Carving out a sense of place: The making of the Marble Valley and the Marble City of Vermont

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CARVING OUT A SENSE OF PLACE:
THE MAKING OF THE MARBLE VALLEY
AND THE MARBLE CITY OF
OF VERMONT

BY

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Submitted to the University of New Hampshire
In Partial Fulfillment of
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in
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## PART II: THE FIGHT FOR POWER

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PREFACE

The area encompassed by Vermont was one of the last settled areas in the northeastern United States for Native Americans and Europeans. Before the Europeans, it was an uncertain buffer zone between rival Native American confederations, and later competing European powers roamed the region from their bases to the north, south, east and west. When the uncertainty of the political situation among the European powers seemed for a time to be solved, Vermont, along with Nova Scotia, attracted speculators and settlers in the 1760s. In the case of Vermont, it was but a temporary lull, as the cauldron of turmoil continued to bubble into the late colonial and revolutionary periods when New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire at various times stirred the fires of rivalry again.

The earliest English settlers to Vermont and its central valley were second-and-third generation colonials, mostly from other regions of New England. They saw their cultural, economic and religious history connected with New England rather than New York. Enforcers such as the Green Mountain Boys used intimidation to promote New Hampshire’s claims and to suppress New York’s. New York fought back politically and with its own local intimidation. In the political quagmire Vermont shifted from contended ground to republic to state, and it was the only New England state that went through such a passage.

The region went through a series of economic ventures. In the early nineteenth century traditional local agriculture was threatened and weakened by the richer agriculture of the Midwest and the outward migration of many of its citizens. To
compensate, New Yorkers built the Champlain Canal, before the more famous Erie Canal, to have a waterway connected to the Hudson and eventually to the large port at New York City. "Lumber and iron resources in northern New York and great marble deposits in southwestern Vermont constituted strong arguments in favor of a canal. In 1817 the New York legislature authorized the construction of the canal."\(^1\) So dramatic was the economic impact of the canal that it changed the direction of trade for the region. Trade "now turned south and even Canada made use of this channel for both her export and import trade."\(^2\)

In Vermont's Central Valley, when a proposed local Rutland Canal, connecting to the Champlain Canal, proved too costly to build, Vermonter looked for other means to connect to larger markets. Railroad building was the technical revolution sweeping the east in the 1830s to the 1850s and Rutland saw its economic salvation in the railroads. Workers were needed to build the railroad and a wave of immigrants arrived to do the brunt work.

Valley residents sought a distinctive commodity that would give them an economic advantage. Sheep raising for a time gave the region a competitive advantage, but other regions of the country within a few decades surpassed the Valley. What was needed was a natural advantage that other regions of the country could not easily reproduce. The advantage turned out to be below the surface. Marble from the Valley contributed to the building boom from just before, to well after the Civil War.

\(^{1}\) Julia Kellogg, Vermont's Post Roads and Canals," *Vermont Quarterly*, (October 1948), XV, No. 4, 145.

\(^{2}\) Kellogg, Vermont’s Post Roads and Canals," 145.
Vermont's image and its own promotion of agriculture and tourism has overshadowed the important industrial side of Vermont. Between 1870 and 1890 the national economy exploded into an industrial economy. Carroll D. Wright, the United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics, observed in 1880 that "at least four-fifths" of "nearly 3 millions of people employed in the mechanical industries of this country" were in the new factory system. In the case of Rutland, the new organizational structure meant expansion of the quarries, marble mills, processing plants, and distribution centers along with social and political support systems.

In 1880, 13 percent of the nation's population were foreign born, but 42 percent of those working in manufacturing, quarrying, and mining were immigrants. The Valley, and especially Rutland, showed this transformation. The expansion in marble also produced wealth on a scale undreamed of for social and political elites in the pre-industrial societies, except for a privileged few. Powerful economic and political elites using new forms of organization turned the economic expansion into personal and political gain. At times this wealth and power made it possible to form or modify towns and civic organizations. Redfield Proctor of the Vermont Marble Company was part of this movement.

Historians have viewed this unfolding story in various ways. Leon Fink in *Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics* has argued that Redfield Proctor in many ways was a Creon, a powerful usurper of power who could
enforce his will. Robert Gilmore focused on the business ability of Redfield Proctor and lauds Proctor's business skills, seeing him in a more benign light. Chester Winston Bowie's *Redfield Proctor: A Biography*, based on his doctoral thesis, showed Proctor in a wider social context of soldier, businessman and politician. Martin Shefter in *Working-Class Formation* pointed out the importance of community life where citizens were supportive of one another. The sense of place is extremely important in understanding the dynamics of the Marble Valley and the Marble City and is a key to understanding its social and geographic divisions. A sense of solidarity arose with social support networks of churches and ethnic societies in the Marble Valley. Ronald Eller has pointed out an important contrast with the coal industry of the Appalachian South. Privately owned industrial towns of the Appalachian South dominated the social lives of the workers with company houses, company stores, and often a government that promoted and supported company policies. Companies built such towns to provide necessary worker residences because of the location of the mines, but the result was social isolation and dependency on the company. In the Marble Valley existing towns already clustered around the rich

---


marble deposits. This important geographic attribute had important social consequences for the region. One of those consequences that new wealth accruing to the region created was paternalism.

The economy of the Valley developed in significant stages. First was subsistence farming to commercial farming, selling surplus products to the larger cities. Wheat farming in the Valley was an example. Most farmers fell in between the subsistence and commercial farmers, and sought supplementary means to augment their income.8 For example, “turkey trots” involved several farmers working together with a few of them herding turkeys to Boston over several weeks. There they would buy store goods and begin the cycle the following year. Sheep farming was another trend that spread through the Valley. At first, marble was supplemental to the farmer’s income but, as the market for wheat and sheep plummeted, marble increased as an important alternative. Many small marble companies were founded. Shortly before the Civil War and immediately after it, the infrastructure was in place to develop the production of marble further. After the War, the resultant building boom encouraged further uses of marble.

Philip Scranton has distinguished at least three types of paternalism: corporate, familiar, and fraternal.9 Corporate paternalism such as existed in the Lowell mills safeguarded, as it viewed it, the total lives of the workers and was more often in the North. The workers lived within a corporate regulated society. Familiar paternalism was less immediately pervasive, but nevertheless extensive. It was an industrial extension of


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the southern plantation. The textile mills of the South controlled the lives of the workers. The owner of the mill clearly lived apart, but was on familiar terms with his workers. He was the master of the town. Fraternal paternalism existed where worker and owners lived side by side, worked together, and often attended the same public institutions. Scranton's insights provide a good understanding to the Vermont Marble Company's relations with its workers. In its first stage, it acted with fraternal paternalism. In the second stage it shifted to familiar paternalism, and in its final stage, driven by the economic forces of the depression, it abandoned paternalism in favor of impersonal scientific management.

Two kinds of histories have characterized much social historical writing in the past generation—community studies, and the "new" locally-based labor histories. Hal Barron's *Those Who Stayed Behind* emphasizes community, continuity, and attachment to place; the other emphasizes more class analysis and labor conflict. Leon Fink, it seems to me, downplays the divisions within the business elite and ignores some important details in the local political situation. He characterizes Rutland City's politics as "two-party pluralism," but, as events past 1896 show, workers continued to support independent and labor candidates. Fink does give an understanding of class struggle but he misinterprets the tenacity of the labor movement when he indicates that the elites forced a special election "half way through" the pro-labor Mayor Brown's term. The mayoral election was an annual spring event, and no special election was held. Brown finished his term of office, but did not choose to run again. He felt the Republican elite power coterie would not be able to govern the fractious city government any better than
he had. The Democrats simply did not field a candidate as a way of showing their displeasure with the Republican and class conflict.

My interpretation of the evidence sees a complex story of competing interests and the importance of place. The Valley, and especially the Marble City, was a result of a series of choices that the citizens made. In order to understand those choices, I have divided the narrative into three distinctive periods, each of which shapes the succeeding one. Part I deals with creating the Marble Valley and the Marble City in the formation of a sense of place. Part II examines the fight for economic and political power which formed alliances based on a sense of place. Part III looks at the aftermath of the choices that the citizens made and shaped the modern sense of place in the Marble City and Valley. Frances Fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward in their work *The Breaking of the American Social Compact* have argued that modern society has undercut the solidarity of the worker which was fostered by a sense of place. “The old segregated working-class towns and enclaves are giving way to more dispersed patterns of settlement; television and life organized around patterns of mass consumption replace the working class pub and insular working class traditions; and locally based party organizations give way to national media campaigns.”10 Robert Wieve has similarly argued that the breakdown of the “island community” took place earlier in the 1870s.11 The island community was separate unto itself and could run its political and social affairs. There was an uneasiness as the country became more nationalized. Many tried to hold on to the sense of the past.


Rutland shows this precise quandary. The citizens solved the dilemma, not as most cities of the time were doing, by expanding outward, upward, and downward. Their solution was to divide the town to ensure a continuance of the island community. It was a romantic hope that would have financial consequences.

To achieve their goals in a public forum, the workers engaged in social and political activities that helped to form a political culture and consciousness. Insiders and outsiders jostled for power, especially with the arrival of immigrant groups. Elites of the town preferred certain immigrant groups to others because they were more docile and more "PLU," people like us. Scandinavians, for instance, were preferred over the Irish. Nativism was rampant in the United States in the nineteenth century and Rutland, where many of the immigrants came to find work in the marble industry, was a microcosm of these social attitudes towards strangers in a strange land. Strong internal divisions within elites and immigrants shaped Rutland as it did in larger nineteenth century cities. The Clements, for example, were the old rich, intense rivals of the new-rich, the Proctors. Workers caught up in the elites' rivalry also had their own agenda. Despite outward divisions, class was the major determiner and unifier. Each major side—worker-immigrant class and elite-capitalist class—played each other to achieve its own goal, sometimes uniting with the other economic class. Redfield Proctor, Percival Clement, James Fay, Thomas Browne, Jack Carder, elites and workers, and especially marble workers struggled with and against one another.

Rutland, once a unified political and geographic unit, symbolically showed the political and social division. In the contest for power and security the town was carved
up. The town of Proctor, formed from a section of Rutland and Pittsford, came into existence, not because of the economic power and influence of one man (as had the town of Pullman in Illinois), but because of the social and political agendas existing in the 1880s, in which both workers and owners used power and accommodation to seek their own advantages. Each side advanced its agenda, sometimes in harmony with the other, sometimes in conflict. By the second half of the nineteenth century, the contentious situation had so divided the region that separate new towns emerged from what had originally been one legal and political unit.

Whether to expand their business or hold the line was a difficult decision for the capitalists. How far to challenge the system and how to use political and economic power were questions that faced workers. Confrontation was inevitable. Yet, because of the unprecedented wealth that could benefit many and the arduous struggle for the natural resources of the Valley, the region readily accepted and promoted itself as the Marble Valley.

In the local political structure in Rutland, the immigrants and the establishment jostled for political, economic, and social power. The mix of economics, political, and social conflicts forged a special geographic identity that shaped the region. Marble was the source of this identity and the unity.

Rutland was the heart of the Marble Valley, a locus, where the social and political forces were more evident. After the Civil War, the country was transforming itself from a rural Jeffersonian America into a Hamiltonian America; the struggle taking place in Rutland was unfolding in many areas of the country. The lessons learned here
provide a richer understanding of what was taking place in the second half of the
nineteenth century in shaping modern America. This is a fascinating story of the people
who helped settle a region and carved out, from its sense of place, its identity and
heritage.
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ABSTRACT

CARVING OUT A SENSE OF PLACE:

THE MAKING OF

THE MARBLE VALLEY AND THE MARBLE CITY

OF VERMONT

By

Michael L. Austin

University of New Hampshire, December 2002

The making of the Central Valley of Vermont created a sense of identity for the region. Strategically between two Native American confederations, the area was also enmeshed in European settlement to the north, south, east and west. At first conventional farming was the engine of growth in the Central Valley, but the Erie Canal and the rich soil from the Midwest undercut Rutland's agriculture. Rutland switched its economy to sheep. By the 1850s, that too had failed. With the infrastructure of railroads and technology, the rich mineral resources of the region could be exploited and organized on a national scale. The mineral resources gave the valley a competitive edge. Early entrepreneurs such as the Humphreys brothers and William F. Barnes, and the Clement family, developed the first stage of the marble industry, paving the way for others, principally Redfield Proctor. With the help of his political, economic, and business connections, Proctor turned the company into the Vermont Marble Company, the largest marble company in the world.
Bitter rivalries between cliques such as the old guard Clements and the new guard, and more powerful, Proctors and confrontations with the rising political force of the workers and immigrants shaped the area. By the 1880s this rivalry led to the division of Rutland into four towns: Rutland, Rutland Town, West Rutland and Proctor. A party of Workingmen rose up with public and political voice to assert their rights. Leaders such as James Fay, Thomas Browne, and Jack Carder brought Labor's voice into a public dialogue. The elites fought back by establishing a Citizens' Party to blunt the challenge.

In the 1930s a bitter strike divided the workers and management. By the 1970s the Vermont Marble Company had been bought by a Swiss firm. Marble had given the region its identity and a worldwide recognition. The city called itself the Marble City and the area is still known as the Marble Valley.
CHAPTER I:

SETTLING A VALLEY

In the fall of 1759 the French menace to New England ceased, bringing the beginning of an end to a worldwide war. The English and the Colonials had captured the French capital, Quebec, the seat of French economic, military, and political power in North America. In the British colonies, great bonfires were lit in celebration of the victory. Lasting peace, it seemed, was at hand. The last frontier of New England could now finally be opened up, free of the menace of the Catholic French. Over the next two decades, the long-standing and often bitter dispute over whether this region belonged to New Hampshire or New York gradually subsided.1 The important Crown Point Road, an

1. The land between present day New York and New Hampshire had been a flash point of contention for centuries. The western Abenaki (People of the Dawn) had used this land for hunting but frequently were in conflict with a rival confederation of Natives, the Iroquois, who also used the land for hunting and gathering. When the European invasion took place towards the beginning of seventeenth century, the tribes sought alliances with the Europeans to further their own interests. Thus natives and Europeans re-enforced the instability of any permanent settlement in the area. Rival European powers also challenged one another for possession of the land. The Dutch, the English, and the French at one time or another claimed the land. When the English ousted the Dutch, the English challenged the French for the land from New York to present-day Maine. For nearly a century, this frontier was precarious for any settlement, but especially for any settlements near the rivers and lakes of the region. Lake Champlain and the Hudson River and the roads leading to and from them, became keys to continental power struggles. English and French moved up and down these waterways, trying to destroy the other’s settlements and fortifications. In so doing, the colonials became familiar with the potential of the land for fur trading and settlement. With the capitulation of the French in 1759, the English were in no mood for half-way treaties and forced the French from North America, except for two small islands off the Canadian coast and some islands in the Caribbean. Now northern New England was English and the dispute was between New Hampshire, New York, and eventually the settlers who sought independence from both of those colonies. Now there was a land rush to acquire these lands. For early history of Vermont, see Zadock Thompson, History of Vermont, Natural, Civil, and Statistical, in Three Parts, with a New Map of the State and 200 Engravings (Burlington: C. Goodrich, 1842); Edward Day Collins, A History of Vermont: With Geological and Geographical Notes, Bibliography, Chronology, Maps and Illustrations (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1903; Essays in the Early History of Vermont (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1943) La Fayette

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east-west connection crossing New Hampshire and Vermont, and eventually linking with New York, familiarized colonial soldiers with the land of what is now Rutland, Vermont. By 1759, the land was opening up for real estate speculators.

Running in a southeast to northwest direction, the Crown Point Road passed through a broad north-to-south oriented valley, between the Green Mountains on the east and the Taconic Mountains on the west, a valley continually being reshaped by the vigorous Otter Creek and its tributaries. The area’s many northerly trending rivers and floodplains had served as natural transportation routes for pre-settlement Native Americans, and the succeeding generations of colonists found themselves using many of the same natural passages, not yet realizing that vast deposits of marble lay underneath.

Four more years would drag on before a final peace treaty was signed in Paris in 1763, officially ending the war. The time lag did not deter avid colonial speculators from making claim to the land. Benning Wentworth, the royal governor of New Hampshire, viewed the territory with a mixture of political bravado and financial gain as an extension of New Hampshire and set about issuing grants throughout the region. The Rutland Charter set-aside twenty-six thousand acres, about six miles square. On Monday,
September 7, 1761, George Ill's charter for Rutland Town set the conditions for settlement. “With the advice of our trusty and well-beloved Benning Wentworth, our governor and commander-in-chief of our said Province of New Hampshire,” it began.  

Even before the European settlement, northern New England, especially the western section in what is now Vermont, had been an uncertain territory, precarious for permanent settlement, a land bordered by rival Native American confederations.  

Later, rival European settlements of the Dutch, the English and the French increased the complexity of constant conflict. Until these macro-conflicts were resolved, it was a dangerous place for permanent settlement, but even afterwards conflict was not over. By military conquest the English won the rights to the region, but that only set off another round of conflicts among the colonies of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire—each of which claimed part or all of the land. The colony of Massachusetts Bay had expansionist tendencies and at one time encompassed the area of Maine and

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Patriotism and religion were combined and added to it in each charter was land set aside for Wentworth from which he could profit. Before the Peace Treaty ending the French and Indian War was signed in Paris in 1760, Benning Wentworth granted 63 townships. On September 7, 1761, Benning Wentworth granted the land known as Rutland and Pittsford. By 1764, Governor Wentworth had granted a total of 131 townships in Vermont and acquired 65,000 acres for himself. New York also eyed the territory after the recent war. Lieutenant Governor Cadwallader Colden of New York also began to grant patents to the same land. During the year 1765 Colden granted 151 military patents, which covered 131,800 acres. Lord Dunmore, for whom Lake Dunmore in the Brandon area, the northern part of the Valley, is named, was appointed royal governor of New York in 1770. Dunmore granted even more land to the same area than Wentworth and Colden. Between the relatively short time period of February 28 to July 8th 1770 Dunmore granted 511,900 acres. Dunmore established the town of Socialborough consisting of 48,000 acres which was the same area that Wentworth had granted in the Rutland and Pittsford land grant. A third grant of this same territory known, as Fairfield, was issued in 1761 to John Henry Lydius, a fur trader from Albany. The overlapping and conflicting claims led to rivalry between the Hampshire and York claimants. Local enforcers such as the Green Mountain Boys sought to validate the Hampshire grants at the expense of the Yorkers. See Essays in the Early History of Vermont (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1943) La Fayette Wilbur, Early History of Vermont (Jericho, VT: Roscoe Printing House, 1899-1903); for more recent scholarship of the general political history of Vermont see William Doyle, Vermont Political Tradition and Those Helped Make It (Montpelier: Doyle Publishing, 2000); Christopher Klyza and Stephen Trombulak, The Story of Vermont: A Natural and Cultural History (Hanover: University of New England Press, 1999)  

New Hampshire as well as Massachusetts. In 1713 Massachusetts was found guilty of granting lands of 110,000 acres that belonged to the colony of Connecticut. An arrangement was worked out between the colonies, and the land known as the Equivalent Lands was sold in Hartford, Connecticut, at the courthouse on April 24 and 25, 1715, with the proceeds given to the then twelve-year-old college of Yale. William Brattle and William Dummer were both major Massachusetts speculators in the land deal and the territory remained under Massachusetts jurisdiction. Eventually the territory became separate from Massachusetts, but Brattle's and Dummer's names remained in the grants as Brattleboro and Dummerston.6

Because danger of conflict and the uncertain validity of the land claims, settlement in the region lagged behind that of the other New England colonies. Speculators, mostly from New York and New Hampshire, began to shape the political landscape. The shapers at first were the elites, the large speculators and granters of land, such as Governor Lord Dunmore (John Murray), Tryon, and Colden of New York and Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire. Gradually the settlers began to make an impression upon the land. From various sections of New England, especially Connecticut, and beyond New England from New York, speculators and settlers came into the land to claim it and develop it.7 The New York patents were especially nettlesome to the New Englanders.8 The settlers came west from New Hampshire on the Crown Point Road, north up the Connecticut River and then westward, north from


western Connecticut along the Deerfield River into the Green Mountains and into southwestern Vermont, or north up the Housatonic River to the Berkshires, entering Vermont in its far southwest.

The land offered opportunity to reward the most bold and enterprising. James Mead was the first settler in Rutland. He had emigrated from Nine Partners, New York, to Manchester, Vermont, in 1764. In 1769, he built a cabin at Center Rutland near the Otter Creek's "little falls," where he would soon build a gristmill. In March 1770, he brought his wife, ten children, and son-in-law to the house, encircled by ice and flood water from Otter Creek at the time. An Indian allowed Mead's family to stay the night in a wigwam.

John William Sutherland, another early settler, had enlisted in the 77th Regiment of Foot during the French and Indian Wars, and had become acquainted with the Rutland region when he was stationed at Crown Point. He grasped the strategic importance of the Otter Creek and, in particular, the Great Falls six miles north of the Mead property. In the spring of 1775 he purchased over three hundred acres surrounding the Great Falls and constructed a saw and gristmill at the Falls, staying there for nearly twenty years, until


9. The area east of New Hampshire and west of New York was prime territory for speculators. Both colonies saw this territory as an extension of their own area. Because of the vagueness of the charter of New Hampshire and acquired territory of New York in a show-down with the Dutch and then New York's vague charter each colony saw the land as a lucrative buffer and desired to grant local charters for land to speculators and settlers from their own region to solidify its own claim. Wentworth made a preemptive strike. On September 7, 1761 Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire granted a charter to Col. Josiah Willard of Winchester, NH and others, mostly from New Hampshire. A second grant the same year was made by Col. John Henry Lydius, then of Albany, NY, for the town of "Fairfield." A third charter was given on April 3, 1771, for the town of "Socialborough," in Charlotte County, NY, that included part of the present Rutland, Pittsford and Brandon. The New Hampshire grant delineated the town which included what is now the Town & City of Rutland, West Rutland and part of Proctor. For background on Mead's early settlement near Otter Creek, see James Petersen, Otter Creek: The Indian Road (Salisbury, VT: Dunmore House), 27.
1793. He sold most of the property on Otter Creek to his son Peter, and that area of the Rutland grant subsequently was referred to as Sutherland Falls.

Perceived by his neighbors as untrustworthy, John Sutherland had a reputation as an opportunist. A neighbor spoke of him:

He was on ordinary terms with his neighbors and carried on his gristmill; but it cannot be denied that tradition has given him the name of being selfish and grasping; one story being that at the time of the battle of Hubbardton, when so many of the settlers left their homes and sought protection at Bennington, they were forced to leave their swine roaming at large. They branded the animals and turned them into the woods. On their return they found some of their pigs in Mr. Sutherland's pen.¹⁰

Sutherland may have sided with the Tories during the early part of the Revolutionary War, but by 1778/9, he and his sons served in the American militia. Although Ethan Allen still regarded him with suspicion, he remained protected because of his influence, strategic property in the region, and above all his vital mill.¹¹

Benjamin Whipple and Timothy Boardman and their families were among the first developers of another section of Rutland, later known as West Rutland. Such settlers came into the Valley around the time of the Revolutionary War, trekking north from Massachusetts and Connecticut. In 1761 Whipple and his wife Hepzibah emigrated from Massachusetts to Bennington, Vermont, just over the Massachusetts border, following the traditional route north on Route 7, which stretched from Connecticut to Montreal. Many Connecticut emigrants traveled this corridor from Connecticut through western Massachusetts and north, up the Connecticut River Valley, into Vermont, paralleling the

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western Green Mountains. By 1776, the Whipples had settled in Rutland.\(^{12}\)

Born at Middletown, Connecticut, Timothy Boardman had experiences similar to those of Benjamin Whipple. Boardman was a soldier in the Continental army, a captain with Washington at Dorchester Heights and assistant quartermaster at the surrender of Burgoyne in October 1777. In 1782 he arrived in Rutland, where he bought one hundred acres of land from the estate of Rev. Benajah Roots, building himself a small frame house. In the fall, he returned to Connecticut to bring his new wife to their house on what is now referred to as Boardman Hill in West Rutland.\(^{13}\) Like the other settlers of the Valley of the Otter Creek, he was a Congregationalist, and he served as a deacon of the Congregational Church in the West Parish in West Rutland, 1782-1839.

Besides the spirit of opportunity, most of the earliest settlers in the Valley, like Boardman, brought with them Congregationalism. On October 20, 1773, a Congregational Church was organized, near the Falls at Center Rutland, followed a short time later by a meeting house on "Meeting House Hill" on Pleasant Street in West Rutland.\(^{14}\) The area was Protestant, with pockets of deistic sympathizers in Burlington and Fair Haven. The Vermont Constitution of 1777 reinforced a Protestant ideology, barring from office those who did not "profess the Protestant religion."\(^{15}\) In force for nearly a decade, the provision was dropped in 1786.

\(^{12}\) Swan, *Early Families*, 410.

\(^{13}\) Boardman also owned part of the cedar swamp that became the site of the Valley's large marble quarries. Swan, *Early Families*, 55.


\(^{15}\) "First Constitution," Chpt 1, Sect 3. in *Vermont State Papers* (Middlebury: J.W. Copeland, 1823), 244. Reprint of original state constitution.
To some believers, deistic thinkers posed a threat to the hegemony of the Congregational authority. Rev. Nathan Perkins, aware of the deistic thinkers of the Valley, set out in 1789 on a journey to bring salvation to the unchurched free thinkers of Vermont. Lodgings were few and far between. Staying at Mr. Flint's in Brandon, he noted "meanest of all lodging,—dirty,—fleas without number." Because of the poor roads, often times he was lost in woods and forests, where he shivered at "ye horrible howling of ye wolves. Brook-water is my chief drink. The maple cyder is horrible stuff—no malt in ye Country.—Their beer poor bran beer."¹⁶

In the 1780s more religious diversity began to emerge. Episcopalians arrived in Vermont in the 1780s. In March 1784 Reverend Mr. Chittenden, brother of the governor, delivered a sermon on the Episcopal Society in the State House in Rutland. In that year, on September 30th, a Protestant Episcopal Church was formed.¹⁷ Twenty-four state Episcopalian delegates met in 1793 in Pawlet, in the southwestern part of Rutland County, to seek a bishop for the state. In the 1790s and 1800s, Celtic names such as Kelley, Gleason, Butler, and Barrett appear in local records.¹⁸ In the late 1700s these men were small farmers from Protestant (and Presbyterian) Ulster who settled on farms in Shrewsbury, Tinmouth, Wallingford and other parts of the Rutland valley. Some found employment in the iron works of Pittsford. This minor immigration continued into the 1840s. Overall, however, in both Rutland and in the state as a whole, the settlers of


¹⁸. See the 1791 census and the 1800 census for Rutland County. Over ninety percent of the county were English stock and Protestant.
English stock population totaled 95% in 1790.19

Traveling through Vermont in 1798, Timothy Dwight, the president of Yale, found the future Marble Valley particularly inhospitable. Describing the Valley around Middlebury, he wrote of the soil:

In wet seasons every rain converts it into mud. Whenever the weather is dry, it is pulverized wherever mankind live and move; and the dust, being very fine and light, rises with every wind, fills the air with clouds, covers the houses, and soils the clothes with a dingy, dirty appearance. When the surface of well-made roads has become hard, a slight rain makes them so slippery as to be impassable with safety, unless with horses corked in the same manner as when they are to travel on ice.20

Faced with these conditions, Vermonters sought to improve them. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, a road building fever swept Rutland County. In 1800 a road between Middlebury and Woodstock was chartered; the Hubbardton Turnpike, chartered in 1802, authorized a road from Hubbardton to Castleton; and the Poultney Turnpike was chartered in 1805, extending from Castleton to the New York line in Poultney. The Fair Haven Turnpike, from Fair Haven to the town of Bridport, was also chartered in 1805. Transportation improvements helped to spur population growth; between 1800 and 1810, Rutland Town grew from 2,125 to 23,813.21

With settlement, more Protestant denominations established themselves. Methodism, because it had grown so rapidly and seemed so emotional, caused bitter resentment among the more disciplined Calvinists. By 1799 Joseph Mitchel and Joseph


20. Timothy Dwight, Travels through the State of North America and the Provinces of Upper Canada During the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797 (London: 1823), 396.

Sawyer were on the Methodist Vergennes circuit, traveling as much as 400 miles and rotating throughout the region on a four-week cycle. By 1801 the Methodist influence had grown enough that the denomination established a Brandon Circuit, an area just north of Rutland and well within the Valley. Around 1815, Jacob Beaman was a circuit rider. "He was a ready speaker, full of zeal and energy—a lover of Methodism, and an ardent hater of Calvinism. To the last days of his preaching, in his old age, he would strike hard blows against Calvin in every sermon."²²

Local historian Abby Maria Hemenway noted the bitter response of the Congregationalists.

It is a little strange that Methodism should encounter stronger hostility than any other system—Deism, Mormonism, free love—indeed any other thing which has arisen, has never suffered a tythe of the opposition, and even persecution that Methodists have endured in nearly all places. At West Rutland a father gave his son a most brutal flogging for uniting with them! And that father lives there even now.²³

The Methodists were not the only new evangelical denomination. On Friday, August 17, 1804, thirty-five residents of Rutland met at the home of Mr. Amos Weller to form the First Baptist Society of Rutland. A Baptist Church organized in Center Rutland on Friday, January 11, 1805. Because of emigration and deaths, the membership, however, declined.²⁴

Even as a new century began, most population growth continued to take place in the southern part of the state rather than in the middle or the northern regions. Guilford

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²² Hemenway, History of Rutland County, 1045.
²³ Hemenway, History of Rutland County, 1046.
²⁴ Rev Gibbs Braislin, "Baptist" in The Churches of Rutland (Rutland: Brehmen Brothers, 1900), no pagination.
in 1800 was the largest town, followed by Bennington, but Windsor, Woodstock, and Rutland, all in the center of the state on an east-west axis, had begun to grow. By 1800, Rutland Town had achieved fifth position with a population of 2,125. Travel was still difficult throughout the state.

Lacking adequate roads to transport their products, farmers had little incentive to expand far beyond what would feed their families and the families of nearby service or small-scale merchandise providers. This first stage was self-sufficiency. Later, a small surplus could be sold to larger markets. A Vermont farmer, with his and his neighbor’s farm goods, would travel to the large market in Boston and sell the goods there and at the same time have the opportunity to purchase store goods. T. Hands writing from southern New Hampshire observed:

In the winter from 50 to 100 sleighs pass from Vermont in the upper part of this state to Boston with dead hogs, pork, butter, cheese, etc., and load back with store goods. They have generally 2 horses and travel 40 miles a day with a ton weight.25

Napoleon’s invasion of Spain, half a world away, would prompt the next step in the development of the Valley from self-sufficiency and some marketing to specialized production. To pay off debts, wealthy Spanish landowners were forced to sell off some of their prized Merino sheep. William Jarvis, the American consul at Lisbon, acquired permission to export two hundred Merino rams of the Escurial Royal flock in 1809; he returned to Boston in 1810. The following year, he moved to Weathersfield Bow, about twenty miles north of Bellows Falls, Vermont, along the Connecticut River. By 1820, descendants of the royal Merinos helped Vermont’s sheep industry to become the most

profitable industry in the state. The dramatic growth of the sheep industry also aided in developing ancillary industries. Rutland County in 1837 led all other counties with the most sheep, 180,984; next was Windsor with 171,581, and just north of Rutland County was Addison with 159,411. The remaining eleven counties had fewer than 100,000.26

The sheep industry, for a time, was a bulwark against the general agricultural decline that followed the financial panic of 1837.27 In the late 1840s, the sheep industry fell into its own sharp decline. Vermont, at one point second in the nation in sheep production, was now at a price disadvantage with wool from the West. From the 1840s onward there was a steady decline in profitability. To prosper, Rutland needed to shift its economic base and needed a better transportation infrastructure to do so.

Hoping to stimulate further development, Vermonters became caught up in the national craze of canal building. The Champlain Canal in New York was constructed in 1823; the Erie Canal, two years later. Local entrepreneurs thought that the Otter Creek might serve as a base for a canal to New York, some twenty miles distant. In 1825, the Vermont Legislature chartered the Otter Creek and Castleton River Canal Company. Moses Strong and Francis Slason of Rutland were two of the twenty-one incorporators, along with John Conant of Brandon. Strong was the group’s chair. The chief obstacle to a canal was the Great Falls at Sutherland, which would necessitate expensive locks if it


27. At the request of then Governor Dillingham, Alonzo B. Valentine, the State Commissioner of Agriculture and Manufacturing Interests, traced the beginning of the decline in agriculture in the 1830s and the shift to a new economy in a report written 1889-90. “As early as 1837 a perceptible diminution of cultivated acres was observed. The year 1840 found the tide of emigration from the State fairly in motion. This was coincident with the following great panic of 1837. Our manufactures of iron and textile fabrics, then in their infancy, were closed, business came to a standstill, and the home market for farm produce was greatly curtailed.” Alonzo B. Valentine, Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture and Manufacturing Interests in the State of Vermont, 1889-1890 (Rutland: Tuttle Company, 1890), 7-8.
were to be navigated. As it turned out, this was the first of many transportation schemes that went nowhere. Engineers considered the cost, but nothing concrete emerged.\textsuperscript{28}

On January 15, 1830, a meeting in Montpelier studied the possibility of a railway from Boston to Lake Champlain. Rutland meetings, as early as 1831, also discussed railroad building. The Rutland-Whitehall Railroad, planned to link to the Champlain canal system, was chartered on November 9, 1831, but failed to succeed in any physical construction. At Matthew Birchard's Inn at Brandon on September 4, 1835, a group of citizens from Middlebury, Salisbury, Brandon, Pittsford and Rutland met to discuss railroads. The specific agenda was to discuss "the most practical route for a railroad from Middlebury to Market." One of the attendees, John A. Conant of Brandon, very much aware of the earlier canal craze, was known as a hard-dealing businessman who favored the railroad; he eventually proved to be instrumental in lobbying the legislature for a northern route. The group, encouraged by the very practical Conant, resolved to propose that an "application be made to the Legislature, October 2, 1835 for a grant of a Railroad from Middlebury, in the County of Addison, through the Valley of Otter Creek, to intersect the [still unbuilt] Rutland and Whitehall Railroad at Rutland in the County of Rutland."\textsuperscript{29}

By 1835 the legislature had issued several charters for railroads throughout the state. Because no construction had taken place under the old charter, the Rutland-Whitehall Railroad required re-chartering. Issued in November 1836, the new charter for the Rutland-Whitehall railroad authorized capital of $250,000 for construction.

\textsuperscript{28} James E. Petersen, \textit{Otter Creek: The Indian Road} (Salisbury, Vermont: Dunmore House, 1990), 128.
However, when the financial panic of 1838 hit, it most directly affected the railroad, delaying construction even though the stock had been sold and the route surveyed.30

By the end of 1842, plans were underway to survey a railroad route that would connect Boston to Lake Champlain. George T. Hodges chaired and Jonathan C. Dexter was secretary for a meeting held at the Rutland Courthouse on January 11, 1843. As with canal building, which demanded locks for difficult sections, and as at Sutherland Falls, where the geography ultimately led to the demise of a Rutland Canal, so the issue for the railroads was geography as well—whether the available engines could negotiate the mountains. Conventional wisdom dictated that, although track laying was feasible in relatively level areas, it was out of the question in Vermont's mountainous terrain.

The January 3, 1843, Rutland Herald argued for the necessity of the railroad:

We are an inland State, rich in mineral manufacturing and agricultural resources—out of debt and running over with abundance—yet poor, because we cannot profitably carry the surplus to market, for cash. In addition to this, all heavy articles of import cost us a large percentage above the retail price on the seaboard in consequence of the slow, tedious and expensive method of transportation. We suffer a complication of disadvantages which makes us poor and will keep us poor until we overcome them by creating ample facilities for cheap intercourse with [the] market and place ourselves on a footing of equality with our competitors.31

By August 1843, the Herald was able to report with excitement:

The corps of engineers now surveying a route for the railroad from Rutland to the Connecticut River takes this method of expressing their thanks to the inhabitants bordering on the route for the generous hospitality evidenced by them, also for the liberal aid in personally assisting them in the work.32

29. Ambrose I. Brown, and Edgar L. Brown attended the meeting from Rutland; in addition to Conant, A.W. Birchard and M.W. Birchard were from Brandon. Rutland Herald, September 5, 1835.

30. Petersen, Otter Creek: The Indian Road, 128.


32. Rutland Herald, August 20, 1843.
In October of that year, Senator Ebenezer Briggs of Brandon introduced "An Act to incorporate the Champlain and Connecticut River Rail Road Company." Still, progress was slow. Not until the spring of 1845 was the western-most of the proposed routes selected, on the grounds that it would be twenty-five minutes shorter. On May 6, 1845, with Timothy Follett of Burlington as chair and Ambrose L. Brown as clerk, the Champlain and Connecticut River Rail Road stockholders selected nine directors, and the board voted to sell stock on June 10th. The excitement of the project was contagious. Within two days, two thousand shares had been sold at the George T. Hodges store in Rutland. In January 1846, over two thousand men attended a meeting at the Rutland Courthouse; it was so crowded that the meeting was adjourned to a nearby church.

William B. Gilbert, the chief engineer, and George W. Strong, an advocate of a railroad between Rutland and Bennington, spoke. That year, construction finally got underway.33

In an illustration of Don Quixote tilting at an engine of the line, the Rutland Herald for December 3, 1846, commented:

Our purpose in presenting this engraving to our readers is simply to illustrate folly to say nothing of the danger of any further opposition to the Rutland Railroad. And if there are any among us who from sectional or personal feeling, still feel a disposition to manifest an opposition to the advancement of this great enterprise...if there are any who yet lack faith in the belief that the czars are coming...to all such we would dare to look at the above, and take heed! The snort of the dreaded monster is already heard...the bell is ringing and if you won't do anything else...in all conscience, for your own safety, clear the track.34

With this enthusiasm, even in mountainous Vermont, 250 miles of railroad track were laid between 1846 and 1849. On January 28, 1846, construction for what would be the Central Vermont Railroad began at Northfield; the line would link White River

33. Petersen, Otter Creek: The Indian Road, 129.
34. Rutland Herald, December 3, 1846.
Junction, the end of the line from Concord, New Hampshire, with Burlington, 104 miles northwest. The Central Vermont Railroad was in competition with the Rutland Railroad; both railroads saw Burlington as a vital link. In August 1846, William Gilbert, the Rutland line's chief engineer, reported that he had almost completed the survey of the sixty-five miles between Rutland and Burlington and estimated the cost for grading, masonry, and bridging to be $400,000. In order to make the company more appealing and to attract more capital, the board changed the corporate name in November 1847, reflecting the two population centers of the state, and the company became known as the Rutland and Burlington Railroad. Construction of the Rutland Railroad (as it apparently was most popularly referred to) began on January 28, 1847, a year behind the Central Vermont, with a link between Bellows Falls and Burlington. On May 1, 1847, construction began on the section between Burlington and Brandon.35

By 1849, the Rutland and Burlington railroad system was completed. During the 1850s, when practically every community in the East and Midwest competed to secure a railroad, three railroad lines connected Rutland to Troy and Albany, New York, and from there to other railroads connecting to Canada and Boston. The coming of the railroad in Vermont after 1850 opened up opportunities for the mining, quarrying, and manufacturing industries. By 1852, four railroad lines entered Rutland, two of which passed through West Rutland: the Rutland and Washington Railroad and the Rensselaer and Saratoga. The Rutland and Washington Railroad went from Rutland, Castleton, Poultney, Rupert, and Salem to Troy, New York, and the Rensselaer and Saratoga went from Whitehall and Saratoga to Troy.36

The railroad, and the developing marble industry that it made possible, would transform the Valley in profound ways. Prior to 1852, before the railroad came to the

35. Petersen, Otter Creek: The Indian Road, 129.

Rutland area, marble was hauled by horses or oxen to the lake and the canal in Whitehall, New York, for shipment to other markets. Because of the cost of such transportation and the limitations of the horses or oxen, the amount of marble shipped out of the area was small. The building of the railroads helped to solve much of the transportation problem for the marble industry. In 1839, for example, marble production in West Rutland quarries was valued at barely $10,000, but a little over a decade later, by 1850, the value had risen to $297,000. The marble industry, with more workers, more demand, and better transportation, had entered a boom cycle.

In the aftermath of the 1837 panic, and lacking railroad development, Vermont's economy had stagnated. In the 1830s and 1840s many traditional Protestant Yankees had left Vermont. The Midwest was more attractive, drawing the younger generation to its fertile and level plains. While emigration from Vermont reached its zenith from the 1830s to the 1870s, new sources of immigration offset some of the loss, so that growth continued as a whole for the state. A letter writer to the Rutland Herald recounted his experience moving west:

In 1836 I was en route over the half way station of Freedom. During that, and the preceding year—"Going to Michigan" was plainly daguerreotyped on the phiz of nine-tenths of the travelers moving through and from Vermont. You could see the place of destination in the countenance as plain as the nose on the fact—but, as Sam Slick used to say—"it stuck out all around." The Michigan Emigration fever

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37. Hance, History of Rutland, 532. $10,000 in 1839 dollars would be approximately $189,000 in 2001 dollars. Cf. John J. McCusker, "Comparing the Purchasing Power of Money in the United States (or Colonies) from 1665 to Any Other Year Including the Present" Economic History Services, 2001, URL: http://www.eh.net/hmit/ppowerusd/


39. As the Yankees moved west, they took with them one of Vermont's unique contributions to the world. In 1853, descendants of "Figure," the progenitor of the breed that became known as the Morgan horse, won state fair championships in three different mid western states, Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana. For the attraction of the Midwest, cf Harold Fisher Wilson, The Hill Country of Northern New England: Its Social and Economic History, 1790-1930 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 58.
proved to be the prevailing epidemic in '36 throughout the New England States—in Vermont particularly, taking off scores of families—and individuals, young and old, (I among the number), hundreds of whom date back to the event as the commencement of a series of Life Scenes upon which some cast retrospective glances with thankfulness, while these less fortunate in the result of emigration look back upon the move as the most disastrous event of their history. Health and prosperity cheered the one, while sickness and misfortune and want were the unwelcome attendants of the other.40

As some were exiting the state for better farm lands, others, especially immigrants, arrived to build the railroad. As many were leaving for more fertile lands in the west, in Ireland in the 1830s In February 1847, Irish immigrants began to work on the railroad at Rockingham and, in May, at Burlington. In that decade, concentrated numbers of Irish began to settle in the Rutland area. Although a few Irish had arrived during the 1830s, the immigration of the 1840s was vastly larger.

These later Irish, often from the west of Ireland, had been displaced and driven out of Ireland by a series of events. In the mid-1830s English landlords had raised the rent to a price tenants could not pay; many “struck” their landlord, refusing to pay rent at all. Second, the 1846-1850 potato blight decimated the potato crop, worsening the situation. Families were not only unable to pay rent, but also unable to afford food. They suffered under appalling conditions. To this generation of Irish, even rudimentary company housing must have seemed heavenly. Contemporary William Bennett wrote of the human misery he saw in Ireland in 1847:

Many of the cabins were holes in the bog, covered with a layer of turves, and not distinguishable as human habitations from the surrounding moor, until close down upon them. The bare sod was about the best material of which any of them were constructed. Doorways, not doors, were usually provided at both sides of the bettermost-back and front-to take advantage of the way of the wind. Windows and chimneys, I think, had no existence.

A second apartment or division of any kind within was exceedingly rare. Furniture, properly so called, I believe may be stated at nil. I would not speak with certainty, and wish not to with exaggeration, -we were too much overcome to note specifically; but as far as memory serves, we saw neither bed, chair, nor table, at all. . . .

40. Rutland Herald, April 21, 1859.
The scenes of human misery and degradation we witnessed still haunt my imagination, with the vividness and power of some horrid and tyrannous delusion, rather than the features of a sober reality. We entered a cabin.

Stretched in one dark corner, scarcely visible, from the smoke and rags that covered them, were three children huddled together, lying there because they were too weak to rise, pale and ghastly, their little limbs-on removing a portion of the filthy covering - perfectly emaciated, eyes sunk, voice gone, and evidently in the last stage of actual starvation. Crouched over the turf embers was another form, wild and all but naked, scarcely human in appearance. It stirred not, nor noticed us.

On some straw, soddened upon the ground, moaning piteously, was a shrivelled old woman, imploring us to give her something, - baring her limbs partly, to show how the skin hung loose from the bones, as soon as she attracted our attention. Above her, on something like a ledge, was a young woman, with sunken cheeks, -a mother I have no doubt,-who scarcely raised her eyes in answer to our enquiries, but pressed her hand upon her forehead, with a look of unutterable anguish and despair.

Many cases were widows, whose husbands had recently been taken off by the fever, and thus their only pittance, obtained from the public works entirely cut off. In many the husbands or sons were prostrate, under that horrid disease,-the results of long-continued famine and low living,-in which first the limbs, and then the body, swell most frightfully, and finally burst . . .

It was my full impression that one-fourth of those we saw were in a dying state, beyond the reach of any relief that could now be afforded; and many more would follow. 41

Leaving their dead behind, Irish families came to Vermont and other parts of New England, looking for a new life. Many of those from County Roscommon, in Western Ireland, crossed the Atlantic on one of four “coffin ships;” a significant number failed to complete the crossing, dying at sea. Those who agreed to sign over ancestral titles to their Irish property frequently had their fare paid by the British government, a form of “state-aided immigration.” Once in New England, some Irish came to Vermont as part of railroad track laying crews, settling into company housing at the marble quarries. As many as 47 families from Roscommon County, for instance, worked in the Dorset and Rutland town marble quarries at the time of the 1860 federal census. 42


42. Mary Lee Dunn, personal communication on her research for her master’s thesis at the University of Massachusetts, July 3, 2002.
The French Canadian Catholics were the other major immigrant group that arrived in the Valley in the first half of the nineteenth century. Their emigration was similar to that of the Irish. Crop failures, overpopulation, and political persecution to the north initially brought some three hundred French Canadian families into Vermont in 1808. In 1837 and 1838, the Papineau rebellions drove more French into Vermont, at least on a temporary basis. The French Canadians gradually worked their way south, drawn by jobs in the more industrialized communities. By 1840, Catholic masses were being said in private homes in Burlington, St. Albans, Rutland, Middlebury, Bennington, Swanton, Castleton, and Randolph. Three of those eight towns—Rutland, Middlebury, and Castleton—were part of the Valley or very closely associated with it. Lacking sufficient numbers of Catholic worshipers in any one community, priests infrequently traveled to Vermont towns to celebrate mass.

Although Vermont did not have a large immigrant population, the presence of any immigrant group, especially one that was not Protestant, posed a threat to some. The Irish were the first of the foreign-born, non-English groups to come into the Marble Valley in large numbers settling in the northwest part of Rutland (later given the name of Proctor) and Rutland, many settled in such concentrated numbers in the section of Rutland known as West Rutland that it became known as “Little Ireland.”

Tragically, many of these same families, evicted in Ireland and forced to sign over any rights to their land by their British landlord, Lord Heartland, found themselves

42. In a biography about St. George’s Catholic Church in northern Vermont the author noted: “French Catholics traveled back and forth between lower New England and Canada, and even settled in parts of northern Vermont from time to time. Many Catholic Canadians took refuge in Vermont during Canada’s Papineau Rebellion in 1837.” http://www.uvm.edu/~histpres/HPJ2NR/stgeorge/stgeorge5.html.


41. Elizabeth Hale, “Marble Valley’s UN,” American Heritage II (Spring, 1951), 37.
evicted again from their houses in their new homeland in 1867. In the second general marble strike, the workers struck for better working conditions and once more they were evicted in such numbers that they referred to it as “the great turn-out.”

With the growth of marble and, with it, the influx of population, the twenty-year decline of Rutland, between 1830 and 1850, began to change dramatically in the decade of the 1850s. In 1800 the population of Rutland had been 2,124. By 1850 it reached just 3,715, half the size of Burlington. With the advent of the railroad and the burgeoning marble industry, however, Rutland was poised for dramatic social, political, and economic growth that would turn the valley into a new identity, the Marble Valley.

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45. For the decline of the population and migration from Vermont during these decades, see Lewis D. Stilwell, Migration from Vermont, 171-213.

CHAPTER II:
TRANSFORMING A VALLEY
INTO THE MARBLE VALLEY

A true marble is limestone that has been metamorphosed by pressure and heat. The formation of marble began in the Valley when an ocean that covered much of today’s eastern North America, from New England and eastern Canada, to the Midwest as far as Michigan, and north into Midwestern Canada, provided an environment where the remains of calcium-carbonate-secreting organisms, such as sea sponges, sank to the floor. As the skeletons of these macroscopic and microscopic animals accumulated, they eventually formed limestone. It was deposited in a shallow warm ocean during the Cambrian and Ordovician periods, about 550 to 450 million years ago. These limestones, with related rocks such as sandstones and shales, were squeezed and metamorphosed during continental collisions into marbles, quartzites, slates and other materials during two episodes of mountain building: the Taconic Orogeny (about 450 million years ago) and, to a lesser degree, the Acadian Orogeny (about 350 million years ago).¹

The continental collisions producing the Appalachian Mountains in the east and

¹ Dr. Helen Mango, Interview, Geology Department, Castleton State College, October 25, 1999.

The quarrying industry uses the term “marble” to include far more than true marbles, which are calcium carbonate based. Dolomite, for example, is limestone that exchanged some of its calcium ions for magnesium, apparently as the result of ocean water evaporating through the deposit. Verde antique is another example of rock not a “true marble.” Although verde antique takes a polish very much as true marble does, it is not calcium carbonate. Instead, it is metamorphosed ocean crust, and volcanic in origin. Onyx marble, another example of rock not a “true marble,” is a dark, compact form of calcium carbonate, often both banded and translucent; its appearance resembles true onyx, which is a silicate rock.
particularly the area around the Green Mountains of Vermont provided favorable conditions of heat and pressure for the calcium carbonate to metamorphize into marble. The marble in Vermont lies in a lowland, the Marble Valley, between two waterways. Flowing to the west is the Castleton River, running parallel to the Otter Creek from Florence to West Rutland, meandering westward at West Rutland, then flowing out of the Marble Valley into the town of Castleton and beyond into the rich Slate Belt of Vermont and New York. To the east is the Otter Creek, which flows northward from Dorset at the northern end of Bennington County, to Middlebury at the southern end of Addison County, and empties into Lake Champlain west of Vergennes. As it passes through the heart of the Marble Valley, it goes through one of the richest deposits of marble in the world. These deposits lie in a belt slightly skewed in a northwest-to-southeast direction. The richest section of the mineral deposits lies in the area between the Taconic and the Green Mountains, in the heart of the Marble Valley, from Brandon in the north, through Florence and Proctor, to end in the south in West Rutland. (See Illustration 1)

The Marble Valley itself extends from Middlebury in the north to Dorset in the south. Most early marble quarry sites in the area developed at outcroppings where the marble was on or just below the surface. Development of the marble industry was gradual and secondary to other enterprises, so, at first, marble’s primary use was as monument stone.

2. To the west of the Marble Valley and extending into New York is the Slate Valley. Vermont Slate, as it is often referred to, is one of the three major slates of the world, the other two being Welch and Spanish Slate. Further north and east, near the capital of the state, is another rich source of minerals. In this area, especially near Barre, are rich deposits of granite. Of the three major minerals in Vermont, granite was quarried extensively later than the other two. The immigrants played a significant role in the quarrying industry in Vermont. The Irish were the first immigrant group to work the marble quarries in the Marble Valley; the Welsh, because of their experience at the vast Dinorwig quarry in Wales, brought know-how to the slate quarry industry. In 1850, the first Welsh immigrants arrived in Fair Haven, and in 1852 thirty Welsh settlers arrived in Middle Granville. Several slate companies were formed. The biggest
Some marble gravestones in Dorset, at the southern end of the Marble Valley, bear memorial inscriptions from as early as 1785. Isaac Underhill, who opened a quarry site problem early on was the transportation of the quarried stone such as marble and slate.
in Vermont there in 1785, found other uses for his marble, such as fire-jambs, chimney blocks, and hearths and lintels for the massive fireplaces of the day.  

Even before 1800, the thirty-two-year-old Rutland lawyer Nathaniel Chipman had proposed a broader, more commercial vision for marble production. In a letter to General Philip Schuyler of New York, dated January 25, 1792, Chipman speculated on the potential: “There are also in this part of the country numerous quarries of marble some of them of superior quality. Machines may easily be erected for sawing it into slabs by water, and in that state it might become an important article of commerce.”

Although quarrying in Rutland County began operation on a limited basis in 1794, Rutland lagged behind Dorset, in Bennington County, by almost a decade. That year Alexander Ralstone and Jonathan Wells deeded the first Rutland County quarry to Ebenezer Blanchard; it was located in West Rutland, west of today’s Clarendon Avenue and south of Route 4, Main Street. Around the turn of the nineteenth century, more small-scale marble activity began. By 1795, Lorenzo Sheldon opened a second quarry in Rutland County, a little further north, along the Otter Creek in Pittsford. Then a series of small entrepreneurs began to enter the market. In 1799, Eli Hudson opened a second quarry in Pittsford, and in 1806 Charles Lamb opened the third quarry in the Pittsford area. Ezra Meach leased the mineral rights from Timothy Brockway, and opened the


True Blue Quarry in 1807, in Whipple Hollow of West Rutland, while Brockway continued to use the land for himself as a farm. In May 1807, Brockway entered into another alliance and reversed the situation. He separated quarrying rights from land ownership, deeding the property to Alexander Donahue, but reserving the right to extract marble until 1809.7

Small-scale marble operations continued to spread. In 1808 Elijah Sykes opened a quarry known as Wilson, McDonald and Freedly's quarry. In 1810 John Chapman and Abraham Underhill purchased it from Sykes. Several of the marble entrepreneurs noted the excellent quality of stone that Luther Perkins had produced from the quarry on the road between the Meeting House and Pittsford, now known as Pleasant Street. The quarry was west of the road, east of the swamp, two-and-a-half miles from Pleasant Street and old Route 4 in West Rutland. All the marble in this area was quarried from outcappings, so the supply was not plentiful.8 By 1821 Lyman Gray opened the Briggs quarry, the second West Rutland marble site in addition to that of William Barnes.9 The Francis Slason quarry opened in 1830 in West Rutland. It was worked for a short time, closed, then was re-opened a half century later by the Standard Marble Company.

Early marble sites developed where the outcappings were visible or very close to the surface of the ground. Vast deposits of valuable marble below the surface remained


9. William Barnes was the father of William F. Barnes. William F. Barnes was the most innovative of the middle generation marble entrepreneurs, before Redfield Proctor. The father left the area for the westward migration, but William F. Barnes stayed in the area and was the most significant leader of his generation. Cf. Abby Hemenway, *The History of Rutland County* (White River Paper Company: White River Junction, VT, 1882), 1066.
unsuspected. Development of the marble industry had achieved a modicum of success, but greater expansion awaited entrepreneurs with more vision who could tap these deposits.\textsuperscript{10} Willard and Moses Humphrey of Sutherland Falls were among the first of the new early entrepreneurs with this larger vision. The Humphreys represented the most innovative of the early generation of marble producers. In the summer of 1836, the brothers became convinced that marble quarrying and sawing could be made more profitable. Seeing some of the success of the marble quarries in the west parish of Rutland, they decided to look for marble in the Sutherland Falls area of Rutland, downstream on the Otter Creek. A mile and a half south of the unincorporated village of Sutherland Falls, part of Rutland Town, the Humphreys found marble at a site later known as the Columbian quarry. The Humphreys’ quarry was the fourth quarry in Rutland, and the first in Sutherland Falls, later re-named Proctor. The Humphreys’ intuition of marble in the area was correct, but even they did not realize the extent of the marble belt in Sutherland Falls, from 1,650 to 2,200 feet wide.\textsuperscript{11}

The Humphreys joined with Rutland lawyer Edgar L. Ormsbee under the firm name of Humphrey and Ormsbee, building a sawmill in the winter of 1836-1837. It opened on September 26, 1837, with four gangs of saws to cut the marble into blocks for

\textsuperscript{10} George E. Hall of Cleveland, Ohio, was one of the earliest of the new visionary entrepreneurs. Before considering purchasing a large tract of marble lands, Hall commissioned Charles H. Hitchcock, a professor and geologist from Dartmouth in Hanover, New Hampshire, to examine the area. Hitchcock’s early report comments on the quality of the marble, not only in the valley in general, from Middlebury to Dorset, but especially in the heart of the Valley—from Brandon to West Rutland. Cf. A. M. Caverly, \textit{History of the Town of Pittsford, Vermont with Biographical Sketches} (Rutland: Tuttle and Company, 1872), 521-525.

house foundations, fireplaces, and gravestones. The firm was quite small, especially when compared to later standards, employing not more than five or six men. The Humphreys, however, began to expand the firm further. They opened a second site in the summer of 1838, known as the Sutherland Falls Quarry. The initial expense was quite high; when the financial crisis of 1837-1838 hit, the Humphreys had little reserves to weather the financial storm. The Panic of 1837 curtailed any expansion for most businesses in the area. The sense of hopelessness and financial doom hung in the air that nothing could be done. The Herald in an editorial noted: “Integrity and talent add nothing...Surely this is a Dark Age! An Awful period in our political history. Where and how it will terminate God only knows.”

For the Humphreys, it was a financial disaster. Creditors forced them to liquidate their assets. The Humphrey firm was assigned to Francis Slason of West Rutland. Slason hired Moses Humphrey, now no longer owner, to act as superintendent, but this attempt to save the company failed as well. Under Slason’s direction, the business struggled on another three or four years. Discouraged at the turn of events, the Humphrey brothers soon gave up all interest in the business and left the area.

Though unsuccessful, the Humphreys’ firm was a harbinger of changes to come in the 1840s. During that decade the industry slowly shifted from individuals and small firms that dealt with one or two aspects of the business, to marble companies that integrated the mineral’s quarrying, cutting, polishing, distribution, and promotion. After


the Humphreys, the next outstanding entrepreneur of the marble industries was William F. Barnes, son of the earlier marble entrepreneur William Barnes. Barnes's business acumen became legendary. He began quarrying in 1839, employing three or four men on his land. In 1841, he discovered a vein of marble about a half-mile northeast of the old Blanchard quarry, lying on the western edge of the swamp, in the middle of what would become West Rutland, between Main and Pleasant streets. In 1842 he bought another seven or eight acres for $335, and later more land for $3,000. On the east side of the wetlands on the Pleasant Street side, he bought, in November 1844, an additional five acres from the estate of Asa Hale. He continued to buy more land through the years and hire more workers. 15

Barnes was entering the market at an auspicious time, when the transportation revolution would greatly transform the means of moving the bulky blocks of marble. Earlier attempts to improve transportation had achieved only minor success. As described in Chapter 1, much talk floated around the idea that a Rutland Canal could be constructed, which would then connect to Whitehall, but it never materialized. As early as 1825, a River Canal had been approved for the Rutland area, but the cost and the engineering involved discouraged actual work on the project. Railroads offered another possibility, but it was not until 1847 that construction started on the Rutland and Burlington Railroad. In 1849 the railroad nosed its way down through the Valley and reached Rutland, including its northern village of Sutherland Falls. 16

Barnes, who worked in what would eventually become the town of West Rutland,

15. Hance, History of Rutland 1761-1861, 534.

was innovative in extracting as much valuable marble as possible. He invented a process that significantly changed marble production and was copied by the rest of the industry. Instead of blasting the marble to free it, which in the process damaged much of the block of marble, he reasoned that cutting the marble to loosen it would release most of the marble undamaged. His new channeling process would prove to be much more economical than the traditional method of blasting. Barnes had found a bed of marble consisting of slabs that had seams on three sides; however, on the fourth side the marble was secured to the bed. By drilling a channel along the fourth side, the worker could release the marble. Barnes then began on a regular basis to use a long churn drill to make cuts or channels across the marble in order to carve out large blocks.  

Barnes' inventiveness was shown in other ways as well. He utilized the first derrick in the town, driven by horses or oxen, to lift the blocks of marble up the quarry side. Two or three years later a steam engine replaced the animals and provided the energy to lift the marble. At the surface, blocks were placed on a stone "boat," then dragged to a mill for sawing. At the sawmill, a soft strip of iron, with no teeth, passed back and forth over the marble, driven by steam or water power. The strip wore its way through the marble because sand was thrown on the surface to act as an abrasive to grind down the stone; the constant interaction of the iron saw and the sand gradually split the rock. Gangs of saws, in a timber framework four to five feet wide and eight to twelve feet long, slowly sliced their way through the marble. The success of the steam engine in

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lifting the heavy marble blocks led to its use in other areas of the industry as well. Steam engines began replacing hand channeling to lower labor expense and improve productivity.

Illustration 2: Center Rutland

The map shows Center Rutland where Ripley, Clement, and the Dorr families lived relatively close together. They formed a formal and informal financial and political alliance. The Ripley mills and buildings were north and south of Otter Creek, towards the right and center of the map. Source: Beers Atlas, 18 Rutland Historical Society, Special Collections.

In 1843 William F. Barnes joined with William Y. Ripley, from the prominent Ripley family of Rutland (and the father of the future Civil War generals William Y. W. Ripley and Edward H. Ripley), to form a marble company. Barnes and Ripley were business partners from 1843 to 1850. Together Barnes and the senior Ripley built the Ripley mill at Center Rutland. They eventually divided their properties, Ripley taking
the mill at Center Rutland and Barnes, the quarries at West Rutland. Ripley later, along
with his sons, would form a rival marble company, Ripley and Sons. (See Illustration 2
for the property of the Ripleys in Center Rutland.)

With the advent of Charles Sheldon (1839) and W.Y. Ripley (1844), marble
production became a more formalized industry. Sheldon was responsible for the large-
scale opening of the West Rutland marble deposit, beginning in 1844 when he developed
the quarry belonging to the company of Sheldon and Sons and Adams and Allen (later
the quarry of Gilson and Woodfin).

Two years later, after the formation of Barnes and Ripley's company in 1845, Lorenzo Sheldon, Francis Slason and David Morgan set up a
rival company. _The Rutland Herald_ of 1848 began to carry advertisements for Davis,
Morgan and Company, extolling in bombastic phrases the marble from "celebrated" West
Rutland quarries. In 1850 teamsters transported 7,300 tons of marble from the West
Rutland quarries to Whitehall, New York, at the cost of $30,650.

In 1850 Barnes, the largest employer in the area, had fifty men working for him
with an average monthly salary of $20.00. In July 1850 he planned to erect two new
marble sawing mills, one steam powered, the other water powered, to increase his output.
In August of 1850, at Gookin Falls, the second largest falls on the Otter Creek, Barnes
acquired land and water rights for $3,000 from William Gookin. A month later Baxter,
Strong, and Harrington transferred their rights in the operation to the Rutland Marble

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19. The quarry had been deeded originally to Ebenezer Blanchard in October 1794 for the sum of
five pounds and was in constant use from 1815 to 1851. For further background see _Rutland Daily Herald_,
January 12, 1881.


National Archives and Records Service for Rutland County, microfilm.
Company. By 1850, productivity of marble was surging. Pitt W. Hyde quarried 13,500 tons of marble that year. More marble was quarried in West Rutland than in any other town in Vermont, and probably in the world in 1850; more varieties of marble were produced than in any other single town in the state or the nation. The 1857 Report on the Geology of Vermont indicated that 989 men were involved in quarrying and, produced 3,063,240 feet of Vermont marble. If the marble had been sawed into slabs two inches thick, it would have covered more than seventy acres.

In 1853 William Barnes sold some of his quarries and mills to the Rutland Marble Company for $125,000. Due to the business acumen of Barnes, by 1854 he employed 80 men and produced 300,000 feet of marble annually, making him one of the largest employers in the state. Throughout the state, there were 27 mills with 176 gangs of saws; the mills employed 312 men. Including all workers, the marble industry employed over 1,300 men in 1857; it was the largest single industry in the state other than farming.

The most common occupation, portrayed in an 1853 painting by James Hope of the old Sheldon, Slason & Morgan quarry in West Rutland, was cutting the stone out of the quarry.

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23. Barnes remained in the marble business until May of 1871 when he was crushed in one of his quarries by a falling rock, Rutland Daily Herald, May 8, 1871.


Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
James Hope painted the marble operations of Sheldon, Morgan, and Slason's marble company in West Rutland. The picture shows a crane lifting the blocks of marble up to the mill yard. The painting was done about 1851. Source: Phyllis and Hubert Humphreys, private collection, West Rutland.

In 1854 the North River Mining Company purchased an old marble company in the area and employed 60 men as the demand for marble increased. The following year saw more re-organization at the quarry in Sutherland Falls, under the name of American Marble Company; most of the investors were from New York State. Former Rutland and Burlington Railroad superintendent John S. Dunlap became president and treasurer of American Marble Company. He soon reorganized it as Sutherland Falls Marble Company; the continually expanding firm acquired Rutland attorney John Prouty and
businessman John B. Page on its board of directors.26

H. H. Baxter, head of the Rutland Marble Company, planned for new quarries to open by the fall of 1854 and the winter of 1855. Already the old West Rutland quarry, known as Barnes Quarry, had reached a depth of 100 feet and a length of 1,680 feet and had yielded 16,000,000 cubic feet of marble. In 1855 the Rutland Marble Company employed 150 men, producing 400,000 feet of marble.27

West Rutland exemplifies the expansion taking place in the Valley during the 1850s. In 1847 in West Rutland there were a Congregational Church, three stores and 20 dwellings. The Rutland-Washington Railroad was completed in West Rutland in 1852, putting in place the infrastructure required to support the growth in the workforce. By 1857 there were 1,294 Irish Catholics living in the unincorporated village of West Rutland, most of them working in the burgeoning marble industry.28

While Barnes’s operations were the largest, other firms contributed to the transformation of the Valley into the Marble Valley. In Brandon, C.P Austin and E.D.

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26. *Men of Vermont: An Illustrated Biographical History of Vermonter's and Sons of Vermont*, compiled by Jacob G. Ullery, under the editorial supervision of Hiram A. Huse (Brattleboro, VT: Transcript Publishing Company, 1894), 98-99. Before Redfield Proctor, Page was the most politically prominent of the local elite in the 1850s and 1860s. At his father William Page's 1849 retirement he became cashier of the community's oldest bank, the Bank of Rutland. Page was an active proponent for Rutland growth. He was collector and treasurer of the newly formed Rutland Village corporation in 1848 and served on the committee to build Rutland Town's East Parish meeting hall in 1853. He was also an organizer and officer of the Rutland Savings Bank, established in 1850. He was a trustee and commissioner of the newly created Rutland Gas Light Company in 1856. Also like Proctor, the local level provided a springboard for state politics. Page served as Vermont's state treasurer throughout the Civil War, from 1860 to 1866, and was governor 1867-1868. His business interests included the presidency of the Rutland Railroad and the treasurer of the Howe Scale Company, the second largest company in Rutland in the 1880s. He was a proponent for the expansion of Rutland Village sought to re-incorporate as a city in 1880.


Selden operated quarries. In Wallingford, J. Adair and Brother and General Robinson Hall each had a quarry, and Anson Warner had a quarry in South Wallingford.

Sutherland Falls Marble Company operated in Sutherland Falls. The largest concentration of quarries was in West Rutland: in addition to the Rutland Marble Company, quarries were operated by Adams and Allen; Sheldon and Slason; Sherman, Holley and Adams; the Vermont Marble Company; and the Hydeville Company. Further south, the next concentration of quarries was around Danby, with companies run by W. W. Kelley and Thomas Syminton, R. P. Bloomer, O. and Clark and Folsom, M. and G. B. Holley, and Way, Wilson Sanford and Company were in Dorset. East Dorset had two working quarries: Firedly [sic] and McDonald & Holley, Fields & Kent. 29

The high return on investment spurred growth throughout the Vermont Marble Valley. Based on the 1850 Industrial Census, and looking on the rate of return after subtracting labor costs and start-up costs, lucrative returns were possible (see pages 37-38). Later in the century, with a wider distribution network and more effective marble industry controls on the price of the product, even greater returns could be achieved. Protective tariffs would also support the domestic marble industry from foreign competition.

Sheldon, Morgan, and Slason led producers in 1850 with a 308% investment return. The Hydeville Company, just to the west of Rutland, near Castleton, was a close second with a 307% return. William P. Elliot had a 95% return. William F. Barnes, an early marble leader, had a 73% return. Some of the marble leaders more than recouped their investments in one year. And it was this financial return that attracted the emerging

social and political leaders.

Illustration 4: The Heart of the Marble Valley

The Vermont Valley, as indicated on the map, is part of the heart of the Marble Valley. North of the Vermont Valley is the Champlain Valley which would include Brandon and Middlebury, also places in the Marble Valley for marble sites. As initially granted, the town of Rutland included what are now West Rutland and the southern two thirds of the town of Proctor. Source: David Stewart, Geology for Environmental Planning in the Rutland-Brandon Region, Vermont (Montpelier, VT: Water Resources Department, 1972), 9.

Entrepreneurs could only realize these profits if they could tap an abundant labor force. This, too, was now available. The potato famine in Ireland led many Irish to
emigrate to the United States, finding work in the construction of railroads and working in the mines and quarries. The earlier generation of white Anglo Saxon Protestant settlers was now in a position to develop the quarrying and mineral rights to the land. The railroads now made it easier to transport the bulky material to national markets, where the stone could receive a better price. Transportation, an increased work force, and marketing, in combination, created the opportunities for high return on investment.

In later years, the *Rutland Daily Herald*, impressed with the wealth coming from the marble quarries, commented on the growth in the Valley.

As far back as 1835 the white quarries of Vermont were uncovered, but not until ten years ago [1870] did they loom up to claim a place among the ambitious industries of America. Forty years ago [1840] no prospect favored, and every obstacle hindered any extensive development of these Green Mountain mines of wealth. But when the demand was loud enough to be heard among these hills, the marble rose from its sepulcher of ages and marched from the mountains to market.30

These were “mines of wealth”—not quarries but mines, conjuring up images of vast and traditional wealth, associated with gold and silver mines.

The marble wealth of the 1850s impacted on the dramatic growth in real estate in the next decade. *The Rutland Daily Herald* for December 23, 1872, commented upon the spectacular growth of real estate values in Rutland that had followed in the 1860s:

An exchange says: Land which was sold in Springfield, Massachusetts for $250 an acre ten years ago has just been bought back by the same parties for $8,000 an acre. What of it? Land that went a-begging, twenty-five years ago in Rutland for seventy-five to a hundred dollars an acre could not be bought now for thirty thousand.31

The real estate boom had an impact upon the workers coming to the Marble


Valley. The many small marble companies that had acquired land before the dramatic increase in real estate values could now derive added revenue from company houses that they rented to their workers. Many standardized duplex side-by-side houses were built close together so as not to waste space. Since land and houses were comparatively expensive, the owners could use housing as leverage against any worker strike or disturbance. In the 1860s there were strikes in the marble industry and the owners used this means to quash the strike as workers faced a lock out, not only from work but also from their housing. Such an arrangement gave increased power to the marble owners.

The engine of the new wealth was the marble industry and the workers it attracted. In the 1860s and 1870s, this expansion continued. In 1860 throughout the State there were more than fifty quarries, most of them clustered around Rutland. With the economic, social, and later political influence of the marble industry and the important and necessary transportation link of the railroads, Rutland, by 1880, overtook its rival, Burlington, as the largest city in the state, with a population of 12,000. In the 1860s the marble workers and the marble elites were instrumental in Rutland's growth.

Railroad construction in the 1850s had brought additional workers into the area, especially immigrants who settled in the area and worked the quarries. The dramatic expansion of the railroads in the 1860s and 1870s provided an important infrastructure essential for transporting and distribution bulky materials such as marble.

Earlier it had been the canal, and now more importantly it was the railroad that set

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up the possibility marble companies could develop external distribution centers at a time when the highly compressed calcium carbonate was a social statement of wealth and opulence. In an age of conspicuous consumption, marble conferred historical and social status. The humble forty-room “cottages” of Newport, Rhode Island, displayed this marble. What was needed was someone who had the talent and ability to organize the industry. In the decade to come, Redfield Proctor would emerge as the most successful of the marble entrepreneurs.
Table 1: 1850 Federal Census Industrial Schedule Rutland, Vermont

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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>grave stones</td>
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The shaded area indicates marble related investments. Investment return determined by the following formula. Profit = annual product(s) value - (cost of raw materials + cost of labor annually). Return on investment is percentage = profit divided by investment. Information derived from James Davidson and Rutland Historical Society.
CHAPTER III:

BECOMING KING OF THE HILL:

REDFIELD PROCTOR AND THE MARBLE VALLEY

Redfield Proctor, born in Proctorsville, Vermont, in 1831, was part of a remarkable generation of new business leaders who were born between 1830 and 1845. As young men between the ages of 15 and 30, they faced a common set of economic, social, political, intellectual, and religious situations that shaped their thinking, attitudes and behavior. The most important of these was, of course, the Civil War. It forced this generation to deal with the logistics of supply and distribution of men and supplies for a massive conflict, learning lessons that later could be translated into building an industry to supply a mass market.

The majority of the new postwar business leaders, and certainly Redfield Proctor was among them, were church members and church-goers. The Calvinistic creed of New England was natural to Proctor’s ancestors. In his early education Proctor attended Black River Academy in Ludlow and in 1844 was sent to Derby Academy near the Canadian border in northern Vermont where Proctor’s brother-in-law, a lawyer, was a trustee of Derby Academy and a member of the school’s executive board. Both Black River and Derby schools were founded by Baptists and inculcated a deep religious commitment in

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their student body.\textsuperscript{2} Although Proctor himself was a religious man, he was no doctrinaire.\textsuperscript{3} The new concepts of social Darwinism provided a more secular interpretation of this Calvinistic belief. Thus competition could be viewed in positive terms rather than a jungle that simply rewarded the strongest or most adaptable. The government that many of them had so fought to preserve could come to their aid with protective tariffs and to preserve order against dangerous strikes. Redfield Proctor used his government influence to advance his business interests, just as the other large-scale business leaders would do.

During 1860 and part of 1861, Redfield Proctor practiced law in the office of his cousin, Judge Isaac Redfield, an eminent Boston jurist. (Proctor's first name is derived from this family connection.) At the outbreak of the rebellion in 1861, Proctor immediately returned to Vermont, joining the Third Vermont Regiment, before advancing to Colonel in the Fifteenth Vermont Volunteers, a distinguished regiment that fought at Gettysburg. Returning home from the war, he moved to Rutland from Proctorville (named after his grandfather) in south-central Vermont. Rutland was a growing commercial center with a larger population that provided Proctor with more financial opportunities than Proctorville. Rather than starting off by himself and having to develop a practice, he shrewdly entered into a legal partnership with Wheelock G. Veazey, a comrade from the war. Veazey; Walter C. Dunton, another former soldier; and Proctor formed the partnership,\textsuperscript{4} Proctor, Veazey and Dunton, at 9 Merchants Row.\textsuperscript{5}

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Redfield Proctor’s law office was in this district. The main business district had moved to Merchants Row from Main Street to be closer to the railroad. Source: Rutland Historical Society

This move put him in a position to make contacts with leaders in not only the marble industry, but also other financial and political areas.

To signify his new social and financial status, Proctor built a dignified Italianate style house at the corner of 1 Field Avenue and Grove Street and lived there until 1871.

In an article on the dramatic expenditures in new construction taking place in Rutland after the War, the Rutland Daily Herald mentioned specifically Redfield Proctor’s new Grove Street house:

Total outlay in building for the year was $240,000. The great stride made by our prosperous village during the year 1867, in its onward march is almost incomprehensible to our inhabitants who are here and can see for themselves, while to those at a distance, who have been eyewitneses of our progress, the story of such rapid improvements within the period mentioned is almost too great to be believed...Redfield Proctor’s house is [valued at] $10,000.\

Marble companies were the source of much of the prosperity coming to Rutland. The

appointed to the Vermont Supreme Court in 1877. The Rutland Directory for 1878-1879 lists only Veazey in a law office at 9 Merchants Row.

6. Rutland Daily Herald, February 1, 1868. Using CPI as the index, The $240,000 in 1867 dollars would be $2,850,000 in 2001 purchasing power. Samuel H. Williamson, "What is the Relative Value?" Economic History Services, April 2002, URL: http://www.eh.net/hmit/. Proctor’s house valued at $10,000 in 1867 according to the Rutland Daily Herald, February 1, 1868. Since 1868 much of the original land has been subdivided for further development. The house and the land that it now has is valued at $314,000 according to Ron Graves, City Treasurer of Rutland, Vermont, Interview May 6, 2002.
Rutland Herald commented upon the financial returns possible and contrasted some of the other companies to the faltering Sutherland Falls Marble Company. The Rutland Marble Company, for instance, began the year 1867 with assets of $41,506.91, with stockholders receiving dividends of $75,000 during the year. The net return for the year was a sizeable 14 percent.

The Rutland Marble Company, one of the marble companies, that Redfield Proctor absorbed into the Vermont Marble Company. Source: American Heritage, Spring, 1951, 37.

When the failure of financial speculators, including Jay Gould and James Fisk, touched off a panic on the infamous “Black Friday,” September 24, 1869, Sutherland Falls Marble Company was in no position to last out the financial storm and was forced into receivership by its creditors. Dorr and Myers, another of the local marble companies, had also over-expanded in the 1860s. The Company had legally obligated itself to an unprofitable contract. The partners, both influential social and financial members of the community, had a personality conflict with one another on how to run the


9. Concerned over the mounting debt and the means to diminish the debt, Myers petitioned the Court. Towards the end of the year in 1869, U.S. District Judge D.A. Smalley granted Myers’s petition to dissolve his milling partnership with Dorr. The judge also appointed Redfield Proctor receiver, and ordered the Sutherland Falls Marble Company, which worked the quarry, to fulfill its $100,000 a year contract with the mill. T. D. Bassett Seymour, The Growing Edge: Vermont Villages, 1840-1880 (Montpelier, VT: Vermont Historical Society, 1992), 172. In the year 2001, the dollar equivalent of $100,000 would be $1,290,000. Samuel H. Williamson, “What is the Relative Value?” Economic History Services, April 23 2002, URL: http://www.ch.net/hmit/compare/.
business and sought a legal dissolution of their partnership. Around the 10th of November 1869, Redfield Proctor set out from his law office on Merchants Row for the northwest section of Rutland, known as Sutherland Falls, to deal with the financial and business interests of Dorr and Myers. The court had appointed Proctor as the company's receiver until the situation could be resolved. Such a procedure was routine. When Proctor arrived at Dorr and Myers, he found a mill equipped with eight gang saws for cutting marble.

Illustration 3: Woodcut of Railroad in the Marble Yard

Railroad tracks greatly facilitated the movement of large blocks of marble. Railroad tracks were built all over the quarries and mills in the late 1850s and early 1860s. Redfield Proctor helped to build the Clarendon and Pittsford Railroad to connect to other railroads. Source: *American Heritage*, Spring, 1951, 37.

A short distance from Dorr and Myers, and next to the railroad, was the larger Sutherland Falls Marble Company, a Massachusetts-owned company. It owned a mill with ten gang saws and controlled everything else in the immediate area that pertained to marble, other than Dorr and Myers. Three water wheels at the Great Falls provided power to drive the mills. In 1864 J.B. Reynolds had become general superintendent and manager of this company. He increased the number of gangs at the mill to twelve and constructed tenement houses for the workers. He had a crane shed constructed for storing machinery and marble at the huge contemporary cost of $40,000. He directed the building of an aqueduct to carry water from Beaver Pond and pump out the quarry. However, he was overly ambitious, and some of his investments in the company were too
costly. His many projects resulted in substantial financial loss.10

Illustration 4: Woodcut of Sleds to Move Marble Blocks

Blocks of marble. Horses and oxen were used on sleds and tracks to move the marble. Source: American Heritage, Spring, 1951, p. 37.

Proctor saw the advantage of combining Dorr and Myers with Sutherland Falls Marble Company, utilizing the four natural resources that the area provided at the Falls: power from the Otter Creek, an existing profitable, proven quarry, a favorable terrain such that blocks could easily be lowered by the force of gravity to a nearby mill, and a good supply of marble-sawing sand between the mill and the quarry. In 1869, the Sutherland Falls Marble Company had installed a track from its mill to the quarries.

In November 1870, one year after Proctor was appointed receiver, he reorganized the two companies, Dorr and Myers plus the original Sutherland Falls Marble Company, into the second Sutherland Falls Marble Company. Instead of being controlled from out of state, as the first had been by Massachusetts-based interests, the new Sutherland Falls Marble Company was a Vermont company with Proctor as the largest stockholder. In the spring of 1871, Proctor moved his family from his $10,000 home on Grove Street in Rutland to Sutherland Falls, to a new house north of Main Street on the west side of the

Great Falls.11 In his concern for effective management, he could be nearer the company, focus on its concerns, and began his own rise to become the biggest marble magnate of all. A month after Proctor arrived in Sutherland Falls, a tragic event took place in West Rutland, which symbolized the transition of marble leadership from one generation to another: one of the early titans of the marble industry, William F. Barnes, was crushed to death by a large block of marble.12 Barnes had been one of the old guard, a sympathetic, kindly and shrewd man who was compassionate to his workers and also, like Proctor, had a sense of the importance of organization. Unlike Proctor, however, he had lacked the legal, organizational, and political skills and connections so necessary after the Civil War. 13

Proctor did not distance himself from the worker during these difficult financial times. Proctor worked hard during the next decade to keep expenses down and he worked alongside his own workers, occasionally doing even manual work. The example made an impression on his workers. A close associate recalled the early days:

The next ten years from 1870 to 1880 were pioneer days.... Proctor often handled a truck and helped to unload cars, emphasizing the fact that the way to get returns is to get off marble. To the best of my belief in all these years the company never paid any dividends. What it could earn was put into paying debts and extending the business. He personally selected marble and it was he who taught Mr. Taylor, the dean of our marble expert department, how to select marble.14

11. Rutland Herald, February 1, 1868. Cf. Ruth French, Proctor: The Way It Was (Poultney: Journal Press, 1975), 45 shows a picture of the second Redfield Proctor house decorated for President Harrison’s visit on August 28, 1891. The first house had burned in the previous decade.


One of the dangers that the domestic marble industry faced was imported marble. As late as 1870, the amount of marble imported into the U.S. from Italy exceeded Vermont’s marble production. Proctor and other marble producers were concerned, and for Proctor, the solution was obvious and apparent. He began to lobby for a protective tariff for marble. The close connection of Republican politics and business meant that politics, Republican politics, could be used to further domestic business interests.

There were domestic dangers as well as foreign competition. A short time after he took over, Proctor faced an economic recession. The Great Panic that began in 1873 and lasted until 1878 caught workers in an economic squeeze, but, for those with capital, however modest, it provided an opportunity. Here Proctor’s luck held once more. Coming into the market with sufficient capital in the 1860s or early 1870s before the Panic, he saw the decade as one of great opportunities. Proctor could see the potential for return in the marble industry and was willing to defer the returns. He also was willing to risk his own money on that return. Proctor invested all the money he had in the new Sutherland Falls Marble Company, becoming its treasurer and overall manager.

Proctor sought to expand his market. Branch offices would allow the company to enter strategically into the rapidly growing Midwest. Consequently, he established the first branch of the Sutherland Falls Marble Company outside New England at Toledo.

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15. Proctor was part of a national movement which saw tariffs as a way of protecting and advancing American business interests. The high protection period was from 1861 to 1933. Senator Morrill from Vermont initiated the constant round of high tariffs. Certainly tariffs were issue before hand in the tension between North and South, but now with the South’s defection, high tariffs became the standard policy of the nation. Cf. *Encyclopedia of American Political History: Studies of the Principal Movements and Ideas*, Jack P. Greene, editor (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1984) III, 1263-1266.

16. Similarly Andrew Carnegie, in the midst of the Great Panic of the 1870s that faced Proctor, built the Edgar Thompson Steel Works in Braddock, and as a prudent risk taker gambled his fortune on it.
Ohio, in 1875, with Henry D. Pierce as manager. Like Proctor, Pierce had been at first an outsider to the marble business, but he had the organizational skills that Proctor valued, and he gave up teaching as a career to go into the marble business, first in Toledo and later in the larger Chicago market. Proctor needed to secure Eastern markets as well. Boston, Philadelphia, and the large New York market were most important. By 1878, branch distributing offices were in place in both Boston and Toledo, and Proctor established outlets in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and San Francisco.¹⁷

Proctor also began to expand the company’s product line to include monument finishing (1876) and exterior finishing (1880). About 1876, the Sutherland Falls Marble Company added another step to the manufacturing process by finishing the marble it sawed.¹⁸ By 1880, the finish section of the Sutherland Falls Company had expanded to three rubbing beds and thirty lathes. At first, the finishing was used only for monumental work, but later it was expanded to include exterior building products such as door caps, lintels, facing, and solid walls.

As the nation recovered from the depression of the late 1870s, it went on a building spree. On January 12, 1880, the Rutland Herald commented on the impact for Vermont and Rutland; the economic forecast described the new developments as a divine providential unfolding:

America had to become great before she could utilize her great resources. With each epoch of enlargement has come to light some new fountain of wealth which Proctor saw similar opportunities. Both thrived later when the economy and the demand for their products increased.

¹⁷. David Gale, Proctor: Story of a Marble Town, 111.

¹⁸. According to John D. Andrews, who came to Proctor in 1876, the Sutherland Falls Marble Company owned one twelve-foot rubbing bed when he arrived. An expanded product line required more finishing capability. Cf. David Gale, Story of a Marble Town, 133.
that epoch alone could open. As man has multiplied his own facilities, nature has responded in larger ratios and furnished inexhaustible incentives to his ingenuity and skill. When our architecture was ready for marble, then marble was uncovered, quarried, and supplied. As architecture approached elegance, and as increased prosperity enabled the popular taste to respond to the allurements of luxury, marble as a material for building and ornamentation, attained to a pronounced demand. But Italy, with its pauper-wretched labor, was ready to supply the demand at prices, which defied any home competition. Further, the extent, value, durability and availability of Vermont marble was unknown abroad and unappreciated at home.20

The number of people involved in the marble industry “in and around Rutland is seen in the nearly 2,000 hands employed in the more than 200 gangs of saws running day and night, in nearly 60,000 tons of marble shipped annually.”21

Later that month, the Herald reported the election of Redfield Proctor to the presidency of the Rutland Marble Company, at the annual meeting of that company held in New York. The Herald went on to report:

It is well known that on account of the hard times and the very sharp competition, none of the marble interests in Vermont have been, for two or three years, at least, in a flourishing condition. This is especially true of the West Rutland or white marble trade. It is well known that Mr. Baxter for some years wished to be relieved of the care of the management of the Rutland Marble company to enable him to devote more time to the bank and his other important business interests, and tendered his resignation some months ago, but did not insist on its acceptance until the company could make other satisfactory arrangements...

Gov. Proctor, as president, will take over the active management of the affairs at West and Center Rutland, and Salem, N.Y. No other changes in the employees or the officers of the company is expected. The change was not brought about by any hostile movement, but has been entirely harmonious and unanimous on the part of the stockholders and directors, . . .

As the two companies (Sutherland Falls and Rutland Marble companies) employ 1,000 or more men, when running full, and have properties capable of almost infinite development, with their large water power and quarries, the change is a very important one, and we think must prove beneficial. . . .22

This report marked a new and powerful business combination. In 1880, at the end


of ten years of Proctor's management, the number of workers at Sutherland Falls Marble Company at Sutherland Falls had risen to 300, operating 64 gangs and producing 94,500 cubic feet of marble, worth $225,000. In the summer of 1880, the company completed its first shop to produce large building exteriors, one hundred feet long and fifty-six feet wide. The first large building exterior cut in Proctor—the State Capitol for Indianapolis, Indiana—was produced in the shop in 1881. It included 72 polished marble columns, thirteen feet high and two feet four inches in diameter.\textsuperscript{23}

By 1880 the Rutland Marble Company had, besides its quarries at West Rutland, which covered the largest holding on the West Rutland deposit, 24 gangs at West Rutland, 28 gangs at Center Rutland, and 8 gangs at Salem, New York, a total of 60 gangs. It employed over 450 men, but had never prospered.\textsuperscript{24}

Proctor had first entered the marble industry through an ability to be in the right place at the right time when he accepted the receivership of the mill owned by Dorr and Myers. And in 1880, that same ability was shown itself in the way he became involved with Rutland Marble Company. Proctor happened to be in New York City, visiting a friend’s office, when Elisha Riggs, a New York banker and president of the Rutland Marble Company, stopped into the room. Riggs and Proctor, who knew of each other but had not met previously, were formally introduced. Riggs, very much aware of the success of the Sutherland Falls Marble Company and the lack of success of his own Rutland Marble Company, proposed a deal to Proctor. The Rutland Marble Company, Riggs felt, was valuable property, but was not succeeding because of mismanagement. Despite its name as the Rutland Marble Company, which gave the appearance that it was locally owned and run, investors from New York City, who were more interested in immediate profits than in long-range development, owned the business; the company felt compelled to hold auctions frequently to sell off marble to generate capital for the

\textsuperscript{23} Rutland Daily Herald, July 15, 1880.

\textsuperscript{24} Rutland Daily Herald, January 31, 1880.
investors. The Company had overextended itself with a debt of $500,000 and resorted to borrowing to pay dividends.\textsuperscript{25}

Riggs, impressed by Proctor's management and the growth of Proctor's company, proposed that Proctor assume the management of Rutland Marble. Like the original Sutherland Falls Company, Rutland Marble had expanded too rapidly and exceeded its revenues. By contrast, the current Sutherland Falls Marble Company, under Proctor, was free of debt and profitable. Riggs proposed that Proctor take over the hemorrhaging Rutland Marble Company and replace him as president of Rutland Marble. The same day a meeting was quickly convened; Proctor returned to Vermont that night as president of Rutland Marble Company, with potentially lucrative operations in the West Rutland quarries. As president, Proctor received a salary of $1,000 a month and owned the largest amount of stock, with 8,000 shares, making him the largest stockholder with 27% of the stock, and giving him virtual control of the company.\textsuperscript{26}

Moving quickly, in September 1880, Proctor formed the Vermont Marble Company, which took over the property of both the Sutherland Falls Marble Company and the Rutland Marble Company.\textsuperscript{27} This gave Proctor control of 55% of the marble trade in the Rutland region. Unlike the Rutland Marble Company and the first Sutherland Falls Marble Company, the new Vermont Marble Company was truly based in Vermont, locally owned and locally controlled. The combined company included 750 employees, making it by far the largest employer in the area. By 1889, the last year of Redfield Proctor's direct daily control of the company, it would grow to 1,400 workers, and in

\textsuperscript{25} Rutland Daily Herald, September 30, 1880.


\textsuperscript{27} Gale, \textit{Proctor: The Story of a Marble Town}, 110.
1903 it would be the largest marble company in the world.  

Proctor formally announced the new company on January 1, 1881, when he advertised bonds of Vermont Marble in the Rutland Herald. The inducement stated:

Over $300,000 of these bonds have been sold in the last fifty days. Only $100,000 more will be offered for sale at par. Denominations of $100, $500, and $1000. Registered or coupon interest at five per cent. Principal interest payable in gold. A perfectly safe investment. For further information apply to either of the undersigned.

After becoming president of the new, larger company, Proctor now shifted his sights to another problem. To bring in operating capital, some marble companies had been hosting marble auctions, which drove down the price dealers would pay for marble. Proctor's competitors, particularly his chief rival, the Rutland Marble Company, often had held auctions at their quarries. Such a procedure had immediate advantages in raising cash but, in the long run, was disastrous. The practice was often generated by financial crises, and shrewd buyers bided their time to wait for the lowest price possible. Proctor saw the need to wrest control from the buyer-distributor to the producer-seller. His objective was to bring together the components of the marble industry under one sales organization, reducing duplication and providing more effective control. Like Rockefeller in oil, he sought a mechanism that would combine the marble producers into a cartel to control the market. In 1880 Proctor laid the groundwork to establish an alliance of the marble producers. A complimentary dinner was arranged to invite the principal producers to explore more cooperative strategies. Proctor led the way in forming the Producers Marble Company, a confederation of companies whose sole purpose was to control the price and distribution of marble; the participating companies

30. Rutland Daily Herald, December 9, 1880.
were Vermont Marble Company, Gilson and Woodfin, Sheldons and Slason, Sherman and Gleason, and Ripley Sons, which owned a mill but no quarry. The *Rutland Herald* reported on the new company's formation:

Yesterday a meeting was held, lasting late into the night, at the Rutland County National Bank rooms, of all the Vermont marble producers, to consider matters of common interest... An organization was effected, called the "Vermont Marble Dealers Association." They made choice of W.Y.W. Ripley, President; Chas. Sheldon, Vice-President; Ed. H. Ripley, Secretary; Redfield Proctor, E.P. Gilson, H.G. Root, Rockwood Barrett, Wyman Flint, executive committee. They hope to accomplish, not only good for themselves, but for their customers by securing greater uniformity of prices and refusing credit to irresponsible parties who have done great injury to the trade by underselling legitimate dealers throughout the country, and restore this great industry to its former prosperity.

There will be a slight advance in prices—less than ten per cent—which is less than the increased cost of production. It is also proposed to cut off the system of indiscriminate discounts which has prevailed of late, and has been so unequal and unjust in its operations.31

As they pooled their sales yards and closer co-operation began showing effect, the Rutland-based group took on the name of the Marble Producers Company.

The marble producers of Rutland, Messrs. Ripley Sons, the Vermont marble company, Gilson & Woodfin, Sheldons & Slason and Sherman & Gleason, having consolidated their city yards in Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Chicago for the purpose of pooling the sales, have organized under the name of the Producers' Marble company. They have recently opened an office in Simons' block for the purpose of allotting to each of the firms represented in the Producers company its just proportion of the orders received. Mr. Dan R. Hall is manager of the Rutland office.32

Competition in producing marble was to be avoided, especially among the members of the cartel. To insure that no member undercut the price of another, Proctor devised spheres of influence with exclusive control. For example, the Boston branch of the


Producers' Marble Company had exclusive rights to sell marble from the Connecticut River east and into the Maritime Provinces of Canada. No other member of the cartel could sell in that territory. The same model persisted throughout his distribution network. Thus, if a consumer wanted marble, he had to deal with the existing price, either nearby or in another region where the price would be maintained.

In 1883 Vermont Marble Company had 54.72% of the market controlled by the cartel. Its next nearest competitor was Sheldon and Sons with 23.8%; the other members and their percentages were Ripley Sons, 7.25%; Gilson and Woodfin, 7.0%; and Dorset Marble 5.9%. These five companies composed the Producers' Marble Company, which, in turn, controlled the national market. The new cartel was a façade, a voluntary, self-enforcing organization rather than an actual company, like a holding company; nevertheless, this pool controlled nearly eighty-five percent of the marble in Rutland County.

Now that the price of marble could be maintained, Proctor turned to the distribution problem. The Vermont Marble Company increased its distribution points from four in 1881 to nine in 1886: Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Toledo, St. Louis, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and San Francisco. The principal branches were at Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago.

By 1888 the number had risen to eleven, with new branches in the Midwest at Cincinnati and Kansas City. Later, after the demise of the cartel, the Vermont Marble

33. Gale, Proctor: Story of a Marble Town, 112.

34. The Producers Marble cartel formed late in the year of 1880, a year after Proctor had formed the Vermont Marble Company. Cf Childs Directory for 1881-1882.

Company consolidated the branches, so the number dwindled from eleven to six. In 1882 Proctor sought to formalize his international business power by being appointed to the U.S. Tariff Commission, so that he could influence tariffs on imported marble. Appearing before the Tariff Commission as representative of over a dozen marble companies, he asserted that businesses and employees, rather than being financially hurt, benefited from protectionism. The American worker needed protection from “the cheapest labor in the world,” he said. Throughout the 1880s he maintained his protectionist position. Government connections at all levels—local, state, and national—might enhance business connections. To add more political pressure, he sought alliances with Georgia’s developing marble industry, to jointly lobby against foreign competition. Meanwhile, in addition to the stock he owned in his company, he also purchased its bonds so that, by 1882, he owned a quarter of a million dollars worth of stocks and bonds in the Vermont Marble Company.

Proctor also sought to deal with foreign competition head-on. Northern Italy was a center of the Italian marble industry, from which marble was shipped to the United States. Up until 1870 more Italian marble was imported into the United States than the production of marble in Vermont. He traveled to Carrara, the heart of the marble industry of Italy, to lure away the best carvers and bring them to work for his company in Vermont and to force the replacement of an American consul in Carrara with a man who would promote Vermont Marble Company interests. After concluding that the current American consul was not acting in the best interests of the American marble companies,

he organized other Vermont producers in support of Charles Bernard, already a U.S. consul to northern Italy, but not stationed in the marble area. Bernard was a Rutlander whose father-in-law was E.P. Gilson, one of the owners of the Gilson and Woodfin Marble Company of Rutland. Because of his marble and Vermont connections, Bernard could be relied on to represent the New England marble producers' interests. With Proctor's political and business connections, Bernard was soon the new U.S. consul. The following year, Proctor used his influence to secure the appointment of Ulisse Boccacci, an Italian, who sought the position of agent for Consul Bernard. Boccacci, "in this old boy network," did receive the appointment and felt obligated to Proctor. The combination promotion of Vermont marble at home and restriction of marble from Italy would increase domestic sales.

While in Italy, Proctor availed himself of the opportunity to recruit highly skilled Italian stonecutters and sculptors, persuading them to come to Vermont. He also added to his product line Italian marble, but this was always a minor part of the business. As a marketing strategy, he wanted access to this market of world-renowned skilled carvers, and persuaded eighteen skilled stonecutters to come to Proctor. These northern Italians, so-called Alta Italians, arrived in 1881, followed by another group who arrived in 1885. All the northern Italians who came to Proctor were skilled craftsmen, stone cutters or marble carvers.


39. Gino Ratti, "The Cesare Ratti Family of Proctor, Vermont." Rutland Historical Society Quarterly xx-1. In discussions with descendants of Italian marble workers who are now living in Center Rutland, they recalled how Italians from northern Italy were referred to as the Alta Italians to distinguish them from southern Italians. In Rutland the two Italian communities had established two different Italian social and financial aid societies. Personal Interview, April 1997.

40. Elizabeth Hale, "Marble Valley's UN: Workers from Many Nations Quarry Vermont's Rock-
As Proctor continued expanding his marble company, the Rutland Herald noted dramatic changes taking place in the Marble Valley and especially at Sutherland Falls, the headquarters of the Vermont Marble Company:

There are few places in the State that show the march of progress as much as Sutherland Falls. On every hand additions, and alternations are being made which greatly improve the efficiency and appearance of the marble works. The winter marble trade is usually light in comparison with the spring business, and the Vermont Marble Company has taken advantage of it by stocking their yard with first class blocks sawed to a desirable thickness, so they can be furnished promptly in sizes to suit customers when the busy season arrives... The work on the Indiana State House contract requires very heavy machinery and extra long gangs... A floor has been laid and a partition built in the finish building for the completing of the columns and pilasters. Although the company has a large sand bank near the store, they have purchased land on the east side of Otter Creek which bids fair to increase their excellent supply of sand. At the quarry the same activity is exhibited at the mills. Extra machinery is at work boring and cutting out the great blocks for the State House... The energy shown to bring about these improvements in the middle of winter is highly commendable.41

To lower transportation costs, the Vermont Marble Company on September 10, 1885, officially incorporated and organized the Clarendon and Pittsford Railroad, which operated from Florence at its north end and the Loveland quarry in Proctor (the new village created around the area known as Sutherland Falls), to Center Rutland and West Rutland, a total of seven and one half miles with the sidings. The Railroad, wholly owned by the Company, provided Proctor with another means of control. Between 1886 and 1890, the railroad was built in segments, connecting new quarries to the railroad. Begun south from Proctor in 1886 to Center Rutland, the small line reached West Rutland in 1887 and 1888, thus conveniently uniting the main Proctor and West Rutland properties. Its primary business was transporting marble from the quarries to the company's huge, far-flung finishing mills; to increase revenues, it had the subsidiary goal of serving several private industries located along its right of way. The Second Biennial Ribbed Hills,” American Heritage II (Spring, 1951), 40.

Report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners for June 20, 1888, to June 30, 1890, had high praise for the Clarendon and Pittsford’s construction: “It is a well built road and in every way equipped for the heavy traffic required, which is mainly the marble of the great quarries it was made to reach.”

In all, between 1885 and 1890, five major railroads serviced the Rutland area helping to make it a center of activity. The Bennington and Rutland, Central Vermont, Clarendon and Pittsford, Delaware and Hudson, and the Pittsford and Rutland provided vital transportation that helped the growth of the marble industry and the region.

Ten years later, the endorsement of the company’s railroad was a little more qualified. The Seventh Biennial Report of 1898-1900 said: “The railroad is generally good but needs additional ballast at some points…. The road is in good condition generally for the purpose for which it was constructed and is now operated.” All of the Clarendon and Pittsford locomotives were named for directors of the Vermont Marble Company. For example, the company acquired its first locomotive, Number 1, in December 1885, renaming it the F.R. Patch after the Clarendon and Pittsford’s chief engineer; when Patch left the firm, the engine was renamed the Fletcher D. Proctor. Fletcher was the president of the Vermont Marble Company, succeeding his father, Redfield Proctor. Proctor’s concern for the new technology also led him to hire George Wardwell, inventor of a steam-driven channeling machine that increased worker productivity. Wardwell was hired as part of general management efforts to integrate the use of machinery and the worker.

Rutland, through the influence of Proctor and others, had become a center of the

42. Vermont Board of Railroad Commissioners, Biennial report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners of the State of Vermont. (Boston: Rand Avery Company, 1888).

43. Vermont Board of Railroad Commissioners, Biennial report of the Board of Railroad Commissioners of the State of Vermont. (Boston: Rand Avery Company, 1900).

marble industry, not only in New England but nationally. *The Rutland Herald* announced an important meeting of marble dealers to be held in Rutland. "Marble Princes To Make Their Pilgrimage to the Mecca of the Trade Today" headlined the paper in its July 24, 1888, edition. Two days later, *The Herald* announced another indication of the economic and political influence of the Marble Valley. It headlined "Marble Dealers Association Selects State Officers." Notices had been sent to 475 dealers throughout New England and the nearby Canadian Provinces. Eight delegates from this meeting would be sent to the national convention: E.R. Morse of Rutland, R.C. Bowers of Montpelier, J.D. Sleeper of Rutland, S.C. Partridge of Proctor, and T. George E. Royce of Rutland, Vermont; Stephen Maslin of Hartford, Connecticut; John D. Allen of Boston, Massachusetts; and J.F. Brennan of Peterborough, New Hampshire. Five of the eight delegates to the national convention came from the immediate area of Rutland, indicating the economic and political strength of the Marble Valley.46

In 1887 the Vermont Marble Company, was strong enough to control the market directly and at that point the Producers Marble Company dissolved. One of the smaller partners, the Dorset Marble Company, had failed already in 1886. In 1888 the Vermont Marble Company bought the firm of Gilson and Woodfin in West Rutland for $200,000.45

On January 1, 1889, the Vermont Marble Company purchased the Gilson and Woodfin property and quarry in West Rutland and, later in the same year, the Ripley Mills in Center Rutland for $275,000. The Ripley Sons purchase, while not adding any additional quarry property, was a strategic move in voiding the old Ripley-Barnes contract, freeing marble for sale at the prevailing market price. Proctor also sought measure of stability and control for the marble that he would import from Italy. In 1889,


the Vermont Marble Company purchased a quarter interest in a sailing ship to bring Italian marble to its San Francisco branch. The company acquired a thirty-year lease on the Sheldon Marble Company of West Rutland in 1891. Thus, by 1891, the Vermont Marble Company had either acquired outright or taken control of all of its former associates in the Vermont Marble Dealers pool. By 1891, the Vermont Marble Company had reached a pinnacle that no other marble company in the United States had achieved. When it absorbed former cartel members Ripley Sons and Gilson and Woodfin, it became the largest marble company in the country, with 1,800 workers in 1894, and, by the turn of the century, it would be the largest in the world.44

Internally and externally Proctor had made his company successful. Redfield Proctor had become King of the Valley. By forming the Vermont Marble Company and successfully leading it through the 1880s, he catapulted financially to the top of the social and political elite of the town. His social, political, business, and organizational skills, derived from the recent war, aided in his social and political rise. He began his political rise in conjunction with his law practice shortly after he arrived in Rutland serving as Rutland’s representative to the Vermont House of Representatives. In 1868 he left politics for six years while he concentrated on organizing and building his newly acquired marble business. In 1874, he re-entered politics as state senator from Rutland County. As senator, he was elected president pro tempore of his fellow senators and chaired the powerful Senate Rules Committee. In 1874, he introduced legislation to set limits on maximum rates for the transportation of marble, although it failed in committee from the influential lobbying by railroads. In 1876 he became lieutenant governor and secured the 1878 Republican nomination for governor. He was elected governor that year and served until 1880.45

44. Based upon the number of workers, its geographic distribution, its sales, and the Industrial Census of 1900. See also Bowie, "Redfield Proctor," 49.

45. Vermont Senate Journal, 1874, 154; Bowie Redfield Proctor: A Biography, 121.
As a former governor, he was socially in a circle that included former Governor John B. Page, Charles Clement, and the Ripley brothers. He was now unquestionably the king of the hill. The Valley where he had acquired his fortune, and political fame also had achieved a special identity. Marble mills ran all day and into the night. Trains ran several times a day, transporting the marble to distant places and belching steam and smog into the air. To the residents, this was the Marble Valley and quarries were part of the changed landscape. Production of marble had made a new economic lord but in an industry that demanded from its laborers hard work and often long hours.
CHAPTER IV:

FROM THE QUARRIES TO THE MILL

THE WORKERS AND THE WORK

The production of marble was labor-intensive and drew upon a diversified labor force. Because the industry was expanding throughout the nineteenth century, it attracted workers from the local area and many immigrants from different countries. When the marble industry was in its infancy, mostly dealing with memorial stones and markers at the end of the eighteenth century, the workforce was Yankee, an indication of the homogeneous settlement of the region. Work in the quarries was ancillary to farming, and workers came from eastern and southern New England and nearby New York into the Valley. Just before mid-century, the Irish migrated in large numbers, followed by the French from Canada and the Welsh. By the end of the nineteenth century, other nationalities, especially Scandinavians, Italians, and lastly Poles—as many as twenty at one time or another—worked in the marble industry.

During its rapid expansion the industry had a constant demand for workers; marble companies sought young men. “Young Men,” it advertised, “of good mechanical ability wanted at once to learn to turn marble. Fair wages to begin with and good prospect of advancement. Sutherland Falls Marble Co., Sutherland Falls.”

Map of Quarries of West Rutland. Many of the Marble Companies were close together, which added to the early competition. Source: Atlas of Rutland County, Vermont. By and under the direction of F.W. Beers, assisted by F.S. Fulmer and others. 1869.
The Sutherland Falls Marble Company also advertised for teamsters in the *Rutland Daily Herald*. "Several first class teamsters for horses and oxen wanted at once. None but first class teamsters need apply. Sutherland Falls Marble Co., Sutherland Falls, Vt."\(^2\) With more than 200 gangs of saws running day and night and with nearly 2,000 marble workers employed in the area by 1880, Rutland was the center of the state's marble industry in the late nineteenth century attracting young people from a variety of places. (See Appendix 3 for a list of descriptions of occupations in the marble industry.)

John Dover and James Roonay, both 14 in 1880 and born in Vermont, were marble polishers that year. James Hughes, also 14 and born in Vermont, worked in the marble mill along with fellow Vermont-born Eugene Mangan, a teamster. Others came from further away. Richard Davies, who was 16, worked as a shipping clerk but was born in Iowa. Barney Battles, 18, and Matthew Ryan, 20, were quarrymen, born in Ireland. Earnest Sutton, 24, a marble polisher, was born in England. Scandinavians such as John Swanson, 30, a mill worker and Charles Sanbury, 30, a quarryman, were born in Sweden, and Eubret Oldson, 35, a quarryman, was born in Norway. George Dunlop, 38, a bookkeeper, was born in Germany. Many of the workers in their 40s in 1880 were Irish, reflecting the desperate emigration out of Ireland around the time of the Irish Potato Famine. Many of the Irish in that age bracket worked in the quarries. So it was natural that James Burke, 40, would be the quarry foreman, but Horace Nason, 42, born in Maine, was also the foreman of a quarry. Hugh Prichard, 44, born in Wales, was the foreman of the marble finishing operation in the mill.\(^3\)

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2. The company had the livestock but was in need of workers to drive the oxen. The Sutherland Falls Marble Company advertised for teamsters. "Teamsters Wanted." *Rutland Daily Herald*, July 31, 1880. At the beginning of the year, the *Rutland Daily Herald* estimated that throughout the Valley there were 2,000 workers in the marble industry. Cf. *Rutland Daily Herald*, January 12, 1880.


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With no adequate retirement plan for the average worker, old age meant work or financial support from the younger members of the family. Because there was demand, some older workers continued to work at arduous tasks. Quarryman George Hadley, for instance, was 70 in 1880. John Sweeney, John McCue, Thomas Welch, and Peter Gaffney, all of them born in Ireland and in their late 60s, were still considered active quarrymen that year. Even Patrick Coffee, 76, was considered a quarryman. The oldest person still working in the marble business in 1880 was Francis Slason, 90, who described himself as a “capitalist.”

Immigrant families tended to be larger than those of Yankee origin and often reflected the geographic mobility of the families’ wanderings. John Loso, born in Canada like his mother and father, came from a family of seven. John Lahway was born in Vermont, but his father was born in Canada and his mother in Ireland; he was also part of a seven-member household.

Both born in Ireland to Irish parents, Patrick Sweeney and Patrick Battles had nine and seven-member families, respectively. Henry Woodbury, 32, born in Vermont of Vermont parents, had a family of 3. Roman Catholic French Canadian families also tended to be large, like the 7-member Charles Rogers family.

Fred Patch and his father John built a marble mill of this type. In this cut-away illustration the gang saw is clearly shown in the middle with the large blocks of marble to be cut on the side. When all the saws were running, the roof would vibrate. Source: Rutland Historical Society
Of the 11 families in the 1880 census sample that number 10 or more, nine are Irish and two are Canadian. Patrick Garvin, whose parents were born in Ireland, came from a family of 10 (see Appendix 6, 265). Michael Clifford, born in Vermont of Irish parents, came from a family of 14. Michael Hackett, 48, born in Ireland of Irish parents, was listed as being part of a family of 12. Samuel Leonard, 47, born in Canada of Canadian parents, had an 11-member family. So did Hugh Clark, 38, was himself born in Ireland as were his parents. Edward McConnic, 40, likewise born in Ireland of Irish parents, was another 11-member family man, and so was John Penders.

Table 1 Average Family Size, 1880, by Origin of Parents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic origin</th>
<th>No. family members</th>
<th>No. of families</th>
<th>Average family size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second generation Canadian</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First generation Canadian</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>4.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Isles</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First generation Irish</td>
<td>1361</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>5.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second generation Irish</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. of mixed parentage</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S. native born</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavian</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the U.S. Tenth Census Population, 1880. Manuscript for Rutland County, Vermont U.S. National Archives microfilm. 490 families were in the sample.

5. For the purpose of comparing family size, the researcher looked at data for head of household over age 30. Before that age group, it is likely that many of the listed individuals may have been unmarried junior members in a multi-generational household.

69

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Table 2:
Ethnicity and Occupation, Marble Workers in Rutland County, 1880 and 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Unskilled Labor</th>
<th>Skilled Labor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number in 1880</td>
<td>Number in 1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foreign Born</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain (England, Scotland, Wales)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/Mixed</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Foreign Born</strong></td>
<td>322</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Foreign Stock (born in U.S., at least one foreign-born parent)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/Mixed</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Foreign Stock</strong></td>
<td>85</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in U.S. to U.S. parents</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Unskilled</strong></td>
<td>444</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| Foreign Born                     | 33              | 13            |
| Canada                          | 23              | 4             |
| Britain                         | 4               | 5             |
| Scandinavia                     | 2               | 44            |
| Italy                           |                 | 7             |
| Eastern Europe                  |                 | 2             |
| Other/Mixed                     | 2               |               |
| <strong>Total Foreign Born</strong>          | 61              | 75            |
| <strong>Foreign Stock</strong>               |                 |               |
| Ireland                         | 24              | 22            |
| Canada                          | 7               | 2             |
| Britain                         |                 |               |
| Scandinavia                     |                 |               |
| Italy                           |                 |               |
| Eastern Europe                  |                 |               |
| Other/Mixed                     | 2               | 4             |
| <strong>Total Foreign Stock</strong>         | 69              | 56            |
| Born in U.S. to U.S. Parents    | 36              | 28            |
| <strong>Total Skilled</strong>               | 130             | 131           |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>White Collar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Born</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/Mixed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Foreign Born</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Stock</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Britain</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scandinavia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italy</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Europe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other/Mixed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Foreign Stock</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in U.S. to U.S. parents</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total White Collar</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Sample</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Although young men began working in the quarries as young as age 14, the largest number of workers in 1880 sample were age 30 to 50, in the same generation as or the next younger one than founder Redfield Proctor who was 49 in 1880. In any given age group over age 30, the largest numbers of workers were nearly always Irish; in the under-30 set, they were second-generation Irish.

Because of prejudice and tradition, some ethnic groups were informally restricted to certain types of jobs in the marble industry. Family members would often work in the same sector of the industry, for example, in the quarries or in office work. The Irish in the 1850s and 1860s were generally confined to the quarries and did not achieve management positions in proportion to their numbers. By 1870, there were more opportunities for individuals from various ethnic groups, including the newly arrived Swedes. Swedes worked in all branches of the marble business in

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Proctor: Charles Larson worked in the quarry, John Ball in the mill. Erick Lundquist was a grader; John Aronson worked at the rubbing bed. William Oberg was a stone cutter; Charles Johnson, a hand polisher; Emile Freden, a machine polisher. Other Swedes boxed finished marble pieces, worked in shipping, or were engineers or draftsmen. Swedes were recruited to Vermont because they were viewed as dependable. The Rutland Marble Company in 1871 employed nearly a hundred Swedes who were “described as being very active, industrious, and quiet men.” Several members of the board of managers were Swedes, and Fred Aronson, a Swede, was a member of the board of directors in 1880.

One Swede recalls the long hours and the pay. “We were not poor—we were just awfully poor. Dad worked 72 hours a week for $10.08. There was seldom any take-home pay. It was invariably traded out at the company store. We all worked at whatever we could find to do to earn a little money. Prices were low, but money also was very scarce. If I remember correctly, house rent, a ton of coal and a barrel of flour were about the same price—$3.75.”

The 1870s expansion of the marble industry drew in more workers. The tremendous growth of labor in the next two decades made an impact on everyone in the region. For her graduating essay at the Castleton State Normal School on June 27, 1878, Katie Bibben spoke on the “Blessings of Labor.” Two years later, the

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6 Alonzo Valentine, Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture and Manufacturing Interests of the State of Vermont (Rutland: Tuttle Company, 1890), passim. The report comments on the reliability of various immigrant groups.


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Rutland Daily Herald, commented on the growth and expansion in the marble industry:

As far back as 1835 the white quarries of Vermont were uncovered, but not until ten years ago [1870] did they loom up to claim a place among the ambitious industries of America. Forty years ago [1840] no prospect favored, and every obstacle hindered any extensive development of these Green Mountain mines of wealth. But when the demand was loud enough to be heard among these hills, the marble rose from its sepulcher of ages and marched from the mountains to market. \(^{12}\)

The 1880 Census reflected the growth of the marble industry and the diversity of the worker skills needed. The predominant immigrant groups in the 1880 census were Irish and French Canadians. Some Scandinavians had started to arrive. Getting skilled workers was a growing problem in the 1870s and 1880s. When Redfield Proctor went to Italy to deal with restrictions on Italian marble, he also recruited premier experienced Italian workers from the marble district of northern Italy. Dante Bacolli and A. Fabiani were the first Italian cutters to work in Proctor. \(^{13}\) Most of the Italians living in Sutherland Falls (later Proctor) came from northern Italy and were literate, highly skilled carvers, sculptors, and cutters, actively recruited initially by Proctor himself from the prestigious Italian marble district of Carrara. The immigrants paid for their own passage or reimbursed the company once they had arrived in the town of Proctor. Paying $11 board per month, they earned wages from $1.25 to $3.00 per day, dependent upon skill and experience. \(^{14}\) Barre, the center of the granite industry, also attracted an Italian community. Like Proctor’s recruitment

\(^{12}\) Rutland Daily Herald, January 12, 1880.

\(^{13}\) Gale, Proctor: The Story of a Marble Town, 134.

of skilled carvers, the Italians in Barre were also skilled workers. Writing in 1913 about Italians who had come to Barre, Arthur Brayley noted:

"About one-half of the population of the city are Italians, not of the class that comes from Italy by the thousand to make the roadbeds and dig the ditches of America, but men from the northern part of the country, skilled workmen, who have transferred their field of labor from the fine marble of Italy to the harder granite of Vermont. Among them are some of the best sculptors and their work is admired all over the United States, in fact wherever monuments of Barre granite are seen."

The same divisions in social status that Brayley observed in Barre occurred in Rutland. The northern, or as they referred to themselves, the Alta Italians, established on February 12, 1894, the Italian Aid Society with a building that served also as a club. The land was donated to the Society by the Vermont Marble Company. Other Italians from the south of Italy had their separate club near the business district downtown on Grove Street. Immigrants from southern Italy most often found work in the maintenance department of the railroad or in other large businesses. Some set up grocery stores in the ethnic neighborhood near St. Peter's Church on Convent Avenue. Between 1880 and 1920 there were representatives of as many as 20 nationalities living in Proctor alone.

There were two peak waves of immigrants from Sweden, one in 1882 and

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16. *Italian Aid Society, 1894-1994* (Rutland: Italian Aid Society, 1994), 2. I also interviewed retired marble workers and their families in 1995 in their homes and other sites. In these interviews, I became aware of the self-defining term Alta for northern Italians. The Alta Italians saw themselves as quite distinctive from southern Italians. They were more skilled, such as carvers and marble workers. They were anti-clerical and distrusted the Roman Church. Their cuisine was different; southern Italians were "spaghetti heads" from their frequent use of tomatoes in their meals.

17. An analysis of the 1880 U.S. Population Census for Rutland County and the 1900 U.S. Population Census for Rutland County.
another in 1890. The Swedes—Northern European, light skinned, and Protestant—were looked on most favorably. The Commissioner's Report on Agriculture and Manufacturing of 1890 reflected an affirmative attitude toward the Swedes. The report stated in part:

For many years the Commissioner has traveled extensively through the Western States, and watched their development, making note of the people of various nationalities on the broad prairies. His attention has been called to the thrifty, hard-working, honest Scandinavian, especially from Sweden. This class of immigrants came from a country resembling Vermont in soil, vegetation, configuration of surface and nature of climate, although the last is much more rigorous in Sweden than in Vermont. They are well educated, and hasten to have their children attend school where only English is spoken. They readily and quickly assimilate with our people, and become Americanized sooner than any other class of immigrant. They are temperate in their habits, and are religiously inclined... peaceful, mind their own business, pay their debts and are never objects of public charity. 18

Poles, the last of the major immigrant groups to come to Rutland, arrived in West Rutland in the 1880s from Pennsylvania, when the quarries in that region had a slump. In the years 1888 to 1890, the marble companies brought Polish immigrants from New York City to West Rutland, and their descendants are still there today. Nearly all the Polish immigrants who settled in West and Center Rutland came from Galacia, near Cracow. Shortly after they arrived, they established a church in West Rutland under the leadership of Father Valentine Mihulka. 20

At work, immigrants and Yankees worked the long hours demanded by the marble production and the unskilled and skilled workers often used dangerous machinery.


20. In St. Bridge's Parish of West Rutland report to the Burlington Roman Catholic Diocese of Vermont in 1901, 338 Poles are indicated. In 1905 a separate parish, St. Stanislaus in West Rutland will be founded to service the growing Polish community. Report indicates Fr. Mihulka as the pastor.
Workers undertook the wide range of tasks required to quarry, finish, move, and sell marble. The production of marble was no simple task. The production of marble took place at several distinct work sites: 1) the quarry, 2) transportation, 3) the mill yard, 4) the finishing mill, and 5) the office work. The range of jobs, according to the 1880 Non-Agricultural Census, began outdoors with the quarryman, sawyer, cutter, the teamster, and derrick operator and their support services such as the blacksmith and the stable hand. Inside the mills were workers such as the polisher, the turner, and the machinist who shaped the marble, and the highly skilled sculptor-artisan who created the artwork. The grader then evaluated the marble. A marble saw maker, like Edward Ryan, 36 in 1880, was responsible for checking and making the blades for the sawyers. The boxer, aided by the dockworker, realied the marble
for shipping. The shipping clerk, the office worker and the bookkeeper did the billing and created the paper trail. Beyond the mill was the sales force. Traveling agents such as Edwin Sayre, 42, born in New York, helped arrange contracts. Distribution centers were established throughout the country with local managers and agents.40

The work began at the quarry and, for the quarrymen in particular, the workday was long. It began in the morning from spring into the fall, as soon as there was enough sunlight. In West Rutland, the angelus bell from St. Bridget's Irish Roman Catholic Church, at the top of the hill on Pleasant Street, overlooking the quarries, rang to signal the beginning of the workday about six in the morning. The long day added to the danger. In 1886 one of the demands of the Workingmen's caucus was to reduce the workday to a ten-hour workday.42 In November, when the daylight hours became shorter, and the weather turned colder, the marble companies usually reduced the hours for the workers, and by December the quarries and mills shut down for an indefinite time period. Up to the 1880s the quarrymen were laid off on December 1st of each year and usually not re-hired until April 1st.43

Besides the long workday, another issue that all workers faced, especially immigrants, who had 'no family to fall back on, was when they would be paid. The pattern throughout the nineteenth century was for workers to be paid on a monthly basis and that meant at times there would be a cash flow crisis. A local lawyer from

40. Redfield Proctor was aggressive in his concern for market share. In April 1881, for instance, he wrote to the manager of a distribution center in Toledo, Ohio: "You have got to strike in on trade in your territory with a vengeance and if you need another traveler [salesman], you must have him..." Letter in the Proctor Collection at the Proctor Library, Proctor, Vermont. Distribution points were across the nation: "At the celebration of the Independence day, Wednesday, Fred Holden of Chicago, heretofore traveling salesman for the Chicago Marble Company was in town yesterday visiting his friends and bidding them adieu previous to his start on Saturday for San Francisco, where his headquarters will be in the future. Mr. Holden will travel through California selling marble for the Vermont Marble Company's San Francisco branch." Rutland Daily Herald July 6, 1888.

42. Rutland Daily Herald, August 31, 1886.

43. Rutland Daily Herald, December 15, 1875; December 12, 1878; December 6, 1883.
Fair Haven wrote to the *Herald* on August 27, 1886:

The practice of monthly payment of wages especially in our larger industries is of long standing. A less excusable habit has generally obtained of delaying payments to the 15th or 20th of the succeeding month. So it is about six weeks from the time the poor laborer commences work before he receives a dollar of his earnings, and then, only about two-thirds of a months earnings he has actually earned. As but few common laborers are blessed with the sufficient capital to meet the current expenses of a month or six weeks, the only alternative is the deplorable one of running into debt.44

Although an effective quarry worker, typically Irish in the 1850s, in the course of a day could cut as much as five square feet of the rock face, the average was a block three square feet by as deep as the channel ran. The *1861 Geology of Vermont* describes the salary and job of a quarryman—the most dangerous and arduous work of all jobs in the marble industry—in these terms.

It costs twenty-eight cents a foot to get channels cut. A good workman could cut from five to ten feet—that is to say, a groove one foot deep and from five to ten feet in length—*per diem*, which yielded a daily income to the workman of $1.40 to $2.80. A quarryman worked 10-12 hours, six days a week, working with a drill-chisel, boring into hard marble.45

From early morning to evening the men stood in the open quarry, which workers simply referred to as the "hole," exposed to brutal sun in the summer and soaking rain in the spring and the fall, using ball drills to drill channels and cut chunks of the stone. The summer heat could be ferocious and the glare from the white marble could pierce the eyes. Cotton sheets thrown over immense wooden racks shaded the cuts of marble, enabling the drillers to see what they were doing and protecting their eyes somewhat from the glare. The entry level for work in the

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quarries was about age 14; the exit level was around 80 or death. Age 14 was a common age in the nineteenth century for young men to leave school and enter the work force to support their families; earlier than that was unusual. At the quarries, children, ages 10 to 14, might be water-boys or translators, employed to bring water to the workers on a hot day or to translate the foremen’s instructions to immigrant workers.46

Workers relied on hand tools or explosives in the first half of the nineteenth century. The worker’s hand tools consisted of the drill, the hammer, and a wedge. Using the drill and the hand hammer, the worker made a row of holes a few inches apart along the layer or stratum, perpendicular to the plane of stratification. He then filled in each hole of the row with three wedges, shaped so that the worker could drive each wedge into the other and widen the hole, a process called “plug and feathers.” As the worker continued to strike each plug with a sharp blow of his hammer, he gradually separated the marble from its bed. The combined splitting force of the plugs and feathers eventually became great enough to separate the rock.

A second method was the use of explosives. Explosives loosened large blocks of marble but often would damage the fragile marble. Quarrymen in the late nineteenth century also used a heavy steel ball weighing several tons to break up large blocks of marble. Quarry workers could use yet another method, which combined a power saw, an abrasive such as sand, and water as a lubricant and coolant. The worker used the saw to make a cut or narrow channel and then expanded the cut by a wedge or blasted it. He deepened the channel until wedges could be inserted, freeing the sides of the large marble blocks. Next the sawyers removed the key block at the end of each course, which allowed other workmen

known as gadders to bore holes eight inches apart into the bottom of the block.\footnote{Interview with Robert Pye of the Vermont Marble Museum, Proctor, Vermont. I also visited the Slate Valley Museum in Granville, New York to see such tools on display.}

Division of labor separated the gadders from the sawyers; gadders, like their predecessors, forced wedges, now called gadding pins, into the holes, in a process still known as “plug and feathers.” Once a large block of marble had been detached, the worker could use the plug-and-feather method to cut the stone into smaller sections. This part of the process demanded great skill to make sure that the vulnerable marble was not damaged. The channeling and wedging process worked well for quarrying marble and other such soft stones as sandstones and limestones but was not suitable for granite, a harder stone.\footnote{In the last decade of the twentieth century, a new method emerged. The marble worker can use an automatic channel burner. It is like a handheld burner, but in a frame with an electric motor. The channel burner moves slowly down a track, making an even cut. Instead of a marble worker guiding the burner, a computer controls the machine.}

Later in the nineteenth century workers used steam-driven channeling machines, or channelers. The channeling machines made two parallel cuts or grooves, called channels, in the marble about five feet apart. Once the channel machine had gouged its way into the marble surface, equally deep channels at either end of a “course” enabled the piece to be removed into a square block. The self-propelled machines moved a cutting edge back and forth along the line on the rock bed that the worker had selected.
The channeler, seen towards the back of the picture, would make straight long cuts to begin the process of dislodging the marble block. Pictures from the Vermont Marble Exhibit date from 1870-1960. Robert Pye, director of the Marble Exhibit, estimates this picture to be in the 1880s or 1890s. Source: Vermont Marble Museum, Proctor, VT.

First Channeling machine used in Sutherland Falls Quarry until 1868. Source: David Gale, Proctor: The Story of a Marble Town, 106.
Once the marble had been quarried, the next step was to get it to the mill for processing. First, sleds pulled by horses or oxen carried marble slabs to the top of the quarry slope. Where the route was particularly strenuous or dangerous, oxen were preferred over horses, because oxen seemed to have more steady control.

Illustration 7: Oxen Used to Transport Marble

An example of the sure-footed oxen transporting marble. According to Robert Pye, Director of the Marble Museum, Proctor, Vermont, the date of the picture is approximately 1890. Source: Vermont Marble Museum, Proctor VT.
Illustration 8: Horses Used to Transport Marble

Horses were also used to transport the blocks of marble. Approximate date would be late 1880s. Source: Vermont Marble Museum, Proctor, VT

With the advent of the railroad and the crane, operators could load the large blocks onto and off from railroad cars. At first the cranes were steam-powered but later, around the beginning of the twentieth century, electric-powered cranes were used. In 1905 and 1906 the work site at Proctor began to use electricity, the other sites followed shortly thereafter. More sophisticated and more powerful machinery allowed workers to move heavier blocks of marble more quickly. The Vermont Marble Company, an innovator in its own right, began to generate electric power at Proctor in 1905 and 1906 and used it in and outside of the plant with its machinery to off-load the marble from the sleds and to process the marble.
Large blocks of marble would be lifted by cranes onto the railroad cars for transport to the mill. The mill yard was a very dangerous place because of the railroad traffic cutting through the yard and because such massive blocks were being moved. Sometimes the weight of a block would cause an engine to roll back or slip off the track. Sometimes a block might slip, causing serious injury and death. Date of picture would be early twentieth century. Source: Vermont Marble Museum, Proctor, VT

Once inside the mill, the third major step was cutting the marble blocks into smaller sizes by using gang saws. The fourth step involved finishing and carving the product. Finishing consisted of placing the slab on a rubbing bed, a large horizontal, revolving iron disc. Sand and water trickled onto the disc, acting as abrasives to scrub away rough protrusions from the marble surface, producing a dull but smooth surface on the marble. The marble then could be placed on a lathe to form columns or urns that were then cut and polished. Polishing was accomplished through the use of a machine-driven rotating buffer.

The carvers were considered artists and had the highest status. They were one of the highest paid groups within the building trades. Carvers used three basic types of chisels. Points are used first for roughing out the design into the stone, then toothed chisels are used to smooth the faceting left by the points, and to determine the

48. Stone carvers, who earned wages comparable to doctors or lawyers at the turn of the century, were strong advocates of change in both labor and political movements. Before the advent of the Secret Service, stone cutters were the bodyguards for Abraham Lincoln during his 1861 inauguration. Stone carvers in the Chicago local were members of the first union in the country to get an eight-hour day in 1867.
compound curves. Tooth chisels (also claw tools) finally shape and model the forms. Smaller and smaller chisels inscribe finer and finer details.

Illustration 10: Finishing Shop

This is a picture inside the finishing shop. The overhead carrier transported the marble block through the mill. Sometimes the block would slip off, causing injuries. Date of picture is probably early twentieth century. Source: Vermont Marble Museum, Proctor, VT.
Illustration 11: Tools Used by Carver

Photo of tools used by carvers. In the special collections at the Vermont Marble Museum, Proctor, VT. Photo by author.

Illustration 12: Carvers in Finishing Shop

Carvers in the finishing shop sculpted the designs from the block. Source: Vermont Marble Museum, Proctor, VT.
Marble takes one final step. After sanding and applying rouge (if used), a worker sealed the surface with oxalic acid or tin oxide to protect it and preserve the shine. The worker had to be very careful, especially with the highly corrosive acid, which would attack any organic matter such as skin or eyes. The acid literally melted the surface marble crystals together, and the worker then rinsed any remaining oxalic acid away with water. Although oxalic acid was more hazardous to the worker to apply, it was often the manufacturer’s choice because it produced better results more easily and with less polishing than the tin oxide. Finally, the finishers let the surface dry completely before applying a topical wax. Now it was ready to be boxed, shipped and distributed to distant points, and sold.

Management at various levels tried to assure that the process worked smoothly. Various assistant foremen and foremen controlled production; directly above them were assistant supervisors and supervisors. Supportive to the worker and the company was the company store. Management needed its own support staff of clerks and office workers. Often workers came from worlds apart. Ebennezer Tremayer, born in England, was the manager of the Company Store; Edward Kouchborn, born in Canada, clerked in the store at Sutherland Falls. Above everyone else was, as the 1880 census phrased it, the “producer and owner,” Redfield Proctor. With his political and economic connections, Redfield Proctor would use his power and influence from the 1870s to the 1900s at the state and national level to protect and advance the marble interests.41

To help make workers more conscious of safety at work, the Vermont Marble Company published a handbook of rules in the workers’ native languages. The forty-six rules covered all hazardous aspects of the marble production. The first rule

41. In 1880 Republican caucus held in Rutland speakers were brought in to support the issue of protective tariffs for American marble. Cf. Rutland Daily Herald, August 23, 1880.

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emphasized awareness to which all workers should adhere. “The time to be careful is before the accident occurs,” it stated. It emphasized not “doing anything to detract from the order and the efficiency of the plant” or distracting others from their work. Then the rules moved to concern for the new worker. More seasoned workers were encouraged to look out for new employees and to make them aware of safety in the mill. Since there was a danger of fire or combustion with dust in the air, workers were not allowed to smoke during work hours, and in some sections of the plant no smoking was allowed at any time. Smoking also might detract from the worker’s concentration. Since the mill contained high-speed machinery for cutting and polishing, loose clothing could catch in the machinery, so it was not allowed. Workers were told to wear their jackets inside their coveralls. Moving the slabs also presented a danger. Since slabs of marble were dangerous, workers had a set of rules about them such as “don’t get in front of slabs that are standing on edge unless they are properly braced.” Eye injuries were another concern, so workers were told to “always wear goggles.” Quarry workers had four rules in particular:

1. When working in the quarry, don’t get in front of the blocks or follow too closely behind the block that is being drawn out of the layer. The rope or chain may break and hit you.
2. Don’t go near a blast unless you are sure that all of the holes have gone off.
3. Don’t ride out of the quarry on derrick hooks or on loads that are being hoisted, or ride on loads under cranes.
4. In handling rock in the quarry, look out that you don’t catch your fingers or toes under it.39

Of all the marble workers, the quarry workers faced the most hazardous conditions, but other workers were vulnerable as well. Workers constantly faced fatal

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39. Work Rules (Proctor: Vt. Marble Company n.d.). The pamphlet has six pages of rules and stated that it was printed in American, Hungarian, Italian, and Polish; similar languages were published for the Representatives Plan. Each had 46 Rules. The Representative Plan was also printed in Swedish. The pamphlet is in the Vermont Historical Society Collection in Montpelier.
accidents on the job. Melden Gould, for example, was building a canal to William Y. Ripley’s two mills at Center Rutland in June 1845 when he was severely injured by an explosive that misfired thirty rods (500 feet) from where he was working. John B. Brewster was finishing up work on the evening of July 28, 1855, at the Rutland Marble Company’s Quarry Number Two in West Rutland; suddenly, an over hanging block of rock two hundred feet long gave way. The huge boulder hurled its way down, raining 20 feet of rock onto the pump that removed water from the quarry. It narrowly missed Brewster, who had checked the pump only minutes before, then turned to leave the quarry. The damage to the quarry and the pump was $10,000, and delayed a re-opening of the quarry until winter.21

As this example shows, the top of the quarry could often be dangerous for people below. In August 1867, a group of men at the Rutland Marble Company were moving wood to be used for fuel for one of the steam stone-cutters. One of the wood-carrying men stumbled; his burden tumbled into the quarry, striking August Porterman on the head with such force that it fractured his skull and fatally injured him. The falling wood also struck Carl Rodmeracker, causing severe injuries, but the doctors believed he would be able to recover.22

Anyone who entered the quarry or worked around it had to be careful. Inattention could be fatal. William F. Barnes, the owner of the successful Barnes quarries, was in a fatal accident when a large block of marble fell on him in a quarry on Friday, May 5, 1871. He was given little chance of recovery but lingered on. On Saturday, he seemed to rally in the afternoon but the next day he lost ground and about nine in the evening he


22. Rutland Daily Herald, August 17, 1867.
died.23

The Vermont Marble Company attempted to keep workers on their payroll after accidents by finding a more suitable job for them. The paternalism of the company engendered worker loyalty when the first and second generation Proctors ran the company. Carrus Belmord, for instance, was a marble worker whose eyes were damaged in an explosion at the quarry in 1890. The Company shifted him to “taking sand from the ditches that run the mill.”24

The worst of all accidents, known as the “Quarry Horror,” occurred on February 10, 1893. In the West Rutland Quarry Number 3, at a depth of 250 feet, a sixty-five-foot marble block, about eighteen inches in width, and with a thickness of two or three inches, came loose, killing five men and injuring 10 others.25 The workers came from each of the major immigrant ethnic groups: Alex Blumberg (Swede), Edward Powers (Irish), Felix Bellaire (French), and William Lukas and Frank Kulig (both Polish). The local paper reported that the survivors suffered from a “badly jammed neck” and “bruised shoulders.”26

In the summer of 1893 tragedy continued. Anton Bakarsok, a Pole, was instantly killed, and Frank Kappa and Frank Bick were badly injured in an accident at the new Vermont Marble Company quarry in West Rutland, when a block of marble that had been lifted from the quarry fell back in. It had been sitting at the quarry edge, waiting to be transferred. Workers attempted to hoist it further, but after it had been hoisted a few feet, the derrick chain broke, and the 12-ton block fell. Rolling off the landing, it fell 100 feet and struck the projecting side of the quarry, breaking into a thousand pieces. These

23. Rutland Daily Herald, May 8, 1871. Barnes previously had represented Rutland in the state legislature for two years. Marble interests and political interests were often intertwined.

24. Rutland Daily Herald, September 13, 1892.


26. Ibid. The Herald mistakenly refers to Kulig as Sulig.
pieces were hurled into the quarry 20 feet below. The foreman reported to the paper: “Bakarsok, Kappa and Bick [three quarrymen] had evidently heard the noise of the falling block and were standing about 50 feet away from the point directly under the block.... A piece of the block, that I should think weighed about 250 pounds, struck Bakarsok in the back and knocked him against a marble pier. I think the fall crushed his head. The other men were struck by pieces of the broken block.” 27 Using drills in the quarry could be dangerous. Wayne Sarcka recalls how his father lost one eye and injured the other, becoming nearly blind, operating a drill on the quarry floor in Florence. The Vermont Marble Company transferred him to the mills in Proctor “where vision was less important.” 28

In the fall of 1893, Nils Olson, a 46-year-old Swede and foreman, died after being accidentally hit in the stomach by the head of a sledge hammer when it broke off. Another workman was using it. Peritonitis developed rapidly despite the immediate medical attention he received. Olson was struck on Tuesday and died from the complications on Thursday. The Vermont Marble Company paid the $500 death benefit to his heirs. 29

Machinery within the mill was also dangerous. At the Columbian Mills a marble block fell off a rubbing bed, badly scraping and bruising Dan Callahan’s leg. The day before “Timothy Murphy, working at the same bed, lost the great toe from his right foot and had the other foot jammed by a similar accident.” 30 John Dary, a Swede who had spent the majority of his years in Proctor, was instantly killed in 1892 when he was caught in a pulley that was turning at a speed of 90 revolutions per minute at the Proctor

27. Rutland Daily Herald, July 26, 1893.


29. Rutland Daily Herald, September 2, 1893.

Mill. He had started to go overhead to “screw up” a gang when his lamp went out, leaving him in total darkness. His clothing caught between a belt and a rapidly revolving pulley, drawing him into the turning gearworks.31

Joseph Nason, a Pole, had both bones of his leg broken above the ankle at the Vermont Marble Company. He was lifting a marble slab with a bar when the bar slipped, letting the slab fall across his leg. On February 15, 1893, Robert Tracey, who worked in the mill of the Vermont Marble Company, was seriously injured about 11:30 in the morning when a marble block tipped over, breaking and crushing both of his legs. Tracey, age 36, died in the hospital that evening. He left a wife, three children and a brother.32

The mill yard, where marble was loaded on train cars, was yet another dangerous place. A 17-year-old marble worker named Asselin was run over by a loaded train in West Rutland about 5:30 in the afternoon of July 24, 1888, cutting off his right leg and severely crushing his left leg. The local doctor, Dr. Hanrahan, amputated the crushed leg at 3 a.m. in an attempt to save the young man, but Asselin lingered for just a few more hours before he died.33

In February 1906, William M. Snyder, 27, of Forest Street in Rutland City, had been sent to Proctor to get a derailed freight car back on the track near the marble finishing shop. The car slipped off the jacks that were lifting it back toward the track; Snyder was squeezed between the heavily loaded freight car and the marble wall of the loading deck, near the marble finishing shop. He was compressed into a space of less than six inches and his life was “crushed out instantly.” Dr. Hack, the railroad physician, examined the body but nothing could be done.34

32. Rutland Daily Herald, February 18, 1893.
Illustration 14: Marble Yard and Mill

A picture of the Mill, the Finishing Shop and the yard at Proctor, the blocks and finished marble were stored outside until they were loaded on the Clarendon and Pittsford Railroad, originally built and owned by the Vermont Marble Company. Source: Marble Museum, Proctor, VT

Accidents came from falling as well as objects falling on the person. In 1902 Frank Skodowski, “a Polander,” about 20 years old, suffocated in a pile of sand. He had climbed on top of a pile of sand used in the marble smoothing process. Skodowski apparently slipped into the sand discharge chute, and was followed by a pile of sand, which filled in around him and cut off all attempts to save him.35 In the mill yard Lawrence Romano, “a Polander,” fell from the old coal shed trestle while unloading waste marble June 6, 1904. He died the following afternoon as a result of an abscess on the brain. He was 28 years old and, according to the local newspaper, had no relatives in

35. Rutland Daily Herald, August 6, 1902.
this country. In February 1906, one man was killed and two were seriously injured when a locomotive rolled into the Vermont Marble Company machine shop. The collision occurred at 5:50 p.m., toward the end of the workday. The cars, one loaded with marble blocks and the other with marble bases for rock face underpinning, had been left shortly after 5:00 p.m. on the middle track of the engine house. The grade had a steep incline, extending to the machine shop in an easterly direction, a distance of about 1,300 feet. The cars started rolling back about 5:45 p.m., gaining momentum rapidly, and crashed into the locomotive just as it was about to enter the shop. Andrew Kokman, the engineer, was caught in the wreckage and so badly scalded by escaping steam that he died the following day in the hospital. The fireman escaped injury by jumping from the train. In the same incident a railway car collided with another flatcar, injuring a young Polish immigrant quarryman, Alexander Bardjewics, 19. He had been working in the mill yard when the run away railroad car struck him, breaking both his legs so badly that he was listed in critical condition.

Just three days later, Joseph Backarrack, 25, was electrocuted, along with another worker named Janizewski, 32. Later that year, Ignace Siwek, 19, was “crushed by a car in the quarry.” He suffered a compound fractured skull and both legs were fractured, along with his ribs. He died an hour after the accident. A year later, on November 30, Joseph Ruoka, 26, was “killed instantly by being caught in shafting.” And about a week later, on December 5th, Karol Swientski, 22, was in an accident that “fractured ribs-thigh and arms;” he lived for six hours after the accident.

Local immigrant societies and churches provided some emotional and financial support. The larger the immigrant group, such as the Irish, the French, the Italian the more likely the social and institutional structures would provide aid. The sense of

38. Rutland Daily Herald, February 20, 1906, November 30, 1907, December 5, 1907.
identity of work and place was essential. They were marble workers and ethnic and religious ties functioned as important subcommunities. Marble workers attended ethnic churches that reinforced the sense of solidarity. Their homes clustered near the work site, often in view of the church.

At the end of their long and dangerous workday of twelve hours in the long summer days in the 1850s and 1860s, the worker look forward to returning to his home. The home was a place in walking distance to work, and most often rented to the worker family. Here the worker's family could plant a garden to supplement the family income. But there were dangers with family housing as well.
CHAPTER V

AT HOME: HOUSING AND HEALTH

Before the formation of the Vermont Marble Company, most workers in the marble industry of the 1850s and 1860s worked for small companies and lived in company houses of every size and shape. The most common characteristic of the early dwellings was poor construction. They were often tenements, housing 10 large Irish families at a time. The worker, like his housing, was an extension of the company. Frequently single workers lived in a boarding house, and many families lived in

Illustration 1: Housing in West Rutland

Source: Ethel Sevigny. Worker houses in West Rutland. Notice the uniform style.

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company-owned housing.

Although some workers lived in Rutland, the three principal areas for marble worker housing were in West Rutland, Center Rutland and Sutherland Falls. In West Rutland, the tenements were near the railroad track and the company store, and on the east side of the swamp. In Sutherland Falls, the houses were near the mill or the cemetery. In Rutland, most worker houses were near St. Peter’s Church. In Center Rutland, they were along West Street and Barrett’s Hill. Some boarding houses or tenement houses were suitable for families. Some had six or seven rooms. The Rutland Herald ran ads for families seeking housing; one that ran for several months sought a “tenement” house for a family of adults. Other advertisements were placed by landlords. Walter A. Clark advertised, “Upper tenement, 7 Lincoln avenue, and good tenements near Bardillo marble mill, at low rates,” and Mrs. W. A. Douglas of 18 State Street in Rutland advertised “—A desirable down-stairs tenement, 8-1/2 West street. Rent cheap to right person.”

In November, 1883, a tourist published his vacation to the Green Mountain State and commented upon the workers and the housing:

The common laborers are nearly all foreigners—French Canadians, Irish, Swedes—but they are temperate and orderly; strikes are rare; and here [Sutherland Falls], as in the other marble districts, the proprietors have shown themselves the friends of their employés by building neat little cottages, founding libraries and reading rooms, and endowing churches.

The Vermont Marble Company, unlike its earlier predecessors, worked more closely with the workers to provide housing, often building, then selling houses to them.

1. “Swedish Colony’s History Traced.” Rutland Daily Herald, n.d. from Proctor Free Library scrapbook, Proctor, Vermont. The term tenement at that time did not have the negative connotation that it has today.

2. Rutland Daily Herald December 9, 1893. The financial panic of the early 1890s was the worst of the century, so finding inexpensive and suitable housing was another stress upon the worker.

The houses would stay in Vermont Marble Company title until the workers had paid in a large enough equity that a financial institution felt comfortable in picking up a loan for the remainder. It could be argued that the company was patronizing to the workers, but, if so, the workers also sought this patronage.

Local observers claimed that the company’s housing was of relatively high quality. On one occasion, Catholic priest Fr. J.C. McLaughlin testified to a state Legislative Committee about the community of Proctor:

Q. How much of a congregation do you have here generally?
A. I think, altogether, there must be 900 souls....

Q. How is it about their having good houses?
A. I can certify that as far as I have traveled through the country the tenements here are the best that I have seen. Strangers with me from New York and other places have made the same remark; the best tenement houses they ever saw...

Q. Do you know whether these people here, these workmen, are in the habit of buying their houses or trying to own them; do you know how general that is?
A. I don’t think there is much inclination to buy much here in the village. I tried some to have them buy around here; they say they can make more money by putting their money in the savings bank and renting the houses.

By R. [edfield] Proctor. [he becomes the questioner]
Q. Are rents and the necessaries of life reasonable here to the working people?
A. I never heard any complaints about the rents. About the purchase of the necessaries of life, I have heard that things could be bought at the store at as reasonable figures as they could at Brandon, Rutland or Pittsford, since the opening of the store; some things they can get in Rutland cheaper, other things can be purchased here at a lower rate than in Rutland.\footnote{Hearing before the Legislative Committee on the Incorporation of the Town of Proctor, at Proctor, Friday p.m., October 21, 1886. Published 1887.}

Another witness, P.J. Dunnigan, told the committee that:

In the last fifteen years, especially, more [workers] seem to be settling down and owning homes of their own, and a less proportion living in tenement houses. A less number of the tenement houses have families living in them. People have all...
got homes of their own and building up... ⁵

By 1880 the Rutland Daily Herald was advertising worker houses that rented for reasonable rates. "To rent on Main Street, a down stairs tenement: 5 rooms; price, $8.00 per month," advertised the Herald. The paper also announced: "For sale, cheap, a double brick house, nearly finished, situated on Perkins Avenue."⁶ The previous housing gouging, however, was still a bitter memory.⁷

At this time, little negative connotation attached to the word "tenement." The later tenements were duplex cottages, rented by workers and their families, which clustered together in neighborhoods throughout the town. These houses were company houses, most frequently built on a common pattern. Many immigrant workers might have seen this type of congregate-housing as a step up from what they had left behind in Europe. They may have been tenants in Ireland or other places, but the political and social structure here was not as oppressive as it was back home. The marble workers were not rich, but they had a chance to work their way out of the quarries, into retail ventures, or to acquire inexpensive land for farming

Most of the families, to save money and to provide an additional source of food, would grow small gardens. Workers put in family gardens planted with potatoes, cabbages and other vegetables, raising a large part of their winter food supply. The garden provided them with a food supply when the quarry had shut down or had limited hours during the winter month. The storing of food and preparing for winter was essential. If they did not prepare for winter, they possibly would go hungry unless their

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⁵. Ibid.


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neighbors or the Church aided them. Nearly every company furnished its workers with a “company store.” Unfortunately, such stores frequently gouged the workers who shopped there in the 1850s. Although there were also independent stores in the community, marble workers most often shopped at the company store; it charged higher prices than its competitors did, but workers could charge their purchases. The workers complained that they seldom received any actual wages; instead, they received credit to shop only at the company store where prices were usually thirty-three percent higher than at other merchants.

Many families had a cow, a few pigs and chickens. With the milk from the cow, the family could make its own butter, but other needed goods, such as a barrel of flour, sugar, coffee, tea, and molasses, would have to come from the store. Raising household gardens and tending the cow and other livestock were part of wifely responsibilities and provided a sense of pride as well as an economic contribution; the husband was away at the quarry or mill from early morning until late in the afternoon.

Another issue that confronted the worker and housing was sanitation. At first it was not a major problem. Because of the value and scarcity of the food, one worker recalls:

There was very little garbage to dispose of in my early days. The first I recall was simply thrown out in back. Later, the village [Proctor] serviced weekly a box at every street. Garbage was collected in a horse drawn dump cart and in our area was carted a short distance away and dumped in the pine wood.

In the back was the garden so that the workers recycled the left over food into a compost heap or buried it directly to nourish the soil.

Kitchen fires were a constant danger. Mrs. John Curry, a thirty-year resident of

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9. Letter in Rutland Courier on Friday, May 6, 1859, from a marble worker.


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Sutherland Falls, was cooking lunch on a Saturday. She had poured kerosene on the fire to make sure it was lit and in the process her dress caught fire. Since the water for the house was in the outdoor well, she ran outside to the cistern to put out the fire, but she was too late. Given her severe burns, she apparently fell unconscious near the well. In the afternoon, about 3:00, Clarendon and Pittsford railroad workers spotted her near the railroad tracks. Her husband, unaware of the situation, had gone upstairs to sleep. Mrs. Curry, who was then taken to the hospital, died about 8 that evening. She was 65 and her husband John was 77.\(^{11}\)

Illustration 2 Example of Management Housing

In contrast to the worker houses, some of the houses of management were much more substantial. One of the foremen for a West Rutland marble quarry who lived in the same district had this house. There were other more prestigious houses in West Rutland for the owners of the marble companies. Source: Rutland Historical Society.

Management houses were, not surprisingly, more expansive and elaborate. In

\(^{11}\) *Rutland Daily Herald*, September 13, 1910.
nearly all the cases, however, and Redfield Proctor was no exception, owners and management lived relatively close to the quarries or mills.

Unlike the company-controlled housing in West Rutland and Proctor, the worker houses in Rutland were generally individually owned. Most marble workers lived near St. Peter’s, a Roman Catholic Church, located in the poorer section of town near the railroad tracks. Meadow and Forest Streets, parallel to each other, were the heart of this district. It was distinct from other marble worker neighborhoods because non-marble workers lived there as well. In Center Rutland near the falls, along what is now Route 4, were also worker houses. Barrett Hill, a section of Center Rutland adjacent to the falls, contained many marble worker homes dating back to marble mills, when the Irish were the primary immigrants working in the marble industry.

Because of the influx of immigrants, marble companies built cheap, easily constructed housing based on a uniform pattern. Companies did not want to waste valuable land, so worker-housing in West Rutland, Rutland, Center Rutland, and Sutherland Falls was close together, built on rectangular plots.

This consciousness of the value of space can be seen in the building boom going on in the cities after the Civil War. Many of the worker houses, including those in the town that would be re-named Proctor, were very close to the road and faced the street. There was no front yard for most of the houses and, at best, little yardage for others. At the rear, usually at the corner of the lot, was the outhouse. The small duplex cottage shared one roof, with one family or group living in either side. Living close together, neighbors were very much aware of each other, and could share with one another.

Unlike the slums in the major cities at that time, or even in high rises of the twentieth century, the population density was relatively low. The housing itself never
went beyond two floors (see illustration 3). The closeness of the houses had advantages and disadvantages. Since the houses were close together, each house provided a buffer to the wind and snow in the winter months, rather than being exposed in an open terrain. But that same closeness created a threat from fires that could spread quickly from one house to another.

Illustration 3 Outside of Worker Duplex in Proctor

Illustration of the duplex worker house. The plot of the land was rectangular so that houses could be closer together, but in the back, as is shown in this illustration, at a distance from the house, would be the outhouse. The style shown in the above illustration would be a typical worker house in the second half of the nineteenth century. The specific example is from a house on Meadow Street in Proctor, Vermont. Drawn by Carol Protivansky for the author.

Each family had a separate entrance. The house was divided in half, with an upstairs and a downstairs for each family; each unit had its own chimney. On the rear of the house was a lean-to shed for storage. In front of the shed and in the middle of the house was the kitchen; it not only served for preparing meals but also, because it was in the center and on the lower floor, served as a source of warmth. Since Vermont had cold winters, often much colder than the places where many of the immigrants came from, keeping warm in the winter was of paramount concern. The layout of the house helped when there was minimal effective insulation (See Illustration 4).

Illustration 4: First Floor of Worker’s Duplex

Illustration shows the first floor layout. Source: Drawn by Carol Protivansky for the author.

Off the kitchen were a small pantry and a room that could also serve as a
bedroom. Frequently known as the “birthing room,” this central sleeping space was warmer than the rest of the house during the winter because it backed up against the kitchen chimney. It was a place for babies to be born; for infants or toddlers to nap, somewhat undisturbed by household activity; or for arthritic seniors to warm their bones. Household provisions might also be stored in this room, especially if it was imperative that they not freeze during the winter. Flowing from the kitchen was the living room, extending across the front of the unit and containing a closet. Over or under the closet, stairs led up to the second floor or down to the basement. The second floor was typically divided into three bedrooms. In the back of the house was the smallest bedroom, with a closet that could be shared. Along the outside wall was a slightly larger bedroom. Because the two units were mirror images of each other, construction took place in a uniform pattern and the building materials were standardized. Housing for management and particularly upper management might appear ostentatious, but worker-housing units were for the most part undistinguishable from one another.

The second floor in the front contained four windows, two to each side of the complex. Along the side were two additional windows; the smallest back bedroom had only one window. The plentiful use of windows allowed much needed light to enter into the house in an age before electricity. The windows could be opened in the summer to allow the air to circulate. Having the windows opened, however, did pose other problems. Most of the worker houses were located near the railroad tracks or the mills and not far from the quarries themselves, so open windows brought in dust and dirt.

Often the houses were constructed in low areas at the bottom of the hill, as they were in Proctor, or near the swamp, as they were in West Rutland. Soot and pollution settled in the lowest part. In addition to industrial pollution there was air pollution from
the railroads that were close to the housing and work sites. Redfield Proctor's house, although near the mill, was at the top of the hill near Otter Creek and above the falls. Thus, while somewhat exposed to the pollution, he and his family were not as much exposed as many of the other workers.

A further danger was air pollution from the wood stoves. Wood was the primary source of fuel, both for heat and for cooking, and was stored behind the house. Burning wood contributed to the air pollution in the valley, adding its set of air-borne dirt and chemicals to the industrial pollution from the mill and the railroads. As late as the 1990s, some residents recalled the smog that covered the valley when they were growing up in the 1950s, before the railroad engines switched from steam to diesel locomotives.13

The Rutland Herald in 1881 interpreted the pollution in a much more positive light:

Those who have been discomfited by the smoke with which the air has been filled the past few days will be glad to know that it is really beneficial, for, according to an exchange, "the more one breathes of it the better up to a reasonable point." The creosote, which has been taken into the lungs and through them carried into the blood since the murky season set in, is as good as a course of treatment by a physician. People who had toothache a week ago ought to be over their trouble by this time. Creosote, as its name implies, is a preserver of flesh. It is by virtue of this property that smoke preserves hams and other meats subjected to its influence. Creosote forms the base of a large parts of the medicine which people take when the doctor prescribes it for them. It is good for hemorrhage, diarrhea, cholera morbus, cholera infantum, nausea, vomiting, toothache and a variety of other ailments. No one can say that the visitation of smoke at this time is not intended as an antidote for some disease that would be disastrous. It may save many people from cholera morbus brought on by overeating of watermelons and half-ripened fruits.14

13. Harold Billings, Interview on Pollution in the Valley, July 1997. As a young man growing up in the 1950s, Billings can recall the air pollution from the railroad trains going through West Rutland. By then, the marble industry and the railroads had long passed their peak period of the early 1900s when air pollution in the Valley was more extensive.

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Illustration 5: The Second Floor of Worker's Duplex

Source: Drawn by Carol Protivansky for the author, original illustration of second floor.

Illustration 6: Dimensions for one side of the Worker's Duplex First Floor

The dimensions above are the original size of the house. The house has been added onto in subsequent years. Sketch drawn by Elizabeth Duke. Source: Robert and Carol Protivansky's house at 7 Meadow Street Proctor.
Illustration 7: Dimensions for one side of the Worker’s Duplex Second Floor

Original drawing to scale of the second floor of workers' duplex. Bedrooms for the family were most often on the second floor. Sketch drawn by Elizabeth Duke.
Pollution from the mills, locomotives, and homes was certainly dangerous, but there were other dangers as well. The sparks from a locomotive could ignite a nearby house or an improperly cleaned chimney could give rise to a fire.

Redfield Proctor faced many of the same problems of pollution and danger from fires as his managers and workers. In 1882 the house, owned by the Vermont Marble Company and occupied by then-Governor Proctor, caught fire about 10:30 on a Friday evening. Although arson was suspected at first, the fire was later classified as an accident. Redfield Proctor and his family were not at home at the time. The family had spent most of the winter in Boston, and a fire had been started in the furnace to warm the house for the Proctors, who were expected to return at the beginning of the week. The house was insured for $1,000 (1882), which was considered about half its value.\(^{15}\)

The Vermont Marble Company, because it had equipment, often was involved in extinguishing fires in the town. For example, on January 6, 1909, the fire department of the Vermont Marble Company was called out to put out what was later to be ascertained a deliberately set fire. The Polish immigrant and his wife were both arrested; only he was jailed because the couple had small children who “needed her care.” The Herald made an interesting observation based on this “class of foreigner.” “This class of foreigners think [sic] as long as they pay their insurance policy premiums they have a right to set the property on fire.”\(^{16}\) Accidents threatened commercial property as well. In the summer of 1894 at 1:30 in the afternoon a fire broke out in the finishing shop and threatened to spread to the Patterson and Haley Mills in Proctor. The mills were under one roof. Men rushed to the roof with buckets of water; others used marble as a barricade against the tin partitioned doors to prevent the spread of the fire.\(^{17}\)

\(^{15}\) Rutland Daily Herald, March 27, 1882.  
\(^{16}\) Rutland Daily Herald, February 25, 1909.  
\(^{17}\) Rutland Daily Herald, July 3, 1894.
Besides the work-related accidents and sanitation that affected families, infectious diseases such as influenza, smallpox, diphtheria, typhus, scarlet fever or cholera could overwhelm a family and spread through compacted neighborhood. The year following the Great Quarry Horror of 1893 was an especially troubling year to all the families in the Valley. Even before the Quarry Horror of February 10, 1893, which was the single largest accident of the Vermont Marble Company, and the outbreak of wide spread infantile paralysis in the summer of 1894, the community of Rutland and the Vermont Marble Company took a proactive stance about health care.

The economic and population centers of the Marble Valley were centered around Rutland. Rutland’s nearest hospital was at Castleton Medical College (1818-1861, later absorbed into Castleton State College), approximately twelve miles away. Because of the distance to travel to Castleton, many injured and ill suffered at home, often in unsanitary conditions. A medical provider was needed in the Rutland area, where there would be more access to the growing population. On October 17, 1887, Susan Pierpoint, an invalid, made a will stipulating that her money should go to her sister Julia, and that, if Julia did not leave a will, the remainder of her money was to be used to help the town establish a much needed hospital. The trustees for the project came from the social, political, and economic elite of the town. Five trustees were appointed to handle the money: two were to be named by the Congregational Church, one each by the Baptist, Episcopal, and Methodist Churches. (Conspicuously absent from this community venture was any trustee representing the Catholic community.) In a step-by-step procedure the trustees were instructed that, if Pierpont’s sister did not make a will, the money would go to the hospital. If concrete plans were not in place for the hospital within five years, the Rutland Missionary Society would be given the money.
The first meeting to plan the hospital was on May 8, 1891. Rev. Charles Niles of Trinity Episcopal Church hosted the meeting at his house, and Rev. George W. Phillips of the Congregational Church was co-sponsor. By 1891 the Catholic population was a significant part of the community, so Rev T. J. Gaffney of St. Peter’s Catholic Church was invited, as was the Catholic priest from the French Church. In the fall of 1891, Redfield Proctor, aware of the need for a hospital, asked his son Fletcher D. Proctor, then president of the Vermont Marble Company, to offer the committee the “Ripley House,” west of the entrance to Evergreen Cemetery in Center Rutland, for a hospital building. The Proctors were also concerned that the hospital be able to meet its ongoing expenses, and so stipulated that the building would be rent-free for five years if the committee in return could raise $5,000 per year for the hospital’s operation. Redfield Proctor would pledge a quarter of that amount, but the committee could only raise $488 and decided to refuse the offer.18

In March 1892, the Committee received a gift of land from Julia and Evelyn Pierpoint, Susan’s sister and brother. On May 3, 1893, they officially deeded four acres of land on Spring Street, now called State Street, to the Committee for one dollar. The property was near a new street that would be developed, later called Pierpoint Avenue. The Rutland Hospital would later be built on a street just above the Roman Catholic Church, Immaculate Heart of Mary, a French nationalist church built, like many of the Catholic churches in the area, by quarry workers in their off hours.

The movement for better health care and access to that health care was a concern of Fletcher Proctor, son of Redfield and his successor as president of Vermont Marble, as well. Fletcher Proctor saw health care as a corporate responsibility to his workers.

18. Dawn Hance, “Hospital Care in Rutland: The First Century,” Rutland Historical Quarterly,
Workers and the community would benefit and also identify with the company. Fletcher Proctor was instrumental in establishing the first industrial nurse program in the United States. The industrial nurse served the areas where the marble company had its sites. She pedaled her bicycle to make her rounds dealing with the different immigrant languages. Medical services were primarily for the marble workers and their families, and secondarily for other citizens of the town where the marble company had locations. For the most part, this approach meant that the Proctors served the outlying areas rather than the downtown section of Rutland. There was an informal arrangement that the elite families such as the Clements and the Dorrs might service the downtown section of Rutland City with civic improvements, such as a hospital and library, but the concern of the Proctors was outside the commercial core. In 1895, Fletcher Proctor held several meetings to discuss the feasibility of hiring a district nurse. There were no public nurses at the time of Fletcher Proctor's plan, and he was embarking on an innovative community approach. The closest, both in concept and in implementation, seemed to be at the Waltham (Massachusetts) School of Nursing, where students of the Waltham School were sent out to individuals' homes with a graduate nurse or a senior student to instruct the students and to supervise the work. Students had to learn to do their best with the limited resources available. After searching, the Vermont Marble Company and the Superintendent of Nurses of the Waltham School selected Ada Mayo Stewart (1870-1945). She had special training in surgical and dispensary work and was already familiar with Vermont. Stewart was born on December 2, 1870, in Braintree, Massachusetts, and had attended Vermont Academy at Saxton's River. Fletcher Proctor was impressed with her professional background and with her understanding of the rural needs of Vermont.

XXVI (1996), No. 1, 14.
She traveled to the private homes by bicycle. Stewart delivered babies and attended to the physical ailments that afflicted the workers and their families. Stewart later recalled that she ministered to the psychological needs of immigrant workers as well. One woman who had been a dancer in one of Europe's royal theaters had come to America with her husband. The strain of drudgery and childbearing was too much for her; she became a drug addict and suffered a breakdown. One time Stewart found her dressed in a gauze ballet costume, trying to perform the duties of a housewife.  

Given the success of the visiting nurse in Proctor, later in 1895 the service was extended to both West Rutland and Center Rutland, where the Vermont Marble Company had other properties. The medical needs of the area served by the Vermont Marble Company, however, were greater than Stewart alone could handle, so more extensive plans were made for a hospital to be located in Proctor. The first hospital, located at 21 South Street in Proctor, was in reality a welfare project of the company and an extension of medical services provided to the Company's workers. It was primarily intended for the company's employees and their families, but local residents of the communities where the Marble Company had branches would be admitted as paying patients. The hospital was clearly an outservice of the Vermont Marble Company's concern for the productive health of its workers, but it was also good community relations. To involve the community more in the project, so that the hospital was not viewed as completely run by the Company, the management of the hospital was transferred to a representative board of local people who had places on all committees.

The Board of Management of the Proctor Hospital consisted of people of the community from business, professions and the home. Fourteen of the sixteen members of the first board were either employed by Vermont Marble or married to an employee. The president of the board was George Davis, a foreman. Other members included Fletcher Proctor, himself, a vice president, two other foremen, a clerk, and two stenographers—one of them Miss Carrie Lane. In addition to Miss Lane, five other women served on the board, Mrs. Redfield Proctor, two wives of cutters, the daughter of a foreman, and Mrs. H. J. Banker, wife of a Methodist minister. Aside from Mrs. Banker, the other non-employee on the board was Dr. H.H. Swift, an attending physician.²⁰

The Vermont Marble Company continued its moral and financial support for the hospital and other community ventures. The connection with the Waltham School of Nursing continued, so that the first graduate nurses, Alice Kirsting and Sarah A. Barclay, the first four matrons of the Proctor Hospital, and the first two district nurses were all from the Waltham School. Ada Stewart was the matron, with Katherine Field and Harriet Stewart as nurses and Mae Landers and Minnie Negus as student nurses. The attending physicians were Dr. H.H. Swift and Dr. James Hamilton of Proctor, with consulting physicians and surgeons C.S. Caverly, H.L. Newell, and E.M. Pond of Rutland and C.B. Ross of West Rutland. The building, originally the house of F.P. Bartlett, was remodeled into a hospital and opened in August 1896. It could accommodate as many as ten patients.

On the very day the Proctor Hospital opened, it was nearly filled. The illnesses of the earliest patients indicate the seriousness of the diseases that affected the workers and

the immigrants. The hospital had five typhoid cases. Two of the patients who had
typhoid could speak no English, thus making the delivery of services even more
complicated. One of the typhoid patients was so ill that he was delirious.

The hospital needed a set of procedures so that the staff and the community would
know the appropriate behavior at the hospital. The Regulations for Patients at Proctor
Hospital were posted so that everyone was aware of them:

1. No patient shall be admitted to the hospital except upon certificate of some
   member of the medical staff approved by at least one member of the Committee
   on Hospital service.
2. In case of accident or other emergency, the matron may admit a patient without
   certificate and report the admission and reasons at once to the Committee on
   Hospital Service.
3. No person suffering from Small Pox, Diphtheria, Scarlet Fever or Delirium
   Tremens shall be admitted unless some surgical operation shall be required.
4. No person who is suffering from a chronic or incurable disease shall be
   admitted, unless there are urgent symptoms, which, in the opinion of the
   certifying physician, can be relieved.
5. The Committee on Hospital Service shall determine whether a patient shall be a
   free or pay-patient, and if a pay patient, shall fix the rate of board but at not to
   exceed $4.00 per week.
6. No person shall bring, or cause to be brought into the hospital for the use of a
   patient any article of food without the consent of the matron, subject to such
   restrictions as shall be deemed necessary or proper.
7. All patients shall have the privilege of receiving visits from their friends when
   permitted to do so by the physician in charge or the matron, subject to such
   restrictions as shall be deemed necessary or proper.
8. The matron, if the disciple of the hospital shall require it, may with the
   approval of the Committee on Hospital Service, discharge a patient for
   misconduct.
9. Visitors to patients will be admitted on Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday and
   Saturday afternoons from two to three o'clock. No patient will be allowed to see
   more than two visitors on the same day.21

The hospital was in service until 1904, when a new hospital on Ormsbee Avenue
replaced it. This second hospital was also subsidized by the Vermont Marble Company
and was in use from 1904 to 1973. With the rise of population after World War II, the

21. "By-Laws and Regulations of the Proctor Hospital," 1897, 76, as quoted in Mayo, "Origin of
Industrial Nursing," 76-77.
hospital shifted its mission to specializing in maternal care, but it still maintained many of its other concerns.

In 1894 a medical tragedy struck the Valley. Infantile paralysis, or poliomyelitis, spread through the Valley. The disease struck at young children. Families felt powerless to know what to do. The lack of information on how it spread and what caused it contributed to heightened anxiety. Michael Underwood of Britain had described the debility of the lower extremities in children that would be recognizable as poliomyelitis as early as 1774. Outbreaks of it were relatively rare. The first known epidemic in the United States occurred in the summer of 1894 in the Valley. Dr. Charles S. Caverly, president of the State Board of Health, reported the incident in the *Yale Medical Journal* in November 1894.22 From June 17 to September 1, Caverly noted the disease raging through central Vermont, affecting 123 children directly. All but six of these cases occurred in the Valley. “There have been many deaths,” Caverly’s report went on, “among horses, attended with symptoms of paralysis.”23 There were similar reports among dogs and fowl, adding to the anxiety. In 1910, 1911, 1912, and 1913, the disease flared up again throughout the state.

In a speech given to a Section in the Neurology and Medical Jurisprudence at the 46th Annual Meeting of the American Medical Association, at Baltimore, Maryland, on May 7th to May 10th in 1895, Caverly further commented on the epidemic of 1894:

The city of Rutland is the commercial and geographical center of this area. The towns affected have a combined population of 26,000, of which fully two-thirds dwell in the quarrying and manufacturing centers of Rutland, West Rutland, and Proctor. The starting point of the epidemic, and most of the earlier cases, were at

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Rutland. In this city occurred 55 of the 132 cases of which I have notes; 27 of the remainder occurred in the town of Proctor, one-sixth the population of Rutland. This town suffered the worst of any in the valley. The remaining fifty cases were scattered over the rural districts in fourteen towns.24

Caverly also noted that the “so-called laboring classes were oftenest affected,” 25 but not out of proportion to their numbers. He recorded that the general sanitary conditions of pure air, food, and water did not lead him to conclude the disease resulted from poor environmental conditions.

In the 1910 epidemic of polio, with the heightened sense of nativism that affected the country because of increased number of immigrants coming to the country in the last decade, Caverly was careful to note the nationalities that were affected by the outbreak in the state.

Table 1 Nationalities Affected by 1910 Polio Epidemic in Vermont

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French Canadian</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russian</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unlike the cholera epidemic that was blamed on the Irish in the 1840s, Caverly was careful to note that the polio epidemic cut across nationality lines. Source: Caverly, in *Infantile Paralysis in Vermont, 1894-1922*, 46.


During the year 1914, the outbreak was the most severe, surpassing the outbreak of 1894. In response, the Proctor family set up a sanitarium, aided Caverly in his treatment and made an anonymous gift to the State Department of Public Health.

Treatment for the inflicted was largely massage, muscle exercise and the less regarded galvanic electricity. So alarming was the anxiety surrounding the outbreak in 1914 that Governor John Graham attended a health board meeting where the following statement was approved restricting large gatherings. It read in part:

In the past years we have had reason to think that large general gatherings of people from many towns have distributed this infection. August and September in past years have been our worst months as far as this disease is concerned. In view of these facts . . . when one or more cases develop in any town the local board of health should take action either prohibiting all public gatherings or excluding all children under 16 years of age from gatherings, also from lunch, soda water, ice cream counters and other public eating and drinking places. It is hereby ordered that no fairs, Chautauquas, street carnivals or circuses be held in the State of Vermont until further notice.

By order of the State Board of Health
Charles F. Dalton
(Secretary)26

Caverly advised that the precautions taken for scarlet fever and diphtheria should be applied to dealing with this present crisis. In the uncertainty of the 1910 epidemic, Caverly advised health officers in Vermont:

Let every physician learn from you that this disease is reportable. Enforce the laws as to reporting diseases that are "infectious and dangerous to the public health" as regards poliomyelitis. Enforce the "full quarantine" in this disease. Disinfect and clean up after the acute state is passed, as you would after diphtheria.27

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Table 2 Polio Epidemic from 1890 to 1915 in Vermont

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of Reported Cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1890-1893</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-1909</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1913</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1915</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

After 1910 the possibility of another epidemic was a constant annual worry to the families during the summer months. Source: Caverly, in Infantile Paralysis in Vermont, 1894-1922, 121.

Caverly examined the locations where the diseases struck. In the case of the 1894 epidemic, he noted that that, at the southern end of Rutland where the East Creek and the Otter Creek joined, the water transported a large amount of sewage. In the summer months when the water was low, the sewage-contaminated stream might contribute to the spread of the disease. He also examined the housing of the afflicted. Workers lived under the possibility that the epidemic could come again at any time to threaten their families. How could one protect oneself and one's family was not only a medical, but a social and political issue. Workers wanted more control over their lives.

27. Caverly, Infantile Paralysis in Vermont, 55.
CHAPTER VI

THE CHALLENGE OF THE WORKERS

In the 1870s and early 1880s, many members of the Yankee marble elites, such as Redfield Proctor, William Ripley, Charles Sheldon, Percival Clement, John B. Page and E. P. Gilson, had served in local or state government, or supported one of their own in those positions. The Meads and the Tuttles, who traced their families to the first settlers of the area, often were influencing politics behind the scenes. Like Pullman of Illinois or the Lowells in Massachusetts, Redfield Proctor was very much aware that political power and influence could benefit and protect his interests, whether in the community, the state or the nation. At the national level, he used his political influence both in and out of office to seek protective tariffs for marble. Applying the policies of corporate paternalism and welfare capitalism, he helped to shape Rutland and particularly those sections of Rutland where his company had a presence, making the town a model industrial community. Sober, hard-working, moral, and thrifty, like many other influential industrialists, he saw the town where he lived or had his primary interest as an extension of himself. His political, economic and social worlds together created a unified galaxy of power, which was a key factor in his support of the movement to partition the existing town of Rutland into four political units: Rutland, Rutland Town, West Rutland, and Proctor (formerly Sutherland Falls). When Sutherland Falls became a separate town and received the name of Proctor, the new name was a public acknowledgement of the social and political influence of Redfield Proctor. Unlike creating a new town such as Pullman, Illinois, the change in name of an existing town is much more difficult, involving a complex public process. No major opposition surfaced to the name change.
among the citizenry, an acknowledgement of Proctor’s consummate political skill. The public testimony at the hearings on the town division indicated that citizens of the areas that would become Proctor and West Rutland felt the major threat was the concentration of economic and social power in the section of Rutland known as the Village (later known as Rutland City) rather than any fear of the Proctors.

By the 1880s distrust and tension had grown between the marble and agricultural interests in the outlying districts, on the one hand, and commercial interests concentrated in the Village, on the other hand. More local control meant, in the eyes of division proponents, a fairer, more equitable distribution of resources. As early as the 1870s, sentiment for a division of the Town from the Village had been growing. A consensus was growing that greater local control would be in the best interest of all. Nevertheless, the division did not occur until the power of the local elites was challenged by local workers. In the mid 1880s, with the influx of immigrants, labor began to challenge the system more directly and confront the Republican Anglo-Saxon hegemony. The vehicles of this challenge to the Republican Party were the Democratic Party, the Knights of Labor, and the Labor Party. In response, the elites sought to consolidate power, gerrymandering the town by dividing it into sections and isolating immigrant power. Still, some workers also saw an advantage in division because they could control their

1. Rutland Daily Herald on July 18th, 1878, commented on the possible division: “There is some talk of dividing the town between East and West sides, into Rutland and West Rutland. The people in the west part of the town are generally in favor of the division we understand. The West village has all the advantages of a center of population and business, and if a satisfactory division of the property and liabilities of the town could be made, and dividing line could be satisfactorily decided upon, there would be many reasons why a division of the town would be desirable.”

2. The argument of geography was an argument of convenience and of progress beyond the village of Rutland. Voting would be accessible and bring about more local control rather than being subservient to the village. But there were also economic issues such as access to banks. Proctor later would provide a bank for his workers. He would also be a founding member of the Marble Savings Bank. Shopping was another issue. Workers protested that traveling to Rutland Village where many of the shops were located was nearly an all day trip. Thus, from the workers’ viewpoint, the division of Rutland into smaller towns would provide a better quality of life by bringing about more local control of resources, and not concentrating wealth and resources in only one section of the town.
sections and see to it that tax money was not drawn off to support the privileged Village. From this viewpoint, Rutland Village was the banking and railroad center, fostered by the old guard such as the Clement family, who held sway in the city. Instead of being overwhelmed by sheer numbers of workers, Rutland could be divided into Rutland Village (the city) where both immigrants and the old guard lived; West Rutland, where many of the workers and immigrants lived; Rutland Town, a farming area, and Sutherland Falls, the center of the financial empire of the Vermont Marble Company and the residence of Redfield Proctor.

From the viewpoint of the existing elites with deep roots in Rutland, Redfield Proctor was a carpetbagger, trading on the personal connections he had established in the War. He wanted to thwart the Clement and Dorr faction by supporting the division of Rutland, rather than advocating city status for the area. He had come to Rutland because Rutland was a dynamic and growing center of commercial activity, setting up a law partnership on Merchants Row in the heart of the new commercial Rutland. He had entered the marble industry and played the biggest role in redeveloping it into the most lucrative segment of Vermont’s economy. Proctor vaulted to the forefront economically, politically, and socially, straining relations between the old rich and the new rich. The more successful the Proctors became, the more some in the old guard resented their wide-sweeping power.

In 1881, Redfield Proctor led the grand list of all the residents and businesses of Rutland Town (as yet undivided) with real and personal property valued at $278,000, and an interest in the Vermont Marble Company, valued at $450,000. Other powerful families were the Clements, the Baxters, and the Ripleys. Charles Clement, whose money originally had come from marble and banking, owned property valued at
The Clement political and financial interest was tied to Rutland Village, which would become Rutland City. H.H. Baxter also had derived his wealth from marble, and his real and personal property was valued at $191,000; Baxter's primary interests, like those of the Clements, were centered on Rutland Village. The Ripleys, also old marble money, were now down the social and political list. Their area of interest was Center Rutland, which became part of Rutland Town. Socially, the Ripleys' interests focused on the Village as well. All three of these powerful families were centering much of their attention on the growing financial sector. William Ripley was president and Edward Ripley was vice president of the Rutland County National Bank. Horace H. Baxter was president and Jonathan Baxter vice president of the Baxter National Bank. Charles, Percival, and Wallace Clement were the owners of Clement and Sons, dealers in investment securities.

The Clements were the chief political and social rivals to the Proctors. The Clement family had come to Rutland about 1842 as the marble industry was beginning its transformation. The family had pre-dated the Proctors into the marble industry, but the

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3. Both Redfield Proctor and Charles Clement, the patriarchs of their powerful families, emigrated to Rutland. Charles Clement grew up in Bridgewater, VT. As part of the outward migration affecting Vermont in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, he sought more financial opportunity in the Midwest and moved to Alton, Ill. At Alton he was one of the volunteers who periodically protected Edward Lovejoy, the abolitionist printer in the town. The family estate was built by Charles Clement in 1856-1857, Clementwood in Center Rutland on Clement Road. Charles and his wife Elizabeth had eight children, but only 3 of them, Wallace born in 1835, Percival in 1846, and Waldo in 1851, survived. The sons along with their father used the money from the marble investments to move into banking, investments, and in the case of Percival into journalism, politics, and railroads. F. Barreda Sherman, *The Clements of Haverhill and Rutland, 1642-1969* (Mill Valley, California: Privately Published, 1980). Copy in the Vermont room of the Rutland Library. The industrial leaders in the Gilded Age came overwhelmingly from families of upper or middle class status. Cf. John E. Sawyer “American Historians and the Business Elite” in *Men in Business: Essays on the Historical Role of the Entrepreneur* ed by William Miller (New York:1962), 309-328.


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Clements, while an old-established family in comparison to the Proctors, had not been as spectacularly successful. Charles Clement and a partner, named Porter, were in the retail business in Center Rutland as early as 1846. The Clement & Gilmore mill shows up on a 1854 map of Center Rutland. In June 1855, the mill had 16 saw gangs and produced 120,000 feet of marble a year. Clement & Gilmore originated with a partnership, the firm of Barnes, Clement & Gilmore. Barnes was one of the earliest of the major marble entrepreneurs. The firm later became Clement & Gilmore, and about 1870 or 1872 it became Clement & Sons. The Clement National Bank was organized in 1883, located on the ground floor of the Clement Block. In the opinion of 1890 journalist J.P. McKinney, the board contained “the gentlemen representing the most wealthy and enterprising elements of the community.”

Percival W. Clement, born in 1846, was educated by private tutors at home and graduated in 1864 from St. Paul’s School in Concord, New Hampshire. He then went on for further tutoring at Middlebury before he went to Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. What had propelled Clement into this comfortable life was the family marble fortune, but in the 1870s the Proctors began to supplant the Clement family’s place in society and political and economic power. The Rutland Herald became a Clement mouthpiece. Albert Tuttle formed the Herald and Globe Association in 1873 and “enticed as early as 1882” Percival W. Clement to be editor. By 1886, Clement appeared “in firm control defeating on a policy matter the forces of the Proctor family.”

6. Beers 1854 Map in the special collections of Rutland Historical Society, Rutland, VT.


8. Tyler Resch, The Bob Mitchell Years: An Anthology of a Half Century of Editorial Writing 125

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Having gained control of the paper, Clement was now able to further his own political, social, and economic ambition, and, to a lesser degree, that of his allies.

The Clements cast themselves as leaders of a city-oriented vision with all its promise of the future. However, the Clement family interests, like those of the Proctor family, also extended far beyond Rutland Village. P. W. Clement became president of the Clement National Bank of Rutland and also president of the Rutland Railroad. The Clement holdings stretched into New York City, where he owned the Woodstock and Dunmore hotels in New York City, and Clement and Smith, a brokerage firm.9

Politically, the Clements and the Proctors were also rivals within the Republican Party in Vermont. The Proctors assumed a conservative position on moral issues such as religion and drinking. They were for the continued prohibition of alcohol in the state. Clement supported a local option law on alcohol. Although Vermont had been a dry state since the 1850s, the local option law would be a way that the city could bypass the general code. Thus certain districts would be exempt from the general community’s traditions, which had been in place for half a century.

The workers were well aware of the concentrated power of the Clements and how the Clement interests seemed to favor the village of Rutland rather than the interests of the larger town. The workers felt that that the village was already getting more than its fair share. From the workers’ viewpoint, the outlying districts were being sacrificed at the expense of the village. Redfield Proctor sided with the workers, and especially his

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9. The family used the money from their marble company when they sold it to diversify their financial interests. The three surviving children: Wallace, Percival and Waldo, along with their father, were involved in the family concerns. Percival was the leader in the younger generation.
workers, who lived in these outlying districts, near the quarries and the headquarters of his company; he used his political and economic interests to advance the division of Rutland. Although Redfield Proctor was not the leader of this movement for division, as local myth would have it, Proctor sanctioned the split, making it more acceptable. At first, Percival Clement and his allies tried to keep the existing arrangement of the town. The catalyst that finally brought about division was the rising political power of labor.

The areas of Sutherland Falls (later Proctor) and West Rutland were natural allies: their economic interests were based on marble and both were outlying districts. Citizens of both areas felt that the Village of Rutland was receiving proportionally more economic advantages at the expense of the other regions of the Town. Additionally, social disturbances in the Village, where rowdy young men might gather and harass citizens, troubled the sensitivity of Sutherland Falls and West Rutland, further alienating the outlying population. There was a certain perceived town-village difference of virtue. As early as 1867, commentators worried that the Village showed a lower standard of morality in the new business district in the evening. The Rutland Herald commented:

The practice of a certain portion of our male inhabitants of lounging about street corners every evening for a couple of hours and indulging in the use of profane and obscene language, as such as passing ungentlemanly remarks upon every lady who happens to pass the points where they perch themselves is becoming unbearable and we hope some effort will be made to put a stop to it. The principal points where these person hold forth are the corners of Merchants’ Row and West Streets, Merchants Row and Center streets and the intervening entrances, dry goods boxes and steps between these points, as well as upon the walk on Center Street leading from Merchants Row to Wales Street.10

Despite this image, the leaders of the central village saw themselves as progressive and forward thinking. In 1880, a group within the village petitioned the

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10. Rutland Daily Herald, June 8, 1867.
legislature to re-charter the village of Rutland as a city that would take in all three of the town's most heavily populated areas—Rutland village, Sutherland Falls, and West Rutland—and exclude only the most rural areas of the town. The advantage to the Village would be a strong financial base to support the growth of the city. The traditional town meeting would be replaced by a body of men elected as ward representatives.

Rutland’s 1880 population, as estimated by the Rutland Herald, was 12,150 and growing rapidly. (By 1887, after West Rutland and Proctor had split off from Rutland Town, the population of the three towns was an estimated 16,000: 10,300 in Rutland, 4,000 in West Rutland, and 1,700 in Proctor.)

W.Y.Y Ripley, a marble owner, presented a counter proposal to the State Legislature. “Remonstrance Against Creating a City Charter” showed the fear in 1880 that a City would dominate the area and lead to an unrepresentative government. The essence of the argument was:

- The township itself was large, 7 to 8 miles east to west, 6-1/2 miles north to south, with the village east and south of the center.
- None of the township's chief industries, farming and quarrying, found their greatest market in the village, and outlying residents therefore purchased more than they sold in Rutland village.
- The inconvenience of a large town meeting, lasting a day or two once a year, was preferable, to the “dangers and evils of a city organization.”
- Farmers feared losing their influence if divided into wards, where they now were heard at town meetings; they preferred direct representation

11. Rutland Daily Herald, July 19, 1880; Annual Report for Rutland, 1886 and 1887 Town

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rather than electing a ward officer who purported to speak for them.

Signers included other marble men including Horace H. Dyer, Charles Clement, Charles Sheldon, A.J. and S.W. Mead, and Redfield Proctor. 12

Opponents accused W.Y.W Ripley and Redfield Proctor of using “terrorism” to intimidate their workers to oppose the city charter. Ripley said he had 75 workers and Proctor said he had 600 workers; each denied the charge that he had allowed or induced any “terrorism.” Charles Sheldon, John Sheldon and E.P. Gilson also denied any intimidation in their campaign against the city charter. Dr. Hanrahan, a Democrat and a doctor frequently called to provide medical aid to marble workers when there was an accident, alleged: “Seven out of ten Irishmen were for the city charter.”13

To an extent the differences in the sections of Rutland could be traced back to the 1700s, when the Congregational Church split into east and west parishes, each with its own meetinghouse. In 1773 the first Congregational Church and society was formed, but by 1787 divisions within the town had grown gradually. On January 25, 1787, 85 men from the east part of the town submitted a petition to the assembly for the division of the town into two religious societies.14 By the end of the year, the division into two societies was granted.15 Geographic distance in the town and not any theological differences was

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12. Rutland Daily Herald, November 15, 1880. In 1880 the Clement interests were primarily marble, and the Clement position was against the city’s expansion. Within this decade, Percival Clement, younger son of Charles, would expand the financial interests into banking, newspapers, railroads and other areas, and lead the pro-city forces.


14. In 1787 on February 13, some of the settlers at Rutland submitted to the general assembly holding a session at Bennington discussing the issues of division.

15. The petition argued: the “Petioners [sic] are Principly [sic] of Simelar Sentements [sic]in matters of Religion[sic]...the Central Part of the Town of Rutland for some Thousands of Acres, is barran,
the main reason for the division. Town meetings had alternated between the two meeting houses, but on May 29, 1788, in a meeting held on the east side, in Rutland village, the attendees voted to permanently suspend the meetings in the west. Although many businesses closed for the day on town meeting day and the railroad gave free transportation so that any freeman could attend the event, the men who labored at the quarries, mills, and farms of Rutland town resented having to go the greater distance to the east side each year. Infrastructure built with tax dollars, such as sidewalks and road improvement, took place only on the east side of the town, disgruntled residents of the west side complained. By 1880 the argument was being cast in terms of democracy and virtue. The state had been “dry” since before the Civil War, but, in the sinful village, men managed to find both the “potion” and women of ill repute.

The Dorrs on Dorr Road were another influential old guard family living near the Village that supported division. S. M. Dorr’s argument was based on the traditional New England sense of democracy, but he believed a division would have other advantages as well. Dorr, a financial investor and part of the village interests, believed that the town had become too large in population for town meetings: “the true and simple democracy becomes impossible or at least impracticable.” Dorr cited a request fifteen years earlier asking that voters be compelled “to have their names on a check-list, and that should confer upon an insignificant number or minority the right to demand a ballot by the

Unarrable[sic] Land and Probably never will be Cultivated or improved...that a Large number of its inhabitants both in the Easterly and Westerly Parts must be put to Excessive Lengths of Travil [sic] to Convene in the Center...and the Town...have had Several meetings...to build a Meeting house...nigh the Center...but never Could be so happy as to agree...we most Earnestly Pray your Honors...[to] Grant...the Town of Rutland be Divided into two Societies...” in General Petitions, 1778-1787, Vol. 8. Ed. Edward A Hoyt (Montpelier, VT: Vermont Secretary of State, 1952), 293-294.

check-list in the election of our town officers.” The town, Dorr went on, had grown to
the point that it needed a change; either “Let the village of Rutland cut loose from the
town and take a city charter for herself alone” or “organize the whole town under a city
charter.”

R. C. Thrall voiced his concern that the outlying districts were supporting the
Village and quoted a statement by Dr. Cochran in 1883.

I have lived in West Rutland 23 years. There has not been a rod of highway laid
out and built in this part of the town since I came here. [He continued,] [f]rom
1870 to 1880 the highway tax in district No. 7 was the largest in town. For 25
years previous to 1883 taxpayers living within the limits of West Rutland paid
about three-eighths of the cost of filling up Merchants Row, Center street, the cost
of the highway to the fair ground, the Dorr road and bridge, State street road and
iron bridge...

Thrall then went on to list other items that West Rutlanders had paid a significant portion
of without receiving adequate infrastructure in return.

Incorporating only the village of Rutland would leave the maintenance of bridges
and support of the poor as a burden of the town, while removing the largest portion of the
grand list of taxpayers, in the village, from taxation by the town. The town of Rutland
would not assume the debts currently owed by the village, as assured by specific sections
of the legislation. The only change in expense would be the addition of five polling

17. Rutland Daily Herald, December 6, 1880.
19. According to Vermont Statutes Annotated, Title 32, Sections 1-5978 (Salem, New Hampshire: Butterworth Legal Publishers, 1994), the contents of the Grand List “of a town shall contain among other things the following particulars: 1) the name of each taxpayer; 2) the post office address of all taxpayers and corporations having taxable property in the town, provided the same are known to the listers; 3) a brief description and the listed valuation of each separate piece or parcel of taxable property in the town, owned by each taxpayer and the total value of all such real estate not exempt from taxation; 4) the listed valuation of such taxpayer’s personal estate taxable in the town 5 a) separate columns which will show the approximate acreage of woodland, cropland, and pasture land 5 b) the director shall make such rules and regulations as shall adequately define, for the benefit of listers and for the promotion of a uniform procedure, what constitutes woodland, cropland and pasture land as used in this subdivision....” 385-386.
places in place of the single large meeting. Dorr had a deceptive argument but his position was consistent with Village interests. His primary concern was to make the Village a city. Either it would be city governed separately from the others, or the most influential section of a larger city.\(^{20}\) Seeing the vigorous opposition from the countryside around the village, the legislature turned down the request to give Rutland city status.\(^{21}\)

The first practical signal of the upcoming partitioning of Rutland was taken in 1884 when Sutherland Falls, the corporate headquarters of the Vermont Marble Company, was incorporated as a village. Because the unincorporated village had not confined itself to the bounds of Rutland town, the legislature approved the inclusion of a number of acres of land north along Otter Creek, taking them from the neighboring town of Pittsford.\(^{22}\) The area specified in the act encompassed sections from Rutland and Pittsford known as school district twenty-one in Pittsford, school district fourteen in Rutland, and the Piper farm, which bordered number fourteen. These sections, in the wording of the act, “are hereby incorporated and made a body politic under the name of the village of Proctor... territory made be added to said village by vote of either the towns of Rutland or Pittsford.”\(^{23}\) Seeing that greater local autonomy was bringing about more economic and social amenities, such as sidewalks and street lighting, advocates of full autonomy for the marble areas supported a bill in the Vermont Legislature in 1886 to

\(^{20}\) Rutland Daily Herald, December 6, 1880.

\(^{21}\) Rutland Daily Herald, November 15, 1880.

\(^{22}\) Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, at the Eighth Biennial Session, 1884 (Rutland: The Tuttle Company, Official Printers to the State of Vermont, 1885) No. 222 An Act to Incorporate the Village of Proctor, 191. Although both bills were passed in the same day of November 11, 1883 the influential power of Proctor was shown in the order of the priority. The vote for division of Proctor was Bill 17 and for West Rutland was Bill 23, 191.

\(^{23}\) Ibid.
set apart the towns of Proctor (formerly Sutherland Falls) and West Rutland. This move was opposed by those who saw the village as a burgeoning center that needed the resources of the surrounding areas to achieve its potential. At the national level, a new labor organization, The American Federation of Labor, was formed in December, 1886 at a meeting of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, giving more structure and potential power of organization to labor.

The conflict over dividing Rutland, then, was strong though the 1880s, and it pitted local elites centered on the village against the marble elites in the outlying areas of Proctor and West Rutland. The division did not take place, however, until a new element entered local politics—the power of workers, in the marble industry and elsewhere.

The roots of worker politics went back to earlier labor conflicts in the quarries. As early as 1859, workers began to protest their working conditions. The first strike in the industry began on April 1, 1859, when about 400 quarrymen who worked for four different marble companies went on strike to protest low wages and the poor housing conditions. They wanted a $1.00 a day in the summer, the peak season, and 75 cents in the winter when work was minimal. In a unified protest, they did not go back until June 1, after their demands were met. A quarryman wrote to The Boston Pilot, a Roman Catholic paper with a sympathetic audience, putting his grievances in a letter that was later printed in the Rutland Herald:

How could a man with a family support himself, his wife and children, out of 50 cents a day, during the cold winter, when he had to pay thirty or thirty-six dollars for a house (if houses can be called the kind of buildings they have for the poor


man), when he has to pay $4 a cord for the worst kind of wood, to pay 50 cents for a bushel of potatoes and to pay for everything else in the same proportions.\textsuperscript{26}

A second letter appeared in \textit{The Boston Pilot} on April 25, 1859, the day after Easter. The letter, describing the working conditions in West Rutland, was published in the \textit{Rutland Courier} on Friday, May 6, 1859:

In regards to the strike in the quarries in West Rutland, the men have been ill-used—seldom get any money, but had to take store-pay. At the stores they are charged 1/3 more than anyone else. They were promised 90 cents a day in the summer and 65 cents a day in the winter, but received only 50 cents a day in the winter... the bosses cast stones at them when they would raise their heads to take a moment’s rest. The men now demand $1—a day in the summer and 75 cents a day in the winter...

The companies are complaining bitterly of the priest, saying he excited the men to rebellion, although that is a well-known falsehood, as the men turned out without letting him know their intentions, and while he was away at one of the missions. But since the strike he has exhorted them to be united and not to go against each other. He is helping them as much as he can...

The writer knows that he is sacrificing a good deal of comforts and...necessaries in order to assist poor families who are thrown out of work. About 400 men, working for four companies, have been turned out (evicted) of their homes without any place to pass the night with their families. All honor to Mr. [William] Barnes who is carrying on another quarry, giving his men employment at $1.00 per day, and his houses to shelter the poor families who were turned out. Now the men are going away...

(signed) Hibernicus\textsuperscript{27}

At a time when many of the marble owners were paying their workers 50 cents a day, as the quarryman complained to \textit{The Pilot}, Barnes paid his workers substantially higher wages, a dollar a day. The workers respected Barnes and did not see him in the same light as they viewed the other owners. In this first marble strike, workers did not

\textsuperscript{26} Rutland Herald, April 29, 1859. The $36 (1859) for rent would be $760 (2001); the $4 (1859) for a cord of wood would be, $84.00 (2001) and 50 cents (1859) for a bushel of potatoes would be $10.50 (2001). Samuel H. Williamson, “What is the Relative Value?” Economic History Services, April 2002, URL, http://www.ch.net/hmit/compare.

\textsuperscript{27} Rutland Courier, May 6, 1859. The priest referred to in the letter was Reverend Francis Picard. When the priest went to one of the owners on the workers’ behalf, the owner allegedly called the priest a “fool.” Cf “Irish Heritage” Rutland Historical Quarterly, Vol XII, No. 3, 45. Father Picard and Father Lynch helped many of the strikers with supplies. Since the strikes occurred in the spring, most of the home food supplies put away for the winter were exhausted.
walk out of Barnes's quarry. As the letter suggests, the local Irish Catholic Church, St Bridget's in West Rutland, on the hill over-looking the quarries, also supported the marble workers. When workers were forced from their company-owned rented shacks, Father Francis Picard, like Barnes, sought out shelters for the displaced workers, most of whom were his parishioners. The support network for the workers, the division within the ranks of the marble owners, the united front of the workers, and the pressure of the peak time for quarrying led to a successful conclusion of the strike two months later.

Barnes, who had been one of the first to quarry marble in West Rutland, and who became the most influential marble owner in the generation before Redfield Proctor, was more sympathetic to his workers than other marble owners. He permitted his workers to construct their own housing near the quarry. He also became a land developer and recycled the waste from the quarries, filling part of the swamp and then selling the land for building lots. Under his development, that section of town became the new dynamic growth area of the community.28

The second major marble strike occurred during the Civil War in April of 1864. Quarrymen sought a $1.50 a day and a ten-hour workday. Companies offered $1.50 for an eleven-hour workday. John Cain, the editor of the Rutland Courier, supported the strikers. In an editorial for April 15, 1864, he wrote:

Quarrying is a trade requiring much experience and as it is the most laborious kind, we cannot see why these men should labor more than ten hours a day, and more than the employees of the railroad.29

When both sides hardened their positions, the second major strike was inevitable. The workers struck against three of the four companies, the exception being Sheldon and Slason. On May 1st, the Rutland Marble Company went to court to get an eviction order


29. Rutland Courier, April 15, 1864.
to force families from their company-rented houses. The *Rutland Herald* reported: “It is the intention of the Company to clear the tenements of their recent occupants and to employ new hands and resume work as soon as possible.”\(^{30}\) It was a frequent practice of the marble companies of the time to use the courts against the workers when workers struck.

In the spring of 1868 the workers struck again. This strike, known to the workers as the Big Turn Out, a reference to the workers being evicted from their rented homes, was broken by the marble companies when they employed a new strategy. The Rutland Marble Company imported 75 French Canadians and their families to replace the strikers. The French Canadians were brought in by railroad from Montreal. Word spread quickly of the marble company’s plan. When the train got close to West Rutland, the officials stopped the train, fearful that armed strikers and the new workers would confront one another after a drinking brawl. The brawl continued until the law officials arrived and made arrests.\(^{31}\) For years afterwards, memories of this incident continued to incite bitter feelings between the Irish and the French.

The fourth marble strike occurred in February 1880. At that time, marble companies in West Rutland informed their workers they would pay $1.10 for an eleven-hour day. On March 1\(^{st}\) the companies rescinded their promise and told the workers they would pay $1.00 for a ten-hour day. All the quarrymen from the Rutland Marble Company and two-thirds at Sheldon and Sons—about two hundred workingmen—struck in support of a pay scale of $1.25 for a ten-hour day. The company stuck to its lower offer and refused to negotiate. It issued an ultimatum to the workers to return to work by Wednesday or vacate the company housing. There was a brief announcement in Thursday’s *Rutland Daily Herald*: “The West Rutland quarrymen have all gone to work,

\(^{30}\) *Rutland Daily Herald*, May 5 and 12, 1864.

\(^{31}\) *Rutland Daily Herald*, April 16, May 20, May 22, June 12, 1868.
and the strike is over.”32

By 1882 the marble business was booming, which meant more demand for workers.33 In March of 1882 there was a racial disturbance at the Columbian Mill that caused a minor strike. Twenty-five polishers quit work because an African American had just been hired “to do their work.” The Herald went on to comment: “It is rather late in the day, particularly in Vermont, for men to object to working with a colored man, as these persons have found to their cost.”34 The disturbance affected only one division, the polishing department. In the rest of the mill there was no problem. The company supported the African American and this minor strike collapsed.

A new labor solidarity was emerging in the 1880s, both at the national level and at the local level. Workers were joining more social and political organizations. For example, the marble workers began to hold dances. At the first dance the marble workers “danced away the greater part of the night.” So successful was the event that it was proposed to be an annual event.35 In 1881 nearly one hundred couples danced at the Town Hall with music from the Opera House orchestra and a supper provided by the Berwick House, one of the premier hotels in the area.36

More importantly, the immigrants in the 1880s were seeking a public voice to challenge the system, unlike the earlier immigrants of the 1850s and 1860s, who had been marginalized in the public forum. At first, since the Republican Party was firmly in the hands of the marble elites, the only option for the opposition was to join the Democratic

32. Rutland Daily Herald, March 4, 1880; Cf. Rutland Daily Herald, March 2 and 3, 1880
34. Rutland Daily Herald, March 25, 1882.
35. Rutland Daily Herald, December 17, 1880.
36. Rutland Daily Herald, December 17, 1881. A hundred couples attended out of nearly a thousand workers. For the importance of worker culture in providing a social bonding for political action, see Herbert G. Gutman, Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America: Essays in American Working-Class and Social History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), especially 211-260 which examines the myth of the rags to riches ethos.
Party. Later, workers also found a public voice through the Knights of Labor, which organized chapters in Rutland and West Rutland.

In January 1886, J. J. Largan came from Boston to initiate candidates into the local Assembly of the Knights of Labor. A blind-folded reporter was escorted to the secret meeting. He was invited to the meeting so that the challenge to the old order would be known. The reporter from the *Herald* interviewed one of the Knights about the membership and objectives and was told:

> We have been working in secret for we knew that if the suspicions of candidates were aroused before our organization was complete they would attempt to crush it out, and would probably have succeeded undoing it at first. But now that we are sure and have members in every department of labor in Rutland we have nothing to fear as we are strong enough to resist and maintain our independence. Yet the employers do not know now how many of their men have been initiated into the order and it is for our interest to keep quiet for awhile. No, the organization is not started to get on a strike. Workingmen here are pretty well satisfied now and the order endeavors to avoid strikes by arbitration whenever this can be done and still maintain the interest of the employee. We want Rutland capitalists, however, to recognize the organization, and we also want to help forward the cause all over the country, by sympathy with its principles and contributing funds when it is necessary to advance its interest. Our great object here at that will be to interest workingmen to movements for their betterment and there will probably be no call for violent measures.37

The possibility of an imminent strike in Rutland was a concern, especially when viewed in the context of what was happening nationally. In 1886 there were 1,432 strikes and 55.3% of them were ordered by unions. In 1887 the number of strikes continued at approximately the same level, 1,436 strikes but the union influence indicated a growing strength. Unions ordered 66.3% of the strikes.38


In March 1886, the local of the Knights of Labor demanded that workers receive higher pay. The threat of a fifth strike was in the air. Labor and company officials met. The companies had prepared by stockpiling marble when there was little demand during the winter months. The company representatives also reminded labor of the increased number of potential workers. "The men," the Herald reported, "seem satisfied with the explanation of the companies." 

The workers now took a new tack. The Knights organized a united Labor Convention in Rutland. Quarryman and West Rutland Master Workman James Gillespie declared: "The time has come when we propose to have a hand in the legislation by which we are governed." Knights Local Assembly 5160 offered a palpable threat to Rutland's political and economic establishment for the positions to be filled in the fall election on September 7, 1886. In the summer, the caucus of the Workingmen's Party organized and selected its own candidates to run on the United Labor ticket. The Rutland Herald, not fully aware of the actual strength of the Knights and viewing them as harmless, complimented them:

...If one thing was made more emphatic than another it was the determination of these earnest men not to be run by politicians, monopolies or rings, and while doubtless they will be glad of all the help they can get to elect their candidate, they will be jealous of any party alliances. It was, probably, as good looking, well dressed and well behaved a body of working men as any town in the world can show. Most of them wore a prosperous appearance. All took seats who could get them and the proceeding was conducted with order and dignity. This shows, if we mistake not, one of the benefits derived from the organization known as the Knights of Labor. This great meeting, instead of being a mob as sometimes happens at political meetings in large towns was a quiet, deliberative assembly,

40. Rutland Daily Herald, August 27, 1886.
41. Rutland Daily Herald, August 27, September 6, and October 6, 1886.
thoughtful, respectful and responsible, indicating, we trust, what may be expected hereafter when all the voters in town assemble to transact town business.\footnote{Rutland Daily Herald, August 27, 1886.}

The Workingmen’s Caucus in Rutland set out its agenda for reform:

1. We demand the repeal of the law known as the trustee process.
2. We demand a bill obliging employers to pay their help weekly in cash.
3. We demand the repeal of the law authorizing the board of civil authority to elect an overseer of the poor, and that he should be elected by the people.
4. We demand a law to be known as the employer’s liability act, to make employers liable for injuries received through carelessness or inefficiency of the employer or his agent.
5. We demand the establishment of free evening schools for at least six months in every year in all towns over 7000 inhabitants.
6. We demand a law making 10 hours a day’s work.\footnote{Rutland Daily Herald, August 31, 1886.}

C. M. Walker, a Republican and representative from Fair Haven, and not a Knight, wrote to the \textit{Herald} in support of some of the demands of the Workingmen, especially the weekly wage and the trustee process. Monthly payments was a common practice and often payments were delayed to the 15th or 20th of the succeeding month. “So it is about six weeks from the time the poor laborer commences work before he receives a dollar of his earnings...I am rejoiced to learn that the laboring men at their late caucus have placed their foot on it and that your paper is taking high ground upon both subjects [weekly payments and trustee].”\footnote{Ibid.} Some companies had paid in company script and some had handed the workers’ money over to an assigned trustee, as could occur with young workers, but the practice might perpetuate itself longer than was needed. To cover cost and risk merchants and others would charge 10 to 15% more because workers...
would have to buy on credit. Aldace F. Walker, a lawyer and former president of the Vermont Bar Association, also wrote the *Herald* in support of the Workingmen’s Demands. His overall assessment was “...the workingmen who composed the recent caucus, not only know what they want, but their demands are substantially right and just.”

The Workingmen’s Party supported an Irish Catholic, James Hogan, as its candidate for representative to the state legislature. The son of an Irish quarryman, he had grown up in Rutland, worked in the quarries, and was now a clothing storeowner. The *Rutland Daily Herald* reprinted an article from *New York Evening News* praising the candidacy of Hogan:

... He [Hogan] is highly respected by the community, and when he was nominated the other day, the *Rutland Herald*, the republican paper, praised him warmly as a man who would make a creditable representative, and said that it would gladly support him as one of several representatives if the town were allowed several as she ought to be instead of being restricted to one.... He was selected by the workingmen of Rutland, who appear, from the account of their convention, to be an unusually intelligent set of men, because he was a good example of the workingman who has improved his opportunities, and he is commended by his neighbors as a good citizen, without a thought of his nativity.

Redfield Proctor acknowledged the Workingmen, but did not in any way support them. He reminded the electorate that the Republican Party had challenged the political process, noting Hogan’s religion and ethnicity, as the first local Irish Catholic to run for high office, but asserting that the Republican Party had opened the political system to the “colored races in the first place.” To Proctor, the Republican party provided a stable vehicle for developing the region. Further, the Grand Old Party, was an extension of the


Grand Army of the Republic, and citizens owed a political and social debt to the party.

The night before the election, the Workingmen rallied at the skating rink in the city in support of their candidates. In addition to the Workingmen in the town who could walk to the rally came other workers in "a special train . . . from Sutherland Falls," and many also came in from Center and West Rutland; about 1000 attended in all. As part of the get-out-the-vote, a special train left West Rutland at 3:30 a.m. to bring voters to the polls and returned when the voting was over. For the town election the voting ballot was open from 9 a.m. to 3 p.m. and for the general election it was open from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. The Vermont Marble Company closed the quarries, mills and shops to allow the workers to participate.

Sixteen positions were to be filled—one state representative and fifteen justices of the peace. Fourteen of the Labor justice of the peace candidates were from the working class, and eight of them were marble workers—E. L. George, a cutter; Patrick J. Londrigan, a polisher; George Putnam, a turner; J. C. Gillespie, a quarryman; Joseph Callahan, a worker at the Columbian Marble Company; Alexander Seguin of the Vermont Marble Company; and Meglorie Ducharme and Thomas Brown, listed simply as "marble workers." The rest of the slate comprised a carpenter (Ransom Clark); a mechanic (Leland L. Frost); a broom maker (Andrew Robillard); one clerk (Charles B Mann); an owner (John Adams) of Adams and Watkins, a store which sold meat, vegetables and stoves in West Rutland; and an owner (F. D. Shedd) of a general merchandise store in Center Rutland that served many of the marble workers.


49. Ibid


51. The results from the Rutland Daily Herald, September 8, 1886 for justice of the peace: J C.
United Labor Party also showed some sensitivity to ethnic concerns, selecting members from the main ethnic groups. Megloire Ducharme, a French-Canadian marble worker, was one of the candidates for justice of the peace.

On September 7th, the town held the largest town meeting ever, and the citizens, many of them Knights, elected a full slate of independent labor candidates. It was a stunning victory and made the establishment apprehensive. Hogan convincingly won the election as town representative with a vote of 1645 out of 2645 votes cast. His nearest competitor, Republican H.A. Smith, garnered 744 votes, and Democrat G.J. Wardwell received 247. Not only had the Workingmen’s Party candidate won, but also their entire slate for justices beat the Republican and Democratic slates.

The Rutland Herald described the election as “Rutland’s Quake” and blamed Democrats: “Some [of the blame for the result of the election] was republican, but most of it came from the democrats…. Mr. Hogan, as we have said before, is a man of culture, good character and appearance, and will make a creditable member. He will have influence if he takes care to secure influential allies.” The Herald was impressed with the orderliness of the election. “Rutland never saw a more orderly election than that of yesterday,” unlike what happened in the neighboring town of Mendon. The Herald went on to say, “If the workingmen will only conquer rum they can rule the world.”

The incident at Mendon contrasted with the decorum of the Rutland workingmen’s election. Before the meeting began in Mendon, 20 or 30 men were

Gillespie, 1552 votes; Meglorie Ducharme, 1545 votes; G.H. Putnam, 1548; F.D. Shedd with 1549; L.L. Frost, 1549; Joseph Callahan, 1548; C.B. Mann, 1549; J.A. Adams, 1548; Patrick J. Londrigan, 1548; T.F. Brown, 1548; Alexander Seguin, 1548; Ransom Clark, 1549; Andrew Robillard, 1548; E.L. George, 1540.

52. Rutland Daily Herald, September 8, 1886.

53. Rutland Daily Herald, September 8, 1886.

54. Ibid. The Herald entitled the article “Rutland’s Quake,” a reference to a South American earthquake that had recently left much destruction. The reference was not lost on the business community.

55. Ibid.
“conspicuously drunk,” coming up the street from the house of the Democratic candidate Jerry C. Thornton. Two young men named Duffy verbally abused Republicans. One of the Duffy boys was knocked down and a fight ensued. A messenger was sent to Rutland for the sheriff and the deputy sheriff. By the time the sheriffs arrived, the disturbance had quieted down and their friends made the combatants presentable.56 The Herald judged the attack to be deliberate by the workingmen to influence the election. Even the Democrats were alarmed. “...[I]t disgusted the respectable and sober democrats who would gladly have suppressed it, for the credit of the town, if they could.”57 The incident, while depicting the Mendon Knights in a bad light, did not overshadow the impressive behavior of the Rutland Knights’ organization.

“Rutland’s Quake” was a local manifestation of the “Great Upheaval” of 1886. In New York Henry George as a mayoral candidate received more votes than Teddy Roosevelt, the Republican candidate for mayor. In 1879 George had first published Progress and Poverty: An Inquiry into the Cause of Industrial Depressions and of increase in Want with Increase of Wealth. George was raising disturbing questions about the organization of society. His subtitle challenges the order of Andrew Carnegie’s argument calling for the voluntary redistribution of wealth in The Gospel of Wealth under a laissez faire government, into an interventionist government with a power to tax -- if land, for example, is not developed for public benefit rather than private profit. To George there was a profound discordance between private greed and public good.58 How could there be increased wealth and at the same time increased poverty? In Chicago a United Labor Party won a state senate seat and seven positions in the state assembly. Milwaukee elected a labor mayor, six assemblymen, and a U.S. congressman. In

56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.

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Leadville, Colorado; Newark New Jersey; Fort Worth, Texas; Lynn, Massachusetts; Norwalk, Connecticut; Kansas City, Kansas; and Richmond, Virginia, the story of labor victory repeated itself.  

To the local Republicans, the unanticipated results of the election might lead to further unexpected ramifications. It was a crisis. The election sent shock waves to the pro-village folk who desired the town to become a city. Some of the elites in the business community feared "mob rule" by the working class and contemplated ways to hold on to power. One of these might be division of Rutland. On the blue-collar side of the tracks, some of the more radical workers were contemplating the division of the town to protect themselves. Thus, both sides had their reasons for the division of the town.

One way for the Republicans to regain power was to remove the Workingmen from office. An attack on Hogan and attempt to remove him from office and discredit the Workingmen came just a week after the election. The opponents charged that he was ineligible to run for office because he did not fulfill the one-year residency requirement, since he had been away. He had left Rutland for St. Johnsbury on July 4, 1884, married at Swanton in September of that year, and returned to Rutland in November of 1885. Hogan’s position was that his residency was in Rutland. He voted only in Rutland and was on the voter checklist only in Rutland and not elsewhere.

Of the group of twenty-five representatives to the state legislature from Rutland County, twenty-three were Republican. Only J.B. Goodspeed of Wells, who was a Democrat, and Hogan, listed as an Independent, were not. In religion, there was more diversity. There were seven Congregationalists, Hogan was a Roman Catholic, and the rest were Unitarian, Episcopalian, Spiritualist, Baptist or without religious preference.

About Hogan, the *Herald* noted, “it is quite probable that the question of the legality of his election will never be raised in the house” and went on to praise his “quiet and gentlemanly deportment.” By early October, the issue of Hogan’s residency had temporarily abated, but neither side had forgotten the issues. The recent September election, its aftermath as reflected in the increasingly bitter rhetoric of the *Herald*, and the attack on Hogan fueled the sense of urgency for division.

The *Herald* sounded a warning to the Knights. While “the marble quarries are here as stable and inexhaustible as the mountains [n]o conditions of population or interference of labor agitation can remove the source of supply, and the iron market cannot materially affect the cost of production...there is one contingency, however, on which the stable marble industry depends, and that is the tariff. Reduce this and Rutland’s prosperity is checked, and remove it entirely and her growth will come to a standstill.” One of the national issues the Knights were discussing was the removal of protective tariffs. The *Herald* also noted how easily a “manufacturer of fabrics” could leave a village, “leaving the factory deserted and the village to suffer by the loss.”

Distrust increased between Workingmen and the business community and division grew within the village elites and those in the marble regions. Advocates for separation representing the rural interests summed up their bid for economic, moral, and local control in their slogan for separation from the Village: “Prosperity, temperance, and good government.” In early November, the advocates for division again presented their arguments before the legislature:

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64. *Rutland Daily Herald*, October 6, 1886.

65. Ibid.
Proctor will have nearly ten and one-half square miles—a larger area than Burlington, Montpelier, Vergennes, Landgrove and several other towns. It will have about 1,724 inhabitants—a number in excess of about one hundred and ninety other towns in the State. The schools... are excellent; the roads, the best in that section; the village hall, school houses, churches, public library, the general appearance of the village, and its character for good order... are such that it may be fairly called a model village. All of the voters of the village of Proctor, except three; all of the farmers in that part of District No. 10, to be annexed, except one; and all of the voters in that part of Pittsford included in the proposed town have expressed such a wish.

Therefore it may be regarded as conclusively established, that Proctor has all the elements of a prosperous, well governed and harmonious town, amply capable of taking care of itself, and better able to secure for itself prosperity, temperance and general good government than it would be under the guardianship of any other municipality...

Their local interests and government would be in their own hands instead of being centered in a much larger village, where the majority of the voters are not familiar with their wants and needs...

It would promote public improvement, remove unpleasant differences, preserve the town system of government to a considerable people unwilling to be taken into a city.

Many in the business community of the village wanted to regain power and to hold on to the outlying districts for their financial support of the village. General W. Y. W. Ripley recalled a town meeting about pleas to erect Memorial Hall in the village as a tribute to the Marble Valley’s Civil War volunteers, and a concern that village forces were using the proposed memorial building as leverage against West Rutland’s possible secession. If West Rutland persisted in its plans to separate from the town, anti-division proponents vindictively threatened to penalize West Rutland by increasing the size of the memorial building and obligating West Rutland to pay more. West Rutland already felt that its taxes were going for improvements such as roads in the Village rather than in the outlying districts and that this threat of an increased assessment for the War Memorial

66. In Hearing before the Legislative Committee on the Incorporation of the Town of Proctor: Examination in the Case of the Division of Rutland, Taken at Proctor, Vt., Tuesday a.m., November 2, 1886, published 1887, State Archives

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would be another blatant example of power unfairly exercised by the village.67

The rivalry between Proctor, an advocate of division, and Clement, an anti-division proponent, became more pronounced when Proctor used his influence in the state legislature to support the 1886 proposal to separate Sutherland Falls (the future Proctor) and West Rutland from Rutland. By doing so, Proctor, who had his own agenda, was also supporting the workers’ agenda. Like the Clements, others of the older, more established families, who had been in the region at least a generation earlier, felt they had fostered the creation of the Village as a financial center and opposed division. By 1886, P.W. Clement, as Percival was frequently called, used the Rutland Daily Herald to fight what he saw as Proctor’s proposed 1886 Rutland division. P.W. wrote a number of “letters to the editor” under a pseudonym, suggesting that Proctor influenced his workmen to petition for and vote for the split. In a letter to the editor on November 2, 1886, Clement, under a pseudonym, wrote:

...To Mr. Proctor (for Mr. is his proper name, by the way, not governor) all this excitement and running to Montpelier indicates a panicky state of feeling, which must be very gratifying to his vanity when he reflects that he is the prime cause of it all. The ex-governor’s reasons for “secession” are said to be: 1st, an ambitious desire for fame; 2nd to divide and break the power of the Knights of Labor; 3rd, to create an office and then fill in; in fact, to establish a sort of primogeniture system in regard to the office of representative, for the exclusive benefit of the Proctor family and their descendants. If these impressions are the result of careless observations and are wrong, I would gladly stand corrected when proper proof is presented that they are wrong...A man starting out for fame may have to be content with acquiring notoriety; dividing the Knights of Labor is a thankless task; it is like cutting water with a knife; and the idea of a man seeking to divide a town for personal reasons and benefits is somewhat like using a cannon to shoot a sparrow; it is in fact an exaggerated case of the tail trying to wag the dog...Rutland will not consent to be dictated to or be overruled by the small hamlet of Proctor...

67. Rutland Daily Herald, August 2, 1893. Ripley and others recounted the issues of division in 1886.
There was concern also that the Proctor family would own 97 percent of the property of the newly separated town, creating a private political and economic fiefdom with inordinate political power. Indeed when the town was separated from Rutland Village, Redfield Proctor served as the representative to the state legislature, his son Fletcher was the school commissioner, and most of the town officers also worked for the Vermont Marble Company.

Clement’s use of the newspaper for self-serving purposes even outweighed his interest in its financial success. A new battle erupted over whether the Village, that is, the urban center of Rutland Town, should be formally incorporated as a city. The status of the Village as a city would contrast with the towns and give preeminence to the Village. It would also establish a new form of government, with the principal and influential leader being a mayor. P.W. Clement was now instrumental in formulating the Rutland City Charter and used *The Rutland Daily Herald* to advance the drive. The city-formation movement confirmed a special status of modernity.

Sutherland Falls (Proctor) and West Rutland saw the common enemy as Rutland Village, and therefore the advocates of division asked for the separation of West Rutland as well. If the legislature sanctioned the division, the remaining town of Rutland would

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68. *Rutland Daily Herald*, November 2, 1886; Another instance of Percival Clement’s obsession with the Proctors also occurred in late 1885. Clement bought the Merchants Row building at the intersection of Evelyn Street and Merchants Row in the center of the business district for $18,000. Clement wrote to his father, “I have bought the old bank building. I was afraid that Proctor with whom they had been talking would give them that [[$18,000]] when he should know that I was after it.” Clement continually perceived the Proctors as his nemesis. Letter from Percival Clement to Charles Clement, December 29, 1885, cited in Tyler Resch, *The Rutland Herald History* (Rutland: Herald Association, 1995), 65.

still have the second largest population in the state. Perhaps more importantly, based on the grand list of tax valuations, the to-be-formed town of West Rutland, because of the marble industry, would be the richest in the state on a per capita basis.

West Rutland is divided from the proposed town of Proctor and from East Rutland, by a high range of hills... West Rutland is four miles from East Rutland, is a thrifty and rapidly growing village. It has six churches, several stores, post office and a good railroad depot. The growth of the village is north and south from the center and not towards East Rutland.

North of West Rutland lies a valley... four miles long... a fine farming region, and also contains the principal marble deposits and quarries, which largely contribute to the growth and flourishing condition of this village, containing telegraph, a telephone, and the usual small manufactures and shops for convenience of the people.

The area of... West Rutland comprises about one-third of the whole town of Rutland; population 4,000, Grand List, without exemptions, $21,000; including exemptions soon to be taxed, about $23,000; voters 724, larger than Montpelier... After the division Rutland will have ample territory. In population it will stand second, and in the amount of its Grand List first of all the towns and cities in the State... 70

Marble workers were also asked their opinion. When asked before the legislature's investigation committee, P.J. Dunnigan, a stone-cutter, on November 2, 1886, voiced the concerns of many of the workers who viewed the issue in geographic, economic, and political terms.

Q. You think a majority want to be set off from East Rutland.
A. Yes, sir: we have to go up there to do all our business. Go up there to vote, for town clerk, for bank business. Think we would have a bank here of our own if we had a town of our own.71

Other testifiers stated that the housing in Proctor and West Rutland was more than adequate, that the schools were adequate, and that both communities were orderly and self-sufficient.

70. Hearing before the Legislative Committee on the Incorporation of the Town of Proctor: Examination in the Case of the Division of Rutland, Taken at Proctor, Vt., Tuesday a.m., November 2, 1886, published 1887.
Table 1: Population and Property Valuation of Town of Rutland Before and After Division

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Town of Rutland</th>
<th>County of Rutland</th>
<th>State of Vermont</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Population</td>
<td>Valuation</td>
<td>Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>12,149</td>
<td>35,725.00</td>
<td>41,651</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td></td>
<td>105,610.82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Rutland</td>
<td></td>
<td>West R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10,300*</td>
<td>80,502.57</td>
<td>4,000*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16,000*</td>
<td>111,683.38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>Rutland</td>
<td></td>
<td>West R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11,760</td>
<td>84,013.60</td>
<td>3,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17,198</td>
<td>118,155.38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Rutland</td>
<td></td>
<td>West R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>90,397.01</td>
<td>3,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>118,155.38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Rutland City</td>
<td>12,000*</td>
<td>West R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rutland Town</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>82,852.72</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the division of Rutland took place in 1886, Rutland, West Rutland, and Proctor were among the wealthiest areas in the state, a wealth built on marble and its support industrial services. Asterisks indicate an approximation. Modified from source: Original edition by Edward Conant, A.M. Sixth edition, revised and enlarged by Mason S. Stone, commissioner of education, state of Vermont. A Text Book of the Geography, History, Constitution and Civil Government, Also Constitution and Civil Government of the United States: A Publication Expressly Prepared to Comply with Vermont's State School Laws. (Rutland: The Tuttle Company, 1915), 103. and Annual Reports the City of Rutland, 1887, 1890, 1892, 1893.

Legislation was drawn up for the division accompanied by protestations that it had nothing to do with the recent political success of Labor. On Thursday, November 18, 1886, legislation passed, making Proctor a separate town and, on the following day, Friday, November 19, 1886, West Rutland also was made a separate town, by-passing the village stage.

Thus in 1886 the former Rutland town was divided into four separate legal

71. Ibid.
entities: Proctor, West Rutland, and Rutland Town and Rutland Village. The vote on the incorporation of Proctor demonstrated the political power of Redfield Proctor. The legislature dealt with the incorporation of Proctor before West Rutland and the vote in the Senate, where Redfield Proctor had personal and political power, contrasted dramatically with the House vote. The vote in the House for incorporation of Proctor was 128 to 91. In the Senate it was 27 to 0. On the following day, November 19, the legislature passed Act 138 for the division of West Rutland. The vote in the House on this bill was 119 to 101; the vote in the Senate was 27 to 1.

The division of Rutland into Rutland Village, West Rutland, Proctor and Rutland Town now added another dimension to the quest for power. The Republicans saw a way of regaining power and dislodging the Workingmen who had triumphed in September 1886. In an editorial on the recurring debate, referring to a letter to the editor by lawyer James C. Barrett, the Herald wrote that it “seems conclusive of the fact that those justices who are removed from Rutland by the acts of the division will cease to be justices when the acts become operative, and that the governor will have to fill vacancies thus created in this town and appoint entire new boards in the new towns.” Barrett wrote to the Herald:

The legislation in question [the division of Rutland] provides two things: 1.) That the present justices of Rutland who reside in the territory that is to be West Rutland and Proctor shall upon the organization of the new towns become justices for those towns respectively. 2.) That the governor shall appoint a sufficient number of justices in each of the three towns to make up the constitutional quota


74. Rutland Daily Herald, December 6, 1886.

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of each town...I conclude that it will then be the constitutional prerogative of the governor to fill them by appointment.\textsuperscript{75}

Illustration 1: Division of Rutland

The original land grant of Rutland comprised the current four towns of Rutland, Rutland Town, Proctor, and West Rutland. The area was divided in 1886. Orientation is north-south. Nearly the entire block was originally Rutland Town, with the exception of the northern part of Proctor, which was part of Pittsford. The section labeled Rutland would become the Village of Rutland, later the City of Rutland. Source: The Rutland Historical Society.

75. \textit{Ibid.}
The observer can see how most of the towns are of uniform size. It becomes even more apparent that the power struggle in the town of Rutland grotesquely re-shaped the legal boundaries of the area. Source: Geography Dept, Castleton State College.
Before the end of the year the legislature voided the September 1886 elections, stripping Hogan from his position as state legislator and removing all fifteen United Labor justices of the peace. The rationale of the Legislature was that the election of the candidates took place before the division of Rutland and, now that it was divided, the representatives did not fairly represent their new constituencies.

In addition, the legislature required elected officials from the divided towns to post a bond of $1,000 to $5,000. Such a posting effectively blocked workers from running for office, since they had little available wealth to draw upon on short notice. The response of the Workingmen was to increase their political activities, and they set forth their plans for the March 1887 elections.

To the workers, the division redoubled their efforts. Potentially, they could organize more effectively in smaller geographic areas. By the end of the year there were four chapters of the Knights, two of them in West Rutland, indicating the marble workers sought their own voice to address issues. The blatant attempt by the elite, fearful of labor take-over, to control the situation, and the voiding of the September elections only angered labor more. In February 1887, the Workingmen placed a notice in the paper:

Workingmen!
You are hereby requested to appear at the Town Hall on Monday evening at 8 o'clock p.m., sharp, to put in nomination suitable persons for town offices for the ensuing year.

(signed) Workingmen's Town Committee

The Workingmen's Ticket submitted a full slate of candidates for Rutland

76. Ibid.

77. Rutland Daily Herald, February 28, 1887.
Village. They came from a variety of occupations. Charles Clark and Henry F. Field were tellers and cashiers at local banks. Frank H. Welch was a marble cutter and Edward Richard Ryan was a marble polisher; Joseph Austin and Edward Duffy were blacksmiths. Patrick Keenan, Arthur G. Fuller, Edgar K Davis, and John Noble Bryan McKean were farmers; Henry Austin and John A. Huffmire were machinists; George H. Cheney and William H. Owen were general merchandisers. James A. Merrill, law student, was the Workingmen’s candidate for Superintendant of Schools. There was also a carpenter, a proprietor of a livery house, and a flour and grain seller. 78

The Workingmen’s Resolution Committee set out its agenda:

*We Demand:*

1. Economical administration of town affairs.
2. Strict account of all public transactions and rendered also as to be perfectly understood.
3. Just and equitable taxation.
4. All work on roads to be done in a thorough and permanent manner.
5. We condemn the practice of selectmen or other town officers employing themselves in the performance of work outside of their regular duties.
6. We demand that grand juror or other officers of the law shall not debase their offices to extent of levying blackmail on offenders, but shall conform absolutely to the law
7. We recommend that three per cent of the grand list be raised for the benefit of the public library, of which two per cent shall be used for the purchase of books. 79

The opposition to the Workingmen called itself the Citizens’ Ticket, a euphemistic name obscuring the fact that it was an appeal to Democrats and Republicans to join together to stop the worker offensive. The Citizens Party exploited the issue of secrecy and class. The Citizens Party warned voters about a possible disaster if the

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78. Rutland Daily Herald, March 1, 1887; for the candidates’ occupation, Pelton’s Directory, 1887-1888, A Complete Register of the Residents, Business Houses and Manufacturing Firms of the three towns of Rutland, West Rutland and Proctor, ed by George E. Pelton (Rutland Pelton Printing Company, 1887).

79. Ibid.
Workingmen won, accusing the Workingmen of forming a cabal and engaging in a conspiracy.

Citizens’ Ticket

The Ticket That Has Not Been Prepared by a Secret Society and Ratified in Public, But Which Some of the Most Substantial Citizens of all Parties and Classes Have United Upon and Which Every Voter Who Loves and Would Preserve His Town Should Turn out and Support.⁸⁰

In March 1887 the Knights of Labor candidates with their unified support won all the local offices, stunning the Citizens’ Party, which had spread fear and uncertainty to blunt the threat. The Knights also won beyond Rutland, in other places in the Marble Valley, such as West Rutland, Brandon, Fair Haven and Danby. P.W. Clement interpreted the result as the victory of a class unfit to rule or, at least, one with little experience in governing. Only disaster would result: “Another dangerous feature . . . is that the officers elected are so largely from one class of inhabitants and so unfamiliar with public affairs.”⁸¹

The new town board president, James Fay, the Herald pointed out, was a bookbinder and a “personal friend of Henry George,” “a warm sympathizer with the workingmen and it is generally understood that he is a master workman of an assembly of the Knights of Labor. He claims to come into office entirely unpledged.”⁸² With the association of Fay and Henry George, the odor of “radical” tainted the Workingmen. Workingmen’s candidate John Hanrahan became county commissioner and John

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⁸⁰ Rutland Daily Herald, March 1, 1887.

⁸¹ Rutland Daily Herald, March 2, 1887.

⁸² Rutland Daily Herald, April 1, 1887.
Huffmire, later a labor organizer, was elected town selectman.  

On March 2, 1887, at the town meeting, Labor voted for a new town school system, replacing the district school, and on March 10, the new school directors assumed their positions.  James A. Merrill, the brother-in-law of L.W. Redington, a lawyer and a Democrat, became chair of the board. Other board members included James Dwyer, a teamster for the marble company Ripley and Sons, Patrick Barrett, a Vermont Marble Company worker, and John P. Crowley, a worker at the Howe Scale Company who had also been a former teacher. Louis Walker represented district 2 on the Board; the Herald stated that he had "no experience in school matter or other public duties. He is 30 years old and a man of ordinary capacity and intelligence." Another member was Joseph Austin, a blacksmith and like the others a member of the Knights of Labor. The Herald admitted that he was "an intelligent and fairly educated man of very positive opinions....[who] believes in liberal education and the expenditures of all money to establish creditable schools."

Better schools were one of the main objectives of the Workingmen. Education was seen as the way to economic success, and good schools, whether public or parochial, were a prime concern of the immigrant and the worker. At the first school board meeting in Rutland after the division, 500 citizens attended, many of them members of the

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86. Ibid.
Knights of Labor.

Some feared that the new board would spend too much money. Such expenditures would be going to support foreigners. Referring to the Knights of Labor, one participant at the meeting stated: “It has taken control of town meetings and of schools.”87 The new system provided more local control and participation. Some of the schools in West Rutland and Rutland were in deplorable condition. In his 1888 report, the superintendent commented on several of the schools: District Number 6 had “a miserable school house. If this district has any ambition, it will go to work as soon as possible and build a new house. The one that has the name is not at all fit for children to attend school in. It’s a hundred years behind the times. Think of it though, with only one privy for 63 children. It’s a shame for civilized people.”88 District No. 7 was not much better: “House badly in need of renovating both inside and out. Also some good wall maps in the four lower departments, and globes in the two highest [departments] are needed.”89 Some were in better shape, like district No. 8, “...neat and commodious,” and District Number 21, “This house is well taken care of,”90 but in 1887 it was a different story. Superintendent Edward McCormick found “...That in district 21 [a building] should be abandoned and a suitable building erected and furnished so as to be keeping

87. Ibid. See also: March 2, 10, 1887 and February 24, October 26, 1888. After the Haymarket Affair (1886) there was increased fear of radicalism and anarchists. The Knights of Labor were perceived to be radical and now they were in Rutland. They sought change and reform and since many of their constituents in Rutland were first and second generation immigrants, the threat was perceived as more acute.


with other school buildings in town.  

Now that the pro-worker school board had secured key positions, they began a building campaign. Even before the breakup of Rutland there had been a strong movement for new schools to serve immigrants. In 1881, for instance, in West Rutland, the West Rutland English and Classical High School opened. In Rutland after the division, the United Labor candidates, the name the workingmen used, went on a building spree to support the burgeoning immigrant worker population. At 30 Pine Street, Kingsley School was built in 1888 to the latest standards, at the cost of $12,285. The Longfellow School was constructed in 1890 at a cost of $25,000, and others followed: the Watkins School in 1892; the Lincoln School in 1895, and the Park Street School in 1897. Thus within a span of ten years Rutland acquired five modern schools. School construction continued under successive administrations even when Labor was in the minority and even during the severest depression of the century. Labor had stressed the importance of education in an increasingly industrial age that demanded more skills. The city government tried to ease the burden on the school children during the depression of the 1890s so they could continue to attend. In the First Annual Report of Rutland, the school commissioner noted the impact:

As a result of the business depression in our city it has become necessary to make special provision for the wants of many of the school children. Not only was a supply called for of books for such as could not afford to pay for them, but contrary to usual experience it has been necessary to furnish needed articles of clothing, to enable many children to attend school with comfort and decency. These wants have, however, been at once attended to as soon as reported, and so far as known there are no children in our city who are kept at home from school for the lack of proper supplies.


Rebuffed by the state legislature when it voided the election of James Hogan and the fifteen justices of the peace in 1887, the pro-worker town meeting decided to move forward with its agenda and to raise the tax rate to pay for the Village government and to continue support for a Memorial Hall dedicated to the Civil War Veterans. In an effort to provide a more activist government in support of its citizens, the town meeting also mandated public funding to the Rutland Library to create a free lending library.  

The worker-offensive on school and other issues took the old guard by surprise. The business elite saw the situation in terms of class control and radicalism, which posed the threat of socialism and reckless spending. Such local government in the hands of workers would be adverse to the interests of business. The business elite criticized Labor through 1887 and berated citizens who did not vote. The Herald kept up its attack on Labor by arguing that it represented just a small group. To make sure the patriotic and good citizens voted next time, the Herald printed a list of voters who did not vote “and let the Knights of Labor carry the town.” The Herald decried the seeming disorder of the village meeting. “There are more than 1600 names on the check list. Only 1168 men voted. Last [election] 1256 voted, so we are growing worse instead of better. Saturday the Herald will print the names of those who did not vote.” It published the names again. From the Herald’s viewpoint a small, dedicated, special interest group of Knights had usurped the election. If more citizens had voted, it reasoned, the Knights would not have won.


94. Rutland Daily Herald, March 19, 1887.
The Knights included many immigrant workers, including Italians, Irish and French Canadians. The argument of nativism had been used successfully in the past as a scare tactic in the Valley and in the state, and it could be used again. Vermont’s U.S. Senator Justin Morrill, for instance, in 1887, expressed fears that immigrants would affect “the future character of the American people... republican institutions, higher wages, land homesteads, [and] universal education.” The threat came from the new immigration from southern and eastern Europe. Southern and eastern Europeans bore “the mark of Cain” and comprised a class of “outcasts and criminals, ... imbeciles, idiots, and lunatics.”96 In 1887, a writer to the Herald bemoaned the impact of foreigners: “[There is] no guarantee that ignorant Italians, anarchists, and infidels cannot and will not control the town meeting and as a result all the schools in the town.”97

To blunt the threat from the workers, the old guard responded in 1888 by running the bipartisan Citizens Party again with a slate of officers from Republicans, Democrats and acceptable former United Labor supporters. By combining a positive appeal to virtue and patriotism with an attack on “radicals” and immigrants, the new party hoped to induce voters to select the “proper” candidates.

This time the Citizens’ Party also frightened voters with the additional prospect that, if Labor Party candidates won, businesses would move out of Rutland and plunge

95. Rutland Daily Herald, March 31, 1887.

96. U.S. Congress, Senate Immigration Committee, “Immigration Abuses, Remarks of Justin S. Morrill of Vermont in the Senate of the United States, December 14, 1887 on His Bill to Regulate Immigration (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1887), 4-7. Morrill argued that a large influx of uneducated foreigners would lower the general level of literacy in the U.S. He had sponsored the first bill for establishing the land grant college system in 1862, and, in 1890, the second Morrill Act provided long-term financing for that system.

97. Rutland Daily Herald, March 2, 10, 1887 and February 24 and October 26, 1888.
the community into a terrible economic panic. The loss of a Rutland shirt factory when it moved out of state in early 1888 was blamed on the Labor Party and seemed to lend credibility to the Citizens' Party prediction of more losses. Anxiety and rumors mounted that other companies might also leave. In fact, the Howe Scale Company, soon to become one of the largest Rutland employers, reorganized and moved from Brandon to Rutland, but the anxiety still persisted.

When voters met in Rutland’s town meeting in March 1888, the signal that the Citizens’ Party might win came in the early evening when Judge Veazey, Republican, member of the elite, and former business partner of Redfield Proctor, was selected by ballot for village moderator, with a 113 majority.98

The Herald announced the election results on its front page with bold large headlines:

RUTLAND REDEEMED!
One Year of Class Government Thought Enough
Citizens’ Candidates Elected by a Rousing Majority
The Verdict of the Voters Given for Good Government
Practical Men and Non-Partisan Administration Endorsed
West Rutland and Brandon Wheel into the Column of Reform99

The Herald sounded the theme of moral redemption and good business practices in its victory celebration in its columns.100 «The town is redeemed from the bad repute and costly and inefficient control of last year and its affairs are now placed in charge of

99. Ibid.
100. Ibid.
some of the ablest and best known men.”

Even West Rutland and Brandon, strongholds of Labor in the previous election, had gone over to the Citizens’ Party.

The leaders of the Workingmen were castigated for misdirecting a “worthy class of men.” “In a square, manly encounter,” the Herald editorialized, “the open handed citizens of Rutland have won a signal victory over the dark lantern politicians who have misled a worthy class of men with the cry of labor.”

The sense of class warfare was clearly on the mind of the Herald and it tried to assure its readers that the dangerous era of the Workingmen was over:

Class government, cowardice and demagoguism were all heavily sat down upon yesterday, and good government, courageous citizenship and the honest treatment of public questions gained an advantage which made every man who stands in his own boots feels himself a little more of man and regard his town as a good deal more of a town than for some time past.

Despite the Herald’s triumphant chortling of the Citizens Party’s victory and near sweep of the election (one Labor candidate did win), the election was closer than the Herald headlines led readers to believe. The close tabulation did not finish until four o’clock in the morning when the Citizen Party was finally declared the winner.

101. Ibid.

102. Ibid.

103. Ibid.
Table 2: Election Results of 1888
For Selectmen

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Citizen Party</th>
<th>Number of Votes</th>
<th>Labor Party</th>
<th>Number of Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>George Royce</td>
<td>747</td>
<td>John Noble</td>
<td>730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.F. Davis</td>
<td>834</td>
<td>John Huffmire</td>
<td>730</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Creed</td>
<td>780</td>
<td>Levi Kingsley</td>
<td>784</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Barrett</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>Andrew Robillard</td>
<td>664</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Crampton</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>George F. Brown</td>
<td>674</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Rutland Daily Herald, March 7, 1888.

In this tense atmosphere, Levi Kingsley, a Civil War veteran, former freight handler and now a merchant, was the only candidate sympathetic to Labor to win town office in 1888. The Herald, on Thursday, reassured its readers that Kingsley had much more in common with the Citizen’s Party than he did with Labor. He was, after all, a prominent merchant, a village president in 1886, and a captain of the Steamer Company. In the Herald’s reassuring voice, “General Levi Kingsley was elected on the workingmen’s ticket, but in no way is he associated with that clique.”

103. Rutland Daily Herald, March 8, 1888.
CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL,
1888-1900

The sense of place, and its underlying paramount issue of security, had seemed to be solved when the geographically unified Town of Rutland had fragmented into four separate areas: Proctor, Rutland Village, West Rutland, and the remaining Rutland Town. The village of Proctor was safely under the control of the Vermont Marble Company and the Proctors; many marble workers lived in the larger area of West Rutland. Rutland Village, the railway hub, was the financial center where many marble workers also lived. The identification with place and the neighborhood and the churches intensified a sense of common values. The Irish, for instance, in West Rutland lived near and went to Church at St. Bridget’s, a church built by the marble workers’ volunteer labor with stone donated by a local marble company. The Irish in Rutland went to Christ the King Church, another church constructed of marble, which was in the process of building a school. In the gutter, St. Peter’s, earlier built by the Irish, was now becoming an active social center for the growing Italian community. In Rutland was the Immaculate Heart of Mary Church, a center for French Catholics; there was also the Sacred Heart of Jesus, French church in West Rutland. And a Polish church in West Rutland would join the other ethnically oriented churches in 1905. Most of the marble and financial elites attended the
Grace Congregational Church or Trinity Episcopal Church, the latter also made of marble. Out of these social, geographic, and economic conclaves, other issues could now be addressed. The various groups simultaneously acted defensively and assertively.

In 1888 the elites within the Republican and Democrat establishment drew more closely together because of the threat of further worker radicalization. As workers had discovered, if their public voice was to be heard, it would have to be heard outside the two-party system. The Democrats had taken the worker voice so far, but they had compromised as they gained power. So comfortable was that arrangement between Democrats and Republicans in Rutland and West Rutland that in 1884, for example, before the extraordinary events of 1887 when the Workingmen swept the elections, they offered an identical slate, with one exception. L.W. Redington of Rutland, for example, an attorney and a Democrat, was Republican enough in his social connections to pose no serious threat to the existing political arrangement. In 1878 voters elected him to the legislature and he was the Democratic nominee for House Speaker. He was a potentially strong enough break the Republican hegemony, and his influence had been growing. The *Brattleboro Reformer* on April 4, 1884, characterized him this way:

He has every temptation to join the Republican ranks. His social connections were all that way; in his earlier years his enthusiastic temperament inclined him to sympathy with the party that had done the noble work the Republican party did in its purer days, and he has the magnetic and popular attractiveness which would

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1. Lyman W. Redington's family background included a grandfather who fought in the Revolution, and a father who was a lawyer and a judge in St. Lawrence County NY where the father had emigrated from Vergennes, VT. The father was quite successful with lumber mills and highly respected. The father was also a staunch Democrat. Lyman's mother was a sister of Charles Sheldon of the Sheldon and Sons Marble Company and thus connected with the upper echelon of Rutland society. In 1878 Lyman was elected to the legislature and was the Democratic nominee for House Speaker. In 1884 he was the attorney for Rutland.
surely have won rapid and increasing honor if he had been on the side of the majority.²

Most political leaders in Vermont traveled in a small social circle. Social, business, and political circles intersected. John Prout, for example, who was a successful lawyer for a local railroad, ended up as a justice on the Supreme Court. Most in the inner circle of power belonged to main-line Protestant churches and most often that meant, for Rutland, the Episcopal or Congregational Church. They belonged to the Masonic lodge or Elks Club.

Some members of the elite came from humble backgrounds. John W. Cramton came from poverty, making his start as a peddler, then opening up a tinshop in Center Rutland, and finally buying the major hotel in Rutland near the railroad depot. Because of his financial success, he was on the board the Rutland Daily Herald and several of the banking institutions.³

Redfield Proctor remained the most powerful member of the ruling elite. After the division of Rutland in 1886, Proctor was again a member of the House, being the first representative from the new town of Proctor; at that session he served as Chairman of the powerful Committee on Ways and Means. At the state and national level, Proctor prospered as Vermont solidified its identity with the Republican Party.

At the Republican National Convention in Chicago in June 1888, former Governor Proctor was the chairman of the Vermont delegation. Proctor played a

². The Brattleboro Reformer, April 4, 1884.

prominent role in helping secure the nomination for Benjamin Harrison by keeping Vermont’s delegation unanimously in support of him from the beginning, and Vermont was the only state to cast her entire vote for Harrison on every ballot. At the October session, the Vermont Legislature adopted a joint resolution urging Proctor’s appointment for a cabinet position and, on March 5, 1889, President Harrison appointed him Secretary of War. When he was appointed Secretary of War, Proctor ended active connection with Vermont Marble Company and his son Fletcher Proctor, at age 29, took over the company. Fletcher Proctor remained President of Vermont Marble Company until his death in 1911.

To discredit the Workingmen in Rutland, both the Democrats and Republicans used scare tactics, claiming that the local economy would be hurt if the Workingmen were elected to office again. Belying these scare tactics, economic growth in Rutland was actually continuing. The Howe Scale Company moved from Brandon to Rutland in 1888, with John Mead as its president. The Vermont School Seat Company was founded in the town. Mosely and Stoddard, a cheese and butter-making manufacturer, moved to 12 Forest Street in Rutland from Poultney in 1890. The Chase Toy Factory moved from

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4. David C. Gale, Proctor: The Story of a Marble Town (Brattleboro, VT: Vermont Printing Company, 1922), 115. Cf. William Paul Dillingham, Redfield Proctor: Memorial Address (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909). Dillingham also acknowledges that Proctor was the head of the Republican Party in the state from the time Proctor was governor. In the Cabinet, Proctor used his organizational skills to bring about changes in the department, as he had done at the Vermont Marble Company. In a memorial address to the Senate on January 9, 1909, commemorating Proctor’s achievements, his fellow senator from Vermont at the turn of the century, William Paul Dillingham, recounted Proctor’s achievement as Secretary of War. When Proctor came into office, necessary information pertaining to “military and medical records for the adjustment of pensions, pay bounty, and other claims of soldiers, their widows, and orphans— was hopelessly in arrears” (16). Encountering resistance and prophecies of disaster for the department, Proctor streamlined its organization for more effective communication. He consolidated fourteen different divisions of the department into one.
Mount Holly to Curtis Avenue in Rutland. With financial help from George Chaffee, F.R. Patch of Proctor established the F.R. Patch Company, later known as Patch-Wagner, a maker and supplier of marble cutting and finishing equipment, which eventually developed a national and international market. The Marble City Electric Company challenged the Rutland Gas Company for dominance in lighting the city and supplying power. The combination of a skilled labor force, a railroad terminal, and a growing cluster of business had fostered this growth.⁵

By 1890, Rutland was being touted as a place at the cutting edge of progress.

Here, according to a promotional book on industry, was the place to come, to invest in:

The place [Rutland] presents all the attractive appearances of a live and wide awake New England centre. The streets are brilliantly lighted with the electric light, and there are two electric light plants. There is a complete telephone system, district messenger service, a vigilant fire department, free mail delivery, public library, Y.M.C.A. building, many social organizations. Masonic and other secret society lodges, a fine opera house, and indeed everything calculated to make a residence here pleasant and agreeable.⁶

By 1894 the Rutland Street Railway Company, organized in 1882 with horse drawn cars, now used the new electric energy to develop connections with Plain, Granger, South, Forest, and West Streets. The Bardwell, the Bates, the Berwick and the new Hamilton hotels were constructed close to the railroad depot; all had rooms for single male working boarders.

The promotional report noted the transportation and other improvements and cited the primacy of marble to the region, again emphasizing the potential for future development.


investment:

Rutland is also a great marble centre, its citizens and capitalists being interested in quarries and mills in various parts of the State. Taking the town proper, of West and Centre Rutland, and Proctor all of which if not suburbs, are in intimate contiguity to Rutland, the production of marble here probably amounts to nearly half of the entire product of the United States. In addition marble quarrying and working machinery is produced here.7

The report also cited several banks that would be receptive to industrial development. Rutland had five national banks (Killington National Bank, Merchants’ National Bank, Clement National Bank, Baxter National Bank, and Rutland County National Bank with a capital of $1,000,000), two savings banks (The Marble Savings Bank and the Rutland Savings Bank), and two trust companies.

The owners and managers of these enterprises, however, saw danger in the successes of worker politics. They railed, in particular, at the newer immigrants who worked in the quarries and the factories. As governor in 1888, William Dillingham echoed the nativist strand in Vermont and Rutland when he addressed the legislature at the beginning of the session. “The laws for the encouragement of virtue and the prevention of vice and immorality ought to be kept constantly in force.”8 For him, economic failure was a consequence of moral failure and mental instability associated with the new immigrants. It was fertile ground for the eugenics movement, which

7. Ibid.

Vermont would soon embrace. Dillingham urged action to combat this alleged threat to the native population. He expanded the state mental hospital system and built a mental hospital in Waterbury in 1891, in addition to the existing one at Brattleboro. He strengthened the prohibition laws, advocating imprisonment for violators, who were assumed to be unruly Irish Catholics. The French were not exempt either. Rowland Robinson, a Vermont author, wrote in 1892 that Catholic French Canadians were an "inferior class" with an innate disposition toward theft whose "fingers were as light as their hearts" and that marriage with Vermont’s Anglo-Saxons would corrupt indigenous values and result in "litters of filthy brats." In 1890, when Dillingham was finishing his term as governor, he warned his fellow citizens again about the increasing number of undesirable foreigners in the state and the potential of radicalism they brought with them. Dillingham was willing to make an exception for the Swedes, who contributed, he said, "a great and lasting benefit to the State."

Dillingham continued his campaign against "undesirable foreigners" when he

9. A team of social scientists studied "good" and "bad" families over a 12-year period in Vermont and concluded which families need to be eliminated. The study culminated in a report issued to policymakers and led to the Vermont legislature passing a 1931 sterilization law. The law permitted the state to sterilize several hundred poor and rural Vermont citizens, Abenaki and others whom the State judged, based on the criteria of the study, unworthy to procreate. Dr. Henry Perkins of the University of Vermont, catalogued a list of "pedigrees of degeneracy," Vermont became the 31st state to legalize sterilization of the handicapped or the "feeble-minded." Cf. Nancy Gallagher, Breeding Better Vermonters: the Eugenics Project in the Green Mountain State (Hanover, N.H: University Press of New England, 1999).


11. Cf. Dillingham’s farewell address to the Vermont Legislature in 1890, State Archives, Montpelier, Vermont.

became a United States Senator from Vermont in 1900. The four-year study he led reported in 1911 that southern and eastern Europeans were biologically inferior, and that Scandinavians were the “purest” type—99 percent Protestant, with the lowest rate of illiteracy—who made “ideal farmers and...Americanize more rapidly than other peoples.” Under the cloak of “scientific methodology,” the commission relayed findings that the southern and eastern Europeans caused problems for employers and local officials, and drove down wages for native Americans and older immigrant employees.

In the face of continuing hostility from business elites and established parties, workers in the Marble Valley continued to seek forms of organization that would take them into power. In September 1890 a bitterly fought contest broke out for town representative to the legislature from Rutland among the Republicans, the Democrats, the Workingmen, and the Prohibitionists. The candidates were Thomas Moloney (Democrat), P.W. Clement (Republican), T.H. Brown (Workingman), and E.C. Lewis (Prohibitionist). It took four different ballots, starting at 9:00 a.m., and continuing until 3:00 a.m. the next morning, until Moloney emerged as the winner, with 657 out of 1246


votes cast. The highest vote for Brown in any of the ballots was 362.\textsuperscript{15} Moloney’s election weakened the Republican hegemony, especially because Clement came from an influential family and was one of the most powerful Republicans.

In September 1892, the Democrats and the Workingmen allied in an attempt to gain further ground but to no avail. P.W. Clement again ran in this election for representative as a Republican. Seneca M. Dorr, an investment banker and Democrat, opposed Clement and received the votes of the working men. The polls opened at 9 a.m., to be closed at 3 p.m., but there were still large lines so the voting was extended. The first results were announced at 5 p.m., but there was no majority of votes cast for any one candidate, so the vote was opened again. Names of the voters were written down and those who had not voted were sent for, as in the previous election. Finally at 10 o’clock the next morning, Clement was declared the winner over Dorr, 1242 votes to 1173. Will Davis, a prohibitionist, received 28 votes. Some of the party operatives had been at the polls for 30 hours.\textsuperscript{16}

Shortly after the election, local labor leaders met at Morgan Hall on September 18 and formulated an action plan. The Trade and Labor Council set out its demands of the legislature: a weekly cash payment bill, a labor holiday, a labor commission, collection of statistics, and an employer’s liability act.\textsuperscript{17} The Council also decided that it needed a lobbyist to protect and advance its interest in Montpelier. John A. Huffmire, a Knight

\textsuperscript{15} \textit{Rutland Daily Herald}, September 3, 1890.

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Rutland Daily Herald}, September 8, 1892.

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Rutland Daily Herald}, September 19, 1892.
and a Labor candidate who had won in the “Rutland Quake” in 1886, was appointed. He left immediately, the day after his appointment, on Wednesday morning, October 5th, for Montpelier, indicating the urgency that the Labor Council felt about maintaining a political voice. Later in the legislature session several other members from the Labor Council would supplement Huffmire’s activities.18

Also in 1892 the old guard leaders of the downtown section of Rutland, still growing with the rise of the railroads and its proximity to marble industry, resumed their agitation to incorporate the village as a city. That year, Clement bought the Rutland Daily Herald outright. Through his paper Clement could lobby the legislature for the Village to become a city. In a city form of government, a mayor and council would replace the town meeting. The Senator from Rutland County, John A. Mead, president of the Howe Scale Company, worked with Clement in the House to secure a city charter for the village of Rutland. The legislative joint committee on Tuesday evening, November 15, began working on crafting a bill that would gain acceptance from the full legislative body. The bill came out of committee with a “result which is a decided victory for all friends of a new form of government.”19 However, the representative of West Rutland, upset over the proposed boundaries of the city, offered an amendment that “culminated in a pitched battle in the House.” Clement argued in favor of city status for Rutland: “Rutland had outgrown the town government and agitation for a city charter had been

18. Rutland Daily Herald, October 5, 1892.

constant since 1886."\(^{20}\) After a drawn out debate, the House rejected any amendments by a vote of 111—87. The House then passed the bill for incorporation, "Viva voce."\(^{21}\) The bill then went to the governor for his signature.

In its Monday headline the *Rutland Daily Herald* for October 21, 1892 wrote in large type:

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Rutland
Became a City Saturday
At 2:30 o'clock in the Afternoon
As Gov. Fuller Put his Signature to the Charter
The Bill was Passed by the Senate
Without any Debate
Or a Single Word of Opposition
And Was Then Hurried to the Governor,
But He Waited
Until the Hands of the Clock Reached 2:30
Then He Wrote on the Margin,
"Approved, Levi K. Fuller"\(^{22}\)
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In the old Village system there were eight trustees, each representing a ward; the president of the board, not a trustee, functioned as the head of the board with other members of the executive branch: clerk, street commissioner, water commissioners, village attorney, collector, auditors, health officer, treasurer, chief of the fire department, and the chief of police.\(^{23}\) The new city government formally separated and strengthened the executive branch. With the new city government there were more taxes, but also

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more services provided. A city-wide race elected the mayor, while aldermen were each elected by their individual wards. There were eleven wards, and one alderman was elected the president of the board. Within the executive branch were the city treasurer, the city attorney, the city grand juror, city constable, superintendent of streets, superintendent of water, city engineer, chief of police, overseer of the poor, city physician, a board of health, cemetery commissioners, park commissioners, inspector of lumber, inspector of weights and measurers, inspector of food, inspector of buildings, city weigher, assessors, auditors, and commissioners of sinking funds. In the first annual report of the City of Rutland, the report noted the improvement of police services and communication:

Under the old system [of the Village], the chief of police was also a patrolman, and having been on duty all night, he must rest during the day; thus, if there was occasion to summon the chief in the day-time, he must be sought at his home, where he would be resting after his night’s work. Under the present system the chief can be consulted quickly by telephone at any hour of the day. This is no novelty, but is practiced in many other small cities, and meets with full approval.

The new form of government distanced itself from the worker. Gone was the New England town meeting where the citizens could assemble and challenge in open forum the issues or the candidates. Now the Australian ballot could quietly isolate the citizen in the progressive name of efficiency and convenience. Workers needed to join together and educate themselves on the best candidates to represent them.


The first mayor of the newly chartered city was former State Senator John A. Mead. As a great-grandson of the first settler of Rutland, he had deep roots extending back into Rutland's early history. He took office on April 1, 1893, and completed on March 18, 1894, his difficult year of initiating city government amidst perhaps the worst financial crisis of the century. Mead was part of the network of elites concerned about stability and order and wary of threats to the political and social order. His connections bridged the important families in the area, including both the Clements and the Proctors. Thus he was acceptable to both factions of the old guard. He was a director of the Clement National Bank and president of the Rutland Board of Trade.

Workers tried to influence the new city government through a new Central Trades and Labor Council, which supported two winning candidates for the city council. (In September 1892, the same Council had appointed John Huffman as a lobbyist for labor interests in the state legislature.) In March 1893, workers chose Richard Ryan, an employee in Levi Kingsley's hardware business, as president of the council. It met regularly on the first and third Sunday of each month in the Young Men's Catholic Union in Rutland.26

Just as Rutlanders were entering a new era as a city with a sense of optimism, the nation plunged into a depression. A financial panic began in the last ten days of President Harrison's term, when the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad went bankrupt. President Cleveland, a Democrat, was sworn into office in March 1893 and shortly thereafter the panic spread to Wall Street. To protect themselves, banks called in their loans. Credit

was scarce, and businesses began to fail. By the end of the year, the Panic had evolved into the worst depression that the nation had yet faced. For eight more years, the nation coped. From 1894 to 1898 the national unemployment rate stayed over ten percent. 27

The depression affected Rutland as it struggled through its first year as a city. The *Herald* reported: “Men Out of Work: Hundreds of Unwilling Idlers in the City” and went to describe the workers’ anguish:

> From reports that have recently been gathered from different sections of Rutland and vicinity it is estimated that there are from 400 to 450 men out of employment. Many of these men, the reports show, have within the past two or three weeks sought in vain for work. They were willing to do almost anything, but were unable to find work not only in this city but in other places. A number of young men went to Boston a short time ago for work, and, searching in vain there and other places in Massachusetts, had to return home. The reports also show that many of these men's families, while not yet suffering for the necessities of life, are being hard pressed, being obliged to draw on their little savings of the past few years. O.F. Cummings, who keeps an intelligence office, said yesterday that he has a large number of men call on him every day, seeking employment, but he can only find work for a few of them at present. He can do better for domestics and housekeepers. It is feared that before the winter is over the city will be called upon to assist more families than it has ever before in its history. Several plans to furnish work for the unemployed are being suggested by persons who are interested in the welfare of the men, but none of them have materialized as yet. 28

The Citizens Party, originally formed as a conservative coalition of Republicans, Democrats and United Workingmen, began to fall apart. Republicans feared that the Citizens Party would lean toward worker interests to the detriment of their own. Local Democrats and Republicans returned to the traditional lines of self-interest and self-preservation.


Workers responded in a variety of ways. As early as September 21, 1892, twenty-five men met to found the Socialist Labor Club at the Brunswick House in Rutland on September 21, 1892. They set out thirteen objectives. The *Herald* printed most of the list:

1. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the progress of production.
2. The United States shall obtain possession of the railroads, canals, telegraphs, telephones and other means of public transportation and communication.
3. The municipalities to obtain possession of the local railroads, ferries, water works, gas works, electric plants, and all industries requiring municipal franchises.
4. The public lands to be declared inalienable. Revocation of all land grants to corporations or individuals, the conditions of which have not been complied with.
5. Legal incorporations by the states of local trade unions which have no national organization.
6. The United States to have exclusive right to issue money....
10. School education of all children under 14 years of age to be compulsory, gratuitous, and accessible to all by public assistance in meals, clothing, books etc. where necessary.
11. Repeal of all paupery, tramp, conspiracy, and sumptuary laws. Unabridged right of combination.
13. All wages to be paid in lawful money.29

In 1893 the workers met at the Grand Armory Hall on West Street in Rutland and discussed their own agenda.

...the cause of organized labor is gaining ground in new fields in the state, and especially among the farmers... The district master workman... recommended that an effort be made by the members of the order to organize and instill into the minds of the foreign population that has during the last few years crowded into the industrial centers of Vermont... The actions taken by the Trades and Labor council of Rutland before the last legislature in favor of labor were indorsed by

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the convention. The delegates are determined to continue the fight for the next
two years with the trades and labor, at the end of which time they will again
appear before the legislature for the rightful demands of labor.30

Distrustful of the two-party system, workers again organized a new public voice
that expressed their concerns—The Workingmen's Party. On July 5, 1893, the Rutland
Daily Herald reported on "A People's Party: Organization in a State Convention held in
Rutland." The state convention of the "people's party" was held on the deliberately
symbolic date of July 4th at the Bardwell House, a prosperous hotel on Merchants Row
where the Marble Princes held meetings and lodged. George C. Underhill, J.J. Fay, and
E.B. Moore were the representatives from Rutland. At the convention, A.L. Bowen
voiced the concerns that populists in the region had asserted, and articulated the party's
dissatisfaction with the widening gulf between worker and capitalist.

The Rutland Daily Herald quoted Bowen as saying:

Our grandfathers owned their farms and homes but their grandsons do not. I
believe the banks and railroad corporations have deprived us of them. We must
strike at monopoly, and organize a third party for that purpose. We must repeal
the blue laws of the state.31

The platform of the Party laid out the workers' demands:

Believing as we do that the present financial stringency is simply
another name for money famine, and that the gradual depreciation of all

30. Rutland Daily Herald, January 20, 1893. The Knights of Labor in the Rutland were very
conscious of a public voice to influence government and make it responsive. The ideas at the Rutland
convention were part of a national dialogue stimulated by the Omaha Platform of the previous year.
"Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is
robbery. 'If any will not work, neither shall he eat.' The interest of rural and civic labor are the same; their
enemies are identical..." as quoted in Issues of the Populist and Progressive Eras, 1892-1912, Richard

property, whether it be the produce of the farm or the stock of the merchant in the city, has been directly caused by the partial demonetization of silver, and feeling that any further contraction of the currency of this country means poverty and destitution for the many, solely in the interest of the few, we submit the following:—

We demand the free coinage of both gold and silver at the present rate of 16 to 1.
We demand that all money be issued direct from the government to the people and be full legal tender.
We demand that municipalities be given the right to establish, own and operate gas and electric light plants.
We demand that women be given the full right of suffrage.
We demand the extension of the free mail delivery system into the rural districts.
We demand a graduated income tax.32

The Workingmen’s Party was in sympathy with several of the key issues expressed nationally in the previous year by the Populists at their convention in the summer of 1892 and issued on the Fourth of July in what was called the Omaha Platform. Drawing on the ideas of the Populist Manifesto issued by the Kansas State Central Committee in November, 1891, Irish Catholic Ignatius Donnelly, himself a delegate from Minnesota, urged fellow delegates of the People’s Party of America in their first national convention and workers throughout the Republic to have a public voice to counteract the oppression and special interest. Before a banner proclaiming, “We do not ask for sympathy or pity. We ask for justice,” Donnelly, a passionate and eloquent speaker, stirred his audience to frenzy when he roared:

Corruption dominates the ballot-box, the legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the bench.... The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled; public opinion silenced; business prostrated; our homes covered with mortgages; labor impoverished; and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists...the fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes, unprecedented in the history of the world, while possessors despise the republic and endanger liberty... In this crisis of human affairs the intelligent working people and producers of the United States have come together in the

32. Ibid; Rutland Daily Herald, July 5, 1893.
name of justice, order, and society, to defend liberty, prosperity and justice. We declare our union and independent. We assert one purpose to support the political organization which represents our principles...we seek to restore the government of the republic to hands of the “plain people” with whom it originated.33

The clarion call trumpeted from the Midwest and the South found a responsive chord in the workers of the Marble Valley. The Omaha Platform of 1892 added a worker voice to the national dialogue on nativism. In its resolves the Populists stated:

That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal cases of the world, and crowds out our wage earners; and we denounce the present ineffective laws against contract labor, and demand the further restriction of undesirable immigration.34

In July 1893, District Master Workman Drury “urged Vermont workers to organize for political action in 1894.”35 Given the financial panic of 1893, the workers were more inclined to elect one of their own as mayor, someone who might be more sympathetic to their plight, rather than another person from the business elite. Still, that year, the Republicans again won the mayor’s race, electing Levi Kingsley (1832-1915) as the second mayor of the City. Still acceptable to the elites, but unlike Mead, Kingsley came from a more working-class background. He was a stationmaster and freight clerk for the Rutland and Burlington Railroad, later buying and operating the J & A Landon


Hardware Store. In the Civil War he had achieved the rank of Major. He was a Brigadier
General in the Vermont National Guard. Kingsley received 721 votes, compared to
Democrat Charles Clark’s 590. Independent John D. Spellman, whom the Herald
throughout the campaign referred to as a Democrat, received 459, and Citizens and
Workers candidate Byron Houston, a contractor and builder who later left the
community, received 251 votes. The Republican ticket swept the entire election.36 The
Herald also noted a change in the labor stronghold of West Rutland, with the victory of
all the Republican candidates, for “the first time in the history of the town.”37

In Rutland, the Rutland City Council representatives of labor responded to the
financial crisis. Albert Brousseau and J.W. Brislin, along with Democrats T.H. Brown
and John McGuirk, sought more local government intervention in the form of public
construction spending from city council in 1894. The labor advocates pushed for short
term public projects like street grading and landscaping, which would benefit labor and
promote civic pride. In the seventh ward of Rutland, a strong worker ward, Democrat
Brown found many “barely [with] the necessaries of life” and Democratic alderman
McGuirk was opposed to quarrymen and mill workers being forced to mortgage their
homes to get some money to live on.38 Labor organizer J. A. Huffmire asserted it was
the city’s “duty… to provide work” and argued that the city should “open up to as great
an extent as possible public works to…worthy laboring men, many of whom have

36. Rutland Historical Quarterly, “Rutland’s Mayors,” Vol. XII, No. 2 (Spring 1982), 19; Rutland
Daily Herald, March 7, 1894; June 28, 1915.

37. Rutland Daily Herald, March 7, 1894.

38. Rutland Daily Herald, January 5, 17, 1894.
contributed in the years that have gone to building our city up to is present proportions."\(^{39}\)
The Republican-dominated city council, however, opposed local work relief, labeling it
"Tammany charity."\(^{40}\) Not entirely unsympathetic to labor's financial distress, the
Republican elites believed in voluntary charity rather than governmental intervention.
The *Herald* made a plea and organized a drive for soap and clothing to distribute to needy
children, and the *Herald* provided a special section in the paper for workingmen who
were looking for work. A Women's Exchange was set up where "any intelligent
[women] who are not and never can be artists, but who, when changed circumstances and
common sense demand that they shall help themselves, have the wisdom to do what they
can do well."\(^{41}\) The patronizing attitude of the elites added to the frustration of the
workers. The Republican elites controlled government and their solution seemed
inadequate and paltry. As the severe depression continued in 1894 and 1895, the winters
were particularly hard on marble workers. The quarries were shut down and the workers
were uncertain of how long the depression would continue with no call backs in the
spring and summer.

In 1895 Republicans selected John Alexander Sheldon (1839-1910) as their
candidate for mayor. He was a co-owner of the Sheldons and Slason Marble Company.
He had served in the Civil War with W.Y.W. Ripley, also from a marble family. With
his Civil War and marble connections, Sheldon became a selectman of Rutland for three

\(^{39}\) Ibid.

\(^{40}\) *Rutland Daily Herald*, January 3, 17, 18, 1894; February 7, 1895.

\(^{41}\) *Rutland Daily Herald*, January 3, 17, 18, 1894; March 6, 1895.
years, a trustee of the Village of Rutland for two years, and President of the Village Board for one year. When the Village was incorporated as a City in 1893, he was chosen as an alderman and served for two years. As in the election of 1894, John D. Spellman, who was sympathetic to labor, ran again as an Independent. Sheldon, however, brought in over 200 votes more than Spellman (1098 to 863) while labor candidate. Alanson A. Orcutt, formerly of West Fort Ann, New York, by trade a carriage painter, ran a poor third, with a total of 48 votes. The financial situation hovered over the City like a dismal winter day. Sheldon’s election did nothing to improve the financial situation.

In March 1896, the workers and Democrats united in their opposition to the Republicans. Their support coalesced around a popular Democrat who was sympathetic to labor, Ward Seven Alderman Thomas R. Browne (1859-1931). Browne was a former Knights of Labor organizer. With this combined support of labor and a more mainline party, Browne won the mayoral race. Labor now seemed to be in a position to make progress on its agenda in these troubled times. Browne served from March 1896 to March 1897. Although he became mayor, the Republicans still maintained the majority on the council. Browne’s tenure was a time of a contentious power struggle between labor and the elite in the worsening financial crisis that the City faced. From July 1896 onward, the acrimony between the pro-workingmen mayor and the Republican board of aldermen


increased in bitterness. Two issues highlighted their major differences: the Moon Brook Sewer Project and the issues of taxes. The aldermen voted to authorize the sewer project to the lowest bidder. Mayor Browne saw the project as a partial solution for the problems of the citizen-workers of the city, and he proposed hiring workers of the city to build it. The city would benefit not only from the construction but also from the taxes that the citizen workers would then be able to pay. In July he vetoed the project because it did not take into account what he considered these broader needs of the citizens and the city. The Herald recognized the labor issue involved: "The workingmen scored another point last night when the board of aldermen refused to override Mayor Browne's veto of the Moon Brook sewer resolution. The vote stood seven to two in favor of passing the resolution, over the veto but required a two-thirds majority [of the eleven-member board] to pass a resolution without the approval of the mayor." 45 On August 3, 1896, the Board of Aldermen met again to pass the Moon Brook Sewer Resolution and once more failed to override a veto from the mayor. The main issue for the Republican-dominated board was the cost of the project. From the Democratic and workingmen aldermen, it was also a humanitarian and social issue. The mayor once more outlined his argument to the board:

...An examination of the poor account for the year 1896 up to the present time shows a material increase in expenditure over that for the same months in 1895. Complaint has also come from the constable and collector that he is unable to collect a large percentage of the unpaid taxes of last year. Evidently these conditions are due to the fact that many of our citizens are unable to find employment and instead of being able to strengthen the resources of our city they

44. Browne had added an e to his name by this time.

are in such a deplorable conditions that in the near future they are likely to become applicants for direct assistance from the city. Admitting that the cost of building this sewer [Moon Brook] will be increased because of the employment of home labor, under the direction of the city officials (which I hardly think is true) over what it would cost to build the same by contract labor, will not the small saving thus accomplished be very much more than offset by the loss to our merchants and business men in diminished trade, to the city in unpaid taxes, increased cost for the maintenance of idle laborers, of which there are about 150 as shown by the books of the superintendent of streets, and the greatest loss of all (in my opinion), the loss of his own self-respect by the now temperate, industrious, self-respecting citizen of Rutland, who through no fault of his own, is driven by stern necessity to ask assistance from the public charity of Rutland?\textsuperscript{46}

Undeterred, the Board of Aldermen met in September and once more passed their resolution authorizing a contract to the lowest bidder on the Moon Brook project. The \textit{Herald} now began referring to it as the “usual resolution.”\textsuperscript{47} The Republican-dominated board was not willing to modify its resolution, and again the board failed to override the mayor’s veto. Two weeks later, on October 5\textsuperscript{th}, the mayor returned the resolution without comment.\textsuperscript{48} A week later, at the next aldermen’s meeting, the Moon Brook project became even more embarrassing for the aldermen. Three-fourths of the sewer pipes that had already been purchased were found to be faulty because the pipe “did not come up to specifications.”\textsuperscript{49}

By the end of October the legislative and executive branches of the city were in such a deadlock that a petition was circulating to amend the city charter, allowing the voters directly to choose the city engineer, the superintendent of streets and the

\textsuperscript{46. Rutland Daily Herald, August 4, 1896.} \\
\textsuperscript{47. Rutland Daily Herald, September 22, 1896.} \\
\textsuperscript{48. Rutland Daily Herald, October 6, 1896.} \\
\textsuperscript{49. Rutland Daily Herald, October 13, 1896.}
superintendent of water works, bypassing the aldermen and the mayor. According to the
Herald, “several hundred signatures have been obtained and the petition will be
forwarded to Montpelier.”50

By November the relationship between the mayor and the board had deteriorated
into a bitter stalemate. The Herald commented on the board meeting of November 16.
“The board of aldermen was in session last evening until nearly midnight and did not
accomplish a great deal during the time.”51 The board had privately authorized work on
Woodstock Avenue. “Mayor Browne gave the board a raking over in respect to certain
bills that he refused to sign, stating that he had no authority to do so. The mayor said that
the improvement on Woodstock avenue had not been authorized and that they had far
exceeded the appropriations.”52 He went on to complain to the board about its allegedly
action, saying that “he did not propose to get over the line to help the board of aldermen
out of their trouble.”53

The election for mayor came at the annual town meeting on the first Tuesday of
March. In February, William Y.W. Ripley led off the charge against Mayor Browne.
Ripley complained of excessive taxation to the Board of Aldermen. His specific
complaint concerned the license for the Ripley Opera House:

I have paid for many years 100 per cent per annum for these licenses, and your
city clerk has now a bill against me for licenses for the past year. I respectfully

52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
protest against it as an injustice and request that this bill may be withdrawn and that no such charge be made hereafter...I think it is generally conceded that a hall of this kind is a necessity in a city of the size and importance of Rutland, but I cannot conceive that any fair-minded man would say that the owner of such a hall should be taxed twice on it, especially in view of the fact that it is an unprofitable venture for him while the public get the benefit of it.54

The elite of Rutland faced the uncomfortable fact that Labor, in the midst of the crisis, had the greatest influence in the executive office of the city government. There was no telling what might happen in the future with Browne in office, reasoned the opposition. By the first week of February, several Republican names were floated, including W. C. Landon, J. N. Woodfin, and H.A. Sawyer, chair of the aldermanic board.55 Several aldermen decided not to run for re-election. Six of the eleven aldermanic seats became vacant that year. W. F. Burditt, H. A. Sawyer, A. S. Fuller, George Royce, G. C. Thrall, and E. B. Aldrich, all part of the moneyed interests of Rutland and all opposed to Mayor Browne, were willing to run for re-election. “There is,” said the Herald, “more politics per square inch now in various wards than for a long time past.”56

In this crisis, the business community decided to back a single candidate so as not to divide the field. An open letter from the city chair of the Republican Party, signed by prominent Republicans in the city, was sent to Percival Clement asking him to run for mayor. Clement replied on February 11 to them in the Herald:

54. Rutland Daily Herald, February 2, 1897.

55. Rutland Daily Herald, February 9, 1897.

56. Rutland Daily Herald, February 11, 1897.
In reply to your request that I be a candidate for office of mayor of Rutland, I would say that I appreciate the honor you confer on me by the suggestion that I am at this time a proper person to assume the duties of this office. If your suggestion is ratified at the republican caucus Saturday night, I will be a candidate, and if elected, will do my best to give Rutland a good business administration.57

The theme of debt and financial irresponsibility struck a responsive chord in the public. One letter to the Herald stated: "Yes truly, the city of Rutland is ‘struggling in the embrace of the whirlpool of needless extravagance’ and it is about time that the taxpayer began to realize the importance of electing men to manage our city finances who will pledge themselves to put a stop to it."58 Ripley, long prominent in the marble industry, wrote to suggest the need for a competent businessman to run and save the city from financial ruin:

...All this enormous amount of money paid into the city treasury in cash has gone and your debt has increased—I dare not say how much, but you can find out. To be sure we have some valuable improvements to show for it, all adding much in the healthfulness and attractions of our city, but they are not paid for. We have been spending money far in advance of income. When an individual does this, bankruptcy and ruin are the inevitable consequences. It is not different with municipalities.59

Henry Field, one of the Republican aldermen opposed to Browne, also stressed the issue of business responsibility:

Coming to the point aimed at in the selection of our leader, we must choose a man who is recognized in the whole community and abroad as a broad-minded and eminently successful in his own affairs and that of others. We must have a good

57. Rutland Daily Herald, February 12, 1897.


business management of the affairs of the city. A public office is a public trust. We must have a careful and exact administration of affairs.60

Judge James Barrett wrote an open letter to the paper in support of Clement

I have had intimate professional relations with Mr. P.W. Clement, beginning early in 1883. I am warranted in the confident belief that he will do everything that a mayor can do under the city charter as it now is for bettering our condition. But in order that his efforts may be successful, a board of alderman is absolutely necessary that will work with him efforts to improve the financial (emphasis in the original) and other conditions of the city.61

Shortly after the Republicans had their caucus, the Democrats met on February 18. Mayor Browne addressed the caucus and urged that no nominee be submitted as mayor. Browne recounted how the Republicans had obstructed his programs and the Democratic aldermen in trying “to manage the city's affairs and suggested the Democratic party would be wise to let the republican nominee for mayoralty be elected and see the republican party try its hand in running the government... He would like to see whether the new administration came out within a few thousand dollars of its appropriation as his administration had.”62 Thus, in the election for mayor on March 2, Clement ran unopposed and received 1482 votes. In the only contested race, Democrat Will Davis beat Republican John Bates for Treasurer, with 1035 votes to Bates’ 833.63 P. W. Clement was re-elected in Rutland in 1898.

60. Rutland Daily Herald, February 15, 1897.
61. Rutland Daily Herald, February 16, 1897.
63. Rutland Daily Herald, March 3, 1897.
Control of Rutland shifted back and forth in the next decade among Republicans, Democrats, and Labor. Mayor in 1899, William Y.W. Ripley (1832-1905) was part of the Civil War generation, a lieutenant colonel in the Civil War and Major General of the Home Guard and had come from an old marble family elite. Ripley was president of Ripley Sons Marble Company in Center Rutland, later acquired by the Vermont Marble Company. Like the Clements and many of the old marble family elites, he moved into banking, succeeding his father as president of Rutland County National Bank.  

In the 1900 mayoral race, voters were again faced with three choices: Walter A. Clark, the Republican; Richard Ryan, the Democrat; and John D. Spellman, workingman’s and citizens’ candidate. The Republicans were confident of victory. Clark “has made rapid strides in the last few days and there has been a noticeable falling off in the ranks of citizens and democrats. Conservative men who have studied the situation carefully consider Clark’s election by a good plurality almost a certainty.”  

Instead, the united effort of the workingmen and the old Citizens’ Party, a political device whereby Democrats and Republicans could support an alternative candidate, elected Spellman (1855-1927) mayor. Essentially a progressive, he garnered 923 votes to Clark’s 881 and Ryan’s 204. At eight o’clock that evening, “Spellmanites gathered in the City Hall to hold a jubilee meeting.”  

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64. Rutland Historical Quarterly, “Rutland’s Mayors,” Vol XII, No. 2 (Spring 1982), 20.
65. Rutland Daily Herald, March 6, 1900.
transforming Rutland and the marble industry was taking off, Spellman was a long time Labor-supporter who had run in 1894 and 1896 as an independent mayoral candidate.

Candidate for treasurer, Will Davis, had run unopposed, both as a Democrat and as a Workingman’s-Citizens’ candidate, and Charles F. Willis had run unopposed for park commissioner, both as a Republican and as a Workingman’s-Citizens’ candidate.

Two Workingmen’s-Citizens’ candidates were also successful in their bid for aldermen – Michael Gilrain in Ward 2, and Frank S. Mangan in Ward 8. But Spellman’s victory may have been a surprise to all concerned. At the jubilee celebration on Tuesday evening March 6, he delivered the following anecdote:

On one occasion the corporation of Limerick had great difficulty in selecting a lord mayor for the city and as a last resort they determined to give the high office to the first man who should enter the city gates on a certain morning. By good fortune the first person to pass through the gates was a poor broom seller named Adam Sargeant, who was immediately led to the council chamber and invested with the insignia of the lord mayor’s office. Adam’s widowed mother became anxious when he did not return home that night, and the next morning she entered the city in search for him. On entering the council chamber she immediately recognized in the lord mayor’s countenance the features of her son. “Arrah, Adam,” she exclaimed, “don’t you know your old mother?” “Mother dear,” he replied, “on this occasion I hardly know myself.” If my own dear mother were present tonight, my friends, I might well say the same, I hardly know myself.67

Spellman went on to comment, “I have succeeded in the face of trying obstacles in redeeming myself before the people of my native city. . . . It is far from my purpose and it would be unbecoming to a man about to be sworn in as mayor to say anything derogatory of anybody who has opposed me in this campaign. I will utter no unkind or uncharitable word.” He promised that he would attempt to give the city “an honest and

67. Ibid.
real reform administration, such as the people of this city have clamored for many years.»68

68. Ibid.
CHAPTER VIII

TWENTIETH CENTURY STRUGGLE

Progressivism, a loose collection of reform ideas, appealed alike to marble elites and workers. With its appeal to greater "efficiency," the Progressive movement had an aura of science and education. Because Progressivism encompassed so many points of views and objectives, it could gather under its aegis diversified groups who agreed that society must move forward but differed significantly on how to transform it. Businessmen such as the Proctors saw economic monopoly, to their minds a type of private regulation, as the best way to develop their businesses. The potentially greater political efficiency of the new city government appealed to the financial community headed by the Clements and the Dorrs. For the workers, social-democracy, participation in government, would provide a counter balance to remedy social ills. The "discovery" of poverty and the ideas of Henry George had appealed to some of the local marble workers. Charity movements, the Social Gospel Movement, the Good Government movement, and the Social Settlement Movement had their counterparts throughout the Marble Valley. The relatively new city government of Rutland became a battleground of these competing progressive visions.

Along Merchants Row middle-class store and business owners showed the civic improvements in the growing city. Stores with awnings and sidewalks protected
shoppers from the sun and the rain. Although the still unpaved street of Merchants Row, telephone and electricity poles showed the substantial economic progress of the Marble City in 1904.

Illustration 1: Merchants Row 1904

Merchants Row shows the prosperity and the dynamic progress of the Marble City. Note the telephone poles and the electrification when many other cities of the time did not have such extensive telephone and electric service. Merchants Row, 1904. Source: Rutland Historical Society

Shifting the direction of the mayor's office in 1901 from the workers' vision of social-democracy, business interests again triumphed. Josiah Burton Hollilster (1831-1907) was part of the marble powers and a Republican, and sought to promote business interests. He was certainly part of the marble elite but, by comparison with Proctor, a small time player. He leased and later bought Wheaton Marble Quarry, which he eventually sold to the Vermont Marble Company.¹

Denied power politically, Labor sought to bring about change in a series of strikes. Labor unrest affected Rutland in 1902 and 1904. In 1902, a series of five

strikes swept through some of the largest companies in the area. The first of these strikes took place on February 3, 1902, against the Columbian Marble Company's mill in Rutland. About 125 men left work in protest on Monday. On Tuesday, the strikers formed a grievance committee to meet with J.F. Manning, the president of the company. The workers had two grievance issues: 1) to discharge John McHugh, a foreman in the finishing department and 2) to reinstate five workers who had been fired the previous week.

Manning refused to meet the strikers and made his position quite clear: "We will positively not treat with any organized labor committees, as we will not permit any dictation as to the manner of conducting business."2 He also issued an ultimatum to the workers to return to work by noon or be fired. In the meantime, he had already begun to hire replacements.3 A week later, when Manning became more acquainted with the situation, McHugh was fired for his abuse of workers and the five workers were reinstated.4 Such an example of solidarity was a hopeful sign to unions. In addition to the strike at the Columbian Marble Company, the American Federation of Labor was accused of fomenting four other strikes against Lincoln Iron Works, Patch, Howe Scale, and the Vermont Marble Company.5

In 1902 Democrats regained the mayor's office as voters elected David Wells Temple (1854-1930). Temple had settled in Rutland a short time before, in 1897. Along with his brother J. C. Temple, he founded the Temple Brothers Marble

2. Rutland Daily Herald, February 6, 1902.
In 1902 the political rivalry in the Marble Valley also extended into a statewide conflict. Since workers had no strong party at the state level, they would have to choose from establishment candidates who came closest to their own objectives. The rivalry that had existed at the local level between the Proctors and the Clements now reached the state level. Fletcher Proctor had been road commissioner for 10 years, school board member for 20. He was a selectman of Rutland in 1884 and 1885 (before the town of Proctor split away). The town of Proctor elected Fletcher to the legislature in 1890, 1900, and 1904; one time he received all but one of the votes, the other two times the vote was unanimous. In 1902, both Fletcher Proctor and P. W. Clement set their sights on the Republican nomination for governor.

P.W. Clement tried to assume the role of political reformer and progressive, friend of the workingman, and steadfast opponent of the political machine of the Proctors. He decided that local option on alcohol would appeal to the workers. Despite Clement's claim to support the worker and his backing of the immigrant issue of "local option" for the sale of alcoholic beverages, Clement's persona of reformer did not ring completely true; in reality he was a reactionary conservative. Sixteen years later, when he finally was elected governor, at the 1920 national governors' conference in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, he would distribute a political tract that he


had written and published, entitled “Dangers of Centralization in Governmental Functions.” It attacked the 16th, 18th, and 19th amendments to the Constitution. The income tax, liquor prohibition, and women’s suffrage, according to this pamphlet, passed only because of special interest groups.8

In 1902, in his first bid for governor, Clement focused on “local option,” the policy of enabling each political district to decide whether alcohol sales and consumption were permitted or not, a stance favored by many immigrants. Besides promoting the local option on practical grounds, he argued that the prohibition law was an abuse of government power in the name of morality. In a letter to W. E. Aldrich in 1902, he recounted the background of the prohibition law that had been in force in the state for fifty years. “At a special election in February, 1853, at the end of a temperance revival which swept the state, the prohibitory act was approved by a majority of 1,171 votes in a total of 43,259 votes cast. It was a grotesque piece of legislation among the enactments of that day.”9 The law was counterproductive because it encouraged greed by officers, hypocrisy by citizens and government abuse by the legal system. The disparity between the statewide prohibition law and the lack of observance of the law divided Clement from the Proctors. Clement wanted more transparency and consistency. The Proctors favored more strict observance, and followed a policy of dismissing workers who came to work drunk.


Conservative on the issue of alcohol use and taking the high moral ground, the Proctors represented the more acceptable rural, Republican, and anti-immigrant values of total prohibition. Besides Clement and Proctor there was a third candidate for the Republican nomination, John G. McCullough, a railroad tycoon from North Bennington. At the state Republican convention, after the second ballot had resulted in none of the three candidates securing a majority, Frank Partridge, who had nominated Proctor, announced that his candidate asked to be withdrawn from consideration, and Partridge gave an additional second to the McCullough nomination, in effect, defeating Clement’s bid.10 Denied the Republican nomination by Proctor’s, in effect, giving his votes to McCullough, Clement bolted the Party and decided to challenge what he considered machine politics. He was nominated for governor by a rump convention of the Local Option League and ran as a third-party candidate. The Clement alliance saw the opposition as a “Republican machine,” thwarting the rights of the workers. Clement presented himself as the outsider, although he considered the race primarily between himself and Fletcher Proctor.

Clement controlled the local media in Rutland. His Rutland Daily Herald covered his campaign speeches thoroughly while paying scant attention to the other two candidates in the race. In an open letter about the Prohibitory Act written in 1902, Clement stated his position on alcohol. It was also an appeal to Republicans and others who were opposed to the strictures of temperance.

It [Prohibition] encourages the cupidity of officers employed for its enforcement by liberal allowance for costs, following fines imposed upon its offenders, and it entire fails to suppress the evils of intemperance but rather increases them, and creates others which are greater.

There is more intoxicating liquor, adulterated and highly injurious, sold in Vermont than in any other state in the Union according to population. It is also true that there is more morphine, cholera, opium and kindred drugs consumed in our state per capita than in any other state in the Union.11

With Republican Party backing, McCullough won 31,864 votes to Clement’s 28,201. Throughout the Marble Valley, Clement had substantially beaten McCullough: Clement won in Castleton 269 to 78, in Fair Haven 286 to 181; even in Proctor, Clement had won, though the vote was quite close, 150 to 145. In Rutland City, the center of the local option movement, Clement’s home vote was overwhelming in his favor, 1,858 to 459. In Rutland Town Clement won 146 to 44. And in West Rutland, the stronghold of the Labor and Local Option movement, the vote was Clement 427 to 95.

Of the 69,935 votes cast state-wide, 34,968 (50% plus 1 vote) were needed to win. John McCullough had 31,864 (45.6%); Percival Clement, 28,201 (40.3%); and Felix McGettrick, the Democrat candidate, 7,364 (10.5%). The Vermont constitution provided that the legislature would determine the winner if none of the candidates achieved a majority; the Republican legislature picked McCullough.12

In 1904, labor once again mounted a strong local challenge in Rutland. Labor’s strength may have been enhanced by a flurry of organizing activity in 1902 and 1904. In February 1904, the Republicans, Democrats, and Labor Party met in their respective caucuses. Temperance and local option, the issue that divided the


sober Republican Proctors from the wet Percival W. Clement, allowed the Labor Party to gain a foothold with an appeal to the workers and immigrants. The split fragmented the Republican Party and the Democrats were in disarray. The Rutland Daily Herald commented on the orderliness of the Republican and Labor caucuses in contrast to the Democratic caucus. As their candidate for mayor, the Labor Party selected John Carder, and the Republicans, Henry W. Spafford. The rowdiness of the Democratic caucus centered on the refusal of the chair to recognize the re-nomination of Mayor David W. Temple to another term. The Democrat chair instead declared Dr. J.D. Hanrahan as its nominee, even though, according to George C. Underhill, Hanrahan had asked to have his name withdrawn if nominated, in apparent support of Mayor Temple.13

With the two major parties divided over issues and candidates, a unified Labor Party triumphed, as the workingmen had done in 1886 when Rutland was still a village. Carder, a former Knight of Labor and an immigrant from Cornwall, England, secured enough votes to be elected Rutland's first mayor from the Labor Party. The worker victory was, however, short-lived. Carder was in for one year from March 1904 to March 1905. Then followed a resurgence of the Republican elites often associated with the marble industry; J. Forrest Manning, a marble owner, followed Carder in 1905 to 1906.

In 1904, however, an attempted unionization of the marble workers at the Vermont Marble Company and other marble businesses in the Rutland area raised the specter of revolt and social unrest. The International Marble Workers' Association of the United States and Canada presented a union contract, dated July 1, to Vermont

Marble Company, the Columbian Marble Company, and the Florence-Rutland Marble Company; its provisions included a nine-hour workday from 7 a.m. to 5 p.m. with a one-hour lunch break, double-time for extra hours, elimination of contract work, set daily wages for a number of marble occupations, weekly paychecks, and standardized apprenticeships. The local daily worried that a threatened strike would disrupt the local economy, "stop[ping] short the monthly pay roll of about $140,000 as well as disbursements for $100,000 a month extra for coal, lumber and other supplies."14

The evening of July 11, national union president John A. Fitzgerald, who had presented the contract to local marble company owners on June 20, described Vermont Marble and the Proctor family of abusing the people of Vermont, saying ""Think of his [Redfield Proctor, Sr.'s] going down to Cuba and submitting a report on conditions there that brought on a war, while back in Vermont, he knew he had a plantation of white slaves that were in even a worse condition than the Cubans. That he personally conducted a system of slavery far more deplorable than that on the Spanish island, since the subjects were intelligent white people, born and reared to a better lot."" He threatened to shut down jobs around the country that were using Vermont marble, saying that he had a list of 67 jobs that would stop work at his telegram. The marble workers voted to strike and also to ask the International Association of Machinists to withdraw labor from all the affected mills and quarries.15


15. Rutland Daily Herald, July 12, 1904.
The morning of July 12, workers went to their jobs at 7:00 a.m., picked up their tools and left at 9:00. The next morning’s Rutland Daily Herald reported that Columbian Marble Quarrying Company, Temple Brothers, and W.R. Kinsman were all shut down, that “the Rutland-Florence company’s mills at West Rutland and Fowler” were “seriously crippled.” Vermont Marble Company’s finishing departments at West and Center Rutland were “materially affected” and the Proctor plant was also affected “in a measure.”

Whether the strike was effective seemed to depend on who was talking to the Herald on any given day. Union Executive Committeeman B.M. Bowker of Middlebury estimated about 1000 men were out on July 20, the paper said, but also reported that men were going back to work. Apparently unaffected, Vermont Marble Company began construction of a 3600 horsepower hydroelectric plant at the falls in Proctor. All along, the union reported that sympathetic union men across the country were refusing to work with marble from the struck marble companies. Rutland Mayor John Carder was among the men idled by the strike.

Newspapers across the state took sides whether the strike was ultimately "fair" or not. The Saint Albans Messenger said no; marble workers received adequate wages and also benefited from the generosity of the Proctors, providing YMCA, churches, and libraries. The Barre Telegram sided with the union, saying civic

19. Rutland Daily Herald, July 18, July 25, August 1, August 10
20. Rutland Daily Herald, August 1, 1904.
improvement moneys should have been put instead into worker paychecks so individuals could spend the money their labor generated as they wished.\textsuperscript{21} H.L. Hindley in the \textit{Brattleboro Reformer} accepted that paternalism had advantages but felt they were outweighed by the workers' lack of individual power, saying,

\begin{quote}
[T]he fact remains that the Vermont Marble company is running on full time today with practically every other marble firm, run on the "modern plan," tied up dead.
Paternalism is a bad thing, but a successful paternal has more absolute power than the amiable czar of all the Russias.\textsuperscript{22}
\end{quote}

Over time, the strikers became increasingly restless. Strike wages promised by the union had not yet arrived. Some left the Rutland area, looking for work; others found local employment from nearby farmers. In the sixth week of the strike, John V. McCulloch, union secretary-treasurer, moved to Rutland to bolster the strikers' support.\textsuperscript{23} The union continued to claim, and Vermont Marble continued to deny, that sympathy with the strikers was slowing work across the U.S.\textsuperscript{24}

In the seventh week, Fitzgerald tried to apply additional pressure on the marble employers, saying that a cross-union committee led by American Federation of Labor president Samuel Gompers planned to speak on behalf of the strikers to the commissioner of federal buildings in Washington, D.C. Gompers would be accompanied by the AFL's William Morrison, plus James Duncan, secretary-treasurer

\begin{itemize}
\item 23. \textit{Rutland Daily Herald}, August 8, 1904.
\item 24. \textit{Rutland Daily Herald}, August 16 and 17, 1904.
\end{itemize}
of the Granite Cutters' union, and James P. McHugh, secretary-treasurer of the Stone Cutters' union.25

Two weeks later, the Herald's columns included a copy of a circular Vermont Marble had had printed, stating its position toward employees and strikers. The company employed about 2500 men, both union and non-union. The largest number that went on strike was 325, or about 7 percent of the workforce. The company had turned none of them or their families out of company-owned housing, including the families of men who had left town to find work elsewhere. Nearly half of the initial strikers had returned to work. Advantages of working for Vermont Marble included low rent of company housing (an average of $5.07 per month compared to an average daily wage of $4.00), company-provided medical and death insurance, free hospital care, and low prices at the co-operative company stores. “Less than 3 percent of the entire wages of all our employees was retained by the company for rent, less than 22 percent of it went to these co-operative stores, and over 75 percent was paid in actual cash to our employees.”26

The company appealed to the workers’ sense of place by castigating the union organizers as outsiders. The strike, it said, “involved a small number of our employees. It was instigated and is being managed by parties from New York and Chicago.” The instigators “have sent out distorted and willfully false reports.” The local employees, “either union or non-union,” had not filed a complaint against the general conditions or scale of wages and “our relations were mutually satisfactory.”


Of the 175 who went out on strike, 110 were Italian stone-cutters. According to the company, if the stone-cutters disobeyed the orders of the union, “they will be blacklisted and soon will not be permitted to work at their trade as stone cutters, either for us or any one else” and that they would be “blacklisted in Italy” as well.27 Shortly thereafter the strike collapsed. Striker numbers had dwindled. The old strike committee had been discharged and a new one appointed because strikers were dissatisfied with progress. The union-paid striker wages were not what the men had been led to believe. On September 18, the strikers voted to return to work, 59 to 33, with about 100 abstaining. This was the last significant labor organizing effort in the Valley until the 1930s.

The informal mountain rule was that governors should alternate from the east and the west sides of the mountains. With this tradition, the next opportune time for a candidate from the west to run for governor was in 1906. The political struggle between the Proctors and Clement renewed in 1906 and labor was very much concerned. The strike of 1904 made workers more conscious of the need for a political framework supportive of their efforts. Clement’s anti-Labor position was known ever since he had strongly opposed Thomas Browne as mayor of Rutland in 1896 and replaced him as mayor in 1897. Could Clement be trusted with the labor vote now, if they supported him for governor? To find out his position, the Vermont Federation of Labor sent him a questionnaire. His responses showed that he was not a Progressive on labor issues. Labor was concerned about workers being paid on a weekly basis. Clement’s response was: “I am not inclined to favor laws of this

27. Ibid.
character which undertake to interpose the hands of the government to settle matters of private interest. I regret the tendency of legislation toward paternalism." 28 On an issue such as workmen's compensation and liability, Clement was opposed to any additional legislation:

We never have had an employers' liability act in this state, but have depended upon the common law. I don't know to what extent you propose to go in making employers liable for accidents to employees, but it seems to me that the common law, which makes the employer liable for his own neglect, and which has become the law after ages of thought on this subject has been applied limitless experiences, is the safest law and the easiest law for all people to adhere to. I can see no good reason for a change. 29

On the issue of an eight-hour day for public government employees, Clement was opposed to any legislation. The federal government a generation earlier had set a standard of an eight-hour workday. Clement stated his opposition:

Why give employees an eight-hour day? Neither you nor I are limited by law in our labor to eight hours. The employees of this state are not overburdened in regard to the hours of labor and it would be unwise at this time when we are trying to rescue expenses of state government to needlessly increase them in this way. If elected governor, my influence would be to have the employees of the state give such proper services as the employees of other business do.... 30

Again and again Clement rejected Labor's key positions.

Despite Clement's efforts, once more he was shunted aside from the Republican nomination for governor. The Proctor forces controlled the Republican machinery in the state; the nominee of the Republican establishment was Fletcher Proctor. Seeing that he was blocked by the Proctor interests from securing


nomination, on May 24, 1906, Clement accepted the invitation from a group of citizens to run for governor as an Independent again. Once again he raised the populist issue of access to alcohol and recounted how the legislature failed to pass a local option law, but in his letter of acceptance as an Independent, he also raised another issue of Progressives—more representative democracy. Clement viewed the Proctor-dominated Republican Party in Vermont as a machine. Writing from Rutland, though without mentioning Proctor by name, he denounced the political and economic power of the "Ring master" to direct national, state, and local interests against the will of the people and for private gain.

With you I will join in an effort to turn out the Ring master who uses public office for graft and to perpetuate his own power, and I will join with you to install those who will administer government for the benefit of the governed. I will join with you in repealing laws that are obnoxious to the people, and enact such as will in a measure relieve us of our burdens and make these burdens which are necessary bear equally upon the shoulders of all....

If his reference to Proctor was veiled in May, by the summer there was no mistaking it. In a speech at Bennington on July 28, 1906, he told the crowd:

Vermont's political boss is Senator Redfield Proctor. Every man who wants an office in Vermont has to hit the ties for Proctor. The Rutland Railroad has been compelled to take out his sixty pound rails and put in eighty pounds, to accommodate the tremendous travel of office seekers to Proctor. The senator controls the Vermont delegation in Washington and holds federal patronage in his hands; now the son wants to be governor and control State patronage. The old senator holds up one end of the yoke, waves and now and says commandingly: "Haw, Buck; come under". The horns of the independent party are too big and they won't come.

Clement's appeal fell flat in Rutland County, and Proctor won there and in the state. Clement had won the vote of the county in 1902, but in 1906 it went to

31. Johnson, Nineteen-Six, 16.
Proctor 5,765 to 4,430. In Castleton, Clement won narrowly 226 to 207, and in Fair Haven he won 365 to 277. In Proctor, however, he received only 25 votes to 454 for Proctor. In Rutland City, the Clement stronghold in 1902, the vote was comparatively close, 1,654 for Clement and 1,307 for Proctor. In Rutland Town Clement received 91 votes to 153 for Proctor.33

In 1911 Clement represented Rutland in the state legislature and at the same time he was reelected mayor of Rutland. On June 9, 1912, he resigned his office as mayor when a special election of voters failed to support the mayor’s bond issue over a water project.

Ironically, in 1896, Clement and others had used the Moon Brook Sewer project to discredit the Democrat and pro-worker Mayor Browne. Clement submitted a letter of resignation to the city clerk: “Under the circumstances, however, I feel that I can be of no further service in this direction, consequently I hereby resign the office of Mayor of the city of Rutland.”34 In 1918, Clement was finally able to achieve his dream when he won the election for governor. By then Redfield Proctor Sr. and Fletcher Proctor were both dead and the election process itself had changed. In 1918 a direct statewide primary replaced town caucuses as the method of selecting the candidates.

33. The election in 1906 was the first time that Proctor and Clement ran in contested election when the citizens had a chance to vote on the two candidates. Fletcher Proctor’s popularity, his relationship with his workers, the civic paternalism of the Proctor family and the Vermont Marble Company were strong political assets.

34. Rutland Daily Herald, June 10, 1912.
Clement and the Proctors were both wealthy, but their legacy for the worker and the Valley differed substantially. The Proctors' success, in both business and politics, came from several sources. They felt a strong civic responsibility and related closely to their workers and the Valley. The Proctors paid better wages than many companies. The Vermont Marble Company was the largest marble company and despite its monopoly seemed to be concerned with its workers.

In the first and second generation of Proctors, an implied social contract existed between the Company and the workers that resulted in corporate loyalty and identity. The company improved the overall quality of life for the worker with accident and death insurance and medical support, and in the broader community support of churches, libraries, health centers, community centers and education.

Unlike the Proctors, Clement seemed austere. Many remember Fletcher Proctor's interaction with his workers. Ada Stewart, for instance, recalled that Fletcher Proctor "had a remarkable gift of memory for names. The writer thinks he knew the names of everyone of the more than three hundred school children of Proctor Village, where they lived, and where their fathers worked." 35 The Proctors were very much involved in the social community.

Fletcher Proctor, the successor to Redfield Proctor as president of the Vermont Marble Company, continued the paternalistic practices of his father, with the establishment of a YMCA, continued company support for libraries and schools in Proctor and West Rutland, and an educational program for the wives and children of the workers that covered household skills. Such reforms weakened the need for

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worker agitation and a public voice.

Throughout the Valley, the civic use of marble construction graced many of the banks and other buildings of the Marble City. Marble adorned the public libraries of Rutland, West Rutland, and Proctor and the schools in West Rutland and Proctor. The library in Proctor had special significance for the family. It had begun with an 1880 gift of 2,000 books from Redfield Proctor when he was still governor; for a number of years, it was housed in company buildings. When Arabella Proctor Holden, daughter of Mrs. Emily and Senator Redfield Proctor, died in 1913, her mother, Mrs. Emily Proctor, gave money for the construction of the Proctor Free Library on the east bank of the Otter Creek, in memory of her daughter. The year before, Fletcher Proctor, the son of Mrs. Emily and Senator Redfield Proctor, had died. Mrs. Emily Proctor provided funds to the town of Proctor to build a Marble Bridge as a memorial; it connected the east and west sides of the town, spanning the Otter Creek.

Proctor legacies continue to provide operating money to portions of the town budget for both Proctor and West Rutland. The Proctor Hospital served the community from 1896 to 1973, providing medical care at no cost to marble workers and at minimal cost to residents of the town. Churches, service clubs, and government offices also benefited from the marble legacy. They had been given land, and, often, marble. The company donated land and/or marble to the Union Church,

38. Stewart, "The Beginning of Industrial Nursing in Vermont," Rutland Historical Society
St. Dominic's Church, and the fire station in Proctor; St. Stanislaus Church in West Rutland; and the Italian Aid Society in Center Rutland.

The civic example of the Proctors served as a model for their children. Miss Emily Proctor (1869-1948), daughter of Redfield and Emily Proctor, contributed money to the Proctor Library to buy books, published in the native languages of the various groups who had immigrated to work for Vermont Marble Company. The family also gave financial support for cancer research at Harvard and to Booker T. Washington and his work at Tuskegee. In 1894 an epidemic of infantile paralysis spread through the Valley, infecting 132 young children and causing 16 deaths. In 1914 another outbreak occurred, and Miss Emily Proctor gave $25,000 to the State Board of Health for research on the disease. With the help of Dr. Robert W. Lovett of Boston, one of the leading orthopedic surgeons in the country, the Proctor money supported the first comprehensive program to deal with infantile paralysis in the country, one set up to educate doctors, support research, and provide patient care. The program became widely known as the Vermont Plan.

After a state survey found that Pittsford had the most sunlight of any Vermont town, Emily and Redfield Proctor bought Lucius Kendall’s farmland in Pittsford for the sanitarium, then sponsored construction of the Vermont Sanatorium for

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Quarterly, 73.

39. Virginia Rose, Emily Dutton Proctor: In Remembrance. (Privately published). Contains three essays by Rose a companion to Proctor, Margaret Proctor Kelley, who was a niece, and Rev. Ben Roberts, who gave the sermon. Unpaginated. The pamphlet is in the Vermont room of Castleton State College.

40. Virginia Rose, Emily Dutton Proctor: In Remembrance, Privately published, no pagination, copy in the Vermont room at Castleton State College.
Tuberculosis, in Pittsford, beginning in 1907. It became a state institution in 1921, a gift from Redfield Proctor Jr., when it was given to the state along with a $200,000 endowment. The TB sanitarium has ceased to exist, but its land was given over for the training site of the Vermont State Police in 1968.

In 1922, Redfield Proctor, Jr., and his sister Emily were among the Rutland County philanthropists who built the Caverly Preventorium, west of the sanatorium, a center to keep children whom doctors felt might become tubercular, from developing the disease. The Proctors gave the institution to the Vermont Tuberculosis Association as a memorial to Dr. Charles S. Caverly of Rutland, who had been instrumental in promoting better hygienic practices in the Valley. The Prevent, as it was known in the Valley, was in existence from 1923-1947, then became the Caverly Health Center from 1947 to 1973, when it closed because of lack of funds.

The younger Emily Proctor was a progressive reformer in the tradition of Jane Addams. Cavendish House in Proctor was her project. Like the settlement houses in large urban areas, it was a site for women to learn contemporary domestic arts in their new environment and for children to learn gardening and other life skills. As more and more diversified immigrant groups came into the Valley, Cavendish House was

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42. Rose, Emily Dutton Proctor, no pagination.


44. Charles Caverly, MD, President of Board. Thirteenth (Third Biennial) Report of the State Board of Health of the State of Vermont from January 1, 1900 to December 31, 1901. (Rutland: The Tuttle Company, 1901).
also a place to come together to learn skills and to learn the English language. It grew from two rooms in the Post Office building to a separate building of its own. Like the Settlement Houses that inspired it, its original purpose was to teach adults and school children to cook healthier meals with inexpensive foods. Courses in household skills such as knitting, household accounting, history and geography of foods, hygiene, and, during World War I, in surgical dressing and typewriting were offered. Besides cooking and sewing lessons, the House offered English lessons to foreign women. On Monday evenings Polish and Finnish women met; on Tuesday evenings Hungarian and Slavic women met. During the summer months, gardening skills were taught and summer school classes were held for students who did not pass in the public school. Cavendish house provided bath and shampoo rooms free to women and children. Children who came from a distance were served hot lunches with milk at a minimum cost.

When Fletcher Proctor died in 1911, Frank Partridge, who had been vice president, became president of the Vermont Marble Company. In an age of Frederick Taylor Scientific Management, the previous corporate concern for the worker and the worker’s community so evidenced by the first and second generations of Proctors increasingly shifted from its earlier paternalism to an emphasis on economic and managerial control of the worker. Simultaneously economic power of marble, which supported the political power, also began to weaken. At the beginning of the decade of the 1920s marble was still the most quarried and valued stone, but granite


production was increasing in quantity and value, and by the end of the 1920s, granite had surpassed marble in value and production in Vermont. By 1936, when President Roosevelt visited Barre, that city had become the center of granite production in America.

By the 1930s, marble workers in the Marble Valley, nearly all employed by Vermont Marble Company, received far lower wages than the granite workers under eighty separate granite companies. Marble workers complained of excessive deductions from their pay for rent, electricity, water, insurance, hospitalization, and even cow pasturage. Marble polishers complained they were forced to buy the polishing heads for the company's machines and to pay for the polishing powder. Men had received weekly paychecks of two cents, twenty cents, or sixty-eight cents. When the depression hit, many received pink vouchers marked in ink “No Check;” others were in debt for rent in company-owned houses because they were working only a few hours a week. Towns were filled with unemployed marble workers ready to take jobs if the employed men became dissatisfied.

By 1934, most of the paternalistic practices had been dropped, and the hospital, now divorced from the Company, no longer provided care for which the


marble workers could afford to pay. In February 1934, West Rutland marble workers organized into a Quarry Workers Union.\textsuperscript{50}

In the winter and spring of 1935-36 the Danby, West Rutland and Proctor employees of the company went out on one of the bitterest strikes Vermont had ever witnessed. The company claimed it was losing money and it faced two uncomfortable choices. It could lay off 25\% of the Danby workers or put all of them on a staggered schedule, working for three weeks and being off on the fourth week. The managers argued that the staggered schedule would be the better of the two unpleasant solutions and would spread the suffering more fairly.\textsuperscript{51} In response, the Danby quarrymen walked out on October 17, 1935.\textsuperscript{52} In an act of solidarity, the marble workers of Rutland Local 94 of the Industrial Association of Marble Workers met at the Moose Hall on Center Street in Rutland on Saturday, November 2, and decided to support the Danby workers. The action, however, was a cautious sign of support and unity for the Danby quarrymen, not an official action of the Rutland Local 94 union. Instead of striking, on November 4, 1935, the men voted to go on "holiday."

The company claimed that it could not meet the demands of the workers because it had been working at a loss for several years.\textsuperscript{53} The holiday-takers, not


\textsuperscript{51} \textit{Rutland Daily Herald}, December 21, 1935.

\textsuperscript{52} "Holiday Voted by Marble Workers," \textit{Rutland Daily Herald}, November 4, 1935. Over 900 marble workers throughout the Valley decided to support their fellow workers at Danby. The company employed over 1100 men. The negotiation for a contract had begun in September 1934.

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Rutland Daily Herald}, November 4, 1935.
trusting this statement, took forceful action. They stopped trucks at the West Rutland lime plant and non-union members' trucks were stoned when they went through the picket lines.\(^{54}\) By the third day of the "holiday," the West Rutland, Danby, and Center Rutland mills had closed. Only the Proctor plant, location of the headquarters of the company, remained open.\(^{55}\) Eugene Pederson, the head of the West Rutland union, held a meeting to ask the members to sanction a strike. His plea was translated into Italian and Polish for the non-English speakers. The Vermont Company responded by securing eighty-five deputies and sheriffs from four different counties. During the course of the nine months' struggle, the salaries of sixty-five State and town deputies were openly paid by the Vermont Marble Company.\(^{56}\)

The Rutland County Communist Party then urged the workers at Proctor to join with the other holiday-takers. Members of the Communist Party of Rutland City distributed leaflets in West Rutland door-to-door that read in part:

Proctor is working! Strike Proctor! Picket Proctor! ... The Communist Party of Rutland City congratulates you for your militant action. Keep up the good work. The communist members in your locals are fighting to win this strike and to make these unions strong.\(^{57}\)

By the sixth day, the holiday had become an official strike.\(^{58}\) Small brawls broke out.\(^{59}\) On November 22, 1935 a thousand men marched through West Rutland

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57. See *Rutland Daily Herald*, November 10, 1935 for the companies securing police officers to protect its property.

in support of the strike. After the company cut rents on housing to those who did not strike, strikers stoned the houses in West Rutland and Center Rutland; deputies had to escort workers through the picket lines.

On January 6, 1936, the company attempted to run in scab labor and the striking workmen joined battle. At one time during that day, seventy figures lay in the bloody snow. It was a winter of the severest privation. Weekly contributions to a strike relief fund were made by fellow union workers in Barre, Graniteville, and Websterville, and by many educational and social institutions. John Dwyer, a selectman and one of the town overseers of the poor, was also a foreman for the Vermont Marble Company. He was convicted in court of withholding town aid for destitute school children.

Company housing was also used by both sides. The Company sent letters to 186 strikers who lived in company housing informing them that they must vacate by April 1st. These workers had not paid any rent, electric or water bills since the beginning of the strike. On February 24th five marble strikers, Hilford Johnson, John DeSaint, Zignment Kantorski, Steve Czachor, and Paul Yascot, attacked Carl Peterson, a nonstriking marble worker, hospitalizing him. The strikers punched him,

63. “Selectman Guilty of Refusing Relief,” Rutland Daily Herald, January 13, 1936. A jury found Dwyer guilty of “willful neglect of his duty” to provide clothing for school children of two families of marble workers.
64. Rutland Daily Herald, February 21, 1936.
used pipes, bottles, and stones when Peterson was walking home from work. The five strikers were later convicted and sent to the state prison in Windsor for one to two years. This incident was the only trial of the strike.65

At a hearing in February 1936, held by the United Committee to Aid the Vermont Marble Workers, the strikers testified that the Company influenced local and state politics. Government spurned workers’ appeal for the state to intervene to end the strike in January and favored the Company’s continued pressure upon the workers to end the strike.66 In March, the Associated Industries of Vermont, affiliated with the American Manufacturers’ Association, boasted, “An entire series of bills sponsored [in the Vermont legislature] by organized labor was prevented from being passed and every bill detrimental to employers was defeated.” The Company deputized the largest police force in Vermont’s history.67 In March, the company agreed to an independent auditor. In April radical strikers dynamited power lines leading to the Danby Quarry and a power plant at West Rutland was torched.68 Given the severe financial plight of many of the citizens the state attorney general’s office authorized a $500 reward for information leading to the capture and conviction of those responsible.69 Around the Memorial Day holiday, Rockwell Kent, the well-known socialist and writer, held hearings in West Rutland to advocate the workers’

65. Rutland Daily Herald, February 25, 1936; Rutland Daily Herald, March 5, 1936.
66. The National Labor Relations Board, from the Labor Records Section of the National Archives, Docket 299, F.C. Partridge to McCartin shows Partridge’s rigid stand of no compromise toward the workers. Partridge was President of the Vermont Marble Company at the time.
68. Rutland Daily Herald April, 17, April 18, April 29, 1936.
situation. As chair of group calling itself The United Committee to Aid Vermont Marble Workers, he and others began taking testimony.\textsuperscript{70} According to the testimony, the Vermont Marble Company fired at least 12 people close to retirement so it wouldn’t have to pay a full pension; it denied two workers any financial aid. The Company claimed that it was broke, but it paid a 15% dividend in 1935. The State paid for sixteen sheriffs and deputies but gave no state aid to the strikers. The Company, according to the testimony, stirred up ethnic group rivalry by favoring ethnic groups it considered more docile.\textsuperscript{71} Several people testified to the committee about the impact on families. One mother testified that her milk allocation was cut from two quarts a day to one quart, adding more pressure to properly maintain her six children. She was told by the overseer of the poor who also was a manager in the Vermont Marble Company, “You can keep the children quiet on water.” To another mother who stated that she had but one pair of underclothes per child during that bitter winter, the overseer stated, “Put them to bed when you wash their underclothes.”\textsuperscript{72}

Strikers received sympathetic support from higher education institutions such as nearby Dartmouth College, and Bennington, and further away from Skidmore and

\begin{itemize}
  \item 69. \textit{Rutland Daily Herald}, April 27, 1936.
  \item 70. \textit{Rutland Daily Herald}, May 31, 1936.
  \item 71. \textit{Ibid.}
\end{itemize}
University of Wisconsin. The student newspaper at Dartmouth, where Redfield Proctor, Sr., had gone to school, took up collections of food and clothing. Nobel Prize winner Sinclair "Red" Lewis, who took part in the strike, recalled that the local police forces, influenced by the economic and political power of the Vermont Marble Company and the Proctors, did not allow the donations to reach the workers.

The strike aroused local and national concern. The New Republic reported the repressive force used against the workers:

They [the strikers] found themselves pitted against one of the most powerfully entrenched industries in the country. The Vermont Marble Company, owned by the Proctor family, is a dominant factor in both the political and commercial life the region around Danby, West Rutland and Proctor Vermont. Armed deputies sheriff were hired (at $4 per day, plus $2 expenses) to overawe the workers, relief benefits were withheld from strikers in many cases, and now, after a winter of most desperate poverty, the strikers are facing eviction from their homes on April 1. They have picketed the frozen hills in Artic weather, their sick children or wives have gone without drugs or medical attention (there is no free hospital in their region); there are holes in their shoes; they seldom eat meat. Washington's army at Valley Forge was no more heroic.

At the beginning of July, the company shut off electricity, generated by the company at the Falls, to 57 houses, although it had continued to supply electricity to the homes since the November strike began. The company also evicted six families for non-payment. The bitter strike ended July 26, 1936, when 86% of 350 strikers


76. Rutland Daily Herald, July 2, 1936.
agreed to go back to work. The Vermont Marble Company had held its ground against the strikers, although it maintained a 2-1/2 cent pay-raise that had started in April. The agreement provided that workers in company housing could stay as long as they paid current rent and arranged to pay utilities and back rent within one year.77

The company took men back when it needed them, but at the same time it did not lay off any of the replacement workers. Hard feelings between these groups would fester for some time. This was a period of bitter labor conflict nationwide. In 1937 the same bitter attitude toward workers continued. Nationally there were 4,720 strikes, and 2,728 of them were over labor’s right to organize. In response to the sit-down strikes in the automobile industry at Flint, Michigan and Akron, Ohio, Vermont Representative Ernest Dunklee introduced legislation making sit-down strikes illegal, and the General Assembly of 1937 passed it.78

The Rutland Herald looked back on the strike as the result of the end of “kindly feudalism.” The mutual respect and dependence between company and worker had broken down. Frank Partridge and other associates, who came from a corporate rather than paternalistic perspective, were more inflexible than earlier managers and, perhaps forced by the economic times, took the hard line with the strikers. Partridge, like Fletcher Proctor, was in the second generation of Proctor and Proctor allies. He worked for the Vermont Marble Company while he was in high school and was Fletcher Proctor’s roommate while the two of them boarded at Middlebury College. He graduated from Columbia Law School before working for


78. Brattleboro Reformer, February 2 and April 2, 1937.
VMC in credit and collections. When Redfield Proctor became U.S. Secretary of War, Partridge was his private secretary. Partridge returned to VMC after the Spanish-American War as vice-president and general counsel and, later, president. In the midst of the tumultuous strike, he semi-retired in 1935 but continued to serve as board chair. Partridge’s positions enraged the workers, helping to touch off the prolonged strike. Redfield Proctor, Jr., 56 years old, was vice president of the Company in 1935 and inheritor of the Proctor mantle. Perhaps, if Redfield Proctor had exerted more authority, the strike would not have lasted so long or been so bitter.

The pattern of behavior in the marble strike was very similar to that of the steel strike in Homestead over a generation earlier, when Henry Clay Frick took the hard line against the workers, while owner Andrew Carnegie removed himself from the scene.

The hope of the workers after the strike was to return to work and to help shape the public dialogue with legislation. But the worker voice never captured the resilient hope it had had in 1886 when James Hogan and the fifteen workingmen justices were voted into office or when Thomas Browne in 1896 had won the


80. Redfield Proctor, Jr. was the youngest of the five children of Redfield and Emily Proctor born in 1879. Virginia Rose, Emily Dutton Proctor, a Remembrance, no pagination. For Partridge and Proctor’s position as president and vice-president, Rutland, West Rutland, Proctor Directory, 1935, 420, 421. Mortimer Proctor, Redfield Jr.’s son, was assistant superintendent of the marble company.

mayorship with workers support, or in 1904 when John S. Carder, Rutland’s only Labor mayor, triumphed over a divided Democrat and Republican opposition. After Carder, for nearly fifty years, the Republican business hegemony reasserted its control in the executive branch of both the city and of the state. By 1940 the Marble Valley, caught in the pressure of the national depression and wracked by the acrimonious strike and its divisive consequences was in serious economic decline.

The Workingmen’s Democracy had fallen victim to corporate power. The economic and political threat of the country and of the worker and had been contained, but one unfortunate cost of that containment was the suppression of labor’s voice in the public and political dialogue. For labor, it was an exorbitant cost to pay. The citizen-worker did not enter into politics. Even today, despite the fact that Rutland County is essentially a working-class community, its county representatives are more often corporate rather than worker in their thinking. At the local level there is no Labor Party. At the state level, however, in the late twentieth century, resurgence had taken place. The Progressive Party of Vermont has emerged to carry on the traditions and keep the voice of the citizen-worker alive and part of the civil dialogue.\footnote{For recent changes regarding Vermont politics and government, economic conditions, and social conditions, see Joe Sherman, \textit{Fast Lane on a Dirt Road: Vermont Transformed, 1945-1990} (Woodstock, VT: Countryman Press, 1991); W.J. Controy, \textit{Challenging the Boundaries of Reform: Socialism in Burlington} (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990); \textit{Vermont State Government Since 1965}, ed by Michael Sherman (Burlington: University of Vermont, 1999); Greg Guma, \textit{The People’s Republic: Vermont and the Sanders Revolution} (Shelburne, VT: New England Press, 1989); Madeline M. Kunin, \textit{Living a Political Life} (New York: Knopf, 1994).} Vermont’s three-member U.S. Congressional delegation currently has two Independents and one Democrat. Because of his concerns over social issues, particularly education, Senator Jim Jeffords, from a town near Rutland, resigned from the Republican Party to
become an Independent. In so doing, he also triggered a change in the organizational leadership of the senate. The social-democracy issues of the Progressives could once more become part of the public dialogue to affect the children of and the citizen-worker.
CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION:

LEGACIES

Colonial land speculators had opened up the hardscrabble Valley of Vermont and subsistence farmers rushed in to acquire the last major undeveloped land in the corner of New England. With the development of sheep farming from subsistence to an industry of national significance from the 1810s to the 1850s, the Valley and the state achieved a measure of financial success. But it was marble that transformed the Valley and left a unique legacy. Early entrepreneurs such as William F. Barnes showed how marble could return dramatic profits. The middle generation of entrepreneurs expanded the industry. With the arrival of Redfield Proctor in 1869, the scale grew; learning his management and human resources skills in the Civil War, Redfield Proctor perfected them in Vermont's marble industry. He unified disparate small marble companies, forming cartels and using his positions in government to aid his enterprise.

The marble industry under Redfield Proctor's and the Proctor family management brought about dramatic change to the Valley, improvements that still bear their civic imprint today. Redfield Proctor emphasized and promoted a traditional moral code. He expected that in himself and in his workers. He had supported libraries and churches. His
son had hired the first industrial nurse and supported a local hospital. The Proctor family founded the first industrial YMCA in the state and possibly in the country. Later, the Proctor family grew concerned that core moral values were more important than the sectarianism that YMCA might promote; the local YMCA became the non-denominational Sutherland Club, open to all male employees of the company. Later the Club admitted women and junior and senior high students. It provided a social setting for community meetings.¹

Many workers, foreign-born and U.S.-born, owed their first real estate investment to Proctor's help, as he allowed them to purchase Company-owned land on which to build their homes or already existing Company-built houses. He subsidized scholarships for young men to go to college; a fund set up by the Proctor family still continues to provide college scholarships to Proctor High School graduates. The electric generating plant at Proctor, built about 1905 at the instigation of Fletcher Proctor, provided electricity not only for the marble company's quarries and mills, but also for the houses of Proctor residents.²

The Vermont Marble Company radiated an influence throughout the Valley. Studies of the marble industry have often focused only on those directly involved in working the white metamorphic rock, overlooking the subsidiary organizations that

¹. Sutherland Community Center, 1903-1946. from Proctor Library scrapbook, clipping dated 1946.

developed to support it. Vermont Marble, at least initially, owned many of these support organizations. Before marble became mechanized, for example, the Company owned farms, operated to supply food for the draft animals -- the horses and oxen -- that pulled the marble on "stone boats" or wagons from quarry edge to mill and from mill to railroad.

In another example, the company acquired land around Proctor Pond and employed an entirely separate workforce to cut, transport and shape timber to box and ship the marble. The company also used the timber, worked at Vermont Marble sawmills, to build derricks, company structures, and worker housing, fuel, possibly even railroad ties when it constructed its own Clarendon & Pittsford Railroad, utilizing its own engineers and crews to lay the track, and its own railroad workers to operate the enterprise. Built to transport marble from the finishing mills to distribution points, the venture also functioned as a "milk run," carrying supplies, food, and workers. Many of the engines were named for marble employees, like the F.R. Patch, given the name of the company manager who oversaw construction of the line, still in use today, transporting slurry and other marble products for current owner OMYA.3

The labor of the citizen-worker added to civic architecture in the Valley and across the nation. The legacy of Vermont Marble appears on nearly every vista in central Vermont. In nearly each downtown, marble appears as a component of many buildings' basic structure; as steps, pillars, sills, and lintels; and as walkways and curbs. Crushed marble forms the hidden drainage underlayment of parking lots and green space. The

company donated land and/or marble for churches, schools, libraries, and community services, like the firehouse and cemeteries in Proctor, and the Italian Aid Society in Center Rutland.

The company had been involved in civic projects. Marble from central Vermont quarries graces personal, state, and national civic architecture and monuments, including headstones in the Arlington National Cemetery, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Washington, D.C, the Indiana Statehouse in Indianapolis, the Washington State Capitol, the U.S. Supreme Court Building, the Thomas Jefferson Memorial, and the United Nations building in New York City.

Over the thirty years from 1870 to 1900, the marble worker had gained in substantial ways. Workers had company healthcare, wages had risen; the company store was more a convenience for the workers than, as earlier, an effort to recapture their paychecks. While many workers were well satisfied with conditions in the company, others were not, and all workers wanted their voice to count. From 1886 when the division of Rutland took place, to the early twentieth century, workers challenged and helped to shape the public dialogue. Their physical labor had contributed literally to carving out the economy of the Valley, and labor leaders such as James Hogan, Thomas Browne, and John Carder carved out a vision of a better life for workers of the Marble Valley. The Knights of Labor organized workers to define this vision according to their social and economic agenda. For example, when workers planned the Labor Day celebration of 1892 groups from all over the state and from northern New York were
invited and helped to participate in the event. "Everything points to the largest gathering of workingmen ever seen in Vermont."

Workers moved increasingly into the public forum, carving out a sense of political place, in an attempt to safeguard their workplace. Politics provided a legal framework of worker compassion and concerns. The citizen-worker continued to rise to civic responsibility of leadership. Jack Carder, for example, was a Welsh marble worker, elected as mayor of Rutland City on the Labor ticket in 1904.

But there was a downside to the struggle for power, too. The division of Rutland into separate towns showed the underside of distrust. Rutland had experienced an east-west religious geographic tension from its early foundation. By the nineteenth century, that tension exploded along economic and social lines. Rutland had, for a time, overtaken its economic rival, Burlington, as the largest city in the state but in the struggle for power in the 1880s, however, Rutland divided along the economic planes of city and countryside in disputes between the Village and periphery. The legacy of that split hampers development today.

After 1900, the descent in company-worker relationships began. The Vermont Marble Company had a constant oversupply of workers around the turn of the century;

4. Rutland Daily Herald, September 1, 1892.

5. Carder became mayor in 1904. There were still deep divisions in the Republican Party between the Clement and Proctor wing and their allies. The workers sought someone who would more closely represent their voice in the public forum.
thus the issue was not so much the conditions at the quarries and the mills as the opportunity to work at the major employer in the area.

In the first two decades of the twentieth century, the workers seemed to have made progress, and after 1904, there was no significant labor conflict. However, the workers unintentionally muted their own voices by misjudging management. Redfield Proctor, when he managed the Vermont Marble Company, lived and worked close to his workers. Later a combination of influences and forces gradually disempowered the worker as management increasingly removed itself from the workers’ daily social lives.

By the 1930s, economic forces outside and inside the Valley shifted the management philosophy so that it no longer valued the ideal of a close, tightly-knit community with civic responsibility. The relationship between worker and company had deteriorated into bitterness and distrust. For two generations, the bloody strike of 1934-35 stood out as the bitter legacy of the marble industry’s decline.\(^6\) Much that workers and management had fostered, such as insurance, health care, and civic projects, as well as intangible qualities such as concern and social recognition for the workers, now seemed relegated to an earlier time.

The marble worker, however, had carved out an enduring sense of place that still benefits the people of the Valley. Though the workers’ voice was muted from the 1930s onward, the significant contributions of that earlier generation of managers and worker

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continued to benefit the present. Like other workers of the time, the marble workers educated themselves on public issues and entered into the political process. Their voices soon dwindled, however. Woodrow Wilson, observing a change taking place in his lifetime, accelerated in ours, commented “as a nation we are becoming civically illiterate. Unless we find better ways to educate ourselves as citizens, we run the risk of drifting unwittingly into a new kind of Dark Age—a time when small cadres of specialists will control knowledge and thus control the decision making process.”

Vermont at one time had over 700 working quarries; approximately 180 are in operation today. The Vermont Marble Company itself and its quarries have been carved up. Stanley Gawett, a marble dealer, in 1978 bought all the Vermont Marble Company property in West Rutland. Only a few small marble companies—Gawett Marble and Granite, Proctor Marble Company, Vermont Quarries Corporation, and the largest and inheritor of the Vermont Marble Company, OMYA, remained but shadows, of what once had been. OMYA, an international company specializing in calcium carbonate products, which acquired the Vermont Marble Company, still works some of the quarries.

10. Gottfried Pleiss founded OMYA in 1884 in Switzerland. In 1891 he acquired the second site for the company in Omey, France. Because of the loyal relationship of the residents to the company, the company adopted the name OMYA. “On the same day he married Emma Staufer, August 24, 1884, Gottfried Plüss founded the Plüss-Staufer company in Offingen, Switzerland. To keep his promise to his customers ‘to manufacture glazier's putty of highest quality,' Gottfried purchased a site in the Champayne...
is still quite valuable and scarce. There are more gold mines in the United States than marble quarries. However, OMYA has had to find new markets for marble in face of competition from synthetic building products. The company has transformed the marble business from a construction stone company to a world supplier of calcium carbonate and marble slurry used in toothpaste, paper and many other products.

The political power of the region as a whole and of the Vermont Marble Company in particular has declined. Marble industry corporations influenced Vermont until the early 1960s. In the first half of the twentieth century, most Vermont governors had connections directly and indirectly with the marble industry, and many came from Marble Valley. Redfield Proctor, two of his sons, and a grandson were governors of Vermont. Of the seven presidents of the Vermont Marble Company during its existence, five also served as governors of the state and one was a U.S. senator. After 1960, political power shifted and Rutland's rival, Burlington, in Chittenden County, became the state's power base. Control of the Vermont Marble Company itself moved outside the Valley, and, indeed, outside the country. OMYA is headquartered in Switzerland. The Vermont Quarries Corporation, a subsidiary of a joint Italian partnership known as R.E.D, runs the Danby Quarry, previously owned by the Vermont Marble Company since 1902 and at


District of France in 1891 for its deposits of high quality ore. A second location purchased in Omey, France became the site of a new factory that began production in 1900. The OMYA name and logo, now familiar around the world, were in fact inspired by the loyal relationship with ‘Les Omyats,’ the residents of Omey. And these ore deposits still set the standards for raw materials used to produce the highest quality OMYA ground calcium carbonate products." Source: Company literature.

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one time one of the largest underground marble quarries in the world. Officially, the Vermont Marble Company went out of business in 1992.8

The railroads, which had helped to make Rutland so important in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, started their economic and strategic decline in the middle of the twentieth century. Transportation, which was so central to Rutland’s development in the nineteenth century, now impeded it. A modern interstate highway connection between Rutland and Burlington, then to Montreal following the earlier railroad road systems now was thwarted by Massachusetts, which wanted an interstate connecting to one of its major cities, Springfield, in the western part of that state. The interstate system was instead built both west and east of Rutland, leaving the city stranded with its outdated transportation system. Development of an international airport in Burlington further isolated Rutland. The geography of the mountains and the valleys, which had made railroad construction difficult but possible for Rutland, now proved a significant barrier for a major airport. Rutland developed a small commuter airport that struggled against the larger economy of the north.

In the past, Rutland was able to shift from one economic base to others that helped it to remain in the forefront of the state’s economy. No new vision, no new economic base or entrepreneur has emerged to move Rutland to a new prosperity. In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, no engine of growth emerged comparable to those in its early history. The most dynamic and most extensive of these engines, and

the one that had given the region its greatest influence locally and nationally, was the marble industry. The region's own sense of identity came from the marble influence and the rich deposits of marble. The fragmentation of Rutland into separate towns, once looked on as a favorable move in the nineteenth century, now retarded growth in the twentieth and the twenty-first centuries. Instead of cooperation in the region, the divided towns competed with one another for increasingly scarce resources. The bitterness of the 1935-36 strike divided West Rutland and Proctor, making West Rutland the butt of many jokes, especially anti Polish jokes.

Local mythology tends to show Vermont Marble Company in a poor light, spreading the 1930s-era turmoil over the entire lifespan of the firm. A significant portion of that character blackening can probably also be traced to the longevity of P.W. Clement's earlier influence on the Rutland Herald, which negatively colored any mention of the Proctor family. This local negative view is echoed in some of the historical scholarship on the Marble Valley.

Leon Fink, in Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics, grants enormous political and economic power to Redfield Proctor. Fink's narrative, a New Left interpretation, portrays Proctor in a harsh light. Unquestionably, Fink zeroes in on the power that Proctor had and did exert. Fink also provides insight into the power of the local marble elites. A careful examination, however, shows that the

record of the Proctors is more complicated. The first and second generation of Proctors, more so than the other elites of the time, helped to transform the valley with a sense of corporate and civic responsibility. P. W. Clement, for instance, for all his wealth and influence, did not contribute civically in the way that families such as the Proctors, for that matter, or the Dorr's did. Workers were also involved in this public, private, and civic dialogue. The initial board of the Proctor Hospital, for instance, had top management, middle management, office workers, and members of the community, including women on the board. Unlike in the 1850s and 1860s, the later generation of workers, up until the 1920s, identified with the Company even while workers sought their own political voice.

Unlike Leon Fink's critical view, Robert Gilmore focused on the business ability of Redfield Proctor and lauds Proctor's skills, seeing him in a more benign light.12 Gilmore has, admittedly, a narrow focus, and in so doing he helps us to understand Proctor. His analysis shows Proctor as more a captain of industry than a robber baron. Chester Winston Bowie's Redfield Proctor: A Biography, based on his doctoral thesis, places Proctor in a wider career context as a soldier, businessman and politician.13 Bowie's biography gives a well-rounded understanding of the man. Bowie's scope is larger on Proctor, but not, I think on Rutland and its workers.


My concern here has been to examine the essential context of place in helping to understand the people of the Marble Valley especially its marble workers. I have sought to draw these into the narrative to show how they, as well as local elites, acted from their own interests and, from the sense of place, and at times joined forces with others who shared larger common goals. Both class position and a sense of place were important to workers as they tried to shape events. The political battles over place were fought precisely because the wealth came from particular locales within Rutland. The defensiveness and the aggressiveness shaped the political argument around place and explain the division of Rutland today. Local elites—the urban and the rural—themselves divided on important issues, and conflicts and their opposition and alliances with the working class help to get at the complex and fascinating story of the struggle. The very splintering of Rutland into Proctor, West Rutland, Rutland City, and the left over Rutland Town was one result. The workers were the catalyst that galvanized all the groups into action. To tell the story of the Marble Valley, and specifically Rutland, without that voice and the struggle of place is to miss an essential part of the story.

For now, the Valley awaits another transformation. Unlike the earlier activism of the citizen-worker who not only voted but also organized and ran for office, the current low participation of the citizen in national politics shows a dismal sense of alienation and perhaps hopelessness. The earlier model of participatory democracy and corporate responsibility can serve as guides to renewal. The political voice and the economic contributions of the earlier marble worker helped to shape the Valley and form a
community in which thousands of citizen-workers lived, worked, voted, and sought office as part of their social contract of citizenship. Both the marble elite and the marble worker, native and immigrant, had carved out the Marble Valley and the Marble City. Their choices, despite all the obstacles, like the marble they extracted and shaped, contributed to an exceptional sense of identity and place in which the worker-citizens were justifiably proud.
Appendix 1:

Chronology of the Marble Valley
### APPENDIX 1:

**CHRONOLOGY OF THE MARBLE VALLEY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9300 BCE</td>
<td>Paleoininds move into Vermont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>circa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before</td>
<td>Western Abenaki lived west of the White Mountains across Vermont and New Hampshire to the eastern shore of Lake Champlain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1500-1600</td>
<td>European explorers and fishermen arrive in the Gulf of Maine, bringing devastating European diseases and establishing trade alliance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1722</td>
<td>Dummer’s or Lovewell’s War, the English against the Abenaki. To protect the growing population, Fort Dummer was built in 1724 on the site of the future town of Brattleboro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750</td>
<td>1st Governor of New Hampshire, Benning Wentworth, issues patent for territory on the west side of the Green Mountains, naming it Bennington after himself, and beginning conflict with New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept 7, 1761</td>
<td>Benning Wentworth, Royal Governor of New Hampshire, signs charter for town of Rutland in the name of George III; first named grantee is John Murray of Rutland, Massachusetts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1764-1765</td>
<td>King settles dispute between Governor George Clinton of New York and Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire. New York divides the disputed territory of the New Hampshire grants into three counties: 1) Albany, extending from the west as far east as the Green Mountains, (including the Valley of Vermont); 2) Gloucester; and 3) Cumberland.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1773</td>
<td>First formal town meeting of Rutland when a group of settlers from Simsbury, Connecticut, arrive around 1772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>Population of Rutland County is 15,591</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1804-1844</td>
<td>Early mills cut marble blocks to customers’ specifications; polishing comes much later: Middlebury (1804), Tinmouth (1821), Brandon (1828), Sutherland Falls (1838), West Rutland (1844)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>Rutland is a small manufacturing center for woolens, agricultural implements, stoves, ironware, whiskey, and cider brandy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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1835 State legislature issues a charter to the Rutland and Connecticut Railroad Company and direct it to incorporate a road “from a suitable place in Rutland…”

1839 Charles Sheldon begins his marble company

1844 W. Y. Ripley begins his marble company

1849-1852 Rutland and Burlington Railroad built and completed

1850 U.S Census shows only 60 quarrymen in Vermont (includes working granite, marble, slate, tale, soapstone, and limestone); an additional 265 work in various finishing mills

1850s Marble companies build houses and tenements on the east side of the swamp; Pleasant Street area known as “Red City” because of color of company-owned houses.

1850 Six railroad lines connect Rutland to Troy and Albany, New York

1859 April 1 The First General Marble Strike in the Marble Valley. Irish workers protests low wages and living conditions in West Rutland.

1860 List of Marble Quarries in Brandon
C.P. Austin
E.D. Selden

List of Marble Quarries in Wallingford
J. Adair and Brother
General Robinson Hall
Anson Warner in South Wallingford

List of the Major Marble Companies in West Rutland
American Marble Company
Manhattan Marble Company
The Rutland Marble Company
Sheldon and Slason Company
The Green Mountain Marble Company
Clement, Parker, Gilson
Sherman, Adams, Langdon

List of Quarries in West Rutland
Adams and Allen
Sheldon and Slason

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Sherman, Holley and Adams
Vermont Marble Company
Hydeville Company
Rutland Marble Company

List of Quarries in Danby
W.W. Kelley
Thomas Symington

List of Quarries in Dorset
R.P. Bloomer
O. and Clark and Folsom
M. and G. and B. Holley
Way, Wilson Sandford Company
Firedly and McDonald in East Dorset
Fields and Kent in East Dorset

List of Quarries in Arlington
A.D. Canfield
West and Canfield

List of Quarries in Shaftesberry
Samuel Cranston

List of the Marble Companies in Sutherland Falls
Sutherland Falls Marble Company

1866 Redfield Proctor begins his political life soon after he moves to Rutland. In 1866 he is one of the Selectmen.

1867 The Second General Marble Strike in the Marble Valley organized by Irish workers.

1870 Redfield Proctor organizes the Sutherland Falls Marble Company

1874 In 1874 Redfield Proctor is a member of the State Senate from Rutland County and is made president pro tempore.

1876 In 1876 Redfield Proctor is elected Lieutenant Governor and is the presiding officer of the Senate at that session.

1877 Walter C. Dunton, law partner of Redfield Proctor, appointed to the Vermont Supreme Court.

1878 In 1878 Redfield Proctor elected Governor.
1880 55% of Rutland marble workers are under 30 years of age

1880 March Redfield Proctor takes over New York-owned Rutland Marble Company

1880 In September 1880, Redfield Proctor forms the Vermont Marble Company from the Rutland Marble Company and the Sutherland Falls Marble Company.

December Proctor explores an alliance of marble producers. In January 1881 the Producers Marble Company formed, a cartel to maintain marble prices.

1882 Northern Italians recruited by Colonel Proctor to work at Vermont Marble Company at Sutherland Falls

Jan. 1, 1883 Redfield Proctor re-organizes Producers Marble Company. Agreement expires December 31, 1887; the following day, Jan. 1, 1888, Vermont Marble Company begins its widespread acquisitions

1883 Clement Bank organized in August

Jan. 1886 Rutland Knights of Labor organizes; two of the four Rutland Assemblies establish in West Rutland

Aug. 26, 1886 First Workingmen’s Convention ever held in Rutland

Sept. 7, 1886 United Labor Convention forms a Workingmen’s Party in Rutland with James F. Hogan, son of Irish quarryman, as candidate for state legislature. He was also a marble worker.

1886 The Vermont State Legislature holds public testimony on the division of Rutland into separate towns. 1886

1886 West Rutland and Sutherland Falls each petition to be a separate town; the latter asks to use the name of Proctor

Nov. 1886 James Hogan sweeps into office with 1645 votes, 400 votes over his Republican challenger. James Hogan, son of Irish quarryman, elected Rutland Town state representative. Labor perceived as a threat. Division of Rutland now in earnest.

Nov. 1886 Towns of West Rutland and Sutherland Falls created. Sutherland Falls now takes the name of Proctor

1887 Rutland United Labor Party founded
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 1, 1887</td>
<td>First town meeting of West Rutland, Workingmen’s Ticket Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Vermont Marble Company adopts accident insurance for its workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>on March 30, 1887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fall 1887</td>
<td>West Rutland Knights of Labor demand an increase of $0.10 to $0.35 a day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Redfield Proctor appointed Secretary of War under President Harrison. He is secretary of war for two years and brings about organizational reforms in the department.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Redfield Proctor ends active connection with Vermont Marble Company</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Fletcher Proctor, son of Redfield, at age 29 takes over the Vermont Marble Company and is President of Vermont Marble Company until his death in 1911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-1908</td>
<td>Redfield Proctor is U.S. Senator from Vermont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>Village of Rutland incorporated as a city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>End of Rutland Knights of Labor assemblies following the collapse of national organization of Knights of Labor; two Assemblies were in West Rutland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>The Quarry Horror. The worst one-day marble quarry accident. Five marble workers killed and 10 others injured in West Rutland Quarry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>The U.S. financial panic, started in 1892, now affects Rutland County. Financial Panic worsens in 1893, the worst financial crisis of the century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894</td>
<td>Italian Aid Society founded in Rutland on Feb 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Vermont Marble Company hires country’s first industrial nurse, Ada M. Stewart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Democrat and former Knights of Labor organizer Thomas Brown elected mayor of Rutland in 1896</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Vermont Marble Company establishes Proctor Hospital in Proctor, for its workers and on a pay-basis for residents of the town where Vermont Marble Company has properties.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>Vermont has 281 marble and stone work establishments, employing 4,668 workers. Most of the marble establishments are concentrated in Rutland County.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun. 1, 1901</td>
<td>Vermont Marble Company (founded in 1880) reorganized into a corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>John McCullough, Republican, elected governor with the help of the Proctor forces and thwarts Clement.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>Jack S. Carder, an immigrant and a marble worker, becomes Rutland’s first mayor from the Labor Party. A split within the Republican Party between the drys and the wets divides the votes, allowing Carder to win.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>Percival Clement runs again for governor and loses in a head-to-head contest with Fletcher Proctor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Redfield Proctor dies at age 76 from pneumonia. Fletcher Proctor, his son and the governor of the state, appoints John Stewart of Middlebury to complete Redfield’s term.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 1908</td>
<td>Three thousand workers wait for hours in March snowstorm for Redfield Proctor’s casket to pass in review</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Thomas Brown, former Rutland Democratic mayor, forced to resign in 1896, becomes Democratic national councilman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Percival W. Clement wins governorship. Fletcher and Redfield Proctor, his political and social rivals, now dead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>By 1934, most of the paternalistic practices had been dropped, and the hospital, now divorced from the Company, no longer provided care for which the marble workers could afford to pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935-1936</td>
<td>In the winter and spring of 1935-6 the Danby, West Rutland and Proctor employees of the Vermont Marble Company went out on one of the bitterest strikes Vermont had ever witnessed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>The political, social, and economic power of the Valley and the marble industry continued to dwindle. The economic, political, and social base of the state shifted north towards Rutland’s perennial rival, Burlington.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Appendix 2:

Chronological List of Quarries
Appendix 2: List of Marble Quarries in the Marble Valley of Rutland County, Chronologically Arranged

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Quarry</th>
<th>Locality</th>
<th>By Whom Opened</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sheldon's</td>
<td>Pittsford</td>
<td>Jeremiah Sheldon</td>
<td>1795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hudson's</td>
<td>Pittsford</td>
<td>Eli Hudson</td>
<td>1799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamb's</td>
<td>Pittsford</td>
<td>Charles Lamb</td>
<td>1806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrew's</td>
<td>Tinmouth</td>
<td>Enos Clark</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brockway's</td>
<td>Whipple Hollow, Rutland</td>
<td>Ezra Meach</td>
<td>1807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark's</td>
<td>Tinmouth</td>
<td>General Jonas Clark</td>
<td>1821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spencer and Cowen's</td>
<td>Pittsford</td>
<td>Ezra Spencer and Moses Cowen</td>
<td>1830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Marble Company</td>
<td>West Rutland</td>
<td>William I. Barnes and Francis Slason</td>
<td>1830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humphry's</td>
<td>Sutherland Falls</td>
<td>Moses and Willard Humphry and Edgar L. Ormsbee</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clifford's</td>
<td>Pittsford</td>
<td>Edward Clifford</td>
<td>1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boston or Selden's Quarry</td>
<td>Brandon</td>
<td>James Davis, James Davis, Jr. Thomas J. Bagley and Ilock Hill</td>
<td>1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheldon's No. 1</td>
<td>West Rutland</td>
<td>Sheldon and Morgan</td>
<td>1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pittsford Quarry Company</td>
<td>Pittsford</td>
<td>Edward and Nathan Clifford</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rutland Marble Company</td>
<td>West Rutland</td>
<td>William J. Barnes</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilson and Woodfin's</td>
<td>West Rutland</td>
<td>Joseph Adams and Ira C. Allen</td>
<td>1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kelley's</td>
<td>Wallingford</td>
<td>Joseph F. Lippitt</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manley's</td>
<td>Sudbury</td>
<td>Albert Manley and Ilock Hill</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selden</td>
<td>Brandon</td>
<td>Manley and Hill</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miller's</td>
<td>South Tinmouth</td>
<td>Rowell Caswell</td>
<td>1849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherman's</td>
<td>West Rutland</td>
<td>Smith Sherman and Moses Jackman</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wheaton</td>
<td>Pittsford</td>
<td>Augustus Barrows</td>
<td>1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutherland Falls</td>
<td>Sutherland Falls</td>
<td>North River</td>
<td>1852</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hall</td>
<td>Wallingford</td>
<td>General Robinson Hall</td>
<td>1855</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adair</td>
<td>South Wallingford</td>
<td>J. Adair and Brother</td>
<td>1857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flint Brothers</td>
<td>Rutland Valley</td>
<td>William F. Barnes</td>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheldonsons and Sons</td>
<td>West Rutland</td>
<td>Sheldon and Slason</td>
<td>1865</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutherland Falls</td>
<td>Sutherland Falls</td>
<td>Sutherland Falls</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Quarry</td>
<td>Locality</td>
<td>By Whom Opened</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(new)</td>
<td>Company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Marble</td>
<td>West Rutland</td>
<td>Horace and Norman Clark</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morgan</td>
<td>West Rutland</td>
<td>David Morgan</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dean</td>
<td>Brandon</td>
<td>Dean Quarry Company</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albion</td>
<td>Rutland Valley</td>
<td>William J. Barnes</td>
<td>1866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Columbian</td>
<td>Rutland (north)</td>
<td>Columbian</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centre Rutland</td>
<td>Center Rutland</td>
<td>B.P. Baker</td>
<td>1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodell’s</td>
<td>Brandon</td>
<td>S.L. Goodell</td>
<td>1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esperanza</td>
<td>Whipple Hollow, Rutland</td>
<td>W.H. Johnson, John B. Reynolds</td>
<td>1882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True Blue</td>
<td>Whipple Hollow, Rutland</td>
<td>True Blue Company</td>
<td>1884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valido</td>
<td>Whipple Hollow, Rutland</td>
<td>W.H. Johnson, John B. Reynolds</td>
<td>1884</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 3:

Description of Marble Workers Occupations
A. Marble Workers

B. Support Personnel
Marble workers could be anybody who worked in any level/occupation of the marble industry.

Quarrymen men who worked in the quarry.

Marble cutters also worked in the quarries. They considered themselves a more skilled group than the generic term quarry workers.

Marble graders developed the ability to look at a piece of marble and determine whether it would be useable for monuments, fine sculpture, or other uses.

Teamsters conveyed the large blocks of marble to the mills. They drove teams of horses or oxen.

Marble sawyers used gang saws to cut the marble from blocks into slabs.

Marble copers: A coper removes a smaller piece of marble from a larger slab, using a hammer and chisel. "Cope out" is a verb for removing, say, a 2x3-foot section from a 8x4-foot slab.

Marble tracers and probably marble markers traced patterns onto the marble or guidelines in carving or other procedures.

Marble turners turned blocks into columns.

Marble planers smoothed the marble surface for further work.

Marble fillers patch marble in the plant/mill.

Marble rubbers/bedrubbers: operated the rubbing beds that knocked rough spots off large marble pieces. Marble sanders provided sand to the rubbing beds.

Marble carvers were sculptors who performed artistic work.

Marble finishers completed a stage before polishing.

Marble polishers: Put the finest finish/highest polish on marble.

Marble boxers constructed shipping boxes for the finished marble objects.
Support Personnel

**Marble shipping clerks** were responsible for making arrangements for shipping the marble.

**Marble dealers** were local and distant sellers of the marble products. The Vermont Marble Company had distribution centers throughout the country.

**Marble sales** were salesmen who represented and promoted the products of the Company. They were in local and distant locations so there would not be internal competition.

**Blacksmiths** made the implements for the quarry and the mill.

**Bookkeepers** were responsible for payroll, billing and expenses.

**Clerks** were on the pay line, shipping line, or clerks in the company store.

**Marble dock workers** were responsible for loading and unloading the marble from the quarries to the mill and from the mill to the trains.

**Engineers** designed and constructed equipment for the quarries and mills, as well as working on the company-owned rail line.

**Machinists** worked with engineers in making the equipment for working the marble.

**Masons** used the marble and/or granite to construct buildings, retaining walls, foundations for derricks, and other stone work.

Source: Based on interviews of marble workers by author and historical descriptions.
Appendix 4:

Sample Ethnicity and Occupation of Marble Workers in 1880 and 1900 Census
## Appendix 4:
Sample Occupation and Ethnicity of Marble Workers in 1880 Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Ethnicity (1880)</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Occupation 1900 Census</th>
<th>Ethnicity (1900)</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marble apprentices</td>
<td>(not listed in 1880 census)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Marble apprentices</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble bell boy</td>
<td>(not listed in 1880 census)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Marble bell boy</td>
<td>Born in Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble boxing</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 U.S. parents</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Marble boxing</td>
<td>Born in Ireland (7%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Ireland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. w/1 Irish parent and 1 U.S.-born parent (14%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (21%)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S.-Bom parents (43%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Canadians</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble buffer</td>
<td>(not listed in 1880 census)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marble buffer</td>
<td>Born in Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble carvers</td>
<td>(not listed in 1880 census)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marble carvers</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 1 Irish and 1 U.S.-born parent (9%)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 U.S.-Bom parents (18%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Italians (64%)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble chipper, assistant</td>
<td>(not listed in 1880 census)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marble chipper, assistant</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of Canadian parents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble chipers/copers</td>
<td>Born in Ireland, Born in Canada</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Marble chipers/copers (or coapers)</td>
<td>Born in Ireland (13%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish (40%)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents (20%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Canadians</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden (13%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Scotland</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Ethnicity (1880)</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Occupation 1900 Census</td>
<td>Ethnicity (1900)</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble contractor</td>
<td>Born in Ireland (23%)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Marble contractor</td>
<td>Born in Ireland (6%)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (52%)</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. w/1 Irish and 1 U.S.-born parent (9%)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 U.S.-born parents (10%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born U.S w/2 Irish parents (30%)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada (6%)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S.-born parents (19%)</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in England (3%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada of Canadian parents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 1 U.S. and 1 English parent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. w/1 Canadian and 1 U.S.-born parent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada of 2 Irish-born parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Italy of Italian parents (20%)</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble cutters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in French Canada (5%)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of French Canadian parents (2%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in England of 1 English and 1 Scot parent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 1 U.S.-born parent and 1 Scot parent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in France</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada with 1 Scot parent and 1 Canadian parent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble dealers</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Marble dealers</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 U.S. parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble fillers</td>
<td>(not listed in 1880 census)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marble fillers</td>
<td>Born in Sweden (44%)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Italy</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Italians</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Born in Austria</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Born in Poland/Russia</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marble finishers</td>
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<td>Marble finishers</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents</td>
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<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden (mill finisher)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Number</td>
<td>Occupation 1900 Census</td>
<td>Ethnicity (1900)</td>
<td>Number</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marble foremen (also look at mill foremen and quarry foremen)</td>
<td>Born in Ireland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Marble foremen</td>
<td>Born in Ireland (14%)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (21%)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 U.S. parents</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. (14%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in England</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. (marble yard foreman)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden (29%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Wales</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. w/1 French Canadian parent (14%)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. (assistant supervisor)</td>
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<td>Total 8</td>
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<td>Total 14</td>
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<td>Marble graders</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Marble graders</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (18%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. (53%)</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden (24%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marble markers</td>
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<td>Marble mill workers</td>
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<td>Marble mill workers</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish (12%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada of Canadian parents</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. (18%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Ireland of 2 English parents</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. (mill hand)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Born in Sweden</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Swedes (marble mill labor — also listed under workers/laborers) (29%)</td>
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<td>Swede (mill carpenter)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swede (mill finisher)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swedes (millwright) (18%)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swede (mill laborer — also in laborer)</td>
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<td>Canadian of 1 Canadian &amp; 1 Irish parent (mill hand)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents (superintendent)</td>
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<td>Born in England</td>
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<td>Marble office workers</td>
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<td>(not listed in 1900 census)</td>
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<td>Occupation 1900 Census</td>
<td>Ethnicity (1900)</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
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<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble owners</td>
<td>(all born U.S. of U.S. parents)</td>
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<td>Marble owners</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents</td>
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<tr>
<td>Capitalist (Francis Slason)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marble co. president (Redfield Proctor)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Marble official</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble producer</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Broker</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble planers</td>
<td>(not listed in 1880 census)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Marble planers</td>
<td>Born in Sweden</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marble polishers</td>
<td>Born in Ireland (18%)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Marble polishers</td>
<td>Born in Ireland (8%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (48%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>Born in U.S. w/1 Irish parent (4%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 U.S. parents (18%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (28%)</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in Canada of Canadian parents (9%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. w/1 U.S. parent (4%)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in England of English parents (9%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. w/2 Canadian parents (8%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in Canada of 2 Irish parents</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. w/1 Canadian + 1 Irish parent (2%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total 33</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden of Swedish parents (13%)</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Italy of Italian parents (4%)</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>Born in French Canada (4%)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of French Canadian parents (8%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Born in England</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. w/ English parent</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Germany</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada of 2 Irish parents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Welsh parents</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada w/1 Irish and 1 Canadian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble quarry foremen</td>
<td>Born in Ireland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Marble quarry foremen</td>
<td>Born in Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in Canada</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. (quarry superintendent)</td>
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<td>1</td>
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Total 134
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<th>Ethnicity (1900)</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marble quarry workers</td>
<td>Born in Ireland (42%)</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>Marble quarry workers</td>
<td>Born in Ireland (29%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (16%)</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (19%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents (1%)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents (14%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada (34%)</td>
<td>95</td>
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<td>Born in Canada (5%)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Born in U.S. of 1 Canadian and 1 U.S. parent</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden (14%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Canadians</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in French Canada (9%)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of French Canadians</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Scotland of 2 Irish parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Germany</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 1 Canadian &amp; 1 Irish</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Born in Canada of 1 Irish and 1 Canadian</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Born in England of 2 Irish</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden (2%)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Born in France</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Born in Norway</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>281</td>
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<td>Marble rubbers</td>
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<td>Born in Sweden</td>
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<td>Born in French Canada</td>
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<td>Marble rubbers</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Ireland (17%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. w/1 Irish parent (6%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. w/2 Irish parents (11%)</td>
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<td>Born in U.S. w/2 U.S. parents (3%)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Born in Canada</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. w/1 Canadian parent</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. w/2 Canadian parents</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden (37%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of unknown parental origin</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in French Canada</td>
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<td>Born in Norway</td>
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<td>Born in Finland</td>
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Total 21
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<th>Ethnicity (1900)</th>
<th>Number</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marble sales</td>
<td>Born in Ireland</td>
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<td>Marble sales</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Born in Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marble sawyers</td>
<td>Born in Ireland</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Marble sawyers</td>
<td>Born in Ireland (27%)</td>
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<td>Born in U.S. of</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (3%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Irish parents</td>
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<td></td>
<td>In U.S. (11%)</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>U.S of Scot</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(13%)</td>
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<td>In Sweden (43%)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>In U.S. of unknown ethnicity</td>
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<tr>
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<td>(15%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Canadian and</td>
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<td>1 U.S. parent</td>
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<td>Born in England</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Scotland</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of 2 Irish</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Marble shippers</td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>2 Irish parents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Irish and 1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English parent</td>
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<td>Marble shop</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble superintendent</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Marble superintendent</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 Irish parents</td>
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<td>Occupation</td>
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<td>Number</td>
<td>Occupation 1900 Census</td>
<td>Ethnicity (1900)</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble turners</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (25%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Marble turners</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (8%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. (58%) of 2 U.S. parents</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 U.S.-born parents (50%)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 1 Canadian and 1 U.S. parent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in French Canada</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 French Canadians</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Germany</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 German parents</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Total 12</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marble worker</td>
<td>Born in Ireland (28%)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Marble worker</td>
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<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 1 Irish and 1 U.S. parent</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (11%)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (36%)</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents (14%)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada (15%)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 1 Canadian and 1 U.S.-born parent</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 1 Canadian and 1 U.S. parent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Canadians</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Italy (29%)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 1 English &amp; 1 English parent</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in French Canada</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada of 1 Canadian &amp; 1 Irish parent</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 1 French Canadian and 1 U.S. parent</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada of 2 Scots</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Norway (marble laborer)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 English parents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Scot parents (marble laborer)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Finland (4%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Poland/Austria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Denmark</td>
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Total 59
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<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
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<th>Number</th>
<th>Occupation 1900 Census</th>
<th>Ethnicity (1900)</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>Born in Ireland</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Blacksmiths</td>
<td>Born in Ireland of Irish parents</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Canadian parents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Scotland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of Scot parents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total 90</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Marble yard</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bookkeeper</td>
<td>Born in U.S.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>(not listed in 1900 census)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Prussia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Scotland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 U.S. parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S.-born parents (marble clerk)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in England (shipping clerk)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (railroad clerk)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada (clerk in store)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents (head clerk)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers</td>
<td>Born in U.S.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Engineers</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 1 Canadian and 1 U.S.-born parent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine operators</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 U.S. (laborer/mach)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish (machine operator)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machine operators</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mason or Stone Mason</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mason or stone mason</td>
<td>Born in U.S. (43%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Scotland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 1 Canadian and 1 Irish parent</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Swedish parents</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Total 7</strong></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Number</td>
<td>Occupation 1900 Census</td>
<td>Ethnicity (1900)</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marble Dock Workers</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of Irish parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machinist</td>
<td>Born in England</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. with 1 Irish parent and</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mill foremen</td>
<td>Born in Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 U.S.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in England</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. with 2 Irish parents</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Quarry foremen</td>
<td>Born in Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manager of Company</td>
<td>Born in England</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mill foremen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired Marble Worker</td>
<td>Born in Ireland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipping Clerk</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 English parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teamsters</td>
<td>Born in Ireland (30%)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Marble mill</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish (12%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (18%)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 U.S. parents (45%)</td>
<td>15</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada (21%)</td>
<td>7</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Canadians (3%)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada of 2 Irish parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 1 Scot</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Canada of 1 Irish &amp; 1 U.S.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>parent</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Ireland (stable worker)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total 33</td>
<td></td>
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</table>

(not listed in 1900 – the yard is mechanized)
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<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Ethnicity (1880)</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Occupation 1900 Census</th>
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<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S (18%)</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. (mill hand)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swedes (marble mill labor -- also listed under workers/laborers) (29%)</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swede (mill carpenter)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swede (mill finisher)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swedes (mill wright) (18%)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swede (mill laborer -- also in laborer)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canadian of 1 Canadian &amp; 1 Irish parent (mill hand)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Laborers</td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (laborer/mach.)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of U.S. parents</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Ireland (day laborer)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (day laborer)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 1 Irish and 1 U.S.-Born parent (farm laborer)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Born in U.S. of 2 Irish parents (railroad laborer)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Sweden (mill laborer)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Born in Poland/Russia (day laborer)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Tenth Census Population, 1880. Manuscript for Rutland County, Vermont

Source: U.S. Twelfth Census, 1900. Population Manuscript for Rutland County, Vermont
U.S. National Archives, microfilm

U.S. National Archives, microfilm. Redfield Proctor stated in Rutland Daily Herald, December 20, 1880 that he had 600 workers at the time and Ripley indicated he had 75. From these two owners we have a total of 675 in the 1880 sample. In the sample we have 682 marble workers from the census, indicating some marble workers at other small marble companies. The largest employment group in the sample is that of quarry workers (281), followed by marble sawyers (102), marble polishers (33), marble cutters (31). Teamsters may not necessarily be all marble haulers (33).
Appendix 5:

Official Statement of the Vermont Marble Company about the 1904 Strike
A strike was begun here last month involving a small number of our employees. It was instigated and is being managed by parties from New York and Chicago. These outside managers have sent out distorted and willfully false reports concerning the strike itself and generally concerning our business and employees...

We employ in Vermont about 2,500 men -- the number in June was 2,474. We employ both union and non-union men. The exact proportion of each the first of July we do not know, but probably four-fifths of the whole were not members of any union. There was no complaint from our employees, either union or non-union, against the general conditions and scale of wages prevailing here, and our relations were mutually satisfactory.

Such being the situation, some time in June a stranger from New York City called upon us and demanded that we 'unionize' our entire business and agree in writing that we would not employ any but union men. Of course we refused. A strike was ordered, and on July 12th some of our union employees, obeying the order, went out. A week later these outside parties attempted to force cut all of our employees, but only a few of them paid any attention to this latter order. The largest number of our men who have been out at any time is 225, or about seven per cent of the whole. Ninety-three per cent of our employees, including union men, have remained loyal to us in spite of all outside interference and misrepresentations. Some of those we went out have gone back to work. There are now about 175 who have not returned, of whom a part have gone away to seek work elsewhere, and the rest are remaining quietly here. Our relations with them continue entirely amicable. All of them who were renting houses of the Company are still occupying them with our full consent, including the families of those who have gone away to seek work elsewhere. They have talked freely with our different officers and superintendents, and they make no complaint of the general conditions or scale of wages existing here, but say that they went out because they were ordered out, and stay out because they dare not return.

About 110 of them are Italian stone cutters. Apart from them the strike would not have affected us at all. As a whole they were good men and good workmen, and they were earning good wages. For example, in one shop there were many who earned over $4 per day, and the average of the whole forty-six who went out of that shop, including several apprentices and a number who could not do a full day's work, was over $3 per day. To them it is represented that whether they stay out or go back we shall be compelled to unionize our business; that if they disobey, the orders of the union now they will be blacklisted and soon will not be permitted to work at their trade as stone cutters, either for us or any one else. This threat, coupled also with the fear of being blacklisted in Italy, has been sufficient to restrain the great bulk of them from returning to their work, although many of them freely express their desire to do so.

It is the claim of these outside manipulators that the men who went out were compelled to strike because they were only paid starvation wages, and that their wages were all taken by the Company for rent and store accounts. The average rent of our houses occupied by the
men who went out was $5.07 per month. The tyranny of the Company's stores has been especially dwelt upon. It amounts to simply this: Neither the Vermont Marble Company nor its managers and owners have one cent of interest in the profits of its stores. They are run on a co-operative basis, solely for the convenience and profit of the employees themselves. Their prices are reasonable and their outside sales to customers, in no way connected with the Company, amount to over one hundred thousand dollars per year. At the end of the year the business of each store is settled under the supervision of a committee of the employees.

In that settlement the company is allowed four per cent interest on the money it advances for the conduct of the store business, and also receives nothing either for general superintendence or otherwise, but the entire profits of the sales both to employees and to non-employees are then divided among the trading employees in proportion to their trade. At the end of last year there was paid back to the trading employees in cash at our Proctor store 10 per cent on the amount of their purchases; at our West Rutland store 9 per cent, and at our Center Rutland store 6 per cent. The Company has not one cent of interest in whether its employees trade at its store or not and is absolutely indifferent thereto. Instead of the men's wages being eaten up by their rent and store accounts, the fact is that during the year ending June 30th last, less than 3 percent of the entire wages of all our employees was retained by the Company for rent, less than 22 per cent of it went to these cooperative stores, and over 75 per cent was paid in actual cash to our employees.

... There are some necessary differences between employment in the country and in the city. A good many of our men own their own homes, but being in a rural community apart from any large center of population we are compelled to furnish houses for many. The cost of rent and of store goods has already been mentioned. Other expenses also are relatively smaller in the country. For example, the best of milk is sold in the village of Proctor the year round at four cents per quart, and coal is delivered from 50c to 75c per ton less than it can be purchased in the neighboring city of Rutland. ... We carry entirely at our own expense and without the action or cooperation of our employees in any way a general accident policy which covers all of our employees from the moment they enter our employ. Under this policy in case of accident our men receive free medical attendance and one-half wages while they are laid up, or in case of death, their family receives $500. We also maintain at our own expense a free hospital where our employees and their families receive free treatment and from which, without expense, in case of sickness at their homes, they are furnished the services of a nurse. These and other similar provisions for our employees are not in substitution for their wages or any part of them, but simply additional to them. It is a sufficient comment upon the slander that our employees are poverty-stricken, that in the village of Proctor with less than 2500 inhabitants, a village built up entirely upon the business of this Company and consisting almost wholly of its employees and their families, there are over 700 persons who have deposits in one savings bank besides their deposits in other institutions. ...

as quoted in Gale, Proctor: My Home Town (pp 241-248)
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