

# WALLOOMSACK REVIEW

BENNINGTON MUSEUM



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# WALLOOMSACK REVIEW

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BENNINGTON MUSEUM

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The *Walloomsack Review* is a publication of the Bennington Museum. Its purpose is to present a wide range of articles about the history and culture of Vermont and neighboring New York and Massachusetts. We invite submission of scholarly articles and of books to be reviewed. For author guidelines and submission deadlines please contact co-editor Tyler Resch at [tresch@benningtonmuseum.org](mailto:tresch@benningtonmuseum.org).

The *Walloomsack Review* is generously underwritten  
by Robert and Cora May Howe

***On the cover:***

General Edward H. Ripley of Rutland, Vermont, who led Union troops to free the Confederate capital city of Richmond in April 1865. The key is that to Libby Prison, which Ripley kept as a souvenir after his troops opened the prison doors to free starving northern soldiers. The key's label is in Ripley's own handwriting; it is now among several Ripley artifacts in the Bennington Museum's collection.

*Bennington Museum collection*

# WALLOOMSACK REVIEW

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Volume 11, Spring 2013

- Editors' notes** *Tyler Resch and Anthony Marro* page 4
- Contributors** page 5
- On the Civil War's homefront** page 6  
*Bill Morgan*
- The Jane Stickle Quilt: "In War Time, 1863"** page 25  
*Pam Weeks*
- Book Reviews**
- Something Abides: Discovering the Civil War in Today's Vermont**  
**by Howard Coffin** page 33  
*Reviewed by Tom Ledoux*
- Giant in the Shadows: The Life of Robert T. Lincoln**  
**by Jason Emerson** page 38  
*Reviewed by Robert Guarino*
- Simon Fraser: In Search of Modern British Columbia**  
**by Stephen Hume** page 41  
*Reviewed by Tyler Resch*
- From the Bennington Museum's archives**  
**Lusting for the potatoes of the Treasury** page 44

## *Editors' Notes*

So much has been written about the American Civil War that it seems a wonder that there is more to say. The predominant subject matter usually deals with Lincoln's generals, the military aspects, the many bloody battles, and such familiar names as Bull Run, Antietam, Gettysburg, and Cedar Creek, which have become engrained into the American psyche. Far less attention has been given to the difficult embrace of that war on the part of the folks who stayed home. Author Bill Morgan in this issue of *Walloomsack Review* has contributed a most readable lengthy essay based on his extensive research into ways in which the town of Bennington coped with everyday life and the many deep emotions that lingered not far from the surface. The subject is well worth exploring. Vermont contributed to the Civil War more participants than any other state on a per-capita basis yet was so far removed geographically from the slave economy and ranked among the whitest states racially. Governor Hiland Hall was among several political leaders who set the tone for strong anti-slavery sentiment.

Among those on the home front was a humble woman named Jane B. Stickle, who devoted herself throughout the war to creating a large and not-so-simple quilt, which in recent years has become a veritable art object of national reverence. A new analysis of her masterpiece appears in this issue written by Pam Weeks, a quilt authority and curator. Many have sought to learn more about Jane Stickle – and the author has unearthed some new facts – but much about her remains elusive. How did such a modest person, whose livelihood was in the hands of the Shaftsbury overseer of the poor, manage to produce such an extraordinary work of art?

It would be difficult to find two more authoritative writers about Vermont in the Civil War than Howard Coffin, whose latest contribution comes in the form of a nicely designed volume that touches base with every one of the state's 246 municipalities, and Tom Ledoux, who operates the Web site [vermontcivilwar.org](http://vermontcivilwar.org). Coffin describes himself as a seventh-generation Vermonter who had six ancestors in Vermont regiments in the Civil War, while Ledoux is an eighth-generation Vermonter and is working on a book on Vermont sailors in the war.

Ledoux reviews Coffin's book in this issue and finds that while it is a massive and extraordinary achievement that could never be replicated, it could have used another round of fact-checking. Another book reviewed in this issue is Jason Emerson's new biography of Robert Todd Lincoln, whose elegant home, Hildene, in Manchester is well known to all Vermonters. The reviewer is Robert Guarino, who has become a well-informed docent at Hildene.

## *Contributors*

**Bill Morgan** is a writer and archival consultant who lives in Bennington, Vermont. He is currently the president of the Bennington Historical Society. His most recent books are *Bennington in the Civil War*, published by the History Press in 2013, and *The Civil War Lover's Guide To New York City*, published by Savas Beatie in 2013. Currently he is working on an international history of the Beat Generation writers, which will be published next year by the City Lights Press.

**Pam Weeks**, a quilt historian, is the Binney Family Curator of the New England Quilt Museum in Lowell, Mass. Her first book on Civil War quilts was released in 2012, and a second, on “potholder quilts,” will be published in 2014. She is an expert traditional quilter and fiber artist and has exhibited her quilts nationally and internationally. She lives on a farm in Durham, N.H., where she keeps a large vegetable garden and is a co-flockster of 36 chickens.

**Tom Ledoux** is a native of Franklin County, a 26-year veteran of the U.S. Navy, and webmaster of [vermontcivilwar.org](http://vermontcivilwar.org), a Web site dedicated to Vermont's participation in the Civil War. He is working on a book on Vermonters in the Navy during the Civil War. He was awarded a master of arts degree in Civil War Studies from American Military University. Now a resident of Ellicott City, Maryland, he intends to return to Vermont.

**Robert Guarino** of Old Bennington is a former recent trustee of the Vermont Historical Society and author of *Beacon Street: Its Buildings & Residents*, published in 2011 by History Press. He is now on the staff at Hildene, the Lincoln family home in Manchester.

**Tyler Resch**, co-editor of this journal, is also the Bennington Museum's research librarian, is a former trustee of the Vermont Historical Society, and is the author or producer of a dozen books on Vermont history or culture.



*Bennington's major Civil War Monument offers a bronze relief panel by sculptor William Gordon Hull. It is located on grounds of the Bennington Museum.*

*Patriotic zeal, accumulating horror*

## **On the Civil War's homefront: Bennington in the Civil War**

*Bill Morgan*

This year marks the 150th anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg, and although history buffs in Bennington think about the Revolutionary War as “our war” and the famous Battle of Bennington as “our battle,” it wasn’t the war in which the greatest number of Bennington men participated. More than a thousand men from Bennington County went off to fight in the Civil War between 1861 and 1865. Bennington was not unique in this because in thousands of towns across the country men joined the army.

Military battles weren’t the only stories during those years. There were other struggles taking place on the home front, and the participants were the parents, wives, and children of the soldiers. They were the people who watched their “boys” go off to war – perhaps never to return.

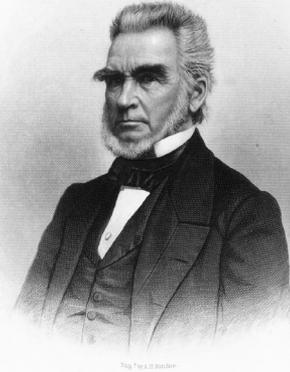
The issue of slavery had divided the country since the very beginning. Long before Abraham Lincoln was elected president, Vermont had grappled with the moral issue of slavery. The abolitionist spirit was very strong throughout Vermont. In an informal census taken of the state in 1772, there were only sixteen slaves listed and all of them lived in Bennington. In 1777,

*Images from the Bennington Museum collection*

*Walloomsack Review 6*

Vermont's Constitution was the first to outlaw slavery. For comparison's sake remember that in 1778 the Massachusetts Constitution clearly recognized slavery as a legal institution, and New York State did not abolish slavery until 1827, a full fifty years after Vermont.

In 1779, during the Revolution, Captain Ebenezer Allen led a raid against the British in New York State. He returned to Vermont with a slave named Dinah Mattis, whom he had captured from the enemy. Captain Allen gave her a document proclaiming her freedom; she brought that paper to Bennington's town clerk and was issued a certificate of freedom.



*Erastus Fairbanks*

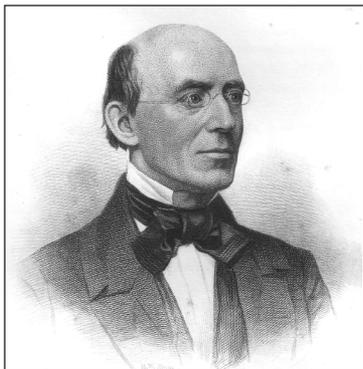
Vermont Governor Erastus Fairbanks.

## Roots of war traced to Garrison?

Howard Coffin, Vermont's modern Civil War scholar, suggests that the roots of the Civil War might be traced back to Old Bennington because in 1828, William Lloyd Garrison came to Bennington to edit a newspaper, the *Journal of the Times*, dedicated to the abolition of slavery. Garrison remained in town for less than a year before moving to Baltimore, where he edited *The Liberator*, soon to become the most influential abolitionist newspaper in the country.

In the years before the war, the Underground Railroad was active in Vermont. One popular route entered Vermont via the road from Troy and passed through the Bennington area before turning north to Rutland and Burlington. A local safehouse was operated in the 1840s in the home of the stagecoach driver, Charles Hicks, who had a farm on Rice Lane. By 1861, only a handful of people believed that a peaceful solution to the problem of slavery could be found. One of those was Hiland Hall, who served two one-year terms as Vermont governor from 1858 through 1860.

Hall, who lived in North Bennington, was an outspoken critic of slavery and especially the Dred Scott Decision of 1857. That ruling basically said that any slave who lived in a free state was still a slave and must be considered as such. That created a problem for anti-slavery states like Vermont



*William Lloyd Garrison, best known as editor of The Liberator, edited a newspaper in Bennington in 1828-29.*



*This monument to Garrison is located on the Old Bennington village green.*



*Lincoln is remembered locally in Clyde DuVernet Hunt's "Lincoln Trilogy," in the Bennington Museum's courtyard.*

because citizens were forced to participate in the apprehension of runaways. Hiland Hall said that this was “contrary to the plain language of the Vermont Constitution, to the facts of history, and to the dictates of common humanity.”

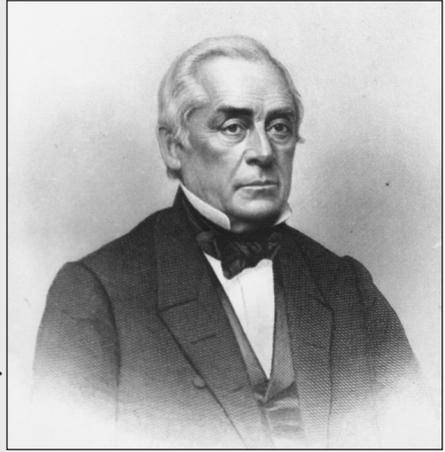
In February 1861, on the eve of the Civil War, the state of Virginia called for a “Peace Congress.” Many saw it as a last-ditch effort to avoid war, but others believed it was just a diversionary tactic to buy time while the South built up an army. When Vermont’s elected representatives refused to attend the congress, Governor Fairbanks asked ex-Governor Hall to head the Vermont delegation, which he did. Nothing came of the conference and many people felt that Hall had been used as a pawn by the South. But once the war started no one supported the Union cause more vigorously than Hiland Hall.

The 1860 census showed Vermont’s population at 315,827 (today it is just about double that at 626,000). The town of Bennington’s population was 4,389 while the whole of Bennington County numbered 19,436. During the war 34,238 men enlisted statewide, probably between one third and one half of the male population that was eligible to serve in the army – an incredibly high percentage. Of these, 5,124 died as a result of wounds or disease. We do know that 5,022 men were discharged due to their wounds. Either way it was a very costly war for both Vermont and Bennington. By the end of the war, the town of Bennington had sent more than 400 soldiers into combat.

In the spring of 1861 the North found itself completely unprepared for war. The nation’s standing army had only 16,000

## *Hiland Hall's eloquent inaugural remarks opposing slavery*

*Hiland Hall's first inaugural speech as Vermont governor was delivered in the context of adverse national news about slavery. The 1857 Dred Scott decision of the U.S. Supreme Court had held that slaves were not citizens, an abhorrent turn of events to those who favored abolishing slavery as well as to adherents of the Constitution. In Kansas, the Lecompton constitution, written hastily by pro-slavery advocates and favored by President Buchanan, was widely regarded as unjust and would have made Kansas a slave state, in clear opposition to the will of residents. Kansas voters rejected the Lecompton proposal by 10 to 1 and it became a state in 1861 under a free constitution. Hall was one of several Vermont governors who issued strong inaugural statements against slavery. Here are excerpts from his two inaugural addresses.*



*Hiland Hall*

**1858**

There is reason to hope that the extra-judicial opinions of the majority of the judges in the Dred Scott case, contrary as they are to the plain language of the constitution, to the facts of history, and to the dictates of common humanity, will meet the fate which has attended those of the judges in the parent country, and that liberty will be eventually established in spite of them.

The extraordinary persevering exertions which, during the past year, have been made by the chief magistrate of the nation to prevent the people of Kansas from excluding slavery from their soil, by imposing upon them a constitution which he well knew they loathed and abhorred, furnishes new and alarming evidence of the aggressive character of the slave power which controlled him, and shows that the principles of justice and of popular sovereignty stand no more in the way of its demands for political domination than do those of the constitution. The near approach to success, by congressional legislation, of this attempt to stifle the will of the great majority of the people of Kansas, is calculated to excite strong distrust in the continued success of our republican institutions; for if the principle of right

and justice, by the influence of government patronage and party discipline, can be thus outraged and overcome, our boasted democracy will be but another name for despotism.

It is, however, matter of just pride and congratulation, that these efforts to impose a slave constitution on an unwilling people, have as yet proved unsuccessful, and that the people of that rich and growing territory, boldly defying the threats of executive power and nobly spurning the offered bribes of government patronage and lands, have, by an overwhelming majority, declared their love of freedom and their abhorrence of slavery.

The people of Vermont, mindful of the history of its early settlers in their struggle against injustice and oppression from without, have deeply sympathized in the extraordinary and protracted sufferings of the people of Kansas in the cause of liberty and right, and now greet them on the favorable prospect of a happy and successful termination of their patriotic labors.

*Re-elected in 1859 to a second one-year term, Hall's inauguration took place in the then-new Vermont State House, which replaced the one that was destroyed by fire in January 1857. His comments on slavery reflect the extraordinary opposition to Fugitive Slave Act, which carried heavy penalties for citizens who aided in rescuing a fugitive slave or interfering with the arrest of a fugitive. The act, in effect, emboldened those who would capture slaves for profit, the result being that no person of color was safe from possible abduction.*

## 1859

While . . . Vermont does not claim a right to interfere with slavery in the states where it exists by law, she protests in strong and emphatic terms against its extension into the territories of the Union, which she insists shall be forever consecrated to freedom. And . . . she repudiates all pretensions of right in the slaveholder to bring his slave into the State and hold him here in bondage; and will never, under any circumstances, permit her soil for a single moment to be thus contaminated by the curse of slavery.

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men and they were stationed mainly in the West dealing with Native Indian problems. The commanding general of the Union Army was 74-four-year-old Winfield Scott. Although he was still mentally able to command, he had an assortment of medical problems. The Union army was also kept ill-prepared because politically it would have appeared provocative to build up the army in anticipation of a fight with the South, since they were still part of the United States. So General Scott's hands were tied until the first shots were fired.

## Attack on Fort Sumter changed all

Life in America changed dramatically on April 12, 1861, when South Carolina artillery opened fire on Fort Sumter in Charleston. On April 15, President Lincoln called for 75,000 volunteers to enlist for three months. His initial fear was that Washington, D.C., would quickly fall into the hands of the rebels. Governor Fairbanks called for the General Assembly to convene in a special session on April 23, but even before then, towns across the state were meeting. On April 19, 1861, a town meeting was held at Bennington's Apollo Hall and the next night another meeting was held to form a militia.

Before the meeting a large American flag was hung over the four-corners intersection. Bennington's Cornet Band played patriotic songs and everyone pledged to support the Union. Ex-Governor Hall called the meeting to order and announced that "four sons of Bennington" had left that day to join the army. After several patriotic speeches, the meeting adjourned with three cheers for the Union, followed by a singing of the "Star-Spangled Banner," which was not yet the national anthem (and wouldn't be until 1931).

The initial problem was that there was no organized army for men to join. Traditionally each town in Vermont was supposed to have its own militia, consisting of local men who drilled together on a regular basis. Over the decades of peace, most of the militia including Bennington's had long



*Members of Company A, Second Vermont Volunteers, pose for a group photo somewhere in the South in 1863. Back row from left: Lt. Col. Eugene O. Cole, Charles M. Bliss, Capt. William H. Cady, Capt. William Robinson, Lt. William H. Appleton, and Lt. Col. Newton Stone. Front row: two unidentified men, Lt. Guilford E. Parsons, Col. James H. Walbridge, and Adjutant Edward W. Ladd.*

since disbanded. With President Lincoln's call for troops, men were suddenly training everywhere.

When the Vermont General Assembly met on April 23, it voted to raise seven regiments although Lincoln had only asked for one. With the initial call to arms, all existing militia were ordered to rendezvous in Rutland on May 2 and on May 7, 1861, they left for Virginia. A few men from Bennington who had previous military training went with them, but the bulk of Bennington volunteers had to wait until the 2nd Regiment was formed the following month. Since everyone expected the war to be brief, the 1st Vermont was only mustered in for 90 days.

In May the first volunteer company from Bennington quickly formed with a goal to put a hundred men in the field. Officially they called themselves the Bennington Union Guards but their nickname was "The Bennington Boys." As the first company to sign up and fill their quota, they became Company A of the 2nd Vermont Regiment, a distinction in which the whole town took pride. The men of Company A chose James H. Walbridge of Bennington as their captain. Newton Stone became his first lieutenant. The large hall at the Gates Hotel was turned into "a vast tailoring establishment" that made the uniforms for all the volunteers.

Everyone in Bennington was eager to volunteer in some way. The women of the town immediately set about creating a large ceremonial flag for the troops. They met in another of the town's hotels, the Franklin House, and in the early weeks of the war they made a flag that is still in the collection of the Bennington Museum.

The entire 2nd Vermont Regiment, including Bennington's Company A, rendezvoused in Burlington on June 20, 1861, and left the state on June 24. They saw action on July 21 at the first battle of Bull Run and when the defeat of the Union army turned into a rout, Company A bravely refused to leave the battlefield. Bull Run proved to everyone that it was going to be a long and bloody war. The 2nd Vermont was destined to fight with the Army of the Potomac in most of the battles in the eastern theater of the war.

**TO ARMS. TO ARMS.**  
**ONE HUNDRED**  
**ABLE BODIED MEN**  
**WANTED!**  
For the Zouave Company now  
being organized in Bennington, and soon to join the  
**First Zouave Regiment**  
of Vermont, to be mustered into the State service as soon  
as the same shall be filled--to serve three years unless  
sooner discharged.  
Those who enlist in this Company will receive the full  
pay of United States' soldiers, and seven dollars per  
month additional from the State. They will also be en-  
titled to the bounty lands and additional pay, granted by  
the United States to volunteers.  
This Regiment will be supplied with the latest im-  
proved arms.  
**J. E. PRATT.**  
Recruiting Officer.  
Bennington, August 10th, 1861.

*An enthusiastic poster promoted the first  
Zouaves regiment early in the war.*



*The Bennington Free Library was built by Trenor Park and Seth Hunt just before the war ended in 1865.*



*Seth Hunt's summer home became the Soldiers' Home, now the Vermont Veterans Home.*

Company A was not the only company of soldiers recruited in Bennington. About 50 men met at Apollo Hall in late May to form a company of Zouaves. The Zouaves were infantry units patterned after French troops who were famous for their colorful Turkish-style uniforms. Bennington's Zouaves chose John Pratt as their captain and Charles Benton as lieutenant. Some of the town's most prominent men supported them and paid for their uniforms, among them were Elyah Dewey, John Kehoe, Olin Scott, and Thomas Tiffany.

On May 24, 1861, two months before Bull Run, Colonel Elmer Ellsworth of New York became the first Union officer to be killed when he was shot trying to remove a Confederate flag that was flying over a hotel in Alexandria, Virginia. The death of Ellsworth became a national tragedy and all flags in Bennington were lowered to half mast in his honor.

On April 18, 1861, the *Bennington Banner* pointed out that there were a number of secessionists in town, including people whose "ancestral lineage took an active part in the Revolution." The editor was more than a bit shocked to hear that some even called for a Jefferson Davis Brigade to be formed of northern men who would fight for the South. One prominent family who saw two of their sons join the Confederate army were the Robinsons. Uel Robinson raised his two boys, Charles and Frederick, in a house still standing on Monument Avenue. When the war began Charles was living in North Carolina and was married to a local girl there. His 18-year-old brother, Fred, went south and joined him and together they enlisted to fight for the Confederacy.

Throughout the war recruiters were busy in Bennington creating new fighting units and replacing men in older units. New enlistees were continually needed to keep the regiments at full strength. The ranks were thinned not just by death and combat injuries but also by desertion and disease. In fact, more soldiers died as a result of disease during the Civil War than

battle wounds. Major causes of death were dysentery, typhoid, pneumonia, tuberculosis, malaria, and even measles.

## **Two Medals of Honor are awarded**

Two men who were awarded the Medal of Honor lived in Bennington after the war, but they were born and raised elsewhere. The first was Colonel Robert Coffey, who was selected to be the first superintendent of the Vermont Soldiers' Home. He was Canadian but by the time of the Civil War he was living in Montpelier and was one of the first to volunteer. During the battle at Banks Ford, Virginia, in 1863, Coffey single-handedly captured seven Confederates for which he was awarded the Medal of Honor. People said that the Confederate soldiers were embarrassed when they discovered that Coffey was completely alone at the time of their capture. In 1887 he became the superintendent of the Veterans Home when it opened, and worked in Bennington until his death in 1901 at the age of 59. The second Medal of Honor winner was Captain George Davis, who was from Burlington and was a resident at the Veterans Home until his death.

In September 1861 the 4th Vermont Regiment was formed of men from southern Vermont. Bennington's John H. Cushman was appointed their quartermaster and when he left the service in 1863, Henry T. Cushman became quartermaster. H.T. Cushman was only 17 when he entered the army, and he later founded the Cushman furniture company. At the time he was probably the youngest quartermaster in the army. His superiors noted that he was "not only an excellent quartermaster, but a brave and gallant soldier."

In September and October of 1861 Major Moses Harrington was busy recruiting a company of cavalry soldiers. When his health failed he was replaced by John Hall and they formed Company G of the 1st Vermont Cavalry Regiment, composed mainly of Bennington men. William Collins of Bennington was appointed major of the 1st Vermont Cavalry. There was also a thirty-man regimental band formed in Bennington by F.M. Crossett in 1861.

In the fall of 1862 Company E of the 10th Vermont Regiment was organized in Bennington. They elected Madison Winslow as their captain. Although patriotism was still running high, the number of volunteers was shrinking. As the 10th Regiment was being formed, the town decided to offer a bounty of \$50 for each new recruit. The *Banner's* editorial said: "You are needed to thrash out Rebellion and restore things as they were and ought to be now."

Then, on October 21, 1862, Company A of the 14th Vermont Reg-

iment was formed and became the next to last Bennington unit to be mustered in during the war. They were led by Captain Ransom Gore of Bennington. They were recruited for a term of only nine months so by the end of July 1863, just after the battle of Gettysburg, they were free to return home.

By consulting the numerous regimental histories of each of these units it is easy to trace the battles in which they fought. Suffice it to say that all these units saw a great deal of action throughout the war, mostly in the Virginia campaigns – Fredericksburg, Antietam, The Wilderness, Gettysburg, and the Shenandoah Valley.

When the number of volunteers dried up in 1863, Lincoln was forced to impose a draft. Many towns offered bonuses and incentives so that men would enlist voluntarily, that way towns wouldn't have to enforce the draft. Men who were drafted were given the option of serving in the army or paying a \$300 fee as bounty for a replacement. Many of Bennington's draftees who could afford to do so exercised that option. Poor people were obviously unable to buy their way out of military service and were therefore disproportionately subject to conscription. In Bennington the town provided a large bounty to secure enough volunteers.

Inevitably, the process of supplying large bounties created new problems. In Bennington, some men were happy to receive the incentive money and fulfilled their military commitment, but other men accepted the money and then deserted. Often they turned up later in another town to accept another bounty, and so on until they were caught. Desertion became a bigger problem as the war dragged on.

During the first summer of the war the women of the town formed their own group called the Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society. They did whatever they could to provide for the soldiers at the front. They raised money and collected food, clothing, and medical supplies, which were shipped off at regular intervals. Eventually they had their own office fitted up in a storefront next to the post office, which was then at the corner of Main and South streets.

Interest in the war grew and people were eager to hear news from the front. A traveling "Panorama of the War" was presented in Bennington by an itinerant artist. A giant scroll painting was unfurled as the artist described each battle scene to the audience. The editors of the Banner declared that it was worth twice the price of admission.

In October 1861 Captain Walbridge returned from the front lines to recruit new men for the 2nd Vermont Regiment. Walbridge had seen action in the battle of Bull Run, and during his visit to Bennington he spoke to people in town about the grim realities of what now looked like a much

longer war. One thing that his men needed were boots, because those the army provided were not good for marching in wet weather, so the townspeople pulled together to raise money for those.

Throughout the war, the “Local Intelligence” column of the *Bennington Banner* was filled with the news of promotions, illnesses, furloughs, and deaths of the Bennington soldiers. It noted when they were home on leave from their companies. From time to time the newspaper would also make mention of the fact that officer’s wives visited their husbands at the front, usually in the winter when battles were less likely.

During 1862 the news from the front was bad. The Union troops were not gaining much ground on the Confederates and the war was dragging on. The soldiers were writing home with more discouraging news and the *Banner* sometimes printed their reports from the front. Lieutenant Burton of Company A, 4th Vermont Regiment wrote about action taking place outside Richmond. “The line of our retreat was strewn with knapsacks, dead and wounded men, broken guns, wagons and all sorts of rations. We broke 8,000 new Enfield rifles at Savage Station, burnt up 1,300,000 rounds of cartridges, and any quantity of hard bread, pork and beef.”

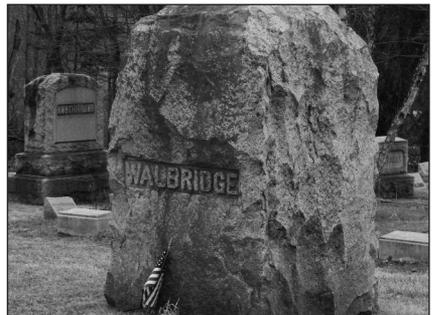
### **Bodies begin to be sent home**

By 1862, bodies of soldiers were beginning to be sent home. Captain Cady of the 2nd Vermont, wrote of the death of Private Edward A. Selden of Bennington, whose body was being shipped back. “I am proud to say that he has been a splendid soldier, and done his duty like a man,” Cady wrote. Selden had been sick with dysentery for some time before his death and he was buried in the family plot at the Old Bennington Cemetery.

Although it wasn’t always possible, soldier’s bodies continued to be returned north. In December the body of 17-year-old Private Calvin Hathaway of Company A, 2nd Vermont Regiment, arrived at the train station



*James H. Walbridge's home in Papermill Village.*



*The Walbridge gravestone in Grandview Cemetery, Shaftsbury.*



*Graves of prominent veterans are those of Newton Stone and Ransom O. Gore, top, and William H. Cady and Calvin Hathaway, below.*

and was greeted by a large number of mourners including Calvin's Sunday School classmates. They accompanied the casket to the Bennington Village Cemetery. Joseph Loring had been hired by the Hathaway family to go south and bring home the body of Private Hathaway. This was not uncommon during the Civil War, and people often went to the battlefield to try to locate wounded or dead relatives and friends.

In addition to the bodies of the dead, men who had been wounded were beginning to arrive home too. One soldier, Sergeant Aylesworth, lost one of his legs and the toes of his other foot, due to poor medical treatment. The *Banner* scolded, "O, for shame on such treatment of our brave young men who have thus periled life and limb for the salvation of our country!" Once home, Aylesworth learned the art of ornamental hair design, a popular craft or art form that used braided human hair to make wreaths and jewelry. The *Banner* urged people to make use of his services and help him earn a living through his craft.

Many trains passed through North Bennington, an active railroad center, on their way to the front. In 1863 an enormous gun passed through on its way from Pittsburgh to Boston, where a large gunboat was being pre-

pared for it. A large crowd of people turned out to inspect the 15-inch bore Rodman gun that weighed 42,500 pounds, one of the largest guns to ever be put on a boat. "An engine of death and destruction to the rebels," the editor of the *Banner* stated. It is amazing how much military information about weapons and troop movements appeared in local papers at that time.

Canada became a frequent destination for army deserters, but in the summer of 1863 the Canadian government agreed to return all legitimate deserters and draft dodgers. The *Bennington Banner* reported that "quite a number who enlisted from this town are supposed to be there." Three deserters were captured locally in July of 1863. Deputy Provost Marshal Vaill, assisted by Lieutenant Blackmer, caught three men, who had each enlisted several times only to desert after receiving their bounties.

Bennington was still doing pretty well enlisting volunteers but the bounty had to be raised for new recruits from \$50 to \$300. Before the end of the war the bounty would be raised again to \$450, and finally \$700, a sizeable nest egg for anyone who agreed to join the army. A list of the men drafted that summer appeared in the newspaper. Of those, four paid for their replacements, one man was not an American, and three were rejected due to physical disabilities.

## **National day of Thanksgiving held**

In early July of 1863 the people of Bennington received the news that Major General George Gordon Meade had defeated Lee at Gettysburg and that General Grant had taken Vicksburg. Two hundred guns were fired in the village, people rejoiced and were optimistic that the end was now in sight and that all the soldiers would soon be home. But that was not to happen for two more years. President Lincoln called for a national day of Thanksgiving to be held on August 6, 1863. There were appropriate services held at all the churches in town and some of the ministers traded parishes for the occasion. On the evening of August 15, fireworks, furnished by Seth Hunt, were set off from the top of Bald Mountain.

In September 1863 the newspaper reported that Mrs. Mary Todd Lincoln and her son, Tad, along with Major General Abner Doubleday and his wife, had passed through North Bennington on the train. They had just spent a few weeks at the Equinox House in Manchester and enjoyed it so much that they planned to come back the following summer.

Area businesses prospered because of the war. R. Carpenter Jr. and Company in North Bennington received a contract from the government for 150,000 yards of army cloth. Henry Burden, the owner of the famous iron works in Troy, New York, also had extensive operations in Bennington

and Shaftsbury. He had the patent on a horseshoe-making machine that was used exclusively by the army and it netted him giant profits. He expanded his iron furnaces to accommodate the increased volume of business and employed more than fifty men in Bennington County. Even men like Calvin Dart, who ran an Ambrotype Studio on the second floor of the building at the corner of Main and North streets, did well taking photographs of soldiers in their new uniforms.

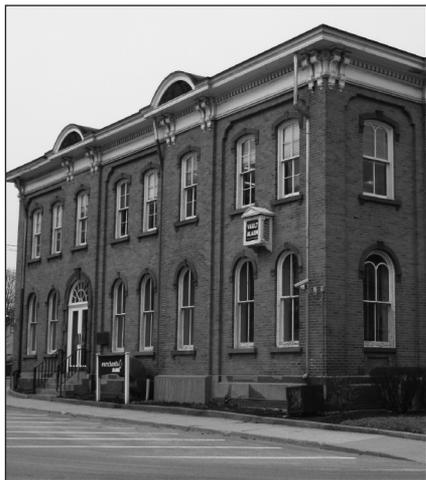
Olin Scott, one of the town's most successful business men, also profited from the war effort by producing all of the machinery used to make gunpowder in America. He was truly a self-made man and bought several mills in downtown Bennington for his foundry business. Early in 1864 he purchased real estate at the head of Pleasant Street and built several buildings, consolidating his business there. Then, in the custom of the times, he put up an elegant house for himself next door to the foundry.

### **National banking system created**

The town also received a shot in the arm from the federal government during the Civil War in the form of new banks. Both Bennington and North Bennington established national banks as a result of legislation passed in 1863 and 1864. It was then that the U.S. government established a system of national banks created to encourage the development of a national currency backed by U.S. Treasury securities. The government was spending so much money on the war effort that it was running out of gold and silver and it needed to issue paper money instead of coins. This act established the banking and monetary system still in use today. Trenor W. Park and his partners put up capital amounting to \$400,000 to set up the "First National Bank in North Bennington," and then engaged an architect to design the brick bank building that still stands in the center of the village. Within a few months it had become the largest banking institution in the state.

At the same time, Henry Root and Luther Graves, local merchants of tinware and glassware, established the First National Bank of Bennington. Originally they had offices in a room in the building next to the post office, and in 1868 they built the beautiful brick building still standing on West Main Street where the bank remained until 1931. Without the monetary crisis caused by the Civil War, these banks would not have existed.

In April 1864 local men signed up as recruits in another Bennington company. This time it was the 17th Vermont Regiment. It was the last regiment to form and Company F of that regiment was made up of the Bennington men. The *Banner* said: "Bennington County has the honor of having furnished more men, in proportion to its size, and the number of its



*National Banks in Bennington, left, and North Bennington, were created by wartime laws passed in 1863 and 1864. Both still stand.*

able-bodied citizens, than any other County in the State.”

In April 1864 Colonel Walbridge, resigned his commission with the “bully old 2nd” as the 2nd Vermont had become known. The colonel was in bad health and his doctors feared that he would not get well if he remained in the army. Colonel Walbridge was replaced by the son of a Readsboro minister, Lieutenant Colonel Newton Stone, who had joined the army at the age of 23 shortly after he had passed his bar exams. During the battle of The Wilderness in May of 1864 he was struck in the leg and rushed back to the first aid station. They dressed his wound and he rode back to the line and into the thick of the fighting. When his men saw him they greeted him with a cheer, but almost immediately he was struck in the head with a bullet and died instantly. General Lewis Grant sent this message to his family, “He was beloved by his command, and by all who knew him, a good officer, gallant by nature, prompt in his duties and urbane in his manner.”

By June 1864 the country was beginning to think about the upcoming presidential election. It was by no means certain that Abraham Lincoln would be re-elected. In fact, when the popular General George McClellan decided to run against him it looked like Lincoln would lose. In August the *Banner* put out a call for both voters and new recruits:

“Rally Around the Flag, Boys, Rally Once Again!” -- To those desirous of entering the army, we can confidently assure that a more favorable opportunity than is now presented, will not offer itself during the war. Larger bounties are now being paid than we believe will ever be paid again. The Selectmen of Bennington are now



*The Charles Hicks house on Rice Lane was known to have harbored slaves on the “underground railroad.”*

paying \$700.00 for three years’ volunteers, and with this liberal bounty, coupled with that paid by the General Government, it does seem as though our quota would be filled at once. There remains yet one month before the draft, and let all take hold of the business of recruiting in good earnest, and the full number required of this town and County will be obtained.”

### **The president’s newest call would be for a half million troops**

As election day neared, Union troops under General Grant and General Sherman made significant advances on Richmond and Atlanta. Those successes, more than anything else, helped swing the vote to Lincoln. In Bennington it was a landslide with 463 votes cast for Lincoln against 236 for McClellan. Lincoln’s victory gave the town something to celebrate. Patriotic speeches were made and “an illumination” was presented throughout the village. In those pre-electric days, an illumination was a celebration



*Hiland Hall lived in this house, still standing, in North Bennington, next to the Park-McCullough Big House.*

# To the Ladies.

All those ladies who are willing to make any sacrifice in this hour of their country's peril, and are willing to come forth and pledge themselves for their country's good, not to use any imported article of apparel, are invited to meet at the rooms of the Ladies' Soldiers' Aid Society, on Tuesday, May 17th, at 3 o'clock, P. M. Bennington, May 13, 1864.

*The work of women on the home front was of vital importance to the war effort.*

whereby businesses and homes were lit up after dark by lanterns similar to modern spotlights. All the businesses around the Four Corners as well as the Mount Anthony Seminary in Old Bennington were brightly lit in honor of Lincoln's re-election.

In April 1865 the *Bennington Banner* announced that Richmond had fallen. Union soldiers, led by African American troops, marched through the streets of the Confederate capital and took control of the city. Under the command of General Edward H. Ripley of Rutland the army opened the doors of Libby Prison and freed the northern soldiers who were starving to death inside. The key to the prison was brought back to Vermont by the general as a souvenir and is now part of the collection of the Bennington Museum.

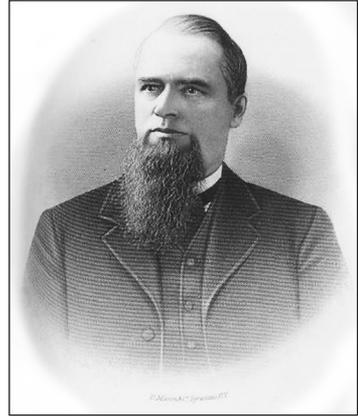
Seth Hunt, whose summer house, "Maple Grove," is still used as the administrative offices for the Soldier's Home, had promised to roast an ox whenever Richmond was captured, and he kept his word. He had a 1,600-pound ox butchered and packages of 10 pounds each were given away to the poorest people in town.

## **Lee surrenders at Appomattox**

On April 9, 1865, Lee surrendered at Appomattox. The end of the war had finally arrived. In Bennington, all the church bells rang for two hours at a time, interspersed with the firing of a cannon that continued well into the night. In the evening a giant illumination took place around the Four Corners area and people cheered and celebrated. Tongue in cheek, the *Banner* reported: "Casualties A noted copperhead, a northerner who was pro-South, residing in Shaftsbury, on reading the news fell backwards upon the ground, and to all appearances instantly expired." Just before the end of



*Trenor W. Park*



*Olin Scott*

the war in 1865, Trenor Park joined Seth Hunt to buy the Wheeler Building and on its site they built the Bennington Free Library, which still stands today at the corner of Main and Silver streets. The building cost \$10,000 and had a public hall on the upper floor. As soon as it opened, the library hall became the location for many important town meetings and lectures.

A week after all the happy celebrations came the disastrous news that President Lincoln had been assassinated. A few days later, on April 19, a standing-room-only crowd filled the new Free Library Hall for a memorial service in honor of Lincoln. The building had only been dedicated a month earlier. All of the speakers mourned his loss and prayed that his soul would be at peace in heaven. The members of both the Protection and Spartan Fire Engine companies attended in full uniform. Rev. Isaac Jennings of the Old First Church offered somber remarks. The choir sang and guns were fired at regular intervals throughout the day.

In conjunction with the August 16 Bennington Battle Day celebrations that summer, an enormous welcome home for the troops was announced. It was the grandest Battle Day on record and between 10,000 and 15,000 people were in attendance. The mid-day parade began at the Mount Anthony House and proceeded to a picnic grove on the eastern end of town. There General "Fighting Joe" Hooker made a few remarks and ex-Governor Hiland Hall introduced the keynote speaker, Rev. Edwin Chapin. One of the defenders of Fort Sumter, General Seymour, a native of Vermont, spoke briefly, as did Major General Carr of Troy and Major General George J. Stannard, who had come home after the battle of The Wilderness minus his right arm. The evening concluded with a fireworks display and a military ball in the Free Library Hall. It was the last time that most of the officers would wear their uniforms.

## Acknowledgments

*This article would not have been possible without the help of many people. The author wishes to thank Ted Bird, Anne Bugbee, Charles Dewey, Jamie Franklin, Joe Hall, Tyler Resch, Callie Stewart, and especially Judy Matz for their assistance.*

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*A masterwork worthy of reverent whispers:*

## **The Jane A. Stickle quilt: 'In War Time, 1863'**

*Pam Weeks*

When the request came to write an article about the Jane Stickle Quilt, I was at first excited, and then a bit concerned that I would regret my enthusiastic positive response. What new information could possibly be uncovered concerning this well-known quilt and its maker, already published in several places? Because of research on other quilts made by women who mostly lived below history's scrutiny, <sup>1</sup> I knew that little more might be discovered about the life of a Vermont farm wife whose memory is primarily preserved by a quilt.

In the 1990s Brenda Papadakis became obsessed with this remarkable quilt after seeing it in Richard Cleveland and Donna Bister's book *Plain and Fancy*,<sup>2</sup> the research results of the Vermont Quilt Search Project. Papadakis visited the Bennington Museum and examined the quilt made and signed by Jane A. Stickle of Shaftsbury, Vermont, in 1863. She drafted the patterns, started teaching her students how to piece them, and published a book in 1996 in which she romanticized the history of the quilt, titled *Dear Jane*.<sup>3</sup> Thousands of enthusiastic quilters made copies of the quilt from Papadakis's patterns, or quilts inspired by it. Quilters blog about the process of making a "Dear Jane" quilt, admiring her skill and originality. They despair at the difficulty of some of the blocks—some contain pieces smaller than one-quarter inch on any side. A Google search for "Dear Jane Quilt" results in of thousands of hits—it is arguably one of the most famous nineteenth-century quilts in any museum collection.

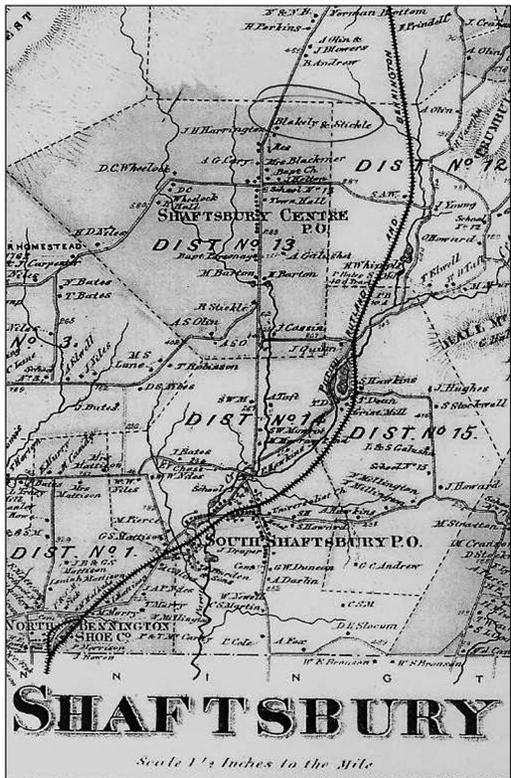
Several years ago I visited the Bennington Museum and spent two hours in the presence of the quilt. I describe the experience this way because the wonder of it draws one in. Visitors become quiet as they approach the quilt, laid flat on a large slant board, and they speak in reverent whispers as they stand and study it. It is a masterwork, and a visit to the Bennington Museum when it is on display is a pilgrimage. Hundreds of quilters make the trip year after year to view this iconic quilt.

The Stickle Quilt is very unusual in construction, design and format for a mid-nineteenth-century quilt. If there was an average block size for quilts of this period, it might be in the range of ten to twelve inches square. Jane

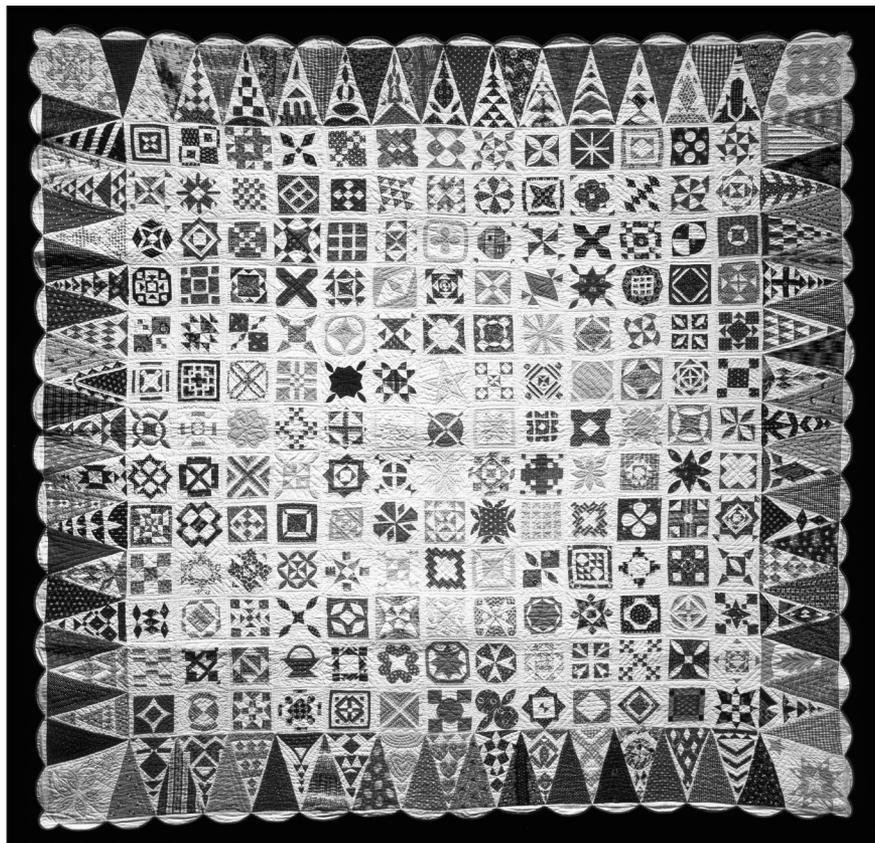
made 169 squares for the large central area of the quilt that differ in size from four to five inches—one half what might be considered a normal scale. Many of the blocks are intricately pieced, some are simple, and many are appliquéd. The pieces comprising the blocks range from less than a quarter inch to 2 inches, and some of the blocks have as many as thirty-five to forty pieces. Many of the block patterns are commonly seen in quilts from this era, but many more are unique, and drafted by a skilled needle worker with a mastery of geometry.<sup>4</sup>

Each block is pieced with just two fabrics, a printed calico or even-weave gingham and a white fabric. The calicos were carefully placed by color in the layout of the quilt. Jane placed a green block in the center, and chose this block carefully—the only other green blocks are in the outermost corners, placed there with the only blue block in the quilt. This center green block is surrounded by others pieced in yellow and those in turn by alternating concentric rounds of color including purple, pink, and reddish brown calicos. Many of the blocks that were once purple have faded to brown, a common occurrence in many early and mid-nineteenth century quilts. I did not find repeats of any print. Each block uses a unique fabric.

Less unusual is the fact that each block is of a different pattern. Sampler or variety quilts composed of blocks pieced in multiple patterns were part of the popular fad of inscribed friendship quilts that had its peak in the 1860s. Generally, however, a unique maker contributed each block and inscribed her name on it, often including messages or place names.<sup>5</sup>



*Jane Stickle's home in Shaftsbury is indicated by the circled "Blakely & Stickle." It was located across the road (today's Route 7A) from the Governor Jonas Galusha home, now a museum, indicated on this 1869 Beers Atlas map as "J.H. Harrington."*



*The Jane Stickle quilt itself*

### **'In War Time, 1863'**

Research has revealed only two other quilts at all similar in style and character made by one person. The New England Quilt Museum has in its collection a silk quilt, circa 1860. Each of the eight-inch blocks is different, and as in the Stickle quilt many are unusual patterns.<sup>6</sup> In "Quilting Traditions," author and quilt historian Trish Herr identified a quilt made in Pennsylvania, signed and dated 1860. It is composed of 137 diamond-shaped blocks, many as intricately pieced as Jane Stickle's quilt. No relationship has been found to link the three quilt makers, nor has a printed design source from the period been uncovered.

The border of Jane Stickle's quilt is unique. On all four sides there are thirteen large cone-shaped triangles either pieced or appliquéd, alternating with triangles of the same shape cut from printed cottons. The four corners consist of larger triangles, each intricately pieced, and in one, Jane inked her name, the number of pieces in the quilt (5,602) and "In War Time, 1863."

Instead of leaving a straight edge as we find on the majority of quilts of this period, Jane added a scalloped border—the curve of each one starts and ends at the end of the base of its triangle.

It appears that much of the scalloped border was cut from long strips of fabric, applied to the edges of the top of the quilt, and then shaped. I assumed before closely examining the quilt that the curved slices of cotton that form the border were cut individually and sewn to the bases of the large triangles, but this is not the case. I did not find seams between the curved portions. I conclude that the quilt top was completed, layered with batting (filling) basted to the backing, then quilted, cut to the lovely curved shape, and bound with straight-of-the-grain blue-green cotton.

Jane recycled a linen sheet for the majority of the backing of the quilt. The sheet is made of two panels joined by a center seam that is butted and hand sewn. Letters were found embroidered at the bottom portion of the sheet that makes up the reverse of one of the scallops. “S B” is embroidered in tiny cross-stitches less than one-quarter inch tall. These are her mother’s initials, and represent Sarah (also called Sally) Blakley.

Jane’s father died in 1831 and the inventory of his estate included two sets of linen sheets.<sup>8</sup> It was customary in the early nineteenth century for a homemaker to mark her household linens with her initials and an inventory number, either in ink or with embroidery. The initials identified the owner, and the inventory number assured proper rotation of the sheets in household use.<sup>9</sup> I have seen several quilts from this period and earlier with recycled sheets for backings. A quilt in the collection of the New England Quilt Museum made by Thankful Hall Miller was constructed by joining two sheets with distinct inventory numbers. The seams joining the linen panels are butted and hand sewn just as in Jane’s quilt.

## **Jane A. Blakley Stickle**

Jane A. Blakley was born in Shaftsbury, Vermont, on April 8, 1817. She died on March 2, 1896, as stated on her grave marker. Little can be found beyond the census records and the records of Bennington County and town of Shaftsbury, but we can use those few details to sketch a picture of her life. (There are multiple variations in the spellings of both “Blakley” and “Stickle,” which made research into both families difficult. I use the spellings as I found them in varying sources.)

Her father, Erastus Blakley, prepared a will in late 1830 and died in January of 1831 when Jane was 13. The probate records give us a glimpse of a wealthy farmer-craftsman’s household. Listed is a barn full of tools, raw materials, and finished parts for assembling wagons and sulkeys. The house-

hold inventory included tables, sets of chairs, five beds, and several sets of linen and cotton sheets; curtains; blankets and quilts. There are many sets of dishes and “plate” tablespoons, teaspoons, and forks. Jane is mentioned twice: her father directs that proceeds from his estate be used to educate Jane and her brother Erastus (1820-1878) and that Erastus is to receive one-half the value of his father’s personal estate, Jane one-fourth, but each of their two sisters, only one-eighth.<sup>10</sup>

That Jane A. Blakley was well educated is proved by both the quilt, which required great needlework skill and a thorough knowledge of geometry; and a watercolor painting, also in the collection of the Bennington Museum. The painting is very like the theorem works stenciled on velvet frequently made during this part of the nineteenth century, and the schools where it was taught advertised the teaching of this technique. In the painting, stylized flowers are formally arranged in a vase, very likely traced from a pattern or copied from a master design. It does show some refinement in execution and choice of colors.

She married Walter P. Stickle, a farmer, sometime before 1850, as they appear in the same household in 1850 census—Jane was thirty-three at the time of this census but no children are listed. W.P Stickle is listed as head



*This watercolor is the only other work of art known to have been done by Jane Stickle.*

*Bennington Museum collection*



*A significant corner of the quilt shows that it was done  
"In War Time 1863"*

of the household, which includes her brother, listed as E. M. Blakely, with his occupation "Tailor;" her mother, Sarah Blakely; and two other adults with relationships unknown. Also listed in this census as living nearby is Walter's brother, John B. Stickles, with his wife and three young children.<sup>11</sup>

In the 1860 census Walter Stickles, and Sarah Blakely are living in a household that lists Erastus Blakely, now defined as a farmer, aged 44, as head of household with wife Harriet, twenty years his junior. In another part of town, Jane is listed as a farmer, living by herself. The quilt was made in this decade, and may have won a ribbon for Jane at the Bennington County Fair in late September 1863. The *Bennington Banner* lists the premiums awarded, including "Mrs. W. P. Stickles for Best Patched Quilt." The Stickles and Blakelys are also mentioned as winning premiums for the quality of their horses, but it is not entirely clear which families are referenced, as there are three Stickles listed as farmers in Shaftsbury in the 1860 census.

The inscription on Jane's quilt includes the phrase, "In War Time." Other authors have suggested that Jane may have pieced it to keep her mind from worrying about her many neighbors and nephews who served in the Civil War. Walter's sister, Charlotte Stickle, married David Galusha Cole, and of their seven sons who survived past childhood, six served in the Union Army. Another nephew, Austin Stickle, served for Vermont, and an eighth nephew, Grosvenor, the son of Walter's oldest brother William, was listed in New York's draft register but it is not clear that he served.

Walter and Jane Stickle are listed in the same household in the 1870 census, with the farm valued at \$6,000, and personal property at \$1,500. Erastus and family are listed on the farm next door. It is unclear what happened to the Stickle family, but in the 1880 census they are boarders in the household of George and Evelyn Eddy. Walter is listed as afflicted with rheumatism. Also in 1880, the Shaftsbury town records show that Walter P. Stickle was given \$5 per week, totaling \$170, for his own keeping. He and Jane were wards of the town.<sup>12</sup>

The annual report by the town Overseer of the Poor continues listing the Stickle family through the 1880s and 1890s. Walter died in 1883 while still boarding with the Eddys. From 1884 until Jane's death in 1896, the records show that David Buck was paid \$100 per year for "keeping Mrs. Walter Stickle." Little changes through these entries—there are usually one or two other people cared for by the town for various periods, all averaging \$5 per week. There is a subtle change in the attitude about Jane Stickle—at the beginning of her individual record, she is listed as Mrs. Walter Stickle, and is slowly downgraded to Mrs. Jane Stickle, and at the last, J. Stickle.<sup>13</sup> She is buried in the Center Shaftsbury Cemetery, sharing a headstone with Walter, near the Blakley gravestones.

A museum's catalog contains the records of donations to the museum, and often in the first half of the twentieth century, the typed catalog cards in many museums contain only partial information about the objects and their donors. The donation to the Bennington Museum by Louise Blakley Bump, Arlington, Vermont, of a watercolor painted by Jane A. Stickle, is recorded, but not the date. Because the cards are kept in chronological order, and the one recording the accession of Jane's quilt follows this card, it is safe to assume that the same donor delivered the quilt. Callie Stewart, collections manager, stated that the quilt was purchased. The donation and purchase happened in 1938 or 1939 based on dated cards found before and after these records.

Sarah Louise Blakley Seymour Bump was the third child of Jane's brother Erastus and his wife Harriet. She was born in 1868 and married first, Joseph Seymour, with whom she had two sons. She married second, Arus F. Bump, and she appears in the census records for Arlington, Vermont, from 1900 through 1940. She died in Shaftsbury in March of 1950, and is buried in the Evergreen Cemetery in Arlington.

### **Unanswered questions**

Jane A. Blakley Stickle's legacy is a masterwork of a quilt made in 1863. She signed it, noting in her inscription an overwhelmingly important current event, but also calling attention to the extraordinary feat of needlework

she accomplished—5,306 pieces. Each block is unique and uses different fabrics. Jane had access to an amazing wealth of material, and she had time to draft and execute the intricate blocks. She made it during a time in her life when she was enjoying some degree of wealth in both time and resources, which did not last.

Many questions remain unanswered. Uppermost in my mind is how Walter and Jane Stickle lost everything. Why were they boarded out, when, according to census records, two of his brothers continued to live on their farms in Shaftsbury and prosper, and many nieces and nephews lived in the area? Why did the quilt pass to one of those nieces? We may never know, but we are left with an incredible quilt to comfort us while we ponder.

### Endnotes:

- 1 Loretta B. Chase and Pamela Weeks Worthen, "A Blue Hills Quilt: To Miss Charlotte Hawkins," in *Uncoverings* 2004, ed. Kathlyn Sullivan (Lincoln, Nebraska: American Quilt Study Group, 2004) 129-155.
  - 2 Donna Bister and Richard Cleveland, *Plain and Fancy: Vermont's People and Their Quilts As a Reflection of America.* (Gualala, CA: The Quilt Digest Press, 1991) 60-61
  - 3 Brenda Manges Papadakis, *Dear Jane: The Two Hundred Tent-Five Patterns from the 1863 Jane A. Stickle Quilt.* (West Warren, MA: Wrights, 1996)
  - 4 Examination of The Jane Stickle Quilt, Collection of the Bennington Museum, accession number 2064, March 15, 2013. Thanks to Callie Stewart, collections manager, for her assistance with all available resources.
  - 5 Barbara Brackman, "Signature Quilts, Nineteenth Century Trends," in *Uncoverings* 1989, ed. Laurel Horton (San Francisco, CA: American Quilt Study Group, 1990) 27-30
  - 6 New England Quilt Museum, accession number 2003.14. The quilt was made by Elizabeth Johnson White of Point Pleasant, PA, circa 1860. The center block is composed of what was once bright red, white and blue stars, and may be related to the Civil War.
  - 7 Patricia T. Herr, *Quilting Traditions: Pieces from the Past* (Altgen, PA: Schiffer Publishers, 2000) 157-158. A sampler quilt is attributed to Fanny S. Bucher, initialed FSB and dated 1860. It is 84 inches square, and composed of diamond-shaped blocks set in pink sashing with many blocks as complicated as those found in Jane Stickle's quilt. Thanks to Laura Lane, collections manager at the New England Quilt Museum, for this reference and for sharing her research results on this particular style of quilt.
  - 8 Vermont, Bennington County, Manchester District Estate Files 1779-1935, Images. *FamilySearch*. <http://Familysearch.org>: accessed 2013. Citing Probate Court, Supreme Court of Vermont, Montpelier: Box 3, images 692 to 742, Last Will and Testament of Erastus Blakley. The records include the probate inventory of his estate.
  - 9 *By a Lady, The Workwoman's Guide* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1838) 181 (reprinted by Piper Publishing, LLC, 2002)
  - 10 Last Will and Testament of Erastus Blakley.
  - 11 United States Census, 1830 through 1940, index and images accessed through Ancestry.com.
  - 12 Annual Reports of the town officers of Shaftsbury, Vermont, for the years 1884 to 1896, located at the office of the town clerk.
- Funding for the research and writing of this article came from an Implementation Grant from the Champlain Valley National Heritage Partnership.*

# Howard Coffin's town-by-town guidebook to Vermont in the Civil War

*Reviewed by Tom Ledoux*

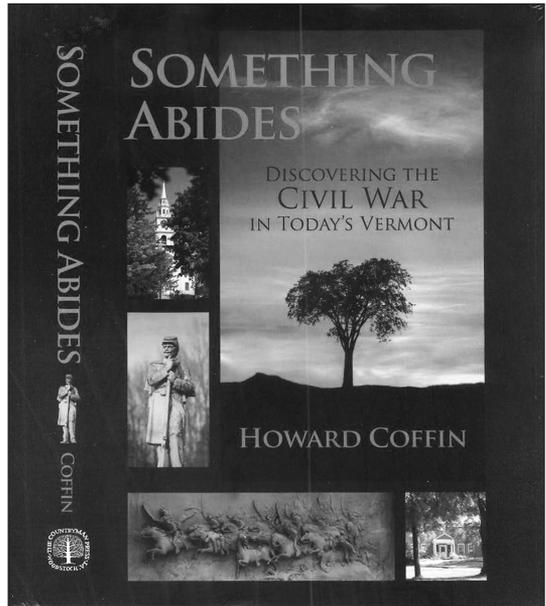
Vermonters forged an enviable record in the War of the Rebellion. Over a four-year period in the mid-1800s, tens of thousands of men and boys left Vermont to support the Union cause, enduring the loneliness of separation from their loved ones, the hardships of marching and camp life, and the horrors of battle.

They joined up in their hometown, or adjacent towns, at the post office, at the town clerk's office, or at rallies held for that express purpose. They did their initial drilling in local fields

before joining their regiments and heading for the Seat of War. They left behind families and friends who lived in towns and villages that nestle in the shadows of the Green Mountains. They also left behind their homes, farms, churches, the local inn, the village store, and many other familiar places.

Those who survived returned to the homes of their birth, resumed civilian lives, organized reunions, built meeting places for the many post-war fraternal organizations they joined, and built monuments. And when they passed on, were buried in more than 1,000 cemeteries throughout the state. Many others emigrated, seeking greater opportunities, and ended up in every state except Alaska, and several foreign countries, and now rest in hundreds of other graves beyond the borders of Vermont.

In 1909, Thirteenth Vermont chronicler Ralph Sturtevant met up with a fellow Civil War veteran in Swanton, and in their discussion reflected, "We all soon shall pass away and be forgotten." His comrade James Judkins demurred, saying, "Yes, but what we did will remain." Judkins was right. So was J. P. Lamson of Cabot, dedicating this town's Civil War mon-



ument in 1876, when he said, “Their records will remain from everlasting to everlasting, after this monument dedicated to them shall have crumbled.” But for decades most of those memories remained obscure, known to local residents perhaps, but not too many others.

Howard Coffin is a seventh-generation Vermonter, a journalist and author of three previous books on the Civil War, *Full Duty: Vermonters in the Civil War*, *Nine Months to Gettysburg*, and *The Battered Stars*, all of which chronicle the war. With the publication of *Something Abides* he turns his focus to the home front.

Coffin visited the places where Judkins said those memories would remain, about 2,500 of them. He spent six years, drove 150,000 miles and went through three cars compiling this work, a major undertaking. He visited every town in Vermont, from Woodstock in 2006 to Bakersfield in 2012. Over the course of those six years, he visited communities throughout the state ranging from the three smallest towns listed in the 1860 census, Averill, Ferdinand, and Norton, in remote Essex County, to the state’s largest cities, Burlington and Rutland.

He collected obscure facts from hundreds of people in every town, sought out the locations where they occurred, and produced a substantial guidebook to the highways and byways of the Green Mountain State, and how they relate to the overall experience of those who went to war, and those who remained behind.

Each town has a unique story, but there are themes that most of them share. Abolition, patriotic fever, recruiting, training, marching off to war, communicating, wounds and deaths, funerals, coming home, recovery, remembrance, and the final roll call form some of the common threads that link most towns together.

Some town articles start with the number of soldiers who went to war, and the number who didn’t come back. Others begin with a description of a major building in the town, yet still others with driving directions to the first site of interest. It is remarkable that most towns sent more than 10 percent of their population off to war.

Finding significant numbers of Civil War sites in the state’s two largest cities, Burlington and Rutland, was no surprise. But Coffin struggled to find sites in two of the three smallest towns, in remote Essex County, which stand to reason, given that combined populations of Averill, Ferdinand, and Norton in 1860 were less than 80.

Coffin frequently adds color to augment descriptions of the sites he found. One of the more poignant at the beginning of the war was in Greensboro, where the local boys marched through town, stopping at the home of an elderly woman, where 75 former Sunday School students

stepped forward from the ranks to honor her. (p. 299) Another is Phoebe Chase of Andover, who lost her son Isaac early in the war; it has been passed down that she “set a place at the table for Isaac as long as she lived.” (p. 453)

Too many soldiers were buried on the battlefield and later reinterred in national cemeteries, many of them, unfortunately, not identified, like Grand Isle’s native son Byron Hoag, killed at Spotsylvania’s Bloody Angle. Others were brought home to a grieving family and town. Witness the funerals of Colonel Elisha Barney, Sixth Vermont Infantry, in Swanton; Colonel Addison Preston, First Vermont Cavalry, in Danville; Private Morris Divoll, Sixth Vermont, in Topsham; and Private William Weymouth, of Peru.

There are also stories of young boys running away from home to join up, and older men who couldn’t serve but encouraged their sons to do so. Then there is the epitaph of an angry father who blamed President Lincoln for “ignoring” his imprisoned son’s plight in Andersonville, where he died. There are details of the financial issues many towns encountered recruiting soldiers to serve to their credit, sometimes paying bounties as high as \$1,000. Canaan, as far northeast in the state as you can get, was one of the latter; in August 1862 the town authorized \$70 for nine-month enlistees and \$100 for three-year enlistees. By September 1864 they offered \$1,000 for six men to enlist. Some towns paid nothing.

The distaff side is well represented in the town articles: women involved in sewing circles and Ladies Aid Societies during the war, the Women’s Relief Corps, and the Auxiliary to the Sons of Veterans afterward. Many individuals are mentioned as well, most of them wives, mothers or siblings of soldiers. Some stand out, like Mary Farnham of Bradford, who joined her husband with his regiment in northern Virginia. Another Bradford native, Calista Jones Robinson, became national president of the Women’s Relief Corps, which was instrumental in preserving the prison site at Andersonville. Derby native Elizabeth, wife of Congressman Portus Baxter, worked in the Washington hospitals. Harriet Hinkson Holmes, a nurse with the 11th Vermont Infantry, is buried in Worcester. Anna, wife of Governor J. Gregory Smith, protected their property with a pistol during the St. Albans Raid.

The most touching story, however, is about Mary Belle Emery of Eden. She had gone to Washington to be with her husband, George, in the Eleventh Vermont, but the regiment shipped out to participate in the Overland Campaign. He was captured and died at Andersonville. She was left destitute with six children, in Washington, where she was forced to work as a laundress to support her family. (p. 238)

But the Civil War heroes of Vermont deserve an accurate record of their achievements, and unfortunately, this volume is lacking in some areas.

In Chapter One, a short synopsis of the war, South Carolina, Mis-

issippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas all seceded before Abraham Lincoln took office in March, 1861, not after. During the first battle of the war, Big Bethel, Coffin says Washburn led a battalion of 500 Vermonters into action, repeating an error he had in his first book, *Full Duty*. Yet George Benedict, in his monumental history *Vermont in the Civil War*, clearly states the battalion consisted of 272 men from the First Vermont Infantry, and the remainder from five companies of the 4th Massachusetts Infantry.

John Phelps of Guilford, commander of the First Vermont Infantry, had been a brigadier general for more than a year when he was assigned to the Department of the Gulf, where he had a run-in with Benjamin Butler about raising black troops. Coffin lists him as a colonel. (p. 421) Lincoln's Gettysburg Address occurred on November 19, not November 17.

The statement that Gilbert Lucier was the last Vermont veteran to die is incorrect. (p. 304) He was indeed the last soldier to die in Vermont, but not the last Vermont veteran to pass on. At least six other Vermont veterans died after him, the last being Henry Horton, 2nd Vermont, who died in Troy, N. Y., in 1948. And soldiers weren't the only veterans of the war. Harriet Holmes of Worcester, a nurse who served with the 11th Vermont, was actually the last "veteran" to die in Vermont, in 1945.(p. 407)

Burlington obviously has a significant number of sites documented. In Lakeview Cemetery, four of the five luminaries mentioned, Howard, Henry, Peck, and Wells, were Medal of Honor recipients, but so was Captain George Davis, who is buried there. He is mentioned for his actions at the battle of Monocacy in Chapter One, but again no mention of his Medal. (p. 26)

St. Albans, noted for the October 1864 Confederate Raid, is fairly well covered, but a few extant sites were missed. One of the three banks robbed, the Franklin County Bank on North Main Street, still stands, and is still a bank. Right next door, the building on the corner of Lake and Main streets was the American Hotel. One block west, at the corner of Lake and Catherine Streets, stands the building that was the St. Albans House, another lodging place for the raiders.

In Swanton, of the 32 Civil War veterans buried in Church Street, Coffin mentions four soldiers, including the lackluster Colonel Albert Jewett, commander of the Tenth Vermont, (p. 218) but fails to mention his brother, Erastus, of the Ninth Vermont, a Medal of Honor recipient.

The article on Concord fails to mention the final resting place of Coxswain Charles H. Smith, USN, one of the few recipients of a non-combat Medal of Honor, who married a local girl and spent 33 years there after the war. (p. 180) Two sailors and a marine were awarded Medals of Honor

for their actions in the loss of *USS Mississippi* off Port Hudson in 1863, but not Executive Officer George Dewey, a native of Montpelier. Naval officers, unlike their army counterparts, were not eligible for the Medal of Honor until 1915.

In total, 33 Civil War Medal of Honor recipients are buried in Vermont, including five in Lakeview Cemetery in Burlington, and another five in Green Mount (not Evergreen) Cemetery in Montpelier. (p. 385)

Despite its imperfections, Coffin's work will show you what it was that made Vermont what it is today. Historian James M. McPherson calls it a "tour de force," and Governor Peter Shumlin enthuses that the story is "full of discoveries and surprises." Publisher Kathryn Jorgensen calls it "readable history" as well as a travel guide. If you have never been in Vermont (you should come and visit), eschew the standard tourist sites, and use Coffin's book as a guide to find the history behind what is indisputably Vermont's greatest contribution to this nation's history.

With apologies to Tom Brokaw, if it weren't for the "Civil War Generation," America would not be what it is today.

*Something Abides: Discovering the Civil War in Today's Vermont*, by Howard Coffin. With introductions by Governor Peter Shumlin and historian James M. McPherson. Illustrated, indexes, 528 pages, 2013. The Countryman Press, PO Box 748, Woodstock, VT 05091, hardcover \$35. ISBN: 978-0-88150-981-6.

# Unlocking the enigma of Lincoln's surviving son

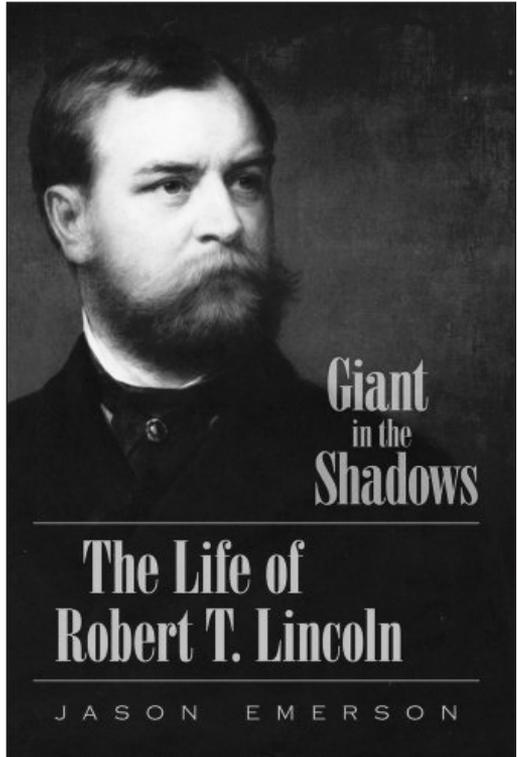
*Reviewed by Robert Guarino*

Everyone knows the name Lincoln and a great deal of the story of Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator, but few know the story of his only son to survive to adulthood, Robert Todd Lincoln, who remains an enigma to many.

Here was a man who espoused and exemplified Republican principles and yet would never allow his name to be entered into any elective race. He could have been a leading contender for many different Republican nominations yet chose to consider none of them. Son of the martyred and revered sixteenth president, his name alone would have made him almost a foregone victor in any competition he chose to participate in.

Whenever he was made aware of any suggestion of his name being considered for a political position – senator, vice president, or even president – Robert T. Lincoln would become invisible, often disappearing in Europe so as to preclude any unwanted let alone unsolicited place on a Republican ticket.

This recent biography of Robert Todd Lincoln by Jason Emerson does a brilliant job of analyzing and assessing Lincoln's thinking as he dodges political minefields and keeps himself out of the public eye but for two notable exceptions: First, he was appointed secretary of war under President James Garfield, continuing in that position under President Chester A. Arthur, who was elevated to the presidency after Garfield's assassination. Secondly, he was appointed as minister to the Court of St. James's under President



Benjamin Harrison from 1889 to 1893.

Author Emerson also does an admirable job of relating Lincoln's accomplishments through his Chicago law firm and more so his rise to the presidency of the Pullman Company, the country's largest corporation at that time, and how it grew even larger during his time as chief executive. Emerson also writes of Lincoln's obsession with protecting his father's legacy, how he demanded reviews of the qualifications of potential biographers' qualifications as he controlled his father's papers. Eventually he made the papers only available to John Hay and John Nicolay, two of President Lincoln's secretaries, who were to write the first "authorized" biography.

What I did find lacking from Emerson's biography was any in-depth discussion of his family, particularly his relationship to his wife of some 58 years, Mary Harlan Lincoln. She was the daughter of U.S. Senator James Harlan of Iowa, and was "greatly admired" by the young men in the capital. The marriage produced three children, two daughters and one son, and although Emerson follows their lives he fails to delve deeply into the interpersonal relations among the wife and children.

Emerson does, however, recount meticulously Robert's accomplishments as a businessman and a captain of industry, and he effectively relates issues that created great embarrassment and difficulties such as the Greely affair in 1881 when, as Secretary of War, Lincoln authorized the court martial of Adolphus Greely who openly disagreed with Lincoln's decision not to attempt the rescue of an ill-fated Arctic expedition.

Emerson also relates the story of Robert's complex relationship with his mother, Mary Todd Lincoln, and his reasons for bringing her to trial for insanity in 1875. He tells of their increasing estrangement following the assassination of the president and how her behavior by attempting to sell her White House-era clothes, and her obsession with impending poverty, at least to Lincoln and the sympathetic press, caused him increasing embarrassment and led him to believe that his mother was becoming insane.

His justification for having her institutionalized was based not only on his observations but also on the advice of longtime friends and medical professionals and also a cousin of Mary's who concurred in her mental state. It is fair to say, however, that "insane" at that time in Illinois also had the meaning of "being incapable to take care of oneself," not necessarily that the accused was "crazy" as we might think of the term today. In fact, Emerson quotes Lincoln's frequent use of the term "insane" as he refers to other acquaintances and friends of Lincoln's who he thinks of being insane, thus somewhat diminishing its definition as a serious condition.

Mary was always surrounded by controversy because she was mistrusted as a Southerner in the White House, ridiculed as "Mrs. President" by

political opponents, belittled as she attempted to sell some of her White House gowns during the “Old Clothes Scandal”; and finally thought of as mentally unbalanced for her behavior as a visitor to seances. Above all, she was an independent woman who at that time was not always understood or appreciated. Many of Mary Todd Lincoln’s biographers give a different impression of the relationship with Robert and how Mary revered her son and his family including his wife, Mary Harlan Lincoln. These biographies reveal a different perspective than what is found in Emerson’s version. For an impartial understanding it might be good for the reader to review additional authors’ interpretations of their life-long struggles.

Perhaps another edition of this biography will describe in greater detail Robert’s relationship with his wife and how her many absences from the great tragedies of his life will be explained. Emerson does, in summation, create an excellent picture of Robert Todd Lincoln and he tells of Robert’s varied personality from being a carefree member of the Hasty Pudding Club while attending Harvard College to stoic guardian of his father’s papers and legacy.

*Giant in the Shadows: The Life of Robert T. Lincoln*, by Jason Emerson, Southern Illinois University Press, 2012, \$39.95.

# Biography profiles Simon Fraser, Bennington-born Canadian explorer

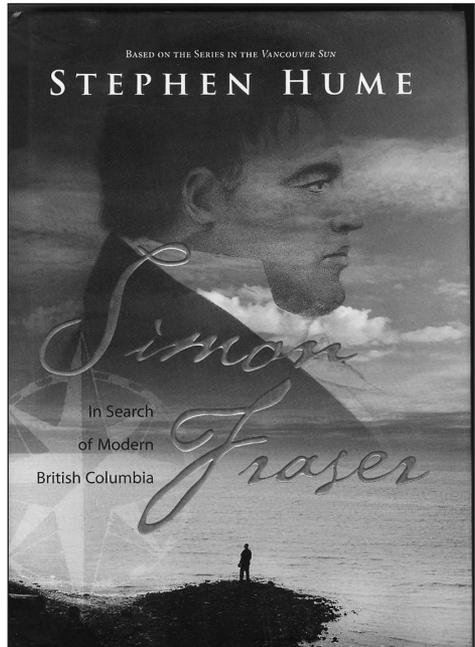
*Reviewed by Tyler Resch*

Simon Fraser until now has been known as half of a dual biography titled “Two Bennington-Born Explorers and Makers of Modern Canada,” by Bennington Museum founder John Spargo, published in 1950.

Simon Fraser (1776-1862) and Daniel Williams Harmon (1778-1845) were indeed both born in Bennington (or in the case of Fraser his birthplace was in the stateline neighborhood known as Mapletown, in today’s Hoosick, N.Y.) to fathers who fought on opposing sides at the Battle of Bennington. Fraser and Harmon followed amazingly parallel careers as they explored western Canada though they barely knew each other.

Fraser’s father (1729-1777), also named Simon, died in a rebel prison in Albany after the Battle of Bennington, setting the stage for his persecuted widow’s flight to Canada with seven children. Harmon’s father, also named Daniel (1747-1805) served in the Revolution and operated a tavern on the west side of Bennington where General John Stark reportedly breakfasted before the battle on August 16, 1777.

That old dual biography made a bit of a confusing story, especially in the rambling and speculative hands of Spargo. Thus it is useful to have this new biography solely about Simon Fraser, the pioneer explorer of western Canada for whom the Fraser River and Fraser University were named. It has been laboriously researched and written by Stephen Hume, a journalist and award-winning author of poetry, essays, and nonfiction about Alberta and British Columbia, where he was raised in fishing, farming, and logging



communities. Hume's book is heavy and colorful, elaborately designed, rich with color photographs, maps, illustrations, diagrams, and photographs from past and present.

Author Hume began his project at the Bennington Museum some years ago as he investigated Fraser's origins in the era of the American Revolution. Research consumed four years and 20,000 kilometers of travel and exploration, he writes. The book includes a double-page spread in color of the museum's famous Ralph Earle painting of Old Bennington in 1798. The museum has long had an electronic version of Hume's text but only in recent times have we had a copy of the sumptuous book itself. Simon Fraser's life enriches the history not only of our own region but also of the vast Canadian northwest.

Fraser was ordered in 1805 by the North West Company to expand its trading interests beyond the Rocky Mountains and to exploit territory that Alexander MacKenzie had passed through in the 1790s. The earlier fur trader had created an infrastructure of transportation routes, supply depots, settlements, and "an emerging psychology of place," according to Hume.

Hume writes with a touch of a Canadian accent in a style that might be described as part journalistic impressionism and part scholarly, with sources absorbed into the text without footnotes. He is oriented to anthropology and archaeology so the reader is treated to a knowledgeable travelogue of northern Canada's rich heritage as he follows the footprints Fraser left across Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia.

Present mixes with past when Hume recalls being rudely awakened early one morning in a rooming house on Cold Lake, Alberta, when DF-18 fighter jets roared by as part of Operation Maple Leaf, an annual war games over Cold Lake Air Weapons Range (p.127).

During his tracing of Fraser's route Hume also encountered a heritage of violence on lands that were still barely inhabited. He writes in a chapter titled *A Land Haunted by Violence*: "The sad fact is that on a frontier beyond the reach of British law, tribes increasingly found themselves competing in a brutal new economic order to secure trading monopolies." (p. 206) He tells of one of Fraser's original crew, a Metis interpreter, who came to be known as an enforcer of "club law." Journals kept by early explorers including Fraser, who was succeeded by the Bennington-born Daniel Harmon in New Caledonia, recorded outbreaks of violence with little surprise.

Fraser and his men camped in villages where by necessity they sought to make friends because if they camped just anywhere they would be considered trespassing and likely be killed. A quote from Fraser's journal illustrates one of many encounters with native tribes: "All at once, and when we least expected a surprise, seven Askittihs presented themselves before us

with their bows and arrows in readiness for attack; they conceived us to be enemies, but upon coming nearer they discovered from our appearance and demeanour their mistake, laid by their weapons, joined us and we shook hands.” (p. 260)

Hume experienced in a powerful chartered motorboat one of many narrow sections of river that churned with rapid cross currents, whirlpools and eddies, which Fraser and his men had to portage around with their birch-bark canoes. He examined ancient petroglyphs carved into riverside rocks and inspected the remains of villages that had been obliterated by smallpox years before Fraser passed through.

Finally reaching the ocean, Fraser again dealt diplomatically with several natives in villages he encountered, then reversed course and never returned to the West Coast. “He had just led his expedition eight hundred kilometers over terrain that would challenge the abilities of the best-trained military special forces unit today. He completed his mission from present-day Prince George to present-day Vancouver and back in seventy-one days. He talked his men out of a near-disastrous mutiny when things appeared most bleak, brought every man for whom he was responsible home safely, negotiated the support of powerful Indian nations, and despite circumstances fraught with threats of violence, killed not one enemy.” (p. 304)

Fraser retired from the fur trade and in 1820 married Catherine Macdonnell, daughter of a local military officer, and settled on a farm near Cornwall, Ontario. During a rebellion in 1837-38 he served as captain of a militia unit and suffered an injury that plagued him until his death 24 years later. Fraser died on Aug. 18, 1862. “His work for the North West Company in establishing the fur trade west of the Rockies had helped secure what it now British Columbia for Canada.” (p. 314)

In a final chapter, Hume presents a detailed reader’s guide to the aboriginal peoples encountered by Fraser during his eventful explorations.

*Simon Fraser: In Search of Modern British Columbia*, by Stephen Hume. Madeira Park, British Columbia, Harbour Publishing Co. Ltd., 2008. Cloth, 336 pp. \$36.95.

## Lusting for the potatoes of the Treasury

*William Lloyd Garrison was persuaded to come to Bennington in the fall of 1828 to launch a weekly newspaper, Journal of the Times, in support of the candidacy of John Quincy Adams – who lost to Andrew Jackson. After “Old Hickory” Jackson was elected Garrison kept up a drumbeat of criticism of the new president as he continued to edit his Journal until it ceased in July 1829. Garrison went on to gain national renown as the fiery editor-publisher of the weekly abolitionist Liberator, published from 1831 to the end of the Civil War in 1865, demanding rights for black Americans. His original spelling is retained here.*

JOURNAL OF THE TIMES  
BENNINGTON  
Wednesday, May 6, 1829

### A HARD CASE

“There was an old woman that lived in a shoe,  
“She had so many children she didn’t know what to do;  
“Some she gave potatoes, and some she gave bread,  
“Some she gave a whipping and sent them to bed.”

Pathetic ballad.

We can never think of the above pathetic lines, without being forcibly struck with the similarity of condition existing between the old lady and the new President of the United States. So many calls for office, so much struggling for the crumbs that fall from the Treasury table, so many open mouths to be stopped and so many hungry maws to be filled, that General Jackson’s condition, though in the Presidential palace, must be quite as uncomfortable as that of the poor needy tenant of the shoe.

Indeed it is in some respects much worse. The old woman had the extent of her difficulties before her, and knew what she had to do; how far she could go in relieving the wants of her children, and, when the eatables were spent, how many of the youngers she must satisfy with birch instead of bread. But the President can see no end to the calls and importunities for office. If he give potatoes to some and bread to others, the crowds who remain are too numerous and too turbulent to be silenced by a whipping. Foreign

embassies will go but a little way among so many hungry expectants; seats in the Cabinet are very limited; judgeships and attorneyships will satisfy but a few mouths; comptrollers and auditors' offices are soon disposed of; the larger collectorships and post offices stand no chance among so many; in short, all the richer offices in the gift of government are but as a mere crumb of bread in the hands of the old woman of the shoe, to satisfy the cries of her numerous family. The minor offices are more plentiful, but what are they among so many?

The potatoes of the Treasury they may be called, but such food as they are, they are soon swallowed, and but a small part of those who were crying lustily for food have and a morsel. What is to be done with these? Are they to be treated in the summary manner of the old woman of the shoe? But wherewith could the nation supply birch for so extensive a flagellation? The forests would fail, before the half of it was accomplished. Would it not be better to create a few thousand offices for the special benefit of applicants at the present crisis?

Whipping is out of the question, and as for hanging them under the 2d section, that would be placing them on the same footing as those wicked traitors, the members of the Hartford Convention. As to the creation of offices, that would be inconsistent with the *promise of reform*, and therefore can never be resorted to by so economical a government.

The situation of the President then is indeed most lamentable; and the trying case of the old lady in the shoe sinks into nothing in point of pathos, when compared with that of our beloved chief magistrate.

*From the Bennington Museum's archives*

## **Wisdom and moderation brought peaceful resolution**

*From the preface of The Natural and Civil History of Vermont by Samuel Williams, printed at Walpole, N.H., by Isaiah Thomas and David Carlisle Jr., 1794.*

The controversies which took place between the states of Vermont, Newyork, and Newhampshire, were of the most dangerous nature; and they were agitated for a while, with a violence greatly unfavourable to the peace and safety of the whole union. Most of the wars which have taken place among mankind, have been occasioned by disputes respecting territory or jurisdiction: And however just or proper it might be for any nation, to give up part of its territory and dominion to its neighbors, such a sacrifice was scarcely ever made without compulsion and force.

To have expected Newyork would voluntarily give up part of her territory, when the decisions of the king, and the law were in her favour, was to expect that which is never done by any sovereign or nation, while they have the power to prevent it. To have expected the people of Vermont would voluntarily submit to a government, which set aside their titles to the lands which they had purchased of the crown, and made valuable by their labours and sufferings, was to look for that, which no people ever ought to submit to, if it is in their power to avoid it.

When the states of Newyork, Newhampshire, and Vermont, had engaged in a controversy of this kind, it was more agreeable to the course of human affairs to expect it would produce a civil war, than to look for so much wisdom and moderation among either of the contending parties, as to prevent it.

*(original spelling retained)*



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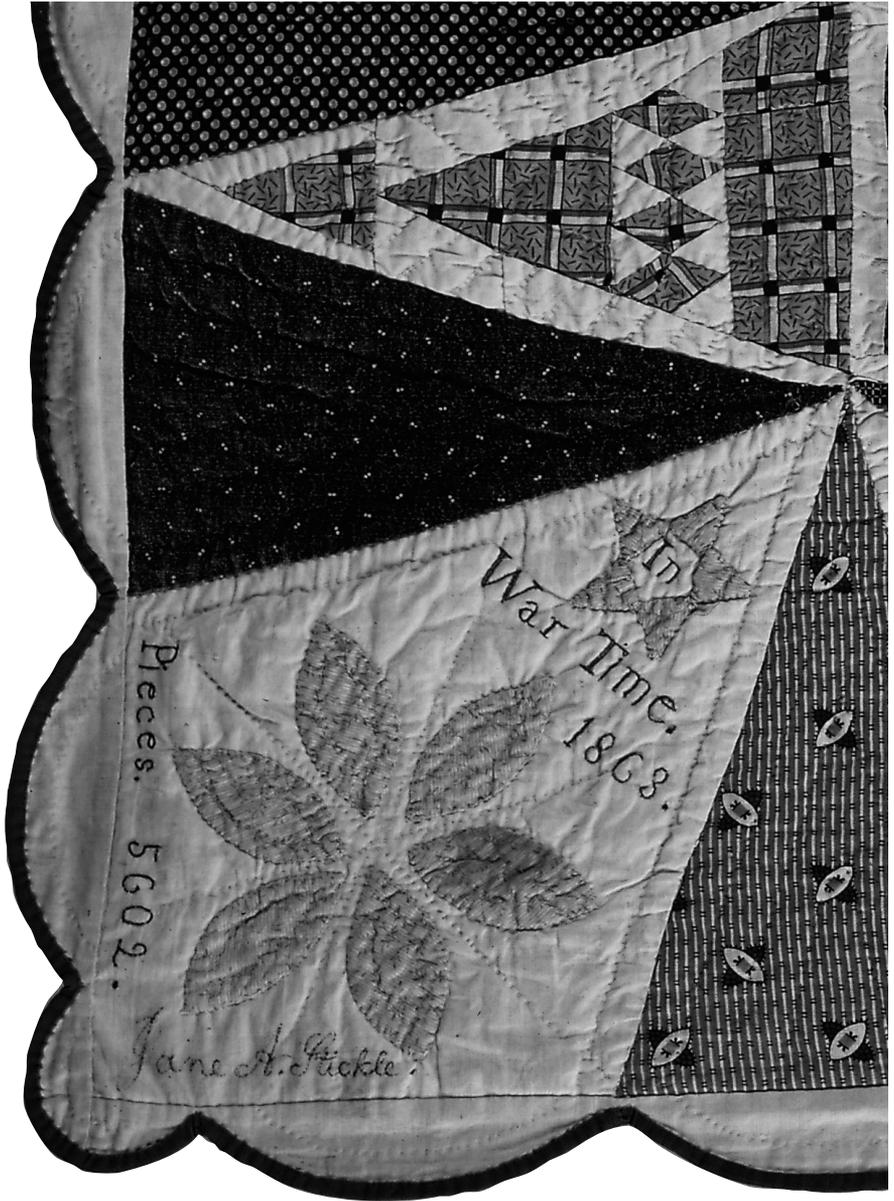
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