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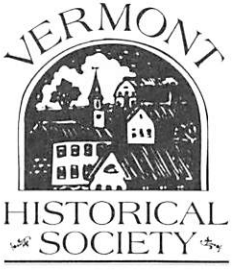

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Book Reviews

About the Cover Illustrations

Reminders of a Once Thriving Industry

As I write this, it's the coldest weather so far this winter; so it seems appropriate to discuss the Vermont Historical Society's stove collection. There are thirteen full-size stoves in the collection: One is a cook stove; the others are parlor stoves. All are cast iron and manufactured during the heyday of the iron industry in Vermont, from the early to mid-1800s. Towns where they were made include Middlebury, Brandon, Pittsford, Poultney, West Poultney, Hartland, and Plymouth.

These stoves represent many different aspects of life in Vermont during this time period. Historians of technology, decorative arts, and labor history have written about Vermont's iron industry and the practical and often beautiful stoves made in their foundries. In his book, *200 Years of Soot and Sweat: The History and Archeology of Vermont's Iron, Charcoal, and Lime Industries* (Manchester Center, Vt.: Vermont Archeology Society, 1992, pp. 42-43), Victor Rolando lists thirty-seven different cast iron stove manufacturers that operated in Vermont from 1810 to 1890.

The two largest areas of iron mining and production in Vermont during the nineteenth century were the Tyson Furnace located in Plymouth and the iron mines and foundries in the Brandon area. Tyson Furnace was started in the mid-1830s by Isaac Tyson, Jr., who ran it until 1855. During that time, up to 170 men worked there and many lived in housing provided by the company. The VHS library owns several account books from the company, including volumes containing work contracts, records of the company store, and inventories of the iron products they made and sold. Men were employed as molders, firemen, charcoal burners, coal men, founders, ore roasters, and blacksmiths, among dozens of other occupations. Some men brought along their wives and families, and women were hired to do cooking, washing, and cleaning. Little survives today of the once bustling industrial village.

In the Forest Dale section of Brandon stand the remnants of the blast furnace operated by the Forest Dale Iron Works. This tall stone struc-

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ture was built in 1824 and was in full production until 1855, melting iron ore into pig iron for use in making stoves as well as cooking pots, tools, and decorative architectural components. The furnace sits on ten acres of property that also includes remnants of machinery, foundations of shops, and workers' housing. Now owned by the Vermont Division for Historic Preservation, the site is not open to the public.

The decorative aspects of the stoves from this time period are often what capture the interest of collectors today. The earliest stoves in the VHS collection, from about 1825, are in the Franklin style, with very little decoration, mirroring the architectural and furniture designs popular at that time. As stoves became centerpieces of living spaces, and as new technology allowed, the stoves became more elaborately decorated, resembling the suites of furniture from the mid-1850s. Ornate gothic designs decorated many box stoves, and the two- and four-column parlor stoves were covered with three-dimensional flowers, trees, and figural ornamentation.

Much of the iron industry in Vermont was out of business by the 1850s, the manufacturers being unable to compete with other markets because of transportation costs and the decline in local resources. A small revival during the Civil War did not last long once war production ended and as people began to use central heating systems in their homes. The energy crisis during the 1970s spurred a revival of the wood stove industry in Vermont. Hearthstone and Vermont Castings became two major manufacturers started in the state; but although their products were highly efficient, they never could match the beautifully and whimsically decorated stoves from the mid-1800s.

JACQUELINE CALDER,
Museum Curator

Front cover: *Green Mountain Parlor Stove No. 3, Made by A. J. Ruggles Company, West Poultney, Vermont, circa 1850.*

Back cover: *Tyson Furnace (VHS-A-80). Painted by Myron Dimmock of Plymouth, Vermont, in about 1900, showing the furnace complex in about 1900.*

Aunt Lucinda's Attempted History of Pomfret

Lucinda Conant produced a manuscript history of Pomfret in the early 1850s, but upon her death in 1853 it was packed away and forgotten. Rediscovered, it addresses the history of Pomfret through the pen of a Vermont farm wife and illuminates the concerns of an antebellum woman dedicated to reform.

By Cameron Clifford

Lucinda (Chandler) Conant was a member of the Chandler family of Pomfret, Vermont, and a distant cousin of Mehetable (Chandler) Coit, whose colonial diary has been recently published. Most of the Chandlers in Lucinda's immediate family were apparently not literary minded and left no surviving diaries or writings. Lucinda, however, had literary aspirations.[1]

Lucinda Conant produced a manuscript history of Pomfret in the early 1850s, but upon her death in 1853 it was packed away in the unused bedroom of an old house and forgotten. Even if her manuscript had been known to later generations, it may have remained obscure. Her production was antiquarian, rough, and unfinished.

Nevertheless, since the manuscript was rediscovered in 2004, it has proven to be a unique document. It not only addresses the history of Pomfret through the pen of a Vermont farm wife, but it illuminates the contemporary concerns of an antebellum woman dedicated to reform.

.....

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Conant had much to convey. She wanted to highlight the early years of her town. She wanted to list and describe the people who had settled Pomfret. She wanted to address private and public morality. She wanted to make the point that much had been accomplished in the development and enlightenment of the town, but much still had to be done. No doubt, she wanted to include more, but she died before finishing her manuscript. In all, she produced 101 handwritten pages.[2]

Lucinda Conant's Life and Times

Lucinda Chandler, the fifth child of Josiah and Margaret Chandler, was born on Christmas day in 1800 and grew up with her siblings in the family's small cape surrounded by farmland near the center of Pomfret. Little is known about her formative years. The one thing that is certain is that she attended one of Pomfret's local district schools. The quality of the schooling varied widely depending on the teacher hired for each term. A neighbor of Lucinda Conant later generously reminisced that when he was a child, the "teachers were as good as schools in general could find means to employ," but also added that "there was but little to call up intense thought." Even so, most got a good grounding in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Eight years of education was the standard and ideal that most families sought for their children. Further education was for the few and was even rarer for girls, and Lucinda was not one of the select few.[3]

Gender roles for girls during Lucinda Conant's childhood followed the familiar patterns of their mothers and grandmothers, with minor variations; but by the time Lucinda entered womanhood in the 1820s, new attitudes toward women's roles were becoming codified. Publications such as William Cobbett's *Cottage Economy* and Hannah Barnard's *Dialogues on Domestic and Rural Economy* taught that every family needed a husband as "head" and a wife as "heart" of the household. Husbands dealt with work and the larger world while providing their wives with a home where she reigned as mother and household manager. In time Americans learned and assumed that women should be the guardians of all that was good within their households, while their husbands made a living and interacted with the wider world. The resulting ideology has been termed the "Cult of Domesticity." Women became largely housebound and were not to concern themselves with things outside their own home. Those who did not accept the new order could simply stay single.[4]

Reaching maturity with a possible predisposition to value her single state may have formed in Lucinda Chandler an aversion to the idea of marriage. For throughout her twenties and most of her thirties

she remained single. It must have been a surprise to family and friends when Lucinda decided at age thirty-seven to marry her neighbor, Seth Conant.

Lucinda dedicated herself to family life, but she did so at a time of economic uncertainty. The financial depression that followed the Panic of 1837 was the first major downturn in the economy in Lucinda's adulthood, and the country's worst depression up to that time. The following years were ones of "economic hardship and social frustration" for many.[5]

The Conants weathered the economic hard times only to face a crisis. In late summer 1850, Lucinda's only child, eleven-year-old Abram Conant, became ill and suffered "for ten days with dissentary complaints," which could not be stopped. On the morning of August 22 he was "partially raised in the bed, reclining upon his elbow, looking haggard beyond description" with his mother sitting by his side. As death pangs overcame him, he managed to say to his mother that he wanted to wait and see if his dead uncle, John Chandler, would come to take him away, reflecting a popular belief in spirits and becoming fellow companions with the deceased. With that utterance he fell back on the bed, "panting and gasping in death."[6]

The death of her son and only child plunged Lucinda Conant into deep depression. Her suffering sucked out her ambition and stymied whatever plans she had for the future. Getting by day to day must have been a struggle for weeks. It probably seemed she would never recover from this blow. Instead of recovering from depression, she descended into despair with a terminal illness. By late 1852, she had become, in her own words, "an invalid." It is unclear what Lucinda's condition was, but it involved a deterioration of her bones, resulting in a broken limb that would not heal. By mid 1853 she knew she would not improve and resigned herself to her situation. In a July 4, 1853, letter, a neighbor stated that Lucinda was "low[,] comfortable[,] and happy" but "her limbs continue to crumble to pieces." On September 10 she died in the house she was born in. She was fifty-three.[7]

This outline of Lucinda's life reveals little. If this were all there was to know, few people today would care that she had lived and died. She left no descendants. Her brother ended up with the family farm. Her husband remarried within a year of her death. She was quickly forgotten. If it were not for the manuscript Lucinda Conant composed in the days of her final illness, she would have remained unremembered.

After Lucinda Conant lost her son in 1850 and she herself became incapacitated by illness, there was little she could do. Melancholy was her constant companion, but as time passed she felt she needed some-

thing to keep her mind busy. She had time to reflect and revisit the days of her youth. She thought about life in the family home where she had grown up and now sat as an adult. She recalled the stories told by her parents about Pomfret before her birth, and her own memories. Lucinda formed a narrative in her mind about the history of her family and the house they had made their own. Eventually, toward the end of 1851, she thought about sharing her story with the younger members of her brother's family, who shared part of the old homestead with her and her husband.

Adding meaning to her narrative, Lucinda chose to formalize telling the story to the children by setting a special time when they would hear it. She chose Christmas day, 1851, her birthday, to invite the children into her room and listen to her. At 7:00 P.M. on December 25 the children were brought in, settled, and ready to listen.

Lucinda steeped her tale in mystery, as she did not tell the children until the end of the story that the events she related happened in their own home. What the children thought of this story is not known. What is known is that this event planted a seed in Lucinda Conant's mind to expand her topic beyond her family and its home to her neighbors and the whole town. By spring 1852, she determined to write a history of Pomfret.[8]

Lucinda Conant's decision to write a history of her town mirrored that of other New Englanders in the nineteenth century. History was a respected genre. Accounts of providential history, ancient history, kingdoms, wars, and American history were staples that literate families had devoured for years. The antebellum years were especially fertile for historical works to become popular. The fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence in 1826 and a recognition that the Revolutionary generation was passing from the scene stimulated interest in national history. A plethora of historical works were published well before Lucinda ever put pen to paper.

While national history was popular, interest in local history was rare before the nineteenth century. People had previously encountered it in sermons at church. Ministers occasionally interspersed special sermons with local history to make a theological point, or to celebrate as providential the anniversary of an important local event.

Along with such sermons, public celebratory orations were often printed, making sure the historical narratives presented were preserved for posterity. These initial meager accounts sometimes inspired further inquiries into a town's history. The resulting mass of additional information many times was then organized and published as the antebellum era's first books of true local history. These and later local endeav-

ors were conceived and written specifically as historical literature. The era of published town histories was thus well underway when Lucinda Conant decided to write her own in 1852.

Town histories varied in presentation, depth, range, and accuracy. Some were published as letters of communication. Some were "annals," enumerating in list form the town's major events, year by year. Some dealt primarily with the early settlement era. Others were more concerned with Revolutionary history and the accomplishments of local citizens. Many focused on genealogy. Few approached what today would be considered balanced, objective history.[9]

Although New England was the center of local history publishing in the United States when Lucinda decided to write about Pomfret, published histories of Vermont towns were close to non-existent. Montpelier had a forty-eight-page booklet featuring a historical discourse published in 1843. In 1852, a Danville half-century sermon and a short history of Lyndon were published; both of less than twenty-five pages. Zadock Thompson, a former Pomfret and Woodstock teacher, produced an extensive history and gazetteer of Vermont in 1824, which included short historical sketches of each town in the state; he expanded that work into his famous *History of Vermont* in 1842. Although no record exists to confirm it, it is tempting to imagine that Thompson was one of Conant's teachers. If true, she would have been a student well before he began work on his first historical writings in the 1820s. Thompson's *History of Vermont* remained the most significant source of local history in the state until Abby Hemenway encouraged, promoted, and published her massive long-term project, the *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, in the late1860s and 1870s; but this was long after Lucinda Conant was dead. If Conant looked for and found examples of published town histories, she did so in volumes published outside of Vermont.[10]

Up to the time Lucinda decided to write her history of Pomfret many women wrote letters, some published books, and very few created local histories. Writing by women expanded greatly during the early nineteenth century. The increase in female literacy in the United States created not only an informed public able to read, but also a pool of potential writers.[11]

While it was possible for women to publish, it remained problematic. Women were disadvantaged. Because of their roles as housewives and mothers in the service of others, most women simply did not have enough time for sustained writing. This situation was buttressed by the prevailing cultural values of the time. Although intellectual pursuits, such as writing, were "reputable, useful and ornamental" for women,

"virtue good nature & innocence" were more important. Writing and virtue were viewed as, if not incompatible, then in an uneasy combination when applied to women.[12]

Although there were women writers during Lucinda Conant's lifetime, few wrote and published history. Pursuing history involved acquiring new knowledge through research and fact checking. Girls were not taught to question authority or to focus on non-domestic matters in preparation for life. With marriage popularly presented as the defining moment in a woman's life, intellectual questioning was seen as unnecessary. Many women felt it "enough to understand what all the talk was about" over an issue without learning about it in depth. The married women who actively pursued historical inquiry required very "special husbands" who indulged their interests.[13] A woman who aspired to write history in the antebellum era therefore generally had to be unmarried, childless, not needed as a caregiver, and not compelled to earn money. It is no wonder that the author of the *History of Norwich, Connecticut*, Frances M. Caulkins, was the only female local historian to have produced her own book by the time Lucinda Conant decided to write her own local history.[14]

Lucinda Conant was able to write her history of Pomfret because she had the time. Her endeavor was not enabled by "single blessedness," as she was married, but because she was incapacitated by illness. No doubt the idle days between her Christmas house story of December 1851 and the start of her history of Pomfret in April 1852 provided hours of opportunity for reflection and consideration of her task. She later claimed that once she decided to write she began right away. This suggests that she already knew what her history would include.

Nonetheless, Conant needed sources beyond her own imagination to inform her work. Fortunately, because she was writing local history, her sources were readily accessible. These included books, town records, oral history, letters, and her own memory. Since she could not leave her room, all these sources were brought to her. She purchased and borrowed records; neighbors visited and related family lore and personal experiences; letters came from near and far; and she could still recall the stories her parents had told and the Pomfret of her youth.[15]

Women in Lucinda's History

Lucinda Conant set out to write a history of her town, but it ended up including much more. She wrote her Pomfret book in just over a year—a very short time for such an undertaking. Even so, the manuscript's organization and the roughness of its last sections show that she was racing against time to finish it.

Conant's manuscript highlights several concerns and themes about Pomfret and herself, including history, religion, reform, and life and death. It is enlightening to analyze what she wrote using these general concerns as a roadmap into her mind. Lucinda Conant's history first of all is concerned with the white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant advance out of the British Isles into the American wilderness. She quotes extensively from Thomas Babington Macaulay's *History of England* on "the Puritan fathers," showing that she accepted the ascendant interpretation of the Puritans as a once persecuted people in England. First they had battled Rome and Catholicism and then later their own monarchs and the Church of England before emigrating to New England where, as she wrote, they "sought a home in our country for religious and political freedom." They established Massachusetts and Connecticut, where in the course of a century they morphed from strict Puritans into the somewhat easier-going Yankees who first settled Pomfret.[16]

Writing about Pomfret's Yankee pioneer women particularly interested Conant. She excused those women who were ill prepared for frontier life but were dragged by their husbands to early Pomfret. She also defended women who had chosen not to marry in an age when those who remained single were generally denigrated.

Conant also wrote about women whose reputations needed no defending. There was Mrs. Durkee, wife of Pomfret's unsavory first settler. Her father had been one of the early proprietors of Pomfret and he offered his son-in-law some of the wild land on which to settle. "Mr. Durkee, not of an enterprising spirit," Conant wrote, "was unwilling to accept of the offer, but his wife, a woman of much energy, was very anxious for the removal" of her family to Pomfret. She and her father eventually forced Durkee to accept the offer, but after getting him to Pomfret, she wanted to tie him up in a canoe and send him back down the river to Connecticut. Perhaps it was Mrs. Durkee's experience that inspired Conant to conclude that in contrast to the image of the lonely settler clearing his forest home himself, "women and children were very active in rendering assistance, and we fancy we can see them piling brush and setting fires with an activity surpassing that of the husband and father."[17]

Conant enjoyed writing about Alice Hewitt, who was of a "helpmate character, energetic in business, and decided in opinion." Hewitt became homesick after coming to Pomfret, but "like other women of her temperament" made time for herself. These times were hard to come by, however. One evening when Hewitt's husband was away and her children were in bed, "she thought it a good time to enjoy a special treat" of time to herself, "which she had been wishing for for some

days." However, after it began raining, two cats came through a crack near the cabin's chimney and rampaged through the cabin, then a neighbor fellow barged in, and after a few minutes of chatting "a noise of dogs quarreling was heard back of the house." On "looking out at a back window they discovered by the twilight dogs fighting on a patch of melon vines. Mrs. H[ewitt] remarked that they would injure their vines very much" if not stopped. Because the visiting neighbor was "not offering to meddle" with the dogs, Mrs. Hewitt went outside, "took her shovel and beat the larger dog so unmercifully that they fled in different directions." After her husband came home and she told him what transpired, he went out the next morning and by the tracks in the dirt found that one of the dogs had been a bear. This version of the story was well known in town at the time and we are lucky Conant wrote it down, as we will see later on.[18]

In another vignette about women, Conant relates a story involving the spunky identical twin sisters, Deborah and Betsey Perkins, both present when Deborah was about to marry John Conant. Conant, thinking himself quite witty, "requested Betsey to keep a little out of the way lest he should make a mistake" and marry her instead of Deborah. "Betsey replied that he need not concern himself about that." Since "she was concerned in the matter she [would] take care" to avoid such a fate. Tales of such independent-minded women were particularly cogent to Lucinda Conant.[19]

Religion

Along with history and the status of women, public and private morality were of great concern to Lucinda Conant and she infused her history with examples of both. An heir of the Puritans, she was well versed in matters of religion and personal morality.

Lucinda Conant drank deep of the cup of salvation her parents held out to her. They were of the evolving liberal Congregational stripe, which hewed close to Unitariansim. In general, Unitarians believed humans were so good that they did not deserve eternal punishment. Unitarian thought was present in Pomfret well before an official Unitarian congregation was formed in the 1840s. Conant does not explicitly claim Unitarianism as her creed, but her religious liberalism suggests it was. Not once did Lucinda mention punishment, hell, or the Devil in her writing.[20]

Conant's faith allowed much wriggle room for the integration of various Christian doctrines. To her, God bestowed grace freely, "that all may receive if they have kept their spirits pure and impressable." She saw the practical side of faith. She believed that when "we give our-

selves to God without reserve, and believe that he accepts us how fully every want is met. Life is invested with a new interest; labor is easy, trials are light." When one was facing especially difficult times, God was ever present. One neighbor woman went through hell on earth, but she "still cleaves to her integrity" because she kept her faith. Another neighbor had committed suicide, which was considered an act against God, but Conant felt pity and questioned, "Who shall be his judge but God Himself who made our frames and remembreth that we are dust." Conant's personal god was a loving God who forgave human failings. This god could not have been more different from that of her Puritan ancestors.[21]

Conant's Protestant amalgamation was accepting and forgiving, but it held no room for Roman Catholicism, with its rigid hierarchy and elaborate rituals. Like her ancestors, she abhorred the Catholic Church. Protestantism had been in continual struggle against and then in competition with Catholicism for more than three hundred years. Catholicism had been the faith of New England's seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French-Canadian enemies, and in Conant's own day it was invading New England with the waves of Irish immigrants fleeing famine. Conant made it a point in her history to differentiate her Protestant Scotch-Irish ancestors from the Catholic newcomers.[22]

Along with Catholicism, Conant scrutinized the newly founded faith of the Church of Latter Day Saints, popularly termed Mormons, with skepticism. This was easy to do because of Mormonism's newness, having been founded only in the 1830s. Any new faith tends to be widely held as suspect because the messy business associated with its founding is within the memory of those present at its creation, both believers and non-believers. Mormonism did not have the advantage of nineteen centuries of traditional Christianity. In a nutshell, the Mormons held that Native Americans were descended from a group of ancient migrating Jews, that the Book of Mormon was, along with the Bible, the word of God, and that Joseph Smith was Christianity's newest prophet.[23]

Although Congregationalists, Unitarians, Baptists, and Methodists were all present in Pomfret and noted by Lucinda Conant, she did not expend much ink on these groups. Of prime interest to her were the new faiths grabbing attention and souls at the time she decided to write her history of Pomfret. These included, along with Mormonism, Transcendentalism, Swedenborgianism, and Spiritualism. Imagination had combined with faith and hope.

Transcendentalism is an imprecise term for various strains of thought deriving from traditional Christianity, humanism, and Romanticism, that sought a new spiritual way to experience the divine. Conant's con-

temporary, Frederic H. Hodges, described the disciples of Transcendentalism as a group of "young men, mostly in the Unitarian connection, with a sprinkling of elect ladies—all fired with hope of a new era in philosophy and the world. . . [and] a boding of some great revolution, some new avatar of the spirit, at whose birth their expectations were called to assist." Ralph Waldo Emerson became the unofficial spokesman for the movement but even he could not intelligibly explain to the average person what it all meant. Nevertheless, what did resonate with many was the emphasis on the unity of the individual, the natural, and the spiritual. Hints of Transcendentalist thought were tapping at the doors of many liberal Christians at the time.[24]

One source of inspiration for Transcendentalists, as well as Lucinda Conant, was a resurgent interest in Swedenborgianism. Emanuel Swedenborg, an eighteenth-century Swedish scientist and theologian, embraced non-traditional religious thought. Among his beliefs was that "Man is so created that he is at the same time in the spiritual world and in the natural world."[25] The divisions within Protestant Christianity led many people to tolerate new ideas such as this and some, like Lucinda Conant, to accept them.

Conant became interested in Swedenborgiansim through her brother-in-law, John Conant, who "never made a profession of religion" but who, after moving to Massachusetts, "received the Swedenborgian faith, and died in the same." Her brother-in-law's newfound faith impressed Lucinda and she too read the works of Swedenborg. She was impressed by what she learned, and because so "many people are ignorant of this faith, or have received false notions concerning it," she included four pages of "extracts" from Swedenborg's writings in her own book.[26]

Swedenborg's union of body and spirit set the stage for Lucinda Conant's consideration of Spiritualism, a controversial belief sweeping the country at the time whereby the living could communicate with the dead. Historically anathema to Christians of all stripes, Spiritualsim was a logical extension of the new beliefs entwining the known world of the living with the unknown beyond. If body and soul were one and inhabited both worlds at the same time, was not contact with the dead possible? News from New York State in 1848 caused many to think so.

That year two sisters of the Fox family in Hydesville, New York, demonstrated to friends and neighbors their ability to communicate with spirits of the deceased through "rapping" messages. They had a strong support system within their own family confirming their newfound powers. The mother had already been predisposed toward the supernatural and their older brother helped the girls extend the con-

versational range with the spirits. An elder married sister arrived on the scene and promoted the girls vigorously.

As word of their powers spread, accounts appeared in newspapers and people traveled to seek the sisters' assistance in communicating with deceased loved ones. The girls were tested and tricked by those wishing to expose them as fakes. Exams showed inconsistency and limits to the girls' abilities, but their sister was adamant about their powers. While it was easy for many to prove to themselves the falseness of the Foxes' claims, those wanting to believe did. Before long, others elsewhere found that they too had the power to communicate with the dead.[27]

Lucinda Conant's Pomfret was not immune to the new enthusiasm for Spiritualsim. Her townsman, Justin Bugbee, was convinced of its truth and treated it as an article of faith. During the last year of Lucinda Conant's own life, Bugbee noted a "medium meeting" at Daniel Tinkham's house and attended another at Clement Whipple's, both in Pomfret. The Vails also left correspondence showing their interest in the new movement, although sister Hannah Vail wrote home that she was "Not quite so glad to hear you are all possessed or bewitched with spirits." She thought "no good can come of it," and that she herself had "seen neither rappings nor tappings" but "only one pretender." Hannah Vail also had "mediums just across the street" from where she lived, and wrote that she and a friend would go over to investigate for themselves. Even so, Hannah's sister-in-law, Harriet, informed her that they had "the reading of two newspapers devoted to [Spiritualism] and . . . cheering accounts of good being done in various ways" connected with it. Lucinda Conant died just as the movement was reaching its zenith in Pomfret.

Conant wrote a paragraph about Pomfret's "Spiritual manifestations" for her history. She claimed that spirits had "revealed themselves among the most respectable part of our citizens and are now undergoing a careful and thorough investigation by minds willing and anxious to ascertain their true character." She herself had suspended disbelief for the moment. It is not known if she died believing in spirit communication, but as her son had passed, she may have hoped it was true.[28]

Social Reform

Spiritualism and religious faith were of prime interest to Lucinda Conant, but so were the plethora of social reform efforts hitting high gear as she began writing her history of Pomfret. She was interested in issues affecting both Pomfret and the country as a whole. Conant declared that the "general moral character of the town [of Pomfret] is

comparatively good." She admitted that there "are lamentable dark shades, to be sure, but some improvement has been made in the moral state of society, and the idea in part settleing in the minds of the citizens [is] that . . . more must be done." The reforms that she believed needed attention and action were temperance, women's rights, slavery, and attitudes toward Native American Indians.[29]

Temperance was of vital importance to Lucinda Conant. She did not indicate that "drinking to excess" had afflicted people in her family, but no doubt she had seen its effects locally. Throughout the colonial and early national periods, almost everyone drank alcohol, no matter the age or setting. Work, worship, and relaxation all proved equally conducive for consuming alcoholic beverages.

Accidents and physical abuse facilitated by excessive drinking unsurprisingly were common facts of life. However, by the antebellum era religious revivalism combined with growing efforts to improve society led to new endeavors to control individual behaviors formerly deemed acceptable, including drinking alcohol to excess. Early efforts at such enlightenment were initiated by the local elite. In Pomfret's case, the Dana family provided an example by hosting a community work day in the 1820s with water to drink and no alcohol. It set a powerful precedent and in time more people followed suit, forming temperance societies and promoting abstinence. It was an easy matter for some to give up drinking, while those who were what would be later termed "alcoholic" remained examples to condemn.[30]

Lucinda Conant became a firm temperance advocate. In fact, her beliefs were militant. In her history, Conant censoriously reported that, "In 1850 one notorious house of immorality was broken up" in Pomfret, apparently referring to one of the local stores where liquor was sold or an inn where it was served. By what means this was accomplished she does not reveal, but at the time she was writing efforts were "being made for the destruction of another den of iniquity." She noted that there was progress, but "not withstanding the many efforts which have been made in twenty five years for the suppression of intemperance, it is still an alarming evil and calls loudly for renewed exertions." It may have taken twenty-five years of efforts by Conant and her allies to put an end to drinking in Pomfret, but another eighty years and the failure of a nationwide Prohibition Act proved the effort futile.[31]

Just as the Temperance Movement fired up Lucinda Conant, the articulation of women's rights in the late 1840s fueled a pre-existing sense of female ability within her seeking justice. Conant developed a strong sense of herself and women's abilities in general during the thirty-seven years before she married. Her treatment of "Womens'

Rights" in her history makes it clear she was very familiar with the Seneca Falls Convention of 1848. She was committed to expanding women's role in society beyond the domestic sphere.[32]

Women's condition had a checkered past, according to Conant, and their present condition still needed improving. Women remained subservient to men. In quoting Abby Price, she made the point that women had to transcend "fashion . . . public sentiment, and vain show" before men would take their aspirations seriously. The Cult of Domesticity must come to an end; Horace Mann had denounced "Women's Sphere" as only a "hemisphere." The law of coverture, whereby a married man and woman became a legal "one" and the woman's rights were subsumed by those of her husband, forced women to battle for their own legal rights. "Legal rights," quoted Conant, must not be granted as "a gift of charity, but as an act of justice." She advised those single women who owned property and paid taxes to withhold paying them as an example of taxation without representation. Men viewed voting as part of their humanity; in denying voting to women, men denied women's humanity. Mrs. Jane E. Janes, Conant related, declared that she wanted nothing less than "the right to vote and to be voted for." Lucinda Conant was as firm an advocate of radical women's rights as any of the era's feminist leaders, with the probable exception of those who promoted sexual freedom. One must wonder how her own personal experiences helped form her position.[33]

Conant's section on "Indians" reflected an attitude shared by many of her contemporaries. It was easy to have sympathy with a defeated, vanquished people. What she and others ignored, however, was that in her own day plenty of Indians were still struggling for their rights and lives. She wrote nothing about the forced relocation of the Southern tribes during the recent "Trail of Tears," or of the ongoing pressures west of the Mississippi to clear out the Indians for further white expansion.[34]

Unlike Indians, African American slaves increased in numbers dramatically during the antebellum era. By the time Lucinda Conant wrote her history of Pomfret slavery had been propelled to the forefront of public consciousness. Her treatment of the slavery issue mirrored the attitude of many who also found it convenient to sympathize with displaced Indians. It was easy for New Englanders to moralize about slavery, as they were far removed from the front lines, in this case, south of the Mason-Dixon Line, where slavery was thriving.

While Conant opposed slavery, it is unknown what she thought about the slaves. Most likely, pity. However, if she was like many other New Englanders in the antislavery camp, she held contradictory views about those who were enslaved becoming free. Conant and others approved

of public pronouncements against slavery, but very few people espoused anything resembling a belief in the equality of whites and blacks. In fact, attitudes toward African Americans had hardened. As the antebellum era progressed, the belief among whites that black people were inherently inferior intensified and became widespread. While Southern slavemasters used this scientific racism tool to justify slavery, many Northerners also accepted it as fact. Unlike Southerners who encountered competent skilled slaves in everyday life, rural Yankees rarely interacted with black people. Thus, it was ironically easy to perpetuate negative stereotypes of blacks in the North. Recent studies have contributed to our understanding of the history of African Americans in Vermont, but at the same time, they also highlight the fact that they were few in number. It would be surprising if Lucinda Conant's antislavery views were not bound up with racial anxieties. She left out any hint of this in her history, however. As with her account of the Indians, it was easier to imagine contemporary rural New England without black people.[35]

Two Histories of Pomfret

Lucinda Conant probably intended to write more and address other topics as she attempted to finish her manuscript during her decline. She had to give up, however. Years later, Conant's work was wrapped up by her niece and labeled *Aunt Lucinda's Attempted History of Pomfret.* It may seem obvious why Conant's manuscript was designated an "attempted history"; it was an unfinished effort. However, another reason why Conant's niece simply labeled and tucked away the work was because by then it had been superseded.

While Conant's manuscript lay hidden, another history of Pomfret was written and published as the authoritative history of the town. Henry Hobart Vail grew up on his family's Pomfret farm and was fourteen years old when Lucinda Conant died. Vail left Pomfret and pursued a career in the book publishing industry, eventually becoming editor in chief of the American Book Company. Later in life he returned to Vermont, retiring to a house on the Woodstock Green in the 1890s. Vail's brother remained on the family farm in Pomfret, maintaining a personal connection there for Henry, who no doubt visited the homestead frequently. With his renewed connection to his native town, Vail decided to research its early history. He spent days with the town's early records and other sources and wrote a book-length manuscript highlighting Pomfret's beginning, its progression, the faiths of the forefathers, and a separate section on the town's early settler families. Vail's treatment of Pomfret history unknowingly paralleled Lucinda Conant's

in many ways. And like Conant, Henry Vail also died before readying his history for publication. Unlike Conant, however, Vail had a daughter who saw that her father's work was published in 1930.[36]

Henry Hobart Vail and Lucinda Conant both produced histories of their small New England town, covering similar topics and following accepted conventions, but there are big differences between these works. While Vail's was a polished literary accomplishment and Conant's a rough draft, the more important differences between them have to do with when and why they were written, and the gender of the author.

The two histories were the products of different times. Conant's antebellum America was plagued with anxieties about slavery, expansion, temperance, women's rights, but also filled with a sense of progress, buttressed by hope and the belief that humankind could direct the course of history with new and enlightened knowledge. Vail wrote his history at the end of the nineteenth century, when a plethora of town and local histories were produced in reaction to changes seen as threatening American society. Rapid industrialization, increasing urbanization, and massive immigration from eastern and southern Europe proved disconcerting to many. Local historians highlighted the struggles, democratic institutions, and seeming simplicity of colonial and early-national America as touchstones for modern Americans to reflect and act upon. As a result, Vail dedicated over 80 percent of his narrative to the settlement period of the late eighteenth century.

In addition to different times, Conant and Vail were very different people. Lucinda Conant was a struggling, provincial farmwife; Henry Vail was an educated, cosmopolitan, high-Victorian gentleman. It is not surprising that they looked at history differently, as informed by their experiences of and beliefs about gender. Whereas Conant derided Bartholomew Durkee as a lazy weakling, Vail celebrated him as Pomfret's strong, determined first settler. Conant's Alice Hewitt had gone out into the night, found a shovel, and beaten a bear. Vail simply domesticated Hewitt inside the cabin thumping the bear through the narrow doorway with her broom without crossing the threshold. And while Conant wondered about the beneficial possibilities of the Spiritualist movement, Vail, embarrassed by his parents' early embrace of it, never mentions Spiritualsim as a religious phenomenon in town.[37]

It is easy to simply accept the accuracy of long-held narratives of local history such as Henry Vail's history of Pomfret when there are no alternative interpretations. While modern-day local historians offer new ways to view past events, it is rare and exciting to discover unknown voices from the past that can enlighten and entertain us. Lucinda Conant's "attempted" history of Pomfret does both.

Notes

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[2] Lucinda Conant, *The Pomfret Book*, manuscript, hereafter cited as Manuscript. The manuscript was found by the author while organizing the papers of the Moore family of Pomfret, Vermont. The author transcribed the manuscript and a copy has been deposited with the Pomfret Historical Society. He would like to thank John Moore, David Moore, and Emily Grube for allowing him access to their family's papers and John Moore, especially, for providing funding for the manuscript's transcription.

[3] Vail, *Pomfret*, 2: 344-345, 467-469; E. Jennifer Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005), 236-239; Debby Applegate, *The Most Famous Man in America: The Biography of Henry Ward Beecher* (New York: Three Leaves Press, 2006), 40-41.

[4] Carl Bode, *American Life in the 1840s* (New York: Anchor Books, 1967), 59, 63, 65-66, 76; Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Women's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1977), 19-23, 64-100; Joan M. Jensen, *Loosening the Bonds: Mid-Atlantic Farm Women, 1750-1850* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1986), 124-126; Kathryn K. Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1973; New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1976), 78, 83, 136-137, 151-153; Sally McMurry, *Families and Farmhouses in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 56-57; Richard L. Bushman, *The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1992; New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 281, 305-306.

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[6] Conant, Manuscript, 19.

[7] Ibid., 2, 19; Harriet Vail to Hannah Vail, 4 July 1853, private collection; Vail, *Pomfret*, 2: 468.

[8] Pomfret, Vermont Land Records, 13/151, 392; Conant, Manuscript, 2, 19; Ann Fabian, *The Unvarnished Truth: Personal Narratives in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), xii, 2, 7.

[9] Francesca Morgan, "Lineage as Capital: Genealogy in Antebellum New England," *New England Quarterly*, 83 (June 2010): 256-257; Katherine Wolff, *Culture Club: The Curious History of the Boston Athenaeum* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2009), 72; Nina Baym, *American Women Writers and the Work of History, 1790-1860* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1995), passim.; John Farmer, *Historical Sketch of Amherst* (Concord, N.H.: Asa McFarland, 1837); Nathaniel Adams, *Annals of Portsmouth, Comprising a Period of Two Hundred Years from the First Settlement of the Town; With Biographical Sketches of a Few of the Most Respectable Inhabitants* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Published by the author, 1825); Daniel Huntington, *A discourse, delivered in the North Meeting-House in Bridgewater, on Friday, December 22, 1820: being the second centurial anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth* (Boston: Lincoln, 1821); Isaac Goodwin, *An oration, delivered at Lancaster, February 21, 1826, in commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the destruction of that Town by the Indians* (Worcester, Mass.: Rogers & Griffin, 1826); George C. Woodruff, *History of the Town of Litchfield, Connecticut* (Litchfield, Conn.: Charles Adams, 1845); Edwin Hall, ed., *The Ancient Historical Records of Norwalk, Connecticut; with a plan of the ancient settlement, and of the Town in 1847* (Norwalk, Conn.: James Mallory, 1847).

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[13] Baym, *American Women Writers*, 1, 8, 12-13, 19; Nancy R. Stuart, *The Muse of the Revolution: The Secret Pen of Mercy Otis Warren and the Founding of a Nation* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2008), xi-xii; Wolff, *Culture Club*, 64-66, 78; Morgan, "Lineage as Capital," 254, 258, 263; Goodwin, *The Remarkable Mrs. Ripley*, xxii, 14-15, 87, 89, 99, 116, 136.

[14] Morgan, "Lineage as Capital," 254; F[rances] M. Caulkins, *History of Norwich, Connecticut, from Its Settlement in 1660 to January 1845* (Norwich, Conn.: Thomas Robinson. 1845). This judgment is based on my review of New England town histories published before 1853 listed in Committee for a New England Bibliography, John Borden Armstrong, series ed., *Bibliographies of New England History*, 6 vols. (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1976-1986).

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[16] Ibid., 20. Hugh Trevor-Roper, *History and the Enlightenment* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010), 192-193; Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), passim; Francis J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment* (New York: St. Martins Press, 1976), passim; Charles E. Clark, *The Eastern Frontier: The Settlement of Northern New England, 1610-1763* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England. 1983), 334-359.

[17] Conant, Manuscript, 5-6, 14, 21.

[18] Ibid., 35-36.

[19] Ibid., 43.

[20] Ibid., 3-4, passim; Vail, *Pomfret*, 1: 241-249; Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 284-287.

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[23] Conant, Manuscript, 71-76; Grant H. Palmer, *An Insider's View of Mormon Origins* (Salt Lake City, Utah: Signature Books, 2002), passim.; Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith, Rough Stone Rolling: A Cultural Biography of Mormonism's Founder* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 57, 80-83, 84-112.

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[25] Daniel Walker Howe, *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 189, 203, 262; Perry Miller, ed., *The American Transcendentalists: Their Prose and Poetry* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1957), ix-x, 1-4, 21-27, 48-49.

[26] Conant, Manuscript, 61-64.

[27] Ruth Brandon, *The Spiritualists* (New York: Knopf, 1983), 1-6, 10, 13-20, 21; Goodwin, *The Remarkable Mrs. Ripley*, 196, 208.

[28] Justin Bugbee Diary, 2 January; 7 January; 18 February; 25 December 1853, Bugbee Papers, Special Collections, Bailey/Howe Library, University of Vermont, Burlington; Hannah Vail to Harriet Vail, 7 July 1852, private collection; Conant, Manuscript, 4.

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[31] Conant, Manuscript, 4; Deborah P. Clifford, "The Women's War against Rum," *Vermont History*, 52 (Summer 1984): 141-160.

[32] Conant, Manuscript, 82; Lori D. Ginzberg, *Untidy Origins: A Story of Women's Rights in Antebellum New York* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 7, 10, 20, 83; Judith Wellman, *The Road to Seneca Falls: Elizabeth Cady Stanton and the First Women's Rights Convention* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2004), passim.

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[34] Ibid., 88-89; Stuart Banner, *How the Indians Lost Their Land: Law and Power on the Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), 84, 121-122, 148-149; Zboray and Zboray, *Voices Without Votes*, 39, 41.

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Migrant Culture Maintenance: The Welsh Experience in Poultney, Rutland County, 1900-1940

The Welsh comprised a highly visible ethno-linguistic community in Poultney, based on religion, language, culture, family ties, and participation in the area's slate industry.

By Robert Llewellyn Tyler

The old slate-quarrying town of Poultney is situated on the western border of Rutland County in Vermont. It was chartered by Benning Wentworth on September 21, 1761, and the town was organized on March 8, 1775.[1] Poultney had few industries prior to 1800, and the town's population grew slowly: numbering 1,121 in 1791; 1,950 in 1810; 1,909 in 1830; and 2,329 by 1850. In 1851, Daniel and S. E. Hooker opened the first slate quarry about three miles north of Poultney village and the industry grew rapidly, assisted by the arrival of the railroad in the same year. By 1860, Poultney could boast 16 slate companies employing some 450 workers and, in the words of contemporary observers, by 1886 the prospects of the town were good: "Since 1875, it is said, the slate business of Poultney has more than doubled in volume, and has also greatly increased in profits. It is comparatively in its infancy yet, however, and if properly developed, will be a source of great wealth to the town."[2]

The town drew migrants from across the Atlantic, initially from the countries of the United Kingdom and later from central, southern, and

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eastern Europe.[3] Throughout, however, the largest number of foreign-born hailed from Wales.[4] Indeed, in 1910 when the Poultney population was at its zenith, no national group other than the Welsh was recorded as having more than 100 foreign-born residents, with only three of these groups—Irish, Italians, and Austrians—having over 50.[5] At their numerical peak in that year, the total Welsh-born of 479 when added to 382 U.S.-born children with both parents Welsh, totalled 861 individuals and made up 23.6 percent of the town's population.

TABLE 1 Welsh in Poultney

	1880	*1900*	*1910*	*1920*	*1930*
Welsh-born	151	411	479	258	225
Welsh stock	118	298	382	265	241
Total Welsh	269	709	861	523	466
Total Population	2,717	3,108	3,644	2,868	3,215
Percentage Welsh	9.9%	22.8%	23.6%	18.2%	14.5%

This study attempts to quantify the extent to which an identifiable Welsh community established and maintained itself in Poultney during the early decades of the twentieth century, the nature of that community, and the ways in which it changed. In doing so, I examine residential propinquity, economic specialization, the establishment of cultural and religious institutions, language retention, and levels of exogamy, thus providing a micro-level analysis of a Welsh community as it existed in a particular area during a specific period of time.[6] The Welsh comprised a highly visible ethno-linguistic community in Poultney, and a consideration of the characteristics of that community and the factors governing its long-term viability provides information of interest regarding the history of Poultney and the experiences of the Welsh who found themselves living and working in the town, and contributes to understanding Vermont's immigration experience in general.

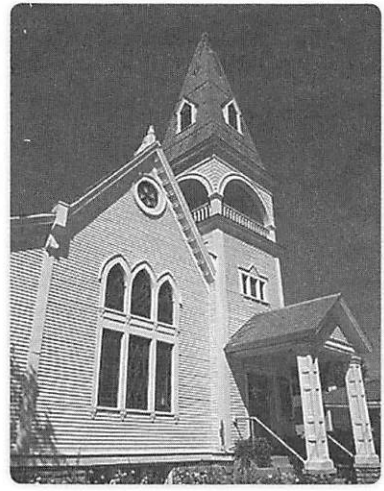
Religion, Cultural Life, and Language

Much Welsh cultural activity was associated with religion, and by the middle of the nineteenth century religiosity, specifically Protestant Nonconformity, was regarded by many as a national characteristic and had become central to the idea of Welsh identity itself.[7] This image accompanied the Welsh in their migrations overseas, and areas where they settled in any significant number were soon characterized by the con-

struction of Nonconformist chapels, which were the most immediate indicators of a Welsh presence. In the United States, it is estimated that as many as 600 Welsh Nonconformist chapels were built in the nineteenth century and, by 1872, the state of Pennsylvania alone had at least 102 that were served by 67 ministers and 39 lay preachers.[8] In 1854, *Y Drysorfa* (*The Treasury*), the monthly periodical of the Calvinistic Methodists in Wales, noted:

> Mae yn beth hynod a thra chysurus yn nodweddiad y Cymry, eu bod, i ba le bynag yr elont, os bydd rhyw nifer ohonynt gyda'u gilydd, yn sefydlu addoliad cymdeithasol yn yr iaith Cymraeg. Yn nhrefi mawrion Lloegr, yn y gweithfaoedd glo a hiarn yn Scotland, yn ngwahanol daleithiau America . . . rhaid i ymfudwyr o Gymru gael clywed yn eu hiaith eu hun am fawrion weithredoedd Duw yn iachawdwriaeth gras.[9]
>
> (It is a remarkable and comforting aspect of the Welsh character that no matter where they go, if there are any number of them together they establish a social place of worship in the Welsh language. In the great cities of England, in the coal mines and iron works of Scotland, in the various states of America . . . the Welsh emigrant must hear of the great works of God in his own language.)

The Welsh in Poultney followed this pattern and when they achieved sufficient numbers constructed a Welsh Presbyterian church in 1899 to cater to the spiritual needs of the emerging Welsh community. The church had its roots in the Calvinistic Methodist denomination before becoming a Presbyterian chapel, and for many years it was closely connected with Bethel Welsh Church, two miles away in South Poultney.[10] The high level of religiosity among the Welsh was duly noted with approval by their American hosts, with the *Poultney Journal* commenting in 1881, "Where you find the Welsh, you find a church."[11] Moreover, the fact that the Welsh worshipped in a different language proved to be no obstacle to acceptance in the wider community. As Protestants they were spared what



The Welsh church at Poultney. Courtesy of the Poultney Historical Society.

Paul Searls described, writing of the positive welcome given to Swedes in Vermont compared to that received by the Irish and Québécois, as the "pervasive anti-Catholic bias of the era."[12] Indeed, much anti-Catholic feeling existed both within and outside Wales at this time, which usually manifested itself against the Irish.[13]

Although religion held a central position, Welsh culture was not confined to the religious sphere. The weekly newspaper, *Y Drych* (*The Mirror*), which served the Welsh community in North America from 1851, reveals the depth of Welsh secular and religious activity in Poultney.[14] The newspaper reported the activities of poets, musicians, and writers in the town and indicated that literary events and *cymanfaoedd canu* (singing festivals) were held, as was the *eisteddfod*, the great Welsh festival based on prose, poetry, and musical and choral competition. The importance of such events is illustrated by the account of the *Eisteddfod Iforaidd Poultney* (Poultney Ivorite Eisteddfod) that took place in November 1899.[15] The paper noted, "Y mae llanw y brwdfrydedd Cymreig yn uchel iawn drwy y dyffryn, a'r Eisteddfod yw 'pwnc y dydd' yn y chwareli" ("The tide of Welsh enthusiasm is very high throughout the valley and the Eisteddfod is the 'subject of the day' in the quarries.")[16] Such events were also reported in the local newspapers. An account from the *Middlebury Register* of February 1908 gives an idea of the nature of these competitions:

> The Welsh people in Poultney, Pawlet and vicinity are interested in an eisteddfod which will be held in Granville, N.Y., the afternoon and evening of March 28. There will be 27 contestants and 48 prizes. The judges will be: Musical, Robert O. Owens, Granville, N.Y.; poetry and essays, the Rev. John W. Morris, South Poultney; translation, the Rev. B. G. Newton, Granville, N.Y.; recitations, William W. Thomas, West Pawlet, and the Rev. B. G. Newton.[17]

The cultural expressions of the Welsh frequently drew praise from their American contemporaries, with the *Poultney Journal* in 1875 describing them as "such good singers, musicians, thinkers, and speakers."[18] These intellectual abilities were linked to the respectable nature of the Welsh community in general and reinforced the image of the Welshman and his family as desirable immigrants. They did not, as far as can be established, acquire the bad reputation of the eastern Europeans and Italians and were frequently praised for their positive characteristics.[19] The *Poultney Bulletin*, describing another Welsh literary and musical event, wrote of "the uniform good behaviour of the audience."[20] This favorable view was in contrast to the image of other migrant groups who were frequently vilified in the pages of the local press for their rowdy and drunken behavior. The Welsh were also acceptable politically in an area

Granville [N.Y.] Eisteddfod Tent, Labor Day [19]07. Photograph courtesy of the Slate Valley Museum, Granville, N.Y.

where the Republican Party was dominant. In 1895, the Republican Governor of Vermont, Redfield Proctor, after describing the Welsh as "law-abiding citizens and earnest workers," added that "they are usually on the right side in politics."[21]

Welsh cultural life in the area was not the preserve of the affluent or highly educated but was patronized largely, if not overwhelmingly, by the working man and his family, and that working man was most likely to be found plying his trade at the slate quarry. In a report of an *eisteddfod* held at the Goodrich Hall in Poultney on January 1, 1898, the president for the morning session was Moses J. Jones, who is found in the census of 1900 as a manufacturer of slate.[22] The winner of the essay competition was Edwin Jones, a slate quarryman.[23] The president for the afternoon session, W. Nathaniel, is listed as a slate dealer and a quarry owner in 1900 and 1910; and the winner of the six-verse poetry competition, Thomas Edmunds, and the judge for the Psalms competition, Robert H. Parry, were both listed as slate quarrymen.[24] Slate quarrying was also the occupation of the conductor of the Poultney choir, W. W. Edwards; the joint winner of the recitation competition, W. O. Williams; and two of the conductors of the competing male voice choirs, Griffith E. Owens and Griffith H. Jones.[25]

Women and children from the same backgrounds were also active in this most Welsh of institutions. At the same *eisteddfod*, the winner of the recitation competition for under-fourteens was Miss Laura Roberts, the daughter of Welsh-born David O. and New York State-born, Welsh-American Elizabeth. David O. Roberts is recorded as an engineer in the

slate quarry in the census of 1900.[26] Seventeen-year-old Maggie A. Williams, who had arrived from Wales with her mother Jane and stepfather Owen Williams in 1891, won the speech competition. Owen, like so many of his countrymen in Poultney, was a slate quarryman.[27]

Welsh cultural activity in the town was not a short-term phenomenon, nor was its association with those involved in the slate industry.[28] At the annual dinner of Cymeithas Dewi Sant (St. David's Society) that took place on April 1, 1915, a number of participants listed in the pages of *Y Drych* were associated with the slate industry.[29] The president for the evening was T. P. Edmunds, who had started work in Poultney as a slate maker.[30] The gathering was addressed by quarry owner William Griffith, and was entertained by songs and recitations from Ezra Roberts, W. J. Edwards, and W. O. Williams, all of whom had been working or would be working in the slate quarries.[31] On December 6, 1917, another article in *Y Drych* written by John W. Morris, the minister of the Welsh Church in Poultney, described an event held to celebrate the paying off of the debt on the church. Presiding over proceedings was one Rhys Price, a working slate quarryman, who was in the same line of work as the leader of the choir, William W. Edwards.[32] The gathering was addressed by slate maker and deacon of the church, Owen R. Jones, and twenty-three-year-old Howell R. Roberts, the son of sometime slate quarryman, R. W. Roberts.[33] Entertainment was provided by soloists such as the aforementioned Ezra Roberts and recitations from Blodwen and Laura Roberts, the daughters of R. W.[34] Also involved in the proceedings was Ellen, the wife of quarryman Thomas O. Jones.[35]

It is important to note that most contemporary descriptions of Welsh cultural life in Poultney were written in the Welsh language and most Welsh cultural activity, both secular and religious, was, initially at least, practiced through the medium of Welsh. It is vital, therefore, to assess the strength of the language among the Welsh in the town.[36] By the end of the nineteenth century, the position of the Welsh language in Wales was far stronger than that of the other Celtic languages in Ireland and Scotland. The first official U.K. census that included a question on language in Wales was held in 1891 and revealed that 54.4 percent of people living in Wales, which included tens of thousands of English and Irish, spoke Welsh, and 56 percent of those were unable to speak English.[37] Establishing the extent to which the language was spoken in Wales prior to 1891 has been the subject of numerous studies. Thomas Darlington, in 1894, asserted that in 1801 approximately 80 percent of those living in Wales spoke the language, and in 1879 George Ravenstein estimated that by the early 1870s some 71.2 percent of the population spoke the language.[38] In addition to its proportional strength, the language also enjoyed a status far higher than the other Celtic tongues. By the mid-nine-

teenth century, Welsh had been established as the language of literacy and debate, and fulfilled all the requirements of modern living, both urban and rural.[39]

The extent to which the Welsh language was spoken among the Welsh migrants who arrived in Poultney during the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is open to a certain amount of conjecture. In 1920, however, for the first time the United States census recorded the "mother tongue" of each resident foreign-born individual, along with the mother tongue of each foreign-born individual's parents. Every single Welsh-born resident of Poultney was listed with Welsh as "mother tongue."[40] The census of 1930 asked the question, "Language spoken in home before coming to the United States." Of the 225 Welsh-born residents in Poultney, only four, David R. Jones, John R. Jones, and husband and wife, Elias W. and Laura J. Roberts, have English entered, constituting a mere 1.8 percent. The strength of the language in Poultney at this time is perhaps surprising, considering that the proportion of Welsh speakers in Wales at the census of 1921 was only 37 percent.[41] It is due primarily to the fact that the town drew its Welsh immigrants from the slate-quarrying areas of northwest Wales, an area that is overwhelmingly Welsh in speech today and was virtually universally so one hundred years ago.[42] "Welsh is the language of the home, the street, the quarry, the farm and the sanctuary," claimed a guidebook to Bethesda in 1911; and the same was true of Blaenau Ffestiniog at that time.[43] In the census of 1891, 81.5 percent of the population of Blaenau spoke only Welsh, 16.7 percent spoke both Welsh and English, and a mere 1.7 percent spoke only English.[44]

Unsurprisingly, there is evidence of monolingualism in Poultney. The 1910 census asked for language spoken if unable to speak English and several Welsh-born declared they were able to speak only Welsh. Ann Williams, aged forty-four, who had migrated with her husband two years previously, is listed as monoglot Welsh, as is Jane Evans, aged thirty-two, who had arrived with her husband in 1907.[45] Another Ann Williams, who had arrived in the census year 1910, is listed as Welsh only, as are her children Jennie (19), Ann (16), and Evan (13). Her two youngest sons, Mathew and Glyn, were under 10 and thus their linguistic skills were not recorded.[46]

This phenomenon was not confined to new arrivals from Wales. Elizabeth Roberts, who had arrived in the U.S. in 1882 with her husband John and first child William, is recorded as unable to speak English, as is Ellen Hughes, who immigrated in 1886.[47] Men, such as Edwin J. Griffith, aged forty-two, who had arrived with his wife Kate in 1908, were also found unable to speak English.[48] Edwin was recorded as a slate maker and very likely worked with other Welshmen in the quarries, where his in-

ability to speak English would not have been an immediate hurdle. It is to be hoped that the same could be said for William J. Edwards, who had arrived in 1885, was still unable to speak English in 1910, and was working in the quarry as a signalman![49]

Unfortunately, the census reports do not indicate the first language of the children of immigrants born in the U.S. However, it appears certain that Welsh was transmitted intergenerationally outside of Wales, especially in communities like Poultney, where the Welsh congregated in strength. One example is provided by Ella Evans, who was born in Canada to two Welsh parents in 1872. She arrived in the U.S. with her parents that same year and is recorded with Welsh as her first language in the census of 1910.[50] According to the census, the vast majority of the Welsh-born were able to speak English, but it appears likely that many, if not most, acquired that language following their arrival in the U.S.

Ties that Bind

Perhaps the most fundamental factor relating to long-term culture maintenance is residential propinquity, and it can be argued that, ultimately, it was the success of the Welsh immigrant group in establishing long-term enclaves that proved to be paramount in deciding the fate of Welsh ethno-linguistic identity in the area. A close perusal of the census returns for 1910, when the Welsh were at their most numerous in the town, reveals no specific areas or neighborhoods that were solely inhabited by Welsh-born or Welsh-American individuals and their families. This was in contrast to other ethnic groups in the area and in Vermont in general.[51]

That said, Poultney's small size and the hundreds of Welsh people living there meant that Welsh people were present throughout the town. Although the Welsh were not confined to particular districts and were never ghettoized, most Welsh families were living as neighbors or in close proximity to each other, their workplace, and spiritual centers.

Indeed, despite this relative diaspora, the Welsh were very much a part of the town's public face and their very dispersal was reflected in the distribution of the Welsh business community and those offering a variety of services. A visit to the post office could involve a meeting with Benjamin R. Jones, the postmaster.[52] Those of a literary bent, and there were apparently many of those in the area, could discuss the possibility of publication with publisher Robert J. Humphrey.[53] A variety of goods could be purchased from the general stores of Welshmen John A. Fraser or John P. Thomas.[54] Groceries could be obtained from Welsh-speaking David L. Jones and dry goods from Thomas J. Jones.[55] Those wishing to dine out could visit the restaurants of John M. Jones or Al-

bert Williams, and those seeking spiritual sustenance could find it at the Welsh Church, whose minister for over two decades from 1900 was John W. Morris.[56] Those in need of the services of a blacksmith could visit the shop of Hugh C. Roberts, a painter could be found in the person of Hugh Jones, and a new set of clothes ordered from Benjamin Hughes.[57] Boarding a train driven by John R. Evans might see an individual assisted by railroad baggage man Harry R. Williams, having bought a newspaper from newsboy John H. Williams.[58] Fire and life insurance could be obtained from Thomas P. Edmunds or William R. Williams, and if an untimely death occurred, a monument could be purchased, with the proceeds from the policy, from Robert Williams.[59] Fresh meat could be ordered from meat merchant Richard O. Jones and bread from William E. Hughes's bakery.[60] For most Welsh men in Poultney, however, their most regular port of call would have been the slate quarries owned by men such as William Nathaniel, Cadwalader W. Parry, Lewis Roberts, and William Griffith.[61] It was more than possible, therefore, to live a full Welsh life in Poultney, speaking Welsh to neighbours, socializing in the manner of the old country, worshiping in the same way and in the same language and, perhaps most significantly for men at least, working in a familiar industry with men from home who shared a highly skilled trade.

Further analysis identifies the marriage preferences of both males and females among the Welsh, which is vital in evaluating the ability of the group to maintain its cultural integrity and establishing the viability of culture and language transmission. Drawing on information contained in official census returns, Table 2 shows the proportion of males in Poultney for the period when the recorded Welsh presence was at its highest and clearly reveals a gender imbalance that surely would have had an impact on marriage preference. Simply if crudely put, there were not enough Welsh women to go around. It might be considered hubristic to assume the desire of group members to marry within their own group, but the linguistic and, indeed, religious characteristics of the Welsh at that time would have been strong factors influencing the choice of a marriage partner.[62]

Table 2 Percentage of Males among Welsh Immigrants in Poultney

	1900	*1910*	*1920*	*1930*
Total Welsh	411	479	258	225
Total Males	255	287	141	120
Percent Male	62%	59.9%	54.6%	53.3%

Drawing on the census reports for 1910, at the peak of the Welsh presence in Poultney, information was collected for all those Welsh-born who had married in the U.S., thus excluding those who had married prior to their arrival and whose partners were overwhelmingly of the same nationality. Table 3 shows male marriage preference, insofar as the word preference is applicable.

Table 3 Marriage Preference of Welsh-born Men in Poultney, 1910

Welsh-born Women	*Welsh American, both parents*	*Welsh American, one parent*	*American*	*Other*	*Total*
65	22	4	8	10	109
59.6%	20.2%	3.7%	7.3%	9.2%	100%

Of the 109 Welsh men who had married in the U.S. and were numbered in the census of 1910, 65 or 59.6 percent married Welsh-born women. While some of these couples must have been acquainted prior to departure, most, judging by marriage and immigration date, had met and married in the U.S. A further 22 or 20.2 percent married an American-born woman with both parents Welsh, and four married an American-born woman with one Welsh-born parent, a total marrying within the group of 91 or 83.5 percent. In addition, some of those in the American category may well have been of Welsh stock, although this is not revealed in the census reports. The "Other" category includes other foreign-born and ethnic Americans, including two women born in England of Welsh parentage, one of whom is listed as having Welsh as her first language.[63]

The situation for women (Table 4) was markedly different, with Welsh women overwhelmingly choosing men from Wales or Welsh Americans: 75 of 78 or 96.1 percent.

Table 4 Marriage Preference of Welsh-born Women in Poultney 1910

Welsh-born Men	*Welsh American, both parents*	*Welsh American, one parent*	*American*	*Other*	*Total*
65	9	1	2	1	78
83.3%	11.5%	1.3%	2.6%	1.3%	100%

When the figures are combined (Table 5), we see that of the 187 Welsh-born individuals who had married in the U.S. at this point in time, 130 or 69.5 percent married another Welsh-born individual and a further 36 or 19.3 percent married a Welsh-American, a total of 166 or 88.8 percent.

Table 5 Marriage Preference of Welsh-born in Poultney, 1910

Other Welsh-born	*Welsh American, both parents*	*Welsh American, one parent*	*American*	*Other*	*Total*
130	31	5	10	11	187
69.5%	16.6%	2.7%	5.3%	5.9%	100%

Taking this analysis a step further, Tables 6-8 identify marriage preference among those born in the U.S. with both parents born in Wales, as revealed by the census of 1910. As is clear from Table 6, 21 of 30 Welsh-American men or 70 percent had married either Welsh-born or Welsh-American women. Welsh-American women were even more likely to be endogamous, with 33 of 38 marrying within the group, or 86.8 percent. Combining the figures (Table 8), we see that of the 68 Welsh-American individuals listed on the census of 1910 who had married, 54 or 79.4 percent married within their own community.

Table 6 Marriage Preference of Welsh American Men in Poultney, 1910

Welsh-born Women	*Welsh American, both parents*	*Welsh American, one parent*	*American*	*Other*	*Total*
7	13	1	7	2	30
23.3%	43.3%	3.3%	23.3%	6.6%	100%

Table 7 Marriage Preference of Welsh-American Women in Poultney, 1910

Welsh-born Men	*Welsh American, both parents*	*Welsh American, one parent*	*American*	*Other*	*Total*
17	13	3	4	1	38
44.7%	34.2%	7.9%	10.5%	2.6%	100%

TABLE 8 Marriage Preference of Welsh-Americans in Poultney

Welsh-born	*Welsh American, both parents*	*Welsh American, one parent*	*American*	*Other*	*Total*
24	26	4	11	3	68
35.3%	38.2%	5.9%	16.2%	4.4%	100%

While it is clear that Welsh Americans, especially men, were more likely to marry outside the group than their parents, the second generation also showed an astonishingly high tendency toward endogamy. This is vital for the likelihood of intergenerational culture transference, upon which the maintenance of a distinct ethno-linguistic Welsh community ultimately depended.[64]

Slate Yard, Poultney, ca. 1880. Photograph courtesy of FamilyHistoryFiles.com.

WELSH IN THE SLATE INDUSTRY

A common occupation and workplace could also have provided the networks necessary to affect culture retention and acted as a bulwark against acculturation; and, as noted above, evidence exists indicating that the Welsh men at social gatherings were primarily involved in the production of slate. Table 9 provides a cross section by occupation of Welsh-born men in Poultney for the census years 1900 through 1930, and clearly shows their concentration within the slate industry. In 1900,

198 individuals or 80.2 percent were employed in skilled occupations within the industry, including splitters, trimmers, cutters, and pitmen. In addition, a further 11 or 4.4 percent were employed in the industry in white-collar jobs as manages, agents, and dealers; in blue-collar positions such as blacksmiths and engineers: and one as a laborer. Those involved in slate therefore, made up a total of 84.6 percent of employed men.

Table 9 First-generation Welsh-born Males by Occupation, 1900-1930

Occupation		*1900*		*1910*		*1920*		*1930*	
Slate	Skilled	198	80.2%	204	77.6%	76	59.4%	93	86.1%
	White	6	2.4%	7	2.7%	0	0%	0	0%
	Blue	4	1.6%	15	5.7%	3	2.3%	3	2.8%
	Laborer	1	0.4%	2	0.8%	7	5.5%	0	0%
Subtotal		209	84.6%	228	86.8%	86	67.2%	96	88.9%
Non Slate	White	8	3.2%	11	4.2	12	9.4%	5	4.6%
	Blue	5	2.0%	13	4.9%	10	7.8%	5	4.6%
	Laborer	10	4.0%	2	0.8%	8	6.2%	0	0%
	Farm	15	6.0%	9	3.4%	12	9.4%	2	1.8%
Subtotal		38	15.4%	35	13.3%	42	32.8%	12	11%
Total		247	100%	263	100%	128	100%	108	100%

The number of Welsh workers declined dramatically following a peak in 1910, as the following decade saw a decline in the strength of the Welsh population in general, and a dip in the proportion involved in the slate industry in 1920. The preeminent position of slate had been regained by 1930, however, although with far fewer men involved.

Collecting data by tracing the occupation of Welsh-born men via the census throughout their working lives reveals the loyalty of the Welsh to the industry (Table 10). This analysis was problematic because the paucity of Welsh surnames makes definite identification of individuals from one census to the next difficult.[65] Nevertheless, despite a large sample fall off, it is clear that, intragenerationally, the Welsh-born in Poultney showed a remarkable loyalty to the industry. Of the 148 individuals who started their traceable working career as skilled slate workers, 122 or 82.4 percent were to be found in the same work at the end of their traceable working lives.

Table 10 Intragenerational Occupational Change among Welsh-born Males, 1900-1930

Initial Occupation	*Final Occupation*								
Slate	Slate				Non slate				Total
	Skilled	White	Blue	Laborer	White	Blue	Laborer	Farm	
Skilled	82.4%	0.7%	1.3%	3.4%	2.7%	5.4%	0.7%	3.4%	148
White	0%	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	4
Blue	0%	0%	60%	0%	0%	0%	0%	40%	5
Laborer	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2
Non-slate									
White	33.3%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	16.7%	6
Blue	33.3%	0%	33.3%	0%	0%	33.3%	0%	0%	3
Laborer	66.7%	0%	16.7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	16.7%	6
Farm	44.4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	5%	9
Total	135	5	7	5	7	9	1	14	183

This loyalty to the industry can be illustrated by the experiences of numerous individuals. Thomas Hughes with his wife Annie arrived in the U.S. in 1899. In the census reports of 1900, 1910, 1920, and 1930 he is listed as a slate quarryman or slate maker.[66] John Jones, born in Wales in 1857, migrated to the U.S. in 1882, where he met and married Welsh-born Jane, seventeen years his junior, in 1904. Jones is also listed as a quarryman in the same census reports, as is William G. Morris, who arrived in 1870 at age two and married Welsh-born Jennet in 1908.[67] Other individuals had more meandering career paths but found themselves in the field of skilled quarry work at the end of their working lives. William W. Owens, born in Wales in 1882, arrived in the U.S. in 1891 and married Vermont-born, Welsh-American Sadie, in 1906. The census of 1900 sees him working as a day laborer, in 1910 as a slate maker, in 1920 as a laborer in a foundry, and in 1930 as a slate quarry foreman.[68] Similarly, William O. Parry, born in 1884, who arrived in the U.S. in 1902, where he met and married Welsh-born Sarah in 1905, is recorded as a quarryman in 1900, an engineer in 1910, a farmer in 1920, and is again found plying his original trade in the quarry in the census of 1930.[69] There were other individuals who, while rising to positions of greater status, remained in the industry. Cadwalader Parry, for example, is listed

in the census of 1900 as a slate maker, but a decade later he is recorded as being the owner of a slate quarry.[70]

Again, drawing on the wealth of information contained within the census reports, Table 11 links the last known occupation of the Welsh-born father to that of his U.S.-born son or sons. This analysis establishes the intergenerational occupational relationship and reveals some movement away from the slate industry and into other blue-collar and white-collar work. William D. Hughes, born in Wales in 1858, is recorded as a quarryman in the censuses of 1900 and 1910.[71] With his Welsh-born wife, Mary, he had two Vermont-born sons whose occupational histories can be traced. David W., born in 1893, is listed in 1940 as the operator of a stationary engine in a slate quarry, and his brother James, born 1896, was a truck driver for road construction.[72] The last listed occupation of Morris P. Williams, born in Wales 1865, is quarryman in the census of 1930.[73] His son, Edward G., born in Vermont in 1902, is listed as a bank clerk on the census of 1920.[74]

Table 11 Intergenerational Occupational Change First- to Second-generation Welsh Males, 1910-1940

Occupation of Fathers (n=78)		*Occupation of Sons (n=109)*								
Slate	Total	Slate				Non-slate				Total
	# / % of 78	Skilled	White	Blue	Lab	White	Blue	Lab	Farm	# / % of 109
Skilled	55 70.5%	49 66.2%	1 1.3%	5 6.8%	0 0%	3 4%	11 14.9%	4 5.4%	1 1.3%	74 67.9%
White	4 5.1%	6 66.7%	1 11.1%	1 11.1%	0 0%	1 11.1%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	9 8.3%
Blue	4 5.1%	4 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	4 3.7%
Laborer	1 1.3%	0 0%	0 0%	1 100%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 0.9%
Non-slate										
White	3 3.8%	1 33.3%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 33.3%	1 33.3%	0 0%	0 0%	3 2.7%
Blue	2 2.6%	1 14.3%	1 14.3%	0 0%	0 0%	4 57.1%	1 14.3%	0 0%	0 0%	7 6.4%
Laborer	4 5.1%	2 50%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	2 50.0%	0 0%	0 0%	4 3.7%
Farm	5 6.4%	5 71.4%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	1 14.3%	0 0%	0 0%	1 14.3%	7 6.4%

Workers in a slate yard, Poultney, c. 1880. Photograph courtesy of FamilyHistoryFiles.com.

In general, however, intergenerationally the Welsh again showed remarkable loyalty to the slate industry, with 49 of 74 sons born to fathers working as skilled slate men also to be found following that profession, or 66.2 percent. One qualitative example well illustrates this scenario. William M. Roberts, born in Wales in 1861, arrived with his wife Ella in 1887 and had three sons born in New York before arriving in Poultney and finding work in the quarries.[75] Morris, born 1891, William, born 1888, and Evan, born 1894, were all listed as slate workers at the end of their traceable working lives.[76]

This adherence to slate is reinforced by a consideration of the occupational fortunes of the second-generation Welsh, sons born in the U.S. with both parents born in Wales. Table 12 shows that second-generation Welsh men in Poultney were still strongly associated with the industry, if not quite to the same extent as their fathers, with over half listed as skilled slate workers as late as 1940.

Table 12 Second-generation Welsh Males by Occupation, 1910-1940

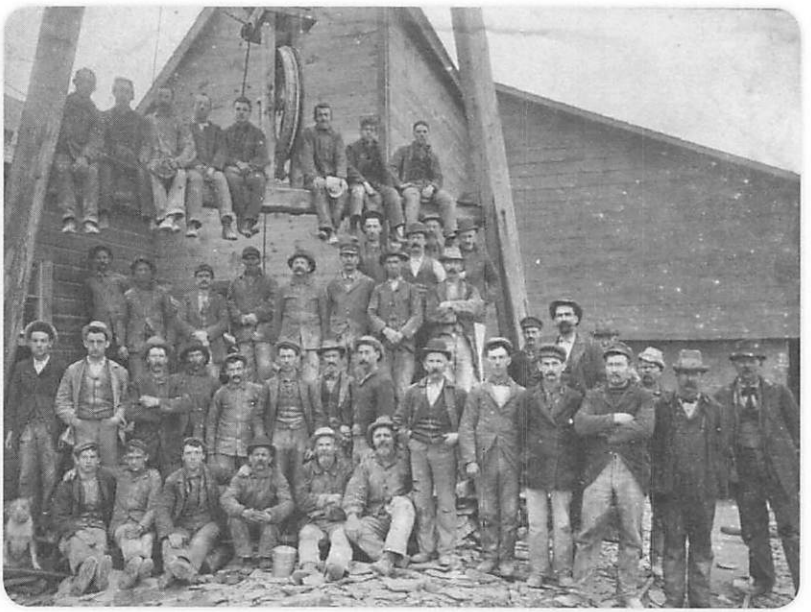
Occupation		*1910*		*1920*		*1930*		*1940*	
Slate	Skilled	70	60.3%	49	53.3%	72	73.5%	42	52.5%
	White	3	2.6%	1	1.1%	3	3.1%	3	3.8%
	Blue	16	13.8%	1	1.1%	5	5.1%	4	5%
	Laborer	0	0%	5	5.4%	1	1%	0	0%
Subtotal		89	76.7%	56	60.9%	81	82.7%	49	61.3%
Non-slate	White	10	8.7%	7	7.6%	5	5.1%	9	11.2%
	Blue	13	11.2%	13	14.1%	11	11.2%	12	15%
	Laborer	2	1.7%	12	13%	1	1%	9	11.2%
	Farm	2	1.7%	4	4.4%	0	0%	1	1.2%
Subtotal		27	23.3%		39.1%	17	17.3%	31	38.7%
Total		116	100%	92	100%	98	100%	80	100%

Intragenerationally, the occupational experience among the second generation also reveals continuity, as over 75 percent of skilled slate workers, 43 of 57, remained in that category at the end of their traceable working lives (Table 13).

Table 13 Intragenerational Occupational Change Second-generation Welsh Males, 1910-1940

Initial Occupation	*Final Occupation*								
Slate	Slate				Non-slate				Totals
	Skilled	White	Blue	Laborer	White	Blue	Laborer	Farm	
Skilled	75.4%	3.5%	3.5%	0%	1.7%	7%	8.8%	0%	57
White	33.3%	33.3%	0%	0%	33.3%	0%	0%	0%	3
Blue	54.5%	9.1%	18.2%	0%	0%	18.2%	0%	0%	11
Laborer	66.7%	0%	33.3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3
Non-slate									
White	0%	0%	0%	0%	66.7%	33.3%	0%	0%	6
Blue	11.1%	0%	0%	0%	11.1%	66.7%	11.1%	0%	9
Laborer	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2
Farm	0%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%	50%	2
Total	55	4	5	0	8	14	6	1	93

Some second-generation Welsh did, of course, move out of the quarries. Edwin Jones, born in 1889 in Vermont, is listed as a core maker in a foundry in the census reports of 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940.[77] Howell R. Roberts, born in Vermont in 1884, is listed as a clerk in a furniture store in 1910, an undertaker in a furniture store in 1920, a proprietor of a furniture store in 1930, and working on his own account as an undertaker in 1940.[78] Howell's father, the aforementioned Robert W., born in Wales in 1854, was listed as a slate maker in 1900 and as a janitor in 1910.[79] There are other examples of the plurality of experiences among the second generation. As noted above, Cadwalader Parry is listed as the owner of a quarry on the census of 1910. Three of his Vermont-born sons whose working lives can be traced—Ellis, born 1884, William C., born 1890, and John C., born 1891—reveal them to have achieved, respectively, the positions of drug store clerk, superintendent in a quarry, and block cutter of slate.[80] The most common experience, however, even among the second generation, was that of William W. Edwards, born Vermont in 1870, and Griffith S. Morris, also born in Vermont in 1871. Both men were listed as skilled quarrymen throughout their trace-



Welsh and Irish slate workers, Rutland County, c. 1880. Photograph courtesy of FamilyHistoryFiles.com.

able working lives.[81] The numbers of working men of other nationalities in Poultney are insufficient to enable an effective quantitative comparison with the Welsh. Nevertheless, even a cursory glance at the census reports indicates that the Irish, Italians, and eastern and central Europeans were similarly concentrated in the area's primary industry, albeit occupying a lower rung on the occupational ladder than the Welsh, who had arrived forearmed with skill and experience in slate.[82]

Women participated in the workforce in Poultney too, and Table 14, drawing on information contained in the census for 1920, indicates that, for unmarried women at least, employment opportunities were becoming available outside the home. Nevertheless, almost 80 percent of Welsh-born women (over 15) and more than 95 percent of those who were married stayed at home. Of course, some of the older women could simply have left the workplace due to age, but only three individuals were listed as over 68 years old, and one of these, Margaret Jones, was still employed as a servant to Ellis W. Powell and family at age 80.[83]

TABLE 14 Welsh-born Women in Poultney by Occupation, 1920

	Married	*Widowed or Divorced*	*Single*	*Totals*
Working	3	5	10	18
Not Working	62	12	4	78
Percent Working	4.6%	29.4%	71.4%	18.7%

Welsh-American women—those born in the U.S. with both parents Welsh—were more likely to have jobs; more than three quarters (29 of 38) of single women over the age of 15 were reported in the workplace in 1920 (Table 15). However, married Welsh-American women were overwhelmingly confined to the Welsh-speaking hearth.

Table 15 Welsh-American Women in Poultney by Occupation, 1920

	Married	*Widowed or Divorced*	*Single*	*Totals*
Working	1	4	29	34
Not Working	37	2	9	48
Percent Working	2.6%	66.7%	76.3%	41.5%

Interestingly, most working women were occupied in one particular industry in the town—shirt making—with 9 of 10 single, Welsh-born and 17 of 29 Welsh-American working women being so employed. This may have gone some small way toward language and culture maintenance. Unfortunately, due to surname change upon marriage, it is impossible to perform further analysis for the female part of the Welsh community.

Generally, therefore, Welshmen and their sons showed great allegiance to the industry that had brought them to the U.S., and this surely was a factor in language and culture maintenance. The numbers involved in slate were, however, in decline from 1910 onwards. This was not a case of skilled Welsh workers being undercut and subsequently replaced by eastern Europeans who were willing to work longer, harder, and for less, but rather is attributable to a major decline in the slate industry itself as an employer. As the above analysis indicates, most of those Welshmen who remained in Poultney remained in slate, and this suggests a lack of alternative employment opportunities in the area. For the Welsh immigrant to move upward economically meant moving out of Poultney. The years 1907-1910 saw the peak in slate sales by Vermont producers and were followed by a sudden and dramatic decline, as artificial materials challenged slate as the primary roofing material. This decline in sales was mirrored by a reduction in the numbers employed by the industry in the area from 2,579 in 1910 to 1,039 in 1920.[84] The consequent collapse in the Welsh-born presence the town from 479 in 1910 to 225 in 1930 was a major blow to the long-term viability of a discernible and vibrant Welsh and Welsh-speaking community.

Both contemporary observers and modern historians have specifically identified Poultney as a center of Welsh settlement and culture in Vermont in the early decades of the twentieth century. From the outset, however, the cultural integrity of the Welsh community was threatened by a variety of forces. Furthermore, despite the distinctive nature of the Welsh community, migrants from Wales experienced a relatively painless acculturation; and although the new Welsh arrivals were described by a local as "the strangest people dressed in costumes and who spoke in a very strange language," they encountered little hostility and no discernible barriers were erected to their integration.[85] Welsh immigrants were well regarded by the host community and not subject to the resentment faced by other immigrant groups. The *Poultney Bulletin* in the early days of the Welsh presence was able to welcome the Welsh "as being a class of whom, on account of their intelligence and steady habits, we may be proud."[86] Nevertheless, although never ghettoized or excluded, the Welsh did live in close proximity, the slate industry retained

its hold on the majority of Welsh workers, and they and their families spoke Welsh. They attended religious services and cultural events that were exclusively Welsh in language in large numbers, and they also, by and large, married within their own group. The legacy of those drawn to Poultney, and to the Vermont/New York slate district in general, is still evident today, but maintenance of the ethno-linguistic Welsh community was no longer viable following the decline of slate. This study suggests that language and culture maintenance were not initially seriously challenged by levels of exogamy and economic diversification. The long-term prospects of community cohesion were undermined by the cessation of immigration from Wales and the departure from the district of many from Wales and their children, which was ultimately, indeed ironically, linked to the decline of the industry that had brought so many of them together in the first place.

Notes

[1] This brief outline of the emergence and development of Poultney draws on J. Joslin, B. Frisbie and F. Ruggles, *A History of the Town of Poultney, Vermont, from its settlement to the year 1875, with family and biographical sketches and incidents* (Poultney, Vt.: Journal Printing Office, 1875); and H. P. Smith and W. S. Rann, eds., *History of Rutland County, Vermont, with illustrations and biographical sketches of some of its prominent men and pioneers* (Syracuse: D Mason and Co., 1886). I would like to thank Martha Davies and Meredith Rehbach for their invaluable assistance in the completion of this article.

[2] Smith and Rann, *History of Rutland County*, 788.

[3] For analyses of the emigration decision from the U.K. see Brinley Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth: A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973); Dudley Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); and Dudley Baines, *Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[4] For a general survey of Welsh immigration to the U.S. in the nineteenth century see Edward G. Hartmann, *Americans from Wales* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1967). For a contemporary account of Welsh settlements in the U.S. in the second half of the nineteenth century, see R. D. Thomas, *Hanes Cymry America* (Utica, N.Y.: T. J. Griffiths, 1872). An English translation is provided by Martha A. Davies and Phillips G. Davies, *Hanes Cymry America (1872). A History of the Welsh in America* (Wymore, Nebraska: Great Plains Welsh Heritage Project, 2008).

[5] U.S. census, Poultney, Vt., 1910. All statistical evidence for this paper is drawn from United States Federal Census, U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

[6] The definitive history of the Welsh in the Slate Valley of New York and Vermont has been provided by Gwilym R. Roberts in his excellent work, *New Lives in the Valley: Slate Quarries and Quarry Villages in North Wales, New York, and Vermont, 1850-1920* (Portland, Maine: Maine Printing Company, 1998).

[7] For a discussion of this and related phenomena, see, for example, Prys Morgan, "Keeping the Legends Alive," in *Wales the Imagined Nation: Essays in Cultural and National Identity*, ed. Tony Curtis (Bridgend, Mid Glamorgan, Wales: Poetry Wales Press, 1986), 19-41; Merfyn Jones, "Beyond Identity? The Reconstruction of the Welsh," *Journal of British Studies* 31 (1992): 330-357.

[8] Davies and Davies, *Hanes Cymry America (1872)*, 320-325.

[9] *Y Drysorfa*, August 1854, 266-7.

[10] For the history of the church see John S. Ellis, *A Centennial History of the Welsh Presbyterian Church of Poultney, Vermont, 1901-2001* (Poultney: Green Mountain College Welsh Heritage Program, 2001).

[11] *Poultney Journal*, 14 January 1881, quoted in Roberts, *New Lives*, 83.

[12] Paul Searls, "Major Valentine's Swedes," *Vermont History* 81 (2013): 141.

[13] Paul O'Leary, "When Was Anti-Catholicism? The Case of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Wales," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56 (2005): 308-325; Alan Conway, ed., *The Welsh in America: Letters from the Immigrants* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1961).

[14] For a history of *Y Drych*, see Aled Jones and William D. Jones, *Welsh Reflections: Y Drych and America, 1851-2001* (Ceredigion, Wales: Gomer Press, 2001) and Hartmann, *Americans from Wales*, 128-129.

[15] The Independent Order of True Ivorites was a mutual benefit society founded in Wales in 1836, which subsequently followed the Welsh in their migrations overseas. See Hartman, *Americans from Wales*, 159-160. For an outline of the society's history in the Slate Valley see Roberts, *New Lives*, 303-305.

[16] *Y Drych*, 16 November 1899.

[17] *Middlebury Register*, 14 February 1908.

[18] *Poultney Journal*, 6 January 1875, quoted in Roberts, *New Lives*, 285.

[19] Roberts, *New Lives*, 260-263, 325-329, 332-339. Roberts discusses the negative attitudes toward these groups in their host communities.

[20] *Poultney Bulletin*, 28 May 1868, quoted in Roberts, *New Lives*, 286.

[21] Quoted in Roberts, *New Lives*, 314.

[22] *Y Drych*, 6 January 1898. U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1900, Roll 1694, page 12B.

[23] Ibid., 1900, Roll 1694, page 19B.

[24] Ibid., 1900, Roll 1694, page: 1A; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page: 8B; 1900, Roll 1694, pages 3A, 13A.

[25] Ibid., 1900, Roll 1694, pages 2A, 11A, 21A, 5B.

[26] Ibid., 1900, Roll 1694, page 4B.

[27] Ibid., 1900, Roll 1694, page 2A.

[28] Well into the 1930s, the community was of sufficient strength to organize the Poultney Welsh Male Chorus, which became one of the outstanding male choirs in the country. Poultney Area St. David's Society, *The Poultney Welsh Male Chorus, 1930-1955: A Welsh Heritage Memory, the History* (Poultney, Vt.: Journal Press, 2001).

[29] *Y Drych*, 8 April 1915. St. David is the Patron Saint of Wales.

[30] U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1900, Roll 1694, page 3A.

[31] Ibid., 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 7B; 1930, Roll 2430, page 15B; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 3B; 1900, Roll 1694, page 11A.

[32] *Y Drych*, 6 December 1917. U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 5A; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 26A.

[33] U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 16A; 1900, Roll 1694, page 2B.

[34] Ibid., 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 6B.

[35] Ibid., 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 23B.

[36] William D. Jones and Robert O. Jones discuss language retention in Welsh communities in Pennsylvania and Patagonia, Argentina, in Geraint H. Jenkins, ed., *Language and Community in the Nineteenth Century* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1998); see William D. Jones, "The Welsh Language and Welsh Identity in a Pennsylvanian Community," 281-286, and Robert O. Jones, "The Welsh Language," 287-316. Robert L. Tyler considers the position of the language in an Australian community in "The Welsh Language in a Nineteenth-Century Australian Gold Town," *Welsh History Review* 24 (June 2008): 52-76.

[37] Census of England and Wales, 1891, General Report, 81–2.

[38] Thomas Darlington, "Language and Literature of Wales," in *The Welsh People: Chapters on Their Origins, History, Laws, Language, Literature, and Characteristics*, eds. John Rhys and David Brynmor-Jones (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900), 548–549. Ernest G. Ravenstein, "On the Celtic Languages in the British Isles, a Statistical Survey," *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 42 (1879): 579–636. For an overall statistical survey of the language in nineteenth-century Wales see Dot Jones, *Statistical Evidence Relating to the Welsh Language, 1801–1911* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1988). For an excellent study of all issues relating to the Welsh language in nineteenth-century Wales see Geraint H. Jenkins, ed., *The Welsh Language and Its Social Domains, 1801–1911* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000).

[39] Geraint Evans writes of Gaelic in Ireland and Scotland: "For the most part it was not the language of education or, for many, even the language of the church, and among Gaelic speakers literacy tended to mean literacy in English. For the Welsh, however, this was not the case. Religion was Non-Conformist and vernacular, and literacy, which was widespread by the eighteenth century, was built around a Christianity which was almost totally Welsh-speaking." Evans, "Welsh Publishing in Australia," *Biblionews and Australian Notes and Queries* (1993): 99.

[40] It is interesting to note that most enumerators for the 1910 census filled in the language spoken by the immigrants in parentheses following place of birth.

[41] Census of England and Wales 1921, General Report, 184.

[42] Although the quarries are almost all gone, the old slate quarrying towns of, for example, Blaenau Ffestiniog and Bethesda still record Welsh speaking percentages of 78.6 and 77.5. U.K. Census 2011, tables KS208 and QS206.

[43] Quoted in R. Merfyn Jones, *The North Wales Quarrymen 1874–1922* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1982), 56.

[44] Geraint H. Jenkins ed., *A Social History of the Welsh Language: The Welsh Language and the 1891 Census* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1999), 398.

[45] U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1910, Roll T624_1616, pages 1A, 23B.

[46] Ibid., page 11A.

[47] Ibid., pages 3B, 24B.

[48] Ibid., page:10B.

[49] Ibid., page 26A.

[50] Ibid., page 10B, as written in by enumerator.

[51] There is ample evidence of ethnic clustering in Vermont at this time. See, for example Susan L. Richards, "Making Home Pay: Italian and Scottish Boardinghouse Keepers in Barre, 1880-1910," *Vermont History* 74 (2006): 54. Roberts describes this phenomenon among Slavs and Italians in Poultney and elsewhere in the valley in *New Lives*.

[52] U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1900, Roll 1694, page 1B.

[53] Ibid., page 13A.

[54] Ibid., 1910 Roll T624_1616, pages 25A, 24B.

[55] Ibid., pages 6B, 10A.

[56] Ibid., page 11B; 1930, Roll 2430, page 4A; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 25B.

[57] Ibid., 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 24B; 1930, Roll 2430, page 5A; 1900, Roll 1694, page 9B.

[58] Ibid., 1900, Roll 1694, page 1B; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 13A; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 4A.

[59] Ibid., 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 10B; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 1A; 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 17A.

[60] Ibid., 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 19A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 9B.

[61] Ibid., 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 8B; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 23A; 1910, Roll T624_1616, pages 25B, 7B.

[62] For an analysis of this phenomenon, as it applied to the Welsh in Australia, see Robert L. Tyler, "Gender Imbalance, Marriage Preference and Culture Maintenance: The Welsh in an Australian Gold Town 1850-1900," *Llafur* 9 (2006): 14-28.

[63] U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 13A.

[64] See Tyler, "Gender Imbalance."

[65] The relatively small number of both first and surnames among the Welsh, at least as officially recorded, causes some confusion, and the ranks of David Joneses, John Davieses, William Thomases, and Thomas Williamses, not to mention the John Joneses and William Williamses, take some untangling (this author once encountered a Hugh Hugh Hughes). For a comprehensive clarification of the Welsh surname, see T. J. Morgan and Prys Morgan, *Welsh Surnames* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1985).

[66] U.S. Census, Poultney, Vt., 1900, Roll 1694, page 3A; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 22A; 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 8A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 4A.

[67] Ibid., 1900, Roll 1694, page 4B; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 3A; 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 1A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 4A; 1900, Roll 1694, page 2B; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 25B; 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 15A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 15B.

[68] Ibid., 1900, Roll 1694, page 2B; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 22A; 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 22B; 1930, Roll 2430, page 4A.

[69] Ibid., 1900, Roll 1694, page 6B; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 24B; 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 8A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 3B.

[70] Ibid., 1900, Roll 1694, page 2A; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 23A.

[71] Ibid., 1900, Roll 1694, page 3B; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 11A.

[72] Ibid., 1940, Roll T627_4235, pages 4B, 1A.

[73] Ibid., 1930, Roll 2430, page 1B.

[74] Ibid., 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 14B.

[75] Ibid., 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 7A.

[76] Ibid., 1930, Roll 2430, page 13B; 1940, Roll T627_4235, pages 2A, 12A.

[77] Ibid., 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 19A; 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 10A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 5B; 1940, Roll T627_4240, page 4A.

[78] Ibid., 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 2B; 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 17B; 1930, Roll 2430, page 10B; 1940, Roll T627_4235, page 2B.

[79] Ibid., 1900, Roll 1694, page 2B; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 5A.

[80] Ibid., 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 4A; 1940, Roll T627_4235, pages 15A, 5B.

[81] Ibid., 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 8A; 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 12A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 8B; 1940, Roll T627_4235, page 9A; 1910, Roll T624_1616, page 25A; 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 20A; 1930, Roll 2430, page 3A; 1940, Roll T627_4235, page 10B.

[82] Gwilym Roberts gives an account of the employment patterns of the other national groups in the valley, see *New Lives*, 249-265.

[83] US Census, Poultney, Vt., 1920, Roll T625_1874, page 1A.

[84] Roberts, *New Lives*, 374-375.

[85] Quoted in ibid., 35.

[86] *Poultney Bulletin*, 28 May 1868, quoted in ibid., 286.

Solid Men in the Granite City: Municipal Socialism in Barre, Vermont, 1916-1931

Between 1916 and 1931 Barre, Vermont, elected two socialist mayors, Robert Gordon and Fred Suitor. Future Republican governor Deane Davis worked in both administrations and declared both men "good mayors" and pronounced them "conservative." Did it matter that Gordon and Suitor were socialists?

By Robert E. Weir

British trade unionist John Elliot Burns (1858-1943) once observed, "Socialism to succeed must be practical, tolerant, cohesive, and consciously compromising with Progressive forces running, if not so far, in parallel lines towards its own goal."[1] That could have been the mantra of Robert Gordon, who served as the mayor of Barre, Vermont, in 1916, or Fred Suitor, the mayor from 1929 into 1931.

Few words in the English language are as misunderstood as "socialism," a catchall term that encompasses a broad spectrum running a left-of-center gamut from mystical religious communitarianism on the cautious end to revolutionary anarcho-syndicalism on the opposite pole. In popular parlance, socialism is used mainly as a pejorative term to denounce social programs funded by tax dollars, or as a synonym for revolutionary Marxism—though

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the latter is one of many varieties of socialism that neither Gordon nor Suitor would have supported. Like the vast majority of American socialists, they were evolutionary, not revolutionary, socialists. Although American socialism is often refracted through a Marxist lens, in practice the ballot box social democracy of Ferdinand Lassalle (1824-1864) has claimed more American adherents than to-the-barricades revolutionary ideals—much to the chagrin and criticism of doctrinaire Marxists.[2]

Werner Sombart and Selig Perlman famously set the tone for academic debate over American socialism, Sombart by declaring there was, relatively speaking, "no" socialism in the United States, and Perlman by insisting that American workers were more swayed by parochial job consciousness than by universalistic class consciousness of socialism.[3] Each overstated his case, but conventional wisdom (and a considerable body of scholarship) holds that, within the United States, socialism's promise has been frustrated.[4] In 1995, Michael Kazin charged that historians had found little to counter Daniel Bell's 1952 assertion that socialism was "an unbounded dream" unable to reconcile its romantic yearnings with American social and political reality.[5]

It is certainly true that revolutionary collectivist movements from the International Workingmen's Association in the 1880s through the Industrial Workers of the World in the early twentieth-century met with swift and harsh repression. Nor did erstwhile American labor parties such as the Socialist Labor Party, the Socialist Party of America, and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance pose more than minor challenges to dominant Republicans and Democrats. Quasi-socialist groups such as the Greenback Labor Party, the United Labor Party, the Populists, and the Farm-Labor Party won occasional ballot box victories, but failed to undergo Western European-like transmogrification into full-fledged labor parties with broad public appeal. In the twentieth-century, only a handful of socialists attained national office, and none did so between Leo Isacson's single term in Congress in 1948-49, and Bernard Sanders's election to the House of Representatives in 1990.[6]

Overlooked in discussions of stillborn third party movements is the pragmatic world of municipal socialism. In the late nineteenth century, theory-oriented American socialists dreamed of appropriating railroads; by the early twentieth, municipal socialists like Gordon and Suitor turned to more prosaic tasks such as convincing traction companies to grade and pave crossings in cities whose streets their rails traversed. They too harbored collectivist aspirations, though they seldom had the luxury of dreaming beyond the next city budget. In this, they were typical of American socialism as praxis. Gordon and Suitor challenge the way in which pre-World War II political life is popularly understood, especially the Progressive movement. They also suggest models for future third-party aspirants.

This study verifies the famed dictum of former Democratic Speaker of the House Thomas "Tip" O'Neill: "All politics is local." The findings of municipal socialism scholars such as Bruce Stave, Sally Miller, Gail Radford, Richard W. Judd, and James Weinstein echo O'Neill.[7] Their work further suggests that the narrative of ballot box socialism is best told one city at a time, though very few historians have done so since 1990.[8]

Municipal socialism is understudied these days, but its practice was widespread in the early twentieth century. As Weinstein documented, Sombart's dismissal of socialism looked rather foolish the moment he issued it. Some 1,200 socialists were elected to various political offices in 340 American cities between 1912 and the 1919 Red Scare.[9] Barre's Robert Gordon took office during that period of heightened socialist awareness. Perlman wrote after the Red Scare decimated left-leaning movements, yet Barre elected Fred Suitor to two terms between 1929 and 1931, a period of alleged socialist moribundity.

Neglect often stems from an inability to "see" early-twentieth-century socialism. Former Vermont governor Deane Davis (1900-90), a Republican who knew Gordon and Suitor well, remarked that they "were not only good mayors but can be numbered among the most conservative mayors Barre ever had."[10] Davis exaggerated their conservatism, because the bulk of their achievements fell into the category of "sewer socialism," a term popularized by ideologues dismissive of electoral politics, coalition building, and cooperation with the business community.

Like officials nationwide, Barre's socialist mayors were called upon to deal with rapid social, political, and technological change; but it mattered that Gordon and Suitor were socialists, even though their minority political status forced modification of their ideals. Each showed how leftist politicians exercised power within a larger system of capitalist dominance, tactics practiced also by Vermont's most famous socialist, Bernard Sanders. Socialism as practiced in Barre reiterates the point made by earlier scholars that nuts-and-bolts achievements of twentieth-century socialism lurk in the yellowing pages of town reports, city newspapers, and old-fashioned library vertical files. Among their revelations is that municipal socialists often delivered better government than more celebrated Progressive reformers.

The Ordinary *versus* the Exceptional

Community studies often commence by assuring readers that the city in question is representative of larger trends—perhaps a microcosm of the nation itself. Such claims are problematic for municipal socialism. From 1949 to 1991, just six American cities elected socialist mayors, including Burlington, Vermont. Not much can be inferred from such a small sample. Similar caution applies for socialism's apex—the 340 municipalities that elected so-

cialist officials were a small percentage of the overall urban total.[11] Barre, like all cities where socialists took power, was exceptional, not ordinary.

Barre[12] was a typical Progressive Era city in some respects. First, its social makeup was recast by immigration. By 1920, the bulk of the citizenry of numerous cities consisted of first- and second-generation immigrants.[13] Barre's first immigrant infusion was of Scottish stonecutters in 1880; Russian Jews, Swedes, French Canadians, French, Irish, Italians, Spaniards, Poles, Lebanese, Greeks, and Finns quickly followed. By 1910, Italians surpassed Scots as Barre's largest ethnic enclave.[14] Barre's 300 percent population increase (from 2,068 to 6,812) between 1880 and 1890 is the highest ten-year gain in Vermont history. Nearly half of it came from immigration.[15]

Barre's working-class majority was also typical. Industrialization remade Barre as it had other municipalities in the late nineteenth century. Its population jumped from just 1,700 in 1870 to over 10,000 in less than twenty-five years because it offered blue-collar opportunities for new residents. Neither immigration nor a working-class majority preconditioned Barre for socialism. The working class was the numerical majority in most early twentieth-century cities, but few saw laborers wield social or political power.

Barre's exceptional nature yielded its atypical political development. There can be only one world's largest supplier of granite, and Barre was it. Founded as an agricultural settlement in 1780, Barre would have remained a hamlet were it not for granite. Vermont's soil and climate yielded hardscrabble agricultural subsistence at best, and many among Barre's first generation of settlers simply moved on. The first granite quarry opened in 1813, but its small-scale production merely stabilized Barre's population base. Prior to railroads, granite producers faced daunting challenges in getting their unwieldy product to market. The industry's take-off period can be precisely dated. In 1875, the Central Vermont Railroad ran a spur into Barre, quarrying began in earnest, and immigrant labor appeared. When the first Scottish stonecutters arrived in 1880, Robert Gordon was among them.

Barre was also unique in that granite entrepreneurs resembled antebellum paternalists more than the industrial and finance capitalists of the robber baron era. The granite industry consisted of two major activities: quarrying and finishing work. In 1889, manufacturers and quarry owners formed the Barre Granite Association (BGA), but the BGA had a paternalist character. Barre granite was not dominated by monopolies and trusts. Dozens of small quarries and shops dotted the area, many of them owned by men who once toiled in the industry. North Barre Granite employed just twenty-five men in its carving shed; Barclay Brothers (founded in 1897) was one of the larger firms, with sixty full-time workers. Edward Glysson, who followed Robert Gordon as mayor of Barre, opened his shop in 1909 with thirty-three workers, including Gordon. The largest shop by far was the Jones Brothers Gran-

ite Plant, whose 500 employees—a peak achieved when Gordon was mayor—made it the world's largest granite manufacturer. Most of the quarry owners also operated modest concerns; typical was Hamilton Webster, whose ninety-acre pit opened in 1883 with a handful of employees.[16]

Many of the entrepreneurs were self-made men, immigrants, or their offspring. William Barclay Sr. hailed from Aberdeenshire, Scotland, and was once a granite cutter's apprentice. George Robins, co-owner of Robins Brothers, was a former quarry worker. Charles Smith, of the Smith Brothers concern, was a former cutter, and his brother A. A. previously ran a general store.[17] Because most manufacturers lived in or near Barre, there was considerably less social distance between employers and employees than one found in most late-nineteenth-century industrial cities. Numerous owners belonged to the same fraternal organizations as their workers—Clan Gordon and the Burns Club were favorites among Scots. Several employers also became political leaders, including Barre's first mayor, granite shed owner Emory L. Smith (1895-96), and mayors William Barclay (1904-07) and Edward Glysson (1917-20). By 1905, Barre had approximately 2,000 granite workers, of whom 1,400 were stonecutters. Experienced cutters made about $2.50 per day and frequently felt more camaraderie with self-made employers than with the elitist carvers and finishers who earned twice their pay. Even when strikes altered social dynamics, worker wrath generally focused on individuals, not the capitalist economic system.

Granite made Barre different in a more chilling respect. American industrial and social statistics were grim overall, but Barre's were worse than most. Silicosis and tuberculosis thrived in industries where stone dust floated freely in unventilated sheds, and in pits where cutters worked without filters or masks. In 1900, the average American died at fifty; in Barre they passed at forty-two. Stone workers suffered mortality rates 33 percent higher than the general populace into the 1940s, and air quality did not substantially improve until the passage of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970.[18] As former granite worker Mose Cerasoli recalled, "The stone chips . . . gradually chew up your lungs."[19] Early death was a salient theme in oral histories collected by the Federal Writers' Project in Barre between 1936 and 1940. Italian-born Giacomo Colette guiltily recalled sending "glowing letters" to his boyhood friend, Pietro, who immigrated to Barre and took up the stonecutting trade that killed him. As Colette related to scribe Mary Tomasi, "These last two nights were an excruciating nightmare of thinking if Pietro had stayed in the old country perhaps he would not now be lying dead from . . . stone-cutter's TB."[20] Roaldus Richmond starkly summed up life in Barre: "I cut stone all my life and I drank all my life. Both will kill a man in his forties."[21]

Grim social statistics and seasonal unemployment led to restive workers. Two major unions represented Barre workers, the more moderate Granite

Cutters International Association (GCIA), an American Federation of Labor (AFL) affiliate; and the Quarry Workers International Union (QWIU), also ostensibly an AFL union, though one dominated by Italian anarchists who butted heads with AFL leaders.

Barre's unionization levels were stunning. At no time during the period between 1900 and 1917 did more than 7 percent of American workers belong to labor unions; in Barre nearly 90 percent of the city's workforce—including non-granite workers—was unionized.[22] A small granite strike in 1903 presaged more dramatic upheaval the following year, when some 3,000 workers were locked out when 200 tool sharpeners struck.[23] Other bitter labor confrontations rocked Barre. In March 1908, some 4,500 workers struck, followed by walkouts in 1909-10, 1915, 1922, 1933, and 1938. Wages and dust were at the heart of all but the 1922 struggle, which was precipitated by attempts to impose an anti-union "American Plan" on Barre workers.[24]

Barre's volatile labor relations made it a hotbed of radicalism. In 1900, six Italian anarchists were charged in the near-fatal shooting of Barre Police Chief Patrick Brown.[25] Barre was home or lecture venue to myriad firebrands, including famed anarchist Luigi Galleani, who published *Cronaca Sovversiva.* Emma Goldman visited the city in 1899, 1907, and 1911. Bill Haywood of the Industrial Workers of the World spoke there in 1909, as did Eugene Debs the following year. The Socialist Labor Party Hall, built in 1900, just a block off Barre's main street, featured a carved arm and hammer and the initials "SLP" ornamenting a space above its main entrance.[26] In 1912, it was the gathering point for dozens of children of striking Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile workers, before they were placed with local families.[27]

Barre's radicals created a political climate that differed markedly from the rest of Vermont and the nation. The Republican Party held a near monopoly on Vermont politics. After 1853, the party would not relinquish the governor's chair for 109 years, and the state was so thoroughly Republican that not even Franklin Roosevelt loosened the GOP grip; it and Maine were the only states not to go for Roosevelt at least once. When Harry Truman stood for election in 1948, he didn't bother to campaign in Vermont.[28]

Vermont's local politics were generally just as homogeneous, save for 1886, when the United Labor Party—a coalition of Knights of Labor, renegade Democrats, and small businessmen—captured control of the city of Rutland. The specter of working-class government alarmed Republican Party stalwart, former governor, and marble entrepreneur Redfield Proctor, who engineered radical gerrymandering and a Republican/big business/Democrat fusion ticket (the Citizens Party) that quashed the ULP challenge. A strike in 1904 led to a brief moment in which a former Knight of Labor became Rutland's mayor, but the GOP quickly reasserted itself.[29]

Once the ULP challenge was turned aside, Republicans held power in

most towns and cities. Barre, however, proved difficult. Republicans dominated its business class, but it was a union city with a large working-class majority and numerous recent immigrants. In such an environment, popular will was often expressed in strikes, public rallies, union meetings, and mob outbursts. This was especially true of Italian immigrants, most of whom had little experience in electoral politics but plenty with direct action.[30] Whether or not they cast ballots, socialists and anarchists outnumbered Republicans and Democrats by such a considerable margin that Barre's elites concocted elaborate structural safeguards to deter electoral expressions of discontent.

Republicans and Democrats each held mayoral and aldermanic posts in the years before Robert Gordon was elected, though political contests were more sham than substance.[31] The first Tuesday of March was Town Meeting Day in Vermont. In Barre, it was the occasion to vote on a city budget and elect a mayor, board of aldermen, and other city officials to one-year terms.Beginning in 1904, Barre elites plotted to make elections more predictable. In February the city held a "Citizens' Caucus" several weeks before Town Meeting Day. Like Rutland's Citizens Party, Barre's caucus exploited local ethnic and ideological divisions to forestall grassroots surprises. During the caucuses, registered voters cast ballots for candidates that would carry the Citizens' Caucus label on Town Meeting Day, the Citizen's Caucus being the only "official" party in the city. The *Barre Daily Times* proclaimed this an "amicable" way to ensure that party labels did not lead voters to select candidates with "slight qualifications," though historian Paul Demers astutely observes that its real purpose was to make certain "that the right people were nominated and then elected."[32] Republicans and Democrats took part in the same primary, fashioned from a pre-approved list of candidates. Although just 10-15 percent of the total electorate cast caucus votes, the Citizens' Caucus slate was duly endorsed by the local paper, and nearly always won election in March.

It was a cozy arrangement with the added advantage of allowing the left to bloody itself. Socialists began contesting elections in the first decade of the twentieth century, though they splintered between the doctrinaire Socialist Labor Party (SLP) and the more cautious Socialist Party of America (SP) associated with Eugene Debs. Internecine quarrels blunted electoral strength; Barre's first SP mayoral candidate, manufacturer William Scott, got just seventy-seven votes in 1905.[33] Just five years later, Barre SP candidate William Earle—denied the Citizens' Caucus endorsement—missed election to the Vermont legislature by just thirty-three votes. Had the SLP not split the vote, Earle would have won.

Robert Gordon achieved election in 1916 by cleverly turning the tables on the Citizens' Caucus. He positioned the SP as Barre's moderate middle by tarring the SLP's Workingmen's Party as quixotic contrarians serving only to

elect conservative Republicans or Democrats, and contrasting his SP to anarchists, many of whom were viewed as violent. It helped that his charges rang true. Barre's Italian anarchists tended to be doctrinaire and disputatious to a fault. Although anarchists helped build the Socialist Labor Party Hall, they frequently quarreled with other left-leaning groups. In a well-remembered 1903 incident, anarchists disrupted an SLP speaker from New York, gunfire ensued, and celebrated local artist Elia Corti was killed. Corti was an innocent—a skilled carver among whose works was the local Robert Burns statue.[34]

Corti's death shocked Barre, but it didn't curtail the animosity between anarchists and everyone to their political right. One measure of this is an error found in Emma Goldman's autobiography, in which she sarcastically referenced an 1899 trip to Barre, when Vermont was "under the blessings of Prohibition." She also claimed that she and Luigi Galleani observed various city officials, including Mayor Gordon (misidentified in some sources as "Robert" Gordon) and the chief of police "under the influence of alcohol." According to Goldman, their embarrassing revelations led to persecutions, including the cancelation of one of her speeches and an effort to silence Galleani.[35]

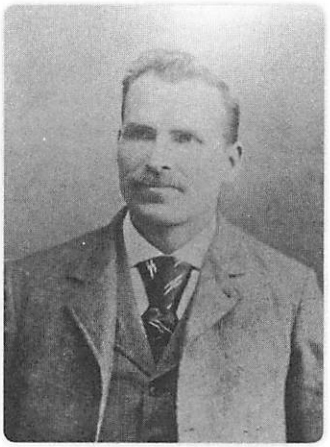
These incidents simply couldn't have happened the way Goldman reported them. Vermont passed an alcohol prohibition law in 1852, but many municipalities, including Barre, ignored them. Few Barre residents would have been shocked to see a city official drinking and, in 1903, the city overwhelmingly approved a local option law that supplanted the 1852 law. Barre residents (allegedly) went dry with the rest of the nation in 1919, though state voters soundly defeated several prohibition amendments before the Volstead Act went into effect.[36] Second, Galleani was not in Barre until 1901, two years after Goldman's first visit. In 1899, Barre's mayor was *John* W. Gordon and the police chief was the very Patrick Brown gunned down by anarchists in 1900. Perhaps Goldman mistakenly conflated events, though it's just as likely she sought to besmirch *Robert* Gordon. As a SP socialist, Mayor Gordon disliked Goldman and Galleani personally and thought them politically dangerous. It would not have been out of character for Goldman to exact *ex post facto* revenge.

The Rise of Robert Gordon

Evidence suggests we should downplay both the anarchists' distrust of the SP and Deane Davis's view that Robert Gordon was a conservative mayor. Historians poring over town reports generally do so in search of data, not drama. Barre's yearly reports open with a listing of town officials and generalized departmental summaries by various officials, including the mayor. These give way to matter-of-fact overviews of aldermanic meetings compiled chronicle style from the town clerk's notes.

Yet the city's reckoning for 1916—officially accepted in February of 1917—contains a message from Mayor Gordon, whose tone and content is unlike anything else found in the volumes. Gordon touted city progress, as he was expected to do, but abruptly abandoned the boosterish tone of his predecessors to note:

> We all believe in low taxation, but there is another matter of more vital importance to our little city than low taxes, namely the health of our workmen. We hear of capitalists, who won't invest in Barre on account of a high tax rate, but the time is coming when the workman will not sell his labor here on account of unhealthy conditions. Look around the granite sheds and see how few apprentices are learning the trade to-day, not one where there were five[,] ten years ago... Something has to be done to improve the health conditions in the granite sheds, for men are learning that high wages don't mean much if you are down and out at fifty.[37]



Robert Gordon

Gordon understood the working class because he was, for his entire life, a member of it. He was born in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, in 1865, came to Barre in 1880, and took up stonecutting three years later. In 1893, Gordon married a Scottish immigrant living in Barre, Georgina Davidson, with whom he had four children. When Georgina died, he married her sister Barbara, who bore him a daughter. All of the Gordon children attended Barre's Spaulding Academy, and the entire family took part in the city's lively Scottish cultural scene. The civic-minded Gordon served as treasurer for Clan Gordon and was an active Freemason. He worked for the firm of McDonald and Buchan, which was purchased in 1909 by Eugene Glysson, who would become a political rival. The $1,000 salary Gordon drew during his year as Barre's mayor was, perhaps, the highest pay he ever saw.[38]

Gordon made his first bid for mayor as the candidate for the SP in 1912, and might have won if the Central Labor Union—dominated by the AFL's more conservative Granite Cutters International Association—had not thrown its support to sitting mayor James Mutch, a GCIA member running as an Independent Labor candidate. The GCIA decision angered the SP; Mayor Mutch had proved friendlier to businessmen than to fellow unionists, and the

latter responded by ignoring him on Election Day. Robert Gordon's 311 votes were more than enough to unseat Mutch and elect Lucius Thurston, who headed the Board of Trade and was endorsed by the Citizens' Caucus.[39]

Labor tension produced more unity among union voters in subsequent elections. Granite was a $1.2 million industry for Barre's thirty quarries, but low wages plagued many Barre workers. Gordon welcomed Eugene Debs, who spoke in Barre during a 1910 strike, and applauded Debs's desire to "turn on the light in the workingman's brain" and make him realize that "working people have always been regarded as the lower class." Debs exhorted Barre workers to be distrustful of salaried labor leaders and to cast their votes for those who truly represented their interests.[40] When Barre endured another strike in 1915, many workers concluded that Mayor Frank Langley, the editor of the *Barre Daily Times*, was too cozy with owners.

By early 1916, Langley was in more trouble than his paper let on, and his woes went beyond the previous year's strike. Although the city finances were in good shape, Italians in the city's north end complained that the mayor's no-bid deal with garbage haulers ill served their wards. A new GCIA strike loomed, as did another vote on state prohibition, a dispute over the local charter, and an ongoing battle with a local traction company. Although the *BDT* announced in mid-February that there was "scarcely an outward indication that anyone is seeking office" and the Citizens' Caucus overwhelmingly endorsed Langley's reelection, Town Meeting Day brought a big surprise.[41]

Despite bitter cold and a heavy snowstorm on March 7, 1,700 of the city's 2,060 registered voters went to the polls. Prohibition was soundly rejected by a vote of 1,158 to 517 and Robert Gordon defeated Langley by a margin of nearly 17 percent (842 to 601). The only other socialist elected to city office was Clyde Reynolds in Ward Four, who defeated an incumbent alderman by eight votes. Aldermen quickly approved twenty-three of Gordon's twenty-four appointees, rejecting only his choice for parks commissioner—Fred Suitor, who thirteen years later would become Barre's second SP mayor. Gordon's employer, Eugene Glysson, was elected president of the Board of Aldermen.[42]

Gordon was a popular but shy man who preferred to pick his battles carefully, a needed temperament in Barre's increasingly fractious political environment. His $238,363 budget included money for streetlights, sidewalks, and sewer repairs. Gordon also waded into three controversies: investing city accounts, paving Main Street, and renting the local opera house. Each of these seemingly trivial issues became a constant thorn in Gordon's side.[43]

As Gordon quickly learned, the everyday machinations of local government waylaid visions of remaking society along socialist lines. Gordon found that even modest proposals faced contentious roadblocks, not the least of which was a citizenry prone to viewing politics on the neighborhood level

rather than ideologically. Gordon's year in office was consumed by bitter disputes over mundane matters such as reimbursing locals for chickens killed by stray dogs, sprinkling oil on dusty streets, issuing building permits, loitering outside bars, and rumors that Mormons were recruiting Barre residents.[44]

Had Gordon been a typical Progressive Era mayor, he would have referred most of those items to committees. Such a course, though, was inconsistent with his commitment to fair play, civic responsibility, ending favoritism, and open government. Gordon made several structural changes that made Barre government more democratic, not the least of which was that his very election broke the monopoly of the "middle-class interests" embodied in the Citizens' Caucus. But caution was a necessary byword; until the fall election, when Barre sent James Lawson to the Vermont legislature, Gordon and Reynolds were the only elected socialists in the entire state, and they clashed as often as they allied.[45]

Gordon's first significant battle was with the Barre Savings Bank and Trust Company, which held the city's sinking fund—monies set aside to retire future debt. The bank had long held city assets, but Gordon felt its terms exposed the city to too much risk. Barre Savings offered to pay the city a 4.76 percent interest rate on its deposits, but it categorically refused Gordon's request that it secure the city's $62,000 deposit with a $30,000 bond. In an era before insurance was required of commercial banks, Gordon feared that non-bonded deposits were an invitation to gamble with city funds. When Barre Savings refused to budge, Gordon cast the tie-breaking vote in favor of Glysson's motion to divide the sinking fund among three other banks and accept lower interest rates in exchange for bonded deposits. Among those who disagreed was fellow SP member Clyde Reynolds.[46] Battles raged throughout the month of April, but Gordon proved his mettle by refusing to buckle under pressure applied by the bank and rival aldermen.[47] He also enjoyed popular support among a city electorate ill disposed to side with a large bank.

Although Vermont had no "sunshine laws" requiring open access to meetings or city planning boards, Gordon encouraged citizen input at government meetings. Citizens had their say over street-paving and sidewalk-building proposals. Reynolds opposed the mayor's plan to repave Main Street and argued that it involved taking on $48,000 in debt. Gordon, backed by various speakers, overcame Reynolds's objection, only to falter over the question of whether to grade a streetcar crossing or build a bridge over it. Ex-mayor Harvey Hershey (1900-01) spoke out against the entire plan, and the Barre and Montpelier Traction Company (BMTC) refused to help defray the cost of paving the controversial crossing. The mayor's initial plan was defeated in a June vote.[48]

In July, the board authorized an $82,500 bond for three city projects, two of which involved a pared-down version of the Main Street paving project.

Reynolds's triumph was less than meets the eye, as a face-saving "compromise" was forged when it was clear that Gordon's plan enjoyed popular support. The aldermanic board split the paving plan into two bills, a $33,500 bond for paving, and a $14,000 appropriation to build a bridge over the crossing—a cumulative package just $500 less than Gordon's initial request.[49] Gordon then pressured the BMTC by threatening to municipalize the city's traction system. The board split three-to-three on that plan, with Gordon casting the deciding affirmative vote (and Reynolds again in opposition).

Gordon's municipalization threat was probably a shakedown ploy, as a September report stalled the project because the city was $2,000 short on paving funds. The plan absorbed another blow when the aldermanic board abandoned bridge plans when the lowest building bid exceeded appropriations by more than $20,000.[50] A more modest paving went forward, which led some aldermen to charge "favoritism" in how the work took place. Public debate was so heated—most of the ire directed at the BMTC and at aldermen—that the *Barre Daily Times* referred to it as "verbal manslaughter."[51]

In June, Mayor Gordon showed a bit of pique of his own by voting against a previously approved $1,000 expenditure for sixteen Opera House concerts by the Barre Citizens' Band. One alderman charged that the ensemble represented "radical labor," but Gordon's motives were less clear. Perhaps he was flexing political muscle or perhaps, as he publicly stated, he was uncomfortable with how the contract had been drawn. But given that the bandleader was Italian and many of the musicians were anarchists, Gordon might have been exacting SP revenge. He quietly stepped away from the battle when a reconfigured contract was signed.[52]

Gordon attended to all manner of citizen initiatives: investigating grievances of low water pressure, authorizing a study on improving lighting in Depot Square, making appointments to city departments, finagling city insurance liability, building a Civil War monument, setting tax rates, and approving purchase of a new truck for the street department.[53] Such issues were seldom free of conflict. For example, Gordon inherited office at a time when new inspections changed the city's fire insurance rating and liability. He supported a plan that lowered fire insurance for most property owners. This pleased most Barre residents, but those renting the Opera House or operating theaters complained of higher costs. Eventually a compromise was struck that pegged rates to the potential size of audiences.[54]

Taxes and trucks proved no less argumentative. In June, the aldermanic board approved a ten-cent property tax hike, prompting immediate and numerous appeals for abatement. Nearly all were dismissed, though the city waived poll taxes for active servicemen, a nod to patriotism at a time when troops were in Mexico pursuing Pancho Villa and mobilization was on the rise in the wake of bleak reports from the Verdun campaign in Europe.[55]

In May, Gordon dispatched a seemingly routine matter by approving the water department's $3,100 request to modernize by buying a motorized truck. Alderman Oliver Shurtleff objected, insisting that renting horses was cheaper.[56] The debate raged into August with still another three-to-three vote forcing Gordon to break the tie. In what was now standard practice, "angry words had been let loose," and Reynolds again proved to be no comrade of the mayor.[57] By the late fall, even routine matters led to acrimony. For example, a simple appointment to the board of health provided opportunity for Reynolds to complain about the police department.[58]

Mayor Gordon proved adroit at listening to Barre citizens, improving the city's utilities, supporting the cause of organized labor, and in taking on Central Power Company. His most overtly socialist action was to municipalize coal purchasing and distribution. A dispute that led to an "enervating temperature" rise took place in August, when Gordon announced plans to purchase all of the city's coal from a cooperative firm that charged $43 less per each "50-ton jag." For once, though, Gordon and Reynolds were allies; Barre established a municipal coal yard over the howling complaints of coal dealers and two aldermen.[59]

Improving the city's sewer and water systems proved less controversial. At Gordon's urging, aldermen responded to complaints of low water pressure and, in July, authorized $35,000 to extend water lines and put in larger mains. In November, the board developed plans to extend improvements to the South End, where water problems were acute. Although Gordon was out of office by the time much of the building actually took place, his actions guaranteed that improvements *would* take place. When he stepped down, the city had more than thirty-five miles of water lines and the water department had a $17,000 surplus. Gordon's support of this classic "sewer socialism" program ultimately improved the quality of life for Barre citizens.[60] Not coincidentally, Gordon's water plan also eventually led to an expansion of the fire department.

Gordon was an ally of local unions, whose support he often solicited. He even welcomed AFL President Samuel Gompers to Barre, though as a Debsian socialist he had profound disagreements with the AFL. Gordon was, however, a good friend of Fred Suitor, who was president of both the local tool sharpeners union and the Vermont AFL.[61] Gordon personally felt that a more vigorous form of socialism was in order, and he supported the November SP campaigns of W. R. Rowland for governor, N. E. Grenslet for U.S. Senate, and James Spargo and J. P. Marsh for Congress. He also supported local socialist candidates James Lawson and John Callaghan, and the former was victorious. Gordon maintained a discreet silence on Reynolds's woeful showing in a four-way race for secretary of state.[62]

Historian Charles Morrissey subtitled a chapter of his book on Vermont

"Hard Living in a Hard Place."[63] It is a sentiment Mayor Gordon understood and hoped to change. In January 1917, Antonio Bianchi, an immigrant granite worker, shot himself. Bianchi's unsuccessful suicide attempt was dismissed as "temporary insanity," but evidence suggests he was a desperately lonely young man who adjusted neither to backbreaking labor nor life within politically polarized Barre.[64] Just one week later, Mayor Gordon delivered his state of the city message, which included a side remark about "foolish" disputes over the streets department and the aforementioned plea to improve worker health. Gordon ended his remarks with a call for better care of the poor and more attention to workers in general. He left no doubt that he valued worker health and happiness over low taxes, though he bequeathed to his successors the challenge of reversing the city's working-class social statistics.[65]

He also left an ongoing battle with Central Power Company (CPC), a firm he found contemptuous of the public. The dispute was rooted in Barre's entry into the electric age. Central Power sought to run transmission lines through Barre, but needed to negotiate permits and fees with the city. Gordon and allied aldermen refused to grant permission until Central Power made commitments as to when the work would be finished and how much it would charge for lighting. When the CPC balked, Gordon sided with aldermen willing to grant a twenty-five-year franchise only if CPC put up a $1,000 bond guaranteeing that service would begin no later than July 1, 1918. If it did not meet that target, the city would be free to negotiate with another company.[66]

The CPC rejected those terms, attempted to split the board, and found a concessions champion in Eugene Glysson. Company officials attended a January board meeting with Attorney F. B. Thomas in tow and objected to several contract clauses, including the completion date, a Gordon-sponsored clause that would make CPC pay losses incurred by power interruption, and a prohibition against charging customers to install meters. Gordon promptly reminded Attorney Thomas that CPC officials had *written* several of the very clauses they now wished to strike. The company's stridency backfired and no deal was accomplished during Gordon's term of office.[67]

Gordon was committed to striking good deals for the city. When just one estimate came in for printing city documents, he ordered bids to be reopened. In his January budget he announced that the city had a small surplus, and he welcomed comments from ex-Mayor Melcher and others supporting his refusal to grant concessions to Central Power. But Gordon also announced that he was "done with politics" and would not run for reelection in March. Numerous potential candidates announced their willingness to serve, including Fred Suitor and aldermen Shurtleff and Glysson.[68]

The Citizens' Caucus chose Glysson over Suitor by a 311 to 126 margin,

which gave Glysson a boost, though his 842-716 margin of victory over Suitor was closer than anticipated.[69] Mayor Glysson granted concessions to CPC, though it and the Central Vermont Public Service Corporation, which absorbed CPC in 1929, were accused of overcharging customers.[70] Glysson soon had bigger concerns; the April 3 issue of the *Barre Daily Times* bore the banner headline, "State of War Between the U.S. and Germany."[71] Almost immediately the street department ran low on funds and a city budget based on austerity, sacrifice, and rationing remained in effect until after World War I. Glysson's accomplishments failed to match Gordon's.

Gordon's decision to step down remains open to speculation. His Socialist Party opposed the war in Europe, so perhaps he anticipated the political maelstrom unleashed by the proposed Espionage Act. He was also a quiet man who was likely surprised by the pettiness of local politics (some of which his open policies encouraged). Or, perhaps, Gordon was simply tired. He, like mayors everywhere, faced new realities that rendered old-style city governing obsolete. When Gordon took office, Barre had just 41.3 miles of graded roads—more than adequate for a horse-and-carriage city in which automobiles were a novelty. Most residents still had wells, dug latrines, and lighted with kerosene. By the time he left, the city was actively paving roads, installing water and sewer systems, purchasing motorized vehicles, installing gas pumps, and debating how best to bring electricity to residents. In the same report in which he called for addressing the needs of workers, Gordon apologized for spending nearly 60 percent more on the street department than his predecessors. He noted that "ever increasing motor traffic makes the expense of the street dept. increase each year," and that heavier motorcars exposed the "defects" of existing roads. He begged consideration of such matters "before passing judgment" on spending for, among other things, a stone crusher used in street paving.[72]

The demands of bringing Barre into the modern age further frustrated any plans Gordon had to advance the SP platform. He made Barre government more responsive, but the municipal coal yard and city-owned water lines were his greatest "socialist" achievements. On the undone side of the ledger were SP programs such as an eight-hour day for city employees, union printing contracts, free medical care, revamping the tax code to penalize speculators, free evening school for those wishing to continue their education, and constructing a municipally owned hospital and tuberculosis sanitarium.[73]

The last of these is probably why Gordon stepped down. He was fifty-two when he left office, an old man by stonecutter standards, and he suffered the aftereffects of the working conditions against which he spoke so passionately. Because Barre never built a sanitarium, Gordon relocated to a TB hospital in Lynn, Massachusetts, where he died at age fifty-six on November 1, 1921.[74]

Fred Suitor and Sidewalk Socialism

Municipal socialists were sometimes lampooned as "sewer socialists," but Fred Suitor, Barre's mayor from March 1929 to March 1931, invited the label "sidewalk socialist." Suitor, like Gordon, was a self-proclaimed socialist, though his mayoralty was cut from somewhat different cloth. First, he was elected as a Citizens' Caucus candidate, not an SP candidate. Second, he was also a devoted AFL trade unionist.

Fred Suitor

Suitor was born in Leeds, Québec, in 1879, and worked part-time in a copper mine while attending grammar school. His family relocated to Barre in 1892, and Suitor eventually worked as a quarry blacksmith. In 1908, he became the business agent for the Quarry Workers International Union in nearby Graniteville, and for the rest of his life, Suitor was a union bureaucrat. He served as secretary-treasurer for the QWIU from 1910 until his death in 1934. He was variously president of Vermont's state American Federation of Labor affiliate, treasurer of Barre's Central Labor Union, and delegate to countless AFL conventions. He was also active in Clan Gordon, the Order of Scottish Clans, the Red Cross, and a local Freemason lodge.[75] In all likelihood, Suitor first befriended Gordon through fraternal organizations.

Suitor was also politically active. In 1912, he was the SP's quixotic gubernatorial candidate, finishing last in a field of five, attracting just 1.9 percent of the vote.[76] Although he was frustrated in his bid to become Mayor Gordon's parks commissioner in 1916, he was organized labor's preferred candidate when Gordon announced he would not seek reelection. It took a dozen years for that to become reality.

Much had changed between 1917 and 1929. World War I proved disastrous for the Socialist Party. Although some members broke ranks and supported the war effort, SP members were indiscriminately victimized during the postwar Red Scare. The 915,302 votes for president that Eugene Debs polled during his jail cell campaign for president in 1920 was a noble moment for the SP, but his party was in decline. Victor Berger was thrice refused his congressional seat because of his socialism, and an overall lack of progress led the SP's left wing to abandon the party in 1919 and form the Communist Labor Party, a faction even more radical than the Communist Party of the

United States. The rump SP repudiated anti-ballot-box revolutionary ideals and expelled what remained of its left wing, but such ideological distinctions were lost upon Red Scare persecutors. By 1921, national SP membership was a mere 14,000, down from more than 100,000 just two years earlier. By 1928, the year before Suitor was elected, the SP had only 8,000 dues-paying members.[77] When Gordon was elected in 1916, he had plenty of socialist company in other American cities; by contrast, in 1920 there were just two socialist mayors.[78] As Julia Dietrich succinctly put it, "The chilling effect of the Red Scare lasted through the 1920s, lumping together all Leftists as Reds, all Reds as violently un-American."[79]

Suitor's socialist ideals were vague by the 1920s. He was involved in the Progressive Party, though it is unclear if he did so out of respect for Robert La Follette, or if he subscribed to party ideals that harkened back to the pre-World War I Progressive movement. Much like his frequent correspondent, Mary "Mother" Jones, Suitor was more of a trade unionist than an ideologue and he certainly rejected Marxian notions of unions as revolutionary bodies.[80]

Trade unionism itself took a severe hit in the 1920s. Although the AFL supported U.S. intervention into World War I, was pro-capitalist, was overwhelmingly made up conservative unions, and supported a no-strike pledge during the war, it too suffered during the Red Scare. Trade union membership plummeted from roughly 5,000,000 during the war to fewer than 3,500,000 by 1923, and did not rise for the remainder of the decade. Anti-union tactics such as open-shop associations, anti-racketeering laws, court injunctions, and scientific management work regimens took their toll on organized labor. Moreover, William Green, the AFL's president when Samuel Gompers died in 1924, lacked the knack for rallying labor.[81]

Only a city with radical roots as deep as Barre's could elect a socialist mayor in 1929, and even then it took several shocks to frighten Barre's political establishment enough to overlook Suitor's SP associations. In 1922, Barre endured a nasty four-month strike during which several granite firms imported scabs and imposed an open shop regimen on previously unionized workers—shocking developments that led to years of social tension within Barre. In addition, the November 1927 flood devastated large parts of Vermont, but was especially acute in Barre. Seven people died there, including Vermont's lieutenant governor, and more than $1,250,000 in property damage was incurred (over $29.5 million in 2014 dollars). Mayor Norman Lewis's 1929 budget ran a deficit, swelled by money owed to the state for flood relief. Lewis chose to defer amenities such as bus service and infrastructure expansion.[82]

Shifting demographics also mollified elite fears. The 1930 census revealed that Barre's population stood at 11,188, of which roughly one-fourth was foreign-born. These immigrants, however, differed from those of Gordon's generation. The 1924 Johnson-Reed bill greatly curtailed future immigration,

and the devastation left by World War I discouraged reverse migration. This meant that most of Barre's foreign-born citizens were like Suitor in that they had been in the city for some time and were acculturated to its rhythms. For example, nearly 10 percent of Barre's citizens had been born in Italy, but most came before World War I and far fewer shared the anarchist beliefs of the prewar generation. Of Barre's 3,156 foreign-born residents, nearly a third—including Suitor—had come from Canada and faced fewer cultural adjustment problems. City residents had reason to seek unconventional leadership, but whatever their background, most focused on improving life in the city rather than waging ideological battles.[83]

Several aldermen expressed interest when Lewis chose not to seek reelection, but Suitor was the "unanimous choice" of the 150 citizens who caucused in February. He ran unopposed in March, and the *Barre Daily Times* duly ran a headline proclaiming "From Mines to City Hall." Ward One Alderman William La Point was the only elected official not endorsed by the caucus and would prove to be an outlier.[84] One of Suitor's first acts as mayor was to raise $14,543 to reimburse the state for flood aid.[85]

As in Gordon's case, more prosaic matters occupied Suitor's time: carnival licenses, poolroom etiquette, unruly dogs, dusty streets, and complaints over telephone rates and boxing matches.[86] La Point often transformed routine issues into combative ones. William La Point, a Barre native who practiced law, edited a journal for Spanish-American War veterans, managed the city's opera house, and thought he should be mayor, became Suitor's political foe.[87] Dispute began in the first week of Suitor's term, when La Point complained that snowy streets in his ward were not properly sanded.[88] In this and in matters ranging from sidewalk repairs and traffic congestion to barking dogs and broken town clocks, Suitor solicited the capable advice of City Attorney Deane Davis.[89] That's because a surprising number of city issues proved to be potentially litigious. Among them was Suitor's choice for overseer of the poor, garbage collection plans, traffic and road disputes, utility rates, and the politics of sidewalks.

Just one of Suitor's appointments was rejected, former alderman John Milne, who sought the post of overseer of the poor. Appointing Milne would have necessitated dismissing the current overseer, Judge H. W. Scott; thus, aldermen voted down Suitor's request to appoint Milne on four occasions between March 20 and April 17, 1929. On the latter date the board reappointed Scott by a 5-1 vote, with La Point rebuffing the mayor's request to voice his reasons for opposing Scott.[90] In July, Suitor appointed Milne to police the municipal swimming pond, though he continued to push Milne for overseer of the poor.

The gist of the dispute centered upon Suitor's dislike of Scott's caution and rejection of the need for a new poorhouse, which Suitor championed.

Such a plan was first delayed when aldermen couldn't agree upon a location.[91] In November, however, the board flatly rejected building a new facility, though the mayor noted that ex-alderman Oliver Shurtleff, who had served during Gordon's mayoralty, left a bequest that could finance it.[92] The board's intransigence could not have been more poorly timed given the Wall Street crash just weeks earlier.

By January 1930, Overseer Scott reported that the city was spending considerably more on the poor than in the previous year. In April, Scott was abruptly dismissed and Milne was, at long last, appointed to his post, over La Point's stern objections.[93] Scott promptly sued the mayor, lost in superior court, and appealed to the Vermont Supreme Court, prompting an angry Suitor to withhold payment of Scott's final expenditures. This dispute lingered through March 1931, by which time Suitor had left office.[94]

Garbage collection must have seemed a fragrant delight compared to the stench of the Milne/Scott dispute. The issue was simple: Barre, like most Vermont municipalities, had no regular collection services. Citizens were required either to contract with private haulers or dump their own waste. City Hall fielded numerous complaints that some Barre residents were not particular about how and where they disposed of that waste. Suitor supported regular city collection and in December 1929, put forward a plan that would cost the city $5,000 to implement.[95] This plan withered when sufficient numbers of citizens complained about imposed fees, even though they would have cost less than private haulage.

Solid waste disposal was just one of several infrastructure questions that first surfaced in Gordon's day, but whose full implications had only recently become clear. Recall that Gordon had to convince aldermen to buy motorized, as opposed to horse-drawn vehicles. A dozen years later, horse traffic was gone and Barre residents demanded that City Hall pave all of its streets, eliminate angle parking on Main Street, install traffic lights, relocate power poles, set speed limits, grade rail crossings, and eliminate vehicular congestion in Depot Square.[96] Today, Suitor's imposition of a twenty-five-mile-per-hour city speed limit is typical; to Barre residents who remembered horse carriages, it appeared reckless.[97] Gordon would also have sympathized with Suitor's struggle to find money for the underfunded streets department and his need to appease aldermen battling for allocations for their wards.[98] When Gordon served there was no bus service; Suitor found himself in the uncomfortable situation of defending the decision of the private company that purchased the Yellow Bus Line to charge all customers ten cents and eliminate the special five-cent fare for workingmen.[99]

Recall also that Mayor Gordon began the process of extending Barre's water and sewer lines, yet managed to generate a water department surplus. Mayor Suitor had the unenviable task of figuring out how to finish that job

and expand service for a city whose population had grown by 13 percent since 1920. In 1918, the city had 1,369 water connections; ten years later it had 1,751 and the section known as Barre Heights lacked service, necessitating the purchase of a water system to supply it. New services, including building a rest room inside City Hall, meant taking out a $205,000 bond and changing the tax rate, neither an easy task for city government. Mayor Gordon's final budget called for a tax rate of about $2.58; under Suitor it rose to $3.80.[100]

Utility rates also proved nettlesome. Alderman La Point believed that New England Telephone & Telegraph had promised "a certain number of [free] phones in exchange for pole location rights." He simply refused to accept arguments that his reading came from a contract drawn in 1902, a time before the Vermont Public Service Board (VPSB) existed to sanction such agreements. The mayor directed City Attorney Davis to investigate the matter, probably to silence La Point, who brought up the issue at every available opportunity.[101]

An even more vexing issue involved an old city nemesis: the electric company. Green Mountain Power (GMP), the city's most recent provider, proved no easier to deal with than Central Power Company. Citizens complained of the inconvenience of pole relocations about which they were not forewarned, and the company rate structure baffled many, especially a call to impose on customers a twenty-cents-per-room up-front charge. GMP insisted that this lowered rates for 90 percent of its users, but Suitor and aldermen were skeptical and charged Davis with the task of bringing the matter to the VPSB. GMP did itself no favors when it called its new rate a "promotional" scheme "intended to encourage greater use of electricity."[102] The VPSB took its time deciding matters and negative publicity eventually led GMP to change its pricing structure.

Few things occupied as much of Mayor Suitor's time as sidewalks. As Barre transitioned from a pedestrian and streetcar city to one dominated by automobiles, each neighborhood sought to ensure that poured concrete and curbs of local granite would provide walkways for its residents. Suitor was in office just six weeks when aldermen voted to borrow $80,000 against expected tax revenues from new assessments for the sole purpose of building sidewalks. That announcement immediately triggered petitions from residents of seven city streets. Aldermen soon filed their own requests and most aldermanic meetings heard local residents plead for sidewalks in their neighborhoods. In May, for example, F. L. White came to City Hall to argue that Walnut Street had one of the oldest requests on file and should receive first priority; in June, postal officials harangued aldermen on how new sidewalks would hasten mail delivery. In the 1929 city records, there are fifteen pages devoted to sidewalk debates just from the period from August 13 to October 7. Whatever reservations Barre citizens had about taxes did not extend to sidewalks; voters easily approved loans and levies for new pathways.[103]

It's hard to imagine that any politician, let alone a socialist, could have anticipated heated disputes over matters such as awnings and sidewalk widths. As new businesses eyed Main Street, Suitor innocently suggested that new buildings should follow the same rooflines as existing structures to insure walkway uniformity. That opinion was applauded by many, but deemed old fashioned by others. When some shopkeepers placed awnings over their front windows, debates ensued over whether those extending over sidewalks endangered public health. One exasperated merchant whose awning request was on hold stormed into City Hall wearing a silk shirt he claimed had faded from the result of working in the awningless front window of his sun-drenched shop.[104]

In the midst of an often-rancorous first term, Mayor Suitor began a project that would become his lasting legacy: a municipal recreation park. In June, Barre citizens approved a $15,000 expenditure to build a public swimming pond off South Main Street along the Stevens Branch of the Winooski River. Although wrangling occurred over land acquisition, building a dam, and swimming in water also used as an ice pond, by midsummer the dam and bathhouses were built, along with baseball diamonds, football fields, and picnic facilities. Construction took place quickly enough to allow the city's Labor Day celebration to take place in the park.[105]

Mayor Suitor enthusiastically endorsed the park in his annual report. "The park has already attracted to it many people seeking relaxation and recreation. It offers abundant possibilities for future development," he noted. He outlined plans for grandstands, a running track, ice rinks, tennis facilities, and basketball and volleyball courts.[106] The park was such a success that, in June 1930, the mayor asked for a playground commission to oversee its supervision and maintenance. In July a five-member Recreation Bureau was created, one that withstood Alderman La Point's objection that the city could not legally create such an entity.[107] This site is today named Rotary Park in honor of the business organization that helps maintain it, but that name obscures the fact that the park, town pool, and entire Recreation Department owe their existence to a socialist.

The effects of the October 1929 stock market crash were not felt in Barre until mid-1930, which was fortuitous for Suitor's reelection bid. He squared off against his first-term nemesis, William La Point, who based his campaign on high-toned but vague rhetoric that referenced "ancient town meetings," past orators, and "sacred Athenian oaths." Suitor easily won the Citizens' Caucus endorsement, which prompted La Point to demand that Suitor's name be stricken from the ballot on the grounds that the Citizens' Caucus was not recognized as a legal party in Vermont. There was great irony in a member of Barre's elite challenging an entity created by that elite. Greater irony still ensued when La Point's technical point was upheld, thereby sounding the death

knell to the Citizens' Caucus. Suitor simply declared himself an independent and trounced La Point by a vote of 1,454 to 856, a substantially larger margin (26 percent) than most city mayoral contests.[108]

Old issues such as sidewalks and carnivals consumed Mayor Suitor's second term, plus several that were decidedly a product of changing times. Among the latter was a proposed ordinance—ultimately voted down—to ban radio broadcasts after 11 P.M. and before 7 A.M. Still another was the dedication of a regional facility unimaginable a generation earlier: the Barre-Montpelier airport.[109] Suitor also contemplated La Point's proposal to merge Barre City with Barre Town, a reorganization plan that failed. The mayor also pondered a merger that did take place. In March the Rock of Ages Corporation (ROA) announced a $6 million reorganization occasioned by its purchase of ten other local manufacturers. This did not bode well for organized labor, as the firm's predecessor had been at the fore of the open-shop move that precipitated the 1922 strike in Barre.[110]

Suitor had more immediate concerns, including Prohibition, police corruption, and rising levels of poverty and unemployment. As noted, Barre residents disregarded Vermont's 1852 law; many paid even less heed to the current law. By 1930, Barre police viewed the 18th Amendment (and the enabling Volstead Act) as unenforceable and arrested only egregious offenders. In August, police raided five establishments and seized a still and about $3,000 worth of alcohol (roughly $42,000 in 2014 value). It did little to deter city thirsts, though, as the next month nearly 43 percent of all police arrests (9 of 21) were for public intoxication. Still another arrest in December netted more quantities of gin, beer, and wine.[111] As a union official, Suitor maintained silence on alcohol, as he knew that Prohibition was unpopular among Barre workers.

Prohibition and corruption collided in a police department scandal. In October 1930, Police Chief James Sullivan died and Suitor promoted Deputy Chief Dennis Donahue to succeed him. A month later, the mayor placed Theodore Ashley in Donahue's old post.[112] Suitor's speed in stabilizing the police department was prompted by allegations involving Officer Jack Somers. Somers had been appointed to the force earlier in the year, surprising many residents who knew him as a boxing promoter who cavorted with shadowy characters. Donning a uniform apparently did little to quell suspicions, and rumors circulated that Somers tried to extort a local woman during the December speakeasy raid. La Point demanded investigation of the matter in February 1931, and insisted that the city both fire Somers and abolish civil service appointments in the police department. He was among those who uttered "curt words" when Suitor advised that Somers couldn't be legally fired without a hearing. La Point was even more furious when a police report exonerated Somers.[113]

Suitor's greatest challenge was what to do when the Great Depression finally made its way to Barre. Local residents were used to seasonal downturns during Vermont's long winter, but unemployment remained high by the spring of 1930 and grew worse. By July, cost-cutting aldermen were "not much enthused" over plans to celebrate Barre's 150th birthday. In August, upon La Point's motion, Suitor put a bond issue before the voters to underwrite public works programs to ease unemployment. After a somber Labor Day, Barre voters approved a special $50,000 bond to build sewers and streets, with unemployed married family men given first priority as new hires.[114]

A $50,000 bond and the $4 dollar per day minimum wage that went with it failed to solve Barre's crisis. By November, demand for work was so high that aldermen pondered whether too many non-deserving men were on the public payroll, or if the pride of destitute Barre citizens made actual need even greater. In December, aldermen petitioned the U.S. Congress for money to undertake a winter road-building project. That same month, Suitor learned of the death of his friend Mary Harris Jones (called "Mother Jones") and read of William Z. Foster's admission that he was a member of the Communist Party. Suitor may well have felt socialism's promise waning. In January 1931 Barre city officials authorized renting parts of City Hall to generate money for the city. The next month, even the Salvation Army appeared before aldermen seeking financial help to continue its relief work in Barre. Officials struggled to fund various aid programs without exhausting the Shurtleff Fund that the mayor wished to tap two years earlier.[115]

Like Gordon, Suitor presented the city with a final 1930 budget that contained a surplus of more than $17,000. His upbeat annual message emphasized progress made in building sidewalks, water lines, watersheds, parks, and public works.[116] The mood was much darker one year later. When Suitor unveiled his $449,099 budget for 1931, he also announced plans to leave office when his term expired in March. Although he remained popular among city residents, Suitor found juggling the mayoralty with his QWIU and AFL duties overly taxing. Moreover, his two terms were marked by personal misfortune. His mother died during May of his first term and he suffered a heart attack early into his second term.[117]

Suitor's 1930 budget surplus disappeared in 1931. Overseer of the Poor John Milne created some 200 new jobs, but it was not enough. In his somber 1931 report Suitor praised the efforts of city and private charities, but noted that "demands" on them were the greatest in the city's history. Although he expressed optimism that citizens would "rise above our present trouble," one also detects a sense of having been bludgeoned by misfortune: "In the last few years Barre has experienced war, epidemic, and flood. These trials are almost lost sight of during the present period of industrial hardships." When Suitor left office in early 1931, the city's debt was around $552,000.[118]

La Point immediately announced his candidacy for mayor, but fellow alderman Edwin Keast soundly defeated him. Upon taking office, Keast proclaimed that "Economy should not only be talked of, but practiced," and scrapped plans to expand public works and poor relief programs. Suitor bade the council adieu, expressed "appreciation for having had the honor of being mayor of such a fine city," and tactfully expressed the hope that the various "projects carried through" during his terms of office would prove his legacy to the city.[119] Keast's parsimony didn't help and he served just one term as mayor. La Point finally got his wish and served as Barre's chief executive from 1932 into 1934—the cruelest years of the Great Depression. His terms were not among the city's most memorable.[120]

In his post-mayoral years, Suitor focused on union activities. In the autumn of 1932, massive layoffs and wage cuts in the granite industry—from an average of $9 per day in the late 1920s to just $4 by 1932—led to discontent that came to a head in a strike that began on April Fools' Day, 1933. The strike went badly and sapped Suitor's strength. In late April 1934, he suffered a second heart attack and, in May, a third that killed him in his fifty-fifth year.[121] Like Robert Gordon, he died at a relatively young age, though an advanced one by the standards of granite workers. Although no one realized it at the time, there would be no more Vermont socialist mayors until Bernard Sanders was elected mayor of Burlington in 1981, forty-seven years after Suitor's death.

Analysis: Beyond the Goo-Goos and Progressives

Robert Gordon's year in office yielded prudential bank investments, open government, battles with utility companies, a municipal coal yard, and city-owned water lines. Fred Suitor gave the city good sidewalks, parks, and a recreation department. He also helped Barre recover from the 1927 flood and further modernized city infrastructure, but was unable to deflect the blows of the Great Depression. Cheap coal, water lines, sidewalks, paved roads, playgrounds, and balanced budgets are hardly the future imagined by socialist theorists. One is reminded of the frustrations experienced by Milwaukee socialist Daniel Hoan who, in 1940, declared his twenty-four-year mayoralty a "complete fizzle" after, in Gail Radford's words, "having socialized only a stone quarry and the city's streetlights."[122]

The challenges of being a socialist within a hegemonic capitalist society invite revisitation of John Elliot Burns's remark that a successful socialist movement needed to compromise with progressive forces promoting parallel goals. To do so, however, raises questions of whether it even mattered that Gordon and Suitor were socialists. Were they, as Deane Davis suggested, simply "good mayors," perhaps even "conservative" men? Should one simply label them "reformers" and lump them with a host of others, such as goo-goos, liberals, and Progressives?[123]

It bears notice that urban reformers of all ideological stripes faced daunting challenges. As urban historians remind us, New York City's Tweed Ring (1858-1871) was merely the most infamous urban machine, hardly an anomaly—not even in New York. The unraveling of the Tweed Ring simply shifted Tammany Hall power from one group of urban bosses to another, which is why a succession of erstwhile reformers emerged: Henry George (1886), the Council of Good Government Clubs (1894-98), and Seth Low (1902-03). Tammany Hall power would not be seriously dislodged until the mayoralty of Fiorello La Guardia (1934-1945), and even then it was not fatally wounded.[124] Other cities featured their own larcenous pre-1930 political machines: the Pendergasts in Kansas City, and those led by Alexander Shepherd in Washington, D.C., Christopher "Saloon Boss" Buckley in San Francisco, "Pickhandle" Tom Dennison in Omaha, and Chicagoans "Bathhouse" John Coughlin and Michael "Hinky Dink" Kenna.[125]

Within this desert of corruption stood a handful of bold reformers such as Hazen Pingree (Detroit, 1889-97), Samuel "Golden Rule" Jones (Toledo, 1897-1904), and James D. Phelan (San Francisco, 1897-1902). Their heroism notwithstanding, dishonest city government remained the norm rather than the exception–a fact often glossed in celebratory Progressive Era accounts. Textbooks are quick to note that muckraking journalist Lincoln Steffens spurred urban reform with his 1902 exposé *The Shame of the Cities;* they seldom mention that Steffens followed four years later with *The Struggle for Self-Government,* or that a supplemented edition of *The Shame of the Cities* made the best seller list in 1940. That is to say, the Progressive Era's exposure of urban corruption far outstripped actual reform efforts.

An assessment of Gordon and Suitor must begin with the fact that each reformed Barre government and made it more responsive to the electorate at a time when many cities remained mired in corruption. They contributed to the neutering and ultimate destruction of the Citizens' Caucus which, if not as iniquitous as the Tweed Ring, was nonetheless an oligarchic political tool.

Second, both Gordon and Suitor brought Barre into the modern age with relative efficiency. In the decades following the Civil War, American cities faced the challenge of transforming themselves from merchant hubs into industrial, commercial, and retail centers. Rapid urban growth quickly revealed the utter inadequacy of antiquated city infrastructure, often with disastrous results (epidemics, floods, poverty, class conflict). Every upgrade that cities needed—from tenements and streetcars to sewers and sidewalks—entailed enormous expense, hence opportunities for graft. The same was true of the incidentals associated with technological change, including the paving of roads to accommodate automobiles, the building of airports, the issuance of radio licenses, and the location of electrical and telephone poles. That Gordon and his protégé Fred Suitor helped Barre make these transitions without

a whiff of scandal and with the interests of the citizenry in mind should not be remarkable, but it was.

This shifts our gaze to one of the ways socialist ideology mattered: Gordon and Suitor held a collectivist worldview that placed community well-being above self-interest or self-enrichment. That collectivism is part of what separated most municipal socialists from Republican and Democratic Party goo-goos and Progressives. Bryan Palmer notes the existence of a "significant Left" from the Gilded Age on, made up of Knights of Labor, Greenbackers, "Populists, anarcho-communists, Christian socialists, early feminists, bohemian intellectuals, trade unionists, immigrant Marxists from failed European revolutions, Wobblies, co-operators," and others.[126] These groups often quarreled with each other, but they shared several important ideals.

The first was an inherent distrust of the individualist ethos undergirding the capitalist system. In Jeffrey Coker's words, the American left shared "the concept of inevitable class conflict."[127] Goo-goos and Progressives tinkered with capitalism, but even when Gordon and Suitor opted for a short-term agenda of immediate improvement of conditions, neither man accepted the inevitability of capitalism or considered it a just economic system. Such beliefs explain why Gordon was twice denied the Citizens' Caucus nomination. They explain also why AFL colleagues often viewed Suitor with suspicion. Suitor's mentor within the granite cutters' union was James Duncan (1857-1928), who was denied the AFL presidency in 1924 because of his socialist beliefs. (The AFL accepted the permanence of capitalism.)

Gordon and Suitor, like most goo-goos and Progressives, believed in efficiency, industrial progress, and the material improvement of society, but they sought to expand democracy, not contract it. Barre's socialist mayors were not revolutionaries, but neither were they seduced by the blind belief in experts, a hallmark of Progressive thinking. As Bruce Stave observed, "socialists generally opposed . . . attempts to institute city manager or commission forms of government," staples of top-down Progressive urban reform.[128] Gordon and Suitor encountered and resisted calls for commission-style government.

As their battles with public service boards, power authorities, banks, and traction companies reveal, Barre's socialist mayors were suspicious of the "experts" that Progressives thought should manage cities. The socialist perspective was the difference between trusting the masses to make bottom-up changes, and the Progressives' paternalistic belief that meaningful reform should be imposed from the top, often by unelected policymakers.[129]

Socialists in Barre and elsewhere also championed pluralism. Although a handful of forward-thinking individuals such as Randolph Bourne embraced that ideal, Progressivism was, overall, a white, middle-class movement more comfortable with uniformity than diversity. Barre experienced significant factionalism, but not even disputatious Italian anarchists inspired local calls for

immigration restriction, a constant cry among Progressives. Nor did many Barre residents participate in anti-immigration leagues, trade in popular racist caricatures, or add their voices to the eugenicists that thrived in Vermont and among Progressives across the nation.[130] Barre was hardly an untroubled multi-ethnic haven, but one finds no hints of ethnic, racist, or religious slurs from Gordon or Suitor, a statement that cannot be made about Progressives such as E. L. Godkin, David Starr Jordan, Henry Cabot Lodge, Margaret Sanger, Lester Ward, or AFL President Samuel Gompers.[131]

Gordon and Suitor were light years ahead of many mainstream reformers in their overt support for organized labor. Even when urban reformers paid lip service to industrial progress and its workforce, the period between 1900 and 1933 was not particularly "progressive" insofar as organized labor was concerned. The Progressive Era saw the rise of self-selected welfare capitalists and legislative efforts to regulate factory safety, curtail child labor, exempt unions from antitrust laws, and protect some workers (women, seamen, railroad employees), but the overall record of courts, Congress, and the business community differed little in substance or spirit from the anti-union sentiments and actions of the Gilded Age robber baron era.[132] Radical groups such as the Industrial Workers of the World were repressed (legally and extralegally) and even officials allied with the moderate American Federation of Labor faced harsh sanction. Aside from an artificial uptick spearheaded by War Labor Board protections during World War I, organized labor seldom represented as much as 10 percent of the American workforce. Unions, however, found significant support among municipal socialists. As Judd observed, most elected socialists pursued "a dual strategy of trade-union agitation and political activity," the path followed by Fred Suitor.[133] Gordon and Suitor each viewed the working class as their base of support, which meant they had to do more than support unions in the abstract.

There were other stylistic differences between Progressives and municipal socialists. The first group longed for consensus politics and sought order; the latter averred that political change was inherently chaotic. Progressive reformers sought centralized programs; socialists demanded grassroots local control. Socialists favored public enterprises often deemed unrealistic by Progressive reformers who believed (romantically) in the benevolence, efficiency, and civic pride of the private sector.

Historian Shelton Stromquist made the following trenchant observation:

> Much of the historiography of labor and socialist political development in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has effectively bypassed the city as a political space, emphasizing the emergence of nationally competitive . . . labor and socialist parties and consigning the realm of municipal politics to the margins.[134]

Stromquist is correct; a serious reexamination of pre-New Deal politics demands taking a closer look at the local level. There one finds that the American political spectrum has been much broader than generally supposed.

History survey texts frequently homogenize reform movements.[135] This is understandable given the battle over the very definition of socialism—one often dominated by leftist ideologues. Doctrinaire socialists often insisted that all ideological compromises delayed the coming class war, and were quick to label "sewer socialists ... inappropriate for a revolutionary working-class party."[136] There is little to be gained in reopening discursive debates over which of the political left's many varieties were "true" socialism, but there is merit in defusing the fervor with which leftist critics dismissed municipal socialists as "right-wingers."[137] Within the context of U.S. politics between the years 1880 and 1930, it behooves us to ask, "To the right of what?"

The traditional political spectrum, which locates political thought and practice on a horizontal left-to-right axis, persists despite the best efforts of scholars to expose its various inadequacies. It is important to note that, even within this flawed tool, "right-wing" municipal socialism is to the left of liberal movements such as late nineteenth century goo-goos and early-twentieth-century Progressives (see Figure 1). Most socialists at least dreamed of a post-capitalist collectivist future; most liberals longed for redeemed capitalism. Such distinctions placed even dreamy Christian socialism to the left of liberalism (see Figure 2). Within the context of the overall political culture of the 1880-1930 period, most municipal socialists were considerably left of center, a distinction not lost on the elites and hardcore conservatives who feared them.

Appreciation of political pluralism, especially on the local level, adds nuance to our understanding of American political culture. It also transcends underexamined assumptions about the futility of third-party movements. As Cecelia Bucki observed, when faced with the reality that neither revolution nor social evolution was imminent, American socialists had one of three options: remain ideologically pure, sacrifice ideals for pragmatic gain, or strike a "balance" between meeting the immediate "needs of working-class constituents" and providing a future "cooperative commonwealth."[138] Place Gordon and Suitor in the last camp. Each recognized that his party was not strong enough to hold power outright; hence, coalition building was necessary, even when distasteful.

To avoid Daniel Hoan's deep disappointment, successful municipal socialists articulated both a short-term and a long-term agenda. They understood, in Bucki's words, that it "was one thing to win an election; it was quite another to win power."[139] Suitor even came to believe that most Ameri-

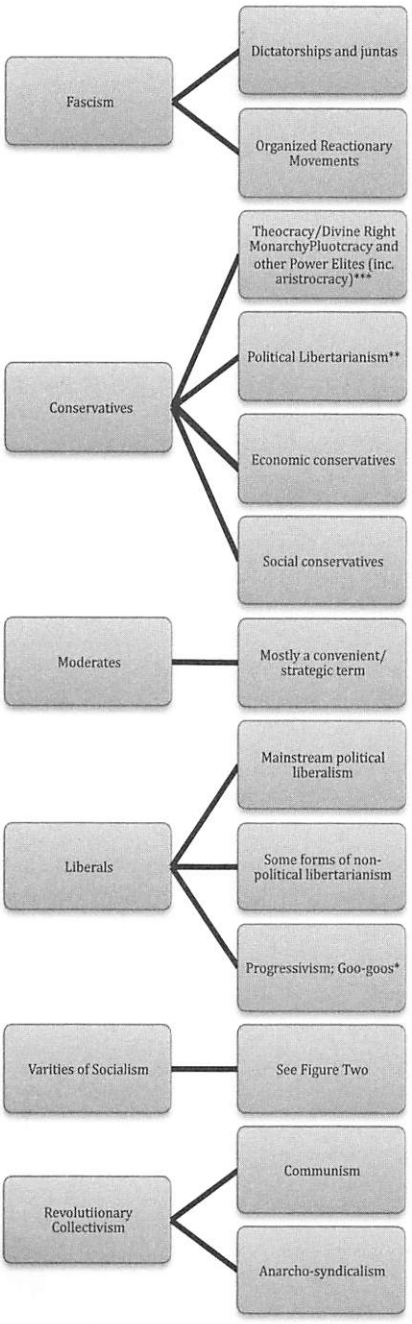


Figure 1: U.S. Political Spectrum: Post-1870 (Top to bottom: from extreme right to extreme left)

* Progressivism and the Good Government movement ("goo-goos") are listed on the left wing of liberalism for several reasons. First, many adherents sought reform independent of formal party structures. Second, many reformers sought a form of liberalism that involved regulation, spending levels, and levels of government intervention that were on the fringe of pre-Keynesian economic thinking.

**Political libertarianism is notoriously difficult to categorize, as it tends to be personal and idiosyncratic. Some Libertarians' ideals drift considerably left of the American center, but because contemporary political Libertarians tend to side with conservatives on social and economic issues (often including support for a strong military), Libertarian politicians are generally viewed as on the right.

***This category includes all those who claim to rule because of some sort of special status and can be expanded to include plutocrats, aristocrats, technocrats, and power elites claiming any sort of chosen status because of alleged superior breeding, training, or belief system. In practice, many theocracies are little more than religious forms of fascism. Though often authoritarian, divine right monarchies tend not to devolve to that level because of built-in principles of noblesse oblige

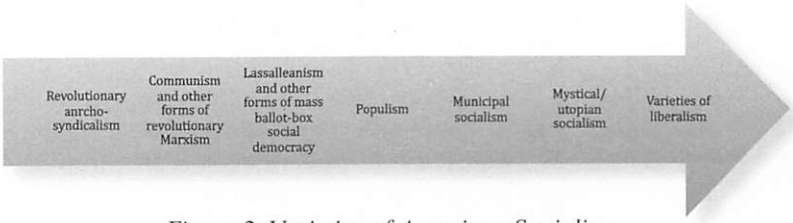


Figure 2: Varieties of American Socialism
(From left to right—Note: all versions are left of liberalism)

can workers accepted the permanence of capitalism, though he was not so pessimistic as to think that minds couldn't be changed. But if even a city as radical as early-twentieth-century Barre lacked the critical mass necessary to recast society, socialism needed to evolve drop by drop, not emerge from a mighty flood. It is striking that men such as Gordon and Suitor embraced consensus politics more comfortably than some of their Progressive Era counterparts. This is, perhaps, why Davis viewed them as "conservative."

As we saw, neither Gordon nor Suitor could even muster a socialist quorum on the board of aldermen. (Nor could they count on support from their few erstwhile comrades.) Socialists faced scrutiny from the press and courts, and butted heads with what Gail Radford calls "quasi-public goods- and service-producing enterprises" such as commissions, boards, and agencies whose semi-autonomous status operated as "fiefdoms in a political gray area."[140] It would have been hard enough to municipalize traction and electric companies; add the regulatory power of the VPSB, and the task was more daunting still.

Yet they did try. Gordon and Suitor followed the same path as municipal socialists such as Emil Seidel and Daniel Hoan in Milwaukee; George Lunn in Schenectady, New York; J. Henry Stump in Reading, Pennsylvania; and Jasper McLevy in Bridgeport, Connecticut. Sally Miller notes that most adopted some form of the "Wisconsin Idea" of enticing other social groups—including the middle class—to cast SP ballots, or at least to provide strategic support when necessary. This often meant practicing "local party autonomy" that freed them from strict Socialist Party lines. It meant galvanizing reliable allies, such as reform-minded liberals, organized labor, and ethnic associations.[141] Maintenance of such a coalition was achieved through methods not automatically associated with socialism: low taxes, cultivating friendly relations with local churches and business owners, modernizing city services, and downplaying public ownership schemes. As Judd put it, the Socialist Party "at its best . . . blended utopian visions and practical reform and avoided the pitfalls of both extremes."[142]

Postscript: The Future of Third Party Movements?

In 2012, President Barack Obama was reelected when he defeated Republican challenger Mitt Romney. Or so history records. Technically, Obama defeated Romney and 174 other candidates for president. Collectively, 1.73 percent of voters ignored both Democrats and Republicans. Since World War II, only two third-party presidential candidates have broken the 10 percent barrier: Ross Perot in 1992 (18.9 percent) and George Wallace in 1968 (13.5 percent), with only Wallace winning electoral votes. The 913,664 votes captured by Eugene Debs in 1920 are the most ever collected by a SP candidate for president.[143]

The winner-take-all nature of American elections has helped Republicans and Democrats maintain a shared monopoly on national power since 1858. As noted earlier, the obstacles facing third-party challengers are formidable, but they have not proved insurmountable at the state and local level. Let us return to Vermont. Fifty years after Fred Suitor left office, voters in Burlington elected another socialist mayor, Bernard Sanders.

On the surface, Burlington seems too different from early-twentieth-century Barre to invite comparison. As Vermont's largest city, it has a per capita income that surpasses that of the rest of the state and, for several decades, its largest employers have been the Fletcher Allen Hospital and the University of Vermont (UVM). Very few of its residents are recent immigrants and, though there is a blue-collar presence, the city contains a large number of white-collar professionals. It is best known for UVM, its vibrant downtown retail trade, and tourism. That is to say, it's an *exceptional* place.

That uniqueness was the key to launching Sanders's electoral success. His 1981 ten-vote margin over five-term Democrat Gordon Paquette shocked prognosticators and might have been a fluke. Luck would not, however, explain why he was reelected mayor three times, served sixteen years in the U.S. House of Representatives, and was elected to the U.S. Senate in 2006 and reelected in 2012.

As W. J. Conroy observes, Sanders was the consummate "social democrat" as mayor of Burlington.[144] His mayoral achievements were the sort that Deane Davis might have called conservative: centralizing the city budget, creating a Community and Economic Development Office, advancing a city home rule petition, canceling a boondoggle roads project, promoting youth and arts programs, supporting a downtown pedestrian retail mall, bringing a minor league baseball franchise to the city, and seeking alternatives to property taxes. His most overtly "socialist" acts were denying exclusive private development along a vast swatch of prime Lake Champlain real estate, building a public lakeside boathouse, and directly negotiating with unions. Like Robert Gordon, he fretted over the city's vulnerable citizens, in Sanders's case, youth, the elderly, women, the disabled, and gays.[145]

Sanders, like Gordon and Suitor, sought to bring good government to Burlington. Alas, a quick roll call of recently jailed mayors indicates that such a modest goal remains elusive for much of the nation.[146] Good and responsive government has been the historic goal of municipal socialists, and it might be a key for independents of various stripes. In an article for *The Atlantic*, James Fallows noted that on the local level government can be "practical-minded, nonideological, future-minded, and capable of compromise." As examples he offered Greenville, North Carolina, where a business-minded Republican has been mayor since 1995, and left-leaning Burlington, Vermont.[147]

Vermont's municipal socialists have proved practical. Under Sanders, Burlington addressed issues such as potholes, crumbling sidewalks, snow removal, and antiquated sewers—things Gordon and Suitor had done in Barre. Because he got city finances under control by negotiating with unions, putting services out to competitive bid, empowering non-profit organizations, holding fund raisers, and above all, by making the city more business friendly, the city was able to fund more ambitious programs: a bike path, cleaning lakeshore beaches, rehabbing homes in the run-down North End, establishing a land trust, creating micro-lending programs for small ventures, and funding public arts and entertainment events. Peter Clavelle, the socialist who succeeded Sanders as mayor in 1989, noted that Sanders "would have been in office no more than two years if he just stuck to ideology. But he did a good job of managing the city. That's why we're still here."[148]

Sanders built strong coalitions fashioned from different constituencies than those courted by Gordon or Suitor—neighborhood associations, community activists, municipal unions, business groups, ethnic associations, and UVM students—but these shared a reform ethos analogous to that displayed in Barre. Sanders's socialism bothers some Vermonters, but his attentiveness to Vermonters helps explain why he wins. Sanders, for example, upholds gun rights—a position in line with majority views in Vermont, but decidedly out of synch with most left-leaning progressives. Vermonters vote in higher percentages than the national average when Sanders is on the ballot, and he defeats Republican and Democratic challengers by wide margins, even though he spends little on campaigns and avoids the big-money campaign tactics of contemporary politics.[149]

The careers of the three socialist mayors studied here suggest that getting elected may not be as daunting as imagined—if third parties move beyond the romance of symbolic large-scale campaigns, embrace Tip O'Neil's adage that all politics is local, and concentrate on *exceptional* places. In 2008, nineteen Green Party members won offices across the United States, most of them from places as different from surrounding areas as early-twentieth-century Barre was to the rest of Vermont: Palm Beach, Florida; and Berkeley,

San Francisco, and Monterey, California. In Charleston, South Carolina, Eugene Platt won a spot on the Public Service commission; in Corvallis, Oregon—home of Oregon State University—Michael Belstein was reelected to the City Council.[150] In the past, blue-collar towns were seedbeds for socialism; in the post-industrial future, perhaps college towns, minority-heavy electorates, and bohemian enclaves will provide fertile soil for outlier candidates.

Purely ideological movements can raise ire and/or hope—witness the contemporary Tea Party—but historically they have struggled to retain traction unless they build coalitions. Perhaps outliers need to dream small. One could do far worse than to learn lessons from the mayoralties of Robert Gordon and Fred Suitor. Both are reminders that much good can still be done when big dreams give way to attainable goals.

Notes

[1] Burns quote found at: http://www.brainyquote.com/quotes/quotes/j/johnburns262248.html, accessed February 20, 2014.

[2] Karl Marx's 1875 *Critique of the Gotha Program* is generally acknowledged as Marx's response to Lassalle.

[3] Werner Sombart, *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?* (1906; reprint, White Plains, N.Y.: International Aptitudes & Science Press, 1976); Selig Perlman, *History of Trade Unionism* (1922; reprint, New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1950). Sombart (1863-1941), a German economist, argued that American exceptionalism, especially as expressed in political liberty and economic prosperity, blunted the potential for revolutionary upheaval. In an oft-quoted purple passage he asserted that class consciousness was shipwrecked upon "shoals of roast beef and apple pie." Perlman (1888-1959), an economist and labor historian, placed the blame on "trade consciousness," the tendency of American trade unions to emphasize craft over class solidarity.

[4] For representative discussions of the shortcomings of American socialism see: James Weinstein, *The Decline of Socialism in America 1912-1925* (New York: Vintage, 1969); Michael Kazin, "The Agony and the Romance of the American Left," *American Historical Review* 100 (December 1995), 1488-1512; Seymour Martin Lipset and Gary Marx, *It Didn't Happen Here: Why Socialism Failed in the United States* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2001).

[5] Kazin, "The Agony and the Romance of the American Left," 1488.

[6] New York City labor leader Leo Isacson (1910-1996) served in the House of Representatives from February 17, 1948, to January 3, 1949. He was the last avowed socialist to do so until Sanders. The Democratic Socialists of America, an organization aligned with the Socialist International, claimed that in 2010, 70 members of Congress were socialists, but nearly all were liberal Democrats who would be surprised to find their names on the DSA list. Voices of the Nation, a conservative advocacy group, listed 83 "socialists" in Congress. Neither list is remotely accurate. As of 2014, Sanders is the only member of Congress to claim a socialist mantle.

[7] Sally Miller, *Victor Berger and the Promise of Constructive Socialism, 1910-1920* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973); Gail Radford, "From Municipal Socialism to Public Authorities: Institutional Factors in the Shaping of Public Enterprise" *Journal of American History* 90 (December 2003): 863-880; Richard Judd, *Socialist Cities: Municipal Politics and the Grass Roots of American Socialism* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1989); Bruce Stave, ed., *Socialism and the Cities* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1975); Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism in America,* esp. 261-294.

[8] Among the works in which municipal socialism is discussed are: Bryan Palmer, *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left, 1890-1928* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007); Mark Pittenger, *American Socialists and Evolutionary Thought, 1870-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993); Leon Fink, ed., *Workers Across the Americas: The Transnational Turn in Labor History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Leo Ribuffo, *Right, Center, Left: Essays in American History* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 1992); Cecelia Bucki, *Bridgeport's Socialist New Deal, 1915-36* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001); Radford, "From Municipal Socialism to

Public Authorities." It should be noted that several of these works are critical of the socialist "right," which is where many locate municipal socialism.

[9] Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism in America*, esp. vii-xi. Weinstein saw socialism as in severe decline by 1919 and a spent force by 1925.

[10] Deane C. Davis (with Nancy Graff), *Deane C. Davis: An Autobiography* (Shelburne, Vt.: New England Press, 1991), 68.

[11] An urban area is defined as one in which more than 2,500 persons live in close proximity. The 1920 census revealed that, for the first time, more than half of all Americans lived in urban areas.

[12] Note: In this article I refer to Barre generically as a "city," though New England incorporation laws are peculiar. The area covered in this essay is, indeed, the City of Barre. There is also the Town of Barre, which is incorporated separately from the City of Barre, though it surrounds the City. What one might refer to as "Greater Barre" consists of the City, the Town, and the unincorporated villages of East Barre, South Barre, Graniteville, and Websterville.

[13] Eric Foner, *Give Me Liberty! An American History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2009), 645. Foner gives data on first- and second-generation population for ten cities; among them: New York (76 percent), Cleveland and Boston (72 percent), Chicago (71 percent), Detroit (65 percent), and San Francisco (64 percent).

[14] "Barre, Vermont: An Ethnic Bouillabaisse," Barre Ethnic Heritage Studies Project, Vermont Department of Education, 1978, (pamphlet). According to the 1910 census, Barre's population of 10,734 included 1,478 Italians and 1,282 Scots. These groups were much larger than the next biggest groups of 420 English-speaking Canadians and 208 French-Canadians.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Arthur W. Brayley, *History of the Granite Industry of New England, vol. 2* (Boston: National Association of Granite Industries, 1913); Donald G. Allen, *Barre's Granite Heritage* (Barre, Vt.: Friends of the Aldrich Library, 1997). In 1930, ten small firms consolidated as Rock of Ages, Barre's first large-scale quarry.

[17] Brayley, *History of the Granite Industry*.

[18] Ibid. See also David Rosner and Gerald Markowitz, *Deadly Dust: Silicosis and the Politics of Occupational Disease in Twentieth-century America* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[19] Bernard Sanders, ed., "Notes and Documents: Vermont Labor Agitator," *Labor History* 15 (March 1974): 262.

[20] http://lcweb2.loc.gov/wpa/38050626.html, accessed December 17, 2014.

[21] http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/query/D?wpa:15:./temp/~ammem_5XCs, accessed December 17, 2014.

[22] Paul Demers, "Labor and Social Relations of the Granite Industry in Barre," B.A. thesis, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vt., 1974.

[23] *New York Times*, 12 April 1904.

[24] David Seager, "Barre, Vermont Granite Workers and the Struggle Against Silicosis, 1890-1960," *Labor History* 42 (2001): 61-79.

[25] "Shoot a Chief of Police," *New York Times*, 28 December 1900.

[26] Karen Lane, "Old Labor Hall, Barre, Vermont," *Labor's Heritage* 10 (Spring/Summer 1999): 48-61.

[27] "Town Takes 35 Children," *New York Times*, 18 February 1912.

[28] William Doyle, *The Vermont Political Tradition: And Those Who Helped Make It* (Montpelier, Vt.: Leahy Press, 2000); Charles Morrissey, *Vermont* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1981).

[29] Leon Fink, *Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983), 66-111.

[30] Michael Topp, *Those without a Country: Italian American Syndicalists* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Marcella Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture: The Idealism of the Sovversivi in the United States, 1890-1940* (New York: New York University Press, 2011); Elisabetta Vezzosi, *Indifferent Socialism: Italian Immigrants and the Socialist Party in the United States during the Early Twentieth Century* (Rome: Edizioni Lavoro, 1991). During a time when most of Barre's Italian immigrants arrived, only about 2 percent of their comrades in Italy enjoyed voting rights.

[31] The City of Barre and the Aldrich Library hold a list of former Barre mayors but party affiliations are not given. I was able to determine that the following men served as Democratic mayors before 1916: John W. Gordon (1896-1900), Charles W. Melcher (1902-03), and J. Henry Jackson (1903-04). John W. Gordon was not directly related to Robert Gordon. The following mayors were Republicans: Nelson D. Phelps (1901-02), John Robins (1907-10), James Mutch (1901-12), and Frank Langley (1915-16, 1920-22). I was unable to determine the party affiliation of Harvey Hershey (1900-01). William Barclay, Sr. served as Barre mayor from 1904-07 and considered himself an independent. Mayors Lucius Thurston (1912-13) and William H. Ward (1913-15) simply called themselves members of the Citizens' ticket, as did most Barre mayors from 1904 to 1930. The muddying of party affiliations was a

major focus of the Citizens' Caucus. Those who received its endorsement could claim to represent no interest other than that of Barre, a convenient label within the city's fractious political climate.

[32] *Barre Daily Times*, 4 February 1904; Demers, "Labor and Social Relations," 29. Hereafter abbreviated *BDT*.

[33] Ben Collins, "Barre's Labor-Socialist Tradition Has Deep Roots," *The Sunday Rutland Herald and The Sunday Times Argus*, 4 September 1977.

[34] Karen Lane, "Old Labor Hall Barre, Vermont." Corti was an anarchist, but not a fire-eater. His accidental death shocked the city to such a degree that even foes cooperated in raising money for Corti's memorial, which now graces Hope Cemetery. See also "Call Murder Charge an Anarchist Plot," *New York Times*, 1 November 1903.

[35] Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, 2 vols. (1931; reprint, New York: Dover, 1970), 1:238-239.

[36] "Drys Beaten in Vermont," *New York Times*, 8 March 1916.

[37] *Barre, Vermont, Annual City Report*, 1916.

[38] $1,000 is roughly the equivalent of $23,715 in 2014 dollars. When Gordon worked in the granite sheds the average pay was $2.70 per day for apprentices. Workers did not report on Sunday, so even if there were no layoffs, strikes, or other interruptions in a work year, most stone workers drew less than a $1,000 per annum. Gordon would have made at least $2 per hour by the end of his career, but—as Mose Cerasoli recalled—the industry norm was for prolonged layoffs in late summer, late fall, and most of the winter. Gordon never accumulated middle-class wages, and money would have been very tight in a household that included five children. For Cerasoli's testimony see, Sanders, ed., "Vermont Labor Agitator," 261–270.

[39] Collins, "Barre's Labor-Socialist Tradition."

[40] "Debs Predicts a Panic Coming," *BDT*, 9 September 1910.

[41] "Garbage Plan Called Farce," *BDT*, 8 February 1916; "Apathy in Barre Politics," 16 February 1916; "Citizens' Caucus Results," 18 February 1916; *BDT*, "Barre City Council Rejects Traction Company Plan," 23-24 February 1916.

[42] *BDT*, "New Mayor Takes Office," "Prohibition Rejected by Heavy Vote," 8 March 1916.

[43] *BDT*, "$238,363.33 City Budget," 22 March 1916.

[44] City Records of Barre, Vermont, volume 9: 1913-17.

[45] Demers, "Labor and Social Relations," 32.

[46] *BDT*, "Three Banks Given the Sinking Fund at 4.20 Interest," 28 April 1916. In April Reynolds tried to get Gordon to reverse himself, but the mayor quashed that effort. See *BDT*, 22 April 1916.

[47] For example, see *BDT*, 22, 26, 28 April 1916. See also, Barre City Records. Note: The city of Barre published the Barre Annual Report, which was a digest of city business within a given year prefaced by reports from various city officers. It also holds bound copies of the Barre City Records, which contain the City Clerk's more detailed notes of city meetings during the calendar year, plus information such as permits and assessments required by Vermont law.

[48] *BDT*, 10, 25 May 1916; *BDT*, "Road Bonding Plan Failed," 8 June 1916.

[49] *BDT*, "$82,500 Bonds Voted By City Decisively," 8 July 1916.

[50] $20,000 is the equivalent of more than $429,000 in 2014 dollars.

[51] *BDT*, "Propose to Buy Street Car Lines," 31 August 1916; *BDT*, "Street Money is Gone," 6 September 1916; *BDT*, "Bridge Bids All Rejected," 12 September 1916; *BDT* "Favoritism in Street Work," 20 September 1916.

[52] See *BDT*, 25 June 1916 for details of the band dispute. The *BDT* of 8 July 1916 reported that the contract would be signed.

[53] *BDT*, 26 April; 10, 24 May; 19 July; 11 October 1916. See also Barre City Reports, 1916.

[54] *BDT*, "Radical Changes Proposed," 28 June 1916. See also *BDT*, 29 November 1916.

[55] See *BDT*, 14 June and 2 August 1916.

[56] At the time, horse-drawn conveyance still dominated most of Vermont. The debate boiled down to clashing views of the future.

[57] *BDT*, 10 May 1916. See also *BDT*, "City Council Votes For a New Truck For the Water Dept.," 3 August 1916; *BDT*, "In Statu Quo," 4 August 1916.

[58] *BDT*, "New Member of the Board of Health," 15 November 1916. Reynolds was already in a foul mood, having just been soundly defeated in a bid to become Vermont's secretary of state. See note 62 below.

[59] *BDT*, "Discussed Coal Prices to the City," 8 August 1916.

[60] *BDT*, "$82,000 Bonds Voted By City Decisively," 8 July 1916; *BDT*, "10-Inch Main for South End," 22 November 1916; *BDT*, "More Firemen Are Proposed," 20 December 1916; *BDT*, "$17,000 Surplus in Water Dept.," 31 January 1917.

[61] *BDT*, "Gompers is Coming," 28 July 1916; *BDT*, "Gompers Gets Ovation From Union Men," 9 August 1916; *BDT*, "F. W. Suitor Again Head," 10 August 1916.

[62] *BDT*, "Vermont Socialists Name W. R. Rowland For Governor," 13 September 1916; *BDT*, "Hughes' Plurality in Vermont Was 19,452—Official," 21 November 1916; *BDT*, "Socialists Cele-

brated," 24 November 1916. Reynolds received just 911 votes in his bid for secretary of state, only 111 more than the Prohibition candidate.

[63] Morrissey, *Vermont*, 14.

[64] *BDT*, "Asked No Tears Be Shed Over His Grave," 11 January 1917.

[65] *BDT*, "Better Conditions For Workingmen Recommended," 24 January 1917.

[66] *BDT*, "Restrict Franchise," 29 November 1916; *BDT*, "Fix Hearing on Power Co.," 5 December 1916; *BDT*, "Power Charter is Not Opposed," 13 December 1916.

[67] *BDT*, "Central Power Corporation Disdainful of City Council," 10 January 1917.

[68] *BDT*, "City Paid Out $281,405.17," and "Mayor Gordon Not a Candidate Again," 17 January 1917. See also *BDT*, 10, 22, 26, 29 January, and 4 February 1917.

[69] *BDT*, 16 February and 6-7 March 1917.

[70] In startling candor, the CVPSC's own history mentions customer complaints of overcharging. See http://www.fundinguniverse.com/company-histories/Central-Vermont-Public-Service-Corporation-Company-History.html, accessed March 30, 2014.

[71] *BDT*, 3 April 1917.

[72] *Barre Annual Report*, 1916.

[73] Collins, "Barre's Labor-Socialist Tradition."

[74] *BDT*, "Ex-Mayor R. Gordon Died in Lynn, Mass.," 2 November 1921.

[75] *BDT*, "Barre's New Mayor," 5 March 1929; *BDT*, "Fred Suitor, Labor Leader, Died Suddenly," 10 May 1934.

[76] *New York Times*, 1, 2, 5 September 1912.

[77] David Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America: A History*, (New York: Macmillan, 1955); Paul Buhle, *Marxism in the USA: From 1870 to the Present Day* (London: Verso, 1987), 182-203; Lipset and Marx, *It Didn't Happen Here*, 237-260; Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism in America*, 324-339.

[78] Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism in America*, 118.

[79] Julia Dietrich, *The Old Left: In History and Literature*, (New York: Twayne, 1996), 82.

[80] The Progressive Party of 1924 was a ragù of old-line Republican reformers, labor movement supporters, agrarian radicals, and socialists troubled by the revolutionary rhetoric of communists. See Nancy Unger, *Fighting Bob La Follette: The Righteous Reformer*, (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society, 2007). See also Paul Heller, *Granite City Tales: Writings on the History of Barre, Vermont* (Self-published, 2012).

[81] Foster Rhea Dulles and Melvyn Dubofksy, *Labor in America: A History* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 2010), 235-240. William Green became AFL head upon the death of Samuel Gompers in 1924.

[82] *BDT*, "Budget Calls for $424,038," 29 January 1929.

[83] *BDT*, "Barre Gained 11.7 Per Cent in Population," 21 April 1930. Peter Liveright, "Unionism and Labor Relations in the Granite Industry, Barre, Vermont," BA thesis, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vt., 1943.

[84] For election news see *BDT*, 9, 15, 16, 19, 20 February 1929. For election results see *BDT*, 5-6 March 1929.

[85] Deborah P. and Nicholas R. Clifford, *The Troubled Roar of the Waters: Vermont in Flood and Recovery, 1929-1931* (Durham: University of New Hampshire Press, 2007); *Barre Annual Report*, 1929.

[86] See *Barre City Records*, 1929-31, and *Barre Annual Report*, 1929, 1930, 1931.

[87] William H. Jeffrey, ed., *The Granite City: Barre, Vermont* (Concord, N.H.: Rumford Press, 1903).

[88] *BDT*, "Appointments Partly Made," 13 March 1929.

[89] See *BDT*, 20, 27 March and 22 May 1929. Davis would later serve as Republican governor of Vermont from 1969 to 1973.

[90] *BDT*, "One Appointee Not Confirmed," 20 March 1929; *BDT*, "Again Reject By Same Vote," 27 March 1929; *BDT*, "A. G. Fay Named as Grand Juror," 10 April 1929; *BDT*, "Scott Voted in as Overseer," 17 April 1929.

[91] *BDT*, "Construction Work Held Up," 24 April 1929. See also *BDT*, 22 May and 6 August 1929.

[92] For Milne's appointment see *BDT*, 31 July 1929. *BDT*, "Poorhouse Proposition is Rejected," 21 November 1929.

[93] *BDT*, "Oust Scott, Put J. R. Milne as Overseer," 8 April 1930.

[94] *BDT*, "Suitor Wins Tilt on City Overseer," 25 July 1930; *BDT*, "J. R. Milne New Overseer of Poor Dept.," 18 March 1931.

[95] For typical complaints see *BDT*, 27 March and 16 April 1929. See *BDT*, "City Garbage Collection is Suggested," 3 December 1929.

[96] For various debates over vehicular-related issues see *BDT*, 27 March, 1 May, 6 May, 15 May, 12 June, 31 July, 28 August, 2 October, 8 October, and 5 November 1929; *BDT*, 26 February, 30 April, 14 May, 3 June, 11 June, and 18 June 1930.

[97] *BDT*, "25 Mile Per Hr. Speed Limit is Proposed," 14 May 1930.

[98] *BDT*, "Spending on Streets Causes Debate," 2 October 1929; *BDT*, "Street Paving Assessment is Protested," 26 February 1930.

[99] *BDT*, "Let Workmen Parley with Bus Officials," 6 August 1929; *BDT*, "Workmen's Special Fare Eliminated," 29 August 1929.

[100] For discussions of water service and city taxes see *BDT*, 22 May; 18, 22 June; 19, 31 July; 8 October 1929; see also *BDT*, 29 January, 21 May, 13 October, 17 December 1930. See especially *BDT*, "Ask New Vote on Water Route," 22 May 1929, *BDT*; "Mayor Tells of Growth of Water System," 19 July 1929; *BDT*, "Tax Reports on Street Work and City Water," 29 January 1930; and *BDT*, "Rate for 1930 Fixed at $3.80," 21 May 1930. The rate is per thousand dollars of a property's assessed value. $1,000 in 1930 is the equivalent of roughly $13,000 in 2010.

[101] The phone debate raged throughout 1929, but the gist of the matter is reported in *BDT*, 31 July, 21 August, and 20 November 1929.

[102] For pole disputes see *BDT*, 24 April and 1 May 1929. For rates and pricing debates see *BDT*, "Explanation of Electric Rates Asked," 5 November 1929; *BDT*, "Object to Room Charge in New Electric Rate," 13 November 1929; *BDT*, "Electricity Rate Hearing on December 4," 20 November 1929; *BDT*, "Room Charge is Promotional Says Power Co.," 4 December 1929; *BDT*, "Electric Rate Decision up to Commission," 7 December 1929.

[103] For a sampling of sidewalk petitioning see *BDT*, 16, 17, 21 April; 1 May; 10, 19 June; 28 August 1929. For details of the funding scheme see *BDT*, "Extra Tax For Sidewalks," 18 April 1929 and "Vote Taxes For Sidewalks and to Meet Bonds," 26 April 1930. See also *Barre City Records*, 1929.

[104] *BDT*, "Building Line on No. Main St. up to Owners," 6 September 1929; *BDT*, "Aldermen Talk About Awning Over Sidewalk," 11 December 1929; *BDT*, "City to Look Up Title to Land on Main Street," 18 December 1929; *BDT*, "Faded Shirt," 24 December 1929.

[105] *BDT*, "Citizens Vote $15,000 to Get Bathing Pool," 13 June 1929; *BDT*, "Swimming Pool Project Moves Along," 26 June 1929; *BDT*, "Labor's Day Is Fittingly Observed," 3 September 1929. *Barre Annual Report*, 1929.

[106] *BDT*, "Mayor Praises Developments at Playground," 20 January 1930.

[107] *BDT*, "Playground Commission Is Asked For," 25 June 1930; *BDT*, "Recreation Bureau Named After Debate," 30 July 1930; *BDT*, "Playground Bureau Not Legally Named," 5 August 1930.

[108] *BDT*, "Two seeking Election as Barre Mayor," 23 January 1930; *BDT*, "La Point Asks Order to Bar Suitor's Name," 14 February 1930; *BDT*, "Suitor Must Prove Right," 15 February 1930; *BDT*, "Caucus Claim Ruled Out But Suitor Files," 17 February 1930 *BDT*, "Mayor Names Davis and Dix to Old Offices," 4 March 1930.

[109] Richard Turner, *From Barre-Montpelier to E.F. Knapp: The Story of a Small Airport in Berlin, Vermont* (Berlin, Vt.: Berlin Historical Society, 2011). Berlin is located between Barre and Vermont's capital, Montpelier. The airport was a cooperative regional effort. Longtime alderman William Reynolds and former mayor Frank Langley (1915-16, 1920-22) represented Barre on the committee.

[110] *BDT*, "Ban on Radios 11 pm to 7 am Is Suggested," 12 March 1930; *BDT*, "No Radio Ban After Certain Hour of Night," 26 March 1930; *BDT*, "B.-M. Airport Dedicated in Fine Manner," 7 June 1930; *BDT*, "United Barre Considered By Council," 28 April 1930; *BDT*, "City Council Still Oppose Carnivals," 2 July 1930; *BDT*, "Railroad Street to Get Cement Sidewalk," 22 July 1930; "Rock of Ages Corporation is Organized," 18 March 1930. Rock of Ages began life in 1905 as Boutwell, Milne, and Varnum. It changed its name to Rock of Ages in 1925 and then reorganized in 1930. Co-founder George Milne should not be confused with the ex-alderman whom Suitor championed for the post of overseer of the poor. In 1932, the granite industry began laying off workers and slashing their pay. As an official with the GCIA, Fred Suitor tried unsuccessfully to negotiate a settlement with employers. A six-week strike in the spring of 1933 ended with mixed results. Governor Stanley Wilson activated the National Guard even though the GCIA had agreed to binding arbitration. Workers got some of the wage cuts rescinded, but were unsuccessful in ending open shop practices or ridding Barre of imported scabs. See Frayed Page Collective, *Vermont's Untold History* (Burlington, Vt.: Public Occurence, 1976).

[111] *BDT*, "Big Mopping Up of Liquor Done in Barre," 16 August 1930; *BDT*, "Barre Police Tap Wet Spot on No. Main Street," 11 December 1930. See also *BDT*, 3 September 1930.

[112] *BDT*, "City Council Praised Chief Sullivan," 4 November 1930; *BDT*, "Donahue is Barre's New Police Head," 11 November 1930; *BDT*, "Ashley Named Deputy Chief of Police Dept.," 24 December 1930.

[113] To follow the Somers scandal see *BDT*, 24 and 31 December 1930; 6, 11 February 1931.

[114] *BDT*, "205 In Barre Able to Work, Out of a Job," 17 June 1930; *BDT*, "Shall Barre Observe Its 150th Year?" 23 July 1930; *BDT*, "Public Works To Relieve Unemployment," 13 August 1930; *BDT*, "Aldermen Put Bond Issue Up To the Voters," 27 August 1930; *BDT*, "Labor Day Program Carried Out in Part," 2 September 1930; *BDT*, "Barre Voted $50,000 For Public Works," 9 September 1930.

[115] *BDT*, "Discuss Plans For Spending City's $50,000," 17 September 1930; *BDT*, "Some Charity Cases Called Not Deserving," 19 November 1930; *BDT*, "Ask for Road Construction Work in Winter," 2 December 1930; *BDT*, "Mother Jones, Champion of Labor, Dead," 1 December 1930; *BDT*, "'Red' Foster Refused to Reveal Names of Radical Committee," 5 December 1930; *BDT*, "Turn City Hall To Commercial Uses Is Plan," 14 January 1931; *BDT*, "The Salvation Army Asks $500 From the City," 18 February 1931; *BDT*, "Likely to Keep Shurtleff Fund Without Drain," 25 February 1931.

[116] *Barre Annual Report*, 1930.

[117] *BDT*, "$449,099 to Run Barre For Coming Year," and "Mayor Suitor's Annual Message," 21 January 1931. News of Suitor's mother's death is in *BDT*, 15 May 1929. His obituary mentions his 1930 heart attack, something the local paper referred to merely as an "illness."

[118] *Barre Annual Report*, 1931.

[119] *BDT*, "New Projects Not On Keast's Plan for Barre," 4 March 1931; *BDT*, "Mayor Suitor Said Farewell To City Council," 5 May 1931. For election coverage see *BDT*, 9, 13, 14, 17 February and 2, 4 March 1931.

[120] La Point was succeeded by John A. Gordon, the grandson of John W. Gordon, *not* socialist Robert Gordon.

[121] *BDT*, "Fred Suitor, Labor Leader, Died Suddenly," 10 May 1934.

[122] Radford, "From Municipal Socialism to Public Authorities," 863.

[123] The term "goo-goo" is the nickname given to members of Good Government Clubs that emerged in New York City in the 1890s to battle what they saw as Tammany Hall corruption. The term then went into wider circulation and implied that reformers elevated good government over party labels or loyalties.

[124] Not even LaGuardia's eleven-year reign permanently obliterated Tammany Hall corruption. In the 1950s, Carmine DeSapio revived the Tammany machine and forged a working relationship with mobster Frank Costello. DeSapio earned the wrath of Eleanor Roosevelt when he sandbagged the political career of Franklin Roosevelt Jr. DeSapio lived until 2004, but Mrs. Roosevelt had her revenge and DeSapio lost power after 1961.

[125] One could easily see Richard J. Daley as the heir to the Coughlin and Kenna machines in Chicago.

[126] Palmer, *James P. Cannon and the Origins of the American Revolutionary Left*, 1.

[127] Jeffrey W. Coker, *Confronting American Labor: The New Left Dilemma* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2002), 6.

[128] Stave, *Socialism and the Cities*, 7. See also Bradley Rice, *Progressive Cities: The Commission Government Movement in America, 1901-1920* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997).

[129] Since 1982, Barre mayors have been elected to two-year terms. They also often play second fiddle to an unelected city manager, a change made in 1955. These are changes in accordance with Progressive Era thinking that socialists saw as inherently undemocratic.

[130] Nancy Gallagher, *Breeding Better Vermonters: The Eugenics Project in the Green Mountain State*, (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999).

[131] Ted DeCorte, "Menace of Undesirables: Eugenics in the Progressive Era," http://www.slideshare.net/teddecorte/menace-of-undesirables, accessed March 30, 2014.

[132] Approximately 3 percent of the workforce belonged to unions in 1900, a percentage that would double by 1910 and again during World War I. Once protections from the War Labor Board ended, millions of workers lost union representation. The percentage of American workers in unions did not surpass 10 percent again until 1933. The 1900 to 1930 period also saw numerous dramatic setbacks for organized labor, including hostile Supreme Court decisions—especially the 1908 Danbury Hatters' case (*Loewe v. Lawlor*)—the rise of the virulently anti-union National Association of Manufacturers, the often violent repression of the Industrial Workers of the World, the Red Scare, the Triangle Shirtwaist fire, the Ludlow massacre, and the promotion of open-shop movements.

[133] Judd, *Socialist Cities*, 11.

[134] Quoted in Fink, *Workers across the Americas*, 304.

[135] A particularly problematic example is Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870-1920* (New York: Free Press, 2003), a book often assigned to undergraduate students. It has much to commend it, but McGerr's view of Progressivism cherry picks a fifty-year period and labels nearly every reform movement "Progressive." By essentially eliminating the Gilded Age, McGerr obliterates the substantive differences between grassroots reform efforts led by movements such as the Knights of Labor and Populists and top-dow

Progressive reformers. A different analytical uncertainty emerges in Robert Wiebe's classic, *The Search for Order, 1877-1920* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1967), a book still in print and still assigned. By lumping reform efforts as the eponymous search for order, differences elide and dissolve.

[136] Judd, *Socialist Cities*, 15.

[137] Charges of "right-wing" socialism and slurs such as "sewer socialist" intensified with the emergence of the American Communist Party after 1919, though such thinking was already present in the American left. The Knights of Labor, for example, was riven over disputed views of socialism. Its ranks contained doctrinaire Marxists who wanted to make the Knights a working-class revolutionary vanguard, and Lassallean socialists who espoused ballot box politics. Black International anarchists opposed both as too conservative. In the twentieth century, the Industrial Workers of the World also split over revolutionary versus evolutionary tactics.

[138] Bucki, *Bridgeport's Socialist New Deal*, 177.

[139] Ibid., 164.

[140] Radford, "From Municipal Socialism to Public Authorities," 887-888.

[141] Sally Miller, "Milwaukee: Of Ethnicity and Labor," in Stave, ed., *Socialism and the Cities*, 41-71. Quotes are from p. 45. Note: The Wisconsin Idea is sometimes called the "Milwaukee formula."

[142] Judd, *Socialist Cities*, 32.

[143] Socialists sometimes claim credit for Robert La Follette's 4.8 million votes in 1924, but the SP merely endorsed La Follette, who ran on the Progressive Party ticket after squabbling with leftist ideologues.

[144] W. J. Conroy, *Challenging the Boundaries of Reform: Socialism in Burlington* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 15.

[145] For more on Sanders as mayor see Steven Soifer, *The Socialist Mayor: Bernard Sanders in Burlington, Vermont*, (New York: Bergin & Garvey, 1991).

[146] Among the mayors jailed since Bernard Sanders was elected in 1981 are: Lee Alexander (Syracuse, N.Y.), Marty Barnes (Paterson, N.J.), Marion Barry (Washington, D.C.), Bill Campbell (Atlanta, Ga.), Buddy Cianci (Providence, R.I.), Bill Cooper (Appalachia, Va.), Joe Ganim (Bridgeport, Conn.), Phil Giordano (Waterbury, Conn.), John Gosek (Oswego, N.Y.), James Brent Haymond (Springville, Utah), Sharpe James (Newark, N.J.), and Kwame Kilpatrick (Detroit, Mich.). And one can only feel badly for Camden, New Jersey, citizens; when Milton Milan went to jail in 2000 he became the third city mayor in a row to be imprisoned.

[147] James Fallows, "Why Cities Work Even When Washington Doesn't: The Case for Strong Mayors," *The Atlantic*, April 2014, 66-72; Fallows quote on 66.

[148] Jay Walljasper, "Burlington, Northern Light," *The Nation*, 19 May 1997.

[149] John Nichols, "How Does Bernie Sanders Do It?" *The Nation*, 19 November 2012. In 2012, Milo Weinberger, a Democrat, became mayor of Burlington. Both Sanders and Clavelle endorsed him. Weinberger's City Council is made up of seven Democrats, four members of the Sanders-Clavelle "Progressive Coalition," two independents, and one Republican. This makes Burlington one of the most representative cities in the nation.

[150] 2008 Green Party election results can be viewed at http://greenpages.wordpress.com/2008/11/08/november-2008-green-party-election-results/, accessed March 30, 2014.

Book Reviews

Second Nature: An Environmental History of New England

By Richard W. Judd (Amherst and Boston, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 2014, pp. xiv, 330, $24.95).

I would be hard pressed to name an historian better suited to write an environmental history of New England than Richard Judd, long-time professor of history at the University of Maine. The author of several books on Maine and environmental history, he brings a deep knowledge to the topic. The book *Second Nature* does not disappoint. Like environmental history generally, Judd focuses his attention on the constantly evolving interaction of nature and culture on a particular landscape. Yet unlike many environmental histories, his is not a story of "declension and destruction" (p. xi). Instead, he writes, "Nature becomes undeniably artificial over the course of New England's long human history, and in a region where ecological process is endowed with such powerful regenerative properties, cultural landscapes become natural almost as quickly as they materialize" (p. x). This perspective provides the title *Second Nature*, a landscape culturally modified since the arrival of Native Americans, quite significantly since the arrival of European colonists.

The book is divided into three sections of three chapters each. The first section deals with the arrival and development of Native American cultures in New England, the arrival of European colonists, and the rise of colonial society through the end of eighteenth century. This section offers an excellent synthesis; for readers looking for more depth on this period, I recommend William Cronon's *Changes in the Land* (1983) and

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Carolyn Merchant's *Ecological Revolutions* (1989). The second section covers the nineteenth century, with a focus on the rise of industrialization, from timber and fisheries to textiles. An especially noteworthy chapter traces the birth and evolution of intellectual trends regarding the culture-nature relationship in New England: Romanticism, landscape painting, and transcendentalism—especially the thinking of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. The final section, covering the second half of the nineteenth century through the end of the twentieth century, focuses on the rise of efforts to manage human effects on land and water. In chapter 7, on the birth of conservation in New England, Judd draws on his own excellent work in *Common Lands, Common People* (1997) to discuss both the importance of conservation from the bottom up and New England's leadership in state-level conservation. New England states, for instance, created the nation's first permanent fish commissions, first agricultural experiment station, and first forestry commission. Urban and suburban environmental issues are the focal point of chapter 8. This is a very useful synthesis on the development of clean water supplies, sewage treatment (including creation of some of the nation's earliest state boards of health, which focused on water-borne illnesses), architectural preservation, urban parks, and the rise of environmental justice. In the final chapter, Judd focuses on the rise of environmentalism and preservation in New England, stressing different characteristics in the region compared with other parts of the country, especially the West. These differences are primarily driven by a landscape extensively manipulated by humans over the last three centuries, as well as a much greater proportion of the landscape being privately owned. This private ownership helped New England become the national focal point of the land trust movement, as nonprofits purchased, or received donations of, conservation easements.

Vermont readers will find the book tilted toward coastal and southern New England. They may also point to gaps in the Vermont coverage, for instance: no mention of the Long Trail, the nation's first long-distance hiking trail; no mention of the innovative Vermont Housing and Conservation Board, for funding land conservation and affordable housing; only a sentence on Act 250; and no discussion of the challenges of cleaning up Lake Champlain. I also missed maps, and an epilogue or conclusion to the book. There I would have liked Judd to engage a few major questions after writing this book. Does New England still make sense as a coherent region? What of the differences between coastal and interior New England, and between the more densely populated southern New England and the more rural northern New England? (Based on the U.S. Census Bureau's definition, in 2010 Maine and Vermont were the most

rural states in the country—both over 60 percent rural—while Massachusetts and Rhode Island are among the seven most urban states in the U.S.—both over 90 percent urban.) Also, I would have liked Judd to discuss more how larger global trends have affected and will affect New England. What of climate change? How much of New England's ability to protect "second nature" is due to the region's importing energy and other resources from elsewhere?

Anyone with an interest in Vermont's place in the larger New England landscape will benefit greatly by reading Judd's environmental history of New England. It is a smart, comprehensive, well-written synthesis with a clear narrative thread connecting the region over the last several centuries.

CHRISTOPHER MCGRORY KLYZA

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Nature's God: The Heretical Origins of the American Republic

By Matthew Stewart (New York, London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2014, pp. 566, $28.95).

In this his fifth book, independent scholar Matthew Stewart provides a radical interpretation of the American Revolution. Members of the Vermont Historical Society should be particularly interested in Stewart's account of Ethan Allen and his friend Thomas Young. Stewart presents these men, along with Thomas Paine, Joel Barlow ("The present is an age of philosophy and America an empire of reason," p. 7), Thomas Jefferson, and Philip Freneau as revolutionaries in thought as well as action. Moreover, he argues that American founders such as Franklin, John Adams, Washington, and Madison agreed with them on the philosophical foundations of government.

The book's distinctiveness and its intellectual power derive from Stewart's taking thought about politics seriously. He argues persuasively, with substantial support from the relevant texts and by demonstrating the connection between those texts and American Revolutionary statesmen, that the term "Nature's God" in the Declaration of Independence reflects a philosophically radical doctrine, which is nor-

mally described as reflecting Deism. Such a term, according to Stewart, conceals the truly atheistic foundations of the American Revolution and the resulting system of government. Whereas Jefferson referred to having "harmonized the sentiments of the day" with the language he used in the Declaration, Stewart intends to uncover the truth behind the American founders' willingness to accept that harmonizing. As Stewart presents the story, at issue is the relationship between the philosophic movement known as the Enlightenment and Biblical, or revealed, religion.

Stewart is particularly interested in refuting the recent position he calls Christian nationalism, which describes the founding in terms of the Christian religion. "The Enlightenment, not the Reformation, was the axis on which human history turned" (p. 73). And while "[t]he enthusiasts supplied much of the labor of the Revolution, . . . the infidels provided the ideas. . . . Here then is one instance where ideas have a chance of explaining history—a case in which philosophers happened to rule" (pp. 73, 74).

The key philosopher for Stewart is Spinoza. His influence comes to America through Locke, so part of Stewart's argument requires a demonstration that the English philosopher who was so familiar to the American founders was in fact only judiciously different in his philosophic position than Spinoza. Stewart credits the Dutch scholar William Klever with directing him to what Klever calls "Locke's Disguised Spinozism" (see pp. 3-4, 146-147, 238; for Klever's work see www.benedictusdespinoza.nl/lit/Locke's_Disguised_Spinozism.pdf).

Moreover, Stewart links the naturalistic philosophy of these seventeenth-century philosophers to the Roman philosopher-poet Lucretius, whose *On the Nature of Things* is regarded as the fullest available account of Epicurean philosophy (pp. 87-88). Stewart quotes Lucretius: "Nature is her own mistress and is exempt from the oppression of arrogant despots, accomplishing everything by herself spontaneously and independently and free from the jurisdiction of the gods" (p. 88, quoting from *On the Nature of Things*, II, 1090-1092; line 1090 begins "If you learn these things well and hold on to them"). Stewart explains that on this view nature is homogeneous matter, or "eternal corporal substance" (p. 89; the phrase comes from Bruno). Stewart fails to point out that Lucretius described the pleasures that come from knowledge of nature in a way that transcended politics ("Sweet too, to gaze upon the great contests of war staged on the plain, when you are free from all danger" II, 5-6). Moreover, Lucretius later predicts the destruction of the world (V, 243-246 and 364-370).

Stewart celebrates the efforts of Hobbes, Spinoza, and Locke to use Lucretius's materialist philosophy to solve the theological-political problem. While Stewart's treatment of these philosophers is full and, I believe, accurate, he has concluded too quickly that they have presented an adequate solution to the problem of good government. I do not think such a philosophic foundation accurately describes the kind of free government the American founders established and Americans continue to support. The radical Spinozistic teaching, which Stewart states, is that the big fish eat the small fish by natural right, or natural right is coextensive with power. Spinoza argues that our rational faculties will lead us to conclude that we are better off following the laws that we have a hand in making than in trying to lord it over others. Americans know this as ambition counteracting ambition. But does it always work reasonably, as Spinoza argued it would, without any other consideration? If we follow Stewart on Locke, we need to consider what the right of revolution amounts to. Is it equivalent to the law of falling bodies, which means right is determined by might, or outcome? As much as Locke urges us to exercise prudence, and claims that people are constitutionally conservative, his teaching on revolution involves a standard of right and wrong that is not reducible to force alone: preservation of property, or life, liberty, and estate.

Turning to America, how does "Nature's God" account for Madison's contention, in his *Memorial and Remonstrance* (1785), that "what is here a right [of religion] towards men is a duty toward the Creator"? How does it account for Lincoln's and the country's determination to oppose slavery extension, thereby putting it in course of ultimate extinction, and their willingness to fight a civil war to preserve a union so dedicated to the liberty of all?

What does that mean for the foundations of American constitutionalism? Perhaps we need to reconsider the contribution of Biblical religion (Puritanism). Perhaps also, we would do well to consider philosophic accounts of nature that do not subordinate reason to the passions, and that do not reduce human beings to material substance. And if the common understanding of the laws of nature and nature's God is broader than the account derived from Hobbes, Spinoza, and Locke, the resulting political and moral benefits seem to outweigh the loss in philosophic clarity.

MURRAY DRY

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Inventing Ethan Allen

By John J. Duffy and H. Nicholas Muller III (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2014, pp. xii, 285; paper, $29.95).

A Few Lawless Vagabonds: Ethan Allen, the Republic of Vermont, and the American Revolution

By David Bennett (Philadelphia and Oxford: Casemate, 2014, pp. 276, $32.95).

In *Inventing Ethan Allen,* John J. Duffy and H. Nicholas Muller III maintain that the heroic Ethan Allen found in popular culture and in most histories and biographies is a fabrication distant from the real man. Their goal, they write, is "in part to debunk" the myths and fictions about Allen, while presenting him "as an important, complex figure" (p. 4).

Although many of Duffy and Muller's contentions will not be new to longtime students of Vermont history, even they may be surprised by the extent of the authors' indictment of the iconic figure. Other readers may feel that they have stepped through the looking glass into a world where reality is the opposite of what they have always been led to believe. In one summary, Duffy and Muller describe Allen as a "schemer, prevaricator, self-promoter, land speculator, aspiring traitor, and impulsive military leader" (p. 189). At another point, he is "a boastful bumbler fond of the 'flowing bowl'" (p. 204). They present evidence, although inconclusive, that he may have been a slaveholder after the Vermont Constitution abolished adult servitude. They offer a theory that he might have been implicated in the death of opponent Crean Brush, who was thought to have committed suicide.

Duffy and Muller are among Vermont's most respected scholars. Duffy is emeritus professor of English and the humanities at Johnson State College. He was the chief editor of *Ethan Allen and His Kin: The Correspondence, 1772-1819* (1998). Muller served as president of Colby-Sawyer College and dean and professor of history at the University of Vermont. Both men have edited *Vermont History* and published extensively on Vermont topics; together they wrote *An Anxious Democracy: Aspects of the 1830s* (1982).

Inventing Ethan Allen is part Allen biography, part examination of more than two hundred years of writing about the man, and, as a result, part history of Vermont from the eighteenth century to today. Facts collide with storytelling in surprising ways as the book exposes

the sometimes messy business by which events become the history we read about. The book invites readers to question what is certain, what is conjecture, and what is no more than a good story.

In the earliest work on Vermont's history—Samuel Williams's 1794 *The Natural and Civil History of Vermont*—Allen was a significant but not dominant figure in the founding of the state. For several decades into the nineteenth century he held "a somewhat shadowy place in public memory" (p. 3). But in the 1830s and 1840s, he "blazed to mythic proportions" and became "an intrepid, larger-than-life figure . . . an accomplished military leader; an articulate, ardent, and often colorful advocate for democracy; and the scourge of tyrants" (p. 93). Daniel Pierce Thompson's 1839 novel *The Green Mountain Boys* played a crucial role in Allen's ascension at a time when thoughtful Vermonters were concerned that the state was in decline and hoped that a link to a heroic past would spur revival. Historians, led by former Governor Hiland Hall, gave a scholarly foundation to the story of the great man.

In the 1920s and 1930s, a more skeptical generation began to depict Allen as a self-serving land speculator and careless military leader who was fortunate at Ticonderoga. In this emerging revisionist biography, he lifted most of his work of philosophy, *Reason the Only Oracle of Man,* from the writings of his late friend Thomas Young while giving him no acknowledgement. Allen genuinely wanted Vermont to rejoin the British Empire and engaged in treasonous acts. But Allen's reputation rebounded in the late twentieth century and reached recent heights in Willard Sterne Randall's *Ethan Allen: His Life and Times* (2011). Duffy and Muller appear to be less certain of the reasons behind Allen's current resurgence, but suggest that today there is "an audience hungry for heroes" (p. 194).

The authors conclude that some of the best-known incidents in Allen's life were constructed by Ethan or his brother Ira to serve family purposes. It is likely he never told New York attorneys John Tabor Kempe and James Duane, "The gods of the valleys are not the gods of the hills," and he may have actually agreed to advocate for New York. The story of Ethan rescuing two lost children provided him with an alibi against accusations of treason. Comic accounts of his first wife may not reflect the reality of their marriage. Details of his death and funeral are confused and unreliable. Even tall tales, which might seem to provide a link to early settlers swapping stories in a tavern, originated not during his lifetime but in the mid-nineteenth century, when he was being reinvented as a larger-than-life hero.

Occasionally the authors may overdo it in their desire to put the

iconic Allen to rest. "There is an original something in him that commands admiration," George Washington wrote from Valley Forge to the president of the Continental Congress, "and his long captivity and sufferings have only served to increase, if possible, his enthusiastic Zeal." Duffy and Muller note the phrase "original something," but omit the remainder of the quote and believe that Washington's thoughts about Allen in May 1778 were ambiguous (p. 57). It must be added quickly that two-and-a-half years later, Washington called for Allen's arrest—if "palpable proofs" of his dealing with the enemy could be found.

The discussion of Allen's life and his contributions to the founding of Vermont is sure to continue. Whatever their interpretation, writers will have to come to terms with *Inventing Ethan Allen,* which now takes its place in a long line of books about a complicated man. Will Duffy and Muller's efforts have a lasting negative impact on Allen's reputation, or will the traditional account stride into the future unfazed? Perhaps there will be two Ethan Allens, the flawed man careful historians study and the heroic figure standing guard at the State House door. We may need both.

* * *

The title of Canadian David Bennett's history of early Vermont, *A Few Lawless Vagabonds*, is taken from a quote by Québec Governor Frederick Haldimand, who was trying to convince the independent state to rejoin the British Empire. In addition, Haldimand called Vermonters "inveterate rebels," "profligate banditti," and "a collection of the most abandoned wretches that ever lived, to be bound by no laws or ties" (pp. 187-188).

Bennett is clearly fascinated by Ethan Allen and the men who created a new state during wartime when threatened on all sides. He notes with pride that much of the book was written in Montgomery, Vermont, "almost within sight of Hazen's Notch" (p. 7).

At his best Bennett, who has a Ph.D. in philosophy from McGill University, presents close readings of early documents as well as of secondary sources on Vermont and Allen. He can be insightful, viewing Vermont's history with fresh eyes and offering original analysis. His research in Library and Archives Canada is a welcome contribution. Readers who are already familiar with the personalities and the *where* and *when* of Vermont's early history may be intrigued, if not always convinced, by his views.

However, too often Bennett jumps to the big picture or speculates when additional research would have resolved an issue. For example,

he writes that the disastrous American attack on Québec at the end of 1775 took place "on New Year's Eve" or "possibly early on the day before," when there is no question it was pre-dawn, December 31 (p. 91). Occasional errors also suggest that he has not entirely mastered the details behind his analysis. In one passage, a bay north of Crown Point is confused with the Poultney River; the mills at the outlet of Lake Bomoseen become Fort Vengeance in Pittsford; and spy and agent Justus Sherwood marches only four miles from Pittsford to Castleton to negotiate with Ethan Allen (p. 184). The mills were indeed only a few miles from Allen's headquarters; Pittsford, on the other hand, is about ten miles as the crow flies and seventeen by road.

Bennett's use of "the Republic of Vermont" to refer to the independent state is more an interpretation than a historical fact and needs explanation.

Although Allen is absent from parts of the book, he dominates *A Few Lawless Vagabonds* because Bennett believes he dominated early Vermont. Bennett is well aware of the revisionist critique of Allen and in his acknowledgements prominently thanks *Inventing Ethan Allen* co-author John J. Duffy for his "great help" (p. 7). However, Bennett simply weaves Allen's faults and weaknesses—vanity, ostentation, self-promotion, drunkenness—into the mystique of the great man, who is "more impressive than his biographers have ever depicted" (p. 13). Allen is a "Renaissance man, in the wrong time and place, with a truly staggering range of talents," "a natural leader of men," and "rightly celebrated as the principal founder of the State of Vermont" (pp. 231-232). Bennett realizes that Allen may not have been the primary author of *Reason the Only Oracle of Man*, although the question "is not of great importance, for Ethan's intellectual achievements were not in original thinking" (p. 18). And while Bennett is certain that Allen was sincere in his negotiations with Governor Haldimand, accusations of treason are misplaced. Throughout, he acted as a "Vermont nationalist" (p. 13).

Although *A Few Lawless Vagabonds* lacks the depth of research and the concern for detail necessary to have a major impact, the book reveals the continuing power of Ethan Allen on the imagination, even in the face criticism.

ENNIS DULING

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Moses Robinson and the Founding of Vermont

By Robert A. Mello (Barre: Vermont Historical Society, 2014, pp. xix, 450, paper, $34.95).

Moses Robinson was Vermont's first chief judge, second governor, and one of its first U.S. senators. He was active in the military and political fight to attain Vermont's independence and statehood. Until this year, no biographer had written his life. Now that void has been filled, with the publication of Robert A. Mello's *Moses Robinson and the Founding of Vermont.*

Moses Robinson did more than any other person to create the State of Vermont. He succeeded because he was a natural leader, willing to fill the necessary offices he was elected or appointed to hold, lead when necessary, and serve others as needed. He was different from the other bright lights of the time. Ethan Allen was more theatrical. Ira Allen was craftier. Thomas Chittenden was less articulate. They all contributed to the miracle of a state clawed out of the wilderness, overcoming competing claims for the land, defying Britain, New York, and even the United States when necessary to preserve its identity and legal authority. But it was Moses Robinson whose courage and diplomacy transformed the energy of rebellion into a mature government, ruled by law.

He was the one steady hand, the one clear voice, the personality who could best adapt to changes, cross party lines, settle conflicts, and persuade majorities. He was the one Vermont turned to when it needed order, direction, patience, and diligence.

His name appears in all the histories, often in a list of the founders. The offices he held, the written records he created, the conventions he attended, are familiar to us; but he isn't, because until now nobody has given him the attention he deserves. Restored to his place in the drama of the New Hampshire Grants' first years, Robinson now appears as the anchor and the keel of the infant state.

There are many good histories about the founding of Vermont. Some are reliable, although many are plainly so partisan and romantic that the founders seem like gods of a Green Mountain Olympus, and their struggles as an Homeric epic, enough to justify warning labels on their covers. Consider, for instance, Hiland Hall. His 1868 *History of Vermont* continues the myth that the New Hampshire charters and the land titles that relied on them were valid, making the

struggle for Vermont not only virtuous but legally justifiable. It took some years to get over that—some distance—before Matt Bushnell Jones wrote *The Making of Vermont* (1939) and had the courage to recognize that Benning Wentworth was a fraud, that the core of New York's claim was justifiable, as a matter of royal law.

We still read Hall and Jones. Each provided the leading history of his age. Now we have Mello's *Robinson.* It is the early history we deserve for our time. It is a monumental piece of scholarship, and it warrants a close reading because it is so much more than a biography. It tells the story of the origin of Vermont in a way that no other author has done before: with fresh eyes, new sources, and a lawyer's acuity for nuance and clarity of ideas—a modern history of that period.

What makes a great history? In Vermont, it is the ability to avoid the trap that tempts writers to a patriotism that borders on narcissism. Sometimes that goes under the epithet of Vermont exceptionalism, but love blinds us to the truth. The measure of a good history is how few punches it pulls. So we have Mello on the Haldimand negotiations, unflinchingly describing the heresy of Ira Allen and others in treating with the British for peace and reunion with the crown, while the United States were at war. Others called it cleverness. Robert Mello doesn't. So we have Mello on the validity of the New Hampshire charters. Hiland Hall conducted a second war with New York defending them. Judge Mello rules them invalid as a matter of law. The struggle for independence was the real source of title, not the official papers.

That's his gift: the fresh look at old material and the ability to explain the complexities and ambiguities of this rough and tempestuous period in a clear, impartial voice. It is the voice of a writer who knows the difference between a finding of fact and a conclusion of history, and it bears a close reading for anyone who wants to understand how this state came to be.

PAUL S. GILLIES

Paul Gillies is a lawyer and historian, whose Uncommon Law, Ancient Roads, and Other Ruminations on Vermont Legal History *was published by the Vermont Historical Society in 2013.*

Rally the Scattered Believers: Northern New England's Religious Geography

By Shelby M. Balik (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014, pp. xv, 295, $60.00; ebook, $46.99).

Even the most casual reader of early Vermont history has encountered the references to religion. Ethan Allen's faith, long labeled "deism," was unorthodox and elicited the impassioned criticism of his rivals. Travel accounts by Congregationalist ministers from southern New England have become oft-cited primary sources on faith in early Vermont, particularly passages like Timothy Dwight's comments on the irreligion of Vermonters and Nathan Perkins's comments about the squalor and contented godlessness of Vermont homesteads. *Rally the Scattered Believers*, the first book by Shelby M. Balik, assistant professor of American History at Metropolitan State University of Denver, places those sources in context by examining the role of religion in the white settlements of northern New England. It is an ambitious and engaging piece of scholarship.

Balik's argument is that the town-church model that defined southern New England by the time of the Revolution failed to replicate across the northern frontier, despite the best intentions of many northern New England settlers and southern New England religious leaders. Religious expression took a different form in the north partly because of the timing of settlement, as the political ideas about liberty and freedom of choice that circulated both before and after the Revolution drew Christians to newer denominations like the Freewill Baptists, Methodists, and Universalists. At the heart of Balik's thesis is the idea that the rugged topography and dispersed rural settlements of northern New England added to a privileging of sectarianism over older Congregationalist loyalties in a way that eroded the southern New England town-church model that had, in theory, united the entire community in a shared culture bounded by town borders. What replaced it was a sectarianism that connected people with wider regions and with other New Englanders based on shared denominational values that could be quite specific and exclusionary, and so disregarded older spatial ideas about town consensus. The result was a new iteration of New England religious culture. As Balik says, "As the clergy—and the laity they courted—pursued the work of conversion and church-building, they laid the groundwork for a new religious world" (pp. 1, 4).

The itinerant and sectarian model that came to dominate northern New England, characterized by circuit preachers and robust missionary societies, was initially a sore point among established church leaders who eventually accepted that traveling missionaries made sense in the scattered rural north. Balik's chapter on missionary societies is wonderful and will prove illuminating for readers who've always wondered about the shape of religion in early Vermont. Switching denominational loyalties was not easy, and Balik's chapter on disestablishment, taxation, and church authority is fascinating and includes a detailed account of the sequence of Vermont legislation that resulted in "the severing of ties between church and state," which Balik characterizes as "a smooth transition" (p. 80).

Balik's geographic argument is regional, and readers interested in contextualizing Vermont landscape and culture will undoubtedly be pleased by the way she links Vermont hill towns to fledging settlements along Maine's coast. Church construction came slowly to the rural north, so people worshipped in a variety of places—barns, fields, houses—and frequently relied on themselves for sermons and shared services. Balik was influenced by work on spatial studies rather than interdisciplinary work on sense of place and place-based attachments, and her geographic argument will seem subtle to readers hoping for a discussion of how the landscape of the rural north itself perhaps infused religious practices or contributed to settlers' understandings of themselves as Christian people. We learn that the topography could be rugged and that Christians of many denominations worshipped outdoors, but Balik is unclear about the extent to which Romantic ideas about nature shaped those religious experiences, if at all. Similarly, by the late nineteenth century, denominations had constructed permanent churches in towns throughout all of New England, so the long-term influence of itinerancy in the north is not entirely clear.

Rally the Scattered Believers promises to complement classic and much-respected works on Vermont's religious communities during this period. Vermont historians will find the familiar and expected authors in the bibliography—names like Ludlum, Roth, Potash, and Bassett—but the book lacks a discussion of the historiography on northern New England religion, so just how Balik's argument fits with earlier scholarship won't be readily evident to the non-specialist.

More significant than the book's engagement with that earlier scholarship is its contribution to recent and ongoing scholarly discussions about the place of religion in early American life. Balik's New England is a religious place. For example, her discussion of disestablishment concludes that New Englanders saw denominational choice as an individual liberty,

but also viewed participation in a branch of Christian faith as one's duty. I wish that she'd been more upfront about the power of faith in her New England, about the implications of that argument, and about the ways that her interesting new book provides an alternative to other recent books that see more of the secular than the sacred in American's past.

JILL MUDGETT

Jill Mudgett is a Vermont historian with an interest in New England history and in the ways that Vermont history fits a larger regional story. She appreciates interdisciplinary approaches to the past and is currently a member of the Vermont Roots Migration Project research team sponsored by the University of Vermont.

Charity & Sylvia: A Same-Sex Marriage in Early America

By Rachel Hope Cleves (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. xix, 267, $29.95).

In this age of shifting public opinion about gay marriage, it seems fitting for historians to turn their attention to the presence of long-term same-sex relationships in America's past. Rachel Cleves breaks exciting new ground on this subject in her book, *Charity & Sylvia: A Same-Sex Marriage in Early America.*

While the history of homosexuality is not exactly a new area of scholarly inquiry, much of what has been explored on this topic has focused either on the development of gay and lesbian subcultures that took root in urban centers or on how homosexuals handled the opposition of heterosexuals who denounced them as unnatural, immoral, dangerous seekers of short-term sexual gratification. Cleves pursues another setting for her study—a small community in nineteenth-century rural Vermont and the same-sex partnership that was embraced there more than 200 years ago.

In nineteen chapters filling just over 200 pages, Cleves tells the story of two women, Charity Bryant and Sylvia Drake, the post-Revolutionary worlds from which they came, the union they created together, and the conditions by which the villagers of Weybridge, Vermont, came to accept their unusual forty-four-year-long relationship. One might wonder if the story of just one couple could fill a whole book. Cleves dives deep, however, providing a detailed but well-written and highly readable exploration of the lives of Charity and Sylvia and the communities they called

home. She draws on a wide array of sources from New England town and organizational records, plus the papers left by Charity and Sylvia, as well as numerous letters written to them by their friends, relatives, and even former lovers. Cleves uses these sources to argue that though the law did not allow for their marriage at the time, what Charity and Sylvia had together was certainly a kind of marriage, not only because they adopted the roles of husband and wife, but also because their neighbors viewed them that way, too.

As spouses of the Early Republic period, Charity and Sylvia shared a household, created a successful economic partnership, bound two kinship groups together, and benefited from the emotional support of each other. Was there a sexual component to their union as well? That is a question that Cleves tackles directly in her research. Many people, including scholars of lesbian history, are reluctant to believe that nineteenth-century women involved in same-sex relationships were sexually active. Cleves suggests that Charity and Sylvia definitely valued the physical intimacy of their relationship. Both of these women enjoyed writing, as did many of their female friends, and Cleves uses these writings—especially their poetry—to uncover and decode the language of their sexuality. Her analysis is quite convincing in showing that Charity and Sylvia expressed their love for each other physically and that Charity, the older and more experienced of the two, likely had other female lovers prior to her relationship with Sylvia. According to Cleves, this aspect of their long relationship was thrilling and fulfilling, but it was also deeply troubling for them spiritually and for their loved ones and neighbors who were afraid to broach the open secret at the center of their union. Cleves offers intriguing bits of commentary from the women about what they considered to be their own significant and unusual sins and their need to repent and change their ways. They feared for their own souls and attributed their frequent illnesses to their immoral behavior, yet they did not seem able (or ultimately all that committed) to suspend the physical aspect of their relationship.

According to Cleves's argument, the union between Charity and Sylvia was real not only because they themselves believed in it, but also because other members of Weybridge recognized them as legitimate partners. They gained this legitimacy through the contributions they made to their community. Charity and Sylvia were pillars of their church, leaders of voluntary organizations, skilled seamstresses, and revered aunties. They mattered to the people of Weybridge, and beyond. It remains somewhat unclear, though, how their friends and neighbors could value Charity and Sylvia so much that they treated them almost

like a normal married couple while at the same time being uncomfortable enough with their sexuality to leave it largely unspoken and unexplored. Therein lies the difficulty of historical research: What goes unspoken is usually lost to history. Given her remarkably thorough research throughout the book, I suspect that if Rachel Cleves had found evidence to elucidate this point, she would have used it.

Cleves's book is not the first historical account of Vermont's most famous same-sex couple, but it is the first to provide such rich context and depth for every aspect of their story. Readers will leave this book learning considerably more about nineteenth-century American life than they might have expected. If Cleves has her way, readers will also come away impressed with the idea that there are many more unions like that of Charity and Sylvia to be discovered in nineteenth-century American history. Her book provides an excellent model for others to follow toward that goal.

AMY F. MORSMAN

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Insurrection, Corruption & Murder in Early Vermont: Life on the Wild Northern Frontier

By Gary G. Shattuck (Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2014, pp. 397, paper, $29.99).

On August 3, 1808, at a turn in the Winooski River, smugglers opened fire on federal officers attempting to enforce the trade embargo passed by Congress in 1807 at the urging of President Thomas Jefferson and expanded by Jefferson in March 1808 to include overland trade to Canada. Three men were shot and died. Three weeks later, following an arrest, grand jury indictment, trial, and conviction, Cyrus Dean was hanged for the crime of murder. The incident is remembered by the name of the smugglers' 40-foot-long lake boat, *The Black Snake*, and for the high passions of the times, that split Vermont into two very divisive parties, one loyal to the federal government, the other dedicated to independence and economic self-interest. It was the worst of times, times of great passion, corruption of public officials, and political tension.

The best book to date on the subject has just been published. Gary Shattuck, a former federal prosecutor, is the author, and his work is both meticulous in detail and broad in appreciating the context of the incident

on the water and the swift justice that followed it. Never in Vermont's history has the state been so polarized, the tensions so taut, the law so disrespected, not just by the men willing to take extreme risks to continue their trade with Canada, but by the powerful people who supported them. The difference between law breaker and law enforcer blurred, and everybody seemed to sue everybody for relief in the civil courts.

So much of early Vermont history stops at statehood, leaving us to think that after the struggles with England, New York, and the United States, the state cruised toward the present on an even keel. But the harmony of interests that kept Vermont focused on winning its independence and then acceptance as a part of the new country did not last. A decade and a half later, Vermonters felt the first shock of statehood when the federal government closed the border to trade, when most of the economy of the northern part of the state depended on the sale of potash, pearlash, and other goods down the lake to Québec. The embargo was the law, but it wasn't tolerated, and its uneven enforcement only contributed to its rejection by many.

Shattuck's is the first Vermont history to benefit from the court records project of the Vermont State Archives and Records Administration (VSARA), where for several years the files of half of the state's counties have been processed and made available to scholars. In his view, the *Black Snake* murders and trials are the most violent example of a rising tide of conflict and litigation between individuals and officials His legal training and experience show through in the analysis of the rough justice of that time. His portraits of Cornelius Van Ness, Samuel Buel, and other central figures in the drama are compelling.

Shattuck's *Insurrection, Corruption & Murder in Early Vermont* is one of several recent studies that suggest the coming of a golden age of Vermont legal history, after a long period of dormancy. Robert Mello's biography, *Moses Robinson and the Founding of Vermont* (2014), Ron Morgan's work on the retreat from Mount Independence in 1777 and the court martial of Arthur St. Clair ("The Court Martial of Major General Arthur St. Clair and the Verdict of History" [2013], online at http://035a6a2.netsolhost.com/wordpress1/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Arthur-St-Clair-and-the-Retreat-from-Mount-Independence.pdf), and Stephen Martin's book, *Orville's Revenge* (2014), on the Orville Gibson murder trial of 1959, are further evidence of a rising interest in the rich history of the courts and the legal battles that defined the times and temperament of Vermonters. Court records are rich untapped sources of social and political history, and as their stories are brought to light through these histories, our understanding of the way we came to be is rectified and clarified.

Read *Insurrection*. You'll never think of Burlington quite the same way again. Two centuries ago, along the river, there were people everywhere, in boats, farming the land by hand, living out their hard lives in crude temporary shelters. They carried weapons, drank heavily all day long, conspired and plotted ways of getting goods to Canada around the feds, and cursed the president and the United States. There were serious fights on the waters, and men were killed. Justice was relative, and no one was innocent. The passions peaked when the great gun was fired and three men died, and then Dean was executed in public, hanged by the neck. It was a different time, and it happened right here.

PAUL S. GILLIES

Paul Gillies is a Montpelier attorney and historian. His Uncommon Law, Ancient Roads, and Other Ruminations on Vermont Legal History *was published by the Vermont Historical Society in 2013.*

Coffins of the Brave: Lake Shipwrecks of the War of 1812

Edited by Kevin J. Crisman (College Station, Tex.: Texas A&M University Press, 2014, pp. 417, paper, $60.00).

The short but intense conflict between the United States and Great Britain known as the War of 1812 continues to attract considerable interest to the naval action on North America's inland waterway on the Great Lakes and Lake Champlain from 1812 to 1815. After many years of research in nautical archaeology, Kevin J. Crisman has compiled and edited a well-illustrated volume that combines academic research with well-written narratives that bring to life fascinating stories about this naval conflict by piecing together both the history and archaeology of shipwrecks studied over many years.

Coffins of the Brave: Lake Shipwrecks of the War of 1812 presents an unrivalled accounting of the naval war on the interior waterway between Canada and the U.S. Both the general reading public and researchers interested in naval history and nautical archaeology will find a considerable amount of information on the history of the ships, how they were built, and how they were studied. The book includes chapters by the people who conducted the field research and analyzed the recovered data. It documents sixteen vessels, representing a wide variety of warships, merchant schooners, and gunboats that served on both sides of the naval conflict. Many of the twelve contributors present their work from

previously completed M.A. and Ph.D. research projects associated with the Institute of Nautical Archaeology at Texas A&M University and the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum at Basin Harbor, Vermont. Several contributors are associated with past research with the Underwater Archaeology Service within Parks Canada, among other Canadian organizations.

The freshwater naval campaigns during the War of 1812 took place in three separate districts, each defined by its own logistical and sailing conditions as well as different wartime strategies. The book is divided into these three theaters of naval warfare: the Upper Great Lakes, including Lakes Erie and Huron; Lake Ontario and the upper St. Lawrence River; and Lake Champlain and the Richelieu River. Crisman writes a brief introduction to each section of the book, providing the historical and archaeological context for the chapters that follow.

The first section focuses on the remoteness of the upper Great Lakes during the war and the supply problems both U.S. and British naval forces had in attempting to maintain supremacy. Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry's victory on Lake Erie in 1813 put an end to a string of U.S. military losses to the British forces and restored American confidence. Five ships and their corresponding wreck sites are described by six different authors who provide a close look at the different vessels used in this naval campaign and the present-day research about them by shipwreck salvors and archaeologists. The British transport schooner *Nancy* and the Royal Navy brig *General Hunter* were constructed before the war, whereas the U.S. Navy brig *Niagara* was one of the American vessels built quickly during the early years of the war to offset the growing Royal Navy fire power. The two other vessels described in this section were the Royal Navy schooners *Tecumseh* and *Newash*, built to regain control of Lake Erie in 1815.

Lake Ontario represented the main focus of the on-going conflict because of its strategic significance on the waterway that controlled supply routes operating along the frontier. In this second section, three authors examine the history and archaeology of seven different shipwrecks. This narrative focuses on the primary types of vessels used on Lake Ontario, with emphasis on ship construction and naval life under canvas. The vessels described include what is believed to be a Royal Navy gunboat; the U.S. Navy 20-gun brig *Jefferson*; the Royal Navy frigates *Prince Regent* and *Princess Charlotte*; and the Royal Navy first-rate three-decker *St. Lawrence*, the largest warship to sail on any freshwater lake during the war. The other two ships described are commercial schooners that were converted into U.S. warships, *Hamilton* and *Scourge*, both of which capsized in a sudden squall during action against a British squadron in

1813. This book presents a detailed summary of the archaeological and historical information that has been assembled about these two-masted fore-and-aft American schooners since their discovery almost intact on the lake bed in Canadian waters in 1971.

The last section of the book discusses the naval war on Lake Champlain. War strategy delayed naval action on Lake Champlain until the last two years of the war. In 1812, Thomas MacDonough arrived to command the U.S. naval forces and quickly began to build ships in Vergennes, Vermont, on Otter Creek, using the nearby Monkton Iron Works to provide cannonballs and iron fittings. By 1813, the race accelerated on both sides of the U.S.-Canada border to build warships as fast as possible, to be better prepared for the naval battle everyone knew was coming.

The battle at Plattsburgh Bay on September 11, 1814, involved thirty ships and gunboats of all shapes and sizes. Although two large British warships were badly damaged and almost sunk, no vessels on either side were lost during the action. Three authors write about the battle and the different vessels involved, with a special focus on the U.S. Navy 7-gun schooner *Ticonderoga*, U.S. Navy 2-gun row galley *Allen*, U.S. Navy 20-gun brig *Eagle*, and the Royal Navy 16-gun brig *Linnet*. The authors describe these four very different warships both above and below the water and clearly demonstrate the full extent of many years of research.

The naval action at Plattsburgh Bay is considered by many scholars and naval history buffs, including Theodore Roosevelt and Winston Churchill, as the greatest U.S. naval victory during the War of 1812. A good summary of the battle and its archaeological legacy is provided by Crisman and Arthur B. Cohn, the co-founder and long-time director of the Lake Champlain Maritime Museum. In a final section that includes an overall summary and conclusions, Crisman writes about the artifacts found with the hull structures and the invaluable contributions of William Leege and his fellow sport divers in the Lake Champlain Archaeological Association. Their recovery of a large collection of artifacts from Plattsburgh Bay has revealed information about the naval action not otherwise available in the documentation.

The authors used a full array of primary and secondary sources to provide a well-balanced foundation for the historical research and archaeological studies of the shipwrecks themselves. However, it is somewhat surprising that the authors did not draw more from Russell Bellico's authoritative research on Lake Champlain shipwrecks of the war, compiled over three decades going back to the late 1960s and documented in his revised edition of *Sails and Steam in the Mountains* (2001) and his biography of Thomas MacDonough in *Chronicles of Lake Champlain* (1999).

The volume has extensive chapter footnotes and three appendices tabulating ship dimensions, armaments, and other construction information, including timber scantlings affecting the sailing qualities of the vessels. There is a glossary of technical terms and a comprehensive bibliography, index, and an index of ships. Brief biographies of the contributors would also have been nice for readers interested in the accomplished backgrounds of the authors. This book is a welcome addition to my own library, and I heartily recommend it to everybody looking for a great read in naval history and nautical archaeology. Thanks to all the contributors who made their research available to the public.

R. DUNCAN MATHEWSON III

R. Duncan Mathewson III, an educator and archaeologist, has spent many years diving on and researching wooden-hull historic shipwrecks. He lives in Middlebury, Vermont, and is the author of a book on Native American archaeology, First Peoples of the Dawnland: Western Abenakis of New England, *scheduled for publication in 2015.*

The Vermont Difference: Perspectives from the Green Mountain State

Edited by J. Kevin Graffagnino, H. Nicholas Muller III, David A. Donath, and Kristin Peterson-Ishaq (Woodstock and Barre, Vt.: Woodstock Foundation and Vermont Historical Society, 2014, pp. xxii, 296, $39.95; paper, $27.95).

With the publication of *The Vermont Difference: Perspectives from the Green Mountain State*, any thought of an enduring antipathy between native and flatlander goes the way of the Mountain Rule. The Vermont Historical Society and the Woodstock Foundation have produced a marvelous compendium of eighteen important and informative essays that describe many aspects of a vibrant "new Vermont" as a blend of innovation and tradition, as Vermont Governor Peter Shumlin's introduction points out. By my count those contributors who came to Vermont "from away" outnumber the natives, thirteen to eight. This includes some who consider themselves natives, even though in their biographical sketches, they admit they were not born here.

The important point is that this distinction finally has become unimportant.

The "new Vermont" comes across as an extraordinarily appealing place, redolent of artistic, intellectual, and economic vitality, a cultural

oasis in a nation of gridlocked and polluted cities and dreary look-alike towns or artificial eruptions of commerce near Interstate highway exchanges. In a national economy that adulates—nay, is fully dependent on—unlimited economic growth, it is sweetly ironic that Vermont has evolved a self-sustaining civilization that works quite well without population growth.

None of these essays disappoints. Many stand out. Madeleine Kunin, eloquent as always, offers mini-biographies of several women active in political leadership over many years, among them Edna Beard, Clarina Howard Nichols, Sister Elizabeth Candon, and Dorothy Canfield Fisher. She muses about what kind of person Gov. Percival W. Clement of Rutland must have been to have vetoed statewide women's suffrage *and* refused in 1920 to allow Vermont to become the key state to approve the nineteenth amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Kevin Graffagnino offers an informed—who would expect otherwise?—recitation of the history of Vermont historical writing and provides a string of familiar author names and the rich heritage they have generated. He thanks benefactors Hall Park McCullough, James B. Wilbur, and Gertrude Mallary, in particular. Brushing up on this grand subject is well worth it.

Jim Douglas recalls a couple of wonderful historical tidbits I had not heard of. (Did you know that in 1794, on his way to Albany in a horse-drawn wagon, state Treasurer Samuel Mattocks accidentally spilled some of the $30,000 in gold coins Vermont had agreed to pay New York to settle all land claims? It was before dawn, but neighboring farmers came out with torches to help pick up the coins, which were all recovered and accounted for.) Sam Hemingway offers some fine political anecdotes and analyzes the sometimes uncomfortable old divide between Vermont natives and others. I wondered whether Jan Albers's essay might reiterate the thrust of her book *Hands on the Land*; but no, it is a beautiful exposition on the subject of landscape economics that analyzes the trend toward a more conservationist approach to flora and fauna. She weaves important names and places into her fabric—such as Rockefeller, Webb, Mt. Philo, George Perkins Marsh, Hapgood Pond, Green Mountain National Forest, the 1927 flood, Great Depression, Civilian Conservation Corps, Long Trail—and reports that exactly 17 percent of Vermont territory now is in public hands—federal, state, or municipal. It's a long and compelling essay that, if expanded, could make a gorgeous coffee-table book in itself.

Tom Salmon provides a valuable history of higher education in Vermont, tinged with regret that the state lags behind in its financial sup-

port of its own colleges. Nonetheless, the story is impressive. Early influential names include Alexander Twilight, Alden Partridge, Justin Smith Morrill, John Dewey, and Guy Bailey. The first colleges are the University of Vermont, Middlebury, and Norwich. The year 1961 brought together Castleton State College, Lyndon Institute, Johnson Academy, and Randolph State Normal School into a coherent state college consortium, joined in 1975 by the Community Colleges. John Dewey's progressive influence is seen at Bennington and Goddard; Walter Hendricks studied with Robert Frost at Amherst and later launched Marlboro. Salmon also traces the origins of Green Mountain, Burlington, Landmark (nee Windham), and Southern Vermont colleges, Vermont Law School, plus the Catholic St. Michael's College and the College of St. Joseph. It's a great deal of erudition to take in, and well told by an experienced hand.

An essay that has special resonance for me is by Ben Rose, who relates how he was brought up on suburban Long Island and relocated at age fifteen to Vermont with his family. "Moving to Vermont was a chance to 're-create' myself—just at a moment in my life when I was eager to do so," Rose writes, then deliciously describes how his love for the outdoors became his lifestyle and led to his creation of the end-to-end Catamount ski trail.

After an informed review of the state's literature and its writers, Tom Slayton describes the way Vermont *transforms* writers who move here and then thrive when they connect with the working landscape. I would contend that "transformative" applies to others besides writers. I grew up in suburban Westchester, New York, and came to Vermont in my twenties, assuming it would be the first stop on an American moving-about career. My own transformation came, among other factors, in reveling in the ability to explore on foot relatively large territories of uninhabited forest topography, first near my parents' retirement home in Andover, and later near where my wife's ancestors lived for generations in Whitingham and Readsboro.

A couple of factual errors might be noted. Ellen McCulloch-Lovell has David and Gloria Gil founding the Bennington Pottery in 1964; it was 1948, shortly after World War Two. David Donath links Stratton with Bromley, Mount Snow, and Sugarbush as prominent ski areas of the 1950s. I remember in 1961 bouncing in Sam Odgen's Plymouth along a rough fresh-cut road that would later lead to the huge Stratton development.

The book's selection of photographs is superb, but several need more explanation. On page 22, for example, why is Senator Flanders holding

a pig? One might rightly assume that photographers are among the artists who contribute vitally to the new Vermont, yet in this book their credits are buried deep on a back page.

But the many assets of this significant and readable book far outweigh any minor quibbles. It is a heavy volume, printed on slick coated stock; the paperback alone weighs three and a half pounds. Future bookshelves of Vermontiana will need to make room for it for all time.

TYLER RESCH

Tyler Resch is research librarian of the Bennington Museum and co-editor of its journal, the Walloomsack Review.

Most Likely to Secede: What the Vermont Independence Movement Can Teach Us about Reclaiming Community and Creating a Human-Scale Vision for the 21st Century

Edited by Ron Miller and Rob Williams (Waitsfield, Vt.: Vermont Independence Press, 2013, pp. 264, paper, $19.95).

Several decades ago, when writing for a small weekly newspaper in northern Vermont, I covered a story concerning an order from Washington, D.C., that every post office had to install an air conditioner. Local Vermont postal officials were particularly irate: Why did post offices in the Northeast Kingdom need air conditioners in a region where ninety-degree temperatures are rare? One postmaster angrily noted that each office needed the power to determine its own needs without the necessity of following every directive from ill-informed bureaucrats in faraway Washington.

This story would certainly be appreciated by the editors of and many contributors to *Most Likely to Secede*. Their contention is that the United States has lost the ideals upon which it was founded, such as freedom, independence, and a government that is responsive to the needs of individual citizens and local initiatives. Contributor Taylor Silvestri states that what Americans define as democracy is "dead. The power of many voices has disappeared, and, in its place, a single centralized voice has grown" (p. 123). He and others in this book contend that Americans have lost their freedom and communities have lost the ability to determine their own way of life because they are under the domination of an "overly centralized and increasingly out

of control central federal government" (p. 219). Their primary argument is that

> [M]odern political and economic systems have grown too large and overbearing. Governments, corporations, educational systems, global food supply chains, mass media, and other institutions are controlled by global forces that are distant from, and indifferent to, the diverse needs and preferences of citizens and their communities. In sum, the United States has developed into a classic *empire*—a massive, centralized concentration of power that dominates local economies, regional cultures, and other nations through military intimidation and economic exploitation (p. 11).

Ron Miller and Rob Williams, the editors of *Most Likely to Secede*, are members of a movement called Second Republic Vermont, which defines itself as a citizen movement whose goal is the "restoration" of Vermont as an independent republic. This "independent Vermont" would be dedicated to the idea of allowing its citizens to live as they wish as free and happy people not encumbered by the ever-increasing and expensive demands of what they regard as a corrupt, imperial, and disintegrating United States. The essays in this book are taken from their periodical, *Vermont Commons*, from its inception in 2005 through 2012. The editors of the journal see their work as a "forum for exploring the roots of American imperialism and a range of possible social, cultural, and economic antidotes to it" (p. 3).

The book features essays from twenty-nine contributors who call for economic relocalization and political independence for Vermont. They believe that decisions concerning allocation of fuel and resources, the production of food, control of the media, and health care should be returned to regional and local control. The welfare of the people, they argue, is severely endangered by an out-of-control federal government that wildly goes to war in places like Iraq and Afghanistan without consulting the people. The only way to escape the jaws of this ugly federal machine is to secede from federal America and create in Vermont an independent republic that can and will hear the voices of the people.

The possibility that Vermont could ever secede from the United States is remote at best, but the writers raise some very interesting questions concerning the power and role of our federal government. Many Americans might well agree that there is too much power in the hands of our government and corporate élites, that power and wealth are becoming concentrated in the hands of fewer and fewer people, and that local and regional voices and concerns are no longer heard or taken seriously.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter, "Powering Vermont's Future by Embracing the Peak-Oil Challenge," by Carl Etnier and Annie

Dunn Watson, asks the question, what happens when world oil production reaches its peak and starts its inevitable decline? Etnier and Watson claim that there is no coherent federal strategy to deal with this impending crisis and that Vermont, which imports 100 percent of its oil, is especially vulnerable. "The cheap, abundant energy that has fueled Vermont's economy, and propelled us daily among home, work, and play is about to disappear—not the oil itself, but its affordability" (p. 69). Vermont must come up with its own plans to encourage the production of renewable energy and to better promote conservation of existing resources.

> A better alternative is a combination of local responses, both individual and collective. Once people are aware of the peak-oil challenge, there are many things they can do immediately, like start growing more of their own food, insulate their homes, reacquaint themselves with their neighbors, install wood heat, build up their bicycling muscles, etc. But individuals alone cannot all meet the challenges; we need to respond collectively, through good policy, informed by and responsive to citizen input (pp. 72-73).

Most Likely to Secede is a very well-written collection of essays that raise meaningful questions about the direction and management of our society now and in the future. These questions pertain not only to Vermont, but also to every community in the United States. Many people will likely disagree with some of the commentary in this volume, but each essay at least raises questions that we all must debate. We need a national conversation about the future of the United States, and books like this could be tools to open this discussion.

DANIEL A. MÉTRAUX

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The Vermont Way: A Republican Governor Leads America's Most Liberal State

By Jim Douglas (New Haven, Vt.: Common Ground Communications/A Bray Book, 2014, pp. 359, paper $35.00).

Former Governor Jim Douglas's autobiography, *The Vermont Way*, details his thirty-eight-year political service to Vermonters. It is an intimate and personal narrative that captures his outgoing demeanor and tries to define his historical legacy.

Shortly after graduation from Middlebury College in 1972, Douglas was elected to the Vermont House. He went on to become majority leader and later joined Governor Richard Snelling's senior staff. He then served twelve years as secretary of state. He followed that with an eight-year stint as state treasurer, and election in 2002 as governor, which office he held for four terms, earning more votes than any other politician in Vermont history.

Douglas's reminiscences, both about his leadership roles and his influence on the political ebbs and flows during his many years of service, make for an interesting personal retrospective. The book's title and cutline, taken together, define the inherent tension of his long career. Douglas works to convey what Vermonters already know and like about their former governor—his dry wit, accessibility, and congenial personality—sharing anecdotal digressions that make clear his affection for Vermonters. At the core of his belief system is his certainty that spending time among Vermonters rather than their politicians enabled him to distill the wisdom and experience of his constituents and bring it to the decision-making process in Montpelier. He also draws on Vermont's Republican century prior to 1963 as the philosophical basis for his own legacy. That long era of virtually one-party rule in Vermont was characterized by leaders who were often progressive with regard to the well-being of their neighbors and on environmental issues, while remaining conservative on fiscal issues—a balance that inspired Douglas. He also references the example of his mentor, Governor Deane C. Davis: "He told Vermonters the truth" (p.13).

Douglas's own delivery of hard truths to Vermonters is a recurring theme in the book. But "truth" is a slippery term, especially in the ideologically charged context of politics, and Douglas takes umbrage when others present facts to buttress political arguments that he disputes. For example, during his tenure he often asserted as fact that Vermont is the most highly taxed state in the country and that this drives Vermonters and businesses out. Yet according to IRS and Tax Foundation data commissioned by Douglas's and the legislature's Blue Ribbon Tax Commission (on which I served with Kathy Hoyt and Bill Sayre), although Vermont does have a relatively high tax burden, it ranks somewhere between ninth and thirteenth nationally, depending on the methodology applied. Moreover, the data showed that slightly more people are moving in than moving out, a fact Douglas himself now acknowledges in his book.

The book is further compromised by Douglas's under-edited writing style. Even though this is a memoir, too many sentences begin with "I," which leaves a reader wondering about Douglas's concept of political

leadership: Does he see himself as the sole standard bearer for his version of Republicanism? Did he have or rely on colleagues to help him shape and implement policies? And too many sentences end with an "!". This breathless writing style is often at odds with Douglas's more serious points.

Moreover, the narrative is often diminished by Douglas's defensive reactions to those disagreeing with him. An example is his general antipathy for the press and media. "*Seven Days* isn't really a newspaper," he writes, "but I stopped reading one that is, *The Addison County Independent*" (p. 291). Douglas lambastes the editorial page writer for calling into question his policies and motives. *The Addison County Independent* is published in Middlebury, Douglas's hometown, and he later adds, "It's a little awkward, to be sure, not to read the local paper" (p. 291). He goes on to attack *The Rutland Herald/Barre-Montpelier Times Argus*: "The Mitchells [owner/publishers] have been community-minded and supportive but they give their editors free rein and the staff wrote a number of outrageous editorials in my later terms" (pp. 292-293). "Free rein"? Douglas seems to believe that publishers should dictate their editorial writers' opinions. He cites an editorial in which the writer suggests that the governor's opposition to gay marriage was "driven by politics" and that his reasoning was "bogus," "sad and perplexing," and "contradictory." (p. 293). In this case, the writer of the "outrageous editorials" won a Pulitzer Prize for his writing on the evolution of gay marriage, which Douglas opposes. Not only does Douglas misunderstand editorial firewalls, he asserts, "I guess their view is that, if you disagree with someone, the best approach is to demean his or her arguments rather than rebut them civilly." He adds, "Gee, how many insults can fit into a single editorial?" and "Wow! Time to take a deep breath!" (p. 291). Sadly, such personal reactions to press criticism substitute for a considered recollection of the evolving political debate and betray a misunderstanding of journalism's role in a democracy.

Occasionally, a darker side of Douglas emerges, obscuring the otherwise warm and genial style. His retelling of his defeat on gay marriage and the legislative override of his veto focuses on his animus toward proponents. "He [his successor, Governor Peter Shumlin] later reciprocated by appointing one of the leading lobbyists of the movement to the Supreme Court" (p. 166). Beth Robinson was indeed appointed to the Court, but the implication is that this "lobbyist's" appointment was political payback, when, in fact, Robinson is an experienced and highly respected attorney who clerked on the Washington D.C. Circuit, often considered a step away from the Supreme Court of the United States.

To refer to her as a "lobbyist" and her appointment to the Vermont Supreme Court as a political reward disregards her unimpeachable qualifications.

Douglas is also crisp in his disdain for special-interest groups, writing that environmental organizations "often had no connection to a proposal except that they opposed it, they had money, and they liked to cause mischief." This generalization conveys his frustration, but hardly does justice to the motives at work. He goes on to say that "there are outfits like the Conservation Law Foundation, a special-interest law firm, whose initials might just as easily stand for, *Control Land Forever*. Along with their confederates at the Vermont Law School, they have impeded just about every development in the state in the last few years. They try to stop everything" (p. 213). In Douglas's view there seems to be little room for the interplay of opposing ideas and civil discourse characteristic of democracy.

Governor Douglas's autobiography is a comfortable read when it is about himself, his family, his Vermont neighbors, and his almost four decades of political activity. It is the subjective retrospective of a man who sincerely loves his constituents and, in turn, desires their affection. The partisan rhetoric, however, undermines the book's value as an historical record of his extensive service to Vermonters.

BILL SCHUBART

Bill Schubart is a retired businessman, a public radio commentator, and a fiction writer.

Deluge: Tropical Storm Irene, Vermont's Flash Floods, and How One Small State Saved Itself

By Peggy Shinn (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2013, pp xii, 218, $27.95; ebook $22.99).

Peggy Shinn's new book about the ravages of Tropical Storm Irene "does not aim to tell every Vermonter's Irene story. There are simply too many" (p. xii). Instead, the focus is meant to rest on four individuals—Susie Haughwout, the Wilmington town clerk; Lisa Sullivan, a Wilmington bookstore owner; Tracy Payne, a homeowner in Jamaica; Geo Honigford, a farmer in South Royalton—and one town, Pittsfield, one of the places left stranded by the storm as the roads washed away.

The text is divided into three parts: the advent of the storm itself, the rescue, and the recovery. The book's back matter offers a useful appen-

dix that lays out the key statistics that resulted from Irene: the number of towns affected, total property damage, road closures, FEMA assistance, and other measurements. It also includes a bibliography and a publisher's note about organizations still gathering and distributing recovery funds.

The literature of bad weather is a vine with many tendrils, with the best-selling *The Perfect Storm* by Sebastian Junger taking a certain pride of place, but with books on climate, tornados, storm chasing, and survival also in the mix. The elements in turmoil can make for thrilling reading, and we get a taste of this early on—the narrative opens with a dramatic rescue in Pittsfield featuring the sudden rise of the Tweed River, ropes, dogs, trucks, water-borne debris, and even a cliffhanger ending as Heather Grey fights the powerful current and yells, "I can't do it!" (p. 8).

But the narrow focus on selected people and places promised in the preface widens fairly quickly to include emergency responders, road construction crews, volunteers, organizers, selectmen, reporters, food vendors, utility workers, and innocent bystanders who stood and watched while a bridge or an entire house washed away. In a way this is unfortunate, since there's a challenge for the reader in keeping all these people straight; but it is also perhaps inevitable, since much of the point of the book is the mobilization of human, mechanical, and economic resources in response to Irene. The chapter called "Vermont Ingenuity and Volunteerism" is a catalogue of selflessness, focus, and the gritty, get-it-done determination that marked the response to the storm—at one point, CBS reporter Wyatt Andrews interviews Paul Fraser, emergency management director in Jamaica, about what the repair crew is doing, and asks,

"Is it fair to say you are moving this creek from there to there?"

"I like to say we're returning it to where it came from," replied Fraser.

"You didn't ask permission?" asked Andrews.

"Well, we'll apologize later," said Fraser. "This had to be done" (p. 119).

Deluge is at times overpopulated and at other times burdened with extraneous detail that can be distracting. This reader, for example, didn't really need to know about the views from the dormer windows of a house that is soon to be washed away, or that "[T]his would be her mom's room, when her mother could get away from caring for her ailing father in Maryland" (p. 46). Not every scrap of information is created equal or deserves inclusion, but at other times the reach for every detail pays off, as in the description of the search for the Garafanos, a father and son who worked for the Rutland Public Works Department and

were killed while checking on the status of an intake valve at Mendon Brook. Shinn carefully describes the search and eventual retrieval of the bodies in the wreckage left by the storm and the delicate, difficult work of picking apart the snags and snarls of debris. The "gut-wrenching work" (p. 97) of extracting the first of the two bodies using heavy machinery has real resonance: "'It's one thing to dig somebody out that you don't know,'" said Doug Casella. "'It's another thing to work around someone you know and recognize'" (p. 96).

Deluge also reaches its overriding goal of capturing the courage and single-mindedness of Vermonters in the face of Irene's unexpected devastation—from the ground up. Everywhere across the state, people turned out to help their neighbors and went on to help people they didn't know. The aftermath of Irene affirmed the resilience of small communities and the backbone found in places like Pittsfield, South Royalton, and Jamaica. And in looking back, the right questions are asked about Vermont's readiness for future disasters, given the new and unpredictable weather patterns apparently on the horizon. "Should buildings be allowed in floodplains?" Shinn asks. "If fluvial erosion caused so much damage, shouldn't floodplain regulations be rewritten for mountain states?" (p. 205). Good questions, and questions Vermonters can no longer afford to ignore.

HELEN HUSHER

Helen Husher is the author of three books about or based in Vermont. She lives in Montpelier.

Vermont Beer: History of a Brewing Revolution

By Kurt Staudter and Adam Krakowski (Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2014, pp. 192, paper, $19.99).

Modern-day Vermont is a beer-lover's paradise, brimming with craft breweries that rank among the world's best. It boasts the most breweries per capita of any state in the union and features "The best beer town in New England"—Waterbury, according to *The Boston Globe.*

But Vermont hasn't always been the brew haven that it is today. "Simply put, before Greg Noonan's Vermont Pub & Brewery and Catamount Brewing Company [opened in the 1980s], there was no legal brewery in Vermont for over a century," write Kurt Staudter and Adam Krakowski in *Vermont Beer: History of a Brewing Revolution* (p. 15).

In the first book of its kind, Staudter and Krakowski guide readers through the beer-hostile era of Green Mountain prohibition to the emergence of Vermont's gilded age of brewing. Staudter, the executive director of the Vermont Brewers Association, and Krakowski, a historic preservationist who has focused on Vermont hop farming, bring robust insights to a tale that has been brewing for centuries.

The story is split into two parts, and it reads like separate books. The authors begin by meandering through a sea of records, and the first brewing story they share with readers is dated 1777. At this time, Vermont was still an independent state, and a group of men sought to raise funds for a brewery via a state-sanctioned lottery. Documentation of the state's first fully functioning brewery, however, dates to 1791— the year Vermont became the fourteenth of the United States. This venture began in Middlebury with a man brewing porter and distilling liquors.

Daniel Stanford opened Burlington's first brewery in 1800, and Samuel Hickock established the Burlington Brewery in 1828. During this period, more than 100 distilleries cropped up across the state, and other breweries in Poultney and Hartford opened their doors.

These nascent breweries were short lived, however, as the beer market sailed into the lethal headwinds of state prohibition in 1852. During the early years of prohibition, many breweries continued to produce beer that they sold out of state. The first recorded instance of Vermont-crafted India Pale Ale—the popular beer known for its high hop content—emerged in 1856, paralleling a rise in state hop production. But, as Staudter and Krakowski point out, many breweries and industries that relied on the creation of beer soon fled Vermont for more hospitable markets.

The rhythm of the book's first section is a bit choppy, which is, in part, a reflection of the early Vermont brewing industry that included fewer than a dozen breweries before 1989. Even in light of the content, the book's early stories are at times clouded by information that would have greatly benefited from the editorial filters of footnotes and tighter organization. While the first part of the book moves tangentially through Vermont's beer history, the authors develop a stride in the second section that is more palatable to the casual reader—at least it was for this reader.

The second part of *Vermont Beer* presents short, punchy anecdotes that are arranged by brewery name, and flow in chronological order. This section begins with the founding fathers of the Vermont craft brewing revolution—Steve Mason of Catamount Brewing Company and Greg Noonan of Vermont Pub & Brewery.

In 1985, the now-defunct Catamount Brewing Company became

New England's first, modern microbrewery—100 years after Montpelier legislators outlawed alcohol production. Meanwhile, Noonan, with the help of Burlington Representative Bill Mares, successfully lobbied the legislature in 1988 to end an antiquated law that forbade the buying and drinking of beer where it was brewed. With a maple sap boiler for a brew kettle, Greg Noonan opened Vermont's first modern brewpub.

Before the decade was out, Andy Pherson began brewing the famous Long Trail Pale Ale, now known simply as "Long Trail Ale." Pherson's Mountain Brewers blossomed into the renowned Long Trail Brewing Company.

The 1990s were the yeast to the malt of the 1980s' brewing scene in Vermont. Roughly two dozen new breweries bubbled up across the state, and Vermonters were inundated with beers of a quality that residents in few other states could enjoy.

Lawrence Miller introduced the world to Middlebury's Otter Creek Brewing in 1991, and Ray McNeil opened the doors to Brattleboro's McNeill's Brewery that same year. Dozens of breweries—such as Burlington's Magic Hat, Montpelier's Golden Dome Brewing, and the Northeast Kingdom's Trout River Brewing Company—began supplying the demands of a vibrant and supportive local economy. While not all of these breweries met success, many led to new companies and world-class brewers, such as Shaun Hill of Hill Farmstead Brewery, Sean Lawson of Lawson's Finest Liquids, and John Kimmich of the Alchemist, to name but a few of the many brewers presently leading Vermont in high-quality suds.

Staudter and Krakowski's *Vermont Beer* takes readers on a tour through the openings, expansions, closings, and backstories of the state's most fabled breweries. What the book lacks in editorial oversight it more than makes up for in the high quality of information bursting from its pages. Staudter and Krakowski have written the go-to book on Vermont's brewing history, and it is a volume that deserves its spot on the shelves of any Vermont brewer, beer enthusiast, or thirsty mind.

ANDREW C. STEIN

Andrew C. Stein is a home brewer and former journalist who has written for a range of Vermont and national publications. He is currently the special investigator for the Office of the Vermont State Auditor.

More About Vermont History

Recent Additions to the Vermont Historical Society Library

Books

Allen, Richard H., *Williston Vermont: Commemorating 250 Years of Town History*. Williston, Vt.: Williston Historical Society, 2014. 43p. Source: Privately published in copperation with Dorothy Alling Memorial Library (paper).

Barnard, E. L., *On the Common: A History & Memoir of Newton Academy: Persistence, Defiance, Victory and Loss*. No publisher, 2014. 150p. Source: Amazon.com. List: $9.95 (paper).

*Bennington Historical Society and Bennington Museum, *Bennington*. Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2014. 127p. List: $21.99 (paper).

Cleves, Rachel Hope, *Charity and Sylvia: A Same-Sex Marriage in Early America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. 267p. List: $29.95. Two women partners in Weybridge in the early 1800s.

Comiskey, Mary E., and Linda deNeergaard, *Restoring Richardson*. Northfield, Vt.: The Authors, 2014. Unpaginated. Source: Privately published. Cemetery in Northfield.

*Corson, Grant, *The Weed Road Chronicles*. No publisher, 2013. 139p. List: $12.00 (paper). Stories of life in Essex in the 1960s.

*Douglas, James H., *The Vermont Way: A Republican Governor Leads*

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America's Most Liberal State. New Haven, Vt.: Common Ground Communications, 2014. 359p. List: $35.00.

*Heath, James, and Monica Heath, *Hyde Park*. Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2014. 127p. List: $21.99 (paper).

Hull, Douglas E., *The Boy from Vermont: Stories Lived along the Way*. No publisher, 2013. 179p. Source: Privately published (paper). Autobiography of author who grew up in Vermont and became an accountant living in Worcester.

*Kent, Jeanne Morningstar, *The Visual Language of Wabanaki Art*. Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2014. 142p. List: $19.99 (paper).

*Lake Champlain Maritime Museum, *Lake Champlain*. Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2014. 127p. List: $21.99 (paper).

*Martin, Stephen B., *Orville's Revenge: The Anatomy of a Suicide*. Barre, Vt.: L. Brown and Sons, 2014. 248p. List: $15.95 (paper). 1958 murder of Orville Gibson in Newbury.

*Mello, Robert A., *Moses Robinson and the Founding of Vermont*. Barre, Vt.: Vermont Historical Society, 2014. 450p. List: $34.95 (paper).

*The Northfield Historical Society, *Northfield*. Charleston, S.C.: Arcadia Publishing, 2014. 127p. List: $21.99 (paper).

*Sherburne, Michelle Arnosky. *The St. Albans Raid: Confederate Attack on Vermont*. Charleston, S.C.: The History Press, 2014. 190p. List: $21.99 (paper).

*Staudter, Kurt, and Adam Krakowski, *Vermont Beer: History of a Brewing Revolution*. Charleston, S.C.: American Palate, 2014. 189p. List: $19.99 (paper).

*Tedford, Ted, *Incident at St. Albans*. Warren, Vt.: Tamarac Press, 2014. 223p. List: $17.95 (paper).

ARTICLES

DeLuca, Richard, "Memphremagog or Bust: The Connecticut River Company, the Farmington Canal, and Their Battle for the Upper Connecticut River," *Waterways and Byways, 1600-1890 (Annual proceedings, Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife)*, 34 (2009): 36-47.

Hudson, Mark S., "Mason S. Stone and Educational Reform in the Progressive Era," *Vermont Magazine*, 26:4 (July/August 2014): 63-64.

Ouellette, Susan, "Lake Champlain: Ice Highway/Ice Byway," *Waterways and Byways, 1600-1890 (Annual proceedings, Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife)*, 34 (2009): 72-81.

*Indicates books available through the Vermont Historical Society Museum Store, www.vermonthistory.org/store.

Letters to the Editor

Buildings of Vermont

To the Editor:

I write to correct a major error that was published in last issue's review of *The Buildings of Vermont* [*Vermont History* 82 (Summer/Fall, 2014): 149-151]. I am not the sole author. Rather, historian Curtis Johnson and I worked on the book for some twenty years as co-authors. Unlike the case with many of the books in the *Buildings of the United States* series, we decided at the outset to limit the size of the necessary collaborative team in order to be able to exercise control over concept, content, and style. Curtis and I worked closely and complementarily in the planning, funding, building selection, writing, and editing of this volume, drawing on our varied specializations and background experiences to jointly write a text that covered a complete range of building genres and a synthesized overview of the state's building history. Beyond his additional contribution of all of the photography for the book and as noted in all the information in and on the volume, he stands fully and indispensably as co-author.

Glenn Andres

Col. William Marsh

To the Editor:

We write regarding John Duffy's review of our book, *Col. William Marsh, Vermont Patriot and Loyalist*, in *Vermont History* 82 (Summer/Fall 2014): 156-159. We were surprised and disappointed [...] by some factual misrepresentations.

For example, the review states that "Marsh's colonelcy in the book's title seems to have been awarded posthumously by nineteenth-century historians" (p. 157). Yet as our book notes on pp. 90, 111, 118, and 119, the records of the committees of safety and the conventions leading to the formation of Vermont in the 1770s all consistently gave him the title of colonel; if Vermonters invented it in any sense, its usage was established and accepted as of 1775, as well as carved on his gravestone in 1816. Duffy also describes Marsh as being "town pound keeper" in early Manchester, but our sources also list him in important positions such as moderator, clerk, and town representative (*Marsh*, pp. 58-59).

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On p. 158, Duffy states that after Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga in 1777, Marsh made "a surreptitious visit in Manchester" before going on to Canada. The visit to his family was, however, allowed under the terms of his parole; and it was made not to Manchester but to Dorset, where the family had taken up residence some time before (*Marsh*, p. 151 and note 58).

In the next paragraph, Duffy writes that after the war, Marsh "explored and promoted settlement of loyalists down the St. Lawrence River on the Bay of Chaleurs and upstream around the Bay of Quinte on Lake Ontario." This is a misreading. The Bay of Chaleur is on the Gulf of St Lawrence, and Marsh was never there or a promoter of that locale. Also he was not involved in or an advocate for founding loyalist settlements at the Bay of Quinte; rather, he was a critic of the British choosing of that distant locale. His proposal for loyalist resettlement was entirely focused on Memphremagog near the Quebec-Vermont border, as we detailed in *Marsh*, pp. 213-15; 231-33, and 243. After its complete rejection, he and his family later necessarily turned to seeking grants of land at the Bay of Quinte.

On p. 159, Duffy states that "Governor Thomas Chittenden supported Marsh's unsuccessful claim for restoration of his confiscated Manchester land." We found no evidence for any such support, though Marsh retained faint hopes that some land might be restored. In fact, Chittenden certified that Marsh's land "Has been Legally confiscated and the principle part thereof Sold, for the use and Benefits of this state, on account of his Enimical Conduct in adhering to the cause of Great Britain"—a document (quoted in *Marsh*, p. 356) that actually helped to reinforce Marsh's successful loyalist land claims in Canada (and of course sold lands could not be restored).

The review disparages our use of speculation at times and "lack of evidence" on various points. In fact, controlled speculation based on whatever strands of evidence can be gathered is key to any historical detective work [. . .]. Our footnotes compile all the sources and data on which we base our findings and inferences, and we duly qualify our statements where appropriate. Family histories and genealogy, dismissed in this review, offer intriguing pieces of evidence about the Marsh family's origins, background, choices, and motivations, and have a place in an in-depth biography. The "speculative mare's nest" of which Duffy complains (p. 156) occupies only three pages (6-8) assessing enduring family stories about an ancestral Marsh killed in the English Civil War; this royalist ancestor was surely real enough, though at one more generational remove than fits known information. The stories persisted for reasons that merit attention and interpretation. [. . .]

JENNIFER S. H. BROWN
WILSON B. BROWN

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