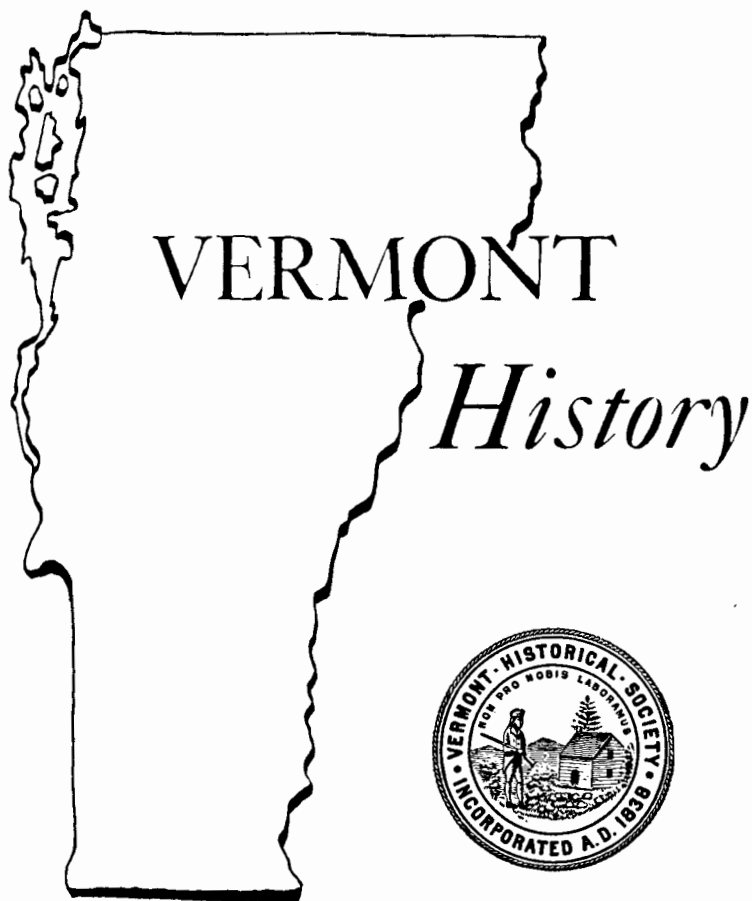
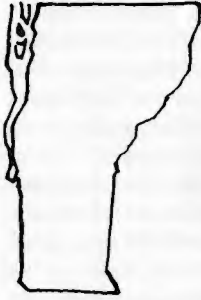


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and autobiographies of the 19th century
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silent nor inarticulate.

Toward a History of Women in Vermont: An Essay and Bibliography

By FAITH L. PEPE

In 1922 Arthur Schlesinger, Sr., observed that "an examination of the standard histories of the United States . . . raises the pertinent question whether women have ever made a contribution to American national progress that is worthy of record. If the silence of the historian is taken to mean anything," Schlesinger added, "it would appear that one-half of our population have been negligible factors of our country's history."¹ Almost a quarter of a century later Mary Beard noted that little had changed. American history, she commented, is still the history of "man," and, although the term "man" might occasionally be used by historians to refer to "an abstract being . . . neither male nor female," more often than not it referred specifically to the male sex. When women were mentioned at all in the histories which Mary Beard discussed in *Women as Force in History*, they were generally the token "exceptional" women or wives of great men — "brought in" here and there "as if they were not really an integral part of . . . history"²

A look through the indices of some of Vermont's histories tends to confirm these observations. Crockett's *History of Vermont*, for instance, lists only eight women in its index; Thompson's *Independent Vermont* includes seven. The *Biographical Encyclopedia of Vermont in the 19th Century*, while claiming in its preface that Vermont's "domestic prosperity and extraneous beneficence is found in the characters and lives of her sons and daughters," sees fit to exclude the daughters. (Did the encyclopedists, one wonders, thing that they had paid sufficient homage to the other sex by noting their extraneous beneficence?) Then there is Prentiss C. Dodge's *Vermont Biography*, which lists in its index "Governors," "Senators," "Congressmen," "Judges," and "Men of Vermont."³

Why were women all but ignored in these historical works? As it seems unlikely that their authors could all have been misogynists, the answer must lie in certain unspoken assumptions held by these men concerning what constitutes "history." Historians, as the poet Anne Bradstreet observed some three hundred years ago, traditionally wrote of "Superiour things . . . of Wars, of Captains, and of Kings."⁴ If historians in Vermont and the rest of the world generally limited "importance" to politics, war, and diplomacy, it followed that few women prior to the 19th century woman's rights movement qualified as candidates for posterity.

By such limited criteria, possibly only Ann Story, who did intelligence work for the Green Mountain Boys, and Molly Cole Lewis, who received soldiers' pay for carrying messages for the American troops during the Revolution, deserve to be mentioned as participants in 18th century Vermont history.⁵ By these same criteria, one might consider adding the name of Dinah Mattis — not because of any important deed which she performed herself, but because she gave Ebenezer Allen the opportunity to be remembered as the first man to free a slave in Vermont. (Just how unimportant Dinah Mattis was considered as an individual is indicated by the fact that no standard history makes any mention of her life before or after being freed.) Chivalrous historians would of course add the names of Mary Brownson Allen, Fanny Buchanan Allen, Elizabeth Meigs Chittenden, and Elizabeth "Molly" Page Stark — but only as wives of great men.⁶

Fortunately, not all Vermont historians have appraised woman's worth according to her degree of political involvement. Abby Hemenway's five volume *Gazetteer*⁷ may be "a strange, vast and muddled miscellany of historical material;"⁸ it nonetheless remains the basic source book for material on women in 18th and 19th century Vermont. Had Hemenway listened to the patriarchs of Middlebury College who admonished her that historical editorship was "not suited for a woman,"⁹ researchers in the history of women in Vermont would be infinitely poorer today. As an editor she did not impose a bias and considered everything from bear stories to sentimental poetry "important" enough for inclusion in the chronicles of her state. It seems likely that had Hemenway allowed a man to edit her *Gazetteer*, most of the valuable facts and anecdotes concerning the early domestic and social life of Vermont women would have been edited out.

In 1895 a new state magazine, *The Vermonter*, granted recognition to the first generation of college-educated women who had established themselves in various professions within and outside their native state. A special women's issue featured articles written by Vermont women on such topics as "Women in Vermont," "Co-education of the Sexes" and "Women in Medicine."¹⁰ It was a new and optimistic era for these pioneering women who were successfully

proving to themselves and the nation that higher education for females did not necessarily cause "brain fever"¹¹ — that women, in fact, were quite capable of working in what had previously been exclusively male professions. "Who will dare say that it is not proper for woman to do what she has a natural aptitude for?" demanded Dr. Clara Gary, a native of Middlesex and the first woman surgeon at Massachusetts Homeopathic Hospital in Boston in 1884 — "It is proper for woman to develop all the faculties that have been bestowed upon her."¹² Photographic portraits of such attractive career women as Dr. Gary, opera singers "Stella Brazzi" (Hattie Brazor Pratt) and Mary Howe Lavin, and writers Julia C. Dorr and Helen M. Winslow must have helped dispel the stereotyped notion that successful women could only be mannish "freaks" or rejects from the marriage market.

For the next decade, under the editorship of Charles S. Forbes, *The Vermonter* continued to publish articles by and about women, as well as devoting regular columns to the activities of statewide women's organizations. While many of these articles tend to be overly sentimental and have scanty documentation, they are of some interest to today's researcher. They provide background on successful career and club women of the "Progressive Era," and offer some clues as to where to look for further information. In 1907 a new editor announced that he had "discarded every useless legacy"¹³ of the old magazine, and from that point on articles about women all but disappeared from the pages of *The Vermonter*.

Beginning in the 1930's *The Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society* (later entitled *Vermont Quarterly*, and since 1954, *Vermont History*) published a number of valuable and well-documented pieces on early Vermont school-teachers, seamstresses and mill girls, as well as some excerpts from women's letters and diaries.¹⁴ These articles mark the hesitant beginning of a trend away from an elitist approach to history and the start of an attempt to understand how Vermonters — women as well as men — reacted to the social and economic changes which affected their lives. This approach investigates such questions as how men and women — farmers, workers, immigrants, housewives — viewed their lives and interpreted their experiences; how they interacted with their husbands, wives or children; how they adapted their thinking, beliefs and actions to changes in the family structure and society; how industrialization, urbanization and emigration from Vermont effected their lives; and how they began to develop a consciousness of their distinct role in society.

Social histories such as *Essays in the Social and Economical History of Vermont*, *Yankee Exodus*, *Migration from Vermont*, and *The Hill Country of Northern New England*¹⁵ provide some background to researchers interested in investigating these questions. Unfortunately — and probably because of the difficulties involved in ob-

taining data concerning the lives of most women — none of these books offers a great deal of specific information on how social, economic and population changes affected Vermont women.

Where then does the researcher turn for more information on Vermont women? One might assume that town histories, because they limit themselves to smaller geographic areas, would be likely to deal more specifically with individuals, as well as the social and economic forces, which shaped their lives. Most Vermont town histories however, give cursory treatment to the lives of women — a few paragraphs here and there on the hardships of early women settlers and the adventures of Indian captives, some mention of the wives and daughters of town notables, plus the inevitable lists of women who distinguished themselves through longevity. One exception is Mary Cabot's *Annals of Brattleboro*, which provides biographical material on such outstanding Brattleboro women as Esther Housh, Anna Marsh, Clarina Howard Nichols, Mary Tyler and Mary Wilkins, and devotes a number of pages to discussing woman's role in local religious, philanthropic and social organizations during the 19th century.¹⁶ Another exception, which might serve as a model to historians now in the process of writing or re-writing their town histories, is Nell Kull's well-documented *History of Dover, Vermont*. She discusses, among other things, the early custom of "bidding out" indigent young girls and widows; early home remedies and the importance of women as nurses in their own and other homes; the gradual shift from men as the exclusive traders in Dover stores prior to 1840 to women as consumers by the 1850's; salaries of early female teachers compared with those of men; and the advantages and disadvantages which emigrations to the West and to Massachusetts and Connecticut mill towns offered women.¹⁷

Biographies provide a useful source of information on outstanding Vermont women of the past, but their limitations are often inherent in their approach. By exaggerating the unique or eccentric characteristics of a particular woman, and neglecting to give much historical perspective on the time and place in which she lived and worked, biographers often portray their subject as atypical and essentially removed from history. Among the biographies in the following bibliography of 19th century Vermont women, many suffer from the aforementioned limitations. Others, because they neglect to make much use of primary source material, offer idealized or superficial views of women. Kathryn Kish Sclar's recent biography of Catharine Beecher is an outstanding study of how one woman reacted to the religious and social changes which occurred during the middle decades of the last century.¹⁸

A useful source of biographical information on Vermont women is *Notable American Women, 1607-1950*.¹⁹ This three-volume work includes biographies and bibliographies on such outstanding native

DR. CLARA E. GARY

Cited for an honorary degree of Doctor of Science from the University of Vermont in 1927 as the "first daughter of Vermont to enter the medical profession" and a "pioneer in the teaching of physiotherapy and in the application of X-rays in diagnosis," she endowed the Gary Home for the Aged in Montpelier. The Vermonter, I, No. 5, 106.



Vermonters as Myra Colby Bradwell (1831-1894), the "most distinguished woman lawyer" of the late 19th century; Susan Lincoln Tolman Mills (1825-1912), co-founder of Mills College in Oakland, California; Clarina Howard Irene Nichols (1810-1885), newspaper editor and woman's rights leader in Vermont and Kansas; Nettie Maria Stevens (1861-1912), pioneering biologist and geneticist; and Caroline Ardelia Yale (1848-1933), educator of the deaf.²⁰ The biographical card file in the library of the Vermont Historical Society includes names of more than four hundred Vermont women and provides other valuable sources of information. While extremely useful to the researcher who wishes to learn more about a specific woman, the alphabetical index of names presents difficulties to someone gathering topical information such as "19th Century Women Physicians of Vermont," or "Notable Women of Greensboro."*

Primary sources such as autobiographies, letters and diaries undoubtedly provide the historian with the most accurate information concerning woman's consciousness, her relation to family and friends and society at large. Yet as in the study of minorities and the working class, the woman's historian suffers from the scarcity of documen-

*To facilitate topical research and investigation into bibliographic sources which may not be available at the Vermont Historical Society, the author and Ms. Vivian Bryan have compiled a bibliographic card file on Vermont women which is cross-indexed by profession, as well as by place of birth or residence. The file has been donated to the library of the Vermont Historical Society.

tation. A recent article on "Women in American Society" points out that "women make up the largest and probably the most silent of society's inarticulate groups," and bemoans the fact that "only a small number of women have left diaries, letters, and other sources with which to assess their role and experience."²¹ However the available letters, diaries and autobiographies of 19th century Vermont women suggest that they were neither silent nor inarticulate. More women than men kept diaries in which they expressed their private thoughts and opinions, many of which they may not have dared to voice publicly. The volume of diaries and private correspondence increased by the mid-nineteenth century as a new comparatively "leisured" group of women took on the responsibility of corresponding with family friends and relatives and making records of daily events. Unfortunately too few of the letters and journals of women have survived, probably because until recently the writings of obscure female diarists and correspondents have been considered too inconsequential to preserve.

Fortunately, the Vermont Historical Society and the Wilbur Collection in the Bailey Library of the University of Vermont have preserved a number of women's diaries and letters. The diary of Sylvia Drake at the Sheldon Museum in Middlebury is also an important source.** The diaries and letters in the accompanying bibliography represent a sampling from the Vermont Historical Society and Wilbur Collection, selected because of their introspective nature or detailed descriptions of daily life in 19th century Vermont. They are representative of the thoughts and opinions of various classes and professions, and include students, schoolmarms, mill girls, seamstresses, wives and spinsters.

The "public" voices of professional women writers of Victorian Vermont often strike an unbearably self-righteous, stilted, and sentimental note. The voices which emerge from the past through these diaries and letters are, in contrast, refreshingly direct and down-to-earth. Autobiographies written for publication tend to present self-consciously "pious" and idealized images of an "official" self, and leave the impression of 19th century woman as a remote and altogether formidable species. The private writings of Vermont women, on the other hand, present reassuring evidence that our matrilineal forbears were quite as human as we are, and their domestic trials not so different from those women face today. One can empathize, for instance, with Mary Tyler's "consternation" when her "first and last" Brattleboro dinner party turned out to be a disaster because the food was ready an hour late and the baby cried throughout the meal.²² Harriot Green's entry in her diary of 1844 is moving:

**While undoubtedly there are diaries and letters in the collections of other repositories in museums and local historical societies throughout Vermont, thus far the response to the author's inquiries indicate their collections contain very little primary source material written by women.

Soon two years will have passed away since James left us, never to meet no more on earth . . . I sometimes feel as though enveloped in the deepest solitude. The desert of life feels like a dreary trackless waste . . . And then again when I behold those lovely beings who are depending upon me for care and protection it arouses[sic] every power and excites me to action and brings forth those latent energies that have hitherto lain inactive.²³

One also can easily rejoice with Paulina Williams, wife of an itinerant clergyman, when she reports in her diary of 1831, that after many months of discomfort and hardship, the long-awaited day of moving to a new parsonage has arrived; then share her disappointment and indignation when a day later she writes:

Committee came after us. Said the *Parsonage* was *ready*. — Such a looking place who ever saw! Workbench, tools, boards, shavins, mortar, etc., etc. . . . House newly plastered and wet. Had to open the windows and doors to prevent suffocation . . . now whether it is our duty to stay in such a place after such indignity . . . is a doubt that remains to be solved.²⁴

These were real women, not paragons of self-effacing womanhood established by clergymen or authors of stiff books on manners and morals.

A bibliography of the history of Vermont women also must include the "prescriptive" literature — the sermons, childrearing manuals and "etiquette" books which poured forth in such profusion during the first half of the nineteenth century and presumed to advise women concerning every aspect of their social, moral and spiritual obligations. Often written by uneasy members of the clergy fearful of losing hold over their parishioners, these books attempted to exert a paternalistic influence on the female members of their congregations, who might in turn use "persuasion" to keep their husbands and children within the fold.²⁵ Though these didactic writings often reveal more about the men who wrote them than the behavior of women, they express class and societal ideals. Many reflect the anxiety which middle class Americans felt concerning woman's role in a rapidly changing society, and express the underlying fear that civilization might well disintegrate should woman neglect her prescribed role as guardian of the hearth and protector of morality. Prescriptive history seems to be a relatively unexplored area, which demands further investigation. It would be interesting to learn, for instance, whether the advice offered Vermont women differed in any significant way from that of other parts of the country. An impressionistic review of prescriptive sources suggests that the ideal of "gentility" never took firm hold in Vermont where "delicate girls" who were prone to "hysterics" and preferred embroidering "holes and scallops in cambric" to making shirts for their brothers were rather looked down upon.²⁶



Weston, Vermont, Woman's Christian Temperance Union" . . . guardian of hearth and protector of morality." Vermont Historical Society.

Historians have only recently begun the investigation of the "institutional" history of women of the past century. Material related to women's activities in organizations and movements such as woman's suffrage is relatively easy to obtain, which may explain why more work has been done in this area than in others. While Vermont historians have paid somewhat less attention to the suffrage movement than national historians, two excellent articles have appeared in *Vermont History* on the 1870 suffrage campaign.²⁷ Perry H. Merrill's recently published *Vermont Under Four Flags* includes a chapter on the woman's rights movement.²⁸ The Vermont Historical Society's library contains extensive primary and secondary sources for studying the Vermont suffrage movement, as well as a good deal of material relevant to the history of such state-wide organizations as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Woman's Board of Missions, and the Woman's Relief Corps.

Further study needs to be done of the ways in which Vermont women defied prejudice and began to assert themselves during the last century. More needs to be known about the women who succeeded in overcoming barriers raised against them, and what psychological, social or economic factors contributed to their success. One can partially attribute the success of such women as Susan Mills, Lucinda Stone and Caroline Yale, for instance, to the fact that all had strongly supportive mothers who encouraged their daughters to educate



"The Vermont Historical Society's library contains extensive primary and secondary sources for studying . . . such state-wide organizations as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the Woman's Board of Missions, and the Woman's Relief Corps" pictured above. Vermont Historical Society.

themselves and pursue careers.²⁹ But what of Carrie Kilgore, orphaned and put out to work in the family's woolen factory at the age of twelve? Or Elizabeth Thompson, one of twelve children in a poor Vermont farm family, hired out as a housemaid at the age of nine? How did they manage to not only survive but also to succeed?³⁰ Did employment opportunities, limited as they were, provide some Vermont women with the opportunity to break away from their families and strike out on their own? A letter from a single-minded Vermont girl who had her heart set on going to Oberlin seems to indicate that mill work (which was financially more remunerative than either teaching or domestic work) may have opened up doors to ambitious young women which had been closed to them prior to industrialization:

You think I want to go to Oberlin very much . . . why should I not wish to go. I have earned enough to school me awhile, & have I not a right to do so, or must I go home, like a dutiful girl, place the money in father's hands & then there goes all my hard earnings. . . . I answer yes & my loss of strength & energy are spent in vain. . . . But if I go to Oberlin, I take comfort & forget all those long wearisome mill days & perhaps I prepare myself for usefulness in this life.³¹

Such words as "duty" and "usefulness," long favorites of the church fathers, were frequently employed to keep women in their



Near the turn of the last century, the Queen City Cotton Mills of Burlington published this picture in a pamphlet describing Burlington and work in the mill in French to attract young French Canadian women workers. Burlington, Vermont (La Compagnie "Queen City Cotton." Burlington, Vermont, n.d.), photocopy, Wilbur Collection, Bailey Library, University of Vermont.

place. Girls were taught that their first duty was to God and their family and that their prescribed role was to be useful. By the mid-19th century, however, the concept of "duty," which had so long kept women down, began to be used by women as justification for following the dictates of their own consciences. They gradually extended the concept of "usefulness" to include such areas as teaching, missionary work, and writing or speaking for good causes. ("Some think it very much out of place for a lady to be a public speaker, and I think myself that it is rather out of their sphere," wrote eighteen-year-old Melissa Dolloff in her journal of 1858, "but if they think it their duty to be a public speaker I think there is no impropriety in it.")³² How women rationalized self-assertive behavior in the name of such traditional virtues as "duty," "usefulness" and even "sacrifice" is a subject which recent women's historians have been investigating. It might prove to be a rewarding subject for Vermont historians as well. R. Laurence Moore recently explored the closely related topic of the role women spiritualists played in countering prejudice against women lecturing in public by denying responsibility for the words they spoke while in "trances."³³ His article should be of particular interest to Vermonters, as Moore mentions 19th century spiritualist Achsa Sprague of Plymouth, Vermont — a woman not averse to expressing decidedly feminist sentiments while claiming that the words she spoke were transmitted through her by spirits.

Further research should certainly be done on Vermont midwives. Hemenway mentions a number of early midwives, but by 1830 they had packed up their birthing chairs and disappeared from the state. A medical book by Samuel Thompson, printed in Montpelier, in 1851,

claimed that "Thirty years ago the practice of midwifery was principally in the hands of experienced women who had no difficulty; and there was scarce an instance known in those days of a woman dying in childbed, and it was very uncommon for them to lose the child; but at the present time these things are so common that it is hardly talked about." The book could account for the difference "no other way than the unskillful treatment they experience from the doctors, who have now got most of the practice into their own hands."³⁴

Thompson's book raises interesting questions. What became of Vermont midwives when doctors took over their practice? Did they protest? Did the statistics of childbirth mortality change significantly between 1820 and 1850, as Thompson asserts? Why would traditionally frugal Vermonters pay physicians as much as "\$12 to \$20" to handle deliveries for which midwives formerly charged as little as a dollar?³⁵

Students have paid little attention to the questions suggested by the fact that following the Civil War there were approximately twenty-eight thousand unmarried women and widows in Vermont.³⁶ How did these women survive? What was their attitude toward their status as single women? Did single women develop a sense of sisterhood, which encouraged feminist sentiments, or did they generally accept their lot without protest?

Though many of the books listed in the following bibliography are out-of-print and often difficult to obtain, most are located in the collections of the Vermont Historical Society or the Bailey Library at the University of Vermont. Further material related to the history of women in Vermont may be found in libraries throughout the state, in the Schlesinger Library of Radcliffe College and in the Sophia Smith Collection at Smith College.

The following bibliography is a beginning and is by no means complete. It concentrates only upon the period between 1800 and 1915, and does not include sections on such topics as Early Women Settlers and Indian Captives, Impressions of Vermont Women by Visitors to the State, and Women Writers and Artists. These and many more subjects demand investigation before Vermont women will eventually come to occupy their proper place in history. The bibliography seeks to stimulate further serious research in this relatively unexplored area. It also seeks to begin to close a major gap in Vermont historiography.

NOTES

¹Arthur Meier Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1922), p. 126.

²Mary R. Beard, *Women as Force in History* (New York, 1946), pp. 54, 58.

³Walter Hill Crockett, *History of Vermont* (New York, 1923), IV; Charles Miner Thompson, *Independent Vermont* (Boston, 1942); *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Vermont of the Nineteenth Century* (Boston, 1885), p. iv; and Prentiss C. Dodge, *Vermont Biography* (Burlington, 1912).

⁴Anne Bradstreet [c. 1612-1672], "The Prologue," in *The Oxford Book of American Verse*, ed. by F.O. Matthiessen (New York, 1950), p. 3.

⁵For biographical information on Ann Story [c. 1742-1817], see Abby Maria Hemenway, *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer* (Burlington, 1867-1891, 5 vols.), III, 90-91; also, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, "Ann Story," in *Four-Square* (New York, 1949), pp. 156-174. My information concerning Molly Cole Lewis, one of "Valient Thirteen" of Poultny, comes from C.L. Parker of the Poultny Historical Society.

⁶Mary Brownson Allen and Frances Buchanan Allen were Ethan Allen's first and second wives. Elizabeth Meigs Chittenden was the wife of Governor Thomas Chittenden, and Elizabeth ("Molly") Page Stark, the wife of General John Stark.

⁷Abby Maria Hemenway, ed., *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer* (Burlington, 1867-1891, 5 vols.).

⁸W.K. Jordan, "Abby Maria Hemenway," in *Notable American Women, 1607-1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), II, 179.

⁹Quoted in *ibid.*, II, 178.

¹⁰*The Vermonter*, I, no. 5.

¹¹For elaboration on the "brain fever" theory, see Gail Hamilton, *Woman's Wrongs: A Counter Irritant* (Boston, 1868), p. 54, or Ely Van de Worker, *Woman's Unfitness for Higher Education* (New York, 1903), p. 73.

¹²Clara E. Gary, M.D., "Women in Medicine," *The Vermonter*, I, no. 5, 106.

¹³*The Vermonter*, 12, no. 1, 1.

¹⁴See my bibliography for authors and titles of some of these articles.

¹⁵Matt Bushnell Jones, ed., *Essays in the Social and Economic History of Vermont* (Montpelier, 1943); Stewart S. Holbrook, *Yankee Exodus, An Account of the Migration from New England* (New York, 1950); Harold Fisher Wilson, *The Hill Country of Northern New England* (New York, 1936); Lewis D. Stilwell, *Migration from Vermont* (Montpelier, 1948).

¹⁶Mary R. Cabot, *The Annals of Brattleboro, 1681-1895* (Brattleboro, 1921), I, 271, 281-284, 379-381, 424; II, 840, 858, 939.

¹⁷Nell M. Kull, *History of Dover, Vermont* (Brattleboro, 1961), pp. 64-65, 67, 77-81, 101, 107, 140-144.

¹⁸Kathryn Kish Sclar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, 1973). Although Catharine Beecher was not a Vermonter, chapters 12, 13 and 14 of Sclar's biography, which describe the role Governor William Slade played in Beecher's plan to recruit missionary teachers for the West and discuss her convalescence at the Wesselhoft water-cure in Brattleboro should be of interest to Vermonters.

¹⁹Edward T. James, ed., *Notable American Women, 1607-1950* (Cambridge, Mass., 1971).

²⁰Other native Vermonters in *Notable American Women* are Anne Charlotte Lynch Botta, writer; Abby Maria Hemenway, historical editor; Carrie Burnham Kilgore, lawyer; Martha George Rogers Ripley, physician; Lucinda Hinsdale Stone, educator; Elizabeth Rowell Thompson, philanthropist; Lucy Wheelock, pioneer in kindergarten education; and Laura Maria Sheldon Wright, missionary to the Seneca Indians. Outstanding women who spent a portion of their lives in Vermont — such as Mary Wilkins Freeman, Mary Sargeant Gove Nichols, Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps, Linda Richards and Emma Willard, are also included in *Notable American Women*.

²¹Ann D. Gordon, Mari Jo Buhle, and Nancy E. Schram, "Women in American Society," *Radical America*, 5, no. 4, 15.

²²Helen Tyler Brown and Frederick Tupper, eds., *Grandmother Tyler's Book, 1775-1886* (New York, London, 1925), pp. 284-289.

²³Harriot Smalley Green, Diary, entry for May 19, 1884, Collections of the Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vt. (hereafter VHS).

²⁴Paulina Bascom Williams, Diary, entry for Dec. 6, 1831, VHS.

²⁵For discussion of how 19th century ministers and their female parishioners attempted to enhance their diminished status by glorifying the domestic sphere, see Ann Douglas, "Heaven Our Home: Consolation Literature in the Northern United States, 1830-1880," *American Quarterly*, 26, no. 5, 496-515.

²⁶Mrs. A.H. Bingham, "To Young Ladies," in *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, III, 494.

²⁷T.D. Seymour Bassett, "The 1870 Campaign for Woman Suffrage in Vermont," *Vermont Quarterly* 14, no. 2, 47-61; Deborah P. Clifford, "An Invasion of Strong-Minded Women: The Newspapers and the Woman Suffrage Campaign in Vermont in 1870," *Vermont History* 43, no. 1, 1-19.

²⁸(Montpelier, 1975). [This chapter bears the earmarks of an afterthought, as women are barely mentioned elsewhere in the book. It is the last chapter — three and a half pages long — and the names of Anne C. Botta, Clarina Howard Nichols and Emma Willard are misspelled.]

²⁹Susan Lincoln Tolman Mills (1825-1912), missionary, teacher, and college president; Lucinda Hinsdale Stone (1814-1900), educator, clubwoman and advocate of co-education; Caroline Ardelia Yale (1848-1933), long-time president of the Clarke School for the Deaf in Northampton, Mass.

³⁰Carrie Burnham Kilgore (1838-1909) put herself through school and seminary with her earnings from teaching and domestic work. In 1865 she received a medical degree, in 1883 became the first woman graduate of University of Pennsylvania Law School, and in 1890 was admitted to the Supreme Court of the United States. Elizabeth Rowell Thompson was largely self-educated. In 1843 she married Thomas Thompson, a wealthy Bostonian, and following his death in 1869 she devoted the rest of her life to subsidizing scientific research and contributing to a number of causes including the woman suffrage and temperance movements and Bronson Alcott's Concord School of Philosophy.

³¹"An Independent Voice: A Mill Girl from Vermont Speaks Her Mind," *Vermont History*, 41, no. 3, 144.

³²Melissa F. Dolloff, *Diary*, entry for Sept. 9, 1858, p. 22, VHS.

³³R. Laurence Moore, "The Spiritualist Medium: A Study of Female Professionalism in Victorian America," *American Quarterly*, 27, no. 2, 200-221.

³⁴*New Guide to Health; or Botonic Family Physician* (Montpelier, 1851), p. 118.

³⁵*Ibid.*, p. 119.

³⁶See footnote 34 in "The 1870 Campaign for Woman Suffrage in Vermont". Seymour T. Bassett, *Vermont Quarterly*, 14, no. 2, 54.



The Barre Woman's Rifle Team, 1890, suggests not all women passed their leisure hours before the hearth or in pursuit of popular moral or patriotic crusades. Vermont Historical Society

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LUCY WHEELOCK

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