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Compiled by PAUL A. CARNAHAN

BOOK REVIEWS



Champlain's Dream

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

H. NICHOLAS MULLER III

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

Lake Champlain: An Illustrated History

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THOMAS K. SLAYTON

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

Lake Champlain: A Natural History

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MATT DAVIS

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

A Short Story of American Destiny, 1909–2009

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

LINDA B. GRAY

Linda B. Gray is a professor and chair of Historical, Social and Cultural Studies at Union Institute & University of Montpelier, Vermont.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PAUL SEARLS

Paul Searls is an associate professor of history at Lyndon State College.

Dr. Henry Janes: Country Doctor & Civil War Surgeon

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JOHN A. LEPPMAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JEFFREY D. MARSHALL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TYLER RESCH

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More Than Petticoats: Remarkable Vermont Women

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

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

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

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

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

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

SAMUEL B. HAND

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BLAKE HARRISON

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MARK S. HUDSON

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Historic Photos of Vermont

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TORDIS ILG ISSELHARDT

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The Vermont-Quebec Border: Life on the Line

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Montpelier: Images of Vermont's Capital City

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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