realizing, that winter saw it encounter a great deal of criticism and mockery in Vermont. This was especially true of rural sections of the state. Farmers gave vent to their displeasure at meetings of the Vermont State Board of Agriculture, held in various locations in January and February 1890. The board had long been a political lightning rod, used in turn by Vermont urbanites to attempt to modernize farmers, and by farming interests as a forum to express their grievances.⁶¹ The members of the board in 1890 were themselves divided on the issue: M.W. Davis, a prosperous dairy farmer from Westminster, was adamantly opposed to the project, while William Chapin of Middlesex ardently supported it. Frequent board speaker T.H. Hoskins of Newport, an expert in apple cultivation, hopefully told one meeting that he foresaw the arrival of from 500 to 1,000 immigrants a year from Scandinavia, after which the prices

for farms "will be wonderfully increased."⁶² During the discussion period of meeting after meeting, however, farmers voiced passionate objections to the plan. At a January meeting of the board in West Concord, a Reverend Seitz allowed that Vermont might have abandoned farms, "but they are of more value to grow up to wood again than to populate with Swedes," and as a result he had "very little faith in the Swedish immigration scheme." M.W. Davis of the board followed Seitz by saying that "we ask no Swedes to come here; rather have the native stock." At a board meeting in late January in South Royalton, Fred Morse, a twenty-one-year-old farmer, declared that, "I do not particularly favor the idea of Swedish immigration"; as far as land was concerned, Morse said, the state should "let the native Vermonter have it." A speaker at a February board meeting in Brandon succinctly called the plan "a humbug."⁶³

Valentine's defenders, however, could point to something that seemed at the time to be an unexpected ancillary benefit of the colonization project. In February the *New-York Tribune* published an article that was quite typical of many printed by out-of-state newspapers in the winter months. It first noted that Vermont had in past years tried "a number of schemes to supply the farms with farmers, but none of them proved satisfactory." But now, the *Tribune* wrote, Vermont had decided, "I will advertise," and the advertisements had generated "several thousand" letters sent to Valentine from every section of the United States, resulting in the sale of many farms. The article made no mention at all of Swedes, nor of the limitations placed by the state legislature on Valentine's ability to advertise.⁶⁴

In Vermont, Swedes remained very much on the public mind. To keep busy, Valentine issued yet another circular in March requesting listers to send him information related to manufacturing.⁶⁵ Mainly, though, he shuttled between Weston, Wilmington, and Vershire finalizing plans for the Swedes' arrival. In each town a citizens' committee was established that promised to provide each Swedish family with twenty-five dollars and a cow. Valentine reported receiving word from Nordgren in Sweden that he had secured thirty families, comprising around 150 people.⁶⁶ The *New York Herald* described residents of Vershire as "thoroughly in earnest" regarding the colonization proposal, which it reported was bringing fifteen families, composed of seventy-five persons, to the town.⁶⁷ Press coverage of the program displayed confusion about exactly how many Swedes were on their way: various reports put the total at 75 persons, 150 persons, fifteen families, and thirty families.⁶⁸ It was also reported in March that Mannall was set to return to Vermont with fifty Scandinavian families for his Norton project.⁶⁹

Vermonters were keenly aware that, as the *New York Herald* wrote in March, the Swedish experiment was being "observed with deep and general interest throughout the country."⁷⁰ Apparently, the original curiosity with which the scheme was treated had worn off; by the spring of 1890, out-of-state newspapers were increasingly critical of it. Many newspapers dwelled on estimates of the amount of farm acreage, exclusive of timber land, that was currently unused, variously reported at between 200,000 and 500,000 acres.⁷¹ The *Topeka Capital* of Kansas wrote derisively in February that Valentine was merely "a manufacturer of woolen goods, without any knowledge of farming" whose work had done no more than to "have further strengthened the public impression that these lands are worthless."⁷² The *Providence Journal* of Rhode Island was among those newspapers wondering why, if Yankee farmers had abandoned the farms, Swedes would do any better on them.⁷³ Other newspapers, however, still predicted success for the program. Summarizing how deeply rooted in ethnocentrism the whole scheme was, the *New York Herald* wrote that "as a class the Swedes are frugal, industrious and patient, and in Vermont colonists ought to flourish."⁷⁴

THE ARRIVAL OF THE SWEDES

It was time for them to try. John Nordgren arrived in Philadelphia aboard the *British Princess* on April 22, 1890, accompanied by a number of Swedes destined for Vermont. It is difficult to ascertain exactly how many of the Swedish passengers on that ship were Nordgren's. Valentine later put the total number of April immigrants at "representatives of 27 families" comprising fifty-five people. It is possible that other colonists traveled separately, but it is certain that at least four families headed to Weston arrived with Nordgren. Accompanying him were the aforementioned August and Carl Nyren. Also on board were Edwin and Anna Anderson, who brought with them two children; John and Louise Neilson and their three young children; and twenty-five-year-old Carl Westine. Westine and August Nyren listed their occupations as sawmill hands, while Edwin Anderson and John Neilson described themselves as farmers.⁷⁵ The Swedes traveled with Nordgren to New York City. They were met there by Valentine, who then chaperoned the group to Vermont.

Upon arrival in Vermont, the Swedish families were divided into three groups. Most Vermont newspapers reported that seven families went to Wilmington, twelve to Weston, and the remaining eight went to Vershire, but even about this there was confusion.⁷⁶ Wilmington's local paper reported that only four families were settled in town.⁷⁷ Valentine supplied each colony with a Swedish translator. Dorothy Mayo Harvey

reports that in Weston the Swedes' arrival elicited great local excitement. In Wilmington business leaders fussed over them, temporarily boarding them in their own homes.⁷⁸

Within two weeks, Wilmington's leaders already felt comfortable declaring "Mr. Valentine's colonization scheme" to be "a grand success so far."⁷⁹ Valentine, often accompanied by Hosea Mann, continued to check up on his Swedish colonies in the months after their arrival. In mid-May he toured the Wilmington and Weston colonies accompanied by Nordgren and declared the colonists to be "delighted with Vermont." Nordgren claimed that "no immigrants were ever better received or better treated on arriving in America than these Swedish families," and gave assurances that more Swedes were set to join them.⁸⁰ In June, Wilmington's local newspaper reported that the Swedes were "doing finely," proving the program so far was "undoubtedly a success in every way."⁸¹ National coverage of the Swedes' arrival, meanwhile, was often characterized by misinformation and exaggeration; the *San Francisco Bulletin*, for example, put the number of Swedes brought to Vermont by Valentine at 350, while the *Chicago Herald* called it "several hundred."⁸²

Concerned that the program would be seen as too expensive, Valentine had insisted that the Swedes pay their own way to Vermont. By many reports, though, Swedes in all three colonies were virtually destitute. When criticized later for bringing to Vermont impoverished immigrants, Nordgren insisted that it was necessary that they be poor; if he brought colonists with resources, he argued, "then perhaps the next thing we should find them in Nebraska."⁸³ The Swedes were given up to five years to pay off the farms on which they had been settled.⁸⁴ Their desperate circumstances, however, required them to immediately search for employment. In Wilmington, a group of businessmen led by Mann provided their colonists with a variety of jobs. The Swedes in Weston appear to have immediately entered into employment in lumber mills, particularly the new McIntyre Mill, co-owned by wealthy Vermonter Silas Griffith, which had opened in 1889 in the town of Peru.⁸⁵

Vershire's Swedes, reportedly comprised of one family and another eight individuals, did not receive equivalent support and immediately found themselves in desperate circumstances. Between May and July these colonists dispersed. One individual moved to Weston, while the family moved to Brattleboro. The remaining seven Swedes were lured to Nicholas Mannall's new colony in Norton. Mannall had arrived back in the United States in April, still greatly enthusiastic about his project but now only projecting in the short term twelve families of his own Swedes. Though Mannall promised that at least forty families would be

settled in Norton by June, he had an immediate need for settlers to make the colony he named "New Scandinavia" viable.⁸⁶ By May, Mannall's colony was widely reported to be utterly primitive and foundering, with the Scandinavians attracted there only remaining because they could not afford to leave.⁸⁷ Rather desperately, Valentine sought to explain the loss of the Vershire colony as evidence of the Swedes' quality and the scheme's success, saying that by leaving Vershire the colonists showed good sense in going to a place where the prospects of their success were more encouraging. They had come to Vershire without money, Valentine said, and were "destined to starve" before their farms became productive enough to support them. Now in Norton they had "every chance to get a living" while they waited for their farms in Vershire to become productive. Anyway, the other two colonies, Valentine reassured, were certain to survive because their Swedes had "proved themselves to be useful and industrious citizens."⁸⁸

Throughout the summer the project's supporters did their best to reinforce the idea that it was a big success. Governor Dillingham accompanied Valentine on a visit to the remaining two colonies in July and described the Swedes in both places to be "contented" and "flourishing."⁸⁹ Valentine particularly took pains to win supporters by emphasizing that the Weston settlers had brought with them a Lutheran minister, sure evidence that they intended to stay and were upstanding people. Writing in a Boston newspaper, Hosea Mann described the Wilmington colony as a great success and the Swedes as "frugal, honest and industrious" people.⁹⁰ Valentine repeatedly insisted that the colonists had assured him that they would be joined by many of their "friends" from Sweden soon.⁹¹ Much of Vermont's press was compliant in repeating these descriptions of success. The *St. Albans Messenger*, for example, ran an article in July headlined "The Swedes are Happy."⁹²

Try as Valentine might to explain it away, the almost immediate failure of the Vershire colony gave ammunition to foes of the program both inside and outside the state. A farmer in Fairfax wondered why, in light of the colony's dispersal, the "deserted farms" had not been turned over to poor native farmhands who could not afford farms of their own.⁹³ Newspapers in such places as Wichita, Baltimore, and Portland, Oregon, reported the scheme to be, as the *Kansas City Star* called it, an "utter failure."⁹⁴ Other reports were much more positive, as if describing a completely different program. The *Daily Advertiser* of Boston reported the colonies to be "flourishing," while Boston's *Daily Journal* called the Swedish colonies "prosperous."⁹⁵ Responding to a *Richmond (Virginia) Times* report in July that the project had already failed, the *Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette* allowed that there had been some

"misssgoes," but "upon the whole the Vermonters are greatly encouraged over their adventure."⁹⁶

What was most important, however, was simply that so much discussion of the Swedish scheme was taking place at all. Both supporters and detractors treated the actual Swedes like a monolithic abstraction, on the one hand all frugal, industrious, and peaceable, on the other merely another set of impoverished immigrants. Whether the program and all its accompanying talk of "abandoned farms" hurt Vermont's reputation, the concrete result of publicity was the large number of inquiries about the availability of land that Valentine received from both inside and outside the state. The *New York Herald* wrote in July that it was "interesting to note that the importation of these Swedish settlers has directed the attention of some Vermonters to the possibilities of their own state, and led them to purchase certain of the abandoned farms about which there has been so much talk."⁹⁷ The *Boston Evening Journal* noted that the scheme had benefited the state by "attracting public notice to the fact that good farms could be had in Vermont," and as a consequence some of the "deserted Vermont farms" were being settled by people from other states. Vermont's problem was not poor soil, the *Evening Journal* concluded, but instead a lack of "sufficient pains to advertise its manifold natural advantages."⁹⁸ In another Boston newspaper, Hosea Mann reported in July that the Swedes themselves were beside the point: The result of Wilmington's colony had been a boom in Wilmington real estate sales, with many farms in the last year sold to people from other states, and many more inquiries received. Over all, Valentine estimated that more than 100 farms had been sold around the state because of the publicity he had brought to Vermont. "The repopulating of Vermont," wrote Mann, "is auspiciously begun," and it was not with Swedes. It was with American buyers of second homes.⁹⁹

The Swedish immigration program was certainly not solely responsible for this development. For years Vermonters had become ever more aware that, as a forestry expert told New Hampshire's legislature in January 1890, "more and more people want to go where they can see green things."¹⁰⁰ The sale of Vermont farms as summer homes to middle-class families, and not just to wealthy businessmen like William Seward Webb, was already underway. In the spring of 1890, Burlington's municipal government paid for the publication of the pamphlet, "Attractions In and About Burlington," which described the city as "a point of much interest to tourists" that was "a delightful place for a tarry of a few days."¹⁰¹ Rather than a distraction from the promotion of summer tourism, the Swedish scheme complemented it. The *Boston Evening Transcript*, for example, in reporting on Valentine and Dillingham's

visit to the Swedish colonies, not only wrote that the prosperity of the colonies was "assured," but added that there was another way of redeeming "these deserted farms," which was "by their purchase by city people for summer homes." The *Transcript* continued, "A permanent summer home, with scores of acres of woodland and pasture, all to be had for a thousand dollars at the most, often merely for repairs and taxes—there is an inducement for the city man, who is not to be counted as rich and who has dreamed in vain of owning a country home."¹⁰²

THE END OF THE PROGRAM

As the summer months rolled by in 1890, Weston's Swedes began to settle into the area in which they were placed. Edwin and Louise Anderson quickly began doing their part to repopulate rural Vermont, giving birth to a son, Charles, in 1890.¹⁰³ He was the first of six Vermont-born Anderson children. The next year, Carl Westine married fellow Swedish immigrant Anna Svennson in Weston; it is unclear if she was also part of Nordgren's party that had arrived in April. The Westines' first child, a daughter named Jennie, was born in Landgrove in 1891.¹⁰⁴

Valentine did not lose interest in his Swedes, but his concerns were increasingly political. His focus was on submitting a persuasive report to the legislature that would convince lawmakers to fund the continuation of an office that, as Vermont author Frederick Wells wrote in 1904, "had become a virtual real estate agency."¹⁰⁵ As the legislative session approached, Valentine's work continued to receive mixed press coverage. The *Boston Daily Journal* wrote in September that the Weston and Wilmington colonies were a "continuous success," full of "well and happy" Swedes who had sent for their friends. The *Brenham (Texas) Weekly Banner*, on the other hand, wrote that "the attempt to colonize the deserted farms of Vermont with Swedes has resulted in complete failure."¹⁰⁶ The reality, at least for the Weston Swedes, was somewhere in between. But as long as outsiders were discussing Vermont's "deserted" farms, Valentine might well have felt that the Swedes' actual condition was beside the point.

The legislative session in which Valentine and his supporters sought continuation of the immigration scheme was extraordinarily contentious. Farmers and their allies in state government were energized by the establishment in Vermont over the summer of the Farmers' League, an advocacy organization that had previously been established in other Northeastern states. The State Patrons of Husbandry was also in a particularly activist phase, and its leadership was firmly opposed to Valentine's work.¹⁰⁷ The business elite, on the other hand, came to Montpelier

determined to achieve some of their long-term goals to modernize the state. In the end, the 1890 legislative session passed the first laws that put the cost of highways and schools on the state; both laws passed only after a great deal of acrimonious debate. The question of extending municipal suffrage to women also stimulated contentious debate. The bill that provoked the most rancor during the session sought to separate the Vermont State Agricultural College from the University of Vermont, an ardent goal of farming interests, and particularly Vermont's state Grange, for more than a decade. (It did not pass.) The result of these and other issues was a legislative session that the *Burlington Free Press* called "notorious" for its bitter politics.¹⁰⁸

In this atmosphere, Valentine and his supporters sought to see his work continue. At the beginning of September, Valentine submitted his report to the legislature. It began with a summary of the commission's goals, recounted Valentine's first efforts to gather information on the state, gave a brief sketch of the historical conditions and events that had resulted in the "abandoned" farm crisis, and described the Swedish experiment, from its inception to the arrival of the Swedes the next year. Sprinkled throughout the passage, however, are notes by Valentine that his goals were larger than merely the experiment. He described his work as having the bigger goal of capturing the general attention of "those seeking cheap, good farms," and using the position "to impart information which will bring seller and purchaser into business relations."¹⁰⁹ Valentine concluded his discussion of the experiment by calling the Weston and Wilmington colonies a great success, dismissing the significance of the abandonment of Vershire, and calling for the program to continue with the establishment of a permanent commissioner of immigration.

Valentine went on to document some of the information he had gathered on manufacturing, but his conclusion made two things clear. First, that a program must continue that would bring Scandinavians to Vermont's farms, as they were so much more desirable than the "vicious and undesirable classes" who constituted the majority of the state's immigrants. But Valentine also argued that it was no less important for the commission's work to continue because of the many farms that had been sold as a direct result of its labors. The great contribution of his work, wrote Valentine, was that "the press of our large cities and far-away States has echoed the sentiments of the press of Vermont, and the result has been that Vermont's enterprises, her desirable farms and natural advantages, are known throughout the land."¹¹⁰

Pleased with the report, the state senate ordered 1,000 copies printed. At the same time, a bill to create a permanent Commission of

Immigration and Industrial Interests was introduced in the senate. In his farewell address to the legislature, Governor Dillingham enthusiastically urged continuation of the commission's work, sentiments echoed by his successor, Carroll Page. The next week, however, a bill was introduced into the house to abolish Valentine's office. The senate, a majority of which favored continuation of the commission, quickly appointed a special joint committee to study the issue.¹¹¹

As the future of the experiment hung in the balance, Valentine came under a great deal of criticism for a variety of reasons in the house, a body dominated by representatives of small towns.¹¹² The main complaint was the cost of his work: Valentine put the cost of bringing his sixty-eight Swedes to Vermont at \$3,150, including a \$1,250 payment to Nordgren for his work. The whole cost of Valentine's work was not listed in the report, however, which weakened it considerably in the minds of many in the legislature and portions of the state press. Those adding Valentine's clerical, travel, and other expenses generally calculated the total expense of the office at around \$6,000, though estimates went as high as \$10,000 and \$15,000.¹¹³ According to the *Argus and Patriot*, the general feeling of the "people" was that the results of Valentine's work "were not at all commensurate to the cost," and that, reading the report, even the most astute would wonder if he had "accomplished anything worthy of mention."¹¹⁴ The attempt to repopulate Vermont by the importation of Swedes, concluded the *Argus*, "was a mistake and should never have been attempted." As critics had been arguing since the previous year, opponents of the commission continued to assert that Vermont had no "abandoned" farms in the first place, but rather a combination of farms for sale and land better suited to other purposes. Valentine was also criticized for having hired his daughter as his clerk.

In dismissing the Swedish project, however, the *Argus* had to admit that many farms had been sold to native Vermonters returning from the West as a result of the publicity Valentine bought to the state. Valentine emphasized this same point. As the bill to end his work sat in committee, he issued another circular requesting listers in each town to submit information on all the sales of farms that had taken place as a result of his labors. That circular did him no good. On November 22, the special committee on the bill to abolish the commission reported negatively on it, hoping to perpetuate Valentine's work, but the house had made up its mind. On the final day of the session, the house passed the bill and Valentine's work was over.

Valentine did not give up. In December he was reported to still be showing newspapers examples of the letters of inquiry he had received

about Vermont farms.¹¹⁵ In January the *Brattleboro Vermont Phoenix* noted a letter from a Missouri resident who was deciding against buying a farm in Vermont because of "his disgust at the act of the legislature in repealing the measures for promoting the growth of the state in wealth and population, so successfully inaugurated under Commissioner Valentine."¹¹⁶ But many Vermonters were pleased by the scheme's apparent failure, agreeing with the *Burlington Clipper* that the whole program had been a "foolish expenditure."¹¹⁷ For many in farming towns, the argument that Scandinavians were somehow better candidates to become Vermonters than others was the most preposterous aspect of the whole recruitment program. They knew that a strong community was not the product of ethnicity or religion, but instead derived from shared experiences and interdependence built up over a long time. Addressing a meeting of the Board of Agriculture in January 1891, board member M.W. Davis, from the beginning a staunch opponent of the scheme, declared that "When they talk of populating the State with Swedes, I must say I have no sympathy with it, and never had." The bottom line for Davis was, "I am a true Vermonter, and I am proud of being a Vermonter. I never could sanction the idea of filling up our homes with foreigners."¹¹⁸

MAJOR VALENTINE'S SWEDES BECOME VERMONTERS

Whatever opposition had existed on the Board of Agriculture to Valentine's Swedish program, its members continued his work. Valentine's term as commissioner had supplied the board with a reasonably comprehensive list of available farms, and a list of people in many towns who could be contacted by those hoping to buy them. The board chose to continue his work of publicizing Vermont's available farms, publishing a pamphlet in 1891 titled "The Resources and Attractions of Vermont: With a List of Desirable Homes for Sale."¹¹⁹ The board printed the same pamphlet the next year, along with another titled "A List of Desirable Vermont Farms at Low Prices." With the appointment of Victor Spear to the position of statistical secretary in 1893, the board threw itself even more deeply into promoting tourism. Spear released a study of summer tourism in 1894 that confirmed the growing significance of the industry to Vermont's economy. As the years went by, the "List of Desirable Vermont Farms" became "The List of Desirable Farms and Summer Homes in Vermont" in 1895, and "Vermont: Its Fertile Fields and Summer Homes" in 1897. By then, the boom in summer tourism was fully underway.¹²⁰

Meanwhile, some of Valentine's Swedes did not find it as easy to assimilate as he had predicted. The *Boston Daily Globe* reported in April

1891 that the Swedes who had moved from Vershire to Norton were "suffering" and making an "earnest plea for aid" so they could leave, while the *St. Albans Messenger* described Norton's Swedes as "in destitute circumstances."¹²¹ At the same time, newspapers reported a number of times in 1891 that, ironically, the effect of Valentine's work was to alert farmers in Québec of farms for sale in Vermont. The *Argus* reported that this consequence of the circulation of Valentine's map was evidence of "the way in which the money of the State was uselessly squandered by the late Commission of Agriculture."¹²²

Mostly, however, Vermonters lost interest in the Swedish experiment. The *Burlington News* wrote in the summer of 1891 of its relief that the "abandoned farm nonsense is gradually going out of fashion."¹²³ Similarly, the *Argus* was relieved to write that "we hear less talk now-a-days as to the so-called 'abandoned farms' of Vermont than we did at a time when legislatures were creating and later destroying the commission that was to bring about a 'grand transformation.'"¹²⁴ When people thought of Valentine's experiment, they often disparaged its memory. The *Bennington Banner* bemoaned in 1891 the "slurs which it is the fashion in some quarters to cast on the work done by the commission."¹²⁵ A writer to another paper called Valentine's map "a terrible reflection upon the state" that "conveyed a much worse impression than the facts would warrant."¹²⁶

Some Vermonters, however, saw great, if unexpected, benefits to Valentine's work. The *Bennington Banner* described it as "very much like a sacrifice hit" in baseball. "Had not this agitation roused the inert press of this state to advertising its resources as they should be," the *Banner* wrote, the many land sales that had occurred in the last year would not have taken place.¹²⁷ The *St. Albans Messenger* credited Valentine with "bringing forward a practical discussion of the many superior advantages of the state and its unimproved opportunities."¹²⁸ Noting that Valentine had "been derided and even abused for advertising" Vermont's available farms, the *Vermont Phoenix* pointed to the fact that New Hampshire and Massachusetts were pursuing programs to compile and publicize lists of farms for sale, modeled on Valentine's work.¹²⁹ For such observers, his main accomplishment was the compilation of lists of farms for sale, and the extent to which he had been able to make outsiders aware of them. In 1895 the *St. Albans Messenger* reported that in one formerly "deserted" section of the town of Chester, which sits next to Weston, a number of professors from Harvard University and Bowdoin College had purchased local farms as summer homes since 1891.¹³⁰

But as the state turned its attention to tourism and the Swedish program drifted into memory, a strange thing happened that the scheme's



Carl Westine and Carl Nyren drinking hard cider in a wagon in 1906. The young man standing is Charlie Neilson, who drowned in Landgrove in 1914. The children are Alve Neilson and Willie Westine. Courtesy of the Landgrove Historical Society.

critic M.W. Davis had not foreseen. The Swedes who had been settled in Weston—the Nyrens, Westines, Andersons, and Neilsons—got on with their lives and gradually became Vermonters. Valentine had repeatedly said that cohesive colonies of Swedes would attract more of the same. He was not entirely wrong. In the 1890s, while the Andersons farmed in neighboring Weston, the Nyrens, Westines, and Neilsons lived along the same road in Landgrove, and John Neilson's brother Axel, who was married to Anna Westine's sister, moved from Sweden to Landgrove in 1892.¹³¹ Their children were gradually dispersing, but connections between them continued. The census of 1900 found twenty-five-year-old Carl Nyren working in a lumber camp in Mount Tabor; living in the same boardinghouse and working as a servant was sixteen-year-old Anna Neilson.¹³² Three years later, when brothers Oliver and Carl Nyren applied for U.S. citizenship, their applications listed John Neilson's son Charles as their witness.¹³³

More important than the connections they maintained may be the fact that Weston's Swedes began to go their separate ways and blend

into their communities as the 1890s drew to a close. Children continued to arrive. Carl and Anna Westine, for example, had five children between 1891 and 1901.¹³⁴ The Nyrens sold their Landgrove farm in 1906 and moved to Pawlet, where patriarch August worked in a sawmill and his son Oliver began working for the Prudential Insurance Company.¹³⁵ In 1909, Edwin Anderson died of trichinosis, leaving his widow Emma and eight children to make a go at working their mortgaged farm in Londonderry. Sons Carl and Charles worked in a nearby lumber mill.¹³⁶ And as the Swedes jumped from job to job, bought and sold farms, and moved in separate directions, they also began intermarrying with locals. In 1893, seventeen-year-old Charlotte Nyren married Dorset native Edward Tifft. In 1900, Edward and Charlotte, having produced two children so far, were working a farm next door to the house of Carl and Anna Westine in Landgrove.¹³⁷

THE LEGACY OF THE PROGRAM

In the decades to come, press judgments of the Swedish experiment remained as deeply divided as they had been in its heyday. The *Burlington Free Press* wrote in 1897 that Valentine had been “undoubtedly on the right track” before his project had “succumbed in the face of hostile public sentiment.”¹³⁸ On the other hand, in 1904 the *Burlington News* called the Swedish experiment “an absolute, unmitigated failure,” to which the *Bennington Banner* responded that it had been a success, “not perhaps in the way it was intended but in attracting attention to Vermont.”¹³⁹ But on the whole, as the *Burlington Free Press* summarized public memory of Valentine’s scheme in 1907, “the experiment has been completely lost to view.”¹⁴⁰

The Swedish colony program illustrates how much Vermont’s business and political leaders misunderstood the nature and dynamics of rural life in a number of ways. As Frederick Wells would once again point out in 1904, it was hard to grasp why Valentine repeatedly referred to farms as “abandoned” if they were, in fact, for sale.¹⁴¹ There was plenty of merit to farmers’ argument that their local economies were evolving naturally, in a salutary way that bred communal unity and stability. Most of all, supporters of the program had misread the nature of rural communities. They thought that Swedes would naturally become parts of the communities in which they settled more quickly than Irish or Franco Americans could. For rural folk, however, ethnicity was a contributing factor to acceptance, but that alone was no replacement for familiarity, interdependence, shared experiences, and family ties. Weston’s Swedes would become Vermonters, but it would take some time.

Valentine might have been dismayed had he known that, as that process unfolded, the Swedes would in many ways blend in with the very people they were supposed to replace. Anna Nyren, for example, married a paper mill worker of French Canadian heritage, Peter Fountain, in 1904.¹⁴² In the 1920s, her older sister Charlotte did the same. Divorced from Edward Tifft a few years earlier, in 1926 she married George DeRosia. The son of immigrants from Québec, DeRosia had been the boss of a Peru lumber camp where, in 1920, Edward, Charlotte, and their ten-year-old son Richard lived. Charlotte worked as the camp's cook.¹⁴³ The lumber camp was apparently too rough a place for a girl, however: Their daughter Mildred Tifft, who was eleven, lived with her uncle Oliver and grandparents in Pawlet.¹⁴⁴ That Valentine's Swedes would marry Franco Americans is not the only irony of this story. Though the Swedes had been praised as good replacements for Yankees who, according to L.H. Wiler, were in part dissipated because they married their cousins, Carl and Annie Westine's daughter Jennie married her cousin Julius Westine in 1910.¹⁴⁵

As the twentieth century unfolded, the memory of the program that brought Swedes to Vermont farms may have faded, but the descendants of Weston's Swedes remained. Many of the Westines, for example, gravitated toward Chester, particularly the children of Carl's son, William.¹⁴⁶ By the 1950s a number of them lived in the Springfield area and worked for machine tool companies such as Jones and Lamson and Fellows Gear Shapers. Most of Edwin and Emma Anderson's children settled in the Brattleboro area. Charles Anderson raised eight children there. His sisters Esther, Ellen, and Hazel also lived in Brattleboro.

For all the ridicule his Scandinavian immigrant program had received, Alonzo Valentine might have found consolation that his scheme to improve Vermont had born some fruit in the course of the Nyren family. Carl moved to Arlington around 1910, where he worked successively for a refrigerator repair company, in a saw mill, and as a mill operator.¹⁴⁷ Oliver worked as an insurance agent for nearly a half century; for many years, his niece Mildred and her husband John Young lived with Oliver in Rutland.¹⁴⁸ Anna Nyren Fountain and her husband Peter raised a number of children while living in Wilder; Peter worked as a janitor at Dartmouth College, while Anna ran a laundry business at home.¹⁴⁹ One son, Leland, owned the business Lee Fountain's Electrical and Refrigeration Service in White River Junction for many years.¹⁵⁰

The life of Charlotte Nyren perhaps best sums up the bottom line of this story. Brought from Sweden at fourteen, she married a man older than her by a decade three years later. Her first marriage to Edward Tifft produced five children, over a period during which the family bounced

between farms and lumber camps. Having divorced her first husband, her second died after nineteen years of marriage. When she retired, Lottie Nyren moved to Arlington. There she was surrounded by family. Her son Richard, for example, worked for many years in maintenance at Castleton State College.¹⁵¹ When Charlotte died in 1976, two days short of her 100th birthday, she had four children, three stepdaughters, ten grandchildren, sixteen great-grandchildren and seven great-great-grandchildren, nearly all of whom lived in Vermont.¹⁵²

That is Valentine's most important legacy. The Swedes program did not have the effect of reversing the "decline" of rural Vermont, repopulating its "abandoned" farms, or stemming the tide of French Canadians entering the state. Neither did it provide the Swedes themselves with the cheap, fertile farms and happy, prosperous lives he guaranteed them. But not only did the Swedes program play a major role in promoting summer tourism, it also gave Vermont good citizens, after all. They paid taxes. They served honorably in the military. They worked for some of Vermont's largest employers. They opened small businesses. They helped to build Vermont. They became Vermonters. Considering that, calling Valentine's scheme a fiasco is unfair.

NOTES

¹ Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1883-1945*. Micropublication T840. RG085. Rolls # 1-181. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

² Elise Guyette, "Immigration to Vermont, 1840-1930," located at http://www.flowofhistory.org/themes/movement_settlement/immigration-.php.

³ See J. Kevin Graffagnino, *Vermont in the Victorian Age: Continuity and Change in the Green Mountain State, 1850-1900* (Bennington and Shelburne, Vt.: Vermont Heritage Press and Shelburne Museum, 1985), 119-121; Blake Harrison, *The View from Vermont* (Burlington: University of Vermont Press, 2006), 58; John Lund, "Vermont Nativism: William Paul Dillingham and U.S. Immigration Legislation," *Vermont History* 63 (1995): 15-29; Michael Sherman, et al., *Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont* (Barre: Vermont Historical Society, 2004), 310.

⁴ Paul M. Searls, *Two Vermonts: Geography and Identity* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2006), 72-73.

⁵ Andrea Rebeck, "The Selling of Vermont: From Agriculture to Tourism, 1860-1910," *Vermont History* 44 (Winter 1976): 17; Sherman, *Freedom and Unity*, 310.

⁶ Sherman, *Freedom and Unity*, 310; Graffagnino, *Vermont in the Victorian Age*, 121.

⁷ Dorothy Mayo Harvey, "The Swedes in Vermont," *American Swedish Historical Foundation Yearbook* (1960), 23-43.

⁸ J.H. Putnam, "The Depopulation of Our Rural Districts: Cause, and Some Suggestions in Regard to a Remedy," *Report of the Vermont Board of Agriculture* (Montpelier: Freeman Steam Printing House and Bindery, 1878), 132-139. On fears of rural decline, see Richard Judd, *Common Lands, Common People: The Origins of Conservation in Rural New England* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1977), 64-67; Hal Barron, *Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century New England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

⁹ Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), 139-140; Joseph Conforti, *Imagining New England: Explorations of Regional Identity from the Pilgrims to the Mid-Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 204.

¹⁰ *Journal of the Vermont Senate* (Montpelier, Vt.: Argus and Patriot Job Printing House, 1888), 349-357.

¹¹ *Boston Evening Transcript*, 7 August 1889.

¹² *Deerfield Valley Times*, 10 January 1890.

¹³The original senate bill put the number of commissioners at five, but the thrifty house revised that number down to a single commissioner. *Report of the Commissioner of Agricultural and Manufacturing Interests of the State of Vermont* (Rutland, Vt.: Tuttle Printing Company, 1890), 4 (hereafter, *Report of the Commissioner*); *Journal of the Vermont House* (Montpelier, Vt.: Montpelier, Vt.: Argus and Patriot Job Printing House, 1888), 118; *Burlington Free Press*, 15 March 1889; *Boston Evening Journal*, 30 March 1889; *Boston Evening Transcript*, 11 November 1904.

¹⁴*St. Albans Messenger*, 24 August 1891; Jacob G. Ullery, comp., *Men of Vermont: An Illustrated Biographical History of Vermonters and Sons of Vermont* (Brattleboro, Vt.: Transcript Publishing Company, 1894), 406–408.

¹⁵*Burlington Free Press*, 15 and 21 March 1889.

¹⁶*Boston Daily Journal*, 30 March 1889.

¹⁷The problem, Valentine believed, was that the commissioner's position was so poorly funded by the penurious state legislature that town listers could not be compensated for accumulating the information Valentine asked of them. *Report of the Commissioner*, 5–6.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, 15–16. Among other business endeavors, Valentine was then engaged in an enterprise in Nebraska with Bennington businessman John G. McCullough. Correspondence about this enterprise is held in the collection of Valentine's papers at the Bennington Museum, Bennington, Vermont.

¹⁹Alonzo B. Valentine, "Swedish immigration," *The Quill* 1 (September 1890): 23–28; *Report of the Commissioner*, 23; Harvey, "The Swedes in Vermont," 40; Graffagnino, *Vermont in the Victorian Age*, 119–121.

²⁰*Journal of the Vermont Senate* (Montpelier, Vt.: Argus and Patriot Job Printing House, 1882), 36.

²¹*Boston Evening Transcript*, 7 August 1889.

²²*Burlington Free Press*, 15 March 1889.

²³In 1888 Nordgren published an eleven-page pamphlet titled "Nordgren & Bergstrom, hufvudagenter for Bay State Companiets land i Nebraska och Wyoming." Bibliographical information for this pamphlet is available at http://books.google.com/books/about/Nordgren_Bergstrom_hufvudagenter_f%C3%B6r_Ba.html?id=G3ZwYgEACAAJ.

²⁴*Boston Evening Transcript*, 13 September 1889.

²⁵*Report of the Commissioner*, 5.

²⁶*Troy Weekly Budget*, 25 August 1889.

²⁷*Boston Evening Transcript*, 12 August 1889.

²⁸*Cleveland Plain Dealer*, 9 August 1889.

²⁹*New Haven Register*, 14 August 1889.

³⁰*Boston Evening Transcript*, 7 August 1889; "Vermont Wants to Be Recolonized," *Baltimore Sun*, 10 August 1889; "Vermont Invites Immigration," *Detroit Free Press*, 13 August 1889; *Chicago Herald*, 15 August 1889; *San Francisco Morning Call*, 12 August 1889; *Macon (Georgia) Telegraph*, 18 August 1889.

³¹*Troy Weekly Budget*, 8 September 1889.

³²*Boston Daily Journal*, 27 September 1889.

³³*Deerfield Valley Times*, 23 August 1889, and September 20 1889. *Boston Daily Journal*, 27 September 1889. Valentine reported on that day that "arrangements had been completed" for colonies of thirteen families in Wilmington and twelve in Weston, and that the vicinity of Corinth and Vershire might see a colony, as well.

³⁴*Grand Forks Herald*, 25 September 1889; *Wheeling Daily Register*, 26 October 1889.

³⁵For example, "Swedish Colonists for Vermont," *New York Times*, 29 September 1889.

³⁶"The Abandoned Farms of Vermont," *Baltimore Sun*, 15 October 1889; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 30 October 1889; *Cincinnati Commercial Gazette*, 2 November 1889; *Grey River Argus*, 19 November 1889.

³⁷*Bennington Banner*, 19 November 1889.

³⁸*Boston Daily Journal*, 18 October 1889.

³⁹*Macon (Georgia) Telegraph*, 26 September 1889.

⁴⁰*Deerfield Valley Times*, 27 June 1889; *Dallas Morning News*, 6 November 1889; *St. Albans Messenger*, 10 October and 21 December, 1889.

⁴¹*Boston Evening Transcript*, 12 October 1889.

⁴²*Ludlow (Vermont) Tribune*, 20 September 1890.

⁴³*Montpelier Argus and Patriot*, 15 January 1890.

⁴⁴Reprinted in the *St. Albans Messenger*, 22 August 1889.

⁴⁵*Brattleboro Vermont Phoenix*, 8 November 1889.

⁴⁶*St. Albans Messenger*, 21 May 1921.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, 25 September 1889.

⁴⁸Quoted in the *Deerfield Valley Times*, 25 October 1889.

⁴⁹ *Montpelier Vermont Watchman*, 21 October 1889. The *Watchman* called the charge of discrimination "sheer nonsense." *Report of the Vermont Dairymen's Association*, 4 September 1889.

⁵⁰ On the interdependent nature of rural Vermont communities in the Gilded Age, see Searls, *Two Vermons*, 23–28.

⁵¹ *Boston Daily Journal*, 18 October 1889; *Troy Weekly Times*, 31 October and 7 November 1889.

⁵² *Report of the Commissioner*, 23–24.

⁵³ A copy of the map is possessed by the Landgrove Historical Society.

⁵⁴ When Nordgren applied for a passport in November 1889 for his recruitment trip, he listed his place of birth as Varmland. National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington D.C.; *Passport Applications, 1795–1905*; Collection Number: ARC Identifier 566612 / MLR Number AI 508; NARA Series: M1372; Roll #: 342.

⁵⁵ *St. Albans Messenger*, 2 May 1890; *Report of the Commissioner*, 25.

⁵⁶ *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, 30 December 1889; *New York Times*, 15 December 1889.

⁵⁷ *Brattleboro Vermont Phoenix*, 17 January 1890.

⁵⁸ Reprinted in the *St. Johnsbury Caledonian Record*, 9 January 1890.

⁵⁹ Quoted in the *Rutland Herald*, 9 January 1890.

⁶⁰ *Report of the Commissioner*, 49; *Vermont Phoenix*, 17 January 1890; *Burlington Free Press*, 21 January 1890.

⁶¹ Edwin Rozwenc, *Agricultural Policies in Vermont, 1860–1945* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1981), 35–37.

⁶² *Rutland Herald*, 18 January 1890.

⁶³ *Report of the Vermont State Board of Agriculture* (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Association, Printers and Binders, 1890), 32, 36, 44, 54, 108; *Burlington Free Press*, 24 January 1890.

⁶⁴ Reprinted in the *Caledonian Record*, 6 February 1889.

⁶⁵ *Deerfield Valley Times*, 21 March 1890.

⁶⁶ *Boston Morning Journal*, 8 March 1890; *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, 10 March 1890.

⁶⁷ *New York Herald*, 10 March 1890; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 11 April 1890.

⁶⁸ *New York Herald*, 19 April 1890; *Springfield Republican*, 13 April 1890; *Boston Daily Journal*, 23 April 1890.

⁶⁹ *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, 25 March 1890.

⁷⁰ *New York Herald*, 10 March 1890.

⁷¹ *Boston Daily Journal*, 23 April 1890.

⁷² *Topeka Capital*, 1 February 1890.

⁷³ *Providence Journal*, 23 April 1890.

⁷⁴ *New York Herald*, 19 April 1890.

⁷⁵ Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Passenger Lists of Vessels Arriving at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1883–1945*. Micropublication T840. RG085. Rolls # 1–181. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

⁷⁶ *St. Albans Messenger*, 26 April 1890.

⁷⁷ *Deerfield Valley Times*, 2 May 1890. The *Times* already had been downplaying local expectations in the spring, reporting in March that Wilmington would receive no more than six families. *Deerfield Valley Times*, 14 March 1890.

⁷⁸ Mayo Harvey, "The Swedes in Vermont," 27; *Deerfield Valley Times*, April 28, 1890.

⁷⁹ *Deerfield Valley Times*, 2 May 1890.

⁸⁰ *St. Albans Messenger*, 2 May 1890. *Deerfield Valley Times*, 16 May 1890.

⁸¹ *Deerfield Valley Times*, 13 June 1890.

⁸² *San Francisco Bulletin*, 22 July 1890; *Chicago Herald*, 9 August 1890.

⁸³ *Deerfield Valley Times*, 28 September 1889.

⁸⁴ *Fort Worth Weekly Gazette*, 26 September 1889.

⁸⁵ The Swedes' employment at the lumber mill is documented in the archives of the Landgrove Historical Society, and figured prominently in an exhibit it produced about them.

⁸⁶ *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, 26 April 1890; *St. Johnsbury Caledonian Record*, 26 April 1890.

⁸⁷ *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, 30 May 1890.

⁸⁸ *Boston Evening Transcript*, 5 August 1890.

⁸⁹ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 24 July 1890; *St. Albans Messenger*, 24 July 1890.

⁹⁰ *Boston Daily Journal*, 24 July 1890.

⁹¹ *St. Johnsbury Caledonian Record*, 25 July 1890; *St. Albans Messenger*, 24 July 1890; *Springfield (Mass.) Republican*, 26 July 1890. Valentine told the *Messenger* in August that at that very moment three families destined for Weston, three for Wilmington, and two more families were already on their way from Sweden. *St. Albans Messenger*, 1 August 1890.

⁹² *St. Albans Messenger*, 24 July 1890.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 19 May 1890.

⁹⁴ *Kansas City Star*, 24 July 1890; *Morning Oregonian*, 22 July 1890; *Baltimore Sun*, 23 July 1890.

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- ⁹⁵ *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 24 July 1890; *Boston Daily Journal*, 24 July 1890.
- ⁹⁶ *Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette*, 20 July 1890.
- ⁹⁷ *New York Herald*, 28 July 1890.
- ⁹⁸ *Boston Evening Journal*, 12 July 1890.
- ⁹⁹ *Boston Daily Journal*, 24 July 1890.
- ¹⁰⁰ *St. Johnsbury Caledonian Record*, 20 January 1890.
- ¹⁰¹ "Attractions In and Around Burlington" (Glens Falls, N.Y.: C. H. Possons, 1890).
- ¹⁰² *Boston Evening Transcript*, 24 Jul 1890.
- ¹⁰³ U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census, 1900, Weston, Windsor County, Vermont.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Landgrove, Bennington County, Vermont.
- ¹⁰⁵ *Boston Evening Transcript*, 4 November 1904.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Brenham (Tx.) Weekly Banner*, 18 September 1890.
- ¹⁰⁷ Rozwenc, *Agricultural Policies in Vermont*, 68. Grange master Alpha Messer was quoted in a Grange meeting saying that he had "no abiding faith in immigration from Sweden or any other foreign country as a direct means of permanent settlement for these farms." Graffagnino, *Vermont in the Victorian Age*, 120.
- ¹⁰⁸ *Burlington Free Press*, 26 November 1890.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Report of the Commissioner*, 25.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 35–39.
- ¹¹¹ The bill, H.49, was submitted by Representative Taylor of Cornwall on October 9. The special committee was established the next day.
- ¹¹² Edwin C. Rozwenc, "The Group Basis of Vermont Farm Politics, 1870–1945," *Vermont History* 25 (Fall 1957): 23–37.
- ¹¹³ *Burlington Free Press*, 1 September 1904.
- ¹¹⁴ *Montpelier Argus and Patriot*, 24 September 1890.
- ¹¹⁵ *Deerfield Valley Times*, 12 December 1890.
- ¹¹⁶ *Brattleboro Vermont Phoenix*, 2 January 1891.
- ¹¹⁷ *Burlington Clipper*, 26 January 1891.
- ¹¹⁸ Vermont Dairymen's Association, *Report of the Twenty-First Annual Meeting* (Montpelier, Vt.: Press of the Watchman Publishing Co., 1891), 98; Hamilton Child, comp., *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Windham County, VT., 1724–1884* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Journal Printing, 1884), 304.
- ¹¹⁹ *Brattleboro Vermont Phoenix*, 27 March 1891. "Summer Resorts," *Report of the State Board of Agriculture* (Burlington, Vt.: Free Press Association, Printers and Binders, 1892), 164–167; Vermont State Board of Agriculture, "The Resources and Attractions of Vermont: With a List of Desirable Homes for Sale," (Montpelier, Vt.: Press of the Watchman Publishing Company, 1891).
- ¹²⁰ These state publications can be found in Special Collections at the University of Vermont.
- ¹²¹ *Boston Evening Transcript*, 4 November 1904.
- ¹²² *Boston Globe*, 3 April 1891; *St. Albans Messenger*, 9 April 1891. The *Messenger* later retracted this statement, writing that an investigation by Governor Page had revealed that Norton's Swedes were "getting along quite well." *St. Albans Messenger*, 21 May 1891.
- ¹²³ *Montpelier Argus and Patriot*, 17 December 1891.
- ¹²⁴ *Burlington News*, 8 June 1891.
- ¹²⁵ *Montpelier Argus and Patriot*, 20 May 1891.
- ¹²⁶ *Bennington Banner*, 26 June 1891.
- ¹²⁷ *St. Albans Messenger*, 24 August 1891.
- ¹²⁸ *Bennington Banner*, 14 July 1891.
- ¹²⁹ *St. Albans Messenger*, 24 August 1891.
- ¹³⁰ *Brattleboro Vermont Phoenix*, 2 October 1891.
- ¹³¹ *St. Albans Messenger*, 25 March 1895.
- ¹³² U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census, 1900, Landgrove, Bennington County, Vermont.
- ¹³³ *Ibid.*, Mount Tabor, Rutland County, Vermont.
- ¹³⁴ National Archives and Records Administration (NARA); Washington, D.C.; *Index to New England Naturalization Petitions, 1791–1906 (M1299)*; Microfilm Serial: M1299; Microfilm Roll: 98.
- ¹³⁵ U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Thirteenth Census, 1910, Landgrove, Bennington County, Vermont.
- ¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, Pawlet, Rutland County, Vermont.
- ¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, Londonderry, Windham County, Vermont.
- ¹³⁸ U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Twelfth Census, 1900, Landgrove, Bennington County, Vermont.
- ¹³⁹ *Burlington Free Press*, 1 August 1897.
- ¹⁴⁰ *Bennington Banner*, 28 August 1904.

¹⁴⁰ *Burlington Free Press*, 1 August 1907.

¹⁴¹ *Boston Evening Transcript*, 4 November 1904.

¹⁴² U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Sixteenth Census, 1940, Hartford, Windsor County, Vermont.

¹⁴³ U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Fourteenth Census, 1920, Peru, Bennington County, Vermont; Certificate of Marriage, George Joseph Derosia to Lottie Tift, 13 Jan 1926. Vermont Marriage Records, 1909–2003. Vermont State Archives and Records Administration, Middlesex, Vermont (hereafter VSARA).

¹⁴⁴ U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Fourteenth Census, 1920, Pawlet, Rutland County, Vermont.

¹⁴⁵ Certificate of Marriage, Julius Westine to Jennie Westine, 30 January 1910. Vermont Marriage Records, 1909–2003. VSARA.

¹⁴⁶ For a representative example of documentation, see *Manning's Bellows Falls and Springfield Directory* (Springfield, Mass.: H.A. Manning Co., 1952), 371.

¹⁴⁷ See, for example, *Bennington (Vermont) Directory* (Springfield, Mass.: H.A. Manning, Co., 1916), 236; U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Fourteenth Census, 1920, Arlington, Bennington County, Vermont; *Bennington (Vermont) Directory* (Springfield, Mass.: H.A. Manning, Co., 1935), 223.

¹⁴⁸ See, for example, *Manning's Rutland Directory* (Springfield, Mass.: H.A. Manning, Co., 1940), 97, 137.

¹⁴⁹ U.S. Department of the Interior, Census Office, Sixteenth Census, 1940, Hartford, Windsor County, Vermont.

¹⁵⁰ *Show Low (Arizona) White Mountain Independent*, 30 August 2007.

¹⁵¹ Vermont Death Records, 1909–2003. VSARA. 3 December 1997.

¹⁵² *Bennington Banner*, 9 February 1976.



The “Cattle Disease” Outbreak in Vermont, 1902–1903

In November 1902, an outbreak of foot and mouth disease in Massachusetts spread to the nearby states of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont. A prompt response first by the Vermont Cattle Commission and then the U.S. Department of Agriculture’s Bureau of Animal Industry successfully contained and stamped out the disease. Despite having by far the largest cattle population of the four states, the impact to Vermont was proportionally the least. There are several possible explanations for this phenomenon, which have implications for the potential resilience of Vermont livestock to foreign disease challenges of today.

By BASIL P. TANGREDI, DVM

In late November 1902, Mr. Charles J. Bell of Walden was passing a few pleasant weeks hunting in the wilds of Canada, when he unexpectedly received an urgent telegram from the Vermont secretary of agriculture summoning him home.¹ Several cattle shipped from Addison County to Rhode Island had fallen ill with an unusual set of signs: fever, lethargy, lameness, and blisters (“vesicles”) on the tongue

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and the lips. Mr. Bell had been secretary of the state Board of Agriculture for the previous two years, and had just resigned to head the newly constituted Board of Cattle Commissioners, whose sole duty was to investigate and control outbreaks of contagious livestock diseases.² Upon returning to Vermont, Bell recruited the services of his fellow commissioner, Burlington veterinarian Dr. Frank A. Rich, and they proceeded to Middlebury on November 25 to begin their official investigation.³ Their urgency arose from the resemblance of the illness to a foreign livestock scourge called foot and mouth disease (FMD).

FMD, also called aphthous fever, is a viral disease of cloven-foot animals, especially cattle and swine.⁴ It is probably the oldest known livestock disease and is certainly the most feared, even today. This is not due to its lethality; mortality of adult animals is rarely greater than 3 percent in an infected herd. Rather, its impact arises from two characteristics. First, infected animals exhibit prodigious weight loss and, in dairy animals, cease milk production. Combined with very slow recovery, the economic loss is catastrophic. Second, it is among the most highly contagious infections known to medical science. Direct contact is not required. Infectious doses of virus can be transmitted by vehicles, on clothing, and even borne on the wind. It can be shipped to far-flung places not only by infected animals, but also by animal products such as meat and hides.

The first outbreak of FMD in the United States began in Oneida County, New York, in October 1870. It spread quickly as exposed cattle were transported by railroad to Albany and Dutchess counties, and thence to Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Maine. New York agricultural officials had limited authority to cope with the outbreak, but the New York Agricultural Society took one important step: It hired Professor James Law of Cornell University to "visit the infected district . . . [and to] bring the highest available veterinary skill to the aid of the State commissioners."⁵ Highest skill indeed. Dr. Law (1838–1921), dubbed by Ezra Cornell "the Scotch horse doctor," was brought to the new university from Edinburgh in 1868,⁶ and his influence on the development of the veterinary profession in the United States was to become immense. Dr. Law published a thorough report on the outbreak, recommending basic principles of control that still exist today: Recognize the highly contagious nature of the disease, prohibit all movement of livestock, quarantine all infected farms, and disinfect buildings and utensils.⁷ Unfortunately, application of these principles with sufficient thoroughness was beyond the power of any agency or group. However, what the human laws and regulations of 1870 could not impose, nature was to accomplish. The winter of 1870–1871 was so severe that

all livestock movement was halted and virus survival reduced, so that by spring the disease had run its course and disappeared entirely.⁸

The last quarter of the nineteenth century saw FMD become firmly established in Europe, including Great Britain. Its ravages were broad and deep, with outbreaks striking new areas and recurring in old ones. The importance of this disease can be appreciated when no less a scientist than Dr. Frederick Loeffler, who unraveled the mystery of human diphtheria, turned his attention to FMD. In his 1897 paper, he pronounced the cause to be an "ultravisible, ultrafilterable substance,"⁹ this being the first description of an animal virus. Decades of experience with this European strain of FMD left little doubt that quarantine and disinfection alone were no longer effective. As Loeffler stated at the Seventh International Congress of Veterinary Surgeons in Baden-Baden (1899):

Foot-and-mouth disease is spreading more and more every year . . . Necessary measures had been taken with the greatest care; suspected grounds had been closely quarantined; . . . disinfection had been carefully carried out, and notwithstanding all this the disease kept spreading.¹⁰

Effective control of the disease was achieved only with the added measure of slaughtering all susceptible livestock on infected farms. This approach was officially endorsed at the Baden-Baden meeting¹¹ and came to be known as the stamping out process.

However, in 1902, neither cattlemen nor veterinarians in America had any first-hand experience with FMD. When Bell and Rich arrived in Middlebury, the cattle dealer suspected of shipping the ill cattle to Rhode Island was conveniently out of town.¹² According to regulations enacted by the Vermont legislature in 1895, knowingly importing or selling animals "infected with an infectious or contagious disease" carried a fine of between 100 and 500 dollars.¹³ Nevertheless, the commissioners pressed on, taking their investigation to Chester the next day (November 28). They determined that the disease had entered Vermont in cattle shipped from Massachusetts to a herd owned by George A. Boynton of Gassetts.¹⁴ They found no fewer than nine infected herds that day and quarantined each one.

On December 1, the commissioners moved on to Windham County. With approximately 100 new reports of infected herds, it was fast becoming clear that this outbreak was already well advanced.¹⁵ Again quarantine was imposed, which included prohibition of all milk sales from those farms, thereby compounding the hardships for the affected farmers. Failure to comply with the quarantine regulations could result in a fine or imprisonment or both.¹⁶ This must have been a difficult, if

not contentious, task for George Bell. The previous decade had seen many inflamed tempers among farmers and officials alike, as the state struggled to control bovine tuberculosis using testing, quarantine, and slaughter. That controversy was what impelled the state legislature to take disease control out of the hands of the politically-influenced Board of Agriculture and repose it in a Cattle Commission.¹⁷ Unfortunately, the terms of the commissioners were to expire on December 1, 1902, and their replacements had not yet been nominated.

Whatever the anxieties about the continuity of the control effort, the burden of responsibility was soon transferred to other shoulders. On November 14, Dr. Austin Peters, chief of the cattle bureau of Massachusetts, sent a letter to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) reporting that a disease resembling FMD had been discovered in Chelsea and that he would investigate.¹⁸ Three days later, Dr. Peters dispatched a telegram confirming the diagnosis. Dr. John R. Mohler, chief of pathology of the USDA's Bureau of Animal Industry (BAI), traveled to Massachusetts. After examining infected herds and performing some inoculation experiments on sheep, he came to the same conclusion as Peters. Given the gravity of these findings, USDA Secretary James Wilson sought the expertise of Dr. Law (now dean of the Veterinary College), and, together with Dr. Leonard Pearson (head of the Veterinary Department at the University of Pennsylvania), visited the scene. On November 27, they pronounced without doubt that New England was indeed facing a full-blown outbreak of FMD.¹⁹ Secretary Wilson immediately issued an order that "no cattle, sheep or other ruminants, or swine, shall be moved or be permitted to move" from the affected states, which included Vermont.²⁰ He also mobilized all the forces at his command within the USDA and requested from Congress \$1,000,000 in funding.²¹ Above all, he directed the chief of the BAI, Dr. D.E. Salmon, to personally take charge of the eradication program.²²

Daniel Elmer Salmon (1850–1914) was in the entering class when Cornell University opened its doors in 1868.²³ Studying under Dr. Law, Salmon took a Bachelors of Veterinary Surgery degree in 1872, and after advanced research, became the first person in the U.S. to be awarded a Doctor of Veterinary Medicine degree in 1876.²⁴ After some years both in private practice and doing government-sponsored disease investigations, he was appointed chief of the new BAI in 1884. Its mandate was "to suppress animal diseases and to enter into cooperative relations with state authorities."²⁵ Unless otherwise noted, the following description of the 1902–1903 FMD eradication program is derived from Salmon's official report published in the *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for the Year 1902*.

Dr. Salmon arrived in Massachusetts on the first day of December. Veterinarians employed by the BAI in other parts of the country were already on the ground, and Salmon appointed one person to lead the effort in each state. Dr. Frank Rich was put in charge of Vermont. Since the disease had a considerable head start, Salmon deployed his forces to the towns immediately surrounding the infected districts. Quarantine, slaughter, and disinfection were methodically carried out on infected farms and, as peripheral areas were secured, the work progressed deeper toward the epicenter of the outbreak in each state.

Winter weather was both a help and a hindrance. As in 1870, snow, ice, and cold slowed movement of animals and vehicles, but it also presented obstacles to the eradication teams. Frozen ground made it difficult to excavate trenches in which to dispose of carcasses. In Vermont, cremation was more successful due to the fewer number of animals involved and the ready availability of fuel. The procedure was as follows:²⁶ Animals were euthanized by gunshot or a blow to the head. The internal organs were removed and the carcasses quartered. A trench was dug two feet deep by two feet wide and of sufficient length. A layer of logs was placed lengthwise in the trench, which was then filled with kindling. Four-foot lengths of wood were laid across the filled trench along with the carcasses "in cob fashion." One cord of hard dry four-foot wood was required to adequately cremate six to ten cattle. The USDA compensated the farmer with 70 percent of the value of the stock, but Vermont farmers considered this indemnity to be closer to 50 percent.²⁷ It was a severe financial blow when combined with a prolonged loss of revenue from milk and meat sales.

As arduous as carcass disposal must have been, the task of disinfecting the premises was even more challenging. Squads of eight men were set up and equipped with various tools, including a force pump to spray a mixture of lime wash and chloride of lime (what we now refer to as bleaching powder). All loose material was first swept out. All surfaces were scraped clean and rotten wooden parts removed. Floors sometimes had to be taken up. Manure had to be hauled away. Finally, all surfaces were saturated with disinfectant. The farm gate was then padlocked and no animals were to enter the premises for the prescribed period of several months.

While this effort shifted to high gear, official state support was being marshaled. In the temporary absence of a standing cattle commission, Governor John H. McCullough and University of Vermont President Matthew H. Buckham (ex officio as chairman of the State Board of Agriculture) signed an order on December 2 declaring the towns of Chester and Andover in Windsor County, and the towns of Windham

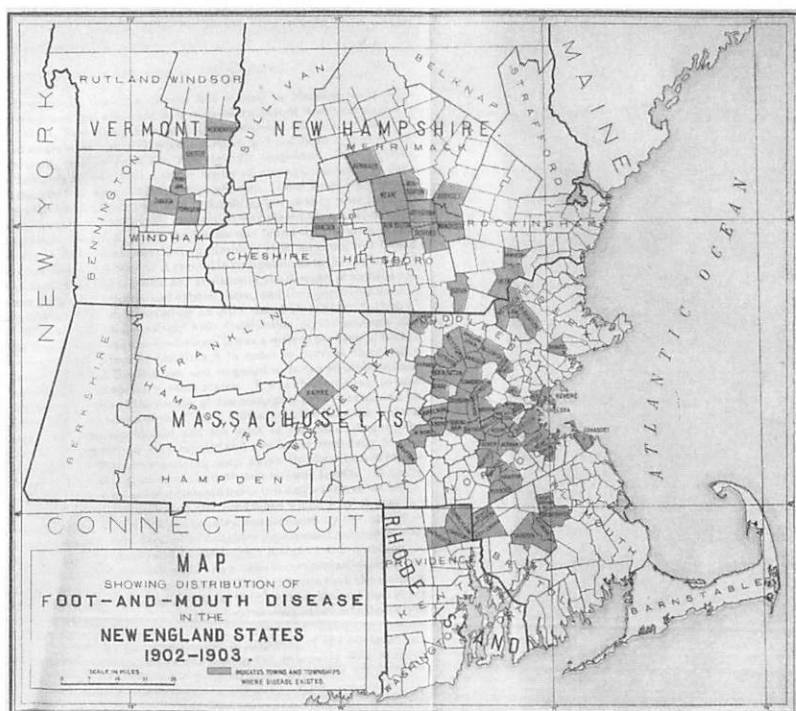
and Grafton in Windham County, to be in strict quarantine.²⁸ By December 5, however, the state senate had approved the governor's appointments to the cattle commission: Victor I. Spear of Randolph as secretary, and veterinarians Frank Rich and George H. Stephens of Hartford.²⁹

By December 12, the stamping out was in full swing in Chester, beginning with the fifteen cattle, along with swine and sheep, belonging to Mr. H.M. Guild. On December 19, two herds were depopulated in Weathersfield, followed by a herd in Windham on the 21st. The largest herd slaughtered in Vermont was the one that began the Vermont outbreak: sixty-three cattle of G.A. Boynton in Gassetts.³⁰

The new year of 1903 saw the FMD outbreak in Vermont under control, the active stamping out having taken approximately one month. The official BAI statistics are as follows: 351 cattle slaughtered comprising 22 herds, 35 hogs, and 74 sheep.³¹ Compensation averaged \$31.06 per head of adult cattle and \$11.80 per calf.³² On May 1, 1903, the statewide quarantine was lifted, but in the infected townships, animals could only be moved with an official permit from a BAI officer.³³ Final termination of restrictions occurred on May 12.³⁴

The New England outbreak of FMD ended after six months of intensive effort and involved Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Vermont (see map). The one loose end left dangling was the uncertainty as to the specific source of the virus. Because the initial cases seemed to cluster around the docks of Chelsea, Massachusetts, it was assumed that the infection arrived in a shipment of hides, wool, ropes, etc., from Europe.³⁵ However, Dr. John Mohler, the BAI pathologist whose scientific investigation initiated the race against the virus, also made the last contribution to a successful conclusion. He found evidence that the virus arrived in a shipment of contaminated human smallpox vaccine of Japanese origin.³⁶ In the late nineteenth century, smallpox vaccine virus was harvested from the fluid ("lymph") from the skin vesicles of calves deliberately infected with a "humanized" strain of cowpox.³⁷ The quality of these vaccines was highly variable. Between 1900 and 1902, the British medical periodical, *The Lancet*, investigated the purity and efficacy of vaccine lymphs from fourteen manufacturers, and found all but one grossly contaminated with bacteria.³⁸ It takes little imagination to understand that a calf co-infected with FMD would produce skin vesicles containing both viruses. Once the vaccine was distributed for use, the highly contagious pathogen could easily escape.

When looking over the BAI statistics, one is struck by the comparatively low impact of the outbreak on Vermont. With 44.4 percent (using



Map of the distribution of foot and mouth disease cases by county in New England. From: Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for the Year 1902 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), insert between pages 392 and 393.

1898 statistics³⁹⁾ of the combined cattle population of the four affected states, Vermont FMD cases were a mere 7.4 percent of the total. Even more revealing is the proportion of infected cattle expressed as a percentage of the total cattle population of each state: Massachusetts (1.3 percent), Rhode Island (1.0 percent), New Hampshire (0.3 percent), and Vermont (0.08 percent). There are several possible explanations for the seeming resistance of Vermont cattle. Vermont was geographically the most distant from the epicenter of the outbreak, and thus less likely to experience multiple introductions of the virus. The combination of weather conditions and road quality may have made cattle traffic problematic. Lastly, there was prompt response by the Vermont Cattle Commission and, despite the controversial tuberculosis experience, farmers were willing to cooperate.

However, I would like to propose another hypothesis. First, one last scientist must be introduced: Sir Albert Howard (1843–1947). He was a professional university-educated agriculturist employed by the British government, and was sent to various places in the Empire to teach local farmers to grow crops for the global market. In each foreign assignment, he observed that traditional farming methods maintained good long-term soil fertility, and that, as he put it, those farmers had more to teach him than he them. His decades of research into soil science and the use of compost produced from recycled organic materials was published in book form in 1943.⁴⁰ Howard's profound insight was that fertility maintained by organic soil amendments gave rise to productive disease-free crops. He further showed that working oxen fed on forage and pasture grown on compost-nourished soil remained free of all diseases. He repeated his cattle experiments many times in different places, even in India, where his oxen were exposed to cattle carrying FMD virus in an adjacent pasture. This infected herd of cattle was part of an estate managed using the nascent industrial agricultural model: high inputs of synthetic agricultural chemicals and feeding highly processed concentrated foodstuffs.

The explanation for Howard's results goes beyond the maintenance of robust health. Virologists now know that the FMD virus has adapted its genome to a very high mutation rate (approximately one mutation per replication), allowing it to evolve rapidly within the animal host.⁴¹ Research with other rapidly evolving viruses shows that the host can nudge that evolution either toward greater or lesser virulence, depending on such factors as nutritional status.⁴² The question, then, is this: Were Vermont farmers of 1902 feeding and caring for their cattle in line with the methods of Sir Albert Howard?

By the turn of the twentieth century, the industrial model was being promoted by the mainstream science of the agricultural colleges. Bulletin no. 81 of the Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station at the University of Vermont (published in 1900) recommended feeding standards utilizing cottonseed meal and gluten meal to increase milk production and expand the size of the dairy herd.⁴³ Two factors militated against the widespread adoption of this practice. First, there was resistance from even the most progressive farmers. In an article entitled "Farm Fertility" that appeared in the 1895 Vermont Agricultural Report, the author stated:

[B]uying commercial fertilizers at the ruling prices . . . if deducted from the usual price of hay would leave a small margin, probably too small for profit . . . [A]nother system follows, whereby the farm products are fed to animals upon the farm, and the manurial elements of the crops grown are returned to the soil.⁴⁴

At the 1904 meeting of the Vermont Dairymen's Association, Mr. M.W. Clark of Williston gave his opinion on promoting dairying as a specialized industry. He advocated reliance on pasture and retaining a diversified farm model, offering sheep as an example:

Vermont farmers must take into consideration Vermont conditions in order to succeed. Our acreage of pasture is way in excess of our suitable tillage land . . . [T]here is that back pasture that has been growing poorer on his hands every day, that he can improve with sheep.⁴⁵

Because sheep can improve the soil and provide a secondary income with modest investment of labor, they have been called "Golden Hoof."⁴⁶ Around 1900, Vermont was home to 28 percent more sheep than the other three New England states combined.⁴⁷

A second factor is that Vermont, owing to its distance from major urban markets, exported its dairy produce in the form of butter and, to a much lesser extent, cheese. At the turn of the twentieth century, there were between 200 and 250 creameries and cheese factories in the state, which produced from 20,000 to 25,000 pounds of butter per day.⁴⁸ There was lively discussion on the topic of feeding protein supplements (i.e., cottonseed meal and gluten meal) at the Vermont Dairymen's Association meeting in January 1900. Many of the progressive farmers made the plunge on a trial basis. They had little doubt that milk output was enhanced, but had poor results with their crucial butter product. Two comments illustrate the problem. The first is from Mrs. Carrie J. Nelson of Ryegate, who was introduced as having "won more prizes than any dairy man":

In a few weeks the butter dealer wrote on the bottom of my weekly return "What are you doing to the butter? It is off on flavor."⁴⁹

She went back to feeding corn and bran to supplement the grass forage, and the dealer's next missive was: "Butter is good." The second comment is from no less a dairyman than George Aitken of Woodstock, who was a vice-president of the association, and marketed his butter to Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. He described his experience with cottonseed meal this way:

The [Philadelphia] buyer wanted to know what was the trouble with my butter stating it was "off" flavor.⁵⁰

He also resumed feeding his own farm-produced grain. Thus it seems that the valuable butter market constrained new feeding practices. Mr. Aitken went on to say that he even avoided feeding silage:

[The silage] smelled so much like a distillery to me, that, being a temperance man, I could not think of feeding it to my cattle . . . I believe that I consider it is largely the cause of the epidemic of tuberculosis that we had here in Vermont.⁵¹

This last sentence returns to the subject of disease susceptibility. According to Mr. Aitken, silage feeding and the overall husbandry conditions of many Vermont dairies contributed to the spread of disease. Perhaps the tuberculosis eradication campaign of the mid-1890s resulted in cleaner, better-managed dairies, setting the stage for greater resilience against the challenge of FMD.

The danger of FMD introduction remains prevalent today, especially with the added threat of a bioterrorist attack. According to a 2011 report, New England is certainly vulnerable.⁵² The statistics in that document suggest that some of the characteristics of dairy farming in Vermont have changed little over the past century: small herds (20–200 cows) predominate and Vermont still has the majority of the region's cattle. As to dairying itself, the precepts of "temperance" have been replaced by those of "sustainability"; new progressive organizations like the Northeast Organic Farmers Association and the Vermont Grass Farmers Association have taken the lead; the creamery has largely yielded to artisan cheese making as a value-added product; and new market forces arising from "locavore" preference and personal health concerns have supported the diversified family operation. While well-informed vigilance remains central to meeting the challenge of exotic diseases, so also is an appreciation of Sir Albert Howard's Great Wheel of Life—"soil, plant, animal, and man: the health of these four is one connected chain."⁵³

NOTES

¹ *Rutland Herald*, 27 November 1902, 3.

² Edwin C. Rozwenc, *Agricultural Policies in Vermont, 1860–1945* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1981), 38.

³ *Rutland Herald*, 27 November 1902, 3.

⁴ John Timoney, et al., *Hagan and Bruner's Microbiology and Infectious Diseases of Domestic Animals* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Comstock Publishing Associates, 1988), 647–665.

⁵ *Transactions of the New York State Agricultural Society—1870* (Albany, N.Y.: The Argus Company, 1871), 4–5.

⁶ Albert H. Wright, *Pre-Cornell and Early Cornell IV, Biology at Cornell University 1868–1928* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Published privately by A.H. Wright, 1953), 3–4.

⁷ James Law, "Contagious Foot and Mouth Disease," *Journal of the New-York State Agricultural Society*, 21 (January 1871): 1–7.

⁸ *Transactions of the New York State Agricultural Society—1871* (Albany, N.Y.: The Argus Company, 1872), 19.

⁹ Joern Klein, "Understanding the Molecular Epidemiology of Foot-and-Mouth-Disease Virus," *Infection, Genetics and Evolution*, 9 (2000): 153–161.

¹⁰ *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Animal Industry for the Year 1902* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1903), 398. Hereafter referenced as *BAI Report*.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 402.

¹² *Rutland Herald*, 27 November 1902, 3.

¹³ *Fifteenth Vermont Agricultural Report of the State Board of Agriculture for the Year 1895* (Burlington, Vt.: The Free Press Association, 1896), 9.

¹⁴ *Rutland Herald*, 2 December 1902, 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

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- ¹⁶ *Fifteenth Vermont Agricultural Report for 1895*, 11.
- ¹⁷ Rozwenc, *Agricultural Policies in Vermont*, 38.
- ¹⁸ *BAI Report*, 391.
- ¹⁹ *Rutland Herald*, 2 December 1902, 3.
- ²⁰ *BAI Report*, 392.
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- ²⁶ *Brattleboro Vermont Phoenix*, 19 December 1902, 2.
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, 5 December 1902, 2.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, 26 December 1902, 2.
- ³¹ *BAI Report*, 409.
- ³² *Ibid.*, 410.
- ³³ *Rutland Herald*, 4 May 1903, 1.
- ³⁴ *BAI Report*, 407.
- ³⁵ M.S. Shahan and J. Traum, "Foot and Mouth Disease," *Animal Diseases—Yearbook of Agriculture 1956* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office), 190.
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- ³⁸ Anonymous, "Glycerinated Vaccine Lymph," *The Chemist and Druggist* (June 14, 1902): 927.
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- ⁴⁰ Albert Howard, *An Agricultural Testament* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1943).
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- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
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- ⁴⁶ P.V. Ewing, ed., *Golden Hoof* (Chicago: Breeders Publications, 1943).
- ⁴⁷ *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1898*, 704.
- ⁴⁸ "Report of the Thirtieth Annual Meeting of the Vermont Dairymen's Association," *Twentieth Annual Report of the Vermont State Board of Agriculture for the Year 1900* (Bradford, Vt.: Press of the Opinion Publishing Company, 1900), 47.
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 41–42.
- ⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 76.
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 77.
- ⁵² R.P. Horwitz, *Foot and Mouth Disease (FMD) as a Hazard for New England Dairies* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Agriculture, 2011).
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VERMONT ARCHIVES AND MANUSCRIPTS

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This occasional section alerts researchers to the rich resources acquired regularly by Vermont's historical repositories. News of accessions and openings of processed collections, as well as longer evaluative descriptions of research collections are welcome. Please send submissions to the Editor, Vermont History.

Eben Judd, Frontier Entrepreneur

In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Ebenezer W. Judd surveyed, speculated in land, started a marble business, and frequently appeared in court as a plaintiff or defendant. His journals document everything from land disputes to recipes; from court trials to an interview with Governor Thomas Chittenden.

By GREGORY SANFORD

The first time I met Eben Judd he was drunk. I realize this is a delicate issue, so let Mr. Judd explain:

Thanksgiving day in the State of Vermont . . . Went to Mr. Hall's at night and was entertained with a fine supper of roasted Turkey, Chicken pies, and apple pies, the first Apple pie or apple I have taisted on at Coos. We had a fiddler and a Coos dance. Went from thence to Mr. Lucey's about 10 o'clock at night, where we found a

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Company drinking scalded Rum, or Hot Toddy as they called it. We had a high Caper as it is usually called. About midnight we returned to Esqr. Eames's and made out [?] to git to bed without help.¹

I was immediately charmed by Ebenezer Warner Judd, and over the years, as time permits, I visit with him.

As with many another barroom acquaintance, I knew Mr. Judd without really knowing him. I discovered few published sources that mention him. I learned that he was born in Waterbury, Connecticut, in 1761, and died in Middlebury, Vermont, in 1837. In a far-ranging career he was a surveyor, land agent, farmer, merchant, mill operator, compiler and publisher of almanacs, politician, inventor, and manufacturer. He may also have been a doctor—he is often referred to as Dr. Judd, though I found no other indication of a medical degree. His journals, however, reveal that he did provide medical assistance as he went about surveying northeastern Vermont. He also treated his own ailments on occasion, often prescribing opium.

Judd was Middlebury's delegate to the 1822 Vermont Constitutional Convention. In 1823 he was elected to Vermont's Executive Council (a body of twelve men, elected statewide, which until 1836 constituted part of the executive branch). From 1825 until 1829 he was an assistant judge of Addison County.

Although Judd was prominent in Addison County politics in the nineteenth century, his political career began in Guildhall during the eighteenth. He was the first judge of probate for the District of Guildhall from 1790–1795, when the town was part of Orange County. He also served in various town offices in Guildhall in the 1790s, including proprietors' clerk, justice of the peace, and (perhaps) town clerk.

Forgotten by many Vermonters, Eben Judd nonetheless remains a beloved figure in Essex County. He is described in Everett C. Benton's *A History of Guildhall, Vermont* as "the most public spirited man who has ever lived in the county, and was without doubt one of the best, most prominent and honorable citizens of the town. . . . He did more to smooth over the hard feelings which existed between the settlers and proprietors than any other man."² In a 1950 speech celebrating the Essex County Courthouse, George N. Dale called Judd "a public spirited philanthropist [who] gave this land to us for a Court House and Common."³

As I read these celebrations of my hot toddy-drinking, opium-ingesting acquaintance, I was surprised. My initial experience with Eben Judd had left me with a somewhat different impression. He was certainly a sharp business man; there are those in Middlebury who still assert that Judd stole the plans for the town's first marble sawmill from a twelve-year-old child. He was also a litigious sort, involved in lawsuits from one end

of the state to the other. And there was an unfortunate episode with two federal marshals.

These may not be mutually exclusive views of the man. He lived during a tumultuous time in Vermont, when loyalties were divided and one's economic self-interest and political agenda were occasionally indistinguishable. Popular views of Judd's contemporaries, Ethan, Ira, and Levi Allen, are similarly colored by the mingling of private self-interest and public selflessness. Eben Judd is hardly the last citizen of the Northeast Kingdom to be cherished for his foibles as much as his virtues.

My personal admiration for Eben Judd derives from an entirely different source. Judd was one of the great journal keepers of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Vermont. Over his various careers he kept records of his surveys and business dealings, of his trials and his travels. His surviving notebooks and journals can be found in the Vermont State Archives and Records Administration (VSARA) and at the Sheldon Museum (which is located in Judd's old house in Middlebury). Judd's records are arguably the best single source on early Vermont besides the letters of the Allen family.

I first encountered Judd some thirty years ago, when I became state archivist and came across his 1786 journal of his trip to, and surveying of, the Upper Coos (now Essex County). It is in this journal that I happened upon Judd's November 30, 1786, entry describing his encounter with scalded rum. I was immediately captivated by this very human journalist and, in rare free moments, I further imbibed from his journals.

What little knowledge I have of Judd comes from these occasional readings. I do not know enough details of his life to pretend to be a biographer. Indeed, his various journals left me with many unanswered questions about how certain events in his life fit together. So, rather than attempt a comprehensive or chronological recital of Judd's life, I will share some of his writings to give a flavor of this remarkable participant in, and observer of, early Vermont.

Judd's records at VSARA are part of the records of the Office of Surveyor General. Judd was not a surveyor general, though he is sometimes referred to as a deputy surveyor and he communicated with Surveyor General James Whitelaw. My sense is that he was hired by the proprietors of and inhabitants in Essex County to unravel their extremely confused town boundaries and property lines.

How confused? Several Essex County towns had overlapping boundaries. Some towns did not encompass the amount of acreage described in their original charters, clouding titles to land and raising all sorts of tax questions. These tax questions were exacerbated by statewide property taxes; towns that failed to provide their allotted state taxes could be

“doomed” by the General Assembly.⁴ Many Essex County towns, including Guildhall, eventually sought legislative relief, claiming that they were being taxed on more acreage than they contained.

Confused boundaries created more than tax problems. After one survey, it turned out that Guildhall’s town officials were actually residing in neighboring towns and therefore were ineligible for office.

When Judd first became involved in surveying town boundaries, he copied the minutes of the original proprietors’ meetings for Guildhall.⁵ The proprietors were mostly Connecticut residents and held their meetings there. Their minutes reveal how confusion about boundaries evolved. For example, in November 1761, the proprietors appointed a committee to “go view Guildhall.”⁶ Several such committees were subsequently appointed, but twenty-six years later the proprietors were still trying to locate their towns through surveys, a process that by then included Eben Judd (who not only did the surveys, but also became a proprietor and secretary to their meetings). In the absence of accurate surveys, “sundry owners and others have taken possession and made large improvements” to the land without clear title.⁷ In other words, in the absence of accurate surveys, squatters settled in Guildhall and elsewhere.

Settlers with unclear or non-existent title were committed to protecting their property and the improvements they had made. In October 1786 Judd began surveying. On October 9 he wrote:

Surveyed on the side of River in Maidstone. Just at sunset was met with a Company of Men in a Riotous Manner on a Bow of [land?] that Mr. Shuff Lives on. They held our fore Chainman and thretoned some of us very high, and said if we went on they would bre[ak] our heads. We returned to Thos. Woosters took supper and went to bead.⁸

On October 13 Judd’s work was again interrupted by a “Company of Setlers” who “stoped us and hindered some time.”⁹ On the 14th Judd was better prepared and wrote “Began to Lot where we left off on Waits Bow. We went strong handed and Joseph Holebrooks, Esqr. carryed the fore end of the Chain, and was clenched upon by Mr. Grapes, but Grapes was advised to let him go on. We finished Lotting.”¹⁰

Clearly, the laying out and settling of Essex County was not always a peaceful affair. And the stakes were high. Imagine clearing land and suffering the hardships of early settlement only to be threatened by the loss of your land and labor because of inaccurate surveys.

The stakes were particularly high for the squatters who had established claims without title. Judd wondered how to treat the squatters and decided to go straight to the top for answers. His entry for June 4, 1787, begins: “Crossed the River to Williston to see his Excelency, the governor of Vermont. I found him in a small house in the Woods.” Judd recorded a question and answer session with Governor Thomas Chittenden.

When Judd asked, "What shall we do with those settlers now in Maidstone?" Chittenden responded, "You must put into the Warning of your meeting to have them hold their pitches and must not interrupt them, for I will take the part of the poor settlers rather than have them Interrupted, and you must give them More than Grants[?] if you intend to have them be peaceable."¹¹ Judd's transcript of Governor Chittenden's remarks provides a unique, direct insight into our first governor.

Judd's surveying records also reveal the previously mentioned tension between public and private interests. Judd took full advantage of his dual roles as a surveyor and land agent to acquire extensive holdings throughout the county. To cite one example: In 1791, the State of Vermont imposed a half-cent-an-acre tax on all property in Vermont in order to pay off New York's claims to the state. This was part of the agreement that led to Vermont's admission to the Union. In 1793, the state treasurer noted that many of the proprietors of Guildhall had not paid this tax and ordered their land sold at public auction. Judd ran the auction—and bought at least twenty-four parcels of land.

In addition to his extensive land holdings, Judd also owned a mill in Guildhall and a general store just over the line in Canada. But his widespread business interests became his undoing. By 1799 Judd was a debtor, confined to Windsor until his creditors could be paid off. Judd's journals became as concerned with documenting his lawsuits as his land and business dealings.

Here the story becomes somewhat confused. Judd was confined to the Windsor and Woodstock jail yards, but his confinement was loose and he was allowed to live with his family in a private home in Windsor, with some supervised travel privileges. This arrangement was threatened by the arrival of two U.S. marshals to serve additional writs upon him.

The U.S. marshals, Samuel Fitch of Addison County and Thomas R. Hawley of Franklin County, posed a new threat to Judd. Judd feared that they would remove him to Middlebury. Middlebury was a designated federal as well as a county jail, and debtors in federal jails suffered closer confinement (admittedly, it is difficult to envision confinement to places such as Windsor, Woodstock, and Middlebury as excessively cruel, but once you have lived in Guildhall—well, there you have it).

Initially, closer confinement in Middlebury was the least of Judd's worries, as the marshals knocked down the doors of the house where he was staying in Windsor and proceeded to assault Judd and his family. This launched yet another lawsuit involving Judd. According to Marshal Samuel Fitch, when he tried to serve the writ, Judd first pulled a pistol on him and then a knife. Fitch knocked the gun from Judd's hand with a cane and was forced to subdue him with a leaded whip. In his response Judd countered that Fitch

broke and burst open the outside back door of [Judd's] house and rushed forcibly in upon him . . . and knocked him down with a large cane and loaded whip, and beat, bruised and wounded him till he [Judd] was left on the floor bleeding and senseless, and committed other violent outrage upon his family by presenting a pistol at Mrs. Judd . . . in order to frighten and terrify her, and afterwards, on the same 18th day of March [1800] . . . carried and conveyed away [Judd] to the House of Allen Hays in Windsor . . . and then and there continued their assault and abuse upon him . . . and upon Mrs. Judd by presenting a pistol at her and by threatning and challenging [Judd] to fight a duel, etc., etc.¹²

Judd filled two journals on the ensuing court case with its myriad twists and sub-plots.¹³ To cite a few twists: Judd claimed to have previously paid Fitch \$12 so he would be confined to Woodstock rather than Middlebury. One of Judd's lawyers, Amasa Paine, accepted money to represent Judd in his various suits with creditors but ended up working for the creditors, launching another lawsuit. Judd's former partner in the Canadian general store had publicly vowed revenge and may have encouraged the marshals to kill Judd.¹⁴ And in yet another twist, Judd successfully sued Marshal Fitch for trespass and received punitive damages.

Judd was ultimately incarcerated in Middlebury, under close confinement, until he could post bond following the fight with the marshals. While in Middlebury he met a twelve-year-old prodigy, Isaac Markham, and, depending on whom you believe, Judd either improved or stole Markham's plans for a marble-cutting saw. Judd then launched Middlebury's marble industry.

He was soon embroiled in new lawsuits. Perhaps the most notable is still referred to as the Middlebury Offal War. Once again confused land titles lay at the root of the problem. Judd received a 999-year lease to quarry marble, but when actual title of the land changed hands, the new owner tried to establish a tannery at the quarry site. The quarry work kept undermining the new owner's buildings. The owner, Moses Leonard, retaliated by periodically draining tannery waste into Judd's quarry. As one of Judd's men testified, the products of the tannery "consisted of large quantities of the entrails and honches of cattle and sheep—sheeps heads, etc with a great variety of other filth stuff . . . Whilst we were quarrying in the hole, it frequently happened that we would hear the water coming down the bank upon us where we were at work and all hands would have to clear out, and when the water stopped shovel out the muck and wash off the rocks so that we could go to work again."¹⁵

The journals reveal a hint of Forrest Gump in Eben Judd. He seems continually to wander into the personalities and events of his day. For example, when Judd finished surveying the Coos in late 1786, he began working his way back to Waterbury, Connecticut. He conducted

business along the way and on Christmas day approached West Springfield, Massachusetts.

When I first approached this House I saw a most horred spectacular [spectacle]. . . . [A] Company of Men under Arms with Guns and Bayanuts. Their countanencies showd terror and Dearth. They were some of them nearly Drunk and Clashing bayanats to soards [swords] in a most shocking manner. . . . they were going to break up the Court at Springfield. Old hateful and angry Mars is now mustering his hellish forces to a horrid and destructive war.¹⁶

On December 26th he wrote,

What I have beheld to Day? What is this land coming too? Surely if I judge aright there will be in short time murder and Bloodshed. I see it in the faces of many a man. All law is trampled upon. The Courts are all broak up by mobs and Riots and what will be next? I'll venture to say a most distressing intestind [incident?]. War, which if persued, 'tis likely will end in the Ruin of this State. Far better would it be for you Bostonians to sheath the sward while in your power least you go so far that there be no recovery.¹⁷

Judd had wandered into Shays's Rebellion, a key event in the creation of the U.S. Constitution. Yet for all his dread, Judd continued on to Waterbury, where he began to draw up his accounts and surveys without further mention of the Rebellion.

Where should we leave Eben Judd? There is so much more in the journals that, to use one of Judd's favorite phrases, I would love to tarry at. He comments on the accommodations and costs of inns, and on the character of innkeepers. He filled one ledger with his salt business, from unloading the salt from ships in New York and elsewhere, to selling the salt in Essex County, to noting recipes for salting everything from beans to beef.

His records at the Sheldon Museum include his plans for a patent on mills powered by the movements of the tide. As a general store owner he wrote down orders for household goods from Essex County residents, providing a rare glimpse into frontier homes. Once, when he stopped to confer with Surveyor General James Whitelaw in Ryegate, Whitelaw was out. So while Judd waited he began to write down the titles of books in Whitelaw's library. The titles that interested Judd related to growing fruit, another of his business interests. He occasionally detailed his treatment of sick residents of the Coos and commented on the general health of the settlers.

Judd's court depositions detail how he paid out of his own pocket for forty men to help survey Essex County, and how his store provided the implements used to clear and settle the upper Coos. His business dealings are described throughout the journals—including some with my

ancestors, such as Oliver Sanford, who moved from Redding, Connecticut, to Addison County just before Judd's arrival in Middlebury.

All of these journal entries provide an extensive and perhaps unique view of life on the Vermont frontier. They also offer perspectives that deserve further study. For example, Judd's business ventures in Essex County and Canada, and his routine travels throughout New England, Canada, and the Mid-Atlantic states, suggest a local economy extending far beyond the traditional image of subsistence farms and rural isolation.

For legal historians there are numerous treasures. Judd kept extensive notes on his court cases, including transcripts of testimony, depositions, and judges' instructions to juries. While he awaited his trial in Woodstock he took notes on other cases, including a rape case and two involving the selling of foreign rum. When he was held in close confinement, after the fracas with the marshals, he ordered and read the laws of the United States, the laws of Vermont, D & East's English common law, Virginia's statutes, and other legal tomes, as well as a modern history of Europe—offering insights into the resources available to Vermont's early lawyers.¹⁸ Many of the most noted lawyers of the day appear in the journals: Jonathan Hatch Hubbard, Daniel Buck, Oliver Gallup, Stephen Jacob, and Nathaniel Chipman.

I can only hint at the wealth of information in the journals. Lamentably, the journals are increasingly fragile, not generally accessible, and not always legible. Thanks to the wonderful work of Reidun Nuquist, several of Judd's journals have been transcribed and are now more accessible at VSARA. We owe Ms. Nuquist our gratitude for her painstaking transcriptions, particularly since it is safe to say that fine calligraphy was not among Judd's many talents.

What emerges from all the writings on matters great and small is Eben's enthralling personality. After listening to a sermon, Judd wrote about how the minister spoke on the text, "to be carnal minded is death; but to be spiritual minded is life and peace" (Rom. 8:6). To his journal Judd added his own sermon:

"Man is born into trouble as the sparks fly upward [Job 5:7]." I shall divide my discourse into and consider it under the three following heads: First, man's ingress into the world. Second, his progress through the world. Third, his egress out of the world,—

First, man comes into the world naked and bare;
Second, his progress through it is trouble and care;
Third, he goes out of it nobody knows where.

To conclude:

If you do well while here, you will fair well when there
I can tell you no more, if I preach a whole year.¹⁹

NOTES

¹Eben W. Judd, *Journal of Survey to the Upper Coos 1786[–1787]*, November 30, 1786, Surveyor General's Papers, c. 1779–1838, volume 30, Record Series SE-132, Container SE-132-00016, Vermont State Archives and Records Administration, Middlesex, Vt. Hereafter, Judd 1786 Journal. Quotations will reflect original spellings as transcribed by Reidun Nuquist. Transcriptions are available at the Vermont State Archives and Records Administration.

²Everett C. Benton, *A History of Guildhall, Vermont: A Facsimile of the First Edition* [1886] (Guildhall, Vt.: Town of Guildhall, Vermont, 1985), 248.

³George N. Dale, "One Hundred Years—A Celebration of the Building of the Essex County Courthouse, 1850–1950," *Essex County Herald*, 12 August 1950.

⁴The General Assembly would set the tax rate for a town in the absence of a submittal from town; this was known as dooming.

⁵Eben Judd, Records of the Proprietors of Guildhall, 3 January 1795, attested by Ebenezer Judd, Proprietors' Clerk, Surveyor General's Papers, c. 1779–1838, volume 22, Record Series SE-132, Container SE-132-00012. Hereafter cited as Proprietors' Records.

⁶Proprietors' Records, 2 November 1761.

⁷*Ibid.*, 17 February 1787. By then Judd had completed his initial surveys but throughout 1787 the proprietors' records document efforts to reach some accord with those who had settled in Guildhall without clear title.

⁸Judd, 1786 Journal, 9 October 1786.

⁹*Ibid.*, 13 October 1786.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, 14 October 1786.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 4 June 1787.

¹²Eben W. Judd, Incomplete Minutes Regarding Personal Law Suits, 1801, 18 March 1802, Surveyor General's Papers, c. 1779–1838, volume 21, SE-132, Container SE-132-00012.

¹³In addition to volume 21, see Eben W. Judd, *Journal Private Affairs While in Prison 1800*, Surveyor General's Papers, volume 32 Record Series SE-132, Container SE-132-00017.

¹⁴See for example the deposition of Ino. Pope, in Judd, Incomplete Minutes, starting on page 107.

¹⁵Testimony of Luther Harris in Ebenezer Judd Papers, Sheldon Museum, Box 2, Folder 2.13.

¹⁶Judd, 1786 Journal, 25 December 1786.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, 26 December 1786.

¹⁸D & East's refers to Charles Durnford and Edward Hyde East, *Term Reports in the Court of the King's Bench*, 8 vols. (London: T. Whieldon, 1787–1800).

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 25 March 1787. Judd occasionally noted sermons he attended, including a Roman Catholic sermon that he enjoyed.

Eben Judd's *Journal of Survey to the Upper Coos, 1786*

Transcribed with notes by REIDUN D. NUQUIST

*E*ben Judd's 1786 journal is volume 30 of the Surveyor General's Papers of the Vermont State Archives and Records Administration; the volume also holds Judd's 1787 journal.

The manuscript journal measures $6\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, is laminated in silk, and preserved in a leather binding. The spine title reads *Journal of Survey to the Upper Coos, 1786*. At the head of the first entry is written:

Waterbury August 18th
Journal to the Upper Coos
1786
Kept by
Eben W. Judd
*Sit quantum nesicit [nescit]*¹

The journal pages are smoke-damaged, making some of the text difficult to decipher.

In transcribing Eben Judd's journal, I have strived to make it as readable as possible by keeping emendations to a minimum. I have retained Judd's spelling when the meaning is clear. Where words are not easily recognized, the correct spelling follows in brackets. Judd's capitalization appears as written, including nouns. The first word in a sentence is always capitalized, as are personal names, place names, and titles. Abbreviations and contractions are shown as written, unless expanded in brackets to assist the reader. Ampersand is silently converted to "and" and "&c" to "etc."

As to Judd's sparse punctuation, his dashes have been replaced by commas, semi-colons, periods, or question marks, to clarify the meaning. A period closes each sentence. I have interpreted long dashes, lines, and gaps in the text to indicate new paragraphs. In addition, I have occasionally inserted paragraphs in long blocks of text to ease the reading.

REIDUN D. NUQUIST is a retired librarian who spent her working years at the Vermont Historical Society and the Bailey/Howe Library at the University of Vermont. She transcribed Eben Judd's journals as a volunteer for the Vermont State Archives and Records Administration.

Interlineations are silently incorporated into the text. Deletions—crossed-out and X'ed out words—are omitted, as are repeated words, typically found on top of the next journal page.

Date elements are normalized.

THE TEXT

On August 18, 1786, twenty-five-year-old Eben Judd left Waterbury, Connecticut, for the Coos intervalle in the Upper Connecticut River Valley. His small party included Joseph Holbrook who soon was to become a thorn in Judd's side. They covered up to thirty-two miles a day on horseback, heading north through Massachusetts, into New Hampshire, and up through the Connecticut River Valley.

Judd was hired by the proprietors, largely land speculators from Connecticut, to survey towns on both sides of the river. The towns had been granted in 1761–1763 by New Hampshire Governor Benning Wentworth; today they are parts of Essex County, Vermont, and Coös County, New Hampshire.

To carry out his surveys, Judd would have used compass, a surveyor's chain for measuring or "running" lines, an axe for marking lines and corners, and paper for writing field notes. A fore and a back (or aft) chainman would have carried the chain, and a third man might have carried the axe for Judd. Judd would have paid special attention to the laying out of river lots: The winding Connecticut River was a major transportation artery and access to it was important.

Where Judd writes that he is "lot[ti]ng," he is subdividing a town or land parcel into lots. With the term "plan[n]ing," he is probably referring to drafting a plan based on his field work. In some journal entries, he notes that he "wrote on the reacords," by which he may mean that he is transcribing his field notes.²

Before we join Judd at work in late September, he had been crisscrossing the Connecticut River on proprietors' business. Then as now, these northern New England towns were rugged and sparsely populated. The young surveyor endured cold, wind, rain, snow, and meager rations, often having to camp overnight in the woods. His employers, the proprietors, would also test his mettle.

Thursday, September 28, 1786

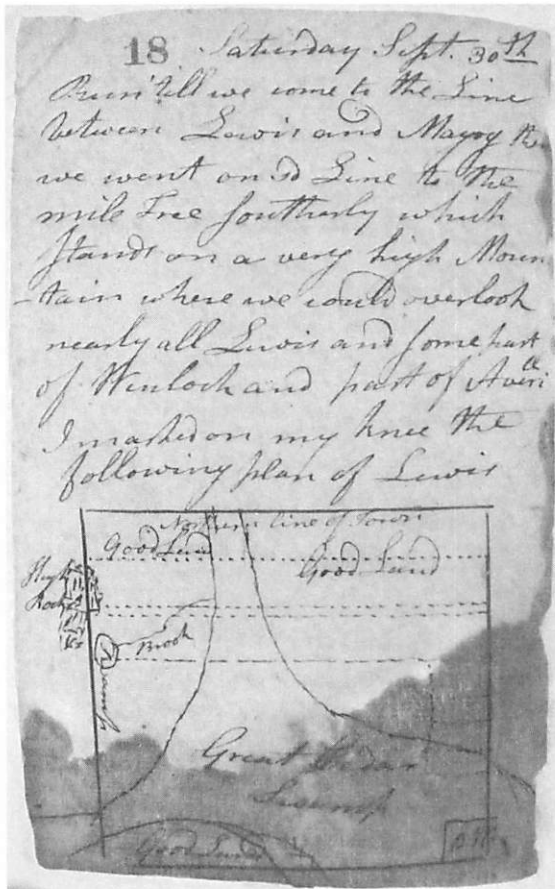
Traveled Six miles on the S. Line of Lemington, and Carried our Packs to the Township of Lewis. Soon after we arived there was a Thunder Shower and very high wind. We began to Lot just before night. Run half a mile and Incamped without Water.

Friday, September 29, 1786

Run about 4 miles and Incampd.

Saturday, September 30, 1786

Run 'till we come to the Line between Lewis and Magog, then we went on sd Line to the mile Tree southerly, which stands on a very high Mountain where we could overlook nearly all Lewis and some part of Wenlock³ and part of Averill. I marked on my knee the following plan of Lewis:



From Eben Warner Judd, Journal of Survey to the Upper Coos, 1786, Vermont Surveyor General's Papers, 30: 18. Vermont State Archives and Records Administration (Middlesex, Vt.), SE132-00016. Courtesy of Vermont State Archives and Records Administration.

We Incamped without water and almost choaked to Dearth [death].

Sunday, October 1, 1786

Run, and Lotted as we run 5 miles and Incamped by a small Brook.

Monday, October 2, 1786

Finished the Lotting of Lewis and set out for homewards and Lodged on one of the Branches of Nulhegan River.

[Joseph] Holebrooks⁴ arived at Coos to Day.

Tuesday, October 3, 1786

Traviled thro' the woods and returned to Woosters at Dark and took supper there.

Wednesday, October 4, 1786

Spent my Day recruiting⁵ from my Teadious Journey in the woods. Went to Mr. Riches, took Dinner there and spent my afternoon with Doctr. [Nathaniel] Gott.⁶ Returned to Wooster at night.

Thursday, October 5, 1786

This Day we had a meeting at Woosters, Maj. Wilder, Moderator.

Joseph Holebrooks confused the whole meeting and conducted in a very scandalous manner: Was for having [James] Whitlaws⁷ survey or Locution [location?] all Broak up and all our allotment, and said he wa[s] ashamed of such Conduct. The meeting was D[illegible] adjourned 'till the next Day and the settlers of Maidstone sent for.

Friday, October 6, 1786

Another meeting at Wooster[s], the setlers of Maidstone [illegible] and some other gentlemen with them. One Mr. Elihew [Elihu] Hall⁸ from Walingsford [Wallingford, Conn.] come with sd settlers this Day. Holebrooks agreed to pay for all I had surveyed, and would survey in Stratford [N.H.] Land if I desired it.

To Day Holebrooks conducted [himself] in a most shamful manner. He insulted Mr. Hall and abused him who is a gentlemen of Honour and creadit. He set every man against him that had sence enough not to believe his falseties.

He bid men kiss his ass in the open meeting who were men of sence and Character.

He quarreled with Mr. [Andrew] Beers⁹ for not letting him [page torn] the Proprietors Money to convert to his own use, which money Mr. Beers collected and was obliged by his word, honour and obligations to lay out on sd Proprietors Land, Viz. to Lot out the Towns.

He almost or quite persuaded Capt. [Elijah] Hinmon¹⁰ to go and

break up our Lotment and d[i]vide the towns up, which Plan would [have] Ruined this Country and many of the Proprietors in Connecticut, for it would [have] created a Lawsuit which must cost more than the Towns were worth and Detard [retard? deter?] the settlement perhaps forever.

O' Cursed Traitor to the Proprietors, hide Thy face from Justice, least it over take thee in thy conear [corner] and tear thee a[s] a hungry Lion and her harmless prey.

Shall I say thus much to Scandelise one of my humane species without a cause? No, God forbid if I have no just grounds for this Decleration, let some man of sence take this and substitute [illegible] my own name in stead of Holebrooks's, and add ten fold to the Cussed act to be a stain and blot to my Character as long as my name is in remembrance.

We agreed to begin the survey on Maidstone and retired to rest. I lodged at Woosters.

N.B. Old Mr. Thomas Wooster¹¹ agreed to pay me for surveying on sd Maidstone.

Saturday, October 7, 1786

Fore noon prepared to set out on Maidstone, at noon began to survey the same. Capt. Hinmon and Joseph Wooster went with me. We surveyed on Connecticut River as far as David Gaskill.¹²

Sunday, October 8, 1786

Took Breakfast at Woosters. Dined at [Philip] Grapes's¹³ with Mr. Tompkins on roasted Turkey, and lodged at Wm. Curtis's in Stratford.

Monday, October 9, 1786

Surveyed on the side of River in Maidstone. Just at sunset was met with a Company of Men in a Riotous Manner on a Bow of [land?] that Mr. [Jacob] Shuff [Schoff]¹⁴ Lives on. They held our fore Chainman and thretoned some of us very high, and said if we went on they would bre[ak] our heads.¹⁵ We returned to Thos. Woosters, took supper and went to bead.

Tuesday, October 10, 1786

Lay by waiting to have them git thro' with their talk and set me to work on Maidstone, but at night they concluded to have me go and Lot Brunswick.

Wednesday, October 11, 1786

Set out for Brunswick to Lot the same. Capt Hinmon, Philo Treet, Joseph Holebrooks Junr., and Joh. Woster with me. We arived at Brunswick N.E. Corner about half after two O'clock, and began to Lot. Loted till Dark and Incamped in the woods.

.....

Thursday, October 12, 1786

Continued Lotting 'till Dark. Incamped in the woods near Linsey Bow. Wind very high in the night, and we retreated out from the Trees onto Hydes Clearing and slept in the open Land.

Friday, October 13, 1786

Continued Lotting 'till about 2 o'clock P.M., and was met with a Company of Setlers in a Riotous manner. They stoped us and hinderd [us] some time. The names of the Riotours are:

Joseph Wait¹⁶

Philips Grapes

Nathl. Wait

John Merrill¹⁷

Lodged at Grapes, eat supper and Breakfast there, and Mr. Beers with me.

Saturday, October 14, 1786

Began to Lot where we left off on Waits Bow. We went strong handed and Joseph Holebrooks, Esqr., carryed the fore end of Chain and was clenched upon by Mr. Grapes, but Grapes was advised to let him go on. We finished Lotting.

Sunday, October 15, 1786

Tarried at Woosters some part of the Day. Eat one meal of Victuals. Rainy.

Monday, October 16, 1786

This Day Training. Capt Holebrooks Company got together. I happened by and see some of their menunesm [munitions]. This Day Did busness for my self. Lodged at Mr. Gaskills.

Tuesday, October 17, 1786

Spent considerable part of the Day looking [at] Minutes off Stratford [N.H.] Charter. Eat one meal at Woosters. Lodged at Vincent Shermons on my Road towards the N.W. Corner of Stratford, waited here 'till the Chainmen come on next morning.

Wednesday, October 18, 1786

Rode to the N.W. corner of Stratford which is about 7 miles from Shermons. We arived at sd Corner about 8 o'clock in morning. Our Company were Capt Elijah Hinmon, Mr. James Brown, E[illegible] Curtis, James Curtis and David Smith.

We run about 2 miles. Lodged on the Bank of Roaring Brook.

Thursday, October 19, 1786

Run 5 miles an[d] an half and Incamped near the N.E. Corr. of Stratford. In the night took with the Cholic and abated the same by Eating raw Aloes.¹⁸

Snow over shoes.

Friday, October 20, 1786

Run 4 miles and on the East line of Stratford, and Incamped by one branch of Nashes stream.

Saturday, October 21, 1786

Run near 4 miles over a high mountain which is 77 rods on a Perpendicular. Incamped on very good Land.

Sunday, October 22, 1786

Run about 4 miles on sd East line of Stratford. Crossed a large pond, good Land all round it and a fine foot path made by Moos. Incamped near the S.E. Corr.

Monday, October 23, 1786

Made the S.E. Cornir of Stratford on Perry Line. From thence we run on sd Perry line five miles and better to Northumberland [N.H.] N.E. Corn. and Incampd.

Tuesday, October 24, 1786

Run to the Mouth of Bogg Brook about one o'clock, almost tired and Starved to Death. [illegible]ad at Woosters and tarried there that night.

Wednesday, October 25, 1786

Recover'd from my tedious Journey, so much as that I Planed at Mr. Browns half a Day on Stratford. Lodged at Baldwins.

Thursday, October 26, 1786

Went to Old Torrys and got some corn for my Hors. Got my Hors shod at Mr. Birams. Went to Mr. Baldwins and lodged Here. I got a Chest lock.

Friday, October 27, 1786

Fore noon Planed for Brown on Stratford. Afternoon Surveyed for Joseph Holebrooks, Junr., on Stratford. Lodged at John Holebrooks and Eat Old Hasty pudding¹⁹ that the old man had Eat a week before.

Saturday, October 28, 1786

Forenoon planed on Stratford for Brown. Afternoon surveyd for Thos. Wooster on his Bow. Lodged at Woosters.

Sunday, October 29, 1786

Tarried at Thos. Woosters all Day.

Monday, October 30, 1786

Surveyed for Thos. Wooster all Day and Divided his line between him and Gaskill. Lodged at Woosters.

Tuesday, October 31, 1786

This morning began to survey for David Gaskill, but had not been on the Business long before Holebrooks fool, Chapman, come to me with a

Lye [lie] in his mouth from old Jo. Holebrooks, saying that I must go immediately to John Holebrooks for they had been waiting for me all Day yesterday to go [illegible] on Stratford, and also he [illegible] thought I was a man of more sence than to be Employed in such Business. Accordingly I went up to see my Lord, and spent the fore noon with him in a very disagreeable manner. Afternoon returned to Woosters and Divided his Intervueil [intervale] from up Land. Lodged there.

Wednesday, November 1, 1786

Surveyed for Gaskill in fore noon, afternoon went to John Hoelbrooks. Sd Holebrooks had been for me in the morning, but could not cross the River, so I did not git intelegence from him 'till noon. As soon as I come in to Old Johns, Jo. Holebrooks, Esqr., told me I might go back again, for they had all gone off that were waiting for me. However, he recalled his words and got me to look [at?] Preston Charter. Then old John. got me to look of Stratford Plans, and Hindered me about two thirds of a Day which I must charge to him. But Damn him, he will never pay me.

Thursday, November 2, 1786

Went to Esqr. [Jeremiah] Eames's²⁰ to look [for] new quarters, for Tom. Wooster I found to be such a knave that I dare not live there no longer. I found that he had charged me so much for washing and my board, by the meal, that my own expences pr. week would be about ten shillings, besides my hors keeping. And I also found his own company and others which lived there so disagreeable that I desired to depart without loss of time. I always [illegible] thought Tom. Wooster was an honest man before and a good wholesome inhabitant and ment always to think so of him, but experence has taught [taught] me that he is not possessed with a single principle of honour, nor honesty. He may thank his god for not giving him sence enough to be a great Feillen [felon].

I went from Esqr. Eames's to one Linseys in Guildhall and returned to Mr. Riches and lodged.

I also agreed this Day to come to live at Esqr. Eames's.

Friday, November 3, 1786

Went from Mr. Riches to Tom Woosters and got my Chest and brought the same to Esqr. Eames's and began to board there. I arived just at night. Snowd all the fore noon, but I Eat two meals at Eames's, Esqr., to Day.

Saturday, November 4, 1786

Tarried at Esqr. Eames's all Day and Planed for Tom. Woosters and some for David Gaskill.

Sunday, November 5, 1786

Tarried at Esqr. Eames's all Day.

Monday, November 6, 1786

Planed on Brunswick at Esqr. Eames's in forenoon, afternoon went after my Hors who had swum the River onto Riches Bow.

Tuesday, November 7, 1786

Crossed the River to Mr. Riches this morning to git my Breakfast, because of a muster at Eames's.

Set out for Stratford with Capt Hinmon, so as to be ready to begin to survey on the River in Maidstone. Lodged at Grapes's.

Wednesday, November 8, 1786

Surveyed on the River in Maidstone. Was stoped and held fast by the settlers of sd Town, near the W. Merrels's.

The names of the Riotors are:

James Lucus [Lucas]

Jacob Shuff [Schoff]

and a number of Young men and boy not known to me

John Hicugh [Hickock?]

John Rich

Went to Birams and sleped on the floor in Company with Maj. Wilder, Capt. Hinmon, David Hyde²¹ and Philo Treet.

Thursday, November 9, 1786

Began at Break of Day to survey when I sett off[f], but had not gone far before I was discovered by John Hicugh who alarmed the Town. In about half an Hour they come and stoped us on a bow of Land called Halls Bow. We went in and found Capt. Ward Bailey²² who is the head of all these Riots, and while we was warming us, Maj. Wilder and Treet, the Standing Committee for sd Maidstone, came up and went in soon after this. The settlers got Wilder and Treet [stepped] out at the Door, and agreed with them to have the matter delayed 'till after our Meeting, and sd Committee engagued the setlers that they would use their influence to have Each setler have twenty Acres of meadow Land and eighty acres of upland.

I returned to Esqr. Eames's and took off the minutes of my survey. Lodged th[ere].

Friday, November 10, 1786

Forenoon Planed on Brunswick, afternoon went to Lancaster and Lunenburg [Lunenburg]. Agreed for a pair of boots and returned to Esqr. Eames's at night.

Saturday, November 11, 1786

Set out for Stratford. Met Joseph Holebrook, Junr., after me to go a surveying on the Mineral Bow, and to go to a meeting, so as to fix our Votes and writings all ready to record, so that Beers, Hinmon and Tompkins might go home. I went to Woosters and took Dinner. Went to Jo. Waits and lodged.

Sunday, November 12, 1786

Went to Tom. Woosters and writ accounts for him.

Monday, November 13, 1786

Went to Jo. Waits according to agreement. But Lord Holebrooks would not appear there, the reasons which he assigned were that we were all against him and there could not be nothing done if he went.

Tuesday, November 14, 1786

Went to Esqr. Eames's after my Tools to Survey on Mineral Bow and to finish Lemington. Tompkins went with me, and we went to Joseph Waits and lodgd.

This night Daniel Rich Died.

Before I go on farther I will give a short History of his disease.²³

I paid this Patient a Visit the 10th Day of Sept. last and found him as follows:

A low Pulse, weak and faint Voice, not able to Dress himself, nor to sit up but a few minutes at the time.

He appeared not to have any Fever, but lay very Easy. He sometimes complained of a gripeing Pain in his Bowels, but never of any other as I ever larnd. His Parents acquainted me that he had been a very harty young man 'till sometime last spring when he was taken ill, and they gave him some Physic,²⁴ and he grew better but not well ye[t?].

He then went [on] a Journey and took cold, and they renewed another [*illegible*] which was left for one of this other brothers to take, and he continued growing wourse till I saw him the 10th of sd Sept.

Doctr. Gott that had done for him, desired a conference with me respecting the case then before us. I was very gladly excepted [accepted], and first desired him to give his opinion in full.

He gave me a very lengthy History of his Disease intermingled[?] with a variety of obselete words and high phraces. I being a Stranger to this gentleman and never saw him before, yet his Character was made known to me by himself to be none if [not] the meanest.

I thought not to be danted [daunted] at so great a Character, altho it was represented in the Suparlative degree.

I desired the Doctr. to till [tell] me what Composition he was giving him. He told me it was composed of Senae [senna],²⁵ Guaia,²⁶ and several other ingredients which I have forgot.

He also said the young man would git well without any dispute and was far from a Hectic.²⁷

I told him from the Symptoms mentioned herein and one more which I forgot to mention, Viz. his Suderiffious [sudoriferous]²⁸ evacuations, that he would die before an other Summer, and I guesed he would not live to see many hard frosts. He seemed to be a little put out at what I had told him and went to asking me what I should advise to give him. I told him I did not expect to do him any good. However, I thought best not to give him over by any means, and told him that I thought astrigent mediums, such as *Cort. Peruv.*²⁹ and Rasons [raisins] would be good for him. Accordingly they were given, and I heard several times that he was much better.

But in the morning of the 27 of Sept. I was sent for and found him in great pain in his bowels, and gave him a composition of Opium, Aloes, Myrrh,³⁰ and Saffors [saffron],³¹ the Syrup of the same. Octr. 4th I made him another Visit and found Dr. Gott there. We concluded to continue the *Cort. Perv.* and to administer a little Opium.

I was still of an opinion that he would not live but a little while, but was rather frownd upon by Dr. Gott, and the famally did not like to have me talk in that sort. But I still kept of the same opinion, and told his mother and oldest Brother. I shall say no more on the matter, only mention that I think his disease to be the narvous Consumption.

He died the night after the 14th of November, aged about nineteen years.

Wednesday, November 15, 1786

Eat Breakfast at Mr. Waits, went to Tom. Woosters. Eat Dinner and supper there and lodged. Snowy to Day.

Thursday, November 16, 1786

Tarried at Joseph Waits. Stormy to Day.

Friday, November 17, 1786

Went to Thomas Woosters and helped him about his accounts with Mr. Beers and Tompkins to Day, they reacond [reckoned]. Lodged at Waits.

Saturday, November 18, 1786

Forenoon went to Holebrooks and agreed with him to have a meeting on Monday next. Then I went to Esqr. Eames's in company with Beers and Tompkins. We arived at Eames's at sunset.

.....

Sunday, November 19, 1786

Tarried at Esqr. Eames's and Eat string Beans for Dinner. The method of preparing them is as follows: Pick the Beans when young and string them, then scald them and salt them Down, 3 quarts salts a barrel. Soak and boil then, and they are very good.

Monday, November 20, 1786

Set out for the meeting at Jo. Waits in company with Mr. Beers and Tompkins, and went to cross Ammonhoossoc and got Esqr. Eames's Hors into River. Went to Esqr. Holebrooks in a snow storm to git him to cross the River to Waits, according to agreement, but he could not attend too night because he must do som Busness on Stratford, but says he: "Tomorrow morning, Gentlemen, I will wait on you at Mr. Waits."

Beers and myself crossed the River in a very dangerous place on the Lie [lee] part of the way and part in open Water. We almost died with the cold and storm, but arived at Waits in the night and put up there.

Tuesday, November 21, 1786

We waited 'till about noon, and Holebrooks sent over his son to see who was gathered, and he found Capt. Elih. Hinmon, Andrew Beers, Tom Wooster, Edmond Tompkins, Philo Treet and myself. He also sent word that he would not come across the River because his Boots had holes in [them]. But if we wanted to see him, we might come there. What must I think of such conduct as this? Shall we be imposed upon in such a manner as this, these three times in such a provoking manner, and keep it in silence? No, I am determined not to.

Let me stop here and offer only a few words more respecting this tyrant:

Take the whole conduct of Holebrooks from first to last, his cussed deeds to Woosters, and in many other places. If I can take an Idea of the whole at once, I think it sufficient to blacken the Character of infamy. *No more at present.*

I went from Waits to Holebrook, and recorded my Deed from them to Tom. Woosters. There I waited 'till in the evening, and Beers and Tompkins come there. Then we went to Esqr. Eames's and lodged.

Wednesday, November 22, 1786

Tarried at Esqr. Eames's and wrote Journal and a letter to send Down by Tompkins.

Thursday, November 23, 1786

Thanksgiving Day. We lived exceeding well at Esqr. Eames's. Tompkins set out for home.

Friday, November 24, 1786

Copied Journal all Day at Esqr. Eames's.

Saturday, November 25, 1786

Began a new Plan for Lemington at Esqr. Eames's. Sick in the night and took a Vomit.

Sunday, November 26, 1786

Copied Journal at Esqr. Eames's the biggest part of the Day.

Monday, November 27, 1786

Went to Maj. Wilders after Paper and to every House where I thought most likely. Lodged at Dr. Gott's in Guildhall, who told me as many stories as I could pen down in a month. He told me a method of making Opium by Cutting of the tops of Popies and drying them and then boiling them[?] away. He told me of a number of secrets[?] such [as] would be of infinite advantage to any man.

And when we come to sum up the whole, he told me that he had made 11 Almanks [almanacs]³² and got five of them Printed, and for the first he got £30.0.0 and more for the rest. But when I asked him any question respecting Astronomy, he could not answer it right, but told a Darnd store of Lies as ever a man could invent.

Tuesday, November 28, 1786

Tarried at Gotts 'till about noon, then went to Standles and waited for my Boots to be done, which was not done 'till in the evening. Then I went to Esqr. Eames's 6 miles thro' the woods on as cold a night as ever I knew or nearly as cold. Last night was very cold, and the wind blew and snow flied in a most surprising manner.

Wednesday, November 29, 1786

Planed the main part of the Day on Lemington at Esqr. Eames's. Went to Capt. Baileys at night after Paper and got six sheets.

Just before night a small Earthquake was heard, and the ground felt to shack [shake]. Old women frightened to think their time was at hand and they not prepared.

To day very cold and Tedious—Indeed it is as cold or almost [as] ever I knew it.

Thursday, November 30, 1786

Thanksgiving Day in the state of Vermont.³³ This Day I Pland on Lemington at Esqr. Eames's 'till night. Went to Mr. Halls' at night and was entertained with a fine supper of roasted Turkey, Chicken pies and apple pies, the first Apple pie or apple that I have taisted on at Coos. We had a fidler and a Coos Dance.

Went from thence to Mr. Lucey's about 10 o'clock at night, where we found a Company drinking scalded Rum or Hot Toddy as they called it.

We had a high Caper as it is usually called. About midnight we returned to Esqr. Eames's and made out[?] to git to bed without help.

The weather moderated about this time as one must of consequence expect [of] *Domini Andreas*.³⁴ Worshiped *Bacchus*.

Friday, December 1, 1786

Planed on Lemington at Esqr. Eames's. Much warmer to day. Snowd some in the night.

Capt. Hinmon tarried here all Day. In the evening I planed a second division for Mr. Perry Averill for which land[?] the runing the line he must pay me one Dollar.

Saturday, December 2, 1786

Planed at Esqr. Eames's on the Township of Lewis till night. To Day was warm.

Number and Names of the famallies on the Gore above Lemington:

[Here follow lists of names, including names for Maidstone, Preston, Stratford, and Northumberland.]

Sunday, December 3, 1786

Tarried at Esqr. Eames's all Day. I must not forgit to mention in my Journal a Disease peculiar to the young Women in the Country, and Some Boys are also troubled with the same. (Viz.) a large Bunch on their Throats or Bronhele [bronchiole]. About two thirds or more of the young Girls have these Bunches.

These bunches are frequently as big as a hens Egg and wh[page torn].

I find myself at Esqr. Eames's in Coos, altho' I have fained³⁵ my self at Dr. Brownsons, etc., and It is about as pleasant an Evening as ever I saw.

Monday, December 4, 1786

Planed on the Townships of Lewis and Brunswick till sun an hour high.

Went to old Linsey's and got some sugar. Returned to Esqr. Eames's at night.

Tuesday, December 5, 1786

Planed on the Township of Brunswick all Day. Snowed almost all Day. In evening played two or three games of Checkers with Beers. Snowed in the night.

Wednesday, December 6, 1786

Finished the Plan of Brunswick, and we rolled them up all together. (Viz) all Mr. Beers's with mine.

Cleer and cold.

.....

Thursday, December 7, 1786

Unwell all day. Went afishing on the River. Returned to Esqr. Eames's and found Hodgsdon. Very sick, bleed him, gave him a Vomit, and helped carry him home.

Gave him Sol. Nitri³⁶ and orderd Cloths wet in Vinegar and water to be laid on his side.

I returned to the Esqr's. Very sick with the head ake and at the Stomac.

Friday, December 8, 1786

Clear and cold.

Went to Mr. Hogsdons and bled him and found him much better. My self much better to day than yesterday.

Sold my shirt for 7/ to Mr. Standler to pay for my boots, and settled with sd [*illegible*].

Proprietors of Lemington living in City N. York:
[*Here follows a list of names.*]

Saturday, December 9, 1786

Very Cold and Snowy. Tarried at Esqr. Eames's. Got my hors Shod at Mr. Binnets'. Made up accounts.

Sunday, December 10, 1786

Tarried at Esqr. Eames all Day.

With too day I have boarded here 25 days and had my Hors kept as long.

This morning the Snow had fall about gater [gaiter] high.

Mr. Joseph Wait and Natl. Want a felt Hat and 2 Blak silk Hankerchiefs.

Monday, December 11, 1786

Weather Exceeding cold. Set out from Esq. Eames's and went to Thoms. Woosters. Arived there at night. Sick with Cold.

To be Voted in Stratford at their[?] adjournd meeting:

Voted. That Joseph Holbrook, Esqr., be released from all Public service whatever respecting this Town, as he has been in very hard service sixteen years successively to the great admiration of evry proprietor, and we will return our sincere thanks for his former, long and tedious services and for making such good use of the proprietors money. (Viz.) for converting the same to his own private use which was doubtless more benefit to him then [than] to have used it any other way. We also voted, and desire those proprietors who have taxes unpaid, not to trouble the Gentleman with their money, for as likely if they do, he may put it to such hard servis as to ware [wear] it out before he can possibly arive here with the same.

Tuesday, December 12, 1786

Tarried at Thos. Woosters all Day and formed the dooing of the meeting.

This day almost sick, but I wrote all Day.

Wednesday, December 13, 1786

The Happy wished for Day is come and no Holb[roo]k. This morning we proceeded on the business as fast as possible. After about 10 o'Clock we brought on Lemington first, then Averill, then Minehead, then Lewis, then Brunswick, then Wenlock, then Ferdinand. Then we waited for the settlers of Maidstone to come, and opend the meeting about 1 o'Clock P.M. There was a number of settlers together and also a large number of prop[erty] acc[ount]ts. We proceeded on business with calmness and resolutions, and it was very remarkable that there was not scerce a high word used among the whole meeting, altho' there were matters to settle of the utmost consequence to private persons.

Finally the settlers agreed to except [accept] of a former Vote on Maidstone Book.

We finished our meeting about 2 o'Clock in the night after a tedious and lengthy hearing, and made a settlement with all the settlers.

Happy would it be for me if it was in my power to make so much peace every Day as I know I have done to Day.

I am sensible that there would not anything been done about a settlement had I not urged the matter Just as I did.

Thursday, December 14, 1786

Tarried at Woosters all Day and wrote till late in the night.

Friday, December 15, 1786

Tarried at Woosters all Day and wrote 'till night, then went to Mr. Jo. Waits who is a real gentleman, and wrote on the Reacords 'till late at night.

Saturday, December 16, 1786

Tarried at Mr. Jos. Waits 'till night, then went to Mr. Woosters and tarried there. Wrote on the Reacords all Day.

Sunday, December 17, 1786

Went to Mr. Biram and settled with him who behavd. exceeding well, and told me that if I would come up next summer, he would [illegible] me a Month Board. Went to Jerh. Eames's, Esqr., and lodged.

Monday, December 18, 1786

Set out from Esq. Eames's homeward, went to Maj. Wilders and borded our Horses. Our Company: Capt. Hinman, Mr. Beers, D[avid] Hide [Hyde], P. Treet.

Went to Mr. Blakes at John's River and put up. Mr. Blake say[s] that he help'd Col. Buckman make the N.E. Corn. of Lemington which is a Stake and stone, done in Decr. 1780. The same is about six rods south of Burnside's Brook, and Mr. Blake says he thinks there was some marks there before the N. line of sd Town. Mr. Blake says he believes [it] was six miles, but on the River[?]. He says he believes [it] to be 9½ miles. Said Moses Blake says that Col. [Jonathan] Grout³⁷ said he could turn the Assembly of Vermont if he had about one Guinea to spend for Each Day, this he will give Oath to.

One Famally in this Town only.

Dolton Paid /9- for Horsekeeping Monday night.

Tuesday, December 19, 1786

Traveled to Mr. Larnards in Littleton, and Capt Hinmon pd /3 for baiting Hors.³⁸ We rode to Capt. Caswells and put up.

Here we heard from Jo. Holbrooks and some more of his Cussed Deed:

He went off from Stratford to go to Clairmont [Claremont, N.H.] the 23d Day of Nov. and promised to come up to our meeting on the 13th of this month, But I find that he has been here and told Mrs. Caswell the same story as he did us, and got four saple [sable] skins to get her a blanket, and sent word that he could not send her no blanket, because he had no money and that he was going home as fast as he could.

He [*illegible*] told Mrs. Caswill that I had sold my Blanket which I had promised to the woman, or else she would not let him had no pay to got another.

It surprises me to consider the conduct of Holbrooks from my first acquaintance with him 'till now.

He has behavd himself in a most scandelous manner while in the business up here and now has run away indebted to every person who would trust a single saple skin[?] on. He has abused every person in this Country to the Highest degree, spent all the money of the proprietors that he could possibly git into his hands, and now I'll dare to say he is in Connecticut Inclaiming[?] against every Honest person who has been in the business the year past.

Such Conduct as this, in my way of thinking, is sufficient to blaken the Character of Infamy.

Paid for Lodging, etc., myself -1/10.

Wednesday, December 20, 1786

Traveled ten miles to one Eamons, and Dd. Hyde paid /4 for baiting. Put up at Col. Jonsons at Newbury.

Here I drank a little Cyd[er]. Mr. Beers, Hyde and myself [*page torn*] to the reacords, and Hyde showd Himself very base and [*illegible*] and

said that it was not in the powr. of all the proprietors to put him out [of] being Collector. I desired[?] him to lay the whole of our matter before the Inspecting Committee, but he spoke very light of them, and said they had no busness to direct him, etc., etc.

Thursday, December 21, 1786

I paid to Col. Johnson's in Newbury, 3/9 for myself, 1/6 for Treet and 1/1 for Beers.

We rode to Orford [N.H.] and baited at Deacon Simeon Averits. Here we heard that Holbrooks had been and was trusted with his reasoning. He also said that Holbrooks was out of money excepting[?] one [*illegible*] pence and two saple skins.

Holbrooks said that He expected to collect some money of one Brigom [Brigham] of Darttmouth, near the Colegs [college], or of Capt. Sumner, but if he could not Collect of them, he knew not as he ever should git Home.

Capt. Hinmon paid for horse bate and Dinner for me, 1/- at Deacon Simeon Averits.

Put up at Wd. Green's in Lime [Lyme, N.H.]. Holbrooks' has been here and told that he should return back and pay what he owd.

This day and last night I've seen more of Dd. Hyd[e] than I ever did before, and I find he intends to git all into his power that he possibly can, and defies the whole of the proprietors to put him out of business. He has said several times that he defies me and Mr. Beers to put his [*illegible*] out of the dooings of the meeting and [*illegible*] told him that we could do it if he [desisted?], and then he said that he Defied us to do it if it was in our powers.

Mr. Hyde says that he is determined to have his pay for all that is due to him, as quick as he possibly can collect it.

Friday, December 22, 1786

Mr. Hyde paid for me at Mrs. Green's 1/-, a very Cheap Tavern.

Baited and Eat Dinner at Mr. Nathl. Halls in Leabenon [Lebanon, N.H.], and Hide paid 1/5 for me. We rode to Mr. Ebenezer. Judds³⁹ at Sugar River and put up. Paid nothing. Clarimont [Claremont].

Saturday, December 23, 1786

Went to Capt Sumner's in Clarimont and was used like a Gentleman. Here we heard of Holbrooks and heard that he had received of [*illegible*] pounds. He got a Sley [sleigh] and rode Home in pomp and grander [grandeur].

We rode to Mr. Simon Sartles[?] of Charlestown [N.H.]. We had a Dinner and Horse bate—and paid 1/3d Each.

The old man is deaf as an adder, and we had a great figure about Changing half a Guinea.

We rode to Bellows Falls and went to see the great Bridge.⁴⁰ Drank a glass of Rum and paid -/3 Each. Rode to Mr. John Crafts' in Wallpool [Walpole, N.H.] and put up here. I was Blooded for a pain in my side.

Stoton's Elixer [Stoughton's Elixir],⁴¹ [of which] Gentian is the principle part.

Sunday, December 24, 1786

Paid 2/8 at Mr. Crafts', and Here we heard of Holbrooks who had been here when he went up and when he went Down, and said he had been surveying himself and owned one hundred and fifty Thousand Acres of Land. Rode to Mr. Keep's in Westmoreland [N.H.] and drank Rum, -/2½. Last night the snow fell about 8 Inches Deep. Exceeding Cold to Day. Rode to Chesterfield [N.H.] and to Natl. Bingham's and paid -/7½ for Cyder and Horse bated. Traveled to Hindsdale [Hinsdale, N.H.] to the Wd. Taylor's and put up. The House is large, But the People not very agreeable. We was waited on but poorly, set in the Dark and smoaky Kitchen without a Candle.

To Day very cold and Tedious.

Joseph Holb[rook] called here when he come down and [lived?] on trust and left a pair of finished Sissers [scissors] in pawn, and told some of his large Coös stories [ab?]out his Land, etc., etc.

Monday, December 25, 1786

Paid to Mrs. Taylor 2/4d. Traveled to old Rawlen's and baited. Paid 0s/4d½. Traveled to Mounsaill [?] and Eat Ginger Cake and paid -/6d.

Traveled to the upper part of Hadley [Mass.] and put up at Mr. Dd. Stockbridge's Inn.

I must remember that Dd. Hyde says he knows not what to do about Brunswick, for Holb[rook] has Collected all the Taxes, but he thinks 'tis best[?] to sell the Land, and if He gits into a scrape he will run away.

He intends to go to N. Haven and git a sute of Cloaths of Isaac Beers who owens three or four Rights in Lewis, and there is several other Gentlemen in N. Haven who owens about 7 Rights in sd Lewis.

When I first approached this House I saw a most horred specticular [spectacle]. [*page torn*] [a] Company of Men under Arms with Guns and Bayanuts [bayonets].⁴²

Their countanencies showd terror and Dearth [death].

They were some of them nearly Drunk and Clashing bayanats [bayonets] to soards [swords] in a most shocking manner. I found they were going to break up the Court at Springfield [Mass.].

Old hateful and angry Mars is now mustering his hellish sources to a horrid and distructive War.

Tuesday, December 26, 1786

Paid 3/0d. A Very Reasonable Tavern.

Traviled to West Spring field and baited at Mr. Benj. Ely's and paid -/3d. Traviled to Worthington's in West Spring field in the Bay State and put up.

What have I beheld to Day? What is this land coming too? Surely if I judge aright there will in a short time be murder and Bloodshed. I see it in the faces of many a man.

All Law is trampled upon. The Courts are all broak up by mobs and Riots and what will be next? I'll venture to say a most distressing intesind [incident]. War, which if persued, 'tis likely will end in the Ruin of the State. Far better would it be for you Bostonians to sheath the sward while in your power, least you go so far that there be no recovery.

Wednesday, December 27, 1786

Paid at Worthington's 2/10d.

Traviled to Old Windsor [Conn.] and baited, paid -/4½d. Traviled to Hartford. Paid 2/- for paper, paid for Ribbin [ribbon] and Trimming 2/3d. Paid for Baiting and glass [of] Gin 0/7d. Traviled to Lanlord Seymour's and put up.

Thursday, December 28, 1786

Paid at Land[lord] Seymour's 1/6d. Traviled to Furrington [Farmington, Conn.] and Eat Breakfast and paid 1s./0. Traviled to Ld. Barns's and paid 0/3d. Traviled to Waterbury and paid 8d. Travild to Dr. Brownson's [illegible] and put up.

I've been from home 132 Days, Surveyd. and Planed 110 Days.

I was 18 days on the Road to Coos dooing business for the Proprietors, and spent in Cash £2.10.0.

I paid for my board while at Coos doing business for the Proprietors £3.0.0.

Paid for my Horskeeping while at Coos £2.0.0.

I was 11 Days Coming home and spent £1.16.0. Spent in my own business 18 Days.

Friday, December 29, 1786

Forenoon tarried at Dr. Br[ownson]. Afternoon went to Bards and Foots. Wrote some of the dooings of the meetings for Lemington, half a Day spent in Writing.

Saturday, December 30, 1786

This Day wrote the Dooings of the meeting on Brunswick. Went to Lt. Brownsons, etc., etc. Returnd to Dr. Brownson's. Warm, foggy and Smoaky. Jabe.[?] -/6d.

Sunday, December 31, 1786

Tarried at Dr. Brownson's all Day. Warm and foggy.

NOTES

¹*Sit quantum nescit: He does not know how much there is.* Translation from the Latin by Dr. Richard P. Geckle, email to Reidun D. Nuquist, January 11, 2013.

²I am indebted to Peter Chase of Rutland and Timothy R. Cowan of South Burlington for information on surveying.

³The town of Wenlock was divided between Brighton and Ferdinand by the Vermont legislature in 1853. Esther Munroe Swift, *Vermont Place-names: Footprints of History* (Brattleboro, Vt.: Stephen Greene Press, 1977), 211.

⁴Joseph Holbrook was a grantee of Bloomfield. At a 1772 meeting in Maidstone, he and Arthur Wooster were appointed a committee to survey the Maidstone town lines for \$10 each; they never completed the work. Abby Maria Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, vol. 1 (Burlington, Vt.: Miss Hemenway, 1868), 950n, 1027.

⁵recruit: to regain health, strength. *Webster's Unabridged Dictionary*, 2d ed. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1979).

⁶Dr. Nathaniel Gott arrived in Guildhall c. 1785 and was the town's first physician. He was town clerk of Lunenburg in 1784. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 1000(2), 1018(2).

⁷James Whitelaw (1748–1829), then deputy surveyor of Vermont under Ira Allen, and from 1787 surveyor general. John J. Duffy, et al., *The Vermont Encyclopedia* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2003).

⁸Elihu Hall was a grantee of Guildhall. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 996–97.

⁹Andrew Beers surveyed Bloomfield in 1796. *Ibid.*, 1: 950.

¹⁰Elijah Hinman served in the Revolutionary War and was a grantee of Stratford, N.H. Georgia Drew Merrill, *History of Coös County* (1888; reprint, Somersworth, N.H.: New Hampshire Publishing Company, 1972), 745, 754.

¹¹Thomas Wooster and his brother Arthur settled in Maidstone in 1772. Thomas was captured by Indians and later released. He was a grantee of Bloomfield. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 950n, 1027(2), 1028–29.

¹²David Gaskell arrived in Maidstone c. 1780. *Ibid.*, 1: 1037.

¹³Philip Grapes came to Brunswick in 1780. *Ibid.*, 1: 962.

¹⁴Jacob Schoff was a Guildhall selectman in 1783. *Ibid.*, 1: 999.

¹⁵Early surveyors were often harassed and obstructed by settlers who resented being taxed for surveys. Silvio A. Bedini, *With Compass and Chain: Early American Surveyors and Their Instruments* (Frederick, Md.: Professional Surveyors Publishing Co., 2001), 675.

¹⁶Joseph Wait and his brother Nathaniel settled in Brunswick in 1779. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 962.

¹⁷John Merrill was an early selectman in Brunswick. *Ibid.*, 1: 962, 963.

¹⁸aloes: a bitter purgative obtained from the juice of aloec leaves. George Capron and David B. Slack, *New England Popular Medicine* (Providence, R.I.: J. F. Moore, 1846), 22.

¹⁹hasty pudding: mush; corn-meal mush. *Webster's*, 2d ed.

²⁰Captain Jeremiah Eames was a grantee of Northumberland, N.H. His son, Jeremiah Eames, Jr., was a surveyor hired to make plans of several New Hampshire towns. Merrill, *Coös County*, 544.

²¹David Hyde (d. 1812) was an early settler of Brunswick, arriving in 1784. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 962(2).

²²Capt. Ward Bailey, later Col., was one of the first settlers of Guildhall, where he occupied lot no. 1 and built a block house on the river. He also lived in Maidstone. Patricia Rogers, *History of Guildhall, Vermont* (Guildhall, Vt.: Town of Guildhall Bicentennial Committee, 1975), 11. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 1000(2), 1028(2).

²³Judd's journals contain numerous references to his own and others' ailments and how they were, or should have been, treated. We know nothing about Judd's education, but he refers several times in his journals to a Dr. Brownson, probably Dr. Abel Brownson of Waterbury, Connecticut, who may have stimulated his interest in medicine. Dr. Brownson (1743–1805) was given permission in 1784 to establish a pest house in Waterbury and to give inoculations. Joseph Anderson, ed., *The Town and City of Waterbury, Connecticut: From the Aboriginal Period to the Year Eighteen-hundred and Ninety-five*, 3 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: Price & Lee Co., 1896), 3:836.

²⁴physic: medicine, especially a medicine that purges; a laxative or cathartic. *Webster's*, 2d ed.

²⁵senna, also called wild senna: an herb whose leaves were used as a cathartic infusion to cure colds and fevers. Capron and Slack, *Popular Medicine*, 521. *Webster's*, 2d ed.

²⁶guaia: guaiacum, popularly called *lignum vitae*, ornamental tree; the resin was used to treat rheumatism, gout, etc., complaints with no fever. Capron, *Popular Medicine*, 292–93. *Webster's*, 2d ed.

²⁷hectic: affected with hectic fever, characteristic of wasting diseases, such as tuberculosis; consumptive. Capron and Slack, *Popular Medicine*, 299. Richard Quain, *A Dictionary of Medicine*, 7th ed. (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1884), 637.

²⁸sudoriferous: causing or secreting perspiration. *Webster's*, 2d ed.

²⁹Cort. Peruv.: Peruvian bark, *Cinchona officinalis*; commonly prescribed for fever and ague; source of quinine. Capron and Slack, *Popular Medicine*, 451, 476.

³⁰myrrh: a gum resin with "strong tendency to resist and stop putrefication . . . much used in putrid, malignant, and pestilential fevers." *Ibid.*, 415.

³¹saffron: dried stigmas of *Crocus salivus*; used as "a stimulant and narcotic. It exhilarates the spirits and strengthens the stomach." *Ibid.*, 495.

³²almanacs: Judd compiled and published his own *Vermont and New York Almanac* from 1808–1815 in Middlebury.

³³Thanksgiving Day in Vermont: Until 1863, Thanksgiving Day was proclaimed in each state by the governor of that state. In 1786, Thanksgiving Day in Vermont was proclaimed for Thursday, November 30. See E. P. Walton, ed., *Records of the Governor and Council of Vermont* (Montpelier: J. & J.M. Poland, 1875), 3: 110. Thus Judd celebrated Thanksgiving Day twice: in New Hampshire with Esq. Eames on November 23, and in Vermont the following week.

³⁴Domini Andreas: November 30 is the name day of Saint Andrew, who died a martyr's death around 60 A.D.; protector of fishermen. Rosa Giorgi, *Saints: A Year in Faith and Art* (New York: Abrams, 2005), 702.

³⁵fained: wished or desired. Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language*, revised and expanded by Chauncey A. Goodrich (1848).

³⁶Sol. Nitri (modern spelling: sal nitre): nitrate of potash, potassium nitrate, saltpeter. Used medicinally as a diuretic and to treat rheumatism and scarlet fever. Capron and Slack, *Popular Medicine*, 424.

³⁷Col. Jonathan Grout was among the first settlers of Guildhall. Hemenway, *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, 1: 1002.

³⁸to bait: to feed and water a horse upon the road. *Webster's*, 2d ed.

³⁹Brothers Ebenzer (b. 1747) and Brewster (b. 1743) Judd, originally from Waterbury, Connecticut, lived in Claremont. They were members of a large Judd clan and probably related to the journal keeper. <http://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/F74H-SB5>, accessed on March 8, 2013.

⁴⁰The bridge, built in 1784 by Col. Enoch Hall, was the first over the Connecticut River to connect Bellows Falls and Walpole, N.H. Walter Hard, *The Connecticut* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1947), 166.

⁴¹Stoughton's Elixir: a snake oil patented in England by Richard Stoughton in 1712. http://www.princeton.edu/~achaney/tmve/wiki100k/docs/Snake_oil.html, accessed on March 6, 2013.

⁴²Judd had run into Shays's Rebellion, 1786–1787, armed protest in central and western Massachusetts against economic hardship following the Revolutionary War. It was named for its leader, Capt. Daniel Shays. Michael Sherman, et al., *Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont* (Barre, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 2004), 124.

Eben W. Judd Materials at the Stewart-Swift Research Center of the Henry Sheldon Museum

By EVA GARCELON-HART

Ebenezer Warner Judd came to Middlebury, Vermont, around 1801 and soon after developed the marble business, quarrying stone around the Middlebury falls and in the creek bed. In 1805, he built a mill to saw the marble. With his brother Stephen Judd and George Tiffany, Eben incorporated a company known as the Middlebury Marble Manufacturing Company, which was succeeded by a partnership with his son-in-law, Lebbeus Harris, Jr. In the 1820s, they began to quarry black marble in Shoreham. In 1829, Judd and Harris built the Judd-Harris House, now the home of the Henry Sheldon Museum. Both partners died in 1837, thus ending the business.

The Stewart-Swift Research Center of the Henry Sheldon Museum holds a variety of materials relating to Eben W. Judd. These papers are particularly useful in tracing the development of Middlebury's marble industry of the early nineteenth century and the early activity in and around the Otter Creek falls. The bulk of the records can be found in the Judd and Harris family papers, 1760–1876. Correspondence, diaries, business records, ledgers, records of court cases and other legal documents, deeds, and miscellaneous papers of Judd and his family members comprise the collection. The records trace the land holdings and marble business of Eben W. Judd, first through deeds to his land in Connecticut, then to his lands around Guildhall and in Windsor, Vermont, and finally through records of his marble quarry and mill in Middlebury. The marble industry records contain information pertaining to an enterprise in Vergennes, Judd's partnership with his brother Stephen and George Tiffany (Judd & Tiffany), his partnership with Lebbeus Harris in the Shoreham Black Marble Company, and the building of the Judd-Harris house. Judd's career, which included many lawsuits and some time spent in jail for unpaid debts, can also be traced through this collection. An online finding aid to the Judd and Harris family papers is available: http://www.henrysheldonmuseum.org/research_ctr.html.

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EVA GARCELON-HART is the archivist at the Stewart-Swift Research Center of the Henry Sheldon Museum of Vermont History, in Middlebury.

Additional materials relating to Eben W. Judd can be found in several other collections in the Stewart-Swift Research Center. The Papers of Horatio Seymour (1800–1855), a local lawyer and banker, include correspondence between Judd and Seymour. The Papers of John Vallett, 1813–1843, contain information relating to Vallett's dispute with Judd concerning a method of bill payment. The Shoreham Marble Company records, 1852–1855, include later correspondence, minutes, draft copies of articles of incorporation, and other business records of the black marble quarry, which was initially purchased and opened by Judd in Shoreham around 1810.

In addition, the Center's map collection includes several manuscript maps in pencil, ink, and watercolor reflecting Judd's career as a surveyor in Vermont: Guildhall landowners map (c. 1785) and a plan of Guildhall (c. 1797); a lot plan of Johnson (c. 1786); Lemington survey for Jeremiah Eames, Jr. (1787) and a plan of the north part of Lemington (1804); Connecticut River against Maidstone map (c. 1790); and a plan of Windsor Street, Windsor (c. 1800).

The Research Center collection also holds several almanacs authored by Eben W. Judd, including *The Vermont and New York Almanacs* (1809 and 1816), *Judd's Connecticut Almanac* (1787), and *The New England and New York Almanac* (1821). There is also a scrapbook by Henry L. Sheldon that contains clippings from the 1880s on the controversy over who invented the marble saw: Judd or young Isaac Markham.

BOOK REVIEWS

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The Untold Story of Champ: A Social History of America's Loch Ness Monster

By Robert E. Bartholomew (Albany, N.Y.: Excelsior Editions, State University of New York Press, 2012, pp. 253, \$24.95).

In July 1819, the *Plattsburg Republican* reported that a Captain Crum had been boating off Port Henry, New York, when he saw, 200 yards ahead:

a monster rearing its head more than fifteen feet, and moving with the utmost velocity to the south . . . which he described to be 187 feet long, its head flat with three teeth, two in the center and one in the upper jaw . . . color black with a star in the forehead and a belt of red around the neck—its body about the size of a hogshead with hunches on the back about as large as a common potash barrel—the eyes large and the color of a peeled [*sic*] onion (p. 13).

Captain Crum's vivid description filled in many details that had been missing from the first recorded account of a Champlain sea serpent in 1808, which said simply, "Lake Champlain—A monster has lately made its appearance on the waters of the lake" (p. 12). Perhaps that observer did not have the astounding visual acuity of Captain Crum, who seems to have been able to discern an exact length of 187 feet for a creature 200 yards away. So began over two hundred years of sightings of the Americas' greatest aquatic mystery, Champ.

The Untold Story of Champ starts with the perennial question, does Champ actually exist? Sociologist Robert E. Bartholomew has taken on the daunting, occasionally thankless, task of systematically examining

the historical and scientific evidence for the existence of a large sea creature in Lake Champlain. "Champie," as many passionate advocates call it, excites strong feelings on a par with those of believers in the Sasquatch (Bigfoot), UFOs, and alien visitors to earth. Champ research is a minefield that any academic enters at his or her peril.

Bartholomew provides a thorough, often fascinating, overview of the historical record, debunking myths along the way. The old saw that Samuel de Champlain was the first white man to see Champ is exposed as sloppy reporting in a 1970 *Vermont Life* article by Marjorie Lansing Porter that was then repeatedly cited as fact. Champlain's journal accurately described a large garfish, not a sea monster. Beginning with the 1808 account, the nineteenth-century sightings had an awesome and fantastic quality about them. The New York side of the lake experienced a great "serpent scare" in 1873, when, after a series of sightings of a frightening creature, "Animals began disappearing, prompting alarm that the sea serpent was snatching them" (p. 20). Additional farm animals went missing amidst widespread public hysteria. Accounts of this threatening creature were picked up by the national press, leading P.T. Barnum to offer \$50,000 for the monster, dead or alive. Then as now, there were skeptics, such as the *Rutland Herald* writer who wrote that the New York "accounts of this 'sarpint' are sad comments on the terrible alcoholic substance that is in vogue on the banks of Lake Champlain" (p. 27).

By the early twentieth century, Champ had lost its supernatural qualities and sightings confined it to the waters of the lake. Descriptions, which had varied in the earlier period, now began to conform to the creature described in the Porter article, with its horse-shaped head, khaki green color, and humped back. In the 1970s dozens of sightings were reported and articles appeared in the national press. Champ, whose fame had been eclipsed by the upstart Loch Ness monster (first reported seen in 1933!), seemed to be making its play for international renown.

Champ fever picked up steam with the publication of Sandra Mansi's famous 1977 photo, purporting to show the long neck of what looked to be a modern-day plesiosaur rearing up from the waters of Lake Champlain. It is here that this book takes a strange turn. Bartholomew has heretofore presented a clear, well-researched account of the long historical record of Champ sightings; but with the publication of the Mansi photo, all manner of Champ researchers, fanatics, and cryptozoology researchers enter the picture. While serious scientists examined the phenomenon, particularly in the Lake Champlain Committee's academic conference on the subject in 1981, Champ studies also attracted a small but vocal number of self-styled experts intent on being the first to prove

that Champ exists. Once the author has to deal with these living people, many of whom he seems to know very well, the narrative goes astray.

While the Champ glory hounds are a vital, and often amusing, part of the story, Bartholomew relates their petty feuds and infighting with a level of detail that only the participants could find interesting. In the process, he exposes his own hobbyhorses. He is livid that people have repeated Porter's Samuel de Champlain myth, angry that struggling towns like Port Henry should try to make a buck on the Champ craze, and too willing to treat cryptozoology as if it were a recognized academic field. He is particularly eager to debunk the Mansi photo, a subject that he belabors for many pages when one or two would do the job handily. Some of this information is priceless. Who would be able to leave out Champ hunter Dennis Jay Hall's undocumented assertion that "the Indians once routinely dined on Champ" (p. 137)? But the author teeters on the edge of becoming too much a part of his story.

Bartholomew's book might have benefited from a stronger grasp of folklore, which has a lot to offer here, and more skepticism about pseudoscience. Yet in the final analysis he must be commended for pulling it all together and providing a final chapter that neatly sums up the main theories of whether Champ exists and what it might be. Is Champ a prehistoric creature, like the coelacanth discovered off South Africa in 1938, previously thought to have been extinct for 60 million years? If so, an alert reader might ask, why have we never found a carcass in two hundred years of looking? Is it a giant snake, or an Atlantic sturgeon, or a garfish? Is it an optical illusion—wave patterns, or flocks of birds, or mammals in the water—that can look like a sea serpent if the light is just right? Is it a trick played by the imagination, because we want it to exist, turning the old adage on its head into "believing is seeing" (p. 196)? In the end, Bartholomew's well-researched and lively look at all aspects of the Champ phenomenon leads to a surprisingly sensible conclusion. So, does Champ exist? You'll have to read the book.

JAN ALBERS

Jan Albers has a doctorate in history from Yale University and is a frequent speaker, museum consultant, and writer on Vermont topics, as well as the author of Hands on the Land: A History of the Vermont Landscape (2000).

Something Abides: Discovering the Civil War in Today's Vermont

By Howard Coffin (Woodstock, Vt.: The Countryman Press, 2013, pp. 528, \$35.00)

Howard Coffin's new book is part driving directions, part close-up local history, and part heartbreak. The author takes the reader mile by mile through the geographic, social, and economic imprint of the Civil War on Vermont. It's a large catalogue, and the book is structured alphabetically by county, then alphabetically by towns within each county, making a specific place easy to find. This is a courtesy to the reader but also a tool for the author, since it supports a level of detail that is nearly encyclopedic.

"Six miles north of Lyndonville on Route 122," Coffin writes, "the Wheelock town hall faces a small green in the village of Wheelock, known as Wheelock Hollow during the Civil War. There stands the town Civil War memorial with the names of 86 Wheelock men who served from an 1860 population of 845" (p. 137). A few paragraphs later, we also learn that the town approved war expenses that totaled \$25,584.51, and these numbers only begin to describe the true cost of the war to the people in the small towns and villages across the state. *Something Abides* is about data, and the data are impressive, but the book reaches higher. After the fall of Fort Sumter, the women of Wheelock came together to make a national flag that reflected a shared hope: "Although the ruthless hand of secession had sought to efface eleven stars, . . . in faith they placed 'a star for every state' with the fervent prayer that in God's good time there would be a state for every star" (p. 138).

This example from Wheelock was selected at random, since every town is chronicled with equally close attention, and the cumulative impact brings a new urgency to events and personal tragedies from a hundred and fifty years ago. As we follow Coffin along the back roads and past the houses of soldiers—some of them now cellar holes or stands of lilacs—we begin to understand not just what happened to Vermonters during the war, but the depth of their sacrifice. As historian and Pulitzer Prize winner James M. McPherson points out in the foreword, Vermont was "at or near the top among Northern states in the percentage of men who served and the percentage of men of military age who lost their lives" (p. 11). Coffin visits their graves and even knows which graves are empty because the body never came home.

Funerals and cenotaphs aside, *Something Abides* is also a rich accounting of people, places, and money—this last item is something not often emphasized in Civil War histories, but it carries considerable weight here. Some of the amounts pledged to support the war seem themselves unsupportable when understood in the currency of the time: The “\$500 to \$1,500 each” (p. 456) that the town of Bridgewater was willing to pay to meet its recruitment quota translates from \$14,200 to about \$42,000 today; some towns seem to have taxed themselves well beyond the probable value of their own grand list. Specific events are highlighted, such as the death of John Brown and the procession of his body through Rutland and Addison counties, which brings that prelude to war, the 1859 raid on Harpers Ferry, into focus: A local boy in Panton could report that Brown’s coffin, “or the box containing it, had been badly cut up by souvenir hunters” (p. 58); and bells are tolled not just along the route to the ferry that will take Brown’s body back to North Elba, but in far-away Peacham, where Leonard Johnson pulled the bell rope for an hour, annoying at least some of the people within earshot. Johnson was fervent in his opposition to slavery and apparently used disrespectful, “unchurchful” language to denounce it; one result was that he was threatened with expulsion from his congregation and had to sign a formal apology. He could not resist appending to his apology the observation that he was “right on the anti-slavery question” (p. 120).

This level of detail is a delight to the general reader, but the book will also serve future researchers through its careful and extensive indexing. There are two: The first is a general index of places, buildings, organizations, and things; while the second index is dedicated only to names. This makes the sheer heft of the book, at more than 500 closely printed pages, more manageable, since everything in it can be located with remarkable ease. In this respect it has something in common with Esther Swift’s *Vermont Place-Names*, another valuable resource for people who want to understand the culture and the history of the state; and the two books share the organizational themes of county, town, and village in alphabetical order.

Coffin’s book opens with a useful overview of the history of Vermont during the Civil War and clarifies the progression of events, the forming of regiments, and the key leaders of the different brigades. This gives a helpful framework for all that follows by describing how troops were deployed and which battles and campaigns most affected Vermont soldiers and their families back home. This introductory narration really does help with understanding the cascade of local detail that follows, since it retells the story in a focused way.

Something Abides is inviting and intelligently organized, and the readership for this book is likely to be wide and enthusiastic—it will include local history buffs, genealogists, Civil War historians, and anyone who enjoys exploring the many revealing facts and events that give life and color to history.

HELEN HUSHER

Helen Husher is the author of three books about and set in Vermont. She lives in Montpelier.

Giant in the Shadows: The Life of Robert T. Lincoln

By Jason Emerson (Carbondale Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 2012, pp. 600, \$39.95).

Robert Todd Lincoln (1843–1926), the only child of Abraham and Mary Todd Lincoln who lived to adulthood, is portrayed in the 2012 movie *Lincoln* as a young man chafing as a law student at Harvard University and desiring to enter the U.S. Army in the waning months of the Civil War. He got his wish when he became an aide to General Grant at the end of the conflict. Lincoln then went on to a long and successful career as a corporate lawyer and public servant before building a mansion, Hildene, in Manchester, Vermont, where he spent much of the last two decades of his life.

Jason Emerson, an independent historian who has written extensively on the Lincoln family, presents a first-rate study of American political history and corporate life for the half-century after the Civil War. Robert Lincoln was an active participant in state and national politics throughout his long life and was prominent as a businessman and attorney in Chicago as the city grew into a major commercial and manufacturing center late in the nineteenth century. Emerson ably presents the reader with a careful study of corporate life in the United States between the early 1870s and World War I.

Emerson starts his lengthy study with a description of Robert's youth and his days at Harvard University during the early years of the Civil War. With the end of the conflict and the assassination of his father, he brought his mother and younger brother Tad to live in Chicago. Once there he finished his law degree and helped to establish a law firm. It was in Chicago where Robert made his mark as a very successful corporate lawyer and later as president of the Pullman Palace Car Company in 1897.

Robert Lincoln was asked on many occasions to stand as a candidate for a wide variety of state and federal offices, but he steadfastly refused to consider such an endeavor. His name was brought forward as a possible Republican vice presidential candidate in 1884 and as a presidential candidate in 1888; on both occasions, however, he explicitly forbade his name to be placed in nomination. But he did serve ably as secretary of war under Presidents Garfield and Arthur and as American ambassador to Great Britain during the administration of Benjamin Harrison. Emerson indicates that Robert Lincoln worked hard and was a superb administrator in both posts.

Lincoln's life and career were not without controversy, and Emerson devotes great detail to some of these problems. Lincoln served as general counsel for the Pullman Company during the bitter 1894 strike by workers, which ended in a victory for management. The company and Lincoln attracted broad criticism for their paternalistic policies and refusal to negotiate with the American Railway Union, representing the workers. Lincoln's work in defeating the workers, however, drew the gratitude of management, who gave him the post of company president three years later.

Emerson also provides great detail about Robert Lincoln's difficult task of committing his increasingly erratic mother to a luxurious mental institution in Illinois. Emerson's research indicates that Mrs. Lincoln was suffering from severe mental depression and insecurity. She was, for example, so afraid of losing her life savings that whenever she went out, she carried on her person thousands of dollars of negotiable bonds, which any mugger could have easily stolen from her. Emerson also portrays Lincoln's strong efforts to protect his father's legacy against what he judged as irresponsible or even sensational books and articles about the fallen president, and his role in preventing an attempt to steal his father's corpse from the Lincoln grave site in Illinois.

Lincoln on occasion visited Vermont between the mid-1860s and late 1890s and fell in love with the area around Manchester, where his law partner, Edward S. Isham, had a great estate, Ormsby Hill, near the town, and where the Ekwanok Country Club offered one of the finest golf courses he had ever seen. Lincoln bought 500 acres of land near Manchester after Isham's death in 1902 and hired the Boston architectural firm of Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge to design what he would call his "ancestral home." Lincoln was in declining health and desperately wanted a tranquil place where he could rest with his family and where they could live after his death.

Construction began in 1904 on what became a magnificent set of buildings he would call Hildene. It is estimated that the main house and

outbuildings cost \$63,500 to design and \$77,984 to construct—more than \$3 million today. He later added extensive outer gardens and in 1908 built an observatory on the property.

When Lincoln and his family moved into the mansion, he exclaimed with considerable joy that “I am now a Vermont farmer and beginning to enjoy life.” Indeed, he became a gentleman farmer, noting with pride, “My main business . . . is as a dairy farmer.” He boasted to an acquaintance, “I bought a 320-acre farm at Manchester and own 40 cows. The farmer makes about 100 pounds of butter a week. . . . Mrs. Lincoln is delighted.” But his main activity was golf, and his golfing partners included President William Howard Taft, who visited Hildene in 1912. Another prominent visitor to Hildene was former British Prime Minister David Lloyd George in 1923.

Lincoln died at Hildene in July 1926 and his funeral was held there two days later. He was subsequently buried at Arlington National Cemetery in Virginia.

Robert Lincoln lived a very full, interesting, and influential life, and Emerson’s well-researched and well-written study brings his life to public attention. Emerson devotes much of the last quarter of the book to Lincoln’s life and activities in Vermont. We learn much about the life of wealthy residents and visitors to Vermont in the early years of the twentieth century. *Giant in the Shadows* is also a superb complementary study of the life and legacy of both Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd Lincoln.

DANIEL A. MÉTRAUX

Daniel A. Métraux is professor of Asian Studies at Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Virginia, and adjunct professor of history and culture, Graduate Program at the Union Institute and University. He is a summer resident of Greensboro, Vermont.

Norwich, Vermont: A History

By Norwich History Book Committee (Norwich, Vt.: Norwich Historical Society, 2012, pp. ix, 318, paper, \$29.99).

Despite the title, this is not a history of Norwich. It might better be called a Norwich Scrapbook for it is a collection of essays, photos, vignettes, lists, documents, and odds and ends. The book was written by a committee and is published in paperback with a Paul Sample painting of the Norwich swimming pool on the cover. The book is nine inches long by eleven inches wide, which makes it a little difficult to hold, but it

is perfect for the coffee table, where it can be sampled and savored. Few will read it from cover to cover because it is made up of too many pieces and it lacks a strong narrative voice. It has a chronology of important events in the town's history that runs along the bottom of the pages, like CNN's "Breaking News," but the book is organized by topics, including geology, railroads, religion, education, civic life, police and fire departments, wars and veterans, cemeteries, the arts, and clubs and organizations. There are articles dealing with various aspects of Norwich's history and most of them have endnotes that may lead readers to other sources. And there is an index, though not all of the illustrations are included; but still it is useful for those who wish to browse.

The authors announce in the introduction that they were inspired by the 250th anniversary of the town's charter granted by Governor Benning Wentworth on July 4, 1761, and they see themselves as "resuming the project begun more than a hundred years ago by M. E. Goddard and Henry V. Partridge, who published a history of Norwich in 1905." This is probably a mistake, because a great deal has changed in the researching and writing of local history in the last hundred years. To be fair to the authors, they have not adopted the romantic and congratulatory tone of the town histories written in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and, at least in some chapters, they are influenced by the recent trends in writing local history. In one chapter, "People of Norwich: We've Always Been a Multicultural Community," the authors make tentative use of the manuscript census and the agricultural census to describe life and trade in Norwich. They locate at least ten African Americans living in the town in 1830, and find a Native American presence as well.

Throughout the book we discover fascinating information about the town, though there is rarely an effort to compare Norwich to other Vermont or New Hampshire towns. Norwich's location on the Connecticut River and across from Hanover and Dartmouth College influences its development in many ways. There are accounts of log drives, ferries, bridges, and dams. In the early years, Dartmouth College controlled and profited from the lone ferry. In the twentieth century Norwich became a bedroom community for the larger towns and a place where Dartmouth professors lived. Among those who chose to live on the Vermont side of the river were historian Allen Foley, philosopher Eugen Rosenstock-Huussy, and artist-in-residence Paul Sample. There is an interesting chapter on The American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy, which became Norwich University and moved to Northfield, Vermont, after a disastrous fire in 1866. We learn that there was once a canning company and a chair manufacturer in Norwich, and there is much more.

The book has over 300 illustrations, many of them photographs, and because of the good quality of the paper, most of these photos are

reproduced clearly. The maps, however, are often small and difficult to read. The illustrations are one of the strengths of the book, but most have only one-line captions, and many cry out for more interpretation. There is a wonderful and revealing photograph on page 11, an 1890s overview of Norwich taken by Henry H. Barrett, the official Dartmouth College photographer, who lived in town. There are agricultural fields in the foreground and partly wooded hills in the background with excellent examples of Vermont connected farm architecture (the “big house, little house, backhouse, barn” of the nineteenth-century children’s playtime chant), and several farms that extend behind village streets. The relationship of village to farm is more obvious in this one photo than it is after several paragraphs of prose. Many other photos record clothing, material culture, and the built environment, but they deserve more interpretation. Perhaps the authors intended the interpretation to come from the readers, who can relate their memories to the images produced in the book.

In many ways this Norwich scrapbook is a family album, a way to stimulate memories and to relate people and places to a shared history. Those who grew up in Norwich can study this book and recall the village of Lewiston before I-91, or the Connecticut River before the Wilder Dam, or they can recall Dan and Whit’s general store from another era. Who are the women with the wonderful hats in the 1916 photograph on page 137? But for the general reader interested in the history of Vermont towns and the changing nature of rural life, this book would be more useful if there had been more analysis, more structure, and a stronger narrative voice. However, we can agree with the authors of the multi-cultural chapter, who write, “We hope this chapter will serve as a substantive introduction and an encouragement to others to continue research into these fascinating and important dimensions of our town history.”

ALLEN F. DAVIS

Allen F. Davis is professor emeritus of history at Temple University. He is the author of Postcards from Vermont (2003).

Little Jerusalem: Burlington’s Jewish Community

Produced by Dorothy Dickie (Colchester, Vt.: Vermont Public Television, 2012, DVD, \$70 contribution to VPR).

Old timers from the Jewish neighborhood that was once centered in Burlington’s Old North End called their neighborhood “Little Jerusalem,” but they might just as easily have called it “Little Cekiske” (pronounced *shai-kash-ek*), which was the name of the Lithuanian *shtetl*

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- * Coburn, David A., *Because We Were Needed: East Montpelier Women in World War II*. Montpelier, Vt.: East Montpelier Historical Society, 2012. 34p. List: \$5.00 (paper).
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from which at least a few dozen of their forbears had come in the mid-1880s. As this eloquent documentary from Vermont Public Television shows, the first several decades of Jewish life in Burlington reproduced many of the conditions of East European *shtetl* life, absent its most severely degrading circumstances. It even *looked* like a *shtetl*. When, in one of the film's most visually effective segments, the wide green pastures, herds of dairy cattle, and large wooden farmhouses just outside current-day Cerkise flash across the screen, it is hard to tell that we aren't viewing the rolling landscapes of the Champlain Valley that marked the immediate outskirts of Burlington's Little Jerusalem. Moreover, several of the featured speakers in the film attest to Little Jerusalem's striking replication of the *shtetl*'s close-knit Orthodox culture. Some seventy years after all but a few of the old neighborhood's Jewish residents left it for the still greener pastures of suburban Burlington (not to mention a host of other North American regions and municipalities), old timers describe the North End's Jewish life in both affectionate and, occasionally, disparaging ways. In the words of one speaker, it gave its residents a "wonderful closeness." At the same time, it often felt "insular," or, as one speaker put it, like "a very provincial, choking thing."

Viewers of this film aren't pressured to wax nostalgic for a time when women were consigned to the upper deck of the synagogue sanctuary, Jewish boys had to fight gangs of roving anti-Semitic kids in the streets of their own neighborhood, and disgruntled members of the community's first synagogue (Ohavi Zedek, on Archibald Street) left to form two separate synagogues within a community that, at the time, had fewer than three hundred Jews altogether. The film achieves an ideal balance of warmth and poignancy, on the one hand, and historical accuracy, on the other. The preponderance of its most affecting scenes show us old-time residents visiting their former haunts, recounting the community's heyday, and being genuinely moved by the experience of their collective return. Several scenes are filmed in the old synagogues themselves, one of which (Archibald Street) still has an active congregation. While the voices in the film are nearly all voices from the present recounting the past, however, significant portions of its visual material are drawn from a range of archival photographs, and the juxtapositions of contemporary footage and historical images are evocative.

In one of the film's most powerful segments, old and new are brought into particularly dynamic proximity. Shortly after its 1889 founding on Hyde Street as a breakaway congregation from Ohavi Zedek, members of the community's second synagogue (Chai Adam) commissioned one of its members, Ben Zion Black (he was a sign painter by trade, but he was also an active Yiddish poet and regular contributor to the *Jewish*

Daily Forward newspaper in New York City), to paint a mural that might serve as a backdrop for the ark where the Torah was kept. When the synagogue closed several decades ago, the mural was all but forgotten. *Little Jerusalem* shows us former members of Chai Adam returning to the building, walking up its narrow staircase, and viewing—for the first time in over fifty years—Black’s striking depiction of the Lions of Judah guarding the Torah, or the place where the Torah once was. As he encounters the mural in what is now one of several apartments in the long-ago deconsecrated *shul*, former resident Mark Rosenthal speaks some of the film’s most eloquent words: “I’m not a religious person. I’m a traditionalist,” says Mr. Rosenthal. “And I just remember the things that were connected by belonging.”

Before World War II, Little Jerusalem was a thriving Jewish community in large part because Burlington, while many of its gentile residents were hardly welcoming of the Jews in their midst, was an economically bustling crossroads. The Jews of the Old North End had begun their years in Vermont as traveling peddlers; by the early decades of the twentieth century, they had established dozens of successful businesses, including groceries, bottling plants, junk dealerships, and furniture stores. As had been the case with so many other Jewish communities in small-town America, prosperity led directly to dissolution. In the postwar atmosphere, in which returning veterans (most of whom were American-born and at least one, if not two generations separate from the neighborhood’s immigrant founders) established families of their own, the replicated *shtetl* of Little Jerusalem felt neither inevitable nor attractive. Many men and women from the old neighborhood stayed connected to Burlington, even if they no longer lived within its immediate environs. Their Jewishness, however, did not take shape in the image of an inherited orthodoxy. In 1952, Ohavi Zedek moved into a more normatively *American* synagogue, and its members assumed the mantle of the more thoroughly assimilated Jewish identity that defines the current era.

MICHAEL HOBERMAN

Michael Hoberman is an associate professor of English at Fitchburg State University, Massachusetts.

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- Williams, Jody, *My Name Is Jody Williams: A Vermont Girl's Winding Path to the Nobel Peace Prize*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013. 260p. List: \$29.95.

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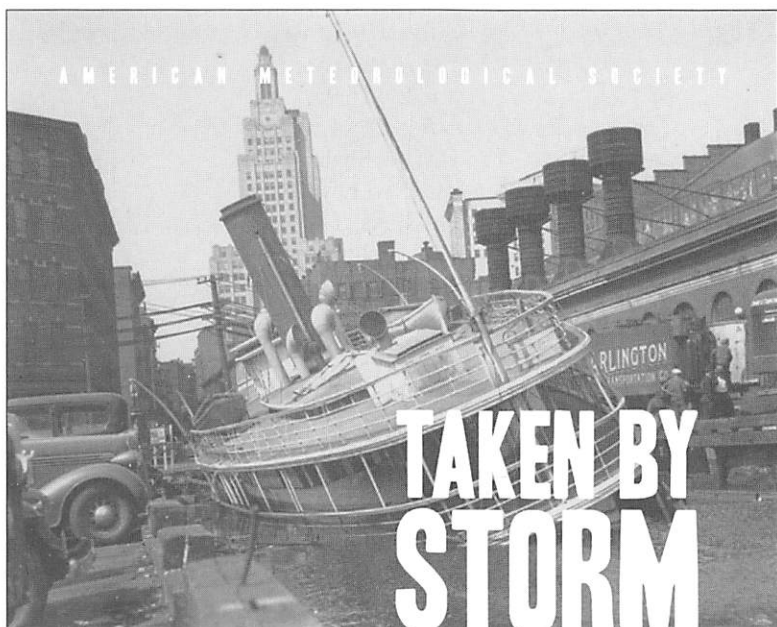
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Erratum

In the Book Review section of Vol. 81, No 1 (Winter/Spring 2013), page 128, the author of *From Barre-Montpelier to E. F. Knapp: The Story of a Small Airport in Berlin, Vermont* was incorrectly identified. The author is **Richard W. Turner**.

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