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BOOK REVIEWS



Green Mountain Scholar: Samuel B. Hand, Dean of Vermont Historians.

Edited by H. Nicholas Muller III, Kristin Peterson-Ishaq, J. Kevin Graffagnino, and Richard Watts (Burlington: Center for Research on Vermont, University of Vermont, 2017, pp. xl, 462, \$50).

This volume is an affectionate tribute to Sam Hand, an important and much-loved Vermont historian who taught at the University of Vermont (UVM) for more than thirty years and remained an important force in Vermont historical circles for years afterward. He died in 2011.

Hand's influence was pervasive. In addition to his teaching career, he helped found the Center for Research on Vermont at UVM, provided valuable leadership to the Vermont Historical Society during his two terms as its president, and authored or co-authored many scholarly articles and books. His history of the Vermont Republican Party, *The Star That Set: The Vermont Republican Party, 1854-1974*, is considered the authoritative work on the rise, hundred-year-long dominance, and decline of the influence of the Grand Old Party here.

Green Mountain Scholar is primarily a look backward at Hand's work and influence. It is an anthology of his writings and that of some of his students and colleagues. The only new work in the volume is the very thorough biographical introduction by fellow historian H. Nicholas Muller III, a friend of Hand's and for a time his colleague in the UVM History Department.

Although it contains little new material, the book provides much valuable reading for those interested in Vermont history. The second part of the book contains articles either written or co-written by Hand that explore such topics as Vermont's political history, the "mountain rule" that dictated much of that history until modern times, the Vermont judiciary, civil rights and racism in Vermont, and the Flood of 1927. This section also includes two of Hand's early articles on New Deal-era poli-

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tics and two tongue-in-cheek parodies of scholarly writing that he published with Arthur S. Kunin.

The picture that emerges from the book is of a brilliant and idiosyncratic man who was both a serious scholar and a puckish wit. He liked to tell the story of a time when he was standing on the rim of the Grand Canyon and was approached by another tourist who asked where he was from.

“I’m from Vermont,” he responded.

“I thought so,” replied the questioner. “You sound just like Bernie Sanders!”

Hand said that when he came to Vermont to join the UVM faculty in 1961, he knew that Vermont had been one of only two states—Maine was the other—to vote against the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt. And that, he claimed, was the extent of his knowledge.

But his work here changed all that. By the 1970s, he had become fascinated by Vermont history, and had begun offering the courses in that area that would define his UVM career.

Hand’s studies of Vermont politics, especially the rise and decline of the Republican Party in the state, opened Vermonters’ eyes to their own political story. He was unfailingly generous to other Vermont historians, and *Green Mountain Scholar* reflects that as well as his influence on students and colleagues who continue to create on their own a large body of historical research and writing. The third part of the book includes pieces by a several former students and colleagues, whose work will be familiar to most readers of this journal.

All in all, the book is a fitting tribute to an excellent historian and a fine man.

THOMAS K. SLAYTON

Thomas K. Slayton is a journalist who lives in Montpelier. He was a newspaper reporter and editor for twenty years, and was editor-in-chief of Vermont Life from 1984 to 2007.

Early Vermont Settlers to 1771, Vol. 1: Southern Windsor County

Edited by Scott Andrew Bartley (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2017, pp. 487, paper, \$49.95).

This volume, edited by one of Vermont and New England’s most distinguished genealogists, is envisaged to be the first in a “likely ten-volume series.” Organized geographically, the series proposes to cover

all settlers arriving to Vermont by the end of 1771 in what is described as “the first scholarly prosopography study of the state” (p. xiii). For anyone unfamiliar with this term, Oxford historian Katharine Keats-Rohan’s definition is helpful: “prosopography is about what the analysis of the sum of data about many individuals can tell us about the different types of connection between them, and hence about how they operated within and upon the institutions—social, political, legal, economic, intellectual—of their time” (*History and Computing*, 12:1 [2000], p. 2). This approach characterizes the work that many of us self-proclaimed “New Social Historians” have undertaken in carefully reconstructing the role of ordinary people (in contrast with élites) in Vermont’s history since the 1970s.

Donald A. Smith, whose brief essay “Renegade Yankees and the King of New England” serves as an Introduction to this book, has been a leading light in this movement. His four decades of research and his “thousands of biographical file cards” (p. xix) tracking the ancestry, prior residences, and the political, economic, and religious activities of more than 2,500 Vermont heads of household between 1749 and 1784, provide both the inspiration and the practical foundation for this work. In particular, Smith’s analysis of more than 500 Green Mountain Boys found few Ethan Allen “clones.” Rather, what bound the group together were strong religious ties to anti-authoritarian sects (e.g., New Lights, Baptists) formed in the aftermath of the Great Awakening and their participation in the anti-New York border wars of the 1750s-60s opposing New York’s manorial land systems. In the character and shared experiences of the group rather than its self-proclaimed leader, Smith sees Vermont’s “resplendent democratic independence” (p. xx).

Bartley’s goal for this project “is to identify everyone involved with the settlement of each town,” including surveyors and road builders, but primarily “the first group who settled in town” (p. xiii). Thirty-eight pages of records researched (described as a “Short Citation Bibliography”) testify to the extraordinary depth of research he has undertaken.

This first volume features sketches of 137 settlers in five Windsor County towns. At first read, the volume seems rather enigmatic. Settlers’ ancestral origins, prior residences, and religious affiliations—the grist for Smith’s thesis—are downplayed and often absent. More prominent are references to settlers across the five towns signing petitions seeking New York confirmatory grants in the 1760s, pursuing association agreements in the early 1770s, and actively joining New York political and military organizations at the start of the American Revolution. With few exceptions, these Windsor settlers were not the “Renegade Yankees” upon whom the radicalism and political violence of the Green Mountain Boys generated support.

Brief historical sketches preceding the biographical sketches reflect diversity in each town's founding settlements. Springfield's proximity to New Hampshire's Fort Number 4 in Charlestown fostered early settlement by young men from diverse locations, likely veterans, and included squatters with whom proprietors contested land rights. Windsor's settlers, while more geographically homogeneous (a majority coming from Farmington, New Hampshire), were more diverse in matters of age and religious and political affiliations (with several prominent Loyalist families), all of which contributed to Windsor's being a "hotbed of friction" from its inception. Weathersfield was "slow to be settled" by young men from coastal Connecticut (p. 277). Chester's early residents hailed predominantly from Worcester, Massachusetts, where the original proprietors lived. Andover was already a backwater, notwithstanding proprietors' fraudulent claims when seeking a New York confirmatory grant in 1771 that twenty families were already resident.

The common foundation for each of Bartley's 137 biographical sketches relies on original proprietary and town land records, specifying dates, parties, and locations of land transactions. Vital records provide detailed information on birth date and location, marriage(s), and death, not only for the settlers but for their spouses, children, and even extended family members (stepchildren and those of other spouses). Political and religious affiliations, where records have been found, further document activities within their Vermont communities.

Some biographies are more engaging than others. Probate inventories, where located, supplement land and business transactions in illuminating patterns of financial success on Vermont's fledgling frontier. Individual petitions for release from debt and even prison highlight instances where fortunes never materialized or were lost. Details on multiple marriages, children and stepchildren, military experiences, and other facts culled from letters and obituaries further breathe life into many who would otherwise be altogether forgotten.

Still, it is the proposed set, taken as a prosopographic whole, that promises to foster research opportunities for Vermont historians in years to come. With its multigenerational database, this series will allow us to better understand the bonds and shared experiences that shaped Vermont's economic, political, and social past.

P. JEFFREY POTASH

Jeff Potash is a former Professor of History at Trinity College (VT), a "new social historian," and co-author with Michael Sherman and Gene Sessions of Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont (2004).

*Those Turbulent Sons of Freedom: Ethan Allen's
Green Mountain Boys and the American
Revolution*

By Christopher S. Wren (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018, pp. xiii, 302, \$26.00).

The interrelated topics of Ethan Allen, the exploits of the Green Mountain Boys, the Revolutionary War coursing over the Lake Champlain waterway linking Canada and the Hudson River, and the formation of the fourteenth state have occupied more attention and consumed more printers' ink than any other set of events in Vermont's past. Ethan Allen has attracted more biographical books—several early and thin efforts, at least six serious studies, a number of novels, a late nineteenth-century dime novel, books designed for children, and several collections of his papers and essays—than any other Vermonter. Christopher S. Wren's daunting challenge to research and write a book to provide a different view of the many and often well-told accounts of Allen and this period required an abundance of temerity.

Wren, a native Californian, earned a degree at Dartmouth College and a master's degree in journalism at Columbia. He went on to build a strong career with the *New York Times*, where he served as a reporter, editor, and bureau chief in Moscow, Cairo, Beijing, Ottawa, and Johannesburg, publishing six books along the way. When he retired, he set out from New York City and walked nearly 400 miles to Vermont, across the Connecticut River from his alma mater. His thoughts and impressions appeared as *Walking to Vermont: From Times Square into the Green Mountains—A Homeward Adventure* (2004). An able researcher, a facile and congenial writer, and a perceptive student of human nature, Wren has now turned to the task of adding something useful to the standard story of early Vermont.

Those Turbulent Sons of Freedom largely succeeds. It does not address the long-standing historical debates: How did St. Clair fail to fortify Sugar Loaf (Mt. Defiance) and thereby lose Fort Ticonderoga? Why did Burgoyne put his temporary headquarters at Skenesborough? Did the Allens and their coterie of associates actually contemplate returning Vermont to the British Empire during the Haldimand Negotiations (a term Wren avoids)? or many of the other issues of contention. The book has a lengthy bibliography, though it does not include a few of the standard sources. While Wren effectively works into his

narrative many direct and pertinent quotations from participants, his brief discussions of the sources for each chapter do not adequately substitute for the absence of notes. Notwithstanding a few and widely scattered misstatements, they make no difference to the quality of the book. Wren skates close to the issues about which historians still debate, but he does not get drawn onto thin ice.

Historians and biographers have largely approached the story from the high altitude of the peaks of the Green Mountains. Wren has adopted a much different approach. One can almost detect the aromas of the hidey holes in which Ebenezer Fletcher eluded Burgoyne's German soldiers and, especially, local Loyalists after the battle at Hubbardton, the close calls of Whitcomb's scouts hiding from the British Indian allies, or the woods in which Justus Sherwood met secretly with Ethan Allen. He writes effectively from ground level and deftly guides the participants, allowing them to tell their own stories through the passages he selects from their journals and papers.

Subtitled *Ethan Allen's Green Mountain Boys and the American Revolution*, Wren confronts the difficulty of Allen's captivity, which kept him effectively away from Vermont and the revolutionary events between his capture at Montreal in September 1775 and his return to Bennington in May 1778. Wren masterfully resolves that problem by introducing a full discussion of Justus Sherwood, who began his career as one of Allen's Green Mountain Boys. Sherwood became a Loyalist, scouted for Burgoyne, fought at Bennington, fathered two children in wartime Vermont, and attempted to turn Ethan Allen and his brother Ira in secret negotiations he conducted on behalf of General Frederick Haldimand, governor of Québec. Wren also effectively weaves into his narrative the much-esteemed career of Seth Warner, Allen's lieutenant in the Green Mountain Boys and the successful leader and colonel of the Green Mountain ranger regiment that fought, often brilliantly, throughout the Burgoyne campaign. Late in the war Warner would split with Allen over the negotiations with Sherwood. Keeping to the ground level, Wren weaves into his tapestry pertinent material about men such as John Stark, Allen's cousin Ebenezer Allen, and his brothers Heman, Levi, and Ira, among a large cast of *dramatis personae*.

In his preface Wren acknowledges that the "homesteaders who settled New England's northern frontier" and defended "their shaky titles to the land they cleared" (and he might have added, speculated with), were "driven by self-interest more than patriotism" (p. xi). His conclusion echoes the same analysis: "Vermonters preferred to live under benign British rule . . . to being dismembered by New York and deprived of their right to keep what they had cleared and settled in the New

Hampshire Grants. As from the beginning, their rebellion was about the land” (p. 233). A consummate professional, Chris Wren has researched and written a highly readable account that introduces a fresh vantage from ground level that distinguishes much of this book from its predecessors.

H. NICHOLAS MULLER III

*H. Nicholas Muller's book with co-author John Duffy, *Inventing Ethan Allen* (2014), has earned several awards. With John Duffy and Gary Shattuck, he expects to publish in the coming months substantial new information and insights about the Grants in 1759-1775. Long a historian of Vermont, Muller is an honorary trustee of the Vermont Historical Society.*

*Ratification of the Constitution by the States:
Confederation Congress and Vermont. Vol. 29 of
The Documentary History of the Ratification of the
Constitution*

Edited by: John P. Kaminski, et al. (Madison: Wisconsin Historical Society Press, 2017, pp. xxiv, 288, \$95.00).

This is the most recent addition to the superbly edited series of volumes produced by the Wisconsin Historical Society Press on the ratification of the Constitution and of the Bill of Rights by the states. Earlier volumes in the series cover the ratification debates in twelve of the original thirteen states, with twenty-one volumes dedicated to ratification of the Constitution (1788), and an additional seven devoted to documents and commentaries. Still to come are two volumes on ratification by North Carolina and two volumes on ratification of the Bill of Rights (1791). Each volume begins with a scholarly introductory essay followed by a helpfully annotated collection of all the relevant original documents, both records of the ratification convention debates themselves and contemporary commentary.

The volume under review serves primarily to wrap up loose ends, covering two subjects not previously covered in earlier volumes but otherwise sharing little in common. The first half covers certain transitional decisions the Confederation Congress was required to make once the Constitution had been ratified by the requisite number of states. Under resolutions adopted by the Constitutional Convention, the Confederation Congress was charged with responsibility for organizing the new federal elections and for determining the temporary residence of the

new federal government. The first of these tasks was accomplished quickly and with little difficulty. Deciding where the seat of the new government should be temporarily located, however, proved deeply controversial.

The southern states were opposed to locating the temporary seat in New York, where the Confederation Congress had been meeting since 1785. They feared the city's relative accessibility to representatives from northern states would give them disproportionate influence in the new federal government and were concerned that whatever city was chosen might be made the permanent capitol. The southern states were also opposed to Philadelphia for much the same reasons, even though that city was more centrally located in terms of both geography and distribution of population. Baltimore and Annapolis were more attractive choices for the southern states, but those locations too had their disadvantages and detractors. The result was political stalemate.

There was growing concern that the whole constitutional enterprise might founder for want of agreement over where the temporary seat of the new government should be located. George Washington, among others, was distressed by the prospect: "To be shipwrecked in sight of the Port," he wrote, would be "the severest of all possible aggravations" (p.84). Eventually Virginia, which had originally pressed for a southern location, agreed to abandon its objections to New York. It was better to go with New York, James Madison explained, than "to strangle the gov't in its birth" (pp. 82-83). Consequently, on September 13, 1788, with nine state delegations voting (the recalcitrant states not participating), the Confederation Congress unanimously agreed upon New York as the temporary seat of the new federal government.

The second half of this volume covers an event entirely distinct in time and substance: the Vermont ratification convention in January 1791. The Vermont ratification convention is included because Vermont was the only other state besides the original thirteen to hold a ratifying convention. For students of Vermont history, the great value and interest of this second section of the work lies in the excellent introductory essay, the initial draft of which was prepared by H. Nicholas Muller III, setting the political context for the convention. The essay covers much familiar ground—the struggle over competing land grants from New Hampshire and New York; the interventions of Ethan Allen and his Green Mountain Boys in support of the New Hampshire claimants; the proceedings at Windsor in 1777 that produced the first Vermont constitution; the emergence of the Allen-Chittenden faction as the dominant political faction early in the state's history, followed by the rise of the Chipman-Tichenor faction, which was more sympathetic to joining the

Union; as the increase and changing composition of the state's population; the successful completion of the negotiations with New York in 1790 settling disputed land claims, thus making possible Vermont's admission to the Union as the 14th state—but it covers this ground with a careful scholarly attention to detail that enriches our understanding of this formative period in the state's history.

The proceedings of the convention itself, to which we have access only through contemporary newspaper accounts, prove to be something of an anticlimax. The convention met for only four days, with deliberations occupying only two of those days; there was no focused discussion of the Constitution; and the debate was primarily over the relative advantages and disadvantages to Vermont of joining the Union; only a handful of delegates were opposed; and in the end the resolution to ratify easily passed by a vote of 105-4. The primary arguments against ratification were: (1) Vermont would lose its independence and, with that, its ability to negotiate some sort of political alliance with Canada; (2) the decision was too important to be rushed through, therefore delay was called for; and (3) it was not clear that the negotiated settlement with the state of New York would insulate Vermont landowners from lawsuits by New York claimants who had been dispossessed. These arguments made little headway, however, and in the end, the convention voted overwhelmingly in favor of ratification.

From a political standpoint, the primary interest of the Vermont convention is the reflection it offers of the declining statewide influence of the Allen-Chittenden faction. Chittenden and the Allens had traditionally been associated with those who favored maintaining the state's independence, but at the convention, seeing the writing on the wall, Chittenden and his allies threw in the towel. As Ethan Allen's brother, Levi, bemoaned upon learning of the outcome: "Ethan Allen being dead, and Ira Allen was silent on account of the land he owned, and . . . Governor Chittenden thought it unpopular to oppose the current, so that poor Vermont had not a man of any considerable consequence to say a word for her real interest" (p. 232).

By providing immediate and informed access to original sources, this volume and others in the series allow us to experience firsthand the exchange of views and opinions by the actual participants in the important political debates that took place during this crucial period. It allows us to understand and appreciate the significance of historical events not in our own terms but in the terms of those who actually lived them. This is history in the best and largest sense of the word: history as a mind-enlarging, perspective-enriching experience. This is not the sort of book that one keeps on one's bedside table for entertaining nighttime reading.

It is an expertly organized and helpfully annotated collection of original documents that will serve as an invaluable research resource for scholars and students of history for years to come.

PETER R. TEACHOUT

Peter R. Teachout is Professor of Law at Vermont Law School. He is the author of numerous articles and essays and is currently working on a biography of Thomas Reed Powell, a pioneering legal realist and famous Supreme Court critic.

Jim Crow North: The Struggle for Equal Rights in Antebellum New England

By Richard Archer (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 296, \$29.95).

In this fascinating study, Richard Archer ably explores the fight for equal rights in Antebellum New England. An emeritus professor at Whittier College, Archer is the author of two books about early American history: one about seventeenth-century New England and the other focusing on the British occupation of Boston. His introduction begins with an overview of the well-known lives of Hosea Easton and David Walker, along with their ideas for African American improvement. Archer notes that, “At the time of Easton’s ‘Address’ and Walker’s *Appeal*, racism and the construction of a society where people of African descent had a defined and inferior position (in short, a caste system) were winning in New England” (p. 6). Although carefully noting some exceptions, his introduction highlights the *de facto* segregation (such as Nigger Hill in the Beacon Hill section) in most cities along with exceedingly limited employment opportunities. This is not to mention white mobs attacking black people and black settlements throughout New England cities such as Providence and Boston in the 1820s and 1830s. Archer sums up his position, “New England African Americans lived in a racist world, full of discrimination, insults, caste, and hostile assaults” (p. 16). This blunt assessment of the experience of New England black people is accurate, but as Archer shows with his discussion of David Walker, Hosea Easton, and many others, black people came up with myriad strategies to make the best of their lives—no matter how bleak or depressing they may seem to us today.

The book is divided into six parts. The first part explores New England slavery and the many and sometimes contradictory meanings of emancipation. The second part examines the strategies of black people

to support and protect their race. For example, Afro-New Englanders came up with various organizations such as the Afric-American Female Intelligence Society of Boston, the African Humane Society, and black churches to give themselves (with the help of white benefactors and white friends) some forms of meaningful citizenship. Archer also traces the well-known story of white race riots against black people. In doing so, Part II shows the various obstacles and opportunities that black New Englanders faced. Parts III and IV closely examine the steps taken against racism on the railways and the fight to legalize mixed-race marriages. In Part V, Archer explores how “overall improvement had not eliminated caste or produced full equality” (p. 206). In the epilogue, Archer notes that African New Englanders did make progress against racism and caste structures, but “the bulk of black New Englanders continued to be blocked by the wall of poverty and racism” (p. 225).

Richard Archer has provided scholars and students with an excellent and readable study of the civil rights struggle of Afro-New Englanders. He shows that racism had exceedingly deep roots in New England, but so did the efforts of African Americans to claim and maintain meaningful citizenship. As Archer shows, black people were not satisfied with basic freedom bathed in discriminatory attitudes, laws, and beliefs. Instead, they fought tooth and nail to achieve what they came to consider their rights as citizens of the various states of New England.

HARVEY AMANI WHITFIELD

Harvey Amani Whitfield is Professor of History at the University of Vermont. He is the author of North to Bondage: Loyalist Slavery in the Maritimes (2016) and The Problem of Slavery in Early Vermont, 1777-1810 (2014).

The Long Shadow. The Winds of Freedom (Book One)

By Beth Kanell (Waterville, ME: Five Star Publishing, 2018, pp. 299, paper, \$25.95).

“I have discovered something I’d never known before about secrets, as well as secret passageways: When you know things that you can’t speak to the people in the room with you, you feel alone. Very, very alone” (p. 251). In March 1850, Vermont was full of secrets and Beth Kanell’s novel for young readers, *The Long Shadow*, targets the secrecy surrounding slavery and the Underground Railroad in Vermont.

Told through the eyes of fifteen-year-old Alice Sanborn, the novel—

the first in a projected series called *The Winds of Freedom*—is not just about slavery, but about family, friendships, and the willingness to stand up to injustice. Kanell sets the novel in the fictional town of North Upton (just outside of St. Johnsbury), where many in the town, including Alice’s father, brother, and uncle, debate abolition and the ramifications of the newly passed Fugitive Slave Act. Legally, slaveholders and bounty hunters have the authority to travel north and reclaim their “property,” and Alice and her best friend Jerushah vow to protect twelve-year-old Sarah Johnson, a former slave, from anyone who would harm her. Suspecting that their brothers Matthew and William are secretly involved in the movement, the girls turn to them for help when a bounty hunter comes north to find an escaped slave. Fearing for Sarah’s safety, they, along with the mysterious Solomon McBride, face a perilous journey through rural Vermont where they encounter snow, dangerous animals, and the kindness of strangers. As a young woman in pre-Civil War Vermont, Alice will second guess her choices and face the loneliness of her secrets, which hold consequences for all those she loves.

Kanell’s novel blends the historical significance of Vermonters helping enslaved people find a new life, as well as the harsh realities of rural Vermont life in the mid-nineteenth century. While many escaped people lived openly in Vermont by the 1850s, there was still danger in settling here or travelling through Vermont to Canada. With the passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, the potential for the return to enslavement was real. Advertisements in the *Green Mountain Freeman*, an antislavery newspaper popular in Vermont, illustrated the many slaveholders who sought the return of their “property,” as well as those who vowed to fight it. The debate surrounding slavery also created divisions in Vermont between those who wanted complete abolition (the Liberty Party) and those who proposed that slaves be returned to Africa (the Vermont Colonization Society). Vermont may have been the first state to limit slavery in its constitution, but that didn’t mean that Vermonters spoke with one voice on the many issues that affected those who were enslaved. Kanell does a wonderful job integrating the many issues encompassing the debate and the varied responses to slavery by creating characters who illustrate those complexities. She furthermore integrates these complexities into the day-to-day lives of the Sanborns and the hard lives of rural Vermonters.

In creating the Sanborn family, Kanell was able to exemplify the multitude of difficulties many rural Vermont families endured during the mid-nineteenth century. I was fascinated by her descriptions of the birthing of animals, and the amount of work it took to make a meal or produce maple sugar. Kanell conveys the interdependence of the whole

community in facing various daily challenges in times of crisis. Many of her characters are well developed and I came to enjoy them and could relate to their struggles. However, I felt the character of Sarah remains underdeveloped. I wanted to know more about her early life and her journey north. There were times I felt that Alice and her friend Jerushah were condescending and patronizing toward Sarah. Kanell could have added to the story if she had allowed readers the ability to hear Sarah's voice and get a deeper understanding of how she coped with being taken away from her family at such a young age. It is through stories such as these that we as readers are enabled to sympathize with and come to love a character. By giving us more "Sarah," Kanell would have helped the reader grasp the danger and the human tragedy of slavery.

As a former high school history teacher and current librarian, I am all too aware of the lack of adequate reading and teaching materials available to educate our young people about early Vermont, especially the stories of Vermont women and minorities. Standardized testing and new curriculum standards have made teaching history, especially Vermont history, a lower priority than previously. Writing fiction for young people is a great way to bridge that gap and to help teachers and students increase literacy skills through a blended curriculum that can include a novel about Vermont. Kanell's book would be a wonderful novel for middle school teachers who struggle to include more history into their already overloaded curriculum. Her book appears to be well researched and tries to overcome the myths surrounding the complex history of the Underground Railroad in Vermont, and Vermonters' attitudes on the very divisive issue of slavery.

All in all, this book is a great read for young people and an effective way for them to understand the complex lives of Vermonters and their willingness to risk danger and jail in order to overcome the injustice of slavery and to find freedom for the enslaved. I look forward to reading book two in the series in order to follow Alice and her journey toward finding justice. As a young girl from Vermont, she exemplifies the true Vermont spirit.

CHRISTINE SMITH

Christine Smith is a teacher-librarian at Spaulding High School in Barre, Vermont. She is also president of Vermont Alliance of the Social Studies (VASS), with a Master's degree in Early American Women's History and Vermont Women's History.

Going Up the Country: When the Hippies, Dreamers, Freaks, and Radicals Moved to Vermont

By Yvonne Daley (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2018, pp. xv, 276, paper, \$19.95; ebook, \$16.99).

Starting in the late 1960s and continuing for a decade, uncountable hordes of young people began pouring from cities and suburbs into the countryside. Their flight was driven by political, personal, and ecological anxieties and a desire for what they imagined as a “simple” life, closer to the earth. But in the vast majority of cases it was also buoyed by privilege of all kinds: whiteness, access to higher education, the implicit or explicit financial support of well-off families, and—less tangible—the confidence afforded by Baby Boom childhoods that freed them from want and convinced them they could and should determine the course of their own lives. It was a nationwide movement, but few places—and no other state as a whole—encountered the same degree of transformation during this period as did Vermont.

In her new book, *Going Up the Country: When Hippies, Dreamers, Freaks, and Radicals Moved to Vermont*, writer Yvonne Daley offers an exhaustive chronicle of this era, its movers and shakers, and many of its most important and lasting contributions to the state and the world. Engaging and thorough, *Going Up the Country* is an important contribution to the literature on this transformative moment in Vermont’s history. And its cover photo is amazing: a young couple in dazzling, multi-colored robes, smiling as they serenade a sheep (a note explains that they were Frog Run communards dressed for a May Day party at Total Loss Farm).

Those who have been keeping up with the recent flood of books, articles, and documentaries on this subject, or who visited the Vermont Historical Society’s excellent, jam-packed exhibit “Freaks, Radicals & Hippies,” won’t find any major departures here, but, drawing from hundreds of interviews and pages of research, Daley’s book offers an almost staggering level of detail on a wide variety of themes.

Even as someone who has spent years researching this very time and place, I found new, fascinating information on every page (the JogBra was invented in Vermont!); she even includes a playlist for each chapter, with songs that best captured the spirit of the moment. Often quoted at length, her sources share the stories of their own arrivals in Vermont and their time in communes, cabins, and collectives, and explain the de-

cisions and twists of fate that led them toward their history-making contributions to farming, education, women's health, and political activism.

In this way, the experience of reading *Going Up the Country* reminded me of the oral history forums organized by the VHS as part of their exhibit: the buzz of excitement and recollection, the emphasis on hard-won learning curves (did everyone's barn burn down?), and the celebratory spirit of accomplishment. The extraordinary number of people and personal stories in the book will certainly be a chief pleasure for many—I can't imagine many Vermont readers who won't recognize a name or twenty—but in the breadth of this undertaking, Daley sacrifices a certain amount of depth. While I appreciated the decision to let her sources largely speak for themselves, this restricts the narrative to the level of individual experience rather than highlighting wider patterns. Even amid vivid, engaging storytelling, I found myself wishing for a stronger analytical voice, one that synthesized personal experience with historical context, drawing insights from the phenomenon as a whole.

Still, themes emerge—most powerfully the gratitude, admiration, and respect of the newcomers for the native Vermonters who taught them, inspired them, and very often saved their lives. As poet David Budbill explains, “People talk about how easily we integrated into Vermont but it's only half true. We inserted ourselves into the state. We imposed ourselves. We judged and dissected, congratulated ourselves for finding this place. We changed it, no doubt. But the bigger change has been on us. . . . You learn to be practical, to be prepared . . . You learn the value of simplicity . . . [We] learned these values from the old-timers” (pp. 25-26). Or put another way: “We came here not knowing much, although we thought we knew everything,” New York-born, West Rutland farmer Greg Cox told Daley. “Vermont taught us” (p. 119).

KATE DALOZ

Kate Daloz is the author of We Are As Gods: Back to the Land in the 1970s on the Quest for a New America (2016).

*Breach of Trust: The Ethics Scandal that
Challenged the Integrity of the Vermont Judiciary*

By James J. Dunn (Burlington, VT.: Onion River Press, 2018, pp. xvii, 168, paper, \$16.99).

Past descriptions of Vermont's legal system and those caught up in it have ranged from the dry and banal to interesting and solid work. While stories commanding the public's attention have usually been the ones involving the ordinary citizen implicated in all manner of dispute, they certainly have not focused on those occupying the pinnacles of power overseeing the administration of the law. That has now changed with James J. Dunn's exhaustive study of a particularly untoward period in Vermont legal history that involved members of the state judiciary in a sordid affair swirling around Chittenden County side judge Jane Wheel and no less than three members of the Vermont Supreme Court: William Hill, Thomas Hayes, and Ernest W. Gibson III. It is a multifaceted story that occupied the public's attention in the mid-1980s (called "Vermont's Top News Story of 1987" by the press) as it unfolded in an excruciating manner over the course of four years. The unimaginable scenario that came to affect, and scar, the lives of its participants fascinated the minds of an observing, head-shaking legal profession and occupied the wonder and salacious instincts of a disbelieving public.

With a cast of some 100 players, Dunn's tragicomedy, appropriately entitled *Breach of Trust*, unfolds in rapid fashion, describing a variety of individuals and the institutions where they worked as they sought to navigate the difficult challenges presented by an extraordinary set of facts. A retired attorney with decades of municipal and labor-related legal experience to draw on, Dunn calls upon his many connections, including the resources of the University of Vermont Bailey/Howe Library and the Vermont State Archives and Records Administration, to dive deeply into the circumstances of this seedy affair. In the process, other concerns presented themselves that reached beyond the personal, implicating constitutional questions as an investigating executive delved into sensitive aspects of the judiciary and solicited advice from at least one notable individual from the legislative branch (former governor Philip Hoff, then a member of the Vermont Senate). Because of its inherent complications, this convoluted story has benefited from the passage of time that has allowed a settling period to take place before being revisited and assessed from a historical perspective.

The primary focus of the scandal concerned the suspect relationship between Wheel—whom Dunn describes as petty, mean-spirited, pos-

sessed of “a seriously flawed personality” (p. 135), and uneducated in the law—and Hill, identified as “probably the least intellectual” of the three justices charged in the affair (p. 133).^{*} While the conduct of the other two justices does not command as much attention, sufficient evidence suggested that some aspects of their own relationships with Wheel warranted examination by authorities. Complications became readily apparent as Attorney General Jeffrey Amestoy’s office began an investigation into Wheel’s reportedly making fraudulent claims relating to her pay. As the overseer of the state’s judiciary, the supreme court then became entwined as it uncomfortably faced the fact that a majority of its five members had fallen under suspicion. This extraordinary situation, one that Vermont had never experienced in the past, drew the avid attention of newspapers from outside the state such as the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, as they sought to give context to this bizarre set of circumstances in relation to other instances of judicial misconduct occurring elsewhere.

Dunn has mined a wealth of information in describing the course of the investigation, Wheel’s perjury at an inquest and the subsequent filing of criminal charges against her for that offense, the ham-handed attempts by Hill to interfere with the attorney general and to sway members of the court to benefit Wheel, and the involvement of the Judicial Conduct Board (chaired by former governor Thomas Salmon, who recused himself and was replaced by vicechairman Richard Mallary) charged with providing support to the court in its oversight responsibilities. Facts not readily recalled by a public living through those times range from the serious to the amusing as Dunn recounts: Hill being caught *in flagrante delicto* by a court clerk with Wheel’s arms around him in chambers in a manner suggesting something more than mere friendship; his uncalled for, outrageous tongue lashing of attorneys working on the case appearing before him during oral argument; and the comic relief provided by a member of the attorney general’s staff (future Supreme Court Justice Brian Burgess), drilling a (consensual) hole in the wall separating his office from Amestoy’s in order to overhear an extraordinary meeting called by Hill to provide unsolicited “guidance” to him to quickly complete his investigation.

The seemingly unending ethical conflicts repeatedly explode from the pages. But since this is a story centered on ethics in general and the ethical

* Hill, who was appointed to the Vermont Supreme Court in 1976, was no stranger to controversy involving the court. Not mentioned by Dunn is the fact that while serving as a superior court judge, in 1968 Hill earned a Masters degree in history from the University of Vermont. His thesis concerned an early twentieth-century event involving the appointment of judges to the supreme court and which he later detailed in a 1970 article for this journal, entitled “Vermont’s Judicial Crisis of 1914-1915,” *Vermont History* 37 (Winter 1970): 124-138. As he presciently noted in conclusion, “When there is a feeling of instability on the bench, transmitted to the bar as a whole, then the Vermont system of justice is in danger.”

behavior of members of the judiciary specifically, Dunn's effort could have benefited from a brief historical review of how Vermont has handled instances of past indiscretions.

Despite the more than two hundred years that the courts have existed, punctuated by occasional allegations that its members, including those of the supreme court, had committed ethical breaches, the Code of Judicial Ethics governing their conduct was of relatively recent vintage at the time of the Wheel affair, implemented in 1965 (4 VSA § 3). In the intervening two decades before the allegations against her, there were relatively few instances of questionable conduct by lower court judges or the elected assistant judges (popularly called "side judges") and none involving the supreme court. It was in this largely untested legal environment, and with the stakes so high, that the code and those seeking its enforcement came under both close scrutiny and withering attack as attorneys representing Wheel and Hill engaged in their defense.

This grueling process concluded years later: after Wheel's trial, conviction, sentencing (serving only nineteen of an imposed forty-five days, fewer than the twenty-eight days experienced by a sequestered jury), and appeal reaching to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1995, and with Hill's ignoble experience before the Judicial Conduct Board that resulted in a reprimand and disqualification by the Vermont Supreme Court from ever again sitting as a judge. The matters involving Hayes and Gibson were terminated because of the former's death and dismissal for the latter.

Dunn has provided a compelling story, bringing together the contributions made by many as they sought to unravel the tangled web of conflicts confronting them. He has also included several interesting appendices of documents prepared by various participants, giving additional insights. Photographs of the principals and an index, while of less importance in telling this story, would have provided a service to interested readers and enhanced the effort.

For anyone interested in learning about the human, seedy side of judicial ethics as practiced by only a few of the state's judges at a time when it was becoming more of a mainstream concern, Dunn's *Breach of Trust* provides a worthy example. While there may have been more egregious instances of this kind of behavior in other states, Vermont's contribution to the topic is one that certainly stands out.

GARY G. SHATTUCK

Gary G. Shattuck is a graduate of Vermont Law School and served with the Vermont State Police, as a state assistant attorney general, and assistant United States attorney. He is the author of Green Mountain Opium Eaters: A History of Early Addiction in Vermont (2017), and is currently working with John J. Duffy and H. Nicholas Muller III on another book with new information concerning the New Hampshire Grants between 1759 and 1775.

Our Revolution: A Future to Believe In

By Bernie Sanders (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2016, pp. 592, paper, \$9.99).

The revolution may need an editor.

At least if it's the revolution Senator Bernie Sanders proposes in *Our Revolution*. Like all books, this one has its flaws. Being too short is not one of them.

Short is difficult when a writer effectively crams three books into one. First there's a fifty-page homey autobiography of Sanders from his Brooklyn boyhood to his University of Chicago days, his years as a struggling young man in Vermont, his early political defeats, and then his elections as mayor of Burlington, congressman, and senator. That's followed by a 179-page detailed account of his 2016 campaign for president. Finally come 346 pages of policy proposals.

That's a lot of policy proposal. But after all, this is a revolution, a socialist revolution led by the only avowed socialist in the U.S. Senate.

Except it isn't and he isn't. Sanders is a robust social democrat, a devoted New Dealer. If every one of his proposals were adopted, most goods and services would still be produced by for-profit firms and individuals. This would still be a capitalist country. A far more egalitarian, regulated, capitalist country with cleaner air and water, free colleges and health care (well, free to the students and patients), and less private money in political campaigns. But capitalist nonetheless.

Whether this qualifies as "revolution" is debatable. As he proclaims, his campaign was "not outside the mainstream" (p. 3). Can there be a revolution within the mainstream?

No one who finishes *Our Revolution* will conclude that Bernie Sanders is a literary stylist. His writing is clear. He makes his points. He provides ample (if selective) data, history, and anecdotes to support those points. He drives them home.

Then he drives them home again.

And yet, one can discern three distinct voices in each of the three sections. In the autobiography, Sanders writes in an easy-going, almost chatty manner about "being Jewish" (p. 16), the relationship "the entire community had with the Brooklyn Dodgers" (pp.15-16), the importance of Boy Scout Camp, and James Madison High School.

The story of his campaign is written in a dryer, more formal manner. Of course, it is self-serving. No candidate's interpretation of his/her cam-

paign is not (see *What Happened* by Hillary Rodham Clinton, [2017]). But it is also accurate. He acknowledges making mistakes. When Clinton criticized his record on gun control, for instance, he considered the attack unfair, but “one that I didn’t handle well” (p. 295).

Unlike some of his avid fans, Sanders does not whine that he was cheated out of the nomination. About the contest in Nevada, for instance, where some of his supporters griped for weeks that the process had been stolen, Sanders says simply, “We did well, but not well enough” (p. 227).

The Sanders history of the Sanders campaign could serve as a good primer for how to run for president. He covers it all—the fundraising, the early planning, how to put together operations in Iowa and New Hampshire, the importance (for a Democrat) of learning how to connect with AfricanAmerican voters. He couldn’t. And beyond noting that “Bill and Hillary Clinton were popular . . . in that community” (p. 183), he doesn’t explain why.

The third, longest policy manifesto section of *Our Revolution* is full of detailed argument, specific examples, and earnest suggestions, all conveyed in the kind of lifeless, cliché-laden prose found in a sociology textbook.

“We must put an end to discriminatory practices that disproportionately purge minority and poor voters from voting rolls,” Sanders says (p. 257). Perhaps we must. But “discriminatory” and “disproportionately” in the same sentence? And voting rolls are the only things from which one can purge voters. How about just saying that everybody should be able to vote?

But the substance of the Sanders manifesto should be taken on its own terms, with due respect for the energy and devotion that produced it. He covers the economy, health care, equal rights, education, environment, poverty, and crime and the courts with detail and conviction, with serious analysis, with plausible (if debatable) solutions.

But without sufficient nuance. Just consider—as proxy for all the rest—his final chapter, “Corporate Media and the Threat to Our Democracy” (pp. 552-585). Most of his criticism of journalism is spot on. Too often, “politics is largely presented as entertainment” (p. 557), obsessed by “personality, gossip, campaign strategy, scandals, conflict, polls” (p. 558), as opposed to the real challenges facing the country.

And, yes, most major news organizations are owned by large corporations, which Sanders itemizes and describes. But while Sanders insist he does not “believe . . . corporate bosses get on the phone and tell a journalist what to write” (p. 574), what he clearly does believe is that the functional equivalent of that is exactly what happens, albeit more subtly. It does not.

And Sanders completely ignores the familiar complaint from the other side of the political spectrum about the “liberal press.” That complaint is not without foundation. A lot of journalism leans left because most reporters are at least mildly liberal, as are their editors, news directors, etc. On some issues—civil rights, foreign policy, immigration, environment—even the corporate CEOs hold center-left views, which may explain why stories about gay rights, the Iran nuclear deal, the “Dreamers,” and those National Monuments that Barack Obama created and Donald Trump is dismantling tend to enrage conservatives.

Perhaps the revolution, even with an editor, is not consistent with nuance.

JON MARGOLIS

Jon Margolis is a reporter and columnist for VTDigger. He was a reporter for Newsday, the Bergen Record (Hackensack, NJ), Miami Herald, Concord Monitor (NH), and Chicago Tribune, where he was Washington correspondent, sports writer, correspondent-at-large, and general columnist from 1973 to 1995. Margolis is author of several books, including The Last Innocent Year: America in 1964 (1999). He also wrote two chapters in Howard Dean: A Citizen's Guide to the Man Who Would be President (2003).