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UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

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# History Review

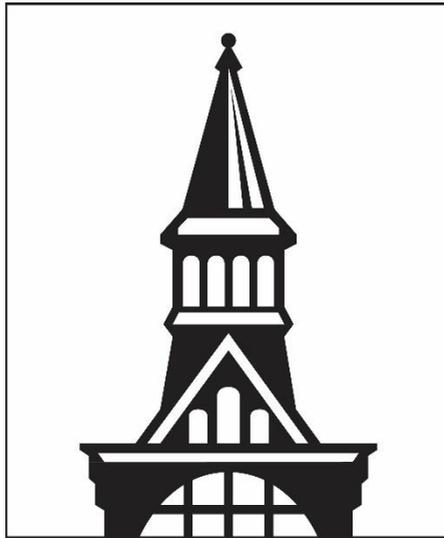


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# The University of Vermont History Review



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*2019-2020*

*The UVM History Review* is an annual publication of the University of Vermont History Department. It seeks to publish scholarly essays written by UVM students and alumni.

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## LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

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*Dear readers,*

It is our pleasure to present to you the thirtieth issue of the *University of Vermont History Review*. This annual journal showcases the exceptional research conducted by both graduate and undergraduate students within the field of history.

You will notice that all of the articles included in this year's issue are related to Vermont. While this was not our intention from the outset, we are thrilled to have received a large number of submissions showcasing our state's history and are excited to contribute to the University's land-grant mission.

As lead editors, we are grateful to have worked with an incredibly capable editorial board who, despite a sudden and unprecedented shift to remote learning due to the COVID-19 pandemic, never faltered in their swift and thorough editing work. Likewise, our authors completed their final revisions from afar and demonstrated extraordinary dedication in their work.

We would like to thank all members of our editorial board and the authors, without whom, this publication would not be possible. In addition, a special thank you to our faculty advisors Professor Susanna Schrafstetter and Professor Erik Esselstrom for their unwavering support and advice throughout.

We hope you enjoy the 2019-2020 *UVM History Review*.

*Sincerely, Kaleigh Calvao and Sophia Trigg*  
8 May 2020

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**A Hand Uncovered:  
The Remarkable Narrative of the Cortese Cicero in the  
University of Vermont Silver Special Collections Library**

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*Drew Adamczyk*

The Silver Special Collections Library at the University of Vermont is home to many remarkable manuscripts and incunabula. Spanning centuries of production and representing the work of countless scribes, illuminators, and collectors, even the untrained visitor to the collection is likely to feel the peculiar thrill of connecting to a piece of tangible history. Yet even among such rich company, the Cortese Cicero stands alone.<sup>1</sup> Tastefully rebound in the nineteenth century, the white goatskin leather boards cover a book not much larger than a modern paperback. The manuscript is in many ways what the average person might expect a collection of texts from antiquity to look and feel like. Lavishly illustrated, with liberal illumination, the manuscript has incredibly detailed miniatures introducing each of its five collected texts. The Latin is rendered carefully in legible script on parchment, crackling faintly as the pages of the codex are turned. Marginal *notas* and *maniculae* feature on many of the folios, and the blue initialing throughout is accented with intricate scrolling details in red ink. It is beautiful and intriguing purely as an historical object, even if the viewer has no deeper knowledge of Latin or the rich Italian humanist tradition that produced it. For the curious individual (and certainly for any historian), it is almost impossible to look at or hold such an item without questions arising. Why were these works in particular bound together and rendered with such ornate representation? Who commissioned

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<sup>1</sup> In light of observations made in this paper regarding the production of the manuscript in question, it is referred to throughout as the ‘Cortese Cicero,’ rather than simply as ‘MS 3 Cicero’ or its shelf mark ‘TR Cicero.’

this codex, and whose hands inscribed, illustrated, and illuminated it? How has this text, originally conceived over two millennia ago by a Roman statesman and rendered on parchment six hundred years ago, purchased and moved from owner to owner across oceans, continents, and centuries, found its way to Burlington, Vermont? Answering these questions requires delving into a rich history tying together the strands of Italian Humanism with the world of fifteenth-century Italian merchants and scribes, weaving together the intellectual and material heritage contained in this single artifact.

The Cortese Cicero is a fascinating focal point for examining the factors that produced it. This history can best be understood as two interconnected tracks, each necessary in order to produce the document as it can now be examined. The first track is an intellectual history tracing the construction, selection, and importance of the text itself; five texts by the Roman author and Consul, Marcus Tullius Cicero. The transmission of these texts beyond the life of their author involved two distinct periods of renewed interest in antiquity: the first occurred during the eighth and ninth centuries in the form of the Carolingian Renaissance and the second some four hundred years later with new interpretations of Cicero's works by Francesco Petrarca (Petrarch) and the resulting Italian Humanist Renaissance. In both periods, Cicero held a central place as an exemplar of 'righteous pagan' virtue and his were some of the most frequently discussed and copied works by scribes within the church and laity.<sup>2</sup>

The second historical track that the Cortese Cicero offers concerns the material history of the manuscript as an object itself: the script it was written in, the manner of its construction and illustration, and the individuals who commissioned and produced

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<sup>2</sup> Albert Russel Ascoli and Unn Falkeid, *The Cambridge Companion to Petrarch* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 141.

it. Here it is possible to identify the hand of a specific illuminator and miniaturist, a Venetian by the name of Cristoforo Cortese. Because Cortese worked within a period of only a few decades in the early part of the fifteenth century, it is possible to date the manuscript within a very narrow period, which points towards a specific type of available clientele within the Venetian mercantile elite.<sup>3</sup> An examination of the newfound wealth, intellectual interests, and social aspirations of this class of people has a great deal to say about how exactly the Cortese Cicero came into being. While it would be self-defeating to isolate the discussion of the text from the way it is rendered, this two-track approach to examining the document is useful in understanding how this specific codex was created as a unique product of its era, and how it was preserved to the present day.

While much of the work examining the document was done using the facsimile available through the University of Vermont's Digital Collections website, visits in person to the Silver Special Collections Library were invaluable to view many of the distinct features of this manuscript (such as the ornate gilded illumination that simply cannot be fully appreciated in an image) as well as in constructing an accurate collation.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Anna Padoa Rizzo, "Cristoforo Cortese," *Biographical Dictionary of Italians* (Vol. 29, 1983).

<sup>4</sup> The collation for the manuscript, as currently bound, is: Parchment, fol. ii (modern parchment) + 52 + ii (modern parchment); 1-3<sup>10</sup>, 4<sup>4</sup>, 5<sup>10</sup>, 6<sup>8</sup>; catchwords at the bottom of fol. 10v, 20v, 30v, 44v. Layout: Written with 26 long lines, below top line; ruled in light brown ink. Decoration includes five historiated initials with gold illumination. Green, slate, blue, brown, red, and black painted miniatures mark the beginnings of each text (fol. 1r, 20r, 29r, 30v, and 35r). Blue initials with red flourishes at regular intervals. Some initials missing, with space set aside for initialing (fol. 2v). Several *maniculae*, some with elongated forefinger (fol. 5r, 10r). Colophon on fol. 51v reads "Vincent" in same hand as many marginal *notas* throughout the

Additionally, reference throughout to articles and books consulted omits a vital step in reconstructing the history of this manuscript. Thanks are certainly owed to the expertise of Professor Federica Toniolo, at the University of Padua, and *Les Enluminures* manuscript specialist Laura Light, for their help in identifying the chief illuminator and miniaturist of the manuscript, and opening up an exciting new avenue for scholarship on the Cortese Cicero.

The history of this manuscript begins sometime around the middle of the first century BCE, when the text it contains was originally created. In the period immediately prior to the transition of the Roman Republic to the Roman Empire, Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 BCE-43 BCE) was born to a wealthy family of the equites, one of the non-patrician classes. Raised in the foothills near Rome, he studied a cultured curriculum merging Latin and Greek texts, and was quickly identified as a precocious scholar.<sup>5</sup> As a young man, he was exposed to traditional Greek philosophy and rhetorical theory, travelling to Athens in 79 BCE to study under Apollonius Molon, who would be responsible for training Gaius Julius Caesar only a few years later. Cicero's early exposure to Greek rhetorical methods and the corpus of classical philosophy instilled a lifelong love of intellectualism in the young man, who eschewed military service for a career as a lawyer, orator, and later a politician, where he earned his greatest renown. His social class and loyalty to the Republic endeared him to the Roman middle-class, while his commitment to the principles of the Roman Constitution earned him support as he successfully ascended the *cursus honorum* (the sequence of offices to ascend in Roman politics) holding each magistracy at or near the

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work, distinct from scribal hand. Blue paragraph marks with red flourishes throughout. Rebound in modern white goatskin.

<sup>5</sup> D.D. Conyers Middleton, *The Life of Marcus Tullius Cicero* (London: J Wright Publishing, 1804), 13.

youngest possible age: *quaestor* in 75 BCE (age 31), *aedile* in 69 BCE (age 37), and *praetor* in 66 BCE (age 40), where he served in a key judicial oversight role.<sup>6</sup> Finally, in 63 BCE, he was appointed as one of the two Consuls, where he swiftly began to exercise his executive powers by exposing a plot against the Republic and ordering the execution of its four principal antagonists. For this perceived overextension of power, he was exiled, and following the conclusion of the Caesarian Civil War he was ultimately assassinated on the orders of the Second Triumvirate. Despite his somewhat ignominious end, Cicero was widely admired for his oratorical skills and prolific writings during his lifetime, and in the decades and centuries to follow, his work became a core pillar of a classical Roman education. Consequently, his texts were some of the most widely disseminated works in Latin and were found across the Roman world.<sup>7</sup>

The works Cicero produced, particularly in later life, spanned a variety of thematic areas. His writings on government and rhetoric are considered foundational texts of modern democratic theory. Yet he also produced works concerning more personal material. In particular, the final years of his life saw him ruminate on the nature of aging, friendship, the duties of the citizen, and a rethinking of the works that had inspired him, including the philosophy of the Stoics. Cicero made numerous references to the context and events of his own time, but he was also remarkably innovative in writing in a refined style invoking universal themes that could be appreciated across time and cultures.<sup>8</sup> His letter-writing in particular was instrumental in

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<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>7</sup> L.D. Reynolds and Nigel G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 108.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 109.

defining the standards of the letter-writing culture of Renaissance and later Europe, especially once they were popularized by Petrarch. In the centuries after his death, Cicero was hailed as the archetypal Roman champion of liberty and deference to law, largely due to his reverence for the primacy of Republican rule in the face of corruption and dictatorial challenge. After the conversion of the Roman Empire to Christianity under Emperor Constantine I, Cicero's works were accepted as one of the limited contributions by a pagan writer that were compatible with Christian works, and Cicero was venerated by early Christian writers such as St. Jerome.<sup>9</sup> The collapse of the Roman Empire, however, significantly curtailed access to the works of Cicero, which in many cases were only preserved by scribal work in monasteries across the continent.

The works presented in the Cortese Cicero are all from the later period of the author's life: *De Amicitia* (On Friendship), the *Paradoxa Stoicorum* (Stoic Paradoxes), and *De Senectute* (On Aging). Additionally, the codex contains a series of adversarial speeches purported to be written by Cicero and a contemporary, *Sallust* (The Invectives), although the actual authorship of the text is heavily disputed, with many scholars suggesting the work was instead produced as an imitative study by one or several later Roman rhetoricians.<sup>10</sup> These works are all of the universalist mode that Cicero preferred to write in during his later years, seeking to impart broadly appealing wisdom meant to offer moral and civic advice. Through elaborate analogy and clever framing devices, a work such as *De Amicitia* uses the eulogies of Scipio Africanus the Younger (adopted grandson of his namesake, the vanquisher of Hannibal at the Battle of Zama) to discuss how a

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 111.

<sup>10</sup> Anna A. Novokhatko, *The Invectives of Sallust and Cicero: Critical Edition*. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2009), 11.

virtuous life is lived in relation to others.<sup>11</sup> Even to the modern reader, the sentiments behind his words still resonate, as in his observation that “friendship ought to be sought, not because we are attracted by the hope of reward, but because the whole of its profit lies in the love itself.”<sup>12</sup>

Modern scholarship has largely rejected the usage of the term “Dark Ages” when referring to the period between the collapse of the Western Roman Empire and the consolidation of much of western Europe under Charlemagne. While the production of literary artifacts and the intellectual culture of Europe may not have been comparable in scope and diffusion to the heights of the Roman Empire and its later forms or the productivity of the Middle Ages during this time, the work of monasteries effectively preserved much of the cultural heritage of western civilization.<sup>13</sup> Still, there was a paradigmatic shift in cultural diffusion and literary production under Carolingian and Merovingian rule. This shift became particularly pronounced through a series of policies implemented by Charlemagne after the Frankish ruler began his campaign of conquest and unification in the final quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, culminating in his crowning as Emperor of the Romans in the year 800. Relative economic stability and growth spread throughout Europe, increasing the development of major urban centers and leading to large-scale population growth.<sup>14</sup> Under Charlemagne, efforts were directed towards reinstating a common program for Latin literacy, which involved the centralized training of a new class of priests and

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<sup>11</sup> Marcus Tullius Cicero, *De Amicitia (On Friendship)* (New York: The Century Company, 1897), 64

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>13</sup> Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 6.

<sup>14</sup> G.W. Trompf, “The Concept of the Carolingian Renaissance,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 34, no. 1 (1973), 17.

scholars. In the process, numerous linguistic and technical innovations to Latin developed, the most significant to the eventual creation of the Cortese Cicero being a standardized Medieval Latin and the legible script of Caroline Miniscule.

In addition to the relative lack of widespread literacy as Charlemagne began his rule, it was common to find people across western Europe (including many parish priests) who were more likely to rely on the various dialects of vulgar Latin (the precursors to modern Romance languages) than classical Latin, rendering many of them unable to speak or read the core canon of the church, including the text of the Vulgate Bible.<sup>15</sup> This created major problems, not only in the dissemination of church texts and the mutual intelligibility of people across regions, but in the administration and bureaucracy of the sprawling empire Charlemagne had brought together. In order to resolve these issues, Charlemagne directed the creation of a system of schools meant with a common set of curricula. Under the direction of scholars from across Europe, such as Alcuin of York, a revived Roman curriculum was implemented consisting of the *trivium* (grammar, logic, and rhetoric) and the *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy) together forming a seven-part body of liberal arts (in contrast to the practical arts, such as medicine).<sup>16</sup> Key to the pedagogy of this new educational system was a reliance on common texts, drawing from the western Christian canon as well as texts from antiquity, including the works of rhetoric, ethics, and civic rumination produced by Cicero nearly a thousand years earlier. In refining and reproducing these texts, Carolingian reformers introduced changes to the grammar and compositional forms of Latin,

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<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 21.

standardizing them to produce a mutually intelligible version of the language that would come to be known as Medieval Latin.

Simultaneous to the evolution of a systematized liberal arts curriculum, Alcuin and other scholars began to innovate new forms of script for increased legibility and ease of writing. The most significant and lasting of these new scripts incorporated legible upper- and lower-case (hence Caroline **miniscule**) letterforms while omitting many abbreviations and orthographic ligatures. This new writing had an immensely profound and lasting impact on the rendering of the Roman alphabet; indeed with the exception of the long s (*f*), every letterform in the script is still used in modern English writing.<sup>17</sup> Production of manuscripts during this period increased massively, with some estimates suggesting that nearly one hundred thousand manuscripts were produced in the ninth century alone. Almost seven thousand from the period survive to the present day.<sup>18</sup>

The cultural renaissance and manuscript productivity of the Carolingian renaissance, while profound, was still limited in scope. Because it principally affected the church, clerical, and scribal spheres of Europe, the diffusion of texts was restricted to a relatively contained pool. Additionally, the empire that Charlemagne brought together began to fracture after his death, and within a few generations it had splintered into distinct kingdoms ruled by many different families. Because the impact of the cultural shifts of the Carolingian period were limited in scope and time, scholarship has been divided over the extent to which it even constitutes a ‘renaissance.’<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Raymond Clemens and Timothy Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 143.

<sup>18</sup> Eltjo Buringh, *Medieval Manuscript Production in the Latin West* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 159.

<sup>19</sup> Trompf, “The Concept of the Carolingian Renaissance,” 3.

Regardless, as far as the Cortese Cicero is concerned, the principal impact of the period was the recreation of texts from antiquity in new editions, preserved across Europe in a readily legible form of standardized Latin. It would take nearly four hundred years for many of Cicero's texts to be reinterpreted in a humanist renaissance of a massive scale, but the seeds for a far greater cultural shift had already been planted. In the meantime, the works of antiquity continued to find a place of relevance. Around the year 1000, the expansion of urban life and the accompanying trend toward professional specialization prompted a new evaluation of Roman legal texts and theory, including those by Cicero. In the cathedral schools of eleventh-century Italy, the works of Cicero and his contemporaries were used as primers in the instruction of Latin beyond the legal professions. These Ciceronian texts continued in limited circulation, but their use was restricted almost entirely to professional education and secular circles.<sup>20</sup>

In the year 1304, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July, Francesco Petrarco (Latinized as *Petrarca*, and later known simply by the mononym Petrarch) was born in the Tuscan city of Arezzo to a well-off and pious family. As a youth, his family relocated to Avignon, France, in order to follow the establishment of the Papacy under Pope Clement V. There, his father encouraged his interest in academic studies (likely, as Petrarch would later write, in order to facilitate his son following in his footsteps as a notary serving in the Papal Curia), and Petrarch benefited enormously from the manuscript collections available through his father's work.<sup>21</sup> A precocious student, Petrarch moved from Avignon to study at the Universities of Montpellier and Bologna. At the latter, he was likely exposed to the nascent humanistic expressions of writers

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<sup>20</sup> Ronald G. Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients: The Origins of Humanism From Lovato to Bruni* (Boston: Brill 2000), 15.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, 243.

like Lovato Lovani and his disciple Albertino Mussato. These two Italians had gained a degree of notoriety as scholars, poets, and in Mussato's case as a playwright by championing the classical texts and style of the writers of antiquity. Lovani and Mussato championed a contemporary re-emphasis on classical texts, seeking to emulate the poetic verse and structure of the works they read while also pursuing a philological quest to present them in their original form to directly ascertain their meaning.<sup>22</sup> Yet while they and other early humanists had a passion for ancient texts, they showed little interest in understanding the society that had produced them, or in finding bridges between the pagan civilization of the past and the Christian society of their present.<sup>23</sup>

Enter the earnest and inquisitive Petrarch. Fascinated and inspired by the beauty and elegance of classical prose, he sought to reinterpret the virtues and values of the Roman period through a Christian lens. In discourses, poetry, and narratives such as his much-heralded *Africa*, he dramatized the histories and individuals of Rome such as the victorious Cornelius Scipio Africanus, for the modern reader using them as morality tales.<sup>24</sup> Supported by his fame and wealth, Petrarch embarked on a series of tours around Europe, seeking to locate the missing fragments and lost codices of antiquity. In the process, he found many of the works produced by the Carolingian Renaissance, scattered across the monasteries and cathedrals of the European world, including his personal discovery in 1345 of a manuscript collection of letters

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 149.

<sup>24</sup> Carol E. Quillen, "A Tradition Invented: Petrarch, Augustine, and the Language of Humanism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 53, no.2 (1992), 184.

by Cicero to a contemporary, Atticus, at a cathedral in Verona.<sup>25</sup> Written in the miniscule that distinguished this period and was so different from the heavy Gothic scripts that had become predominant by his era, Petrarch and contemporaries, such as Giovanni Boccaccio, believed that they, in many cases, were discovering authentic texts produced by Roman authors and scribes and written in what they called the *littera antiqua*.<sup>26</sup> These early Italian humanists worked to distance themselves from the Gothic scripts by developing a Semigothic script that reduced the emphasis on ligature and abbreviation, as well as by moving away from what they saw as overelaborate letterforms. This script would later be generally supplanted in the fifteenth century by the Italian humanist bookhand developed by a devotee of Petrarch, Poggio Bracciolini, that was far more explicitly modeled on the Caroline miniscule.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the Semigothic text was still widely used well into the fifteenth and even sixteenth century, notably in the Cortese Cicero manuscript. Given that this piece was produced nearly fifty years after the death of Petrarch, it is both curious and revealing that the scribe who wrote it chose a script that directly linked it to the humanism of the fourteenth century.

In his prolific career, Petrarch produced a huge body of poetry and philosophy written largely in Latin, the language that he saw as his direct connection to the world of the Romans. Disdainful of the vernacular culture of the preceding centuries, he promoted the notion of a ‘Dark Ages’ between the glory of Rome and the supposed cultural collapse that followed the demise of the

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<sup>25</sup> Martin Eisner, “In the Labyrinth of the Library: Petrarch’s Cicero, Dante’s Virgil, and the Historiography of the Renaissance,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 67, no. 3 (2014), 768.

<sup>26</sup> Clemens and Graham, *Introduction to Manuscript Studies*, 172.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 175.

Empire.<sup>28</sup> Despite his professed aversion to the language, he still made major contributions to the Italian literary canon, notably through his great collection of poems, the *canzoniere*. As a deeply introspective and conflicted reader and thinker, Petrarch struggled to reconcile the physical world he inhabited, filled by vices, temptations, and physical limitations, with the purer world of intellectual thought and his Christian faith.<sup>29</sup> In turning to the works of writers like Cicero, Petrarch believed that he could create a fusion between the wisdom of the pagan ancients and the moralizing virtue of Christianity, directly impart those lessons in an act of spiritual reformation.<sup>30</sup> Through this guiding principle, Petrarch claimed a role for himself as the father of a new humanist movement. He envisioned an appeal beyond the purely artistic or professional worlds that works of antiquity had occupied in medieval society. When disseminated in his numerous works and subsequently embraced by his contemporaries, Petrarch's ideas succeeded in convincing his readers that understanding and preserving pagan literature was not only pleasurable but morally useful, and it was compatible, valuable, and perhaps even essential to the pursuit of salvation.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, Petrarch and Boccaccio advocated for a shift in the way that literature could be used. The accepted medieval method for academic, theological, or professional argument largely followed appeals to authority; the writer or speaker would invoke the work of a given authority (e.g. Augustine, Jerome, or

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<sup>28</sup> Quillen, "A Tradition Invented," 193.

<sup>29</sup> Ronald G. Witt, "Petrarch, Creator of the Christian Humanist," *Petrarch and Boccaccio: The Unity of Knowledge in the Premodern World* (Boston, De Gruyter, 2018), 68

<sup>30</sup> Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients*, 241.

<sup>31</sup> Wayne H. Storey, "The Formation of Knowledge and Petrarch's Books," *Petrarch and Boccaccio: The Unity of Knowledge in the Pre-Modern World* (Boston: De Gruyter, 2018), 31.

another accepted intellectual heavyweight) and then use them to lend justification to the argument they were making through a series of logical premises.<sup>32</sup> To this end, the way the text was rendered or presented was important only insofar as it conveyed meaning. In contrast, Petrarch and the humanists sought to revitalize an appeal to rhetoric in the classical style, utilizing not only the *logos* of structured argument but also the *pathos* and *ethos* of style and manner that created a sympathetic feeling in the receiver of the information. Rather than solely a utility, language was itself a force of moral instruction.<sup>33</sup> The specific words that a writer such as Cicero had chosen, and the manner in which an individual could read or orate them, had every bit as profound an impact as their ideological content for a humanist, and in deference to the primacy of the text, distinct humanistic stylistic preferences developed. Manuscripts tended to be written in long lines of block text, rather than in the multiple columns that generally feature in Gothic and other textual styles. Ornamentation was pared down, as was the usage of elaborate illumination and illustration. While many manuscripts exist that defy this custom (the Cortese Cicero being a marked example), the general trend in humanism was towards a book as a form of information transfer; a vessel for knowledge.<sup>34</sup>

The ideological shifts in the usage of classical literature that defined Petrarch and his humanist contemporaries occurred at a transitional period in European history, particularly in the context of fourteenth century Italy. Merchants operating in major centers of commerce such as Padua, Venice, and Florence experienced new opportunities for the acquisition of vast capital, benefiting from trade with the Arabic world and the Far East as

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<sup>32</sup> Ascoli and Falkeid, *The Cambridge Companion to Petrarch*, 169.

<sup>33</sup> Quillen, "A Tradition Invented," 205.

<sup>34</sup> Paul Oskar Kristeller, "The European Diffusion of Italian Humanism," *Italica* 39, no. 1 (1962), 7.

well as in goods flowing over the Alps. Changes in commerce and shipping meant that it was more likely to find individual merchants or families financing several vessels contracted to them, whereas in earlier eras individual merchant ships or caravans tended to operate and trade on their own initiative.<sup>35</sup> This promoted novel forms of exchange and strategies of trade. For a merchant operating out of a centralized location (Venice being a prime example), it was imperative to be informed about the opportunities for profit available, as well as to be able to quickly notify clients of wares and possible openings or disruptions in the flow of trade (such as wars or the outbreak of plague). Disseminating that information required an entirely new sort of education and a set of intellectual skills emphasizing flexible negotiation, direct communication, and skillful flattery.<sup>36</sup> Many of the most successful members of the new mercantile class had been educated in primary and secondary schools that only a few generations prior had served principally to educate physicians, lawyers, and legal professionals. Schooled in classical Latin literature, this new generation had been directly exposed to the humanist phenomenon that swept across the academic and professional world in the fourteenth century, and many of those who later entered lucrative careers in commerce and industry still carried a lifetime appreciation of Latin literature and culture. Those who had been too old to participate directly in the humanist transformation of the Italian education system nonetheless recognized the benefit of a rounded classical education, and the grammar schools and rolls of the private tutors in major Italian cities vastly increased the scope of their tutelage.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> J.K. Hyde, "Some Uses of Literacy in Venice and Florence in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 29, 1979, 111.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 114.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 116.

The importation of Italian humanism to Venice was slightly later than to Padua or Florence, but by the early fifteenth century, war alliances had brought heightened cultural exchange between the largely patrician class of Venetians and the Florentines. In contrast with many Italian cities, whose patrician classes were principally composed of religious, legal, or medical professionals, Venice boasted a truly mercantile ruling elite.<sup>38</sup> Money flowed through the city as easily as the water of its famous canals, and the *nouveau riche* merchants sought increasingly extravagant ways to flaunt their wealth and demonstrate their civic virtue through investment in public and church buildings, as well as in lavish personal property and other forms of material culture. Still, the accepted fashion was the affectation of a general nonchalance towards acknowledging tremendous wealth. For instance, Venetians did not refer to their extravagant homes as “palaces,” but used *Ca’*, an abbreviation for the word “house.” Thus, a family compound would be modestly referenced as *Ca’ Gradenigo* or *Ca’ Garzoni*. In Latin, the great houses of important families were referred to simply as *domus magna* or *domus maior*, or *proprietas magna* and *proprietas maior*. In Venetian documents they are simply *ca’ grande* or *ca’ mazor*.<sup>39</sup>

Performative modesty aside, the spending habits of the Venetian mercantile class created an explosion of opportunities and employment available for the artisan class—the masons, painters, and other skilled individuals essential to furnishing the lavish lifestyle of the elites. In this economy, it was possible for an individual without a noble background or formal education to secure profitable, steady work either as a member of a guild, under the patronage of a specific individual or family, or by

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<sup>38</sup> Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients*, 455.

<sup>39</sup> Jenna Phillips, “Priced to Sell?: The Medieval Housing Market in Venice and the Making of Bandino Garzoni,” *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 72, no. 2 (2011), 501.

establishing a reputation as a reliable and gifted provider of luxury goods and services.<sup>40</sup> One of the fields experiencing a profitable boom was the production of manuscripts, which required the expertise of a number of individuals (tanners, illuminators, scribes, etc.) working in concert to produce a single product, individually commissioned and wholly unique. For centuries books had been an established method for demonstrating cultural awareness and material wealth. The cultural climate cultivated by the humanists, when paired with an infusion of wealth in the hands of the classically educated elite, drove the new aristocracy and mercantile class to commission manuscripts on a massive scale.<sup>41</sup> While in many cases devotional literature seems to have been the preferred option (as in the proliferation of Books of Hours, Bibles, and other liturgical texts), there was also a lucrative market for new editions of classical texts. Steeped in the humanist tradition of Petrarch and Boccaccio, empowered by new sources of wealth and prestige, the patron who commissioned the Cortese Cicero chose its texts for a reason. With money in hand and a clear idea of how written works functioned as objects of status and symbols of cultural prestige, they would have had no lack of available artisans with which to produce a manuscript. One such artisan eager to make a profit in this environment was Venetian illuminator and miniaturist Cristoforo Cortese, who, among his many works, was destined to produce one specific collection of Ciceronian texts.

It is difficult to say with certainty when Cortese started his career as a miniaturist, although some archival evidence suggests he was following in the career of his father, Marco.<sup>42</sup> The earliest works that can potentially be attributed to him date to 1397, and he is believed to have died sometime between 1440-45 in Venice,

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<sup>40</sup> Phillips, "Priced to Sell," 506.

<sup>41</sup> Petegree, "The Book in the Renaissance," 12.

<sup>42</sup> Rizzo, "Cristoforo Cortese."

after a career that saw him travelling between that city and Bologna.<sup>43</sup> He was well established as an illuminator, illustrator, and miniaturist in Venice by 1415, was prolific and varied in his work, and seems to have had a degree of influence on his contemporaries.<sup>44</sup> His style was defined by a remarkable attention to detail, as the work in the Cortese Cicero readily attests. A signature feature of his work was the use of incredibly fine white paint in lines over illustrations of cloth and facial features, creating a truly remarkable level of detail and depth.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, his work almost always incorporated obvious trappings of wealth: liberal use of gold leaf, multiple colors of paints and inks, and repeat illustrations throughout, as in both the Cortese Cicero and other examples of his work. In a psalter likely created in the same period as the UVM manuscript (late 1410's to early 1420's), now held at the State Library of Bamberg in northern Bavaria, Cortese's illustrations spill out beyond the first folios of the texts, decorate the margins, and in some cases playfully interact with the text itself.<sup>46</sup> Aside from the consistent use of rare and expensive production materials, however, the manuscripts illustrated by Cortese are remarkably varied in content and style. As noted earlier, the Cortese Cicero is rendered in a relatively modest form; the opening pages of the texts are lavish, but the main text itself is a legible Italian Semigothic written in a single block of long lines without internal illustration or adornment beyond red and blue initialing and paragraph marks. It is, in other words, very much in keeping with the traditions of the humanists,

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<sup>43</sup> Norman E. Land, "Cristofero Cortese and an Important Antiphony in the Bodleian Library, Oxford," *The Burlington Magazine* 120, no. 906 (1978), 586.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Marcus T. Cicero, *MS 3 (Cicero [1414-1435])*, fol. 1r.

<sup>46</sup> Karl-Georg Pfändtner, "A Newly Discovered Psalter Illuminated by Cristofero Cortese," *The Burlington Magazine* 154, no. 1311 (2012), 410.

albeit with modifications that mark it as belonging to a person of means. The antiphony at the Oxford Bodleian Library is written in the same script as the Cortese Cicero but with less ornate illustration, perhaps to avoid drawing the eye away from the music that is written within. The same cannot be said of the other Cortese holdings of the Bodleian, which are considerably more lavishly illustrated. White lines patterned over a dark ground are present behind the half-length saints in the borders of the folios in one manuscript, and on the thick botanical shapes with flowers that fill them and link the depicted saints of another.<sup>47</sup> In the Bamberg psalter, Cortese's illustrations are in his distinct style and intense detail, but the text itself is rendered in a thick, gothic script in two columns. In a later manuscript, dated to 1433, the script is rendered in the neat, flowing script of the Italian humanists, mimicking the Caroline miniscule that was mistaken for the *littera antiqua* of Rome.<sup>48</sup>

The obvious conclusion is that Cristoforo Cortese's workshop employed many different scribes, some possibly even during the same period. Here lies an answer to one of the enigmas surrounding UVM's Cortese Cicero manuscript: why would a manuscript produced nearly fifty years after the death of Petrarch still use the Semigothic text of his era? In this case, it seems that it was at the request of the patron of the codex. Clearly, Cortese's workshop was able to accommodate a scribe who could work in the more modern style of the humanists; his other works from the same period readily attest to this capacity. Indeed, this would be a far more fitting accompaniment to the sparse formatting of the folios and the Cicero content, which was reaching the peak of its influence and popularity in Venice only in the late 1410's

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<sup>47</sup> Land, "Cristoforo Cortese and an Important Antiphony in the Bodleian Library, Oxford," 587-589.

<sup>48</sup> Pfändtner, "A Newly Discovered Psalter Illuminated by Cristoforo Cortese," 411.

following its adoption as a preferred text by the political elite.<sup>49</sup> So here we have a fascinating example of what can only be described as a particular preference of a single consumer, a taste for what we might now call a vintage or even ‘retro’ style. That Cristoforo Cortese was able to readily handle such a request and execute it with undeniable skill and to exacting standards is a testament to why this illuminator was so prolific and successful in his career.

The manuscripts, rare books, and other materials housed at the University of Vermont Silver Special Collection Library each have a history as layered as the Cortese Cicero. What they share is their current home, where they have been donated or purchased and collected for future research by students and researchers in Vermont and beyond. Tracing the provenance of the Cortese Cicero beyond the years of its creation offers primarily mystery and frustration, such as the enigmatic inscription made by one ‘Vincent’ in the colophon, offering little more than tantalizing evidence of a personal amendment to the codex.<sup>50</sup> The more recent history of the document is easier to identify. The Cortese Cicero was purchased by the University of Vermont from the collection of Lucius E. Chittenden, accounted for in a list of the manuscripts he collected in his extensive personal library. A member of a prominent Vermont family, his great-grandfather, Thomas Chittenden, was the governor of the short-lived Vermont Republic and the first governor of Vermont after the state was admitted to the Union in 1791. Lucius E. Chittenden was himself a successful lawyer and politician, serving in the Lincoln administration as Register of the Treasury, and he found time to write extensively and collect a wide range of rare books, as well as contemporary works of literature and

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<sup>49</sup> Witt, *In the Footsteps of the Ancients*, 475.

<sup>50</sup> Cicero, *MS 3 (Cicero [1414-1435])*, fol. 51v.

science.<sup>51</sup> In 1869, this manuscript was lent by Chittenden to the University of Vermont, and upon his death in 1900 it was purchased from his estate for the permanent collection of the University.<sup>52</sup> Chittenden clearly understood the value of this work, paying to rebind and board it with an elegant white goatskin. The provenance of the manuscript before Chittenden may be deducible by a closer examination of his correspondence, writings, receipts, and other general materials. Preserved as the Lucius E. Chittenden Papers, these documents and many more are part of the same larger collection that houses rare books like the Cortese Cicero. Further research and thorough analysis of this vast trove of papers may yield greater information and can doubtless only add to the rich history of this artifact.

Visiting the University of Vermont Silver Special Collections Library in 2019 is a tranquil experience. There is little noise beyond the quiet turning of pages or the muffled conversation of a student or scholar working with a librarian or research assistant. In a space that was once a rambunctious dining hall, one can now sit undisturbed at a long table, lay out the Cortese Cicero on foam supports, and gently open the manuscript. Behind encasing leather boards, the reader is greeted by the unmistakable smell of parchment and its distinctive audible crackle as the codex is opened. There, on the first page, are the words of a rumination on the nature of friendship that the Roman statesman Cicero committed to the literary canon over two thousand years ago: *QVINTVS Mucius Sceuola augur multa narrare de Gaio Lelio suo socero memoriter et iocunde solebat* –

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<sup>51</sup> John Buechler, "Lucius E. Chittenden: Green Mountain Bibliophile," Vermont History, vol. 37, 1969, 40

<sup>52</sup> Lucius E. Chittenden, "List of Books Belonging to Lucius E. Chittenden," (1894). *Lucius E. Chittenden Papers*, Box 1, Folder 59. University of Vermont Silver Special Collections Library.

“Quintus Mucius Sceula, the Augur, used to repeat from memory the many sayings of Gaius Laelius...”<sup>53</sup>

Centuries after the civilization he knew had been consumed by military dictatorship, expanded to conquer nearly the entire western world and then collapsed, Cicero’s words would be transcribed under the orders of a new Roman Emperor—Charlemagne. Writing in a script, the Caroline Miniscule, that was legible across the breadth of Europe, the Ciceronian canon was carefully preserved, becoming instrumental in European professional pedagogy. Nearly four hundred years later, it was beloved by an Italian son of a notary, Petrarch, who used it and works like it as the basis for a movement that would transform the arts and European society. After Petrarch’s death and his disciples had spread his humanist movement across Italy, a member of the newly wealthy mercantile class likely recalled the importance of the texts he had read as a student and wanted a tangible symbol of his status and place in Venetian society. Some six hundred years ago he commissioned a manuscript, *this* manuscript, employing an artist whose work was prolific and distinctive enough that one can still make out the feather-light details of Cristoforo Cortese’s hand in the white lines adorning the illumination of his miniatures. Now this codex lies far from where it was produced, in a land that its creators could not even have conceived of existing, available in an instant around the world through a digital collection of archived materials that transcend the need for physical representation. Works like the Cortese Cicero have drawn the attention of people across oceans literal and temporal. To examine it today is to appreciate the incredible constellation of factors that has produced, preserved, and presented this specific

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<sup>53</sup> Cicero, *De Amicitia (On Friendship)*, 1.

text in this specific form, and to feel distinctly humbled by the experience.

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**Vietnam in Vermont:  
Student Activism at the University of Vermont as Reported  
in the *Cynic***

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*TJ Butcher*

The twentieth century was a pivotal time in global history. Following the Second World War, the rise of two new international superpowers, the Soviet Union and the United States, caused new pressures and developments from all corners of the world. One of the most well documented events during the second half of the twentieth century was the United States' involvement in the Vietnam War from 1955 to 1973. The 1960s stand out as a tumultuous period of protest across the United States, with college campuses often seen as battlegrounds for civil rights and anti-war movements. Students put their bodies and education on the line in unprecedented numbers to stand up for what they believed in. Students played a major role in the de-escalation and end of the Vietnam War in 1975. While popular memory often limits these protests to major, well-known universities—such as the University of California, Berkeley; the University of Wisconsin–Madison; the University of Chicago; the University of Michigan; Columbia University; and Harvard University—and places where extreme violence occurred—such as the infamous Kent State University Massacre—protests were in nearly every corner of the United States. The media of the 1960s helped propel the popular narrative of the above universities as sole centers of anti-war protests. However, historians of the twentieth-century United States have recently paid a good deal of attention to campus protests at universities outside those popularly associated with the movement.

One area of the United States that has recently received significant attention by historians is the American South. Mitchell

Hall, who teaches about social movements and connections between domestic and international politics, writes about the University of Kentucky while John Ernst and Yvonne Baldwin, both history professors who focus on the Vietnam War, write about Louisville University.<sup>1</sup> Gregg Michel, a professor of history whose focus is on social change in post-World War II America discusses Furman University while Alex Macauley, who both teaches and studies US history, examines the anti-war movement at The Citadel, both universities in South Carolina. Christopher Broadhurst, who focuses on educational leadership within higher education, writes on the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.<sup>2</sup> Christopher Huff, a former graduate student at the University of Georgia, and Donald Summerlin both look at activism in Georgia; the former examines the University of Georgia and the latter looks critically at movements in the city of Atlanta.<sup>3</sup> Jeffrey Turner, who teaches about Southern US history,

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<sup>1</sup> Mitchell Hall, "A Crack in Time: The Response of Students at the University of Kentucky to the Tragedy at Kent State, May 1970," *Kentucky Historical Society* 83, no. 1 (Jan. 1985): 36-63; John Ernst and Yvonne Baldwin, "The Not So Silent Minority: Louisville's Antiwar Movement, 1966-1975," *Journal of Southern History* 73, no. 1 (Feb. 2007): 105-142.

<sup>2</sup> Gregg Michel, "It Even Happened Here: Student Activism at Furman University, 1967-1970," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 109, no. 1 (Jan. 2008): 38-57; Alec Macauley, "An Oasis of Order: The Citadel, the 1960s, and the Vietnam Antiwar Movement," *Southern Cultures* 11, no. 3 (Fall 2005): 35-61; Christopher Broadhurst, "There Can Be No Business As Usual: The University of North Carolina and the Student Strike of May 1970," *Southern Cultures* 21, no. 2 (Summer 2005): 84-101.

<sup>3</sup> Christopher Huff, "Radicals Between the Hedges: The Origins of the New Left at the University of Georgia and the 1968 Sit-In," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 94, no. 2 (Summer 2010): 179-209; Donald Summerlin, "Peach State Protest: The Anti-Vietnam Movement in Georgia, 1964-1974," *Journal of the Georgia Association of Historians* 26, no. 1 (2005/2006): 1-16.

examines both the civil rights and anti-war movement across the South generally.<sup>4</sup>

Mid-Atlantic Universities such as Penn State University, the University of Maryland, and West Virginia University, have also received a fair amount of attention by history professors Mary Miles, Damon Talbot, and Nora Sutton.<sup>5</sup> In the Midwest, professors of history Anthony Edwards and Joel Shrock, Daryl Webb, and Michael Metz, look at Ball State University in Indiana, South Dakota State University, and University of Illinois, respectively, while in the West, Nicole Thompson examines the University of Utah.<sup>6</sup> Many of these universities were only politically active in the final years of the 1960s. Interestingly, amidst all this scholarship historians have focused very little on anti-war movements on campuses in New England. This region of the country merits the attention of scholars who seek to

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<sup>4</sup> Jeffrey A. Turner, *Sitting in and Speaking Out: Student Movements in the American South 1960-1970* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010).

<sup>5</sup> Mary C. Miles, "A Change in Consciousness: The Penn State Students for a Democratic Society and the Neil Buckley Document Collection," *Pennsylvania History* 63, no. 3 (Summer 1996): 388-411; Damon Talbot, "Today U.S. One, Tomorrow the World: The May 1970 Protests at the University of Maryland, College Park," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 106, no. 2 (Summer 2011): 163-202; Nora Sutton, "Have You Bought Enough Vietnam?: The Vietnam Antiwar Movement at West Virginia University, 1967-1970," *West Virginia History* 13, no. 1 (Spring 2019): 27-56.

<sup>6</sup> Anthony O. Edwards and Joel Shrock, "Fighting the War in the Heart of the Country: Anti-War Protest at Ball State University," in *The Vietnam War on Campus: Other Voices, More Distant Drums*, ed. Marc Jason Gilbert (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2001): 142-148; Daryl Webb, "There is No Place in our Institution for Radicals: The Vietnam War on South Dakota Campuses, 1965-1973," *South Dakota History* 45, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 1-26; Michael V. Metz, *Radicals in the Heartlands: The 1960s Student Protest Movement at the University of Illinois* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2019); Nicole L. Thompson, "Utah, The Anti-Vietnam War Movement, and the University of Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 78, no. 2 (Spring 2010): 154-174.

adequately understand the widespread effects of student protests. In general, scholars should make a two-fold effort to inform people that the major movements at places like Berkeley and Michigan were not exceptions, and that colleges all over the country, even in traditionally conservative areas, took part in protesting the war.

Previous scholarship has largely overlooked Vermont. However, as a largely rural and traditionally conservative state close to the Canadian border where many Americans went to escape the draft, Vermont is worthy of inclusion in the historiography of the Vietnam War protests. The University of Vermont (UVM) was a small institution during the 1960s compared to some of the above universities, just reaching 5,000 undergraduate students in 1966 with the majority of them being Vermonters.<sup>7</sup> Yet, these relatively small numbers did not prevent UVM from being involved in national student movements.

By examining articles from the UVM student newspaper, *The Vermont Cynic*, this paper will contribute to the existing scholarship by examining the student movements at the University of Vermont from November 1965 to November 1970. While other newspapers such as the *Burlington Free Press* or the *Rutland Herald* could have been used, the *Cynic* provides a substantive amount of material adequate to support this paper. The *Cynic* served as an outlet for student opinion throughout the 1960s. This paper will also examine how students on a small college campus learned about the issues concerning the Vietnam War and how these students participated in both local and national protests. From 1965 to 1970, UVM experienced a gradual increase in anti-war sentiment, evolving from a university that had pro-war demonstrations to one that hosted a moratorium involving thousands of college students. In this way, UVM

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<sup>7</sup> “UVM Enrollment Tops 5000,” *Vermont Cynic*, September 30, 1966.

followed the general trend of the universities discussed above: beginning with a small group of anti-war protesters and developing into a substantial force by 1969.

### *1965–1967: The Apathetic Years*

The mid-1960s were a time of growing unrest on college campuses in the United States before the ultimate breakout of widespread protests in 1969. Included in this trend was the relatively small campus of the University of Vermont. There is a fair reason for why UVM is not typically associated with the major campus protests of the Vietnam War: before 1966, UVM was considered by many students and faculty to be overridden by “apathy.”<sup>8</sup> There were a few minor anti-war protests at the university between 1964 and 1967, but there were also students who actively supported the war effort. During the mid-1960s, most UVM students either remained apathetic or in support of the Vietnam War with only a very small minority protesting against it.

Contrary to popular belief, not all college students were anti-Reserve Officers’ Training Corps (ROTC) and anti-war. On November 5, 1965, over five hundred UVM students marched in support of America’s involvement in the Vietnam War.<sup>9</sup> Junior Ralph Grenon and sophomore Margaret Crane organized the march showing that the UVM student body included supporters of the war across different graduating classes and genders. Carrying signs that read “Stay in Vietnam and WIN” and “Hold the Line in Viet Nam,” these pro-war demonstrators marched down two of Burlington’s busiest streets: College Street and

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<sup>8</sup> “A Peaceful Vietnam Demonstration Staged,” *Vermont Cynic*, April 29, 1966.

<sup>9</sup> Eloise Roberts, “Student March Supports US Policy in Viet-Nam,” *Vermont Cynic*, November 5, 1965.

Church Street. Burlington residents were reportedly supportive, yelling to the student marchers phrases like “This is the kind of demonstration we like to see!”<sup>10</sup> In addition to marching on Burlington, Grenon and Crane successfully encouraged Vermont’s Lieutenant Governor John Daley to give a speech to the students. Politicians like Lt. Governor Daley evidently understood the value of speaking to college students. Despite five hundred people attending, Grenon and Crane had expected more, believing that “the chill of the day reduced the expected numbers of marchers.”<sup>11</sup> This demonstration was one of the largest UVM had seen. In an interview with the *Cynic*, Grenon said the march succeeded by showing the world that the majority of Americans supported their nation’s foreign policy.<sup>12</sup> On the same day as the November 1965 pro-war march, a smaller anti-war group attempted to protest, but were quickly booed into remission.<sup>13</sup> Similar events occurred at University of Utah, another public college in a rural, conservative state, where “anti-war and pro-war demonstrations took place side by side.”<sup>14</sup> In November 1965 a majority of the UVM student body seemed to support the Vietnam policy of the United States; however, greater activism against the war would continue to grow from the small anti-war group that tried to disrupt the larger pro-war march.

Also on November 5, 1965, a letter from four UVM professors addressed to President Lyndon Johnson was published in the *Cynic*.<sup>15</sup> In the letter, which was originally printed as a full-page advertisement in a Sunday edition of the *New York Times*,

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Thompson, “Utah,” 155.

<sup>15</sup> “Letters to the Editor: Profs Oppose War,” *Vermont Cynic*, November 5, 1965.

the professors Thomas J. Spinner and Henry H. Berger of the History Department, Professor of Philosophy David Sobers, and Anthropology Professor Clark Johnson called for President Johnson to “stop the bloodshed.”<sup>16</sup> This letter did three important things for the UVM community when it was published in the *Cynic*. First, it provided a way for UVM students to learn more about the war in the form of news from professors and in the student newspaper. Second, these professors promised to encourage their students to “make themselves heard” through demonstrations and protests, also stating that they would oppose the “present policy in Vietnam openly and vigorously.”<sup>17</sup> This support allowed UVM students to propel the anti-war movement through the mid-1960s. Finally, the open letter sparked a heated debate between two UVM history professors, Thomas Spinner and Wolfe W. Schmokel, with the former against the war and the latter in support of it. The debate continued in print via letters to the editor of the *Cynic* into 1968.<sup>18</sup> Within these written debates, Spinner and Schmokel, whose offices were only two doors apart, provided UVM students different opinions and facts about the war. These editorials led to a greater discussion of the Vietnam War on UVM’s campus. Spinner’s letters were particularly important as students began reaching out to him to help organize anti-war protests.

The first solely anti-war protest (meaning not a counter protest) on UVM’s campus took place April 20, 1966. While this was early compared to other universities—at West Virginia another state university in a largely rural state, student activism against the Vietnam War did not begin until 1967—numbers were

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas J. Spinner, “Letters to the Editor,” *Vermont Cynic*, October 11, 1968.

still low.<sup>19</sup> Roughly thirty-five people gathered at a fountain in the middle of UVM's campus with signs reading popular anti-war phrases like "Make Peace, Not War" and "Peace is Patriotic."<sup>20</sup> This group, called the Ad Hoc Committee of Students Concerned About War in Vietnam, peacefully protested for thirty minutes before a group of pro-war spectators began to heckle and harass them. This group of spectators, which police estimated to be roughly 300 strong, began shouting and throwing raw eggs at the demonstrators.<sup>21</sup> In stark contrast to the violent demonstrations at Berkeley and the University of Chicago, Burlington police were called by the *anti-war* demonstrators for protection.<sup>22</sup> Similar events took place at Louisville and South Dakota, where pro-war students also threw eggs at anti-war demonstrators.<sup>23</sup> Commenting on the anti-war protesters, a UVM ROTC student believed that "a majority of the people marching are young people who are looking for a way to rebel against the norms of society and their parents," however, as seen in the events at anti-war demonstrations in November 1965 and April 1966, students at UVM did not follow the crowd.<sup>24</sup> As historian Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones argues, students had many reasons for being anti-war, but none of them included peer pressure or a need to declare a social status.<sup>25</sup>

UVM's Ad Hoc Committee of Students Concerned About War in Vietnam staged another anti-war demonstration on April

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<sup>19</sup> Sutton, "Have You Bought Enough Vietnam?," 32.

<sup>20</sup> "Signs; Eggs Mark Campus Peace Move," *Vermont Cynic*, April 22, 1966.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Ernst and Baldwin, "The Not So Silent Minority," 133; Webb, "There is No Place in our Institution for Radicals," 9.

<sup>24</sup> Marion Robinson and Bruce Rosen, "Vietnam Questions Answered," *Vermont Cynic*, November 12, 1965.

<sup>25</sup> Rhodri Jeffrey-Jones, *Peace Now! American Society and the Ending of the Vietnam War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).

28, 1966. The numbers at this protest were still small; the *Cynic* estimated only thirty demonstrators, most of whom had also been at the April 20 event.<sup>26</sup> The protest was a direct result of the earlier one as the anti-war demonstrators attempted to revise the “disgraceful, deplorable exhibition” which most onlookers had “misunderstood” from April 20.<sup>27</sup> The memory of the harassment from the week prior was still fresh, limiting the turnout. Additionally, the thirty students who protested fought against bitter April temperatures and snowfall which may have further limited the number of participants. After having learned of the opinions of Professor Spinner through articles in the *Cynic*, the student organizers of this event turned to him to give the demonstration's primary speech, in which he referred to the war as "morally and politically" senseless.<sup>28</sup> The *Cynic* was not the only media service to cover this demonstration as reporters from across the state and country were also present. However, because there was no conflict, UVM received little media coverage.<sup>29</sup> The peaceful nature of this event was likely due to the twenty-five Burlington Police Officers who were present at this demonstration from the start, ensuring the protection of the anti-war activists. War protests on Vermont's campus during the mid-1960s occurred both against and in support of United States' foreign policy, with more students vocally pro-war rather than anti-war during this time. There were no other documented peace demonstrations at UVM until the spring of 1968.

One of the issues UVM students were most passionate about during the mid-1960s was the curfew for female students. The curfew stipulated that female students needed to be in their

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<sup>26</sup> “A PEACEFUL VIETNAM DEMONSTATION STAGED: Students Protest Vietnam Involvement by U.S.,” *Vermont Cynic*, April 29, 1966.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

dorms, none of which were co-ed at the time, by 11:30 p.m. This policy had been in effect on Vermont's campus for well over a decade, with female students routinely trying to end it. On the evening of November 1, 1967, over 1,200 UVM male and female students marched through Burlington to UVM President Rowell's house, chanting "no more curfews."<sup>30</sup> About 25 percent of UVM's student body participated in the November 1 protest to end women's curfews. The support for this protest was more than double the largest pro- or anti-war demonstrations at Vermont to date. Another major debate on UVM's campus was about the compulsory ROTC program for first- and second-year male students. While this debate was not only connected to the conflicts of the Vietnam War, the discussions it sparked contributed to UVM's later anti-war protests. ROTC at UVM was part of the Military Science department and was the only required course for UVM students at the time. Students protested these requirements, arguing that the military had too big of a presence on campus.<sup>31</sup> Similar anti-ROTC sentiments arose at West Virginia where ROTC was also mandatory.<sup>32</sup> Although involvement in UVM's anti-war movement was relatively low during this period, students were not entirely apathetic.

Throughout the mid-1960s, students and faculty alike learned about the war through op-eds and republished news sources in the *Cynic*. The *Cynic* was consistently republishing articles from other college and national newspapers. The *Cynic* was almost certainly not the only source of news that students had, yet, it served as an important platform for students' voices. One of the most prolific writers was Mike Minsky, who regularly contributed to the student newspaper in a section titled "The

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<sup>30</sup> "Mass Demonstration Denounces Curfews," *Vermont Cynic*, November 3, 1967.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Sutton, "Have You Bought Enough Vietnam?," 32.

Sceptic.” This was an op-ed style column published routinely during the 1960s. Minsky, a history major, was vocally against the Vietnam War and believed that America’s attempts in Vietnam were a “complete moral and political failure,” asking, “is it really worth it?”<sup>33</sup> Minsky regularly published both opinion and fact based articles, providing a way for students to learn more about the war. The *Cynic* also published material that was pro-war, oftentimes condemning anti-war protesters; three graduate students once submitted a column in which they outlined five rationales for supporting the war.<sup>34</sup> This type of material was yet another way for UVM students to learn about the war in Vietnam. Through the *Cynic*, students learned about the war from multiple voices. These voices, and the groundwork laid by the activism in the mid-1960s, helped establish a sizable anti-war movement at UVM in the final years of the decade.

### *1968–1970: The Radical Years*

The end of the 1960s was a radical time throughout the United States. A Gallup poll in 1967 found that only 35 percent of college students across the United States considered themselves anti-war “doves,” while 49 percent of students identified as pro-war “hawks.” Two years later, the same poll’s results changed dramatically, with 69 percent of students calling themselves “doves” and only 20 percent identifying as “hawks.”<sup>35</sup> Universities across the United States became more active in the

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<sup>33</sup> Mike Minsky, “The Sceptic,” *Vermont Cynic*, April 28, 1967; Mike Minsky, “The Sceptic,” *Vermont Cynic*, April 21, 1967.

<sup>34</sup> “Graduate Students Present Hawk View of Viet Nam War,” *Vermont Cynic*, November 17, 1967.

<sup>35</sup> Clara Bingham, *Witness to the Revolution: Radicals, Resisters, Vets, Hippies, and the Year America Lost its Mind and Found its Soul* (New York: Random House, 2016), xxvii.

movement to end the Vietnam War. From April 1968 to May 1970, Vermont was home to anti-war demonstrations that were much larger than those that had taken place earlier in the decade.

During the first week of April 1968, students at UVM planned and hosted a weeklong session providing information on the war to the public. Two documentaries were shown on UVM's campus that week: *Vietnam, How Did We Get In and How Do We Get Out* and *Inside North Vietnam*.<sup>36</sup> The latter of these movies was shot in color in Vietnam, with interviews from Vietnamese leaders, peasants, and a captured American pilot. This film brought first-hand experiences from Vietnam to Vermont, further accelerating the anti-war movement. A symposium on war and morality featuring two UVM professors was held, at which students could ask questions and listen to a debate on the war. The week concluded with a three-hour "Peace Vigil" outside Burlington's city hall, at which students lit candles and listened to speeches and live music.<sup>37</sup> The events of this week sparked further anti-war movements at UVM, creating a politically active campus.

Vermont was most active in anti-war demonstrations during the academic years 1968–69 and 1969–70. The 1968 fall semester began with a demonstration by UVM students in Burlington's City Hall Park. Members of UVM's Students for the New Party, a start-up leftist party in Vermont, marched down College Street to protest the Vietnam War. With roughly one hundred people protesting, UVM's anti-war presence expanded again.<sup>38</sup> The official intent of this march was to support American troops in Vietnam by bringing them home, while criticizing

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<sup>36</sup> "Burlington Groups Plan Vietnam Week," *Vermont Cynic*, April 6, 1968.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> "New Party Student Hold Demonstration," *Vermont Cynic*, October 29, 1968.

“those who send them there.”<sup>39</sup> Students took a clear and vocal stance against the policies of President Johnson. Professors Spinner and Johnson, two signers of the November 1965 letter to the *New York Times*, were invited to give speeches.<sup>40</sup> Both professors continued to protest the Vietnam War actively and were likely a source of information and support for student organizers.

Early in April 1969, a representative from the New England office of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) visited Burlington with the intention of establishing a local chapter.<sup>41</sup> SDS was one of the pioneer student groups that protested the Vietnam War. Founded in June 1962 by students at the University of Michigan, SDS spread across America’s colleges during the 1960s.<sup>42</sup> That UVM did not have a chapter until 1969 suggests that it was not as radical or progressive as other institutions where charters were adopted earlier. In spite of this, UVM’s SDS chapter quickly organized a large-scale demonstration.

UVM’s anti-war movement remained relatively calm throughout the winter of 1968–69, with no reported protests or demonstrations occurring until April 1969 when an estimated six hundred students marched in a well-planned protest of the Vietnam War and UVM’s policy regarding ROTC. While this was only 10 percent of UVM’s approximately 5,800 students, it

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<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> See “Letters to the Editor: Profs Oppose War,” *Vermont Cynic*, November 5, 1965.

<sup>41</sup> John Cavoretto, “Letters to the Editor: S.D.S. at UVM,” *Vermont Cynic*, April 17, 1969.

<sup>42</sup> Christopher Phelps, “Port Huron at Fifty: The New Left and Labor: An Interview with Kim Moody,” *Labor: Studies in Working Class History of the Americas* 9, no. 2 (Summer 2012): 25-46.

was still the greatest turnout against the war thus far.<sup>43</sup> Student organizers were excited for “a much larger crowd than most people had expected and surprising for a campus that [had] been known for its apathy.”<sup>44</sup> The leaders of this demonstration emphasized the importance of non-violent action, rejecting the disorderly events at other universities. Organizers did this by designating marshals to keep order during the march.<sup>45</sup> Despite the intentional planning, however, the marshals were not entirely successful in preventing a confrontation from arising. A group of twenty “radical right” students followed the anti-war march, shouting phrases in opposition, such as “Bomb the North.”<sup>46</sup> A physical conflict arose between one person from each group when the march reached its destination at UVM’s Centennial Field. However, it was quickly diffused by police and bystanders. This was the only reported occurrence of physical violence at UVM during any anti-war demonstration. In contrast, Berkeley, often seen as the preeminent campus for Vietnam War protests, was rife with violence and disorder.<sup>47</sup>

This march marked an important shift for UVM. As sophomore Michael Enson commented, the April 1969 march was:

A clear, conclusive manifestation of the political maturity which pervades over this university campus

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<sup>43</sup> “UVM Student Population Increases 200% in Ten Years,” *Vermont Cynic*, December 6, 1968.

<sup>44</sup> “Anti-ROTC Demonstration 600 People Marched, Peaceful, Well-planned,” *Vermont Cynic*, May 1, 1969.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> Gary Barnes, “Commentary on the Demonstration: Violence-The Good Old American Way,” *Vermont Cynic*, May 1, 1969.

<sup>47</sup> See Gerard J. De Groot, “Ronald Reagan and Student Unrest in California 1966-1970,” *Pacific Historical Review* 65, no. 1 (February 1996): 107-129 for more on protests at University of California, Berkeley.

today. Even the staunchest [sic] of adherents to the [Nixon] administration's status quo policies, including [UVM's] President Rowell himself, were obliged to concede that the operation and conduct of the mass protest was praiseworthy, and certainly not indicative of the violent uprisings which have infested other campuses.<sup>48</sup>

Another UVM student, A. Edward Otis, stated that he was "dismayed" by those whom he knew disagreed with the war, but did not march.<sup>49</sup> Otis's remarks suggest that there were more UVM students who held anti-war beliefs than who marched. These students began to turn out in larger numbers during the Fall 1969 semester.

The 1969–70 school year began with a busy September. An estimated seventy-five students met to discuss possible actions to take against UVM's ROTC program and to plan a vigil for September 17.<sup>50</sup> The *Cynic* noted that whether the students decided on "further marches or simply the passing out of leaflets, UVM seems certain to have an anti-ROTC drive for the year."<sup>51</sup> Also in September, student activists began planning for the national Vietnam Moratorium to take place October 15, 1969. One student organizer, Tim McChasier, believed that "ending the

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<sup>48</sup> Michael Enson, "To the Editor: Demonstration Controversy: An Individual..." *Vermont Cynic*, May 1, 1969.

<sup>49</sup> A. Edward Otis, "Zhivago Speaks Out: SDS PipePiper," *Vermont Cynic*, May 1, 1969.

<sup>50</sup> "Anti-ROTC Movement Planned," *Vermont Cynic*, September 12, 1969; listening to student demands, UVM faculty in the College of Arts and Sciences voted 94-36 on September 17, 1969 to remove any and all credit for ROTC courses beginning in the Fall 1970 semester. This defied UVM's board of trustees, invoking heated debates between faculty and students, and the trustees. See also "A&S Defies Trustees: ROTC Credit Abolished," *Vermont Cynic*, September 19, 1969.

<sup>51</sup> "Anti-ROTC Movement Planned," *Vermont Cynic*, September 12, 1969.

war in Vietnam is the most important task facing the American nation.”<sup>52</sup> While it is difficult to state exactly how many UVM students felt the same way as McChasier, there were certainly a significant number of students who were adamantly anti-war. UVM’s SDS chapter grew in numbers and activity throughout the 1969–70 school year as well. One SDS statement declared that “the University does not exist in a social vacuum,” and that UVM needed to continue to “go further” in its efforts to abolish ROTC and end the Vietnam War.<sup>53</sup> These opinions mirror those from other universities across the United States during the fall of 1969, showing that UVM was engaged in national discourse.<sup>54</sup>

The October 1969 Vietnam Moratorium was a national event in which students from UVM were actively engaged. By September 26, student organizers had worked with professors to make plans to either “cancel or cut classes on October 15 in order to devote an entire day to protest.”<sup>55</sup> The activists also reached out to students at nearby Champlain College, St. Michael’s College, and Trinity College in an attempt to increase Vermont’s impact in the national movement. On October 1, the War Moratorium Committee, a group of almost 200 UVM students and faculty, met in UVM’s Billings Library.<sup>56</sup> The Committee made plans to distribute leaflets to Burlington community members and discussed who would give speeches at the major rally on the campus green. At a later date, the Committee published parts of its purpose in the *Cynic*, laying out its specific goals for Burlington:

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<sup>52</sup> “Bring the War to UVM!” *Vermont Cynic*, September 16, 1969.

<sup>53</sup> UVM S.D.S., “Letters to the Editor: Why We Must Continue to Fight R.O.T.C.,” *Vermont Cynic*, September 19, 1969.

<sup>54</sup> Sutton, “Have You Bought Enough Vietnam?,” 32.

<sup>55</sup> “War Moratorium Support Grows,” *Vermont Cynic*, September 26, 1969.

<sup>56</sup> “Plans Progress for Oct. War Moratorium,” *Vermont Cynic*, October 3, 1969.

Ending the war in Vietnam is the most important task facing the American nation. Over the last few years, millions of American have campaigned, protested, and demonstrated against the war. Few now defend the war, yet it continues... here on the UVM campus, we are following the national plans by promoting a two-pronged program. The students of the UVM Moratorium Committee have arranged a full day of lectures and discussion, highlighted by a rally at noon on the campus green featuring speeches by former Governor Hoff, Professor Daniels of the history Department, two bands, and a War Memorial service to be given by Reverend Roger Albright. A committee of UVM students will be going out to the Greater Burlington area door to door to make the citizens aware of the aims of the Moratorium. Issues related to the war, such as tax hikes, inflation, the draft, interest rates, increasing militarism, etc., will all be stressed. A very conscious effort will be made to encourage understanding of, acceptance of, and commitment to the moratorium by those in the larger community.<sup>57</sup>

These students were clearly well organized. This protest was not created on a whim, but planned months in advance. The above quote shows that students were not only interested in creating a student movement, but a larger movement that would encompass the greater Burlington community. The invitation of Vermont's former Governor Philip Hoff highlights the fact that student organizers saw the moratorium as a legitimate political event.

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<sup>57</sup> "MORATORIUM DAY," *Vermont Cynic*, October 13, 1969.

The efforts of the War Moratorium Committee organizers resulted in a turnout of 3,000 people on October 15.<sup>58</sup> This was an increase of over 8,400 percent from the thirty-five-person demonstration of April 20, 1966. The turnout in Vermont for the October moratorium was similar to, and larger than, some other public universities' efforts in rural, conservative states. Roughly six hundred students participated at West Virginia; 1,200 students at Louisville; 1,500 across multiple campuses in South Dakota; 3,000 at the University of Georgia; 4,000 at the University of Utah; and 6,000 at Chapel Hill.<sup>59</sup> The October moratorium was the largest of UVM's anti-war demonstrations. This was similarly the case at the aforementioned universities, showing that UVM fit into the national trend.

The War Moratorium Committee scheduled events from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m., with twelve different professors giving public lectures on the Vietnam War in addition to the keynote speeches.<sup>60</sup> These lectures were so packed that students needed to sit on the floors and stand in hallways to listen to them.<sup>61</sup> The organizers also received close to six hundred signatures on a petition calling on President Richard Nixon to disengage in Vietnam.<sup>62</sup> The *Cynic* believed that the day was a "benefit to everyone on campus, if for no other reason than the fact that everyone had an opportunity to learn more about a war which has

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<sup>58</sup> "3,000 Attend Oct. 15 UVM Moratorium on Green," *Vermont Cynic*, October 17, 1969.

<sup>59</sup> Sutton, "Have You Bought Enough Vietnam?," 46; Ernst and Baldwin, "The Not So Silent Minority," 134; Webb, "There is No Place in our Institution for Radicals," 13; Summerlin, "Peach State Protest," 12; Thompson, "Utah," 160; Broadhurst, "There Can Be No Business as Usual," 98.

<sup>60</sup> "3,000 Attend Oct. 15 UVM Moratorium on Green," *Vermont Cynic*, October 17, 1969.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*

so great an influence upon our lives.”<sup>63</sup> Those who attended the main rally on UVM’s green heard speeches from Professor Robert Daniels, student organizer Tim McChasier, local Reverend Roger Albright, and two Vermont politicians: former Governor Hoff and the current Lieutenant Governor Thomas Hayes.<sup>64</sup> While the *Cynic* did not record what Hoff and Hayes said during their speeches, it is critical to recognize that these prominent Vermont politicians lent legitimacy to the campus demonstrations. The presence of Hoff and Hayes is also a likely contributor to why so many people turned out. However, their influence should not discredit the evidence that thousands of Burlington’s college students, from UVM and its neighbors, were now part of the anti-war movement and that jeers and eggs no longer marred anti-war protests on UVM’s campus.

UVM’s War Moratorium Committee also planned to travel to Washington, DC, to take part in November’s national demonstration. Students collected donations during the October moratorium to help fund travel to Washington.<sup>65</sup> About five hundred Vermonters traveled to the capital aboard ten chartered buses.<sup>66</sup> Part of the rationale of those who traveled to Washington was to reject “Republican Vermont’s conservative nature.”<sup>67</sup> A local Burlington march was also planned for the same day as the one in DC in which protesters marched down College Street to

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<sup>63</sup> “War Moratorium Discussions Evoke Support & Criticism of Viet Policy,” *Vermont Cynic*, October 21, 1969.

<sup>64</sup> “3,000 Attend Oct. 15 UVM Moratorium on Green,” *Vermont Cynic*, October 17, 1969.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> “500 Vermonters to Travel to Washington for Nov. Moratorium in Search of Peace,” *Vermont Cynic*, November 7, 1969.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*

City Hall Park where Lt. Governor Hayes gave another speech.<sup>68</sup> Those who joined in this march carried ninety-eight placards, representing the number of Vermonters killed in Vietnam.<sup>69</sup>

After the November moratorium, UVM's campus returned to relative stability until May 4, 1970, when the massacre at Kent State University in Ohio shocked students across the country. The Ohio National Guard shot and killed four students while injuring dozens more sparking a "week of high tension in Burlington" that launched UVM into "seven days of passionate but solemn protest," joining an estimated four million students across the United States demonstrating in support of Kent State.<sup>70</sup> Administrators estimated that the week of the Kent State shootings drew an estimated three-fourths of UVM's student body to at least one of the protests.<sup>71</sup> Students organized marches and vigils throughout the week, including a candlelight march and vigil on the night of May 4, which had close to 1,000 people in attendance.<sup>72</sup> This is comparable to students at the University of Utah, another typically conservative school, where 1,500 students marched in solidarity against the shootings at Kent State.<sup>73</sup>

Another candlelight march took place on the evening of May 8, in which an estimated six hundred people took part.<sup>74</sup> UVM students marched in solidarity with Kent State and

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<sup>68</sup> The exact numbers of this march are unknown as the *Cynic* stopped publishing for the year on November 11, 1969, due to budget restraints. It did not resume until February 1970.

<sup>69</sup> "500 Vermonters to Travel to Washington for Nov. Moratorium in Search of Peace," *Vermont Cynic*, November 7, 1969.

<sup>70</sup> Webb, "There is No Place in our Institution for Radicals," 15.

<sup>71</sup> "Andrews Reports on Student Reaction to Kent State Deaths," *Vermont Cynic*, September 5, 1970.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Thompson, "Utah," 166.

<sup>74</sup> "Andrews Reports on Student Reaction to Kent State Deaths," *Vermont Cynic*, September 5, 1970.

hundreds of other universities across the United States. In contrast to other colleges, peaceful relations were maintained between local police and UVM students.<sup>75</sup> This was evidently important to UVM organizers as they asked police and town leaders for permission before every off-campus demonstration during the week.<sup>76</sup> Similar relationships existed at North Carolina State University, where Raleigh police praised student protesters for being “very orderly, well-behaved and appearing to be well-organized.”<sup>77</sup> For the most part, UVM student organizers seem to have been working to ensure the safety of themselves and their peers in the wake of the Kent State massacre.

The anti-war movement began to recede following the week of the Kent State shooting. There were no further anti-war or anti-ROTC demonstrations at UVM during the Fall 1970 semester, and none occurred after. Writing to the *Cynic*, student Gary H. Barnes felt that “the student movement at the University of Vermont [had] died last May, with the Kent State killings. Both in quantity and intensity, the student movement has diminished.”<sup>78</sup> While no direct evidence explains this rapid decline, scholars agree that the anti-war movement began to fizzle out nationally around this time.<sup>79</sup> One theory deems it likely that some students no longer felt safe protesting due to the tragedy at Kent State. Whatever the rationale behind the decline, UVM returned to being a quiet campus in the fall of 1970, ending one of the largest student movements at UVM during the twentieth century.

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<sup>75</sup> Ibid.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Broadhurst, “There Can Be No Business as Usual,” 96.

<sup>78</sup> Gary H. Barnes, “Editorial: The State of the UVM Student Movement, 1970,” *Vermont Cynic*, October 29, 1970.

<sup>79</sup> Webb, “There is No Place in our Institution for Radicals,” 24.

Anti-war demonstrations in Vermont were typically small but meaningful; certainly to those who participated in them. Throughout the 1960s, UVM students were able to learn about the war through the *Vermont Cynic*, the student newspaper, which regularly featured op-eds and news pieces concerning the war. The growth from thirty-five demonstrators in April 1966 to over 3,000 in October 1969 shows that UVM became increasingly involved in the national student movement during the 1960s, following the national trend. Vermont's SDS chapter helped solidify the national involvement in April 1969. Historians have largely ignored protests at UVM and other state colleges in New England. However, studying these places would allow for a better understanding of the anti-war movement across the United States.

An expanded review of this topic would improve our understanding of the anti-war movement at UVM. Examining other sources, such as non-UVM newspapers like the Burlington Free Press and the Rutland Herald, would add different perspectives and data to this discussion. Consulting oral histories from those involved in the demonstrations would also add useful primary source material.<sup>80</sup> Another avenue of research could be opened by looking at the 1973 Vermont Supreme Court case *Lace v. University of Vermont*. In February 1971, multiple UVM students sued the university, saying that Student Government funding should not be used to support the anti-war movement, targeting the *Cynic* for bias. Examining *Lace v. University of Vermont* would provide more information on the pro-war movement and how UVM students engaged with the Vietnam War following the Kent State shooting. This study is important because it brings to light the importance of student demonstrations in bringing about broader social change. What

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<sup>80</sup> See "Vermont 1970s Counterculture Project Oral Histories," Vermont Historical Society, accessed December 7, 2019, <http://www.digitalvermont.org/vt70s> for a starting point of oral histories.

began as a small number of devoted students and professors standing up for what they believed in, turned into a major movement, big enough to make adequate change.

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**“Oh! Little Diary”:  
1920s Rutland Through the Eyes of Rita Mumford**

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*Lynda Howell*

A little before ten o'clock on the evening of October 12, 1923, a young couple arrived at the Rutland armory for the annual Knights of Columbus dance.<sup>1</sup> He was twenty-year-old Edward ("Nip") Ryan, an employee of the Rutland Railroad; she was seventeen-year-old Rita Mumford, a department-store bookkeeper.<sup>2</sup> They had arranged to meet friends at the dance: sixteen-year-old Mary Hogan and nineteen-year-old Tom Monahan, a co-worker of Nip's.<sup>3</sup> Rita was dressed in blue taffeta; Mary wore gray crêpe de chine. No one recorded what the men wore. Rita's heart cracked a bit when she saw that the man she had her eye on was there with a stranger, but she did not let that ruin the evening. The two couples danced – with each other and with other friends – for most of the night. During intermission, they went to a nearby Chinese restaurant for supper, returning afterwards to the armory for more dances. At some point, Nip had to leave to catch the sleeper train to New York City, so their friend Joe Daley, another co-worker, saw Rita home. She arrived about 1:30 and confessed to her diary that she had "an awful crush" on Joe.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Rita Mumford, "Diary, Rutland, VT, 1923-1924," Vermont Small Bound Manuscript Collection, University of Vermont, Silver Special Collections, 1. The diary pages are not numbered. I have numbered them sequentially for convenience, ignoring the torn-out page.

<sup>2</sup> "Ward 9 District 133, Rutland, Rutland, Vermont," *1920 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com, 2010, [https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/interactive/6061/4390959\\_00254](https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/interactive/6061/4390959_00254).

<sup>3</sup> *1920 United States Federal Census*, [https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/interactive/6061/4390959\\_00282](https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/interactive/6061/4390959_00282).

<sup>4</sup> Mumford, 1.

Rita Mumford's diary began with that Columbus Day dance. Written in a school composition notebook, the diary depicted the busy social and working life of a teenager in mid-1920s Rutland. She began the diary simply to record the dances she attended. On January 1, 1924, she started making daily entries, although she kept up the separate record of dances. At the back of the book, she pasted memorabilia, jotted down addresses, and collected poetry. It is not a long diary: the book has about a hundred pages, and the diary entries become progressively less regular until they end entirely in the fall of 1925. With its gaps filled from alternative sources including newspapers and Rutland's city directories, Rita's diary provides an interesting window into the life of a young Vermonter in the flapper age.

### *Rita and her Rutland*

Rita Agnes Mumford was born on July 3, 1906 in Rutland. She was the third of six children born to Thomas W. and Agnes T. (née Kennedy) Mumford.<sup>5</sup> The state record of her birth spells her first name "Reta"; it is also sometimes spelled "Reita."<sup>6</sup> She herself wrote it "Rita", and sometimes added a "K." after the Agnes, presumably in honor of her mother's family.<sup>7</sup> Her father was a barber. His obituary described him as "one of the best known barbers, not only in Rutland, but in this part of the state."<sup>8</sup> At the time of his death in 1919, he owned a barber shop upstairs from the Oriental Restaurant where Rita and her friends ate

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<sup>5</sup> "Mumford, Reta Agnes," *Vermont, Vital Records, 1720-1908* [database online]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com, 2013.

<sup>6</sup> "Personal mention," *Rutland Daily Herald*, January 20, 1925.

<sup>7</sup> Mumford, 68.

<sup>8</sup> "Thomas W. Mumford," *Rutland Daily Herald*, February 3, 1919.

during the intermission of that Columbus Day dance.<sup>9</sup> The 1917 City Directory shows that her father also had an interest in a café, but that appears to have been a short-lived venture since there are no other references to it.<sup>10</sup> At the time she began her diary, Rita was seventeen, living with her mother and her younger siblings on a quiet residential street in northwestern Rutland. She had left school and was working, which gave her money to enjoy the range of social activities Rutland had to offer her and her large circle of friends.

During Rita's childhood, the family lived on Elm Street near downtown Rutland.<sup>11</sup> They later moved a little further out to Holly Street, renting part of a house at number 133. After her father's death when Rita was twelve, the family moved to 129 Holly Street, where Mrs. Mumford lived for the rest of her life.<sup>12</sup> That is where Rita was living during the period of her diary. The 1920 census shows that Agnes Mumford owned the house.<sup>13</sup> Thomas Mumford had left enough money – perhaps through life insurance or the sale of his barber shop – for his widow to buy the house and to support the family thereafter. None of the city directories or census records ever listed an occupation for Agnes

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<sup>9</sup> H. A. Manning, Co., *Rutland City Directory 1917*, vol. XXV (Greenfield, Mass.: Manning, 1917), 193,

<https://archive.org/details/RutlandDirectory1917>.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> "Ward 5 District 197, Rutland, Rutland, Vermont," *1910 United States Federal Census* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com, 2006, [https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/interactive/7884/4454402\\_00790](https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/interactive/7884/4454402_00790).

<sup>12</sup> "Thomas W. Mumford," *Rutland Daily Herald*, February 3, 1919; H. A. Manning, Co., *Rutland (City and Township), West Rutland, and Proctor (Vermont) Directory 1920*, vol. XXVII (Schenectady, NY: Manning, 1920), 285, <https://archive.org/details/RutlandDirectory1920>; "Mrs. Agnes K. Mumford," *Rutland Daily Herald*, June 24, 1958.

<sup>13</sup> *1920 United States Federal Census*, [https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/interactive/6061/4390959\\_00240](https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/interactive/6061/4390959_00240).

Mumford, although an occasional boarder may have helped with the finances.<sup>14</sup>

Rita originally had two older and two younger sisters, as well as a younger brother. Her next-younger sister, Catherine, died in 1912 at the age of two.<sup>15</sup> By the time Rita began her diary, her two older sisters had moved away, leaving Rita and her two surviving younger siblings at home with their mother.

Eileen, the eldest sister, was six years older than Rita.<sup>16</sup> She graduated from Mount St. Joseph's commercial course in 1919 and worked as an auditor for the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company for three years. She left a year before the diary started to become a student nurse at Fanny Allen hospital in Winooski.<sup>17</sup> In the summer of 1924, Eileen earned the "highest average in Vermont in the state board exams given in Montpelier."<sup>18</sup> She appears in the diary only as a visitor at Christmas.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> H. A. Manning, Co., *Rutland (City and Township), West Rutland, and Proctor (Vermont) Directory 1922*, vol. XXVIII (Schenectady, NY: Manning, 1922), 228, <https://archive.org/details/RutlandDirectory1922>; H. A. Manning, Co., *Rutland (City and Township), West Rutland, and Proctor (Vermont) Directory for the Year Beginning July 1926*, vol. XXXII (Springfield, Mass.: Manning, 1926), 116, <https://archive.org/details/RutlandDirectory1926>.

<sup>15</sup> "Three Funerals Yesterday," *Rutland Daily Herald*, August 29, 1912.

<sup>16</sup> "Mumford, Eline," *Vermont, Vital Records, 1720-1908* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com, 2013.

<sup>17</sup> "Bishop J. J. Rice Awards Diplomas," *The Rutland News*, June 24, 1919; "Eileen Mumford Given Dinner by 20 Friends," *Rutland Daily Herald*, September 29, 1922.

<sup>18</sup> "Eileen Mumford Wins Honor in Nurses Exams," *Rutland Daily Herald*, July 4, 1925.

<sup>19</sup> Mumford, 14.

Colletta was about three years older than Rita.<sup>20</sup> She graduated from Rutland High School<sup>21</sup> and became an elementary school teacher, working in Springfield, Brattleboro, and Pittsfield.<sup>22</sup> She is listed in the 1924 City Directory as living at home with Rita and their mother and younger siblings, but she is never mentioned in the diary.<sup>23</sup> The 1922 City Directory had also listed her at home, even though it is clear from the newspapers that she was teaching in Brattleboro at the time.<sup>24</sup> She may have been absent teaching in 1924 as well.

Rita's brother Joseph was about ten at the time of the diary; her youngest sister Patricia was about six.<sup>25</sup> Both were living with Rita and their mother during the period of the diary, but both are mentioned only rarely. From the City Directory, it appears that another relative, Nellie F. Mumford, was also present, but she is never mentioned in the diary at all.<sup>26</sup> Rita's attention was focused more on her work and her friends.

Rita went to work in November 1922, at the age of sixteen, as a bookkeeper for the New York Clothing Company.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> 1920 United States Federal Census,

[https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/interactive/6061/4390959\\_00240](https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/interactive/6061/4390959_00240).

<sup>21</sup> "High School Days End for Class," *Rutland Daily Herald*, June 24, 1921.

<sup>22</sup> "Springfield," *Rutland Daily Herald*, November 21, 1928; "Brevities," *Rutland Daily Herald*, January 5, 1922; "Yule Season's City Visitors and Travelers," *Rutland Daily Herald*, December 23, 1922.

<sup>23</sup> H. A. Manning, Co., *Rutland (City and Township), West Rutland, and Proctor (Vermont) Directory for the Year Beginning April, 1924*, vol. XXX (Schenectady, NY: H. A. Manning, Co., 1924), 162, <https://archive.org/details/RutlandDirectory1924>.

<sup>24</sup> *Directory 1922*, 180, <https://archive.org/details/RutlandDirectory1922>; "Brevities," *Rutland Daily Herald*, January 5, 1922; "Personal Mention," *Rutland Daily Herald*, June 22, 1922

<sup>25</sup> 1920 United States Federal Census,

[https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/interactive/6061/4390959\\_00240](https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/interactive/6061/4390959_00240).

<sup>26</sup> *Directory for the Year Beginning April 1924*, 162.

<sup>27</sup> Mumford, 89.

She had graduated the preceding June from the commercial class at Mount St. Joseph's Academy.<sup>28</sup> Mount St. Joseph's was founded as an all girl's school in 1882 by the Sisters of St. Joseph, who also founded St. Peter's School for boys.<sup>29</sup> In the early 1920s, Mount St. Joseph's offered a variety of commercial courses in addition to an academic course. Approximately ten to fifteen girls a year received training and diplomas in fields ranging from bookkeeping or stenography, to piano or violin.<sup>30</sup> Rita was in the stenography course, but the fact that she was hired as a bookkeeper shows that she took a broader range of classes. Many of the girls Rita mentions in the diary also attended Mount St. Joseph's, and some of the boys attended in St. Peter's. The two schools merged in 1927 to form the co-educational Mount St. Joseph's Academy that exists today.

The stenography course that Rita took was a two-year program. She had graduated from the public school system in 1920 after having completed the ninth grade; the ninth grade diploma signified that students were "prepared to enter the High School" or another secondary school.<sup>31</sup> Rita's sister Colette chose Rutland High School, possibly because she planned to teach in the public schools, while Rita and Eileen both chose Mount St. Joseph's.<sup>32</sup>

Rita appears to have done well in school. It was common in those days for businesses to offer prizes to students who excelled in related areas and for the newspapers to list the

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<sup>28</sup> "Mt. St. Joseph has Exercises Monday Night," *The Rutland News*, June 24, 1922.

<sup>29</sup> "About MSJ," Mount St. Joseph Academy Rutland, accessed December 1, 2019, <https://www.msjvermont.org/about-msj>.

<sup>30</sup> "St. Joseph's Academy is to Graduate 44," *Rutland Daily Herald*, June 24, 1921; "Mt. St. Joseph has Exercises Monday Night," *The Rutland News*, June 24, 1922

<sup>31</sup> "Ninth grades are to graduate 150," *The Rutland News*, June 19, 1920.

<sup>32</sup> "Bishop J. J. Rice Awards Diplomas," *The Rutland News*, June 24, 1919.

recipients of those prizes. Rita's friends Thomas McDevitt and Thomas Monahan won prizes from the A. N. Palmer Company for their excellent handwriting.<sup>33</sup> (The distinctive script taught in parochial schools was known as the "Palmer method"). Rita received a certificate "of proficiency in rapid calculation from the McIntosh Publishing Company" and a certificate and later a "medal with extra bars" from the Underwood Typewriting company for typing.<sup>34</sup> These were practical skills that she would later put to use in her first job.

The New York Clothing Company was a large, four-story department store on West Street. They called themselves "the home of better clothes for less money," with an emphasis on men's clothing but some for women and children as well.<sup>35</sup> Rita listed thirteen employees on a page near the back of her diary: two managers, nine clerks (including her only reference to her sister Colletta), a seamstress, and herself.<sup>36</sup> Very few of the names appear in the diary itself. She mentioned the salesmen occasionally – "cute salesman in, wanted date but no chance" or "received a box of Candy from one of the Salesmen" – but never identified them by name.<sup>37</sup> She does mention arguing with one of the clerks and with her boss: "fought all AM with the 'Boss'. Honest 'Diary' he's one man that gets on my 'Noives'".<sup>38</sup>

Rita's job as bookkeeper does not appear to have been limited to the books. She wrote about working "out in Store. Very busy" and going in on a Sunday, "getting ready for Big Sale."<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> "Palmer Company Gives Many Prizes," *The Rutland News*, June 19, 1917.

<sup>34</sup> "Pupils are rewarded," *The Rutland Daily Herald*, March 22, 1922; "Medals Received by Efficient Typists," *Rutland Daily Herald*, May 11, 1922; "Brevities," *Rutland Daily Herald*, February 28, 1922.

<sup>35</sup> "January Clearance Sale," *Rutland Daily Herald*, January 18, 1924.

<sup>36</sup> Mumford, 89.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 32, 17.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 23, 16.

January was tax season in the 1920s, and Rita wrote about struggling with the income tax, "honest Diary if I'm ever there another year I'll be ready for the Pest House."<sup>40</sup> She was clearly working hard and even "received a \$2.00 raise for 1<sup>st</sup> of March," but she was also ready to be done with the New York Clothing Company. Just getting to work was becoming a chore. One day, she declared she deserved a prize for actually getting to work on time, "something unusual Diary."<sup>41</sup> And after yet another long day, "gosh how I hate that place. I'll be glad when I give it my last Farewell".<sup>42</sup>

That farewell came in March of 1924. She left the New York Clothing Company and went to work at the New England Telephone Company as a telephone operator.<sup>43</sup> Her sister Eileen had worked for the telephone company, and several of her friends worked there. The change appears to have been a good one for Rita. She never said anything about her actual work, but neither did she make any further complaints.

In Rita's day, before the invention of automated switching or dial telephones, switchboard operators had to physically plug incoming calls into the correct outgoing lines. Photographs from 1922 show long rows of young women seated at switchboards.<sup>44</sup> When a call came in, an operator would plug one end of a cable into the caller's line and ask what number the person wanted to call. The operator then plugged the other end of the cable into the call recipient's line. Some operators wore a head-mounted earphone with a separate mouthpiece unit suspended from their

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 22.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 33; 15.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., 89, 90.

<sup>44</sup> "The No. 3A Switchboard," *Bell Telephone Magazine* 16 (1937) : 275, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bell\\_telephone\\_magazine\\_\(1922\)\\_ \(14753793914\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bell_telephone_magazine_(1922)_ (14753793914).jpg).

necks.<sup>45</sup> In other photographs, it is not clear how the operator heard and spoke to the callers. Each telephone served by the switchboard had to have a separate plug, making for very large switchboards that required many operators. Rita named thirty operators in her list of telephone company employees.<sup>46</sup> Nearly all telephone operators in the 1920s were women and girls, most in their late teens and early twenties and unmarried.<sup>47</sup> Operator wages tended to be low and the "constant stress of hurry, the constant requirement to be polite, [and] the monotony" of the work was frustrating.<sup>48</sup> On the other hand, researchers have also found that, "operators derived a greater sense of self-esteem from their work than did most other women. The operator exercised considerable responsibility in emergency situations, summoning physicians, police, and firemen to assist people threatened with serious injury or death."<sup>49</sup> Oral histories recorded in New Hampshire in the 1990s revealed that nearly all of the operators interviewed listened in on conversations when they could.<sup>50</sup> There is no way to know if Rita ever did this. Rutland's first telephone company was organized in 1908, and switchboard operators like Rita were needed not only in the phone company offices, but also in every business large enough to require its own switchboard.<sup>51</sup> In some parts of rural New England, dial service

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<sup>45</sup> "Switchboard Operator about 1925," Alamy, <https://www.alamy.com/switchboard-operator-about-1925-image329182152.html>.

<sup>46</sup> Mumford, 90-91.

<sup>47</sup> Judith N. Moyer, "Number, Please: New Hampshire Telephone Operators in the Predial Era, 1877-1973" (PhD diss., University of New Hampshire, 2000), 28, 13.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>51</sup> Foote, Abram William. Prentiss Cutler Dodge, ed., *Encyclopedia, Vermont Biography: A Series of Authentic Biographical Sketches of the Representative*

that eliminated the need for human operators did not become universal until 1973.<sup>52</sup>

The New England Telephone & Telegraph Company, headquartered in Boston, served all of New England, considering Vermont part of its "Western Division."<sup>53</sup> There were two offices in Rutland, but Rita would have worked on the third or fourth floor of the Mead Building at the corner of Merchants Row and Center Street.<sup>54</sup> Her hours varied, usually two four-hour shifts with an hour off for lunch or dinner: nine to one and two to six, or one to five and six to nine or ten, or sometimes nine to one and six to ten. Some days she worked just one four-hour shift.<sup>55</sup> Her days varied as well: over a six-week period in April and May, she worked every Monday, Tuesday, and Thursday, about every other Saturday or Sunday, and most Wednesdays and Fridays. She had no regular days off. The irregular hours did give her time to meet friends for lunch or supper between shifts or to go out in the afternoon before her evening shift.

*"Movies etc!"*

Rita had many friends and an active social life, and 1920s Rutland gave them a range of options. She went to the movies with her girlfriends nearly every week, often meeting male or mixed groups of friends at the theater at a soda fountain afterwards. Rutland had two movie theaters at the time. The Strand also held live performances; the Grand appears to have been movies only.

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*Men of Vermont and Sons of Vermont in Other States* (Burlington, VT: Ullery, 1912), 194.

<sup>52</sup> Moyer, ix.

<sup>53</sup> New England Telephone, *Telephone Topics* (New England Telephone Company, 1925), 507, [https://archive.org/details/1925-03\\_TelephoneTopics](https://archive.org/details/1925-03_TelephoneTopics).

<sup>54</sup> Mumford, 90; *Directory for the Year Beginning April 1924*, 263.

<sup>55</sup> Mumford 47, 48, 51.

Rita usually did not specify which theater she attended, so it is impossible to identify exactly what she would have seen. Both theaters typically ran shows in the afternoon, often at 2:30, and then "continuously" in the evening. A typical newspaper advertisement for either theater lists a featured film that would run for two or three days, overlapping so that there might be two features alternating on any given day. These would have been silent films, accompanied by a live orchestra and interspersed with newsreels and comedy shorts. An afternoon show might cost 35¢ to 55¢; evening shows cost 55¢ to 75¢.<sup>56</sup> The features were not always new releases: Rita recorded seeing the 1921 *Orphans in the Storm* in April 1924.<sup>57</sup> Many of the advertised films have been lost, but some of the stars are familiar: Douglas Fairbanks, Rudolph Valentino, and Charlie Chaplin.

Rita was more apt to record the names of plays she saw live: *It's a Boy*, *The Unloved Wife*, or *Why Women Divorce*.<sup>58</sup> Traveling companies from New York such as the Myrkle Harder Stock Company visited Rutland's Playhouse theater every winter, usually producing five different plays over the course of a week. Tickets usually cost 50¢ to 85¢, or about the same as a movie. Rita and her friends worked as ushers at the Strand during some of the live performances there.<sup>59</sup> On other occasions, they "bought some dates & Alm[ond]s and took the front Row at the Show" to watch.<sup>60</sup> She confided once to her diary that "someday I'll be playing on Broadway, but Shush! it's a secret," but she only

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<sup>56</sup> "Strand", *Rutland Daily Herald*, January 11, 1924; "Strand", *Rutland Daily Herald*, February 6, 1924.

<sup>57</sup> Mumford, 39

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-26, 38.

<sup>59</sup> "New Plays, New Faces and New Ideas," *Rutland Daily Herald*, January 17, 1924; "Big Opening Tonight," *Rutland Daily Herald*, December 15, 1924; Mumford, 88.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

mentioned it once and it does not appear to have been a deep-rooted dream.<sup>61</sup> Except for a role in the chorus in the *Frolics of 1921* at the Playhouse, she apparently limited her theatrical participation to ushering and watching.<sup>62</sup>

After the show, Rita and her friends often stopped at Ames & Braves Candy Shop or the Rutland Soda Spa. Anes & Braves made and sold a variety of hand-dipped chocolates, and advertised their cocoanut fruited delight ("made of pure Cream, Figs, Cocoanut, Walnut, Cherries and other fruits") and their "Famous Anes & Braves Brazil Roll (Delicious Fruit Nougats covered with Caramel and rolled in Brazil Nuts)," for just 49¢ a pound. They also sold ice cream "made under sanitary conditions . . . with the purest and most wholesome materials."<sup>63</sup> In the fall of 1924, they opened a "complete luncheonette outfit" and offered a range of soups, sandwiches, and salads as well as "home-made pies and cakes like those that mother makes."<sup>64</sup> The Rutland Soda Spa also sold candy "76 kinds to choose from," as well as "Home-made Ice Creams, [and] Delicious, wholesome Lunches served with comfort and satisfaction."<sup>65</sup> The Rutland Restaurant, the only one of the restaurants Rita mentions that still exists, was much less heavily advertised than its competitors, although it did advertise once for a "woman to make pies; also help chef."<sup>66</sup>

Movies and shows – by which Rita appears to mean any kind of live performances – were typically all-girl or casual mixed-group events for Rita, not dates. She only referred to going

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<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>62</sup> "Capacity Crowds see 1921 'Frolics'," *Rutland Daily Herald*, February 5, 1921.

<sup>63</sup> "Quality Candy Specials for St. Patrick's Day," *Rutland Daily Herald*, March 17, 1923.

<sup>64</sup> "Announcement!," *Rutland Daily Herald*, October 23, 1924.

<sup>65</sup> "They're The Best There Is!," *Rutland Daily Herald*, November 19, 1924; "Greetings," *Rutland Daily Herald*, December 10, 1924.

<sup>66</sup> "Help Wanted—Female," *Rutland Daily Herald*, August 28, 1925.

somewhere with a specific man when they went to more formal events like dances. Between October 1923 and April 1925, she attended seventeen dances. The diary has a separate section where she recorded the dances. For each, she listed who she went with, who she danced with, where they went for supper, and what she and her girlfriends wore:

November 24

K of C dance with Nip. Met Bill Layden & Ruth Chapman up to the Hall. Wonderful time. Supper served at K of C Home couldn't get places so R & B – N & I up to Soda Spa. Nip & I home about 3.15 in the House about 3.30 to bed about 4. A. M. Dances with Nip, Bill L., Tommie Monahan, Bill Hart, Mac McD., Jack Sullivan, Shiek Tree, Hinchey fellow, etc. Wore my blue taffeta (Ruth wore black).<sup>67</sup>

Many of the dances were organized by the Knights of Columbus or the Catholic Women's Club, both church-affiliated organizations. Most coincided with a holiday: Columbus Day, Halloween, Valentine's Day, or Easter.<sup>68</sup> The nationally known Paul Whitman's Orchestra came up from New York for one of the dances and the local Burroughs Orchestra played for another, but neither Rita's diary nor the newspaper identifies the bands for the rest.<sup>69</sup> The Valentine's Day dance was unusual in that it was the girls' turn to issue the invitations. Could this have been because 1924 was a leap year, when women have traditionally had the right to make proposals? The modern tradition of Sadie Hawkins dances had not yet been introduced (the Li'l Abner comic strip they are named after did not even appear until 1934). Whatever

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<sup>67</sup> Mumford, 2-3.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 1-7.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 6; "Big Dance tonight," *Rutland Daily Herald*, June 5, 1924.

the reason, that was the only time she reports calling a man for a date.<sup>70</sup> Unfortunately for Rita, another girl had already asked the man she wanted.

The evenings followed a fairly standard pattern: Rita and her date arrived between nine and ten and danced until one or one thirty in the morning, with a supper break about halfway through. Sometimes supper was provided at the hall, but usually two or three couples went somewhere else, often to the Oriental Restaurant or the Soda Spa. Rita sometimes did not get to bed until four after the dances.<sup>71</sup>

Rita kept track of who she danced with, usually with a list of initials. She usually recorded between five and eleven dances a night, but often added "etc.," so the actual number of dances cannot be calculated. It was not the fashion to dance primarily with one's own escort. Looking back at 1920s-style dating after fashions had changed, one man recalled that "you fetched a girl to a dance to show her off and give her a good time."<sup>72</sup> In those days, a good time meant being popular, which meant having lots of different partners. Of the identified dances, it appears that Rita rarely danced more than twice with the same person. Most of her partners were from her usual crowd of friends. The occasional "Hinchey fellow" probably indicated someone she did not know as well.<sup>73</sup>

The dance listings also record what she wore. She had at least four primary dresses: a blue taffeta, a blue georgette, a brown, and a yellow *crepe de chine*. She reports wearing "yellow" or a "yellow dress" on three other occasions: that could be the

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<sup>70</sup> Mumford, 34.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., 1-3.

<sup>72</sup> Beth L. Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 33.

<sup>73</sup> Mumford, 3.

*crepe de chine* or something else.<sup>74</sup> Her friends seem to have had fewer dresses to choose from: Mary Hogan wore black to three of the dances she's listed for and Trixie Eddy wore "her brown dress" to both of her events.<sup>75</sup> Rita may have bought the skirt and sweater she wore to one more casual event off the rack, particularly since she worked for a department store, but her black dress for the Valentine's Day dance was made for her: she "picked out cloth for a new dress," on January 31, visited the dressmaker (perhaps for a fitting) on February 11, and on the evening of the dance she was panicking: "my dress hasn't come yet. Oh! Diary I'm a wreck."<sup>76</sup> Everything did turn out well in the end: her dress arrived at 9:15, her date at 9:30, and she "had a wonderful time."<sup>77</sup>

As well as a new dress, she had her hair styled before one dance: "up to Lees at 6 for hair curl."<sup>78</sup> Other than that, Rita never mentioned her own appearance. She never had her picture in the newspaper and Mount St. Joseph's did not publish a yearbook in the years she was there. There is no way to know if the photograph tucked into the diary is her. It shows a dark-haired girl of the right age, skiing. It could be her, but it equally well could be one of her sisters or a friend. Rita never mentioned skiing, but she did enjoy walks and hiking: "out Hiking & honest diary we had a wonderful time."<sup>79</sup> The newspaper published several notices involving her going camping at Lake Dunmore or Lake Bomoseen with friends.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 1-7.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., 4-6, 6-7.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid., 4; 5, 29, 34, 35.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 35.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid., 47.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid., 50, 56.

<sup>80</sup> "Personal mention," *Rutland Daily Herald*, July 3, 1922; "Personal mention," *Rutland Daily Herald*, July 6, 1922; "Personal mention," *Rutland Daily Herald*, October 17, 1922.

Between casual trips to the movies with a friend and formal dances with a date, came parties. Rita recorded attending parties hosted by her friends or coworkers at their homes or at restaurants. The Muskogee Club (a social club affiliated with the New England Telephone Company) threw a surprise party for one member's birthday, her friend Trixie gave one at her home for her sister who was starting nursing school, and the manager of the Strand gave a dinner at the Otter Creek Tea Rooms for everyone who helped with his New Year's Eve event.<sup>81</sup> Rita's diary was never very detailed, but the *Rutland Herald's* description of the Muskogee Club party fits the hints Rita gives about the other events:

During the evening, games were played and there was dancing, followed by refreshments which were served by Mrs. Davies and members of the club. There was a radio concert at 10:30 o'clock.<sup>82</sup>

The Mumfords do not appear to have owned a radio. The 1930 census recorded 39,783 radios in Vermont, or about 44.6% of households.<sup>83</sup> In Rita's part of town, 122 households (or 40%) reported owning a set, but that did not include the Mumfords'. Rita's friends the Thralls got a new radio at Christmas of 1923, and invited Rita over to listen to it on New Year's Day.<sup>84</sup> It is unclear whether she went and left early or if she did not go at all.

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<sup>81</sup> Mumford, 77, 6, 4, 17.

<sup>82</sup> "Club Gives Birthday Party for Miss Davies," *Rutland Daily Herald*, October 16, 1925.

<sup>83</sup> US Census Bureau, "1930 Census: Volume 6. Families. Reports by States," The United States Census Bureau, 1360, <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1933/dec/1930a-vol-06-families.html>.

<sup>84</sup> Mumford, 14.

A new radio was worth writing about, but not exciting enough to entice a girl who had been out until 3:00 a.m. the night before.

It is sometimes difficult, reading the list of activities and the hours she kept, to remember that Rita was a teenage girl living in her mother's house. She clearly came and went as she wished. Only twice did she mention helping her mother with the housework and once that she cleaned her room.<sup>85</sup> On one occasion, Rita reported arguing with her mother.<sup>86</sup> She did not mention the cause, but Rita appears to be making an effort to curtail her late hours over the next few days, so it is possible that they were the source of the conflict. It is a common and timeless conflict, reflected in a newspaper clipping tucked into the diary:

When Ma and Pa were young they were  
As proper as could be—  
They tell us so themselves and so  
It must be true, you see.

They never stayed at parties late—  
Were home by 10 o'clock—  
And never did or said a thing  
To mortify and shock

...

When Ma and Pa were young—but gosh!  
It's too late now to mope;  
They had their chance to have some fun  
And somehow missed the dope.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 40, 45, 36.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>87</sup> "When Ma and Pa were Young", reprinted from *The Baltimore Sun* in an unidentified and undated newspaper clipping apparently not from Rutland.

Rita had her wages to spend, male and female friends to socialize with, and little to no supervision while they were out. Only once did she mention a chaperone for a party.<sup>88</sup> For the most part, Rita and her friends were on their own.

The social lives of middle-class young adults underwent a major shift in the 1920s; a shift reflected in Rita's diary. Earlier generations socialized and carried out their courtships under their parents' eyes. Young men paid calls on young women in their homes, sitting with them in the parlor or on the porch and talking. For the first time, in Rita's generation, respectable girls went out alone with young men on dates in public places.<sup>89</sup> The word and concept of "dates" had disreputable origins, stemming from the days when "respectable" women did not go to dance halls and movies, especially without careful chaperonage. By the late 1910s, norms were changing so that women could be seen in such places without damaging their reputations.<sup>90</sup> Rita's diary showed an overlap of forms. She recorded some callers: "Bill Mac & J. Cook into see me. Pretty special Heh little diary?" but more often, the men called for a date, and they went out.<sup>91</sup> Rita took the latter as a matter of course, although some of her friends still felt it was a bit out of the ordinary: "Nip R. & Tom M called up for date. Flo quite thrilled, but I'm over that stage now Diary."<sup>92</sup>

It would be another generation before young couples started "going steady."<sup>93</sup> Rita recorded dates with seven different men and mentioned her rejection of requests for a date with six or seven others. There was clearly a romantic aspect to these dates ("honest diary K is getting very serious,") as opposed to more

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<sup>88</sup> Mumford, 4.

<sup>89</sup> Bailey, 13.

<sup>90</sup> Bailey, 15

<sup>91</sup> Mumford, 15.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>93</sup> Bailey, 49

casual interactions ("up street met T. B. & Bill Hart for Short ride,") or group excursions.<sup>94</sup> At the same time, however, Rita could reject a date because "I'm true to one even tho he isn't true to me," but still attend the dance with someone else.<sup>95</sup> Whoever she was with, Rita was an appreciative guest. Even when she confided to her diary that "oh! Diary my hearts just broken" because she could not go with the man she wanted, she rarely failed to describe the event as "one wonderful time," and to admit that her date "certainly is a prince."<sup>96</sup>

The men Rita dated – or rejected – tended to be a few years older than she; most between nineteen and twenty-four. Some were students at Middlebury College or at the University of Vermont (UVM), one was the manager of a car dealership, two had office jobs for the railroad, and one was a chiropractor.<sup>97</sup> She also spent time with two male cousins, one of whom owned a marble and granite monuments business.<sup>98</sup> Her girlfriends were mostly bookkeepers and telephone operators like herself, and also in their late teens.

Teenage slang and dating statuses in the 1920s are no more comprehensible than those in any other decade. Rita made it clear from the very beginning that her heart was set on one particular man: "oh! Diary and I do want him so. I wonder if I'll ever have him again" and "oh! diary say a prayer I'll get him."<sup>99</sup> While priding herself on remaining "true to one," however, Rita confided that she was developing a "wild crush" or "quite a smash" on someone else, that she was "getting terribly ruff [and should] watch my steps" around the salesmen, or that "the most

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<sup>94</sup> Mumford, 51; 31.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>97</sup> *Rutland Daily Herald*, January 11, 1924.

<sup>98</sup> Mumford, 92.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, 43; 39.

wonderful man sat across the [aisle] he's my 'Ideal.'"<sup>100</sup> There is no dictionary to translate the relative attractions of a "crush" or a "smash." Whatever the finer gradations, a picture emerges of a typical teenager: a bit dramatic and boy crazy, but good-hearted, funny, and likeable.

A dictionary did help clarify one of Rita's more colorful expressions. Congratulating herself for being on time to work one day ("something unusual"), Rita declared that she should "win the fur-lined bathtub."<sup>101</sup> What on earth? That's not an expression one hears every day. What would anyone do with a fur-lined bathtub? According to the *Thesaurus of Traditional English Metaphors*, nothing. It signifies deserving "a spectacularly useless reward" (alternatives include a "porcelain hair-net" or a "barbwire garter").<sup>102</sup>

Some of her other expressions were also once more common than they are today. Rita frequently refers to going "up street" and "down street," even when no possible orientation of the map can make one "up" and the others "down". It turns out that "up street" is Old Vermonter for downtown, or "towards the shopping district of a town," regardless of the relative position of places.<sup>103</sup> Her use of "PM" to mean afternoon is similarly idiosyncratic: she packs too many activities into a standard-length afternoon. Dinner is her main meal of the day and typically eaten at one o'clock. PM may refer to anything after that, although the divide between that and evening is unclear.

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid., 24, 38, 28, 17, 25.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>102</sup> "K.60e Contests," in P. R. Wilkinson, ed., *Thesaurus of Traditional English Metaphors* (Routledge, 2003),

<https://books.google.com/books?id=t4wZOj46HB0C&pg=PT791>.

<sup>103</sup> Muriel Joy Hughes, "A Word-List from Vermont," *Vermont History* 27, no. 2 (April 1959): 165,

<https://books.google.com/books?id=kzM7AAAAIAAJ>.

## *A Flapper at Eight-O'Clock Mass*

Out until all hours, running around with men, dancing, and learning to drive a car. These are the hallmarks of the flapper. After World War I, the word "flapper" – originally used for gawky teenaged girls – came to be applied to the "New Woman", who smoked, drove a car, wore shorter skirts, and danced "with a revolving cast of male suitors."<sup>104</sup> Rita does not seem to have been smoking or drinking, but she otherwise fit the pattern with one rather glaring exception: there is no place in the flapper stereotype for eight-o'clock mass before work!

Rita was a practicing Roman Catholic and a regular churchgoer. She had attended a Catholic high school, much of her social life occurred under the auspices of church-affiliated organizations like the Catholic Women's Club, and she recorded her church attendance in her diary. In the first six weeks of 1924, she attended Mass twenty times, made confession about once a week, and received communion three times. Most of the time, she apparently went to Mass alone, often on her way to work: "up about 7.30 to 8 o'clock mass."<sup>105</sup> Her rare references to her siblings occurred when they accompanied her.

Although a member of St. Peter's, the oldest Catholic congregation in Rutland, Rita occasionally attended the "French" church.<sup>106</sup> In 1868, sixty French-Canadian quarry workers had been brought in to break up a strike. There were some clashes and

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<sup>104</sup> Joshua Zeitz, *Flapper: A Madcap Story of Sex, Style, Celebrity, and the Women Who Made America Modern* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2012), 5-6.

<sup>105</sup> Mumford, 15.

<sup>106</sup> Joanna Tebbs Young, "Rutland's Catholic Churches' Foundations of Rock," *Rutland When...* (blog), June 18, 2014, <https://rutlandwhen.wordpress.com/2014/06/18/53/>.

hard feelings between the two groups of workers, so a new church was established for the French-speaking population. Originally known as *Sacre Coeur de Marie*, by Rita's day it was referred to in the newspapers as Sacred Heart of Mary, signifying an increased use of English. In 1948, it officially changed its name to Immaculate Heart of Mary to reflect that conversion. Exactly how "French" the church was in 1924 is not clear, and Rita never explained why she chose to attend some of its services.

In February 1924, on the fifth anniversary of her father's death, she attended the memorial mass (at St. Peter's) with her mother and brother, and then visited his grave in West Rutland.<sup>107</sup> She mentioned visiting his grave on one later occasion as well.<sup>108</sup> A few weeks later, with the beginning of Lent, Rita "made myself scarce around the neighborhood, gave up Movies etc!"<sup>109</sup> Unfortunately, she gave up her diary as well, and did not write again until Easter Sunday.

When Rita returned to her diary at Easter, she had a new job with a new schedule and the weather had changed. The remaining entries have rather a different flavor. The most noticeable change is the appearance of the automobile. She rarely mentioned cars in the earlier part of the diary. By late spring, she referred frequently to going for rides or being "carried" home. This could be attributable to the weather or the condition of the roads, since 1920s cars had neither effective heaters nor snow tires. Alternatively, the cars could have come with a slightly different group of friends. Her cousin Charlie Mumford and friend Gate Green only appear in the second half of the diary. The latter is manager of a Rutland auto dealership. In July the former taught Rita to drive: "out driving all AM with Charlie Honest diary I'm doing splendid, that's pretty good coming from myself.

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<sup>107</sup> Mumford, 30.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, 36.

Bump into the hydrant etc. aside from a few things like that I did fine."<sup>110</sup> Driving lessons aside, Rita and her friends went riding together, usually in mixed groups, two or three times a week through the late spring and summer.

### *The Rest of the Book*

Rita continued making near-daily diary entries until July 21, 1924.<sup>111</sup> After that, she made only occasional entries (mostly from parties or trips she took) until she stopped altogether in October 1925.<sup>112</sup> The remainder of the book consists of poetry, lists of names or addresses, and mementoes. Few of these are dated.

Rita transcribed four complete poems and a series of toasts into her diary. She did not provide the authors' names or her sources for any of them. Two of them, however, are reasonably well known and identifiable. One of the poems, written by Antony Clare, was part of a longer poem, a sentimental verse of the type written in autograph books:

I do not say to you "Remember Me"  
If to remember me be pain,  
Since we must, then let our parting be  
Filled with haunting of no sad refrain.<sup>113</sup>

Several of the short toasts were of a similar type – "May we always part with regret and meet again with pleasure" – and she may have collected them to share with her friends.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 82, 63.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 66.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 71.

<sup>113</sup> Antony Clare, "In Parting," *The Lady's Realm: An Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, 1905,

<https://books.google.com/books?id=Co43AQAAMAAJ&pg=PA376>.

<sup>114</sup> Mumford, 85.

The rest of the poems range from coy to disturbing. Two were originally published together in a newspaper:

*Inconsistency*

"Do you love me?"

"Yes dear," she said

...

"Will you kiss me?"

"No," she replied

"Why not" asked he

"Tis wrong" she sighed.

*Consistency*

"Well then may I kiss you?"

He shyly questioned her

To which she answered "Do

What you think best dear sir"

...

"Of course, I couldn't fight

Nor scold, nor make a fuss,

What ever you may do

I do so hate a muss"<sup>115</sup>

Why did Rita transcribe these into her diary? Where did she even find them? They were apparently only ever published in two Tennessee newspapers in 1905, and the attributions ("G. W., Nashville, Tenn." and "Kate, Livingston, Tenn.") indicate that they were written for those papers.<sup>116</sup> 1905 must have felt hopelessly outdated to the 17- or 18-year-old Rita, and a Tennessee newspaper could hardly have been easy to obtain in Rutland in the first place. The most likely explanation seems to be that someone Rita knew had clipped or transcribed them at the

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<sup>115</sup> "Inconsistency," *The Nashville American*, May 14, 1905.

<sup>116</sup> "Poet's Corner," *Knoxville Sentinel*, May 20, 1905.

time and had brought or sent them to Rutland. Rita may well have found them in an attic. Why she chose to transcribe them is also unclear. They may have felt applicable to her own romantic situation in a time of changing norms. The message that girls should not "fuss" while men had choices was probably one that she heard many times.

The implications of the fourth poem probably struck Rita differently than they strike modern sensibilities. The best-known of the four poems in the diary, it was written by Harlem Renaissance author Nella Larsen.

Here's hoping you live as long as you want to  
And want to as long as you live;  
If I'm asleep and you want to, wake me.  
If I'm awake and don't want to, make me.<sup>117</sup>

To 2020 eyes, this reads as an invitation to rape. Would it have appeared in the 1920s as merely saucy, as Larsen's biographer calls it, and an expression of *joie de vivre*?<sup>118</sup> Again, where did Rita find it? The Harlem Renaissance seems like an unlikely source for a parochial, commercial high school literature class.

The Larsen poem is by far the most disturbing entry in the diary. For the most part, Rita's words were those of a thoroughly "nice" and innocent girl. She avoided – sometimes creatively – even the slightest profanity. At the height of her overworked period with the New York Clothing Company, she mentions several times that she "worked like the 'Divil'" or "like the D—I,"

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<sup>117</sup> George Hutchinson, *In Search of Nella Larsen: A Biography of the Color Line* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2006), 337.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*

and once that "worked like 'Helen B. Happy' seems to be my motto."<sup>119</sup>

The latter phrase was apparently a quotation from a one-act play that she may have seen or heard on the radio:

Straight: Who was that fine looking lady I saw you with yesterday?

Eccentric: Oh, that was my sweetheart, Miss Happy.

Straight: What's Miss Happy's full name?

...

Eccentric: Helen B. Happy.

...

Straight: Society girl?

Eccentric: No, Helen works for a living.

Straight: I've got a sweetheart who idles away her time, and as a consequence she's very discontented.

Eccentric: I know a cure.

Straight: What is it?

Eccentric: Let her work like Helen B. Happy.<sup>120</sup>

The euphemism becomes obvious when the name "Helen" is divided into syllables. A trade magazine with advice for tailors clarified the meaning as Rita probably applied it: "'he must work like Helen B. Happy'. He must be prompt and on time in the mornings, and work overtime in the evenings, if necessary."<sup>121</sup> Rita had times when she met this ideal, but they were infrequent enough to merit mention in her diary.

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<sup>119</sup> Mumford, 23, 33.

<sup>120</sup> George Ade, *Marse Covington: A Play in One Act* (War Department, 1918), 46, <https://books.google.com/books?id=JagUAAAAYAAJ>.

<sup>121</sup> Frederick T. Croonborg, "What a Custom Cutter Should Know," *Croonberg's Gazette of Fashions* 6, no. 5 (May 1919): 154, <https://books.google.com/books?id=vaA7AQAAMAAJ>.

Only in one instance does Rita's phrasing jar modern sensibilities: she refers several times to going to "Chink's" for supper.<sup>122</sup> The only likely place that appears in the city directories or newspaper advertisements is the Oriental Restaurant, owned by W. J. Toy.<sup>123</sup> The racial epithet is disturbing and unfortunate. However, given the time and the stereotypes she would have been exposed to in the media, it is not surprising.

Rutland – and Vermont as whole – was over 99% white in Rita's day. The 1920 census reported just fourteen people of color in Rutland.<sup>124</sup> Ethnicity, rather than race, would have been visible to Rita. The primary ethnic groups of Rutland were the Irish, the Italians, and the French Canadians. The Mumfords were Irish – three of Rita's four grandparents were born in Ireland– and most of her friends' surnames recognizably originated in the British Isles: Eddy, Hayward, Sullivan, Greene, Kelly, and O'Rourke.<sup>125</sup> She attended the "French" church occasionally and spoke of individuals with French or Italian surnames respectfully ("Mr. Franzoni took us for ride. Peachy time"), but infrequently.<sup>126</sup> The city directory and census show more diversity in Rita's neighborhood than her diary would indicate, but like teenagers everywhere, Rita was focused on her own family and friends, and at least she did not express the nativist and derogatory rhetoric becoming common in more intellectual circles.

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<sup>122</sup> Mumford, 1.

<sup>123</sup> *Directory for the Year Beginning April 1924*, 171.

<sup>124</sup> US Census Bureau, "1930 Census: Volume 3. Population, Reports by States," The United States Census Bureau, 1049, <https://www.census.gov/library/publications/1932/dec/1930a-vol-03-population.html>.

<sup>125</sup> *1910 United States Federal Census*,

[https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/interactive/7884/4454402\\_00790](https://www.ancestrylibrary.com/interactive/7884/4454402_00790).

<sup>126</sup> Mumford, 50.

The daily diary entries were written as if they were recorded at the time and chronologically, but there are a few oddities and discrepancies. Many entries have an immediacy that feels real: "I'm so tired tonight 'Diary' I don't know my name," or "oh! Diary I'm a wreck".<sup>127</sup> Three times, however, a date is written twice. There are two entries for January 24, for example, on different pages and referring to different events.<sup>128</sup> Miswriting the date is an easy enough mistake when keeping a diary. If it were just a matter of writing the wrong date, however, she would presumably have gotten back on track the next day even if she never noticed the problem, simply by writing the correct date then. In this case, however, there are no skipped dates. She could hardly have confused the date for weeks on end. If she thought she had missed a day and re-wrote it before going on to the next day, the events ought to match: in the first entry for January 24, she reported going to see *It's a Boy* and in the second, she says she saw *The Unloved Wife*.<sup>129</sup> The most logical explanation is that she was writing several days at once after enough time had passed for her to lose track of exactly what happened on Wednesday or on Thursday. (According to the advertisements in the *Rutland Daily Herald*, *It's a Boy* was only performed on the Wednesday).<sup>130</sup> Given that the people and events mentioned in the diary can nearly all be confirmed from the newspapers and city directories—the strongest sign of validity for a source like this—minor discrepancies do not make much difference to the value of the diary.<sup>131</sup> They do detract a little from its immediacy

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<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 33, 35.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 25-26.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>130</sup> "Brilliant Success of Myrtle-Harder Co.," *Rutland Daily Herald*, January 22, 1924.

<sup>131</sup> Mary Beth Norton, "Getting to the Source: Hetty Shepard, Dorothy Dudley, and Other Fictional Colonial Women I Have Come to Know

and from the sense of it being a faithful representation of her state of mind.

On one occasion, a page had clearly been torn out after it was mostly complete.<sup>132</sup> All of the dates that would have appeared on the missing page are shown on the following page, so it must have been removed at the time of writing. Its absence is tantalizing evidence of something she might have regretted writing. What it was is one secret that the diary cannot tell.

At the back of the diary, Rita provided lists of employees at New York Clothing Company and the New England Telephone & Telegraph Company.<sup>133</sup> She also gave addresses for several friends and relatives. Some of the people listed are familiar names from the diary entries; others are new. Most are in Vermont, including school addresses for friends at Middlebury and UVM. A couple are in Hoboken, New Jersey. There is no one in Tennessee.<sup>134</sup>

The last few pages contain mementoes glued to the page: tickets from two unidentified performances at the Playhouse and one from Gibson's Pavilion, playbills for *The Unloved Wife*, *It's a Boy*, and *Lawful Larceny*, a sales tag from New York Clothing Company, a business card from her cousin Charlie's "C. J. Mumford & Co. Marble and Granite Monuments," and the lipstick imprint of a kiss.<sup>135</sup> A few other mementoes are tucked into the diary elsewhere, including the unidentified photographs of the skiing girl mentioned earlier and of a man holding a cane.<sup>136</sup>

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Altogether Too Well," *Journal of Women's History* 10, no. 3 (September 1998): 146, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2010.0311>

<sup>132</sup> Mumford, 24.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 89, 90-91.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.*, 91, 92, 94, 93, 95.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

Since most of these items are not attached to the page, their placement in specific spots may be accidental.

Like most newspapers of the time, the *Rutland Daily Herald* printed "brevities" and "personal mentions," reporting on events in the lives of local individuals and organizations. Rita clipped the January 20, 1925 notices that "Miss Mildred Rowe of Adams street, Miss Reita Mumford of Holly street and Miss Beatrice Eddy of Plain street returned yesterday from Wallingford" and that "Thomas McDeavit of School street and William H Hart of East Washington street, who have been in Waterbury, have returned home," as well a description of the Halloween party for telephone company employees.<sup>137</sup> Why she chose these instead of any of half a dozen similar notices is unclear. Perhaps the others simply fell out of the diary in its travels.

Rita's final entry in the diary was made in October 1925. There is no record as to what happened to it between then and 1993, when it was given to UVM Special Collections. Rita died in 1979. Had she kept the diary all those years? What happened to it for the next fourteen years, and why was it given away in 1993? One possible clue is that her husband died in 1995 in a nursing home.<sup>138</sup> It is possible that he had moved – or been preparing for an eventual move – into the nursing home in 1993, and the diary was found and disposed of when his house was being cleaned out.

Rita Mumford never performed on Broadway. She never became famous or influential in Vermont, and she never had any connection to the University of Vermont. UVM's Silver Special Collections Library "maintains a comprehensive Vermont research collection" on "all aspects of Vermont," however, and

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<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 15; 58.

<sup>138</sup> "Noted Local Stamp Collector Thomas B. McDevitt Dies at 92," *Rutland Daily Herald*, December 29, 1995.

Rita's teenage diary provides an interesting and unique window into the life, dreams, and activities of a Vermont-style flapper in 1920s Rutland.<sup>139</sup>

Every community—and every member of each community—is different, but Rita Mumford's experiences as reflected in her diary help to illuminate larger themes of social change in the 1920s far beyond Rutland and Vermont. For the first time, respectable young women were going on dates, attending public dances, and learning to drive, expanding their horizons and testing their wings beyond the immediate reach of parents and chaperones. Young middle-class women like Rita were moving into paid employment in ever-increasing numbers, and the wages they earned allowed them to pay their own way and find their own entertainment. At the same time, the traditional ties of church and home still exercised considerable influence over young people's hearts and actions.

While the flapper stereotype that has been passed down to later generations is largely based on Hollywood portrayals and the antics of celebrities like F. Scott Fitzgerald and his wife Zelda, it was the daily lived experiences of young people like Rita Mumford, Nip Ryan, and their friends that permanently wove the most durable of new ideas and the best of new opportunities into the fabric of American life. Diaries like Rita's are invaluable for tracing developments and continuities in the face of rapid social change.

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<sup>139</sup> "About Our Collections," University of Vermont Special Collections Library, accessed November 30, 2019, <http://specialcollections.uvm.edu/collections>; "Vermont Research Collection," University of Vermont Special Collections Library, accessed November 30, 2019, [http://specialcollections.uvm.edu/collections/vermont\\_research](http://specialcollections.uvm.edu/collections/vermont_research).

## *Postscript*

"Oh! diary say a prayer I'll get him."<sup>140</sup>

On the very first page of her diary, after the Knights of Columbus dance on Columbus Day, 1923, Rita Mumford confessed to her diary "my heart's just broken. Tom McD. was there with a girl from Fair Haven."<sup>141</sup> Throughout its pages, Rita begged the diary to help her win her "Tommie Bernard." Despite all the "girls from Fair Haven" and the "awful vamps" he dated, she kept hoping, and the diary kept her – and us – in suspense.<sup>142</sup> Would she? Did he ever? When the diary ended in 1925 the question was still open. The answer took another fourteen years, but on October 7, 1939, sixteen years after that Columbus Day dance, Rita Agnes Mumford and Thomas Bernard McDevitt were married in Rutland. Yes, reader, she got him.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Mumford, 39.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>143</sup> "Rita Agnes Mumford," *Vermont, Marriage Records, 1909-2008* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com, 2010.

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**More than Maple Syrup:  
A Survey of Vermont Food Culture in the Mid-Twentieth  
Century**

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*Bridget O'Keefe*

Serious studies of food culture are relatively recent developments in scholarly research. Anthropologists, historians, and sociologists have concluded that what humans eat, how they prepare food, and how they interpret their own food characteristics are important aspects in understanding the culture of a particular group. Since this area of research grew in the 1980s, groups, especially in the West, are increasingly self-aware of their eating habits and their relation to identity. But what about groups before the 1980s? Before food culture became a buzz term, did groups identify themselves by their eating habits? How did they distinguish themselves from other groups in regard to food consumption?

This paper aims to answer these questions in a case study of 1950s and 1960s Vermont by evaluating cooking-related texts created during this time period. Assuredly, Vermonters have been influenced by outsiders since the end of the nineteenth century when the state pushed tourism as a major industry. Tourism expanded steadily throughout the first half of the twentieth century, thanks to efforts of the Vermont State Board of Agriculture and Vermont Department of Tourism. For instance, the Vermont State Board of Agriculture told farmers to change the types of foods they presented to summer tourists, who may have been off-put by the fatty, starchy meals farmers typically ate.<sup>1</sup> While Vermont certainly had newcomers in the 1950s and

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<sup>1</sup>Jason Kaufman and Matthew E. Kaliner, "The Re-Accomplishment of Place in Twentieth Century Vermont and New Hampshire: History Repeats Itself, until It Doesn't," *Theory and Society* 40, no. 2 (2011): 136.

1960s, the largest wave arrived in the 1970s with a population surge of fourteen percent.<sup>2</sup> Examining the two decades prior to this large population surge will help us understand how Vermonters understood their food culture prior to the influence of “hippies” in the 1970s. This study also presents an opportunity to see how much influence outsiders and tourists had over the perception of Vermont food.

Cookbooks from Vermont authors of the mid-twentieth century fall into two categories: texts from large publishers meant for a national audience, and homegrown texts compiled by Vermont churches and organizations with local distributions. The national texts evaluated here are *Mrs. Appleyard Year Round Cooking* (1965), *Yankee-Hill Country Cooking* (1963), *Blueberry Hill Cooking* (1959), and *Green Mountaineer Cook Book* (1969).<sup>3</sup> The homegrown texts are *Ladies Union Cookbook* (1959), *Cracker Barrel Cookbook* (1959), *Country Kitchens from the Good Cooks of Mendon, VT* (1959), and *The Vermont Village Cookbook* (1963).<sup>4</sup> Vermont Life magazine and tourism articles from nationally recognized newspapers are also evaluated and provide additional context to Vermont’s food culture. While these

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<sup>2</sup> George K. Lewis, “Population Change in Northern New England,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 62, no. 2 (1972): 310.

<sup>3</sup> Louise Andrews Kent, *The Vermont Year Round Cookbook* (Houghton Mifflin, 1965); Elsie Masterson, *Blueberry Hill Cookbook* (New York, NY: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1959); Lois Tracy Phillips, *Green Mountaineer Cook Book* (Paulo Books, 1969); Beatrice Vaughan, *Yankee Hill-Country Cooking* (Brattleboro, VT: Stephen Greene Press, 1963).

<sup>4</sup> Federated Church, ed., *Ladies Union Cookbook* (Kansas City, MO: North American Press, 1953); Cracker Barrel Bazaar Association Newbury, *Cracker Barrel Cookbook*, 2nd ed. (Newbury, VT: Ladies’ Aid of the First Congregational Church, 1957); Samuel R. Ogden, *The Vermont Village Cook Book* (Londonderry, VT: Alpha Press, 1963); Women’s Society of Christian Service, ed., *Country Kitchens from the Good Cooks in Mendon*, 1st ed. (Mendon, VT, 1958).

categories are distinct, they are not homogenous in how the authors talk about Vermont and how the recipes relate to Vermont identity.

Within the scholarship of food culture is a smaller subset of research dedicated to the social history of cookbooks. Historian Rebecca Sharpless' work on rural cookbooks helps illuminate some useful information about how to treat these books as serious texts, especially from this time period. Community cookbooks grew out of Civil War-era efforts by churches and women's organizations "to raise money for causes they cared about while staying well within the gender conventions of the day."<sup>5</sup> Then, at the turn of the twentieth century, Home Economics became a professional field. As American consumerism rose after the end of World War II, food corporations hired professional cooks to write cookbooks. Authors wrote in a prescriptive tone about how to keep American families "healthy and happy."<sup>6</sup> My categories of national and homegrown texts, therefore, demonstrate a historical significance outside mid-twentieth century Vermont.

Across the cookbooks, newspaper articles, and scholarly work researched here, three stereotypes about Vermonters jump out. These stereotypes fall on a spectrum that ranges from folksy, Yankee cooking to cosmopolitan cooking. On one end is the "Northern hillbilly" stereotype which could easily be interchanged with stereotypes of poor Appalachian and Southern people. Northern hillbillies are proud of their humble roots and play up the eccentricities of ruralness. Their cooking is more often tied to the landscape, partly because growing and hunting food at home could be a lower cost option than buying food at the grocery store. To a more sophisticated, national audience, however, this stereotype is seen as backward or even trashy. In the middle of

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<sup>5</sup> Rebecca Sharpless, "Cookbooks as Resources for Rural Research," *Agricultural History* 90, no. 2 (Spring 2016): 197.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

the spectrum, the “simple farmer” stereotype is still sometimes referred to as backward, but also represents the idea of an unspoiled Vermont that tourists seek. Food is also tied to landscape in this stereotype and is the reward for the farmer’s hard work. Cooks fitting the “simple farmer” stereotype need not be actual farmers, but embody the virtues of a simple, rural lifestyle. Conversely, the “modern housewife” stereotype is much more cosmopolitan. The “modern housewife” is not specific to Vermont but represents the quintessential suburban or urban homemaker interested in elegant parties, exotic dishes to impress her friends, and easy meals to serve her family. Similar to both the “Northern hillbilly” and the “simple farmer,” the “modern housewife” needs to be improvisational. The modern housewife’s cooking is not, however, tied to landscape, and frozen or canned fruits and vegetables are acceptable while expensive cuts of meat from the grocery store are prized.

Sitting on a spectrum, these three stereotypes help explain the complexity of Vermont food culture. Assuredly, no text hews entirely to one stereotype. The recipes and prose sections of these cookbooks reveal how their authors and contributors use food to assert their identities. Not all national or homegrown texts are homogenous in how they assert identity, as we shall see later in analyses of each text. The lure of tourism looms large over all these texts alongside an assertion of a romanticized lifestyle in Vermont. Even the most cosmopolitan of these texts cannot hide the remote and rural nature of the state.

### *National Texts*

Cookbooks produced for national audiences tend to project certain ideals and represent the available ingredients of a given region. As journalist Henry Notaker states “the terms ‘regional dish’ and ‘regional cuisine’ are often used as part of a broader

strategy, such as the commercial promotion of certain culinary products from small, local producers.”<sup>7</sup> We can understand the frequent mention of maple syrup and maple sugar in these national texts as a way to market the product to consumers outside the state of Vermont. The national texts analyzed below also utilize long prose sections to describe the Vermont landscape, which, in the context of Notaker’s research, suggests national text authors were using cookbooks to boost tourism. No matter where the national texts fall on the spectrum of stereotypes, all the cookbooks project a proud Vermont identity.

The “Northern Hillbilly” end of the stereotype spectrum is most tied to the landscape. *Green Mountaineer Cook Book* by Lois Tracy Phillips embraces the working and farming class of Vermont. The introduction is written with poor grammar and a slang vernacular. She drops the g’s at the ends of gerunds (cookin’ and farmin’ for example) while criticizing the modern housewife who chooses TV dinners over fresh, homemade meals. She presents herself as a rural authority to her national audience but skips the flowery language in describing rural Vermont. For instance, Phillips promotes preparing more fresh vegetables during spring and summer since they are hard to come by in the brutal Vermont winters. To entice her readers, Phillips writes, “You can butter ’em, curry ’em, broil ’em, fry ’em, add a spice or two, or combine them with each other.”<sup>8</sup> Once winter hits, however, Vermonters are stuck with the canned and pickled vegetables they spent all autumn preparing. Phillips considers “making do” with what one has to be an admirable trait dating back to the colonial period in Vermont. This approach could certainly translate to the modern housewife who needs to

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<sup>7</sup> Henry Notaker, *A History of Cookbooks: From Kitchen to Page over Seven Centuries* (University of California Press, 2017), 248.

<sup>8</sup> Phillips, *Green Mountaineer Cook Book*, 19.

improvise for the success of her dinner party, but Phillips unabashedly leans into Vermont's lower-class history.

Phillips is also explicit about womanhood and feminine authority in her writing. The hardworking, brute nature of Vermont is not assigned only to men as Phillips asserts women should be just as tough and rugged. Throughout *Green Mountaineer Cook Book*, Phillips tells stories of new brides fumbling in the kitchen and pokes fun at their naivety and ignorance. For example, a young housewife had invited her in-laws over for a small dinner party and anxiously doted over every single detail: "however, when the guests tasted the chicken it had a very peculiar flavor. There was a bit of discussion as to what had given it that odd taste. The bride traced the preparation of the chicken back to the starting point. Seems as though the recipe read: 'wash the chicken well.' The bride said, 'I used my best soap to do this!'"<sup>9</sup> The proper Vermont woman, according to Phillips, is one who can master both the kitchen and the landscape.

Next, Beatrice Vaughan's *Yankee Hill-Country Cooking* falls closer to the "simple farmer" stereotype due to the author's dedication to the Vermont landscape, but there is no use of slang in her prose sections. This book is a compilation of various recipes Vaughan found while extensively researching old cookbooks. The collection features some recipes that date back to eighteenth century Vermont and were subsequently modernized by Vaughan for the 1960s housewife. As indicated in the title, Vaughan embraced the working and farming classes of Vermont, and her recipes use simple ingredients usually found in nature. A number of her recipe titles start with "Poor Man," such as "Poor Man's Rice Pudding" which requires only one tablespoon of rice, one tablespoon of sugar, one half teaspoon of cinnamon, four

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 93.

cups of milk, and a pinch of salt.<sup>10</sup> Vaughan also provides her readers with several practical tips that embrace the backwards but endearing “Yankee” stock. She offers a childhood memory of her grandmother simmering down a large quantity of soup to concentrate, and then leaving it in a kettle in the back pantry at the beginning of winter. During the brutal winter months, the back pantry would turn into a makeshift freezer, so Vaughan’s grandmother would place a wooden spoon in the center of the soup concentration and let the frozen mass hang from a string attached to the spoon. At various points in the winter, Vaughan’s grandmother would take a hatchet to the mass to reheat the chunks of soup.<sup>11</sup> These anecdotes show Vaughan is unafraid to lean into the eccentricities of rural Vermont.

Vaughan celebrates the Vermont landscape and boasts of its beauty and abundance. Vaughan attaches food culture to the environment; at one point she opines, “I’ve often thought that the good Lord caused maple and butternut trees to grow side by side on New England hillsides because of the natural and wonderful affinity the product of the one tree has for that of the other.”<sup>12</sup> While Vaughan certainly features romantic images of Vermont in her writing, the link between food and landscape is much more practical. Ingredients are taken from the environment as a lower-cost means to provide for one’s family—not necessarily the soul-fulfilling act that city dwellers may imagine it is. For instance, meat recipes include venison, beef heart, and raccoon. Vaughan consulted the advice of seasoned Vermont hunters for proper instructions about how to remove the scent glands of the raccoon, which, if not removed, leads to an unpleasant flavor throughout the meat.<sup>13</sup> In the eyes of a national audience, or the “modern

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<sup>10</sup> Vaughan, *Yankee Hill-Country Cooking*, 135.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 169.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

housewife,” this may not be the most glamorous dish to serve at a dinner party.

Prior to writing cookbooks, Vaughan was a homemaker. She then attended a newly opened Lebanon College in Northern New Hampshire starting in 1957. Vaughan attributed her cookbook success to her history, writing, and psychology classes. While promoting *Yankee Hill-Country Cooking*, Vaughan traveled to New York City as the guest of Clementine Paddleford, the food editor of the *New York Herald Tribune*. According to Vaughan’s report of the interview, Paddleford was “very much interested in the fact that a college for adult education had been established in a rural area to give courses which would otherwise be unavailable.”<sup>14</sup> This report was later quoted in a local Vermont newspaper, which validates the importance of a college degree and highlights the lack of educational access in rural areas. Therefore, the “Northern hillbilly” and “simple farmer” stereotypes are forced into categories of folk, backwardness, and ignorance.

Articles from large newspapers show not only an admiration for the romantic image of Vermont, but also a snark toward its backward, lower-class constituency. Many newspapers portray Vermont and its food as somewhere between “Northern hillbilly” and “simple farmer.” In the travel section of *Christian Science Monitor*, a writer describes visiting a Vermont farm along the coast of Lake Champlain and watching “a fiery red sun extinguish itself in the smoother waters of the lake, leaving a deep rose afterglow that softened the rocky shoreline and turned the distant hills into warm pastels.”<sup>15</sup> The writer then participated in

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<sup>14</sup> “East Thetford Woman Attributes Her Studies to Idea for Cookbook,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, September 11, 1963.

<sup>15</sup> Leavitt F. Morris, “Travel Editor’s Diary: Working the Rocking Chair Overtime in Vermont Sunset Paints Pastel Picture ‘Grass Is Always Green...’,” *The Christian Science Monitor*, July 8, 1949, 11.

a grass-is-always-greener metaphor with the farmer he visited in order to highlight the simple, rural lifestyle. The farmer commented, “the fancy meals you must get at hotels. Must be something,” to which the writer exclaimed, “not any better than the one you served up here tonight...and from what I saw in your deep freeze, there isn’t a hotel in the world that can offer such a variety. Fresh strawberries and raspberries, meats, vegetables, and other fruits.”<sup>16</sup> Here, the writer depicts quality food as the reward for the farmer’s hard work. This reward system suggests Vermonters were aware of their food culture and that national audiences associate the “Northern hillbilly” and “simple farmer” stereotypes with food.

Similarly, reviews of inns and food products in national newspapers display the importance of food in Vermont. This glowing press treatment supports the idea that food culture was vibrant and often discussed in the 1950s and 1960s. The *Boston Globe*’s tourism section put food first when discussing Vermont inns, rather than scenery, activities, or décor. “Rutledge Inn Famed for Vermont Food and Desserts” and “Green Mountain Inn, Famous for Food, Reopens June 15” were titles of small reviews that led the tourism section. Rutledge Inn of Fairlee, Vermont featured a rotating menu of over thirty desserts featured twice a day and guests were encouraged to try them all.<sup>17</sup> In the 1960s, the *New York Times* was interested in Vermont’s business of smoked meats. A 1967 article states “for those tourists whose tastes actually center around food, this state has something more than its world renowned maple syrup to whet the appetite. It is simply smoked meats.”<sup>18</sup> The article continued to feature a

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> “Rutledge Inn Famed for Vermont Food and Varied Desserts,” *Boston Globe*, June 11, 1950.

<sup>18</sup> Arthur Davenport, “Appetizing Smoke Signals From Vermont,” *New York Times*, July 9, 1967, 312.

variety of country stores and butchers throughout the state that offered quality jerkies, sausages, and bacon. The journalist compares the methods and styles of smoking at each location, always paying careful attention to the amount of time it took and quality ingredients the Vermonters used. Another article solely featured Harrington's Hams of Richmond, Vermont, which distinguished itself from the "mass-produced version [which] is possessed of such bland, ignoble and indifferent qualities."<sup>19</sup> The journalist attaches many accolades to Harrington's Hams including "excellent," "custom-smoked," "admirable," and "finest," adding in his final sentence that these hams make great Christmas gifts as well. When major newspapers discussed Vermont food they were particularly keen on the freshness and high quality of its ingredients, nodding to the "simple farmer" stereotype. This proclivity tied in closely with the tourism campaigns of *Vermont Life* magazine in which Vermont was positioned as an unspoiled place of nature and wholesome agriculture. The national cookbook authors projected this idea as well, albeit with more nuance than the *Boston Globe* and *New York Times*.

The Vermont Department of Tourism operated *Vermont Life* magazine from its creation in 1946 until 1969 when the magazine was privatized. While many states had their own magazine, *Vermont Life* kept a national audience in mind by showcasing glossy photographs heaped with nostalgia, and articles on stereotypical Vermont activities like skiing and leaf-peeping. This differs from, say, *New Hampshire Magazine*, which had articles such as "The Top Ten Physicians in the State" with a clear, in-state audience.<sup>20</sup> *Vermont Life* came out quarterly, and

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<sup>19</sup> Clay Claiborne, "Food: Hams of Vermont," *New York Times*, November 9, 1964, 39.

<sup>20</sup> Kaufman and Kaliner, "The Re-Accomplishment of Place in Twentieth Century Vermont and New Hampshire," 135.

issues typically focused on seasonal opportunities for tourists along with features of prominent Vermont sites like Rudyard Kipling's vacation home or quaint covered bridges. In a 1952 issue, writer Mary Pearl describes the importance of maple sugar and syrup to a likely audience of tourists by stating "any good sugaring off means the ultimate in good food and good companionship."<sup>21</sup> She continues to describe maple sugar parties where family and friends would gather at a sugar house on a miraculous, early spring day when the temperature was just warm enough for sap to pour out of the maple trees. Vermonters supposedly feasted on "eggs boiled in sap, old fashioned donuts, and homemade pickles from the summer harvest" while they awaited the maple sugar.<sup>22</sup> Pearl couples her article with eighteen recipes using maple sugar or syrup, further enticing tourists with the bounty of the Vermont landscape. By linking food and companionship, Pearl evokes a friendly and neighborly Vermont where eating habits were not only tied to the environment, but also to family and community rituals.

Similarly, a 1957 article on maple sugaring entitled "Front Yard and Kitchen Sugaring" by Bradford Smith describes the technical process step-by-step, with which, he argues, all Vermonters would be familiar since every household is in close proximity to at least one sugar house. Accompanying photographs show Smith at various stages of the sugaring process and passing down knowledge to his young grandchildren, demonstrating how food was a cultural component worthy of generational identity building. Smith describes a popular, but "old-fashioned" treat during maple sugar parties of "creating hairs of hot sugar and placing it on top of pans of fresh snow."<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Mary Pearl, "Maple Recipes," *Vermont Life* 6, no. 3 (Spring 1952), 50.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Bradford Smith, "Front Yard and Kitchen Sugaring," *Vermont Life* 11, no. 3 (Spring 1957), 56.

Maple sugaring, therefore, was also an event that coupled food with the outdoors. It could occur anywhere between the end of February and the beginning of March when the sun starts to reappear, allowing the sap to warm up. Smith poetically reminds his audience, “however you use the product, you will have had the satisfaction of wrestling from nature her first sweetness, her first promise of the year's fertility, her first assurance that the old and indispensable cycle of life is to be renewed.”<sup>24</sup> This language teaches tourists that the reward for surviving a long, brutal winter is the promise of natural, good-hearted sweetness, which is common among the “simple farmer” texts.



*Figure 1 - Author Bradford Smith showing his grandchildren how to tap the maple tree in his yard. Vermont Life, 1957. Photograph by Geoffrey Orton.*

*Vermont Life* also used its platform to distinguish Vermont from other states. Apparently, in 1955, a rumor circulated that Maryland produced the most maple syrup of any state. *Vermont Life* quickly supplied an article to dispel the myth with recent statistics proving Vermont's superiority. Vermont had produced 721,000 gallons in 1954, over half of which was fancy grade. New York followed with 378,000 gallons, Ohio with 123,000 gallons, and, much lower down the list, Maryland with 21,000 gallons. Interestingly, the article also cited Canada's production of

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<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

2,422,000 gallons, but quickly followed up that only 10% of Canadian syrup is fancy grade. It is hard to know how strong this rivalry was between Vermont and Maryland, but *Vermont Life*'s defense of its maple syrup industry highlights how proud Vermonters were of their distinct food culture.<sup>25</sup>

In 1960, *Vermont Life* started featuring regular contributions from a children's book author, Louise Andrews Kent, who went by the pseudonym Mrs. Appleyard. Her articles included a page of prose entangling an anecdotal Vermont story with one or two recipes and an accompanying photograph. For example, in the fall issue of 1962, Mrs. Appleyard recounted a tale of a partridge flying into her son's window and dying. She scoured her cookbooks for instructions on how to prepare the partridge, but when the results were too varied for Mrs. Appleyard's liking, she went to the police chief of her small town for an authority on hunting and bird preparation. He provided Mrs. Appleyard with the instructions just as he came off traffic duty. The final product was delicious, and a reflection of Vermont's cooking aptitude.<sup>26</sup>

Louise Andrews Kent was born in Brookline, Massachusetts in 1886 and once married to her husband, Ira Kent, she split her time between Brookline and Calais, Vermont.<sup>27</sup> While asserting authority over proper Yankee cooking, Kent distanced herself from the "Northern hillbilly" stereotype and even, somewhat, from the "simple farmer" stereotype. As seen in the example above, Mrs. Appleyard needed to consult an array of cookbooks as well as her town police chief in order to properly understand partridge—an item one would not find in a Brookline

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<sup>25</sup> "Green Mountain Post Boy," *Vermont Life* 11, no. 3 (Spring 1957), 2.

<sup>26</sup> Louise Andrews Kent, "Dinner on the Wing," *Vermont Life* 17, no. 1 (Autumn 1962), 58.

<sup>27</sup> "Prominent Vermont Writer, Mrs. Louise Kent, 83, Dies," *Burlington Free Press*, August 7, 1969, 6.

supermarket. The bird was not hunted by her son but was instead a strange happenstance bestowed on the family to test Mrs. Appleyard's improvisational cooking skills. Kent's writing balanced a clear, prescriptive prowess in the kitchen with distanced observations of the backward, old-fashioned Vermonters. In this way, Kent gained the trust of local Vermonters, as well as skeptical city dwellers and tourists who may have been wary of Vermont's antiquated public image.

Kent wrote several cookbooks under the Mrs. Appleyard pseudonym and used ingredients typical of New England cooking. Her final cookbook, *The Vermont Year Round Cookbook*, was published in 1965 and follows a similar structure to *Vermont Life*. The cookbook is divided into four sections, one for each season. At the beginning of each section, Mrs. Appleyard dedicates two to four pages to her favorite aspects of the season. Kent spends considerable time explaining the nuances of Vermont farming and gardening while seamlessly weaving in stories of local townspeople, New England history, or Mrs. Appleyard's travels. She describes her lifestyle during each season as another way to entice the reader into trying the subsequent recipes. Of course, Mrs. Appleyard describes how delicious her versions of glazed beets or chicken stock were, but the prose section on Vermont spring tells the reader that if you prepare these glazed beets, you too can feel like a man or woman of the land in some rustic farmhouse, even if you actually prepare them in your small city kitchen.<sup>28</sup>

This cookbook offered a road map to Vermont country living as told through the distinct seasonal experiences of Vermonters. Recipes instructed readers how to cook like a Vermonter while the numerous prose sections advertised the

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<sup>28</sup> Louise Andrews Kent, *The Vermont Year Round Cookbook* (Houghton Mifflin, 1965).

lifestyle that came with it. The white bread recipe may certainly have been delicious, but having enough time to make your own bread instead of commuting to a corporate job was the selling point. Mrs. Appleyard warned, however, that Vermonters were the hardest workers in the Union, and living without city amenities was not for the faint of heart. Mrs. Appleyard's witty, yet authoritative voice demanded readers pay attention to their surroundings, enjoy nature, and cook with consideration to local ingredients. A review in the *Burlington Free Press* commented favorably on the illustrations and described the sixteen full-color photographs as "perfection."<sup>29</sup> Use of photography, especially color photography, was not common in cookbooks at this time, marking Kent's book as modern rather than a true ode to rural old-fashioned ways.

While Louise Andrews Kent, through the voice of Mrs. Appleyard, did not necessarily advertise her Massachusetts roots, Elsie Masterson explicitly positioned herself as an outsider to Vermont. This self-described New York City career woman deserted her commute and, with her husband, bought a country inn in Goshen, Vermont. Masterson and her husband gained national recognition after they published *Nothing Whatever To Do*, a book recounting their move to Vermont.<sup>30</sup> Her background in the suburbs of a large city positioned Masterson in the "modern housewife" stereotype along the cookbook spectrum. Never really much of a cook, Masterson was forced to improvise both the rural setting and in the kitchen. By describing herself as an outsider who achieved success as an inn owner, Masterson sought to gain the trust of her city-dwelling readers. In the introduction to her first cookbook, *Blueberry Hill Cookbook*, Masterson even

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<sup>29</sup> Marjorie Howe, "'Vermont Year Round Cook Book' Contains Recipes For All Seasons," *Burlington Free Press*, October 14, 1965, 19.

<sup>30</sup> Elsie Masterton and John Masterton, *Nothing Whatever to Do: The Story of Blueberry Hill Farm and How It Happened* (New York: Crown, 1956).

ends the section with, “I do all my shopping in the supermarkets of Brandon, Vermont, which is about as rural as you can get, and I’ve managed quite well; I’m sure you can do the same. Good luck!”<sup>31</sup> Masterson is clearly concerned with a national audience and is not trying to impress local Vermonters. Like in this example, Masterson makes several distinctions between rural life and urban or suburban life.

The recipes in Masterson’s cookbooks certainly nodded to the rural, farming landscape, but she did not abandon her urban sensibilities. In the description for her Shrimps Fra Diavolo recipe, Masterson writes, “despite the fact that we run a New England inn, we do serve cosmopolitan food. There is nothing, to us, more boring than a repetitive diet, and food of other countries are [sic] tremendously imaginative and interesting, we think.”<sup>32</sup> Masterson helps to modernize Vermont’s image here by assuring her readers that Vermonters eat the non-American cuisine popularized by Boston and New York restaurants. Similarly, in a recipe for North Carolina Spoon Bread, Masterson explains, “at Blueberry Hill, geography makes little difference. Since John and I wrote *Nothing Whatever to Do*, we’ve had people from all over the United States come to see us, or write to us. This is a recipe from a Southern lady.”<sup>33</sup> Through these examples that demonstrate connections outside of New England, we see that Masterson was not married to Vermont like Phillips or Vaughan were in their cookbooks. The book jacket advertises that readers “can travel around the world” with this cookbook, showing that Masterson was primarily concerned with a national audience and cosmopolitanism.

All of these cookbooks were published on a national scale to serve audiences outside the state of Vermont. The recipes often

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<sup>31</sup> Masterson, *Blueberry Hill Cookbook*, 3.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 241.

included Vermont ingredients and the prose sections of the cookbooks described the beautiful, unspoiled Vermont landscape. Despite these similarities, each author asserts a different voice and thus projects a different version of Vermont to a national audience. These versions of Vermont align with the “Northern hillbilly,” “simple farmer,” and “modern housewife” stereotypes.

### *Homegrown Texts*

Since homegrown texts were meant for a local audience, it is probable that they offer a more authentic glimpse into Vermont food culture. Churches, women’s organizations, and town offices compiled recipes from families in the area and published them locally; usually in a spiral-bound notebook with kitschy illustrations. Contributors signed their names on each recipe entry, and some books even used handwritten entries. Readers from out-of-state may have expected to find the “Northern hillbilly” stereotype in these texts, but, if anything, these cookbooks tended to portray a more cosmopolitan Vermont.

A grassroots compilation of recipes and household tips from churches and women’s organizations was the most typical form of local cookbooks. This cultural practice in America dates back to the Civil War, but by the mid-twentieth century, historian Kennan Ferguson argues that it had become more of a political assertion. Some groups of women rejected the women’s liberation movement and used cookbook compilations as a way to reclaim the tradition of cooking as a feminine power to be proud of instead of a degrading chore. Ferguson also argues that the collective nature of these books were an assertion of collective tastes, which can be seen as a sub-category of culture.<sup>34</sup> One

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<sup>34</sup> Kennan Ferguson, “Intensifying Taste, Intensifying Identity: Collectivity through Community Cookbooks,” *Signs* 37, no. 3 (2012): 697.

contributor may treasure a fourth generation venison stew recipe, while another is more interested in a new Jell-O mold recipe she tried from a recent issue of *Ladies Home Journal*. Together, these interests represent the specific taste of each town, one that is neither distinctly Yankee nor cosmopolitan. Homegrown texts, then, are more complex and nuanced than the national texts presented above.

The sixty-six households of Landgrove, Vermont compiled *The Vermont Village Cook Book* in 1963. The cookbook was a project of Samuel R. Ogden, a land developer from New Jersey who founded the town of Landgrove in 1929. Ogden served on the board of *Vermont Life* and in the Vermont state legislature and wrote several books, including *America the Vanishing*, *This Country Life*, and *Organic Vegetable Growing*. In *America the Vanishing*, Ogden writes “while the material rewards of living in the country cannot be expected to be great, he who has the spirit and the vision can build a life more rewarding socially and culturally than he ever dreamed of. A life more full than he has ever before experiences, a life not possible of achievement under city conditions of living.”<sup>35</sup> This sentiment perfectly represents the perspective of an outsider who came to Vermont to escape populated, industrial areas and seek a simple, rural lifestyle. Ogden’s interests in cookbooks and gardening tie the political act of rejecting an urban lifestyle with the “simple farmer” food culture.

The *Vermont Village Cook Book* features neatly typed recipes and includes a personalized illustration of a house next to the name of every contributor. At the back of the book is a map of Landgrove and a legend with each contributor’s name and personalized house illustration indicating where every family

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<sup>35</sup> Samuel Ogden, *America the Vanishing: Rural Life and the Price of Progress* (Brattleboro, VT: Stephen Greene Press, 1969), 155.

lived. The recipes themselves are just as customized. Over ten of the recipes were ethnic dishes, ranging from Costa Rican cuisine to Malaysian fried rice, showing the cosmopolitan nature of Vermonters. The cookbook also included several typical 1960s dishes that would have been fashionable for modern housewives. Jell-O molds, Chicken A La King, Halibut Loaf, and Hamburger Pie led the recipes, and there is no mention of maple syrup or sugar anywhere in the book. Ingredients did not need to come from the landscape of Vermont—shrimp, lobster, and frozen or canned fruits and vegetables often appear—and, with calls for king crab, this cookbook is not concerned with low-cost meals. The *Vermont Village Cook Book* represents a cosmopolitan food culture in Vermont that was at odds with the Yankee cooking and romantic ideals of country life that *Vermont Life* portrayed. Since the editor of this cookbook was on the board of *Vermont Life*, it may suggest a difference between the projected eating habits of Vermonters and their actual ones.

A *New York Times* write-up about the *Vermont Village Cook Book* reveals how national outlets used the “Northern hillbilly” stereotype to describe Vermont. The journalist was aghast at the one hundred inches of snowfall Landgrove residents were forced to battle each winter. Food, therefore, seemed like an appropriate distraction from the Vermonters’ assured misery, according to the journalist. Despite the cookbook’s variety of dishes and cuisine, the journalist describes the recipes as having “a down-to-table feeling,” and the only two recipes the article features are extremely simple.<sup>36</sup> One is a hokey recipe for burying a pumpkin filled with brown sugar at the beginning of winter and waiting until spring for the pumpkin to ferment and turn into liquor, and the other is a modest hamburger casserole.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> Nan Ickeringill, “A Cookbook on Review,” *New York Times*, August 16, 1963.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

Vermont's projection of simple country living sometimes backfired with a national audience who saw only Vermont as "backward" and "low class."

The *Ladies Union Cookbook* of Pittsfield, Vermont also rejected a state-specific outlook on food culture. The introduction includes a dedication to the American home and the American kitchen, commenting that some recipes "are treasured old family recipes. Some are brand new, but every single one reflects the love of good cooking that is so very strong in this country of ours."<sup>38</sup> While this volume would have been circulated locally, the contributors claim a stronger tie to a national identity than to a state identity. The bylines of the contributors include the person's town and state, a unique inclusion for homegrown texts. Interestingly, the locations were spread all over the country, including San Francisco, California, and Mount Holly, New Jersey. It is probable these women were originally from the Pittsfield area and still kept ties with other residents who asked for their contributions, suggesting the "simple" Vermont population was just as geographically fluid as other parts of the country.

In this Pittsfield cookbook, the recipe instructions are short and devoid of the flowery language Mrs. Appleyard and Beatrice Vaughan used to create a distinct Vermont food culture. A Mrs. Mary Sulham lists the ingredients and measurements for Eggless Cookies and instructs simply to "roll out." In Mrs. Eli Goodenough's cookie recipe, she instructs, "drop by spoonfuls [sic] on a greased cookie sheet," without stating a temperature at which to cook them or for how long.<sup>39</sup> These simple instructions, typical of homegrown texts, suggest that the creation of the book was more about food and developing community amongst the

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<sup>38</sup> Federated Church, ed., *Ladies Union Cookbook* (Kansas City, MO: North American Press, 1953), 1.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

contributors than it was about promoting a Vermont food culture. Recipes ranged from Scalloped Salmon, a typical style of preparation for modern housewives, to roasted reindeer, a dish tied more closely to the local landscape. The “Hints” sections peppered throughout the book show that contributors were likely to posit themselves as cosmopolitan, modern housewives. Often these hints provided directions for throwing a flawless dinner party with details on how much food to serve for a crowd of fifty. This contrasts with the rural, solitary perspective of some of the national texts; Mrs. Appleyard and Beatrice Vaughan were more concerned with feeding their immediate families using the pristine landscape of Vermont.

Recipes from the *Cracker Barrel Cook Book*, written by the residents of Newbury, Vermont, fall somewhere between cosmopolitan and Yankee cooking. The introduction compares Vermont cooking to that of the South, another region with a backward, old-fashioned stereotype pushed by city dwellers. The writer dispels the myth that the only good, American cooking is found in the South and argues that the housewives of Newbury, Vermont, are in fact the best cooks in the country. The writer tells a story of being homesick for proper Vermont cooking while on a European trip at the age of nine; she missed pies, breads, salmon mousse, vegetables picked from the garden, and fresh doughnuts.<sup>40</sup> The comparison to Southern cooking implies that Americans did attach a food culture to specific regions during the mid-twentieth century, and the anecdote about missing food suggests that some foods were associated with Vermont and not other regions. While the contributors amplified certain Vermont qualities, mention of European travel suggests that the book positioned itself away from the “Northern hillbilly” or “simple

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<sup>40</sup> Cracker Barrel Bazaar Association Newbury, *Cracker Barrel Cookbook*, 2nd ed. (Newbury, VT: Ladies’ Aid of the First Congregational Church, 1957), 1.

farmer” stereotypes. Additionally, the contributors to this book were able to secure a letter from First Lady Mamie Eisenhower along with her own Devil’s Food Cake recipe to include in the book, a feat any modern housewife would have boasted about.<sup>41</sup> More earnestly, this book suggests that Vermonters did enjoy and were proud of their own food culture, but that they were interested in participating in a national, mass culture as well.

*Cracker Barrel Cook Book* features a number of around-the-house tips along with food recipes. As seen in the *Vermont Village Cook Book*, some of the tips are kitschy and probably seldom used by residents. The hints, however, could appear backward to an outside audience. For instance, to restore someone who has been struck by lightning, the contributors recommend “shower[ing] in cold water for two hours; if the patient does not show signs of life, put salt in the water and continue to shower for an hour longer.”<sup>42</sup> It is doubtful that Newbury residents still practiced this method in 1957; the rate of lightning strikes was too low for this to be practical. Similar to the Pumpkin Liquor recipe, this household tip was probably just as ridiculous to the Newbury residents as to a national audience, albeit a fun inclusion of local lore.

*Country Kitchens from the Good Cooks of Mendon* was put together by the Women’s Society of Christian Service in 1958. Mendon is a small town located between Rutland and Killington Ski Area, which opened the same year.<sup>43</sup> The boom in Vermont’s ski industry during the mid-twentieth century revitalized the town, and this cookbook may be interpreted as a product of such newfound interest in the area. The cookbook features a large number of advertisements promoting local

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid., 16.

<sup>43</sup> Michael Joseph, “Killington’s history steeped in tradition,” *Burlington Free Press*, January 29, 2016, 5C.

businesses (which makes sense considering this text reached a wider tourist audience). The ads also helped Mendon residents combat the backward, rural stereotype of Vermont. For instance, a full-page advertisement features the many cookbooks tourists and Vermonters could purchase through Charles E. Tuttle and Co. of Rutland, a publishing company that was about ten years old at the time. Books for sale included *The Art of Chinese Cooking*, *Rice and Spice: Rice Recipes from East to West*, and *Japanese Food and Cooking*, with the company advertising itself as “publishers of New Books devoted to all phases of Oriental Culture.”<sup>44</sup> This advertisement suggests the presence of a more sophisticated flair to the area, which may have been appealing to ski tourists in the late 1950s. Nods to cuisine from other countries suggest this cookbook is closest to the “modern housewife” stereotype.

Without glossy photographs and long prose sections, homegrown texts can only reflect their state or regional identity through brief introductions, local advertisements, and the recipes themselves. This makes their position on the spectrum of Vermont cooking stereotypes more ambiguous, but numerous examples show Vermont cookbook contributors were interested in participating in a national culture and trying cuisine from other countries.

### *Conclusion*

Beatrice Vaughan begins her introduction of *Yankee Hill-Country Cooking* with: “a surprising amount of knowledge about any group of people can be gleaned from a study of its food.”<sup>45</sup> This opening sentence speaks to how aware Vermonters were of their

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<sup>44</sup> Women’s Society of Christian Service, ed., *Country Kitchens from the Good Cooks in Mendon*, 1st ed. (Mendon, VT, 1958), 37.

<sup>45</sup> Vaughan, *Yankee Hill-Country Cooking*, 1.

food culture. Despite being twenty to thirty years before food cultures were studied by scholars, cookbook writers of the mid-twentieth century projected their ideas of regional culture onto national and local audiences. Assuredly, the eating habits and diet of Vermonters were more nuanced than any cookbook can capture, but this case study does show how Vermonters used food as a means of constructing regional identity.

Anthropologists were the first professionals to identify food as a specific aspect of a group's culture. Since the 1980s, food and eating habits have been synonymous with region and place in America; barbeque food is tied to the South, meat and potatoes to the Midwest, tacos to Los Angeles, and jambalaya to Louisiana. It is important to remember, however, that these food cultures were, and are, fluid, especially beginning in the mid-twentieth century. The development of a national mass media diminished regionalism, and Vermonters were more attached to a national identity than a state or regional identity. By the 1950s and 1960s, the New Deal and subsequent infrastructure projects had made travel to previously remote places easier; by the 1960s, the Interstate Highway System finally penetrated the northern New England states and became more developed in the lower New England states, dropping travel time to places like Vermont by up to fifty percent.<sup>46</sup> With its burgeoning ski industry, Vermont became available as a tourist destination for all sorts of Americans. The increase in tourism and new residents during the mid-twentieth century also brought more attention to Vermont's food culture.

Anthropologist Jane Dusselier argues that local cultural preservation, in terms of local ingredients and farming techniques, are usually always in tension with "cultural fluidity,

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<sup>46</sup> George K. Lewis, "Population Change in Northern New England," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 62, no. 2 (1972): 312.

agency, and adaptability.”<sup>47</sup> Mid-twentieth century Vermont is a wonderful exemplar of this tension. Louise Andrews Kent, Beatrice Vaughan, and Lois Tracy Phillips tried to preserve a Vermont food culture by explicitly tying food to landscape and the hard work of the farming lifestyle. The residents of Landgrove and Newbury, Vermont, were more comfortable with projecting a cultural fluidity whereby traditional meals could be served alongside modern dishes. Eating habits also represent a form of community building and define the social obligations of a particular group.<sup>48</sup> *Vermont Life* magazine presented maple sugar parties as the spring awakening of hibernating Vermonters and the highlight of the social calendar. Elsie Masterson shared the recipes that brought tourists together and helped to create memories of their sophisticated Vermont vacations at her inn.

Despite whether these cookbook authors decided to preserve Vermont culture or reveal cultural fluidity or not, their recipes, prose sections, photographs, and illustrations demonstrated a spectrum of stereotypes about Vermont. The “Northern hillbilly” and “simple farmer” stereotypes typically represent the population of Vermonters who have lived in the area the longest. They pass down cooking, gardening, hunting, and household tips dating from colonial Vermont. Both stereotypes are proud of rural eccentricities, but the “Northern hillbilly” is more willing to use slang and cook local game, as seen in Phillips’ *Green Mountaineer Cook Book*. The “simple farmer,” however, focuses more on rural lifestyle and wholesome ingredients. The “modern housewife” is not necessarily tied to a single place and enjoys cooking from other parts of the country or even from other parts of the world. These cookbooks focus more on proper etiquette for hosting parties and the ingredients in recipes can

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<sup>47</sup> Jane Dusselier, “Understandings of Food as Culture,” *Environmental History* 14, no. 2 (2009): 333.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*

easily be found in the grocery store. Masterson's *Blueberry Hill Cookbook* epitomizes this "modern housewife" stereotype and several of the homegrown texts indicate the cosmopolitanism found within the "modern housewife". This spectrum is not static, but is helpful in understanding the construction of food culture in mid-twentieth century Vermont.

### *Figures*

**Figure 1** – Geoffrey Orton, photographer, 1957, in "Front Yard and Kitchen Sugaring," *Vermont Life* 11, no. 3 (Spring 1957), 56.

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## This is Nothing New: A History of Opioids in Vermont at the Turn of the Century

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*Lucia Possehl*

For more than a century, the small city of Rutland has been used as the “poster child” for reporting on the persistent history of opioid use in Vermont. Propelled by the success of the local quarry industry and a growing immigrant population, Rutland thrived in the early nineteenth century. By the 1910s, Rutland appeared across local headlines as the Vermont town with the most extreme levels of opioid consumption. Decades later, the majority of the marble quarries in the region had closed. The 1980s and 1990s brought devastation to the labor force, economy, and morale in the area. In 2014, the *New York Times* published a story that highlighted the depth of the generational poverty and rate opioid use that continues to face the community. So, how has the consumption of opioids persisted for more than a century in Vermont from a crisis at the turn of the century into a full-blown epidemic in our contemporary moment? Using archival sources, this paper constructs a history of the opioid crisis of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to inform the contemporary epidemic.



Figure 1 - Kendall's Spavin Cure Advertisement, St. Johnsbury Caledonian, 1917.

Thirty years prior to the report on the “Morphine Fiends” of Rutland, the B.J. Kendall Company was established and would eventually enrich and build a Vermont town on the opium business. Kendall’s Spavin Cure was an alcohol and opium-based tincture originally marketed to help soothe horse arthritis (spavin), lameness, and stiff joints.<sup>1</sup> With horses the primary means of transportation of the time, the sale of the tincture skyrocketed across the United States.<sup>2</sup> In 1880, after establishing themselves as a nationwide medicine manufacturer, the B.J. Kendall Company’s profits were so high that, by the 1910s, they funded the construction of the Enosburgh Opera House as well as the majority of the town’s public works including the sewer systems, sidewalks, and the town library. By the late 1910s, Kendall’s Spavin Cure was marketed directly towards rural farmers and laborers as a pain reliever that was “Good for Man and Beast” (Figure 1) as it had recently been “refined” for human use.<sup>3</sup> Its “proven effectiveness” and rave reviews were likely due to the intense pain relief, addiction, and dependence that the cure caused among both its human and animal consumers.

After the emergence of the automobile and more restrictive drug labeling laws, the success of the B.J. Kendall brand began to decline. Although there are differing accounts on what happened to the company and the doctor who established the brand, it was reported that Dr. Kendall’s business partners offered to buy him out of his own share of the company because of his own opiate

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<sup>1</sup> *Middlebury Register*, March 21, 1890, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Janice Fleury, “History of Space: Tales of Enosburg,” *Burlington Free Press*, September 25, 2018.  
<https://www.burlingtonfreepress.com/story/news/2018/09/25/history-space-tales-enosburgh/37938121/>

<sup>3</sup> “Advertisement for Kendall’s Spavin Cure,” *St. Johnsbury Caledonian*, February 21, 1917, 1.

addiction.<sup>4</sup> He was eventually committed to a sanatorium for his substance use disorder where he died at age 76.<sup>5</sup> Although the history of Enosburg and the B.J. Kendall Company is not unique, it provides great insight into the widespread manufacturing, marketing, and consumption of opium-based products at the turn of the twentieth century that defined an era of addiction, drug laws, and rural medicine in Vermont's history. The consumption of opioids by early Vermonters was on pace with the rest of the nation, but its location and rural landscape provided unique challenges for healthcare and high rates of self-medication.

The history and wealth of Kendall's Spavin Cure was so prominent in the town of Enosburg that in 2018, local residents Tim Camisa and Mike Rooney proposed the creation of a museum that would chronicle the history of patent medicine, the opioid crisis, and healthcare at the turn of the twentieth century in Vermont.<sup>6</sup> Originally, the creators coined this project "the Museum of Addiction," but the name was quickly changed to "The Museum of Vermont History and Health" likely due to the pushback they received from local reporting and uncomfortable community members. Camisa and Rooney argued that it was fitting for Enosburg to be the location for the museum, as the town was essentially supported by the production and sale of opioids and other medicines from the late nineteenth into the twentieth century. It is debated to what degree the success of the northern Vermont town was due to the sale and distribution of such

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<sup>4</sup> Fleury, "History of Space: Tales of Enosburg."

<sup>5</sup> "Illinois Deaths and Stillbirths Index 1916-1947: Burney J. Kendall Death Certificate," Ancestry.com [online database], (Provo, UT: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011).

<sup>6</sup> Ken Picard, "Proposed for Enosburg Falls: A Museum of Substance Abuse," *Seven Days*, February 14, 2018.  
<https://www.sevendaysvt.com/vermont/proposed-for-enosburg-falls-a-museum-of-substance-abuse/Content?oid=12688406>.

medicines, but it is clear that the success of the B.J. Kendall Company and its famous “Spavin Cure” was partially responsible for the economic boom that led into the twentieth century.<sup>7</sup>

Consumption of opium by rural farmers and urbanites was not uncommon from the early nineteenth century through the middle of the twentieth century. A state-run assessment conducted in 1900 by Dr. Ashbel Parmlee Grinnell found that Vermonters consumed 3.3 million doses of opium each month.<sup>8</sup> Across the nation, many women and homemakers routinely took opium-based drinks or tinctures to calm menstrual pain or to soothe their nerves. Children were also often given the medicine to cure a cough, sore throat, pain, diarrhea, or for general relaxation.<sup>9</sup> In Vermont, there were no regulatory measures for doctors or prescribers until 1878 and even then, rural doctors or druggists would often take full advantage of the all-encompassing power of opioids that cured almost any ailment.<sup>10</sup>

In the early nineteenth century, the demand for opium was so extraordinary that Vermont began cultivating its own poppy fields and grew a product that was eventually known as “Vermont” or “American” opium.<sup>11</sup> It was recognized as an important industry for the state but fell out of fashion and lost its productivity by the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>12</sup> Even though Vermont eventually stopped growing its own poppies, opium-based products were still readily available in drugstores and sold in major cities along the East Coast. From the newspaper

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Gary Shattuck, “Opium Eating in Vermont: A Crying Evil of the Day,” *Vermont History* 83, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 2015): 157–192.

<sup>9</sup> John Halpern and David Blistein, *Opium: How an Ancient Flower Shaped and Poisoned Our World* (London: Hachette Books, 2019), 227.

<sup>10</sup> Shattuck, “Opium Eating in Vermont: A Crying Evil of the Day,” 164.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 158–159.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., 176.

headlines and articles of the time period, it is clear that country stores played a major role in the sale and distribution of opium at the local level. In Vermont, country stores served as the primary, and oftentimes the sole location to purchase medicine, home, and farm goods. One article highlighted the struggle between country store “druggists” and “dope fiends” either through robberies or in the debate surrounding recent anti-narcotic laws.<sup>13</sup>

Vermont’s rurality has always been a challenge for any type of rural healthcare administration. In the late nineteenth century, many rural doctors traveled between towns and homes bringing medicines and knowledge with them. Some argue that the degree of rural remoteness of Vermont communities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the cause for such high levels of opioid use, as the lack of access to medical care forced many individuals to self-medicate for physical or emotional pain.<sup>14</sup> As rates of opioid consumption rose across the country due to widespread marketing and availability, testimony before Congress proved that rates of use had increased by 351 percent between 1869 and 1909.<sup>15</sup> At the time, the Vermont government was largely



Figure 2 - Father John's Medicine Advertisement, Bennington Evening Banner, 1918.

<sup>13</sup> “Dope Sold at Country Stores,” *Manchester Journal*, January 07, 1915, 4.

<sup>14</sup> Gary Shattuck, *Green Mountain Opium Eaters: A History of Early Addiction in Vermont* (Charleston: The History Press, 2017), 1-18.

<sup>15</sup> Shattuck, “Opium Eating in Vermont: A Crying Evil of the Day,” 159.

focused on the prohibition of alcohol, rather than addressing the perhaps more mounting issue of opioid addiction and dependence that was sweeping their state.<sup>16</sup> The Vermont Women's Christian Temperance Union was one of the only organizations that lobbied for temperance and recognized "opium eating" as a moral failing of the state and as detrimental to its youth. Although the organization was successful in provoking change for medical professionals to have more in-depth training on narcotics, little was done to improve the state's medical system or to prevent the widespread distribution of opioids.<sup>17</sup>

On the national level, legislation began to change the marketing and manufacturing processes of opioid-based products. The Pure Food and Drug Act was passed in 1906 and required accurate labeling on patent medicines and foods nationally.<sup>18</sup> This allowed individuals to properly identify the ingredients of their medications, often alerting them of high doses of opioids in items like cough syrup, throat lozenges, or powders.<sup>19</sup> With increased ingredient information and education, advertisements of "soothing syrups" and "home tinctures" containing heroin, codeine, or morphine became less common in Vermont newspapers by the late 1910s. Rather, advertisements for medicines *not* containing opioids were more pervasive throughout many local newspapers. Such advertisements included images of children and young families or the doctor himself, advising the use of a safe in-home medicine such as "Father John's Medicine." The advertisements read, "you are safe when you take Father John's Medicine for your cold and to build new flesh and strength, because it is free from morphine,

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 164.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., 159.

<sup>18</sup> Halpern and Blistein, *Opium: How an Ancient Flower Shaped and Poisoned Our World*, 195-196.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid.

chloroform, codeine, heroin or other dangerous drugs. Take it Today.”<sup>20</sup>

In 1914, the Harrison Act was passed as the first nationwide drug specific legislation. The Harrison Act did not actually prohibit or outlaw opium, rather it required anyone who dispensed narcotics to register with the federal government and

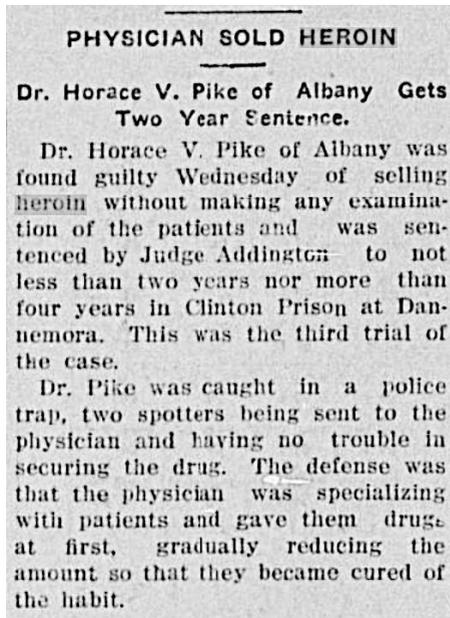


Figure 3 - Bennington Evening Banner, 1915

pay a small tax. The act ultimately made it illegal to sell or distribute opioids without a license. But under the law, even those who were licensed to prescribe opioids were not allowed to provide maintenance doses to individuals who were opioid-dependent.<sup>21</sup> Under the Harrison Act, about 25,000 doctors were arrested nationwide for prescribing or selling opioids without a license by 1919.<sup>22</sup> In Vermont, several physicians were sentenced for up to four years for prescribing opioids without

examining patients. As seen in Figure 3, Doctor Horace Pike of Albany, New York’s defense was that he was attempting to help

<sup>20</sup> “Father John’s Medicine,” *The Bennington Evening Banner*, October 07, 1918, 6.

<sup>21</sup> These maintenance opioid doses for people with opioid use disorder are referred to today as medication-assisted treatment (MAT).

<sup>22</sup> “Million Drug Addicts in the U.S.,” *Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, June 14, 1919, 3.

ween opioid-dependent patients by slowly lowering their dosage over time so they would experience fewer symptoms of opiate withdrawal. Although this was the medically and morally correct thing to do, it was still seen as a federal crime. Here again, addiction was seen as a moral and quasi-legal quandary, rather than a condition requiring adequate medical attention.

The plea for new legislation in Vermont and nationwide mounted in the 1910s. Vermont soon became a “dumping ground” for opioids and alcohol as surrounding states began to pass restrictive prohibition laws. A *Manchester Journal* headline read, “Dope Dispensers in Vermont for Drugs: Laws in States Adjacent to us Drive Users Here for Dope.”<sup>23</sup> The article discusses “the situation caused by our lax laws regarding the sale of pernicious drugs” and states that, “Vermont is due to be the pumping grounds for dope

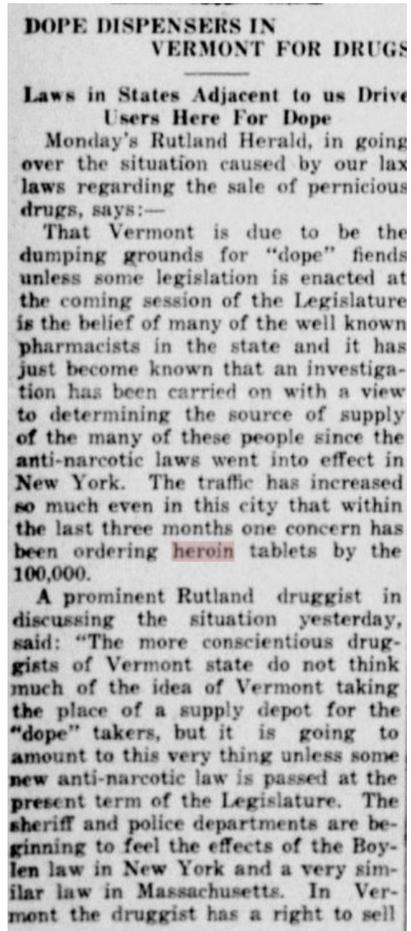


Figure 4 - Manchester Journal, 1915.

<sup>23</sup> “Dope Dispensers in Vermont for Drugs,” *Manchester Journal*, January 07, 1915, 5.

fiends unless some legislation is enacted at the coming session of the Legislature.”<sup>24</sup>

Beyond the wide sweeping issue of addiction among civilians, the U.S. armed forces struggled to fill the draft due to the staggering number of opioid-dependent young men.<sup>25</sup> This narrative of the “unfit and addicted” young Vermont man worked against the strong and sturdy Vermonter ideal that carried incredible weight with the rise of the Progressive Era and Vermont eugenics movement.<sup>26</sup> In 1919, a Vermont headline read, “Million Drug Addicts in U.S. – Greatest Opium Users in World.” With an estimated 250,000 to 1,000,000 opioid-dependent individuals in the United States at the time, the Harrison Act had proven to have a disastrous effect on curbing opioid use and addiction treatment through its hands-off approach of light taxation and licensing.<sup>27</sup> In addition to not being an effective law, the Harrison Act reinforced the stigma of addiction as a choice, rather than a disease that required medical treatment.<sup>28</sup>

In 1919, the Senate introduced a law that allotted five million dollars to provide medical care for patients who were dependent on opioids. Three years later, the federal government attempted again to restrict the movement and consumption of drugs by passing the Jones-Miller Act, which deemed it illegal to import any drug that was not being used for medical, scientific,

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

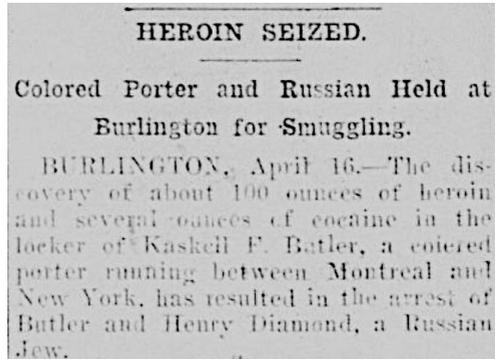
<sup>25</sup> “Drug Addicts Increasing: Drastic Anti-Narcotic Law Must Be Passed by Congress,” *The Barre Daily Times*, September 12, 1918, 3.

<sup>26</sup> Samuel McReynolds, “Eugenics and Rural Development: The Vermont Commission on Country Life’s Program for the Future,” *Agricultural History* 71, no. 3 (1997): 300-29.

<sup>27</sup> “Million Drug Addicts in the U.S.,” *The Brattleboro Daily Reformer*, June 14, 1919, 3.

<sup>28</sup> Halpern and Blistein, *Opium: How an Ancient Flower Shaped and Poisoned Our World*, 197-8.

or research purposes. The Jones-Miller Act, also known as the “Narcotic Drugs Import and Export Act,” created the first mandatory sentencing guidelines for drug-related consumption and marked the turn to extreme sentencing, fines, and repercussions



*Figure 5 - The Brattleboro Daily Reformer, 1917.*

for drug use and distribution in the United States. A decade earlier, there was not a single nation-wide drug law that existed in the United States.

Outside the echoing of reports from Washington and other major cities, perhaps the most extensive reporting on heroin and the opioid crisis in the early twentieth century in Vermont was focused on smuggling, theft, trespassing, and apprehensions. More often than not, an ethnic or racial description was included in the sub-caption such as Greek, Italian, French-Canadian, “Russian Jew”, or a “Colored Porter” (Figure 3). Key to popular reporting on opioid smuggling was the origin, destination, and route of the drugs. Often, the drugs were being moved between Montreal and New York City and were seized or sold in the middle of Vermont. The ethnic profiling of drug traffickers by law enforcement and journalists was built around the extremely biased race-based laws that surrounded the first opioid crisis. Although opioids were used in the United States long before the migration of Chinese laborers to California, the new migrants became the scapegoat of mounting cultural and moral fear surrounding opioid use in the U.S. In 1875, California passed the Opium-Den Ordinance that specifically targeted Chinese

immigrants who smoked opium in the early days of the California Gold Rush. Chinese Americans were blamed nationally for the opioid crisis for several decades.<sup>29</sup>

The morally steeped term “dope fiend” constantly appears in articles at the turn of the twentieth century with topics surrounding theft and drug consumption. The words ‘dependence,’ ‘appetite,’ or ‘habit’ are commonly used, rather than the term ‘addiction.’ A 1913 *Burlington Free Press* article describes the “heroin habit” of New York City: “it appears that thousands of New Yorkers – many of whom are mere youths – already are slaves to its use and that it is working frightful havoc – mentally, morally and physically – in every section of the city and among every stratum of society.”<sup>30</sup>

The albeit out-of-date language used to describe people who used drugs as “slaves” and “fiends” echoes the intense realities of addiction that persist today.<sup>31</sup> Harm reduction and addiction specialist Dr. Gabor Maté similarly described his work in a Portland Addiction Clinic as like working “in the realm of hungry ghosts.”<sup>32</sup> Opiates and the addiction that they inflict did not disappear in Vermont or across the country between the turn of the twentieth century and the contemporary opioid epidemic we face today.

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<sup>29</sup> Halpern and Blistein, *Opium: How an Ancient Flower Shaped and Poisoned Our World*, 181.

<sup>30</sup> *The Burlington Free Press*, October 2, 1913, 6.

<sup>31</sup> For more on the language surrounding addiction, refer to: William Wright, “The Lessons of Language: Historical Perspectives on the Rhetoric of Addiction” in *Altering American Consciousness: Essays on the History of Alcohol and Drug Use in the United States, 1800-2000*, ed. Sarah Tracy and Caroline Acker (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 33-60.

<sup>32</sup> Gabor Maté, *In the Realm of Hungry Ghosts: Close Encounters with Addiction* (Berkeley, California and Lyons, Colorado: North Atlantic Books and The Ergos Institute, 2008), 1.

The perception of opiate users has changed drastically in the last century. People who were once called ‘dope fiends,’ later derided as junkies and addicts, are now treated a little differently. With the help of the disease model of addiction, opioid use is now referred to as a disease, rather than a choice. Today, perhaps, we are moving in the direction of recognizing the disease while seeing the person first. The opioid crisis at the turn of the twentieth century did not discriminate by race, geography, or socioeconomic standing. Poor, white, and highly isolated rural Vermonters were just as addicted and dependent as high class New Yorkers or miners of color in California. In our contemporary crisis and epidemic, we see a similar pattern of addiction without socioeconomic, geographic, or cultural boundaries. Urban and rural Indigenous communities are losing an entire generation of young people, and well-to-do suburban grandmothers are adopting their grandchildren because of the tragic and unexpected loss of their sons and daughters. Vermont’s contemporary stories, policies, and harm reduction initiatives continue to be at the forefront of the national discussion surrounding opioid use disorders and their impact on communities. With reflection on the state’s history and our capacity to create wide, sweeping change in a small, rural state, Vermont has the potential to lead the country towards a resilient, more compassionate solution to the nationwide opioid epidemic.

### *Figures*

**Figure 1** - *St. Johnsbury Caledonian*. B.J. Kendall’s Spavin Cure Advertisement. February 21, 1917, 2.

**Figure 2** - “Advertisement for Father John’s Medicine: A Mother’s Gratitude.” *Bennington Evening Banner*, February 28, 1916, 3.

**Figure 3** - “Physician Sold Heroin.” *The Bennington Evening Banner*. May 08, 1915, 6.

**Figure 4** - “Dope Dispensers in Vermont for Drugs.” *Manchester Journal*. January 7, 1915, 4.

**Figure 5** - “Heroin Seized.” *The Brattleboro Daily Reformer*. April 16, 1917, 6.

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**2020 Phi Alpha Theta Inductees**  
**UVM Chapter, Alpha Alpha Psi**

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*Bronson Themistocles Bathras*  
*Kaleigh A. Calvao*  
*Lauren Rose Chelel*  
*Sara Michelle Corsetti*  
*Gina M. Costello*  
*Holly E.F. Coughlan*  
*Theo Cutler*  
*Michael Diambri*  
*Jason Michael Goldfarb*  
*Henry C. Groves*  
*Carmen Annie Harris*  
*William Thompson Heath III*  
*Madeline Renee Hunter*  
*Alec Patrick Jones*  
*Andrew Mark Kuehne*  
*Sam K. Leahy*  
*Monique Mariah Martin*  
*Trevor P. Mayes*  
*Kyla Jane McClanahan*  
*Keegan T. Moseley*  
*Oliver A. Munson*  
*Mitchell M. Niles*  
*Lindsey E. Rowley*  
*Camille Juliet Walton*  
*Lauren Marie Wapshare*  
*Colleen J. Wilson*

**Phi Alpha Theta** is a professional society, established in 1921, whose mission is to promote the study of history through the encouragement of research, good teaching, publication, and the exchange of learning and ideas among historians. There are 860 chapters nationwide and a membership of 350,000. A national biennial convention and thirty-five annual regional meetings held each spring provide a forum for undergraduate and graduate students to present papers and exchange ideas. In addition, over twenty-five scholarships and prizes are awarded annually to both undergraduate and graduate students. The society publishes *The Historian*, one of the most widely circulated scholarly historical journals published in the United States.

Our chapter at the University of Vermont, Alpha Alpha Psi, was chartered in 1982. Undergraduate students who have completed at least fifteen credit hours in History courses at UVM, with a 3.6 grade point average and an overall GPA of 3.4 are eligible for membership. History master's students are required to maintain a 3.75 GPA in their graduate studies.

Induction ceremonies are held annually in April. Due to Vermont's current "Stay at Home" order—a result of the COVID-19 pandemic—the 2020 induction ceremony was held virtually, and no group photo could be taken.

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## History Department Faculty News

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**Senior Lecturer Charlie Briggs** specializes in the intellectual and cultural history of Europe in the 13th through early 16th centuries. He teaches courses in late medieval and early modern European history, global history, and historical methods. This past October, Professor Briggs was invited to deliver a series of lectures in the United Kingdom.



These included two seminar presentations at the University of Oxford about his current research and an invited lecture at Queen Mary University in London which focused on the second edition of his book, *The Body Broken: Late Medieval and Renaissance Europe, 1300-1525*, a thematic and interpretative history.

**Senior Lecturer Andrew Buchanan's** research and expertise focuses on U.S. foreign relations and diplomatic and cultural history.



His most recent book, *World War II in Global Perspective: A Short History* (Hoboken: Wiley, 2019), focuses on the global nature of the conflict by stretching the temporal framework of the war, beginning with the Japanese invasion of Manchuria (1931) and ending with the Korean War (1953). The book shows how WWII was a combination of different regional struggles that coalesced into a

genuine world conflict. It also discusses the long term social and political consequences of the war.

**Professor Paul Deslandes** is a cultural historian of 19th and 20th century Britain, with a particular focus on the history of gender and sexuality. Aside from publishing or completing various essays on the history of hair and the use of anonymous sources in writing the history of sexuality, he has also finished a new book. This work, titled *The Culture of Male*



*Beauty in Britain: From the First Photographs to David Beckham* (University of Chicago Press, forthcoming 2020), looks at the period from the 1840s to the present and covers diverse topics ranging from the rise of the modern grooming industry in the late 19th century to the emergence of teenage magazines in the 1960s. Deslandes was promoted to full Professor in Spring 2020.

**Professor Erik Esselstrom** specializes in East Asian history, with a research focus on modern political and cultural relations



between Japan and China. Esselstrom's latest book, *That Distant Country Next Door: Popular Japanese Perceptions of Mao's China*, was

published in May 2019 by the University of Hawai'i Press. The book is a cultural history of everyday Japanese views on China

during the 1950s and 1960s and explores the ways in which Chinese society was represented in popular Japanese visual and print media. Research methodology included the collection and interpretation of primary source materials ranging from intellectual journals, visual culture, political cartoons, popular magazines, advertisements, newspaper features and editorial letters, and a range of comic books. The sources employed in the book were “challenging but intellectually rewarding” according to Esselstrom, and he characterizes the book as a social and cultural history of an era analyzed to date only through the lens of Cold War diplomatic history.

**Professor Sean Field** specializes in 13th and 14th century medieval European history, specifically topics relating to heresy and sanctity. His most recent monograph, *Courting Sanctity: Holy Women and the Capetians* (Cornell University Press, 2019), traces the evolution of the relationship between holy women and the French royal court in a narrative that highlights six holy women during the



13th century. He is currently working on two translation projects: one on Rigord's Deeds of King Philip II of France, and another on the vita of the Italian holy woman, Clare of Rimini. These translations of important texts from medieval Latin and Italian into English are intended to make them more readily available for teaching and scholarship.

**Associate Professor Jonathan Huener's** research has focused on public memory in post-World War II Germany and Poland, Auschwitz, and the German occupation of Poland. His current monograph, expected to appear next year with Indiana University Press, tells the story of the Polish Catholic Church under German



occupation during World War II in the Reichsgau Wartheland, a region of Poland annexed by Nazi Germany. Based primarily on unpublished archival

sources, the monograph considers aspects of political, social, and diplomatic history regarding the persecution of the Catholic Church in occupied Poland, and is the first English-language study on this topic. Professor Huener is also affiliated with the Miller Center for Holocaust Studies at UVM.

**Professor Sarah Osten** is a historian of modern Mexico. Her first book, *The Mexican Revolution's Wake: The Making of a Political System, 1920-1929* (Cambridge University Press, 2018) is a

social and political history of the regional Socialist parties that set critical precedents for the creation of Mexico's single party-dominated



system in the years following the Mexican Revolution. Her current research examines the changing meanings of "revolution" in Mexican politics during the twentieth century. In Latin

America more generally, she is particularly interested in political violence and peace processes, the formulation of citizenship and rights, and the relationships between governments and opposition movements.

**Associate Professor Nicole Phelps** specializes in U.S. diplomatic and transnational history. Her two most current projects include a textbook on U.S. diplomatic history from 1754-1924 and a study of the U.S. Consular Service, which includes a digital humanities component. The second project traces the evolution of the service from a collection of decentralized, localized, bodies into a homogenous entity. The digital component will consist of a website that contains a published data set, maps, and graphs for sophisticated interactive learning. Professor Phelps is also serving her 6th, and last, year as the chair of the College of Arts and Sciences' Curriculum Committee.

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## Author Biographies

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**Drew Adamczyk** is a senior graduating in May 2020 with a B.A. in history with a European concentration, and a minor in speech and debate. A Vermont native, he is a graduate of Colchester High School. He is a former President of UVM's Lawrence Debate Union and was once ranked as one of the top ten American collegiate debaters. He was a faculty member of the inaugural Beihang University Debate Academy in Beijing, China, and has given lectures on debate strategy and theory at both national and international institutions. Aside from manuscript studies, his historical research at UVM has largely focused on political developments in the spread of fascism and Nazism in prewar Germany. Outside of academic life, he has served as the executive chef for a number of Burlington restaurants, working to strengthen ties between local businesses and Vermont farmers, food artisans, and purveyors.

**TJ Butcher** is a senior graduating in May 2020 with a B.A. in history and anthropology, and a minor in Asian studies. He is in his first year of the history department's Accelerated Masters' Program and expects to finish his M.A. by May 2021. His interests focus on Modern Southeast Asian history, specifically Indonesian history, where he studied abroad in his sophomore year. After finishing his M.A., TJ expects to take a few years off from school before beginning a PhD in history, with the ultimate goal of becoming a professor. He grew up in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, but his family now lives in Katonah, New York. TJ has been involved in the Outing Club at UVM, serving as a coordinator for the Wilderness Instructor Leadership Development (WILD) program and is currently the Club's President. He loves to be outdoors getting as many people to experience the backcountry as possible.

**Lynda Howell** received her M.A. in history from UVM in January 2020. She also has a Master of Library Science from Syracuse University, and is an employee of the Dana Medical Library at UVM. Her primary research interests are in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, and she found it a fascinating experience to be researching people and events within living memory for a change.

**Bridget O’Keefe** is a first year graduate student focusing on post-1945 U.S. history of the family. She graduated in 2014 from Ramapo College of New Jersey with a degree in American studies, and a minor in human rights and genocide. Bridget enjoys using the interdisciplinary approach she learned in her undergraduate career to better understand social, gender, and cultural history. In her free time, Bridget enjoys bingeing reality TV, playing with her cats, and cooking.

**Lucia Possehl**, from Minneapolis, Minnesota, is graduating in May 2020 with a B.A. in geography, and minors in history and environmental studies. Her paper featured in this year’s *History Review* is part of her honors thesis, “Landscapes of Care Amid Crisis: Vermont’s Response to the Opioid Epidemic.” Lucia’s undergraduate studies focused on community-engagement, rural studies, and qualitative research methods. After graduating in May, she hopes to continue working on topics related to her thesis research in Vermont.

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## Editor Biographies

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**Kaleigh Calvao** is a senior graduating in May 2020 with a B.A. in political science and history, and a minor in Middle East studies. This past year, her research has focused on environmental policy in the United States and environmentalism in the Middle East. A member of The History Review’s editorial board last year, she has greatly enjoyed being a co-executive editor with her colleague, Sophia Trigg for this year’s edition. Kaleigh has also spent the past two years working as the communications intern for the history department and has immensely valued a plethora of internships she’s completed over her college career. Originally from Trumbull, Connecticut, she grew to love Burlington’s cold winters and upon graduating, will greatly miss UVM and its incredible faculty.

**Sophia Trigg** is a graduate student studying Victorian and Edwardian British cultural history. Her primary areas of research are historical dress and cultural identity. Originally from Williston, Vermont, she earned her B.S. in secondary education with a concentration in social studies from the College of Education & Social Services at UVM in 2014. She currently works with the College of Arts & Sciences to bring work-based learning to undergraduate students as the Experiential Learning Coordinator.

**Tom Anderson-Monterosso** is a graduate student with interests in American architectural, environmental, and landscape history. He grew up in Connecticut and graduated from Oberlin College in 2006 with a B.A. in biology, and a minor in environmental studies. While at Oberlin, he provided research assistance for Professors Carol Lasser and Gary Kornblith’s book *Elusive Utopia: The Struggle for Racial Equality in Oberlin, Ohio*. Tom’s “career path” has led through historic preservation, arts

management, local food systems, ecological design, and oyster farming. Since moving to Vermont in 2015 to work as a bicycle mechanic, he has edited textbooks at Prospect Press, scholarly journals at Sheridan Journal Services, and copy for an exhibition at the Henry Sheldon Museum. At UVM, he has helped Professor Boğaç Ergene organize his Ottoman research materials, and Professor Andrew Buchanan teach Global Environmental History.

**Maria Carriere** is a first year graduate student studying medieval European history. Maria received her B.A. in history from Western Washington University in May 2019 and graduated with distinction. Maria's research interests include medieval women, gender, and politics, and she is currently researching the overt and subvert ways women expressed and maintained power in twelfth and thirteenth-century France.

**Sarah Chute** is a first year graduate student of history at UVM. Her research interests are the history of slavery and colonial North America, particularly Canada. In 2019, she received her B.A. in history and French at Western Washington University with a minor in Canadian/American studies. At UVM, Sarah has worked as a research assistant for Professor Harvey Amani Whitfield, and as a teaching assistant for Professor Andrew Buchanan. For her thesis next year, she is looking forward to researching the economic and personal connections between slavery in the Maritimes and the West Indies. In her free time, Sarah enjoys writing poetry and running along Burlington's waterfront.

**Theo Cutler** is a junior from Newtown, Pennsylvania who is currently completing his B.A. in history with a focus in European history. He plans to double major in political science, with a

specialization in political economy. His academic interests involve the history of Nazi Germany, legal history, policy writing, and legislative research. Next year, he will be writing a thesis focusing on the intellectual legacy of the German jurist Carl Schmitt.

**Megan Gamiz** is a graduate student in UVM's M.A. history program. Her research at UVM has analyzed everything from the historiography of the French Wars of Religion and the legacy of Claude Lanzmann's 1985 film *Shoah*, to German scientific and intellectual innovations on display at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair and the impact of Filip Müller's memoir on surviving Auschwitz. The areas of history in which Megan is most passionate are modern French history and the Holocaust. She plans to devote the remainder of her time at UVM to examining French involvement in the deportations of its Jews and, especially, the memory of the Holocaust in France. This past year Megan worked as a Graduate Teaching Assistant for Professors Melanie Gustafson and Steve Zdatny. After graduating with a B.A. in history from Christopher Newport University, Megan is delighted to be back in the classroom and working with the faculty here at UVM.

**Jason Goldfarb** is a senior graduating in May 2020 with a B.A. in political science and history, and a minor in public communication. In addition to serving on the editorial board for the *History Review*, he worked as a Lead Student Admissions Ambassador, and as the Director of Student Legal Services. During his senior year, he spent most of his time devoted to his honor's thesis— "Scrolling Alone: The Impact of Social Media on American Democracy." Originally from San Diego, California, Jason is excited to be back on the West Coast next

year where he will be starting his career at Amazon in Seattle, Washington.

**Daniel A. Ortiz** is a senior from Kent County, Maryland, graduating in May 2020 with a B.A. in writing and history, with a concentration in European history. In addition to his interest in twentieth-century Europe, Daniel has additional research interests in German and Austrian studies, transnational studies, colonialism, and military history. In the summer semester of 2019, Daniel completed an Independent Study of the Habsburg Empire with Associate Professor Nicole Phelps. This year, Daniel is completing his honors thesis on colonialism in Africa; conducting a comparative study of African soldiers in the British, French, and German colonial armed forces between 1885 and 1918.



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