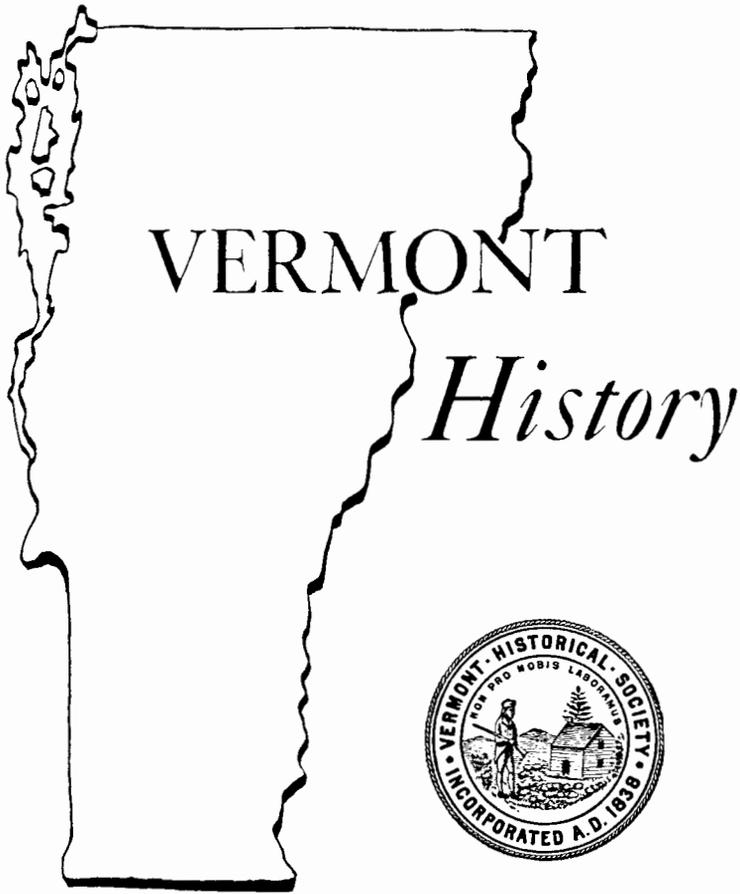


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“. . . the remarkable tyranny of the Allens over Vermont historiography continues. Though Vermont scholars no longer accept the Allens' version of State history, they continue to concentrate primarily on the Allens' era in that history.”

The Vermont “Story”: Continuity and Change in Vermont Historiography

By J. KEVIN GRAFFAGNINO

“Vermont is a state with a unique and colorful past,” and for nearly two centuries students writing of Vermont’s past, from schoolboy to scholar, have employed this theme as their point of departure. From the late eighteenth century to the early twentieth, Vermont historians accepted from both their predecessors and their sources certain conclusions which determined to a very great extent the ways in which they ultimately viewed Vermont’s past. Crucial statements and judgments about events, movements and individuals in Vermont’s early heritage passed from one generation to the next virtually unaltered, having accepted them as the foundation of their discussions of the Vermont of following centuries. As a result, the early Vermont writers and historians who first set forth what came to be the accepted interpretations have exerted an enormous influence on the historiography of the state. Only in recent years have historians posed other views.

To ask which came first, Vermont history or the Allen brothers, poses a conundrum. The Allens roamed the New Hampshire Grants practically from the beginning, and without their energy, the State of Vermont might have never existed. Two of the six brothers, Ethan and Ira, exerted a dual influence on the history of the state: not only did they act as important participants in the tumultuous events of the early days, but they also provided, in the pamphlets and books they published between 1774 and 1798, vital primary sources for Vermont historians. Ethan and Ira Allen’s writings, far more than the other records of their deeds, determined their influence on Vermont historiography. As the only early Vermont leaders who published voluminous accounts of their own accomplishments, the Allens dictated to succeeding generations the context in which they and their exploits would be judged.

As befitted the eldest, Ethan Allen preceded Ira into both the physical and paper battles on the Grants. In 1774, eight years after his first visit to the area, Ethan wrote a thunderous, 211-page denunciation of New York's crimes against settlers holding New Hampshire titles. Misnamed *A Brief Narrative of the Proceedings of the Government of New York*, the tract argued that New Hampshire Governor Benning Wentworth had every right to grant lands west of the Connecticut River before 1764 and that the settlers stood determined to hold onto their farms and oppose the tyranny of New York.¹ "The first definitive statement of the Wentworth proprietors' side of the argument,"² the *Brief Narrative* displayed Ethan's talents for villifying the opposition, but it was not quite so stirring as he might have hoped. Even Ethan recognized the right of the King to decide the matter, and he thus lacked a larger tyrant and larger popular struggle into which he could grandiosely weave the spectators and farmers from the Grants and their plight. He did not have to wait long for such a cause to develop.

Allen was a superb propagandist, and he quickly seized upon the American Revolution as analogous to the fight which some of the settlers on the Grants had waged alone for five years and more. In his post-1775 writings Ethan missed no chance to compare the New York-Vermont dispute to that of England and the United States. He denounced New York's attempts at reconciliation with the settlers in 1778 and honed his scalpel on the New York leaders, "a jesuitical and cowardly junto."³ In contrast, of course, he depicted the Grants settlers as honest, ordinary men, distinguished by "integrity and heroism." Allen even accused New York of being "very sparing in promoting the independency of the United States,"⁴ while Vermont had helped the common cause in a proportion far beyond her size and situation. Over and over again, Ethan emphasized Vermont's great contributions to the spirit and body of the Revolution, often to preface his criticism of the Continental Congress for mistreating and threatening the brave little Republic.

At the same time he propagandized for Vermont, Allen also managed to put into print many kind words about himself. The first sentence of his *Narrative of Col. Ethan Allen's Captivity* encapsulated his self-portrayal: "Ever since I arrived at the state of manhood, and acquainted myself with the general history of mankind, I have felt a sincere passion for liberty."⁵ The image of heroic freedom fighter, which Ethan Allen carefully nurtured in his own writings, became an accepted and cherished ingredient in the folklore and historical mythology of Vermont and the American Revolution, immortalized in countless glowing accounts, from Daniel Pierce Thompson's *Green Mountain Boys* to Herman Melville's *Israel Potter*.⁶

As important as his older brother in the early history of Vermont, Ira Allen also matched Ethan's significance in the state's historiography. In his own writings in the 1770's, Ira echoed Ethan in denouncing the New York tyrants and in stressing Vermont's selfless contributions to the Revolution.⁷ Nowhere in either brother's published writings did they mention the most tangible reason for their hatred of New York, their own heavy investments in the New Hampshire land titles that New York refused to recognize.

Significant as his Revolutionary pamphlets were, Ira Allen's most telling effect on the development of Vermont's historiography came from two later publications. Designed to enhance the reputations of the Allens and their associates, *The Natural and Political History of the State of Vermont*, first published in far off London,⁸ presented a carefully doctored account of Vermont's stormy history during the years 1770-83. Beyond the rehashed bombast about greedy New York land-jobbers and their patriotic Green Mountain adversaries, Allen's *History* also served as a vital source for the most hotly disputed aspect of all Vermont history, the Haldimand Negotiations. That the leaders of Vermont, with the Allens at the fore, began negotiating in 1780 with the English to return Vermont to the British Empire has never been questioned. The point of argument lies in the motivation of the Vermont negotiators and how seriously they contemplated a reunion with the mother country. As the only principal who left a detailed published account of what went on behind the scenes, Ira Allen managed to determine what Vermont historians would think and write about the Haldimand Negotiations until well into the twentieth century.

Ira's *History* portrayed the Vermont leaders pursuing the Haldimand Negotiations as motivated by only two considerations, "the real fire of patriotism" for the American cause, and concern for the plight of Vermont, vulnerable to British invasion from Canada and beleaguered on all other sides by hostile American states. In his version, the cunning of the Vermont negotiators kept the British from attacking Vermont (and thus saved New York and New England, as well), and forced Congress to pay serious attention to the Republic's demands for recognition of her independence.⁹ Despite Allen's skillful presentation, however, British and Canadian archives, aspects of the discussions which he glossed over or omitted entirely in the *History*, and a second round of negotiations which continued well after 1783 all point to a genuine desire on the Allens' part to bring about an agreement with the British in Canada so essential to increasing the value of their own land holdings in northern Vermont.¹⁰ Until the 1920's, however, Vermont historians unanimously disagreed, and the account in Ira's *History* continues to attract adherents.

In addition to his own writing, Ira Allen also had a hand in the conclusions in the first full-scale attempt to write a history of Vermont, a work which became extremely important in subsequent Vermont historiography. Much of the credit (or blame) for the Reverend Samuel Williams' *The Natural and Civil History of Vermont* lay with Allen.¹¹ Williams' history appeared four years earlier than Allen's and provided him with much material including natural history, names and places, and long quotations from documents he could not otherwise obtain in London where he wrote. What Williams had previously obtained from Allen, however, was far more important. From Allen, Williams took his basic interpretations and assumptions about Vermont's early history, a subject about which he had little first-hand knowledge, having lived in Vermont only since 1788. Ira also offered, and Williams accepted, editorial assistance to weed out anything which Allen deemed damaging to the reputations of the Vermont Revolutionary leaders.

Williams had written to Allen as early as July 1792, telling him of his project and asking to see Ira's papers pertaining to the Revolution and in particular any concerning the Haldimand Negotiations.¹² Williams' reliance on Allen for that critical part of the *History* becomes clear in a letter written two years later as the book was in press:

I could do no more than to correct it agreeable [sic] to the ideas I had got, and the notes I had made, immediately after you left my house. I have inserted everything that you mentioned to me, and I believe it now stands in a light that cannot be constricted [sic] unfavorable to any person who was concerned in it [the Haldimand Negotiations], or by the british in Canada or elsewhere . . . I have not the vanity to suppose that I have been free from mistakes in relating the transactions of the leading men of Vermont; but I am certain that none of them will find that I have given an unfavorable view of their proceedings, or in any instance abused the information they have given, or the confidence they have placed in me.¹³

As it appeared in final form, the book clearly reflected Williams' reliance on the writings of the two Allen brothers.¹⁴ For the political history of the state Williams did not hesitate to follow the lead they had provided. The combination of Williams' own strong belief in the rhetoric of the Revolution and Ira's ability to regulate what Williams learned about Vermont's role resulted in as complete a glorification of the early Vermont leaders as Allen could have desired. On the central issue of the Haldimand Negotiations, Williams showed that he had indeed changed his manuscript to suit what Ira had told him. The Vermont negotiators became "eight honest farmers," working to aid the Revolution. "Through the whole of this correspondence," Williams wrote, "they gave the most decisive proofs, that they could not be

bought, or brided [bribed?], by any offers of wealth or honour."¹⁵ With the Negotiations dead and Vermont finally part of the Union, nothing could have been better calculated to brighten Ira and Ethan Allen's images as Revolutionary War heroes, or keep alive Ira's continued hopes for some kind of favorable trade agreement between Vermont and Canada.

In 1809, Williams expanded the *History* to two volumes and reprinted it in Burlington.¹⁶ Although more detailed, the treatment of Vermont's early history differed little from the first edition. The real significance of the second edition lay in the discussion of the state from 1783 through 1806. Ira Allen's *History* virtually ignored post-Revolutionary events, and Williams' own first edition also hurriedly skimmed over the years 1783-1792. The second edition, however, carried the political history of the state through 1806 and even backtracked to flesh out his earlier account.

Williams described Vermont from 1783 to 1797 as a land of political harmony, guided by the wise and steady policies of Governor Thomas Chittenden.¹⁷ According to Williams, Chittenden's death marked a turning point in Vermont history; with the state's Washington no longer at the helm, political factions appeared for the first time, as Federalists and Jefferson's Republicans split over United States policy towards France and England.¹⁸ Despite the strength of American society and institutions, Williams warned, political factions posed a threat to the framework of democratic government in the United States, and he devoted most of his discussion of the years 1797-1806 to detailing their harmful effects on Vermont.¹⁹

With the second edition of *The Natural and Civil History of Vermont* Samuel Williams completed what became the unchallenged triumvirate of sources for eighteenth century Vermont history. For the next hundred years and more every Vermont historian accepted the interpretations of Williams and Ira and Ethan Allen. Much new evidence would be uncovered, and scholars writing about other states would occasionally soil the spotless reputations of Vermont's early leaders, but no nineteenth century historian of Vermont, native or outsider, would go against what he found in Williams and the two Allens. As a result, their interpretation of early Vermont was reverently passed on into the twentieth century unchanged and undisputed with the full support of dozens of Vermont state, county and town histories lined up in solid formation behind it.

Twenty-two years passed between Williams' *History* and the next book-length work on Vermont's past. In 1831, a Vergennes attorney, Nathan Hoskins, published a 316-page *History of the State of Vermont*,

from its *Discovery and Settlement to the Close of the Year MDCCCXXX*.²⁰ In comparison with his more illustrious predecessors, Hoskins is the forgotten man in the state's historiography. His only published work on Vermont, the *History* remains as obscure as its author. The provenance of Hoskins' early Vermont material undoubtedly accounted for much of the obscurity, since his study of events through 1806 was nothing more than a plagiarised version of Samuel Williams' second edition. Hoskins did not merely adopt Williams' interpretations; he lifted whole sections from the earlier book with only minor changes. The first half of Hoskins' *History* presented nothing original; Williams had already done an excellent job of reaching Hoskins' filial-pietistic goal of placing "those principles of civil and religious freedom for which our ancestors contended, in the most conspicuous light," and recording "those multiple instances of patience, bravery, and patriotism, which have honored their names."²¹

In contrast, the second half of Hoskins' study broke new ground. Williams stopped with the events of 1806, and Hoskins presented his own research for the following quarter century. The result was an account of the state in the years between 1806 and 1830 which indirectly proved quite important in Vermont historiography. As Williams and Allen had for the late 1700's, Hoskins provided the basic interpretation of the early 1800's which shaped Vermonters' perceptions of the period for more than a century.

Hoskins carried Williams' emphasis on political factionalism between Federalists and Republicans into his own account of the years 1807-1815. He discussed at length the many instances of Vermont opposition to the War of 1812 and the Embargo, including the wholesale smuggling between Vermont and Canada. However, his *History* skirted the issues of whether Federalist Governors Isaac Tichenor and Martin Chittenden deliberately sabotaged enforcement of the Embargo and hindered Vermont military contributions to the War and instead praised the people of the state for their full support to the war effort in its later stages.²² After devoting thirty-eight pages to the War of 1812 outside Vermont, Hoskins returned to a quick, year-by-year discussion of events within the state, characterizing the period 1818-1828, in direct contrast to the preceding decade, as one of tranquility and prosperity. Hoskins ended the book with a fifty-one page sketch of the contemporary institutions of Vermont.

Despite its reliance on Williams for the early sections, the mere fact that Hoskins' *History* was the earliest study of the period 1806-1830 should have made it an important source for later Vermont historians. Instead, his little book quickly became an overlooked and unappre-

ciated dust-gatherer on Vermont bookshelves. Unfortunately for his own reputation as well as that of his book, Hoskins published his *History* in the middle of a period that later Vermont scholars and antiquarians came to view as ruled entirely by the historical works of Zadock Thompson.

Considering the sheer bulk of the material Thompson published on Vermont, it is not surprising that his work dominated Vermont historiography between Samuel Williams and the Civil War. In addition to his big *History of Vermont: Natural, Civil, and Statistical* of 1842,²³ and the smaller *History of the State of Vermont* issued in 1833, and re-issued in 1836 and 1858,²⁴ Thompson wrote about the state's past in several of his other works including the *Gazetteer of the State of Vermont*,²⁵ his *Geography and Geology of Vermont* textbook,²⁶ and even his little *Northern Guide* booklets for travelers in the Champlain Valley.²⁷ Combined with his historical lectures and newspaper articles and studies on Vermont's natural history, Thompson easily eclipsed his less prolific contemporaries as an historical authority on the Green Mountain State. Probably as much as the quality of his work, its sheer quantity accounts for a good part of Thompson's influence on the writing of Vermont's history over the past century and a quarter.

As Nathan Hoskins had, Zadock Thompson pirated almost all of his eighteenth century Vermont history from Samuel Williams' second edition. (Throughout the nineteenth century, in fact, Williams' *History* served as the source for most researchers as Ira Allen's was an extremely rare book in Vermont.) Thompson plagiarized Williams heavily, especially the period 1770-1791. His 1833 *History*, which served as the basis for all of his later historical efforts, went into much greater detail than Williams had for this early period, but only in facts and chronology, not interpretation. Without Williams' *History* as a guide, Thompson might not have tried to "awaken, and perpetuate, in the breasts of the young, that spirit of patriotism, independence and self-denial, which so nobly animated the hearts of their fathers."²⁸

Although he changed some of the words, Thompson's view of Revolutionary and Republican Vermont came directly from Williams. Thompson viewed the years after 1791 as anticlimactic to the thrilling events of the earlier era. Consequently, he abandoned his closely detailed narrative, and wrapped up the years 1791-1832 in only forty pages. In the process, he followed Williams to 1807 and then turned to Nathan Hoskins' *History* for a guide, skimming over the same themes and developments Hoskins had published two years earlier.²⁹

As Thompson's *History* contributed little new material, his central role in Vermont's historiography provokes a natural and legitimate



ZADOCK THOMPSON

"Probably as much as the quality of his work, its sheer quantity accounts for a good part of Thompson's influence on the writing of Vermont History"

question. Part of the answer lies in the fact that Thompson's *Gazetteer* of 1824 and Part III of the *History* of 1842 both provided a partial foundation for later local and county histories. As a result, these portions of Thompson's work made it much easier for succeeding generations to write of local contributions to the popular assumptions about the state's history.

The amount of original material, both factual and interpretive and the topical information he published also helped establish Thompson's central place in Vermont historiography. He recruited experts to contribute pieces on the state's religious denominations and geology and natural history, and he also wrote much about the institutions, customs and society of post-Revolutionary Vermont. In these writings he set down observations that later writers picked up and passed on. These opinions later became part of the interpretations subsequent students voiced about the Vermont of Thompson's era.

Yet by far the most noteworthy contribution Zadock Thompson made to Vermont's historiography was his popularization of the Allen-Williams-Hoskins interpretations. Vermonters no longer had to find the rare copies of Ira and Ethan Allen, of Samuel Williams and Nathan Hoskins; instead they could read about Vermont's past in any of Thompson's readily available editions. Thompson, who published enough books to put a copy in every neighborhood in Vermont at mid-century, was viewed by Vermonters as early as the 1860's as the source of

the historical knowledge of the state.³⁰ Even for the most distinguished students of Vermont history, Thompson served as an important source, both for his own period and as corroboration of what they read in his predecessors. None of them questioned Thompson's ready acceptance of what had been passed down to him, and they in turn received, digested, and passed on the same assumptions about Vermont history.

The next book-length Vermont history to appear after Thompson's *History* of 1842 was Hosea Beckley's *The History of Vermont: With Descriptions, Physical and Topographical*.³¹ Beckley's book, his only one in Vermont, could not compete with Thompson's works and thereby suffered the same fate as Nathan Hoskins' *History*. However, unlike Hoskins' study, Beckley's, which contained no original history, deserved its obscurity. Beckley, in the only eighty-nine pages devoted to actual Vermont history,³² rewrote Williams' and Thompson's material into nothing more than eulogistic praise of past leaders as worthy examples to young readers.

Although it deserves notice primarily as another link in the chain of Vermont history begun by the Allens and Samuel Williams, Beckley's book probably had almost no effect on later state histories. Another survey of Vermont history of the same ilk appeared in 1853, the same year Zadock Thompson reissued his big *History* of 1842. Part of the Lippincott series of Cabinet Histories, *The History of Vermont, from its Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, was ghost-written for general series' authors W.H. Carpenter and T.S. Arthur by an anonymous "gentleman whose fine abilities have often been favourably acknowledged by the public."³³ Whoever the author was, his only distinction in this case was that he wrote far more smoothly than any other Vermont historian before him. Beyond that, the Lippincott *History* deserves little attention, as it repeated the venerated sources and almost immediately faded out of the picture against the competition provided by Hoskins, Beckley, Thompson and other mid-century Vermont historical writings.

Unlike the lackluster efforts of Beckley and the Lippincott series, the next history of Vermont to be published was a solid, groundbreaking effort. Issued in 1858, the Troy, New York, lawyer Benjamin Homer Hall's *History of Eastern Vermont* departed completely from the traditional view of Vermont history as totally dominated by the Allens and their haunts west of the Green Mountains.³⁴ Instead, Hall concentrated on the eastern portion of the state and in the process contributed an important fresh outlook on eighteenth century Vermont. Hall's *History* centered on the dissident Connecticut River elements which opposed the Allens and their associates in the movement to create an independent Vermont. Although his New York heritage sometimes resulted in biased

conclusions in favor of the Yorkers and other anti-Allen elements, on the whole Hall judiciously presented an aspect of Vermont's past his predecessors had too long neglected. He demonstrated that Yorkers were not necessarily synonymous with Tories or enemies of freedom and democracy and documented the strength and pervasive nature of those east of the mountains who opposed local autonomy. Consequently, *The History of Eastern Vermont* is a crucial work in the development of a more complete knowledge of Vermont's early history.

At the same time that Hall filled important gaps in the previous histories of Vermont, he also accepted some of the standard assumptions of those earlier histories. He characterized the Westminster Massacre of 1775 as a part of the struggle against British tyranny, in which "the cause of freedom received its first victim, and . . . buried all hopes of reconciliation with the mother country."³⁵ Although he detailed the suspicions of their eastside neighbors about the Allens' dealings with the British, Hall also exonerated the Arlington Junta of any treasonous intentions in the Haldimand Negotiations.³⁶ As a result, Hall's *History* perpetuated the Allen-dictated picture of early Vermont, while at the same time it rectified some of its narrowness and inadequacies.

Despite Benjamin Hall's efforts, Vermont historians continued to follow the Allen-Williams, west-side orientation for the state's early history. The most solid, thorough nineteenth century statement of the traditional interpretation was the work of the Bennington lawyer and ex-Governor, Hiland Hall, who published *The History of Vermont, from its Discovery to its Admission into the Union in 1791* in 1868.³⁷ An ardent amateur antiquarian much of his life, Hall researched his book quite carefully, but started out with the firm assumption that Ira Allen's and Samuel Williams' histories were tantamount to unimpeachable primary sources and thus correct in their interpretations regarding the eighteenth century. Consequently, Hall's *History* emerged in crucial sections as essentially a spirited defense of the state's early leaders against what he regarded as slanderous imputations by outsiders.³⁸

If Hiland Hall presented the most professional nineteenth century statement of the traditional view of Vermont history, Rowland Evans Robinson made the most eloquent. Published in 1892, Robinson's *Vermont: A Study of Independence* had its author's forty years of experience as a writer behind it.³⁹ Having dealt with Vermont historical themes in his voluminous short stories and articles, Robinson was well-equipped to write a popular history of the state. He matched his literary talents with his feel for Vermont's past, and more importantly, for the common people who participated in it.⁴⁰ Though Robinson mostly rewrote the earlier state histories, he devoted much more attention than his predecessors to the everyday details of existence in early Vermont.

Typical of Vermont histories, two-thirds of Robinson's book dealt with the years before 1791, and he followed the conventions established by the others who had written before him. As a result, he presented nothing original on the Grants controversy, Thomas Chittenden, the Haldimand Negotiations, or any of the other important events or personalities of the early period.

The last of the nineteenth century state histories was lawyer LaFayette Wilbur's four-volume, *Early History of Vermont*, published in 1899-1903.⁴¹ A disjointed, hodgepodge effort, Wilbur's history treated various aspects of Vermont to the Civil War in no real order or organization. He supplied a multitude of facts, stories, accounts of events, and other information about early Vermont, all without reference to his sources. Although he expressed some doubts about Ira Allen's reliability as a witness, Wilbur offered nothing new in the way of perceptions of Vermont in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A lawyer to the core, he criticized his predecessors for not supplying enough detail in names, dates and other facts (while making numerous factual errors himself), but found no fault with their general interpretation.

With Wilbur's *History* Vermont historiography closed out one century and opened another. The nineteenth century state histories passed on to the twentieth a unanimous opinion regarding the nature of Vermont's heritage. From the sketchy popular works by Beckley and Wilbur, to the thorough, professional efforts of the two Halls, Vermont historians accepted without reservation the accounts of Revolutionary and Republican Vermont they found in the Allens and Samuel Williams. Some of them, Beckley, Carpenter, Arthur, and Samuel Williams, were quickly forgotten, but a few, the Halls, Robinson, and Thompson, determined for all practical purposes almost exactly how state, county and local history would be written in Vermont throughout the nineteenth century and on into the twentieth. At every level the emphasis was on the early period and the greatness of Vermont and her people during those formative early years.

By far the most significant effort in local Vermont history began as Hiland Hall defended the state's honor in the 1860's and 1870's. Abby Maria Hemenway's *Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, launched in magazine form in 1860, eventually culminated in a monumental attempt to compile detailed histories of every town in the state.⁴² Originally planned for three volumes, the *Gazetteer* had expanded to five by 1891, and a sixth volume (Windsor County) was destroyed in manuscript in a Chicago fire. The result was nonetheless a staggering five and a half thousand, double columned pages of local history, all painstakingly compiled and edited by Miss Hemenway.

As Zadock Thompson had for his *Gazetteer*, only on a much larger scale, Miss Hemenway engaged a prominent local resident to write each of the town histories and descriptions. For many of them, both Thompson's *Gazetteer* and *History* of 1842 proved to be important sources. Hemenway's own editorial comments relied heavily on Ira Allen, Samuel Williams and Hiland Hall, and the *Gazetteer's* portrayal of Vermont history continued the traditional approach. Though each author emphasized local history, ventures into discussions of larger issues invariably voiced the interpretations of the four major state history sources. Even the east-side writers, who echoed Benjamin H. Hall in proclaiming the overlooked importance of the Connecticut River Valley, accepted the major hypotheses of the quartet of west-side authorities. Because Hemenway's *Gazetteer* was tremendously important for the growing body of town histories published around the state from 1870 to 1930, it all but determined the larger interpretational framework within which two generations of local antiquarians treated their towns' past.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries produced a rash of efforts in local Vermont history. In the 1880's and early 1890's, the D. Mason & Co. county histories and Hamilton Child county gazetteers, both published in Syracuse, New York, went beyond Hemenway and provided a wealth of new material on local history and contemporary conditions.⁴³ In addition, various Vermont clergymen, sons of old families and people with scholarly pretensions wrote with varying degrees of skill about their town's past. Without an editor like Hemenway to set the town and county histories into the statewide background, most of them lacked consideration of the larger context, but whenever they did digress into brief discussions of state events or developments, their views were always the well forged chain of historical reasoning begun by the Allen brothers and popularized by Zadock Thompson.

The first twentieth century history of Vermont waited until after World War One, and despite the long hiatus, it continued the tradition so firmly established by its predecessors. A massive work which eventually reached five octavo volumes, Walter Hill Crockett's *Vermont: The Green Mountain State* was a diligently researched, exhaustive political history.⁴⁴ Crockett saw the century and a half of Vermont history as a parade "filled with perils and sacrifices, heroic deeds and stirring adventures." As a genealogist unwilling to write about the family black sheep, Crockett included nothing in his *Vermont* which would sully the honor of the state. Certain that "the Green Mountain Commonwealth ranks among the really great states of the American Union," Crockett interpreted every phase of Vermont's history in keeping with the basic

assumption that "great men laid the foundations of the State, great men have builded thereon, and their achievements have given Vermont a name that is honored wherever it is known."⁴⁵

Predictably, Crockett devoted the most space to the exciting quarter century leading to statehood in 1791. He made it clear that Vermont's early inhabitants were the heart and soul of the Revolution, which was nothing new, but Crockett added a minutely detailed, accurate narrative of factual material that lent his interpretations a new air of reliability and scholarly achievement. Beyond the detailed account of Vermont's early history, Crockett performed the useful service of continuing his study through the nineteenth century to 1920. None of the previous state histories had done much with the events after 1800, so Crockett's close, year-by-year examination of the succeeding 120 years provided a convenient collection of chronologically arranged facts. Stripped of its patriotic verbiage, the work was a creditable, if somewhat uninspired, account of the state's political history, demographic statistics and economic development (as revealed by the decennial censuses) over the years 1800-1920. In providing the first reliable, basis account of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Crockett's *Vermont* was an important addition to the state's historiography.

Following Crockett, the traditional interpretation of early Vermont captured another major supporter when in 1928, James Benjamin Wilbur published a two-volume biography of Ira Allen which zealously defended Allen's version of the state. Wilbur's *Ira Allen: Founder of Vermont* was the first (and only) major work about that most crucial early leader and Vermont historian, and through its subject the biography provided a detailed history of the state.⁴⁶ Allen's reputation and trustworthiness had absorbed some punishing criticism from historians outside of Vermont,⁴⁷ and Wilbur's work helped shore up Allen's damaged reputation and exonerate the traditional Vermont view.

Wilbur never hesitated in choosing his side. He regarded it as a "sacred duty" to write Ira Allen's biography and in the process rescue him from national obscurity and occasional slanders and place him firmly upon the exalted pedestal reserved for Vermont's noblest son. Wilbur faithfully recorded the mass of evidence he uncovered, and time after time interpreted it with dogged determination in Allen's favor. This often involved torturous arguments and convoluted reasoning, but every possible accusation against Ira Allen was dutifully met and struck down. The result was a total whitewashing of the character, actions and writings of Wilbur's hero to such an extent that it seriously weakened Wilbur's case.



MATT BUSHNELL JONES
This lawyer's book "raised the first dissenting voice in any work primarily concerned with Vermont history."

After Wilbur's biography of Allen the solidarity of Vermont historiography began to crumble. Outsiders had been chipping away at Vermont's historical traditions for a long time, and this activity freshened after World War One.⁴⁸ Within the state, the first major published work to break with the century and a half of Vermont historians was Henry Steele Wardner's *The Birthplace of Vermont: A History of Windsor to 1781*.⁴⁹ Published during the state's sesquicentennial in 1927, Wardner's book disputed Ira Allen's version of the Haldimand Negotiations and expressed serious doubts about the supposedly pure motives of the Vermont participants.⁵⁰ Wardner also harbored a general distrust of Allen's *History*, declaring that in writing it Ira "perhaps felt called upon not only to make his own exploits as a rescuer bulk as large as possible, but to extenuate his own questionable methods."⁵¹ However, Wardner's revisionist conclusions lay hidden beneath his more lengthy examination of Windsor's local history, and it remained for other, larger studies to follow his lead and break open the closed ranks of Vermont historians.

The first full-length objective examination of eighteenth century Vermont did not come until twelve years after Wardner's work on Windsor. In 1939, Matt Bushnell Jones published *Vermont in the Making: 1750-1777*, an exhaustive study of the quarter century preceding Vermont's Declaration of Independence.⁵² Beneath Jones' heavy layers of legal *minutiae*, rested a closely reasoned narrative supported by im-



HENRY STEELE WARDNER

A New York City lawyer who maintained his ties with his native Windsor, Vermont, wrote "the first major published work to break with the century and a half of Vermont historians. . . ."

pressive documentation. As Jones saw it, the early history of Vermont was less a struggle between freedom and oppression than a contest between two groups of entrepreneurs determined to safeguard their own investments in disputed land titles. Jones ridiculed the time honored Vermont interpretation, noting sarcastically, "Much has been written depicting the grantees of the New Hampshire Grants as actual or prospective settlers on the land, innocent beyond most human kind, while claimants under New York grants are seen as rich, crafty scheming men of affairs bent on wresting their small farms from these settlers."⁵³ *Vermont in the Making: 1750-1777* raised the first dissenting voice in any work primarily concerned with Vermont history. In Jones' words, "there was no essential difference" between the considerations which motivated the Yorker leaders and those of the Allens and their partners. By Vermont standards the statement approached heresy, but Jones carefully inched his way long through the sources to support his conclusions. His pace was slow and his writing dry, but he left little evidence unexamined in the effort. As a result, whether they accepted his major premise that both Yorker and Green Mountain Boy "acted like men and not like archangels," his successors found themselves deeply in Jones' debt for his thorough compilation and arrangement of pertinent material. No serious study of the Grants since 1939 has ignored *Vermont in the Making: 1750-1777* and, even though Jones began with a United States

Supreme Court decision of the 1930's as a proof of his argument, few historians have found serious fault with either Jones' scholarship or basic interpretations.

The next analysis of early Vermont to appear was the work of a freelance writer, Frederic F. Van de Water.⁵⁴ Drawn almost entirely from secondary sources, *The Reluctant Republic* (1941) was nevertheless an important book. Powerfully written, fast-paced and quite successful, Van de Water's book achieved a much higher historical level than most amateur, popular efforts. Generally careful with the facts and thorough enough to include up-to-date professional histories among his sources, he was blessed with a real flair for making history and its participants come alive. Much of the same talent he later displayed in his Vermont historical novels was readily apparent in *The Reluctant Republic*. As a result, Van de Water became a favorite of those who wanted a mature and easy-to-read account.

Aside from its literary excellence, however, the real importance of Van de Water's work lay in its position as one of the last reassertions of the traditional, Allen-dominated analysis of early Vermont. Though not the sentimental glorification of the Allens and their comrades provided by many previous state histories, *The Reluctant Republic* nonetheless accepted their version of early Vermont. Van de Water wrote in stirring language of hardy settlers battling unscrupulous Yorkers and of Green Mountain Boys rushing off to join the Revolution. In many respects, *The Reluctant Republic* boiled down to a modern restatement of Robinson, Thompson, Williams and the others, made all the more appealing and delightful by Van de Water's skillful pen.⁵⁵

Despite the Van de Water interlude the balance continued to swing toward the revisionists. In 1942, Charles Miner Thompson published *Independent Vermont*, which provided a popular antidote to the traditional approach Van de Water so ably defended the preceding year.⁵⁶ The grandson of famed nineteenth century Vermont novelist Daniel Pierce Thompson, Charles M. Thompson flatly rejected the interpretation of his grandfather's historical fiction. Much of Thompson's interpretive framework clearly followed Jones' *Vermont in the Making: 1750-1777* in denying the traditional good against evil dichotomy of the Grants-New York struggle and its emphasis on the heavy land speculation engaged in by both sides. However, Thompson was more original for the years of the independent Republic from 1778-1791. Others had disagreed in passing with the traditional approach to that period, but *Independent Vermont* was the first state history to do so at length and as part of a detailed, coherent whole.

FREDERIC F.

VAN de WATER

His work has become "a favorite of those who want a mature and easy-to-read account" of Vermont's early history.



The combination of revisionism and a wider chronological perspective gave Thompson's book a special place in Vermont's twentieth century historiography. Thompson's argument — that concern for their own investments was the primary motivation of the Allens in the Haldimand Negotiations and that Ira Allen was not a reliable source for early Vermont history — reached many more Vermonters with a broader message than had any of the preceding revisionist efforts. Not especially good or original history, *Independent Vermont* did for the first time make the new interpretations of the state's past widely available on the popular level.

The first student to write a professional revisionist history of Vermont which carried the story beyond the declaration of autonomy in 1777 was Chilton Williamson whose doctoral dissertation, *Vermont in Quandary: 1763-1825*, was published in 1949.⁵⁷ Williamson not only saw economic self-interest as the primary motivations of the state's leading Revolutionary figures, but he also introduced an emphasis on the geographic orientation of Vermont, stressing that northwestern Vermont, where the biggest investments in land lay for the Allens, Thomas Chittenden and their friends, looked northward to Canada. As a result, Williamson

argued, they were completely in earnest in negotiating for a reunion with Canada and persisted in those negotiations until statehood in 1791.⁵⁸ Williamson made it clear that most Vermonters did not share the views of the Allen-Chittenden faction, and his documentation of the analysis of those west-side entrepreneurs dealt a serious blow to the hero-worship of the traditional accounts of early Vermont.

In addition, *Vermont in Quandary: 1763-1825* offered a fresh look at Vermont's first three decades as a state. Williamson continued his emphasis on northern Vermont's economic dependence upon trade with Canada and showed the results of that dependence, including speculation by Vermonters in Canadian lands and the incredible amount of smuggling during Jefferson's Embargo and the War of 1812.⁵⁹ The concentration on economic ties with Canada produced a somewhat distorted treatment of early Vermont. Southern Vermont and its orientations with Boston and New York were not fully discussed, nor were such general and noneconomic subjects as religion, structure of society and demographic trends. *Vermont in Quandary: 1763-1825*, as Williamson acknowledged, was not a definitive history of the state's early period. For the first time, however, Vermont scholars and general readers alike had a detailed revisionist account of the state which extended beyond the very early years. The work also prompted subsequent studies of particular details of Vermont's first seventy-five years, and it still remains the best work on the period, with its basic assumptions and major conclusions unchallenged, if tempered, at the professional level.⁶⁰

At the popular level, the revisionist approach to early Vermont is not yet accepted. The exciting appeal of the image of the state's Revolutionary leaders as heroic Vermont equivalents of George Washington and Sam Adams still dominates the periodic newspaper accounts, historical fiction, and occasional educational films produced about Vermont. The heroes and historical legends die slowly, and far more people have drawn their impressions of Vermont from the eloquent traditionalist version found in Dorothy Canfield Fisher's enormously successful *Vermont Tradition*⁶¹ than will ever read Chilton Williamson or Matt Bushnell Jones. Consequently, the thrilling adventures of the embattled Grants settlers will probably continue as mainstays of the state's popular heritage as long as there is a Vermont.⁶²

Among serious historians, however, the domination of the Allens and their version of early Vermont has ended. Since World War Two, no serious study dealing with the state in the eighteenth century has adopted the traditionalist interpretation. Instead, such able professional efforts as Charles A. Jellison's *Ethel Allen: Frontier Rebel* have reevaluated Vermont's early leaders and reached more balanced con-

clusions less favorable to their subjects.⁶³ As H. N. Muller, III has noted, it is no longer adequate "to analyze the complex history of early Vermont in terms of an archetypal character, however well constructed or portrayed."⁶⁴ The research of the past twenty-five years had resulted in the emergence of a much broader, more substantial picture of the important events and inhabitants of early Vermont, lacking the patriotic satisfaction conveyed by the traditional version, perhaps, but backed by a higher quality of scholarship and objectivity.⁶⁵

Yet the remarkable tyranny of the Allens over Vermont historiography continues. Though Vermont scholars no longer accept the Allens' version of state history, they continue to concentrate primarily on the Allens' era in that history. The interpretations have changed, but the subject has not. Vermont history is still the eighteenth century, the land grants controversy, Vermont in the Revolution, Ticonderoga, the Westminster Massacre, and the Haldimand Negotiations. The last century and a half of the state's heritage combined still receive far less attention than that first boisterous fifty years.⁶⁶ Ethan and Ira Allen may no longer *write* Vermont history for us, but to a very great extent they and their contemporaries continue to *be* Vermont history.

Despite the overemphasis on the eighteenth century, a few scholarly works on nineteenth century Vermont have appeared. At the same time as Matt B. Jones was revising old perceptions of early Vermont, an important, if brief, new trend began in Vermont history. In the 1930's and 1940's, Vermont historians began some serious investigations of the details of the state's nineteenth century history.

The first of the "new" Vermont studies published was Harold Fisher Wilson's *The Hill Country of Northern New England*, which appeared in 1936.⁶⁷ Wilson examined the socio-economic history of Vermont, New Hampshire and Maine from 1790 to 1930. The book, which contained a preponderance of Vermont material, concentrated on the "decline" of the region from 1830 to 1900. Although some of his conclusions about socio-economic stagnation have since been challenged by a quantitative analysis, Wilson's effort was a major step toward an understanding of nineteenth century northern New England.⁶⁸ *Hill Country* captured the feelings of northern New Englanders about conditions between 1830 and 1900, a period when the region failed to keep pace with growth across the rest of the United States.

An aspect of Vermont that Wilson had examined briefly became the subject of a more thorough study, when the Dartmouth historian, Lewis D. Stilwell, published *Migration from Vermont*.⁶⁹ Stilwell combed local and state records thoroughly to learn why so many Vermonters left the state in the 1800's, who they were, and where they went. The result was

a fascinating collection of information about those who left and a perceptive overview of what they were leaving. Stilwell's stated topic was migration out of Vermont, but in the process he also provided a decade-by-decade survey of conditions within the state from the 1780's to the Civil War.

Two years after Stilwell, a third major work on nineteenth century Vermont appeared: David M. Ludlum's *Social Ferment in Vermont 1791-1850*.⁷⁰ Subjects which previous historians had largely ignored became the meat of Ludlum's work: antimasonry; antislavery; temperance; millennialism; and religious revivals. *Social Ferment* provided more straight narrative than critical interpretation, but it laid the groundwork for later historians to probe more deeply into the nature of Vermont society in the years before 1850. Ludlum also approached what later scholars have agreed was the over-riding cause of the period's social upheaval: that a long series of natural disasters, economic setbacks and unfulfilled expectations, which began around 1815 and left Vermonters confused, unhappy and uncertain about their society and their own futures. Consequently, they turned to radical movements and causes, both as anticipated solutions and as ways to relieve some of the frustrations Vermont's relative decline had produced.⁷¹

A fourth and final important study of nineteenth century Vermont published in this period appeared in 1945. Written by Colonel William J. Wilgus, *The Role of Transportation in the Development of Vermont* surveyed the growth of transportation networks in the state from the primitive military roads and early turnpikes through the railroads which eventually crisscrossed Vermont by 1900.⁷² He did not write his hundred-page effort to be definitive (and it was not), but rather to make clear the tremendously important part transportation — roads, canals, waterways, railroads — had played in determining Vermont's growth patterns. As such, it opened the way for new perspectives on the economic and demographic history of the state, which more specialized articles written after 1950 developed in great depth.⁷³

Yet despite the efforts of Wilson, Stilwell, Ludlum and Wilgus, most Vermont scholars still prefer the more turbulent and exciting eighteenth century. Consequently, the history of Vermont from 1800 to the present remains largely unexplored territory. Since Wilgus' study of transportation appeared in 1945, no serious, full-length work on nineteenth century state history has been published.⁷⁴ The competent works of Wilson, Stilwell, Ludlum and Wilgus are now all more than thirty years old and in serious need of updating. Adequate professional studies which bring together the diverse strains of the state's nineteenth century heritage — migration, industry, the growth of tourism, dairy farming,

state politics — are yet lacking.⁷⁵ Fifty years ago Vermont historiography needed a thorough re-examination of the state's early past to close the gaps in our knowledge of eighteenth century Vermont. Today many of those gaps and inadequacies have been eliminated or diminished, but those in our understanding of Vermont in the succeeding hundred years still remain.

NOTES

¹(Hartford: Printed by Eben Watson, 1774); reprinted in Vermont, *Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont* (Montpelier: E.P. Walton, 1873-80), I, 482-517.

²Charles A. Jellison, *Ethan Allen: Frontier Rebel*, 2nd ed. (1969; rpt. Taftsville, Vt.: The Countryman Press, 1974), p. 350.

³*A Vindication of the Opposition of the Inhabitants of Vermont to the Government of New York* (Dresden: Alden Spooner, 1779); reprinted in Vermont, *Governor and Council*, I, 444-82; quote from Vermont, *Governor and Council*, I, 446.

⁴*Ibid.*, I, 461-62.

⁵First edition (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1779).

⁶For a thorough overview of Ethan Allen in American literature before the Civil War, see John McWilliams, "The Faces of Ethan Allen: 1760-1860," *The New England Quarterly*, 49 (1976), 257-82.

⁷Especially relevant are: *Some Miscellaneous Remarks, and Short Arguments, on a Small Pamphlet, Dated in the Convention of the Representatives of the State of New York, October 2, 1776* (Hartford: Eben Watson, 1777), reprinted in Vermont, *Governor and Council*, I, 376-89; and *Miscellaneous Remarks on the Proceedings of the State of New York Against the State of Vermont* (Hartford: Hannah Watson, 1777), reprinted in *Collections of the Vermont Historical Society* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1870), I, 133-44, hereafter *VHS Collections*.

⁸First edition (London: J.W. Myers, 1798); reprinted in *VHS Collections*, I, 319-468. The VHS edition of 1870 was reproduced in facsimile in 1974 (Rutland: Charles E. Tuttle Co., 1974).

⁹Pp. 150-246 in the first edition and pp. 94-148 in the editions of 1870 and 1974.

¹⁰H.N. Muller, III, "Ira Allen's Vermont," in Lawrence H. Leder, ed., *The Colonial Legacy: Early Nationalist Historians* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 227.

¹¹(Walpole, N.H.: Isaiah Thomas and David Carlisle, Jr., 1794).

¹²Ira Allen MSS, Williams to Ira Allen, July 11, 1792, photostat, 9-84, Wilbur Collection, Bailey Library, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont.

¹³*Ibid.*, Williams to Ira Allen, June, 1794, photostat, 10-50.

¹⁴The first 209 pages in Williams are on natural history, both Vermont and general, and on the American Indian. The section on Vermont's early political history appears on pp. 210-310.

¹⁵Quote from p. 272; and the general discussion of the Haldimand Negotiations, pp. 261-74.

¹⁶(Burlington: Samuel Mills, 1809).

¹⁷Second edition (1809), II, 269-77.

¹⁸For a modern study with a different conclusion see Aleine Austin, "Vermont Politics in the 1780's: The Emergence of Rival Leadership," *Vermont History*, 42, no. 2 (Spring 1974), 140-54.

¹⁹Second edition (1809), II, 277-325.

²⁰(Vergennes: J. Shedd, 1831).

²¹Hoskins, *History*, p. 6.

²²*Ibid.*, pp. 175-92.

²³First edition (Burlington: Chauncey Goodrich, 1842).

²⁴First edition (Burlington: Edward Smith, 1833).

²⁵(Montpelier: E. P. Walton, 1824).

²⁶(Burlington: Published by the author, printed by Chauncey Goodrich, 1848; and an abridged version, *First Book of Geography, for Vermont Children* (Burlington: C. Goodrich, 1849).

²⁷First edition, *Guide to Lake George, Lake Champlain, Montreal and Quebec with Maps, Tables of Distances and Routes from Albany, Burlington, Montreal, Etc.* (Burlington: C. Goodrich, 1845).

²⁸*History of the State of Vermont* (1833), pp. 3-4. Thompson cited Williams as his main source for the 1700's. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁹For an example, see Hoskins, *History*, p. 184, and Thompson's *History* (1833), p. 215, on smug-

gling and border tensions in 1814.

³⁰Even today, Thompson's *History of 1842* is in the \$50 price range, while Williams' *History* (either edition) costs double that, and Ira Allen's demands ten times as much.

³¹(Brattleboro: George H. Salisbury, 1946).

³²Beckley, *History of Vermont*, pp. 65-105, 167-82, and 221-55.

³³(Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1853); p. 7.

³⁴(New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1858).

³⁵Hall, *History of Eastern Vermont*, p. 240. For a general discussion of Westminster Massacre see pp. 209-41, Chapter 9.

³⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 412-14.

³⁷(Albany: Joel Munsell, 1868).

³⁸For example, in William L. Stone, *Life of Joseph Brant — Thayendanegea* (New York: A. V. Blake, 1838), which went through several editions from 1838 to 1965. New York historians of the mid-nineteenth century, most notably Henry B. Dawson, did not always agree with the traditional Vermont interpretations, especially on the Haldimand Negotiations.

³⁹(Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1892); and (rpt.; Rutland: Tuttle Co., 1975).

⁴⁰See Paul A. Eschholz, "Rowland Evans Robinson: Vermont Historian," in *Ibid.* (1975), pp. [i-vi].

⁴¹(Jericho, Vt.: Roscoe Printing House, 1899-1903).

⁴²(Burlington and Brandon, Vt.: A. M. Hemenway, 1867-91).

⁴³The Mason county histories, published from 1886 to 1891, included Addison (1886), Bennington (1889), Franklin and Grand Isle (1891), Rutland (1886) and Windsor (1891). The Child gazetteers, published in 1880-89, covered every county in Vermont.

⁴⁴(New York: The Century History Co., 1921-23).

⁴⁵*Ibid.*, I, xxv.

⁴⁶(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1928).

⁴⁷For example: Stone, Joseph Brant; Henry B. Dawson, ed., *The Historical Magazine* (Boston, New York and Morrisiana, New York: 1857-74); and Clarence W. Rife, "Vermont and Great Britain: A Study in Diplomacy 1779-1783," Ph.D. Diss., Yale University, 1922.

⁴⁸In addition to his Ph.D. Dissertation, Rife published "Ethan Allen: An Interpretation," *The New England Quarterly*, 2 (1929), 561-84. For a broader view see A.L. Burt, *The United States, Great Britain and British North America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), pp. 171-76.

⁴⁹(New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927).

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 510-22 and 537-38. See also Wardner's later article, "The Haldimand Negotiations," *Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, 2, no. 1 (1931), 3-29.

⁵¹Wardner, *Birthplace*, p. 511.

⁵²(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939).

⁵³*Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁵⁴(New York: The John Day Co., 1941) and (rpt.: Taftsville, Vermont: The Countryman Press, 1974).

⁵⁵For a review of *The Reluctant Republic*, see H.N. Muller, III, "Appraisal and Appreciation: An Introductory Essay," in the edition of 1974, pp. i-xiv.

⁵⁶(Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942).

⁵⁷(Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1949).

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, Chapters 7-10.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, Chapters 11-18.

⁶⁰For example, see H.N. Muller, III, "The Commercial History of the Lake Champlain-Richelieu River Route, 1760-1815." Ph.D. Diss., University of Rochester, 1968; and Edward Brynn, "Patterns of Dissent: Vermont's Opposition to the War of 1812." *Vermont History*, 40, no. 1 (Winter 1972), 10-27.

⁶¹First edition (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1953).

⁶²For a few modern examples: in fiction, the historical novels of Frederic F. Van de Water; in biography, Stewart H. Holbrook, *Ethan Allen* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1940); and in history, Perry H. Merrill, *Vermont Under Four Flags: A History of the Green Mountain State 1635-1975* (Montpelier: Published by the author, 1975).

⁶³(Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1969).

⁶⁴Muller, "Appraisal and Appreciation," p. xiii.

⁶⁵Even on the elementary or nonprofessional level, revisionist interpretations are being acknowledged, if not adopted. See Earle Newton, *The Vermont Story: A History of the People of the Green Mountain State 1749-1949* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1949); and Edmund Fuller, *Vermont: A History of the Green Mountain State* (Montpelier: State Board of Education, 1952).

⁶⁶In fact, the only surveys of nineteenth century Vermont more recent than Crockett are those in Newton, *The Vermont Story*, and Fuller, *A History of the Green Mountain State*, both of which are elementary and out of date.

⁶⁷(New York: Columbia University Press, 1936); and (rpt.: New York: AMS Press, 1967).

⁶⁸Wilson's assertion that those best able to cope with change, the educated farmers and professionals, emigrated from northern New England is not supported by preliminary findings of a quantitative study of selected Vermont towns in 1870-80 begun in 1974 by H.N. Muller, III and some of his students.

⁶⁹*Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society*, 5 (1937), 63-245; and in book form (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1948).

⁷⁰(New York: Columbia University Press, 1939); and (rpt.: New York: AMS Press, 1966).

⁷¹For example, see John Duffy and H.N. Muller, III, "The Great Wolf Hunt: The Popular Response in Vermont to the Patriots Uprising of 1837," *Journal of American Studies*, 8 (August 1974), 153-69 and "Jedidiah Burchard and Vermont's 'New Measure' Revivals; Social Adjustment and the Quest for Unity," *Vermont History*, 46, no. 1 (Winter 1978), 5-201.

⁷²(Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1945).

⁷³For example, see Melancthon W. Jacobus' two short pieces, "Canal Surveys in Northern Vermont," *Vermont Quarterly*, 21, no. 4 (October 1953), 263-72, and "A Canal Across Vermont," *Vermont History*, 23, no. 4 (October 1955), 275-85.

⁷⁴T.D. Seymour Basset's very able and extensive work, "Urban Penetration of Rural Vermont, 1840-80," Ph.D. Diss., Harvard University, 1952, unfortunately remains unpublished.

⁷⁵The only nineteenth century Vermont subject covered in depth is the Civil War, where George Grenville Benedict's *Vermont in the Civil War* (Burlington: Free Press Association, 1886-88), heads a large field.