

SOCIAL PROCESS AND SETTLEMENT FORM

IN FIVE VERMONT TOWNS

by

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ABSTRACT

The nature of a particular economic process, capitalism, as characterized by the relationship between the country and the city, has affected the spatial pattern of the country town and its surrounding landscape. The nature of these transformations to the physical environment are described in the selected histories of five Vermont towns from 1765 to 1980. By an analysis of the institutions and persons that were responsible for the major physical transformations to the towns of Woodstock during the 18th and 19th centuries and Stowe from the turn of the century until the mid-sixties an understanding of the relationship between social process and settlement form is made.

Changes in population, income, employment, building permit issuance, traffic accidents, peak electrical demand, commercial space and crime for approximately the last twenty years in the three adjacent towns of Warren, Waitsfield and Fayston are described and their nature in terms of whether they are urban or rural in character is assessed.

The transformations of the land due to the profitability of a number of landuses over time, using the five Vermont towns as examples, is then analysed to explain how the meaning of the Vermont landscape including the country town has changed to correspond to these transformations.

to my mother and father.

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I. Introduction

The relationship between the country and the city has a long history. The city is basically a product of the land, representing perhaps society's largest physical artifact and its most important cultural product. The history of this relationship has for the most part been an antagonistic one, with the city usually the dominant partner.

The word "country" has had different meanings through time. It is derived from contra (against, opposite) and has the original sense of land spread out over against the observer. In the thirteenth century it acquired its modern meaning of a tract or region, and of a land or nation. By the early sixteenth century it is contrasted with the city: "told it in the cyte and in the countre" (Tyndale's translation of Mark V, 14 in 1526) and had by this time become normal usage for a large town.¹ From the late sixteenth century the contrast (in the English language) between the country and the city is more frequent and more pointed.²

These differences between the country and the city today can be summarized in three distinct ways. First, as the difference between two kinds of physical environment. "Rural" or "urban" are the words usually used to describe such settings. In most parts of the world today the city is thought of as being a manufactured object surrounded by country. "This has been the traditional emphasis placed upon the physical city, a spatial arrangement of activity locations, conceived as land-use pattern; and upon the urban settlement, conceived as a unitary place."³

Second, as a difference in lifestyles, as evidenced by the different social systems that characterize life in these two environments. The country conservative, where the family is still the basic social unit, the city, on the other hand, as individualistic with a high degree of personal independence and much choice. The one "slow," the other "fast."

Third, this contrast between country and city can be discussed as two sets of ideas: the city as an "advanced" center of learning, communication and light, and the country as a "natural" way of life, of peace, innocence and simple virtue, i.e., as two sub-cultures, the city as industrial and complex, the country as pastoral and simple.

No matter how the city is conceptualized (for whatever purpose) it has always been seen to be expanding into the country and not the other way around, although there have been times when great cities (Rome, for instance) lost much of their population and had vast tracts of open meadows. Since the first census in 1790 American urban areas as well as their surrounding suburbs have grown, almost without exception at a faster rate than rural areas. This trend in the pattern of growth and settlement changed for the first time (except for a brief period during the depression of the 1930's) and was first noticed in the 1970 census.⁴ The preliminary results of the 1980 census confirms this new trend. The growth rate of rural counties now exceeds that of metropolitan counties and furthermore, this rural population growth has been occurring in the small rural cities and towns. (The farm population, however, continues to decline.)⁵

The domination of the country by the city is a relationship whose history can be explained in various ways. This essay assumes that capitalism, as a mode of production is the basic process of most of what we know as the history of the country and the city and furthermore, that industrialism is only a phase in the long history of this capitalistic process.⁶ Without oversimplifying the relationship, Marx has characterized modern history as "the urbanization of the countryside."⁷

The key to the relationship in economic terms is in what manner is surplus accumulation* redistributed? In capitalist economies it is supposed to be by the market. For the relationship between the country and the city the issue remains the same, only slightly more focused, namely, in what manner is surplus accumulation produced by the country redistributed back into the system, and more pointedly, by whom or by what is it appropriated? Harvey and others argue that it is the "urban system" as typified by the city that controls the mechanisms for the redistribution and as such the redistribution is deliberately biased towards urban interests at the expense of most others.

The relationship between the country and the city in non-capitalist countries has had a different history, although in some cases it would seem to be similar. The issue is centered around the nature of the redistributive mechanism which, in capitalist economies is the market and in non-capitalist economies is some form of state intervention on the market varying from mild intervention that modifies the market (even some advanced capitalist economies do this) to almost total state control

*used as a descriptive term only.

of all redistributive mechanisms.

Russia for example in the early years of the revolution deliberately drained the rural economy of most of its surplus accumulation in order to finance its industrial development.

Cuba, by the combined state policies of on the one hand investing heavily in rural enterprises to create opportunities for farm workers, and on the other hand, by deliberately constraining investment and growth in the capital city Havana, has transformed the meaning of the relationship between the country and the city.

When the relationship is interpreted in this manner it becomes a relationship within the same economic and historical process. In spatial terms they represent the two basic spatial components of the economic process, the country as the place where basic materials are exploited, and the city as the place where materials are transformed and marketed and, in capitalist economies particularly, where by far the greatest proportion of surplus value is captured.⁸ The exploitation of labor in this view of economic "development" occurs wherever labor is to be found, i.e., in both the country and the city: the wages and working conditions of both farm workers as well as factory workers is testimony to this.⁹

Physical development, i.e., the growth of towns and cities as well as the transformations to the land are perhaps the most tangible as well as visible evidence we have as to the nature of this particular mode of production.

This essay will try to show that the nature of this historical process can be seen in the changing patterns of settlement form almost as clearly as in the less tangible (although obvious) dimensions of social structure

or economic production. It is an attempt to explain the relationship between social process and settlement form by an understanding of the nature of the control over the means of production that, in part, produces and transforms the physical environment. The assumption being that it is the nature of this control that gives the distinguishing character and quality to both the social relations within the society as well as to the physical settings that they produce and inhabit.

This process seems almost universal. It accounts for the dominant/exploitative relationship that exists in both time and place between the country and the city. The general relationship between rural communities and the city as well as the specific relationship of the large country house (manor) and the surrounding landscape as evidenced mainly in the English literary tradition, has been interpreted in this manner by Williams.¹⁰ The historical struggle between town and country in China, Algeria and Vietnam, Harvey urges us can also be understood if we accept his explanation of the market exchange process and metropolitan urbanism in the contemporary capitalist world.¹¹

Weisskopf has argued that capitalism in poor countries of the modern world is likely to perpetuate underdevelopment in those countries.¹²

This is the dominance of the city over the country in a more abstract sense, yet the spatial components remain the same, namely the urban/rural physical environment.

"Most of the poor countries are characterized by a pronounced economic dualism. A modern foreign-oriented, largely capitalist sector can be

found in a few major urban centers and around important sources of raw materials, while the rest of the country remains dominated by a more traditional, wholly indigenous, largely pre-capitalist sector."¹³

The development of the Mexican-United States border towns, where bipolar cities have been developing for many years is another case in point. Industrial monopoly capital locating mainly on the United States side of the border exploit the cheap labor (mainly from rural areas) on the Mexican side of the "fence."¹⁴ Various arrangements between the governments of the two countries have been worked out (such as tax free manufacturing zones just within the Mexican border) to lessen the impact of this relationship. The basic, exploitative motive is still however obvious. "The industrial-agricultural balance, in all its physical forms of town-and-country relations, is the product, however mediated, of a set of decisions about capital investment made by the minority which controls capital and which determines its use by calculations of profit."¹⁵

The growth of American cities has been explained from this perspective.¹⁶ Gordon has given an explanation of the urban development of the American city using the Marxian perspective. "According to that view, we have witnessed three main stages of capital accumulation in the advanced capitalist countries: the stages of commercial accumulation, industrial (or competitive) accumulation and advanced corporate (or monopoly) accumulation."¹⁷ He argues that urban development in the United States has passed through three corresponding stages--each conditioned by the dynamics of capital accumulation that characterize that stage. Gordon

maintains that the process of capital accumulation has been the most important factor structuring the growth (along with its social disruptions) of the American city.

If we assume then, for the purposes of this essay, that "capitalism as a mode of production has created our kinds of city" and that the relationship between the country and the city is one of intimate dominance, it would make sense to look at this relationship between capitalism (as a mode of production) and urban development.¹⁸ If then, what these various writers (and others)¹⁹ believe to be true is in fact the case, then what they say about the country-city relationship in the past or in Africa or Asia or even in American cities themselves should also be the case for the American countryside.

This essay will focus on the effects of this "urban development" as it has transformed the settlement pattern of the country town and its surrounding landscape in Vermont. The basic hypothesis, then, is that capitalism, through the mechanism of metropolitan capital, is transforming the economic and social relations of the local community and that some of the effects of these transformations can be observed in, and help to explain, the changing physical pattern of the settlement.

Within this general premise it becomes important to describe two things: first the historical relationship between the country and the city in Colonial New England, and second, the nature of these transformations. So, the essay, while hopefully proving the basic hypothesis will be concerned with two corollaries to it, as well.

First, that this mechanism, metropolitan capital, has been the central element in this process from the beginning of the European settlements in New England and that recent developments are part of the same economic process.

Second, that change in the rural landscape follows a pattern that is directly related to, and is the inevitable consequence of, such an economic process. The character of this pattern of change (transformation) is such that the production of the landscape, including its objects, (be they a clearing, a house, a village green, a mill pond, an upland meadow or a ski trail) becomes successively oriented towards market consumption rather than for the production of the thing for its direct use. In other words, the successive transformations of the rural landscape can be seen as moving away from local and direct social use towards the production of a landscape as a commodity for market consumption which because of the nature of the market has less and less local meaning.

This is a lot to do in an essay of this nature, so the subject matter has not been dealt with comprehensively but rather, selective incursions into the various environmental settings have been made to describe the issues and to demonstrate the hypothesis. The essay, therefore, has a number of parts, each dealing with the basic hypothesis as well as concentrating on one of the corollaries. The introduction, which sets in perspective the subject of the essay as well as my feelings about it, also establishes the relationship between the particular subject matter and the broader inquiry of which it is no doubt a part. This is followed by the core of the essay which is an account of the growth of

five Vermont towns over different parts of their history. Woodstock during the 18th and 19th centuries, Stowe from the turn of the century until the mid-sixties and then the three adjoining towns of Warren, Waitsfield and Fayston over approximately the last twenty years (1960-1980). These last three towns are dealt with as one region, known as the Mad River Valley.

By analysing the institutions that were responsible for the major physical transformations to Woodstock and Stowe it is hoped that an understanding of the relationship between social process and settlement form will be used to prove the basic hypothesis, namely the extent to which metropolitan capital was responsible for the transformations. Also, by dealing with the towns over such a long time span (1765 until 1965) it has been possible to show how long this capitalistic process has been transforming these rural settlements.

The transformations that occur in the Mad River Valley have been used in a different way. The reason for this is because of the nature of the data available for this area as well as to establish the country/city relationship in a different way. The Mad River Valley towns are not looked at historically but rather the changes to selected characteristics over approximately the last twenty years (1960-1980) are given (i.e., income, employment, population, crime, etc.) and the implications analysed in terms of the basic hypothesis. Furthermore, by analysing these three towns in this way it becomes possible to discuss the nature of this change not as a country/city relationship but instead to draw parallels between the kind of change occurring in these towns and then to assess whether

these are urban or rural phenomena.

The final chapters interpret the conclusions at two levels; first for the Vermont landscape itself and then, returning to the theme of the introduction, for the specific nature of the relationship between the country and the city.

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2.0 Social process and settlement form.

2.1 Introduction

The towns of Woodstock and Stowe will be used to describe the relationship between social process and settlement form. Woodstock will be discussed from the establishment of its charter in 1761 until about 1890, although some more recent relationships will be dealt with. The section on Stowe will deal with the period between 1890 and 1970, concentrating on the period 1930 until 1970. The third section of this chapter will be a comparative analysis of the differences in the way the two towns have developed in an attempt to explain their different spatial character and form.

In both cases, however, the nature of the inquiry will be into the history, those people and institutions that were responsible for the major physical transformations that happened to the towns. No attempt is made at writing a comprehensive history of these communities. However, in order for this selective inquiry to occur in context, an outline of the early settlement process must be made.

A brief history of settlement foundation in New England.

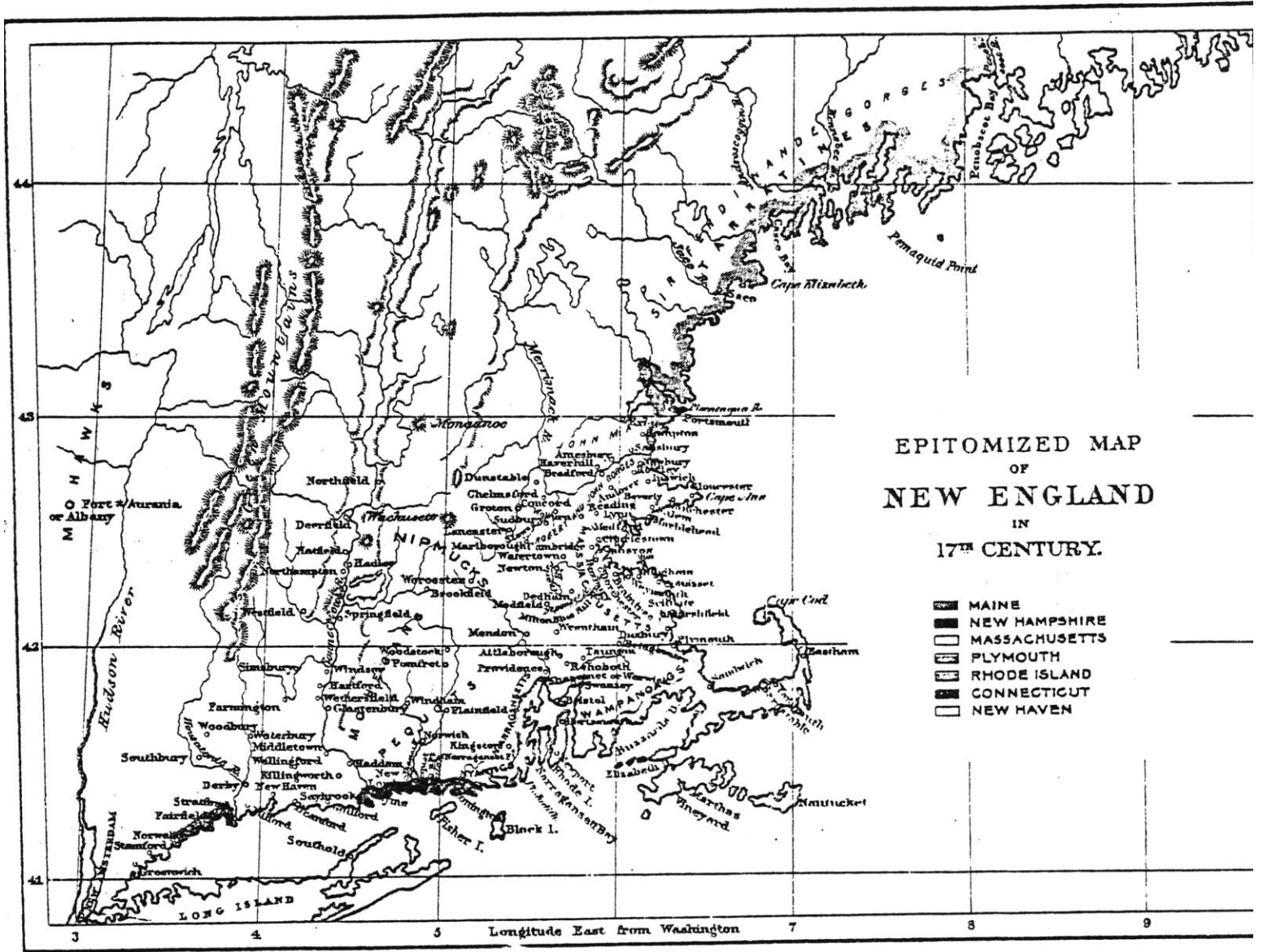
Unlike the later settlement pattern in farming areas west of the Appalachians the agricultural community in New England centered on the village. Farmers lived in the village in a compact community and daily went to their fields that extended outwards from the village. The complete rural-village settlement was called a town, "a word which

encompassed not only a nucleated urban-type settlement but the entire community of village lots and farm fields as well."¹ This system of land development was carried out by organized groups wanting land for their own use. (The original proclamation of King George the Third, to encourage settlement in the colonies, [and to perhaps discourage speculation as well]* had specified that grants were to be made only to those who would settle on the land.)

The Massachusetts General Court was petitioned and usually on the payment of a charter fee the groups were allowed to establish (and more importantly, own land) a new settlement, provided certain criteria were met. The requirements were that township grants be settled and cultivated by a specific number of people, usually sixty families, sometimes forty families, within a specified amount of time, which never exceeded seven years.² Towards the end of the seventeenth century the General Court was not overtly concerned with enforcing these requirements as is evidenced by the number of towns asking for and obtaining confirmation of their status from the General Court although many of the requirements had not been met.³

By the time settlement foundation was underway in what is today Vermont (then known as the New Hampshire Grants) it was a full-scale speculative real estate business carried out by powerful interests located in the urban centers.⁴ After about 1760 "when at length tranquillity was restored throughout the colonies, speculators and adventurers of all sorts began eagerly to seek after these lands."⁵ Since 1749, seventeen town charters had been issued and in 1761 alone, Benning Wentworth, the then

*Author's words.



1. New England in the 17th Century.

Governor of New Hampshire, granted sixty-three townships within the limits of the present state of Vermont.⁶ Many of these charters were for tracts of land along the Connecticut River valley and in almost every one of these charters was the provision of 500 acres of land to be set aside for the Governor.

The town of Weathersfield, Vermont is a well-documented example of just how the process of town settlement happened.

The story of the Town of Weathersfield begins with the charter lying on a table in the residence of Daniel Lyman in New Haven, Connecticut, where the proprietors gathered for their first meeting on September 11, 1761. This was no frontier dwelling. One can imagine a room equipped with fine linen and silver, with candlelight reflected from decanters of Madeira on a polished sideboard and deft servants blending into the background. 7

These men were not pioneers. Daniel Lyman was a Yale graduate and had been a merchant, legislator, Surveyor General of Connecticut and a justice of the peace. The proprietors had bought the charter and hence the town for twenty-five pounds. They hired a survey team, who reported back that they had after great difficulty found the boundaries of the town and had laid out a tier of twenty-four acre lots along its eastern boundary on the banks of the Connecticut River. They also had made preliminary road surveys. The proprietors paid for the cost of the survey by taxing each lot 12 shillings.

Each of the proprietors was entitled to one lot in this First Division. The lots were allocated by having a local clergyman draw numbers from a hat.

The process was repeated twice more at later dates. The Second Division of lots was laid out on the western boundary of the first, being a tier of fifty acre lots. The Third Division continued to the west in a tier of one hundred acre lots, bringing the survey line to just west of the center of

the township. The remainder of the town was left as Division Four and as unallotted land. This was later divided, partly among the proprietors and partly into twenty acre "pitches" and homesteads of various size, depending upon the topography. 8

Settlers were then encouraged to take up "pitches" in the town by the proprietors. To gain title to a "pitch" a settler had to pay the cost of surveying and mapping and within two years, clear and fence five acres and build a "suitable dwelling 18 feet square with seven foot studd" and be living on the land.⁹

After the confrontation between the province New Hampshire and the Province of New York a new charter was granted to the proprietors, this time in the name of the Governor of New York. The boundaries of the town were the same but the listed acreage was reduced due to the fact that land for the Propagation, Glebe, Church and Wentworth lots were not included in the total. The Glebe lands were eventually laid out in Division Four, the Church of England (Glebe) and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel wound up owning mostly swamp land or ledges on the sides of Hawks Mountain and Little Ascutney, i.e., land of little agricultural value.

The new charter did not include the names of the original proprietors who had died or had sold their holdings. The Wentworth family and friends were likewise omitted. These lands reverted to the Province of New York and were then granted to the twenty-three signers of the petition. The remaining proprietors thus enlarged their holdings considerably under the new charter.¹⁰

There were at this time few people actually living in the town. The

transformation of the land from a natural wilderness of swamplands and rolling hills covered with forests of pine, hemlock and spruce took several years before the land could support a number of families.

The reason for this was that there was little grass growing on the land with which to feed the horses and cattle.

The early settlers who came up the river from Massachusetts and Connecticut in the early spring were lone men, or as in the case of the Allens and the Tuttles, brothers working together. They could bring a pack horse as far as the last outposts of civilization at Westminster or Fort No. 4, but from there on everything they brought with them had to be carried on their backs. The first summer was spent in clearing brush, girdling and felling trees to be used for a log cabin. The location of the dwelling was determined by the proximity to a spring and to trees small enough to be manhandled. As much as possible of the forest floor was spaded up and grass seed was planted in the leaf mold. The girdled trees were soon dying and leafless and the sun could warm the soil for the first time in centuries. 11

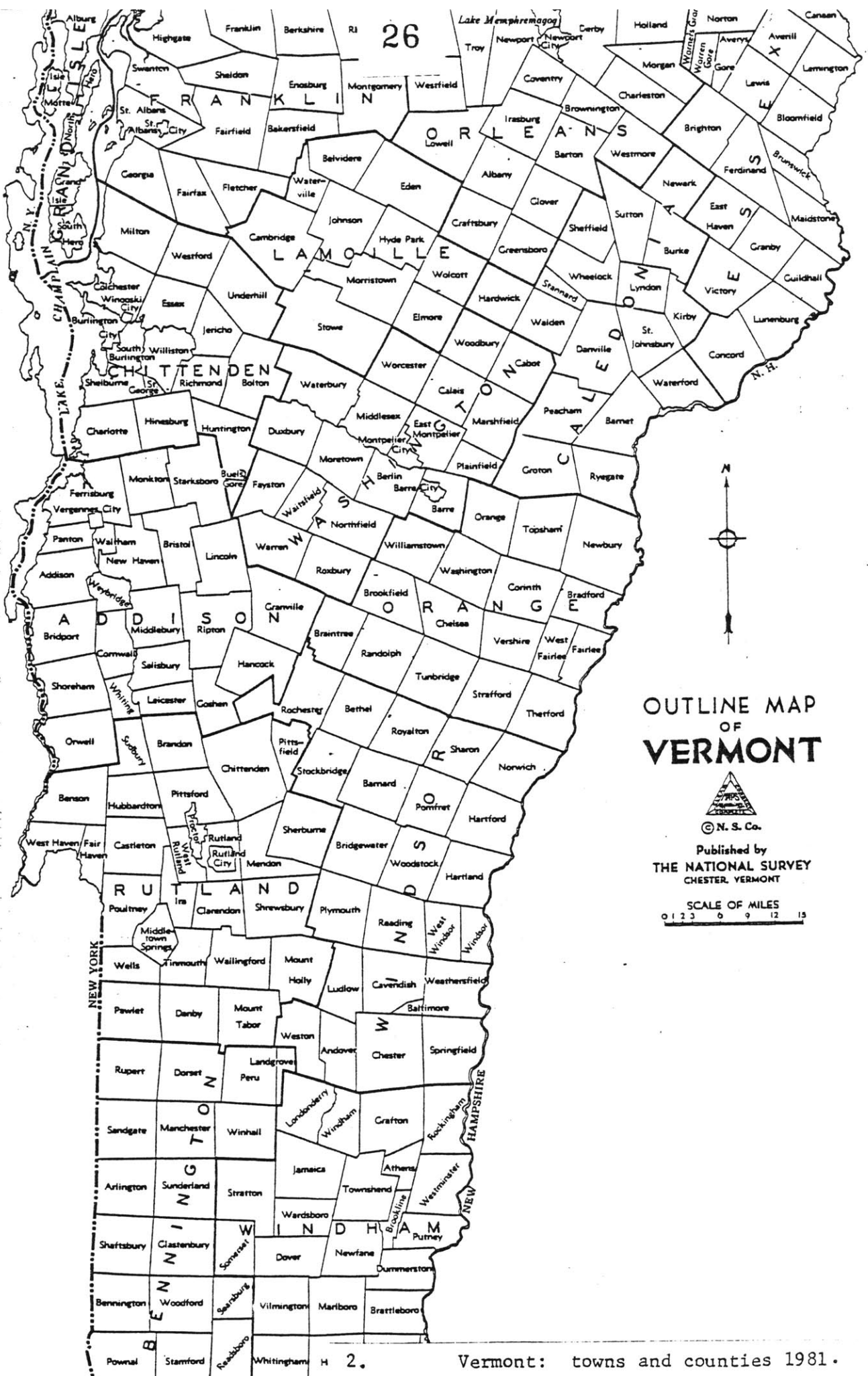
The first settlers headed south again at the approach of winter to the towns they had come from. It is not surprising then that many of the towns in Vermont have Connecticut town names.

The second summer was spent in further clearing and spading of land, planting crops and building shelter.

The third summer found the clearing filled with family sounds, the ring of axe and hammer, the lilt of children's laughter, and contented sounds from the family cow as she grazed the new grass between the dead trees.

The stillness of the forest was broken by the crash of falling trees and the sky was stained by great plumes of smoke from their burning. Fire was the only solution to the removal of surplus wood. The trees supplied the family with its first fuel and heat, with its tools and crude furniture, and finally with its first cash income in the form of potash. 12

Potash making was hard and unpleasant work. A leaching vat made from a



26



OUTLINE MAP OF VERMONT



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CHESTER, VERMONT

SCALE OF MILES
0 1 2 3 6 9 12 15

large hollowed out log was used to extract the mineral salts from wood-ashes by pouring water through them. The effluent was boiled down in a large kettle until only a thick residue remained. This was poured into moulds to form bricks of potash salts. Potash was in great demand by the textile mills and industries of England and its price was high. The economy of early Vermont was based on potash salts.

2.2 Woodstock: 1760 until 1890

2.2.1 The history of the name.

The Vermont town was named after the place of the same name in Connecticut, which in turn was so called from the town of Woodstock in England, which is about eight miles from Oxford and fifty miles northwest of London. In the St. James Episcopal Church at Woodstock, Vermont are two carved wooden panels which came from St. Mary Magdalen's Church in Woodstock, England.¹³

The Connecticut Woodstock is associated with Roxbury, Massachusetts.¹⁴ A town meeting was held in Roxbury in 1683 to arrange for the new settlement in Connecticut, and at this meeting a number of prominent citizens drew up a petition to the General Court of Massachusetts which was at once granted.

It is of interest to note that the English Woodstock had been the place where Saxon and Norman kings had for centuries hunted and feasted. In 1704 the royal manor of Woodstock (England) was given to John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough as a reward for his victory at Blenheim. Parliament gave 500,000 pounds sterling with which to build the present Blenheim

Palace and the park was designed by "Capability" Brown. The trees are said to be arranged in the order of the battle of Blenheim. In about 1920 acorns from one of the oaks in this park were collected and sent to either Woodstock, Vermont or to Woodstock, Connecticut.¹⁵ The present Duke of Marlborough, Charles John Spencer Churchill, K.G., married Consuelo, the daughter of W.K. Vanderbilt, Esq., of New York.

2.2.3 The making of the town.

The making of the town had three initial stages: the establishment of its legal status, i.e., the history of its charter, the general subdivision of the township lands and finally the start of actual settlement in the township.

The history of the charter of Woodstock, like many of the towns that were established by Benning Wentworth, involved the legal battle between the province of New Hampshire and the province of New York as to who had the legal right to issue the town charter and therefore, if you were a proprietor whether the deed of land you held gave you legal title to the land. As a result of this legal uncertainty, many of the deeds were bought and sold a number of times over. At one point the whole of the town of Woodstock, except for the 500 acres known as the "Governor's lot," was owned by one person, an area of over 26,000 acres.¹⁶ There were as yet not settlement on the land. This was June, 1772.

The land in Woodstock was laid out to begin with in several large tracts owned by different persons. The following is a breakdown of ownership prior to 1790.¹⁷

- 1050 acres: Elihu Spencer of Trenton, N.J.
- 1050 acres: John Rogers of New York City, a Doctor in Divinity.
- 300 acres: for a "Glebe for the use of the minister of the Gospel in communion of the Church of England"
- 300 acres: for the "first settled minister of the Gospel"
- 100 acres: for the use of a schoolmaster
- 1000 acres: Elias Boudinot, LL.D. of Elizabethtown, N.J.
- 3000 acres: Apthorp's land: he lived in New York City, "was an influential member of the Council for the province of New York and when the Revolutionary War broke out he took sides with the King. For this reason his land in Woodstock was sequestered by the Court of Confiscation and sold for the benefit of the state."¹⁸
- 3000 acres: Colonel Jonathan Grout of Petersham, Massachusetts. "Grout was one of the grantees under New Hampshire, but by purchase he added largely to his original rights in Woodstock and was among the most active of the proprietors in making improvements and securing settlers for the town."¹⁹ He visited the town to collect rents and to look after his possessions there.
- 1200 acres: John Church (an original grantee) who lived in Charlestown, New Hampshire until about 1772, when he moved to New York City.
- 10,000 acres: Oliver Willard, the person appointed in Benning Wentworth's original charter for the town to call the first town meeting for the choice of town officers and to act as moderator

of the same. Dana notes that "for many years we find him (Willard) speculating largely in the lands covered by the New Hampshire Grants."²⁰ He was a lawyer by profession and owned the entire township of Woodstock in 1772.

500 acres: "the Governor's farm," it being the lot Governor Wentworth reserved for himself in the original grant. "The tract remained unoccupied, or at least without any recognized owner, till 1790 when it was sold in part to Solomon Emmons for the taxes."²¹

This outline of initial ownership accounts for some 21,800 acres of land out of a total township area of 26,017 acres as shown in the map of the town in 1832. The boundaries were by this time more or less what they were at the time of the general subdivision (before 1790). However, it is assumed that slight shifts in the boundary lines account for the difference between the size of the town at about 1790 (21,800 acres) and the area in 1832 (26,017 acres).

References: Chapter 2: Woodstock/section 1

1. Reys, John. Town Planning in Frontier America, U. of Missouri Press, Columbia and London, 1981, p. 101.
2. Zuckerman, M. Peaceable Kingdoms, New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century. Norton, New York, 1970, p. 14.
3. Ibid., p. 14
- 4.
5. Dana, Henry Swan. The History of Woodstock, Vermont 1761-1886. The Countryman Press, Taftville Vermont, 1889, p. 1.
6. Ibid., p. 1.
7. Hurd, J.H., Weathersfield, Century One. Phoenix Publishing, Canaan, New Hampshire, 1975, p. 6.
8. Ibid., p. 7.
9. Ibid., p. 9.
10. Ibid., p. 10.
11. Ibid., p. 13.
12. Ibid., p. 13.
13. _____, Towns of New England and Old England: The State Street Trust Co. of Boston, 1920, p. 205.
14. Ibid., p. 205.
15. Ibid., p. 208.
16. Dana, op. cit., p. 5.
17. Ibid., pp. 6-8.
18. Ibid., p. 7.

19. Ibid., p. 8.
20. Ibid., p. 3.
21. Ibid., p. 8.

The first families to settle in Woodstock.

The history of the charter as well as the details about the first landowners in Woodstock does not tell as much about the actual transformations made to the town because up until this time nobody had settled there.

In the summer of 1768 Oliver Willard deeded to Andrew Powers 400 acres of his very extensive lands in the town. Andrew Powers originally came from Massachusetts and lived in Hartland where we are told that he must have been "largely in the employment of Oliver Willard."¹ The land seems to have been payment to Andrew Powers for some outstanding debt of Willard's. Powers settled on the land with his family for a short while. However, soon after the purchase Powers sold five portions to the following persons:

1. William Powers: son of Andrew Powers
2. James Powers: son of Andrew Powers
3. Another family: name not recorded. In the spring of 1769. But who are not listed in Dike's 1771 census (see below).
4. James Herwood: (or Harwood) from Hartland.
5. James Sanderson: born Leicester, Massachusetts, 1746. married Sally Powers "who was probably the daughter of Andrew Powers." Sanderson had lived for a while in Hartland. In the fall of 1768 he built a cabin on Blake's Hill (immediately east of the present village of

Woodstock). On the 1st December 1768 he, his wife and their six-week old child, having pulled all their possessions on a sled, moved into the cabin to become the first official settlers of the town.

6. Andrew Powers: mentioned above who sold portions to the above five families. He settled in 1769 on the remainder of his original 400 acres, but by 1771
7. John Sanderson: brother of James arrived 1770 from Leicester, Mass. Died 1819.
8. Ebenezer Call: Married Elizabeth, sister of John and James Sanderson.
9. Joseph Call: brother of Ebenezer, married Mary, sister of Elizabeth, John and James Sanderson. Joseph lived in Hartland before settling in Woodstock.
10. Abraham Powers: brother of Dr. Stephen Powers who would settle in Woodstock later.
11. Ebenezer Dike: a farmer who was called upon by the New York government to take the first census of Woodstock in 1771. Here it is:

Town of Woodstock: 1771

10 heads of family in town:

1. Andrew Powers
2. Abraham Powers

3. William Powers
4. James Herwood (Harwood)
5. James Sanderson
6. Joseph Call
7. Ebenezer Call
8. John Sanderson
9. James Powers
10. Ebenezer Dike

Total 42 persons, of whom 19 were under 16 years of age.

In Dana's History of Woodstock there are listed an additional eighteen families who came at various times up until 1774. They are worth mentioning in outline so that a clear picture of the first settlers can be made.

11. Benjamin Emmons: bought in 1773 the remaining Andrew Powers land which at that time was vacant. This seems to suggest that Powers had settled elsewhere by this time. Also bought 700 acres from Oliver Willard. Moved from Chester field to Woodstock. Moved west after 1800.

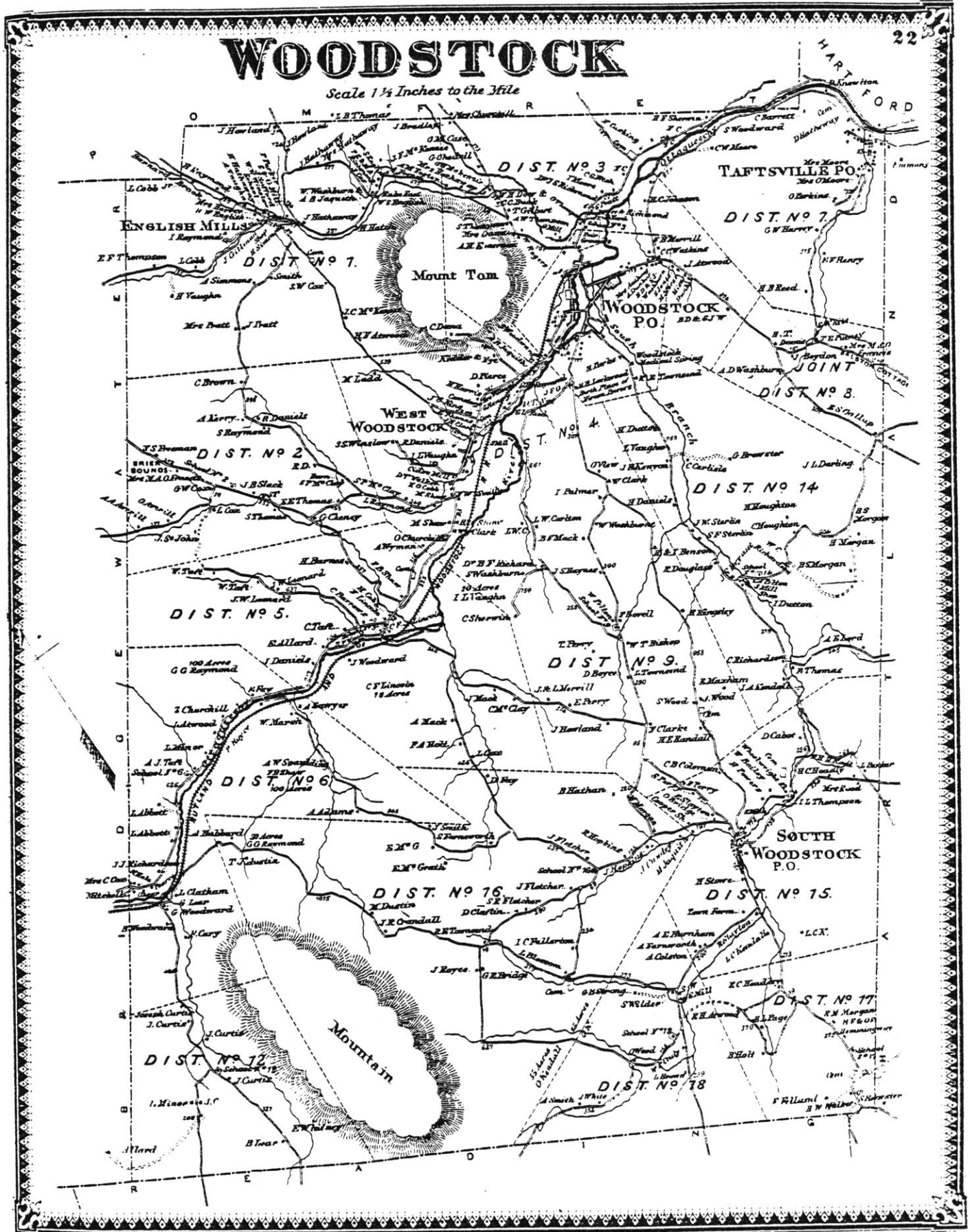
12. Joab Hoisington: born Farmington, Conn. 1736. A large land holder in Windsor County. In 1771 began to make arrangements for moving to Woodstock by buying large tracts of land from Jonathan Grout and Oliver Willard. His first purchase was 1000 acres (more or less) and

covered that part of the town where the Village of Woodstock now lies. He settled in the spring 1772 "setting up his log house exactly on the site of Mayor Churchill's corner."² (see Beers map of the Village in 1869. It was where the 4th house down from the Church Street bridge on the north side of Church Street is shown.) In June 1772 Joab Hoisington took out a license as a tavern keeper. His house was the tavern and was the predecessor of the present day Woodstock Inn (although on a different site with a different licensee).

13. Asahel Hoisington: brother of Joab. Came from Windsor and settled in the south part of town.
14. John Hoisington: (supposed to be Joab and Asahel's father). He settled on 200 acres that bounded Joab's farm on the north and east. One of his lots "embraced" the eastern half of Pleasant Street together with the adjoining slopes in the Village of Woodstock. The other lots took in what were later to be Billings and Marsh properties.
15. Simon Davis: came in April 1772. Settled on the North Branch. Davis sister married Able Emmons (brother to Benjamin). Able moved to Woodstock in 1780.
16. Jonathan Kingsley: he surveyed and purchased lot No. 1. in the "Church tract" (one of the original landowners

WOODSTOCK

Scale 1 1/4 Inches to the Mile



not a settler) in what is now school district No.

9. (See 1869 Beers map of the town.) This was about 2 miles south of the present Village of Woodstock.

He settled in 1773.

17. Benjamin Sanderson: settled either 1772 or 3, was brother of James and John. Bought 50 acres from James Herwood on the east of Joab Hoisington's farm. He built a house and planted an orchard. Came from Leicester, Massachusetts.

18. Phinehas Sanderson: settled either 1772 or 3, was brother of James and John. Came from Leicester, Mass., as well, and settled in the south of the town.

Note: With the Sanderson family we have three generations that can be located. Benjamin, Jr., and Phinehas' grandfather was John Sanderson, the father of Benjamin, Jr., John, James, Phineas, and Benjamin, Jr., and two daughters, Elizabeth and Mary were Benjamin Sr.'s children. Elizabeth and Mary were married to Ebenezer and Joseph Call respectively.

19. Sylvanus Cottle: came from Martha's Vineyard with two parents, his wife, four sons and a daughter.

20. Joseph Cottle: also from Martha's Vineyard.

21. John Cottle:

22. Edward Cottle:

23. Jabey Cottle: a Baptist minister settled in what is now South Village.

24. Warren Cottle: settled with Jabey and owned nearly all of



4. Woodstock: town 1915.

what is now the Village of South Woodstock.

25. John Strong: born 1723. Came from Lebanon Conn. originally, then from Hartford (where in 1769 he and three of his brothers had settled). Settled in North Branch.
26. Benjamin Burtch Jr. came from Hartford in 1772 or 3 and settled in North Branch on land which has since been the residence of the Houghtons, Colonel Dana and Salmon Thompson. Both Strong and Burtch Jr. held their land in common registered on the Grand list under Burtch's name.
27. Timothy Knox: was the first inhabitant (1765) living on his own in this area before the town was settled. In about 1772 he came to Woodstock Village (then just a collection of perhaps 10 families) and married Abigail Dike in 1772. He bought 50 acres on the hill just to the east of the village (Mt. Peg or Blake Hill?). "He was an excellent marksman, being able to hit a card of gingerbread set up on the "Green" at a distance too far off for any other person to hit."³

These then were the families who started the permanent settlement, most of them locating in the northeast portion of the town lands where the valleys of the South Branch, the Barnard Brook and the Ottauquechee Rivers meet and which is now the site of the Village of Woodstock.

The next section will describe the development of Woodstock Village from

1790 until 1870 where by that time most of what we know of the village in 1981 was in place.

2.2.3 The making of the Village of Woodstock.

The streets and the common: 1790 until 1870. . "in front of his house (John Hoisington's) passed 'the old town road' (Church Street?). This led from Hartland and coming down the hill over the site of the stone house built by Mr. Blake, it then crossed the ravine near Mr. Hewitt's and followed up the high bank of the river to the old Court-house stand, just above which a ford existed for many years."⁴ This is Dana's description of "the old town road" which was one of the first streets of the village. It was unpaved and had a few houses built along its edges. The history of the other streets (and subsequent improvements to "the old town road") is better known. In trying to understand how the village developed it is of use to outline when and by whom the streets were laid out. No doubt some of the streets described below were built upon already existing paths and rights of way. The earliest record we have for the laying out of a street is in 1797.

1797: Elm Street: was opened "by Charles Marsh and Jesse Williams, as a private enterprise, and the first building to be erected on the new street was Mr. Charles Marshe's law-office."⁵ The bridge across the Ottauquechee at the north end of Elm Street was also built by Mr. Marsh.⁶

1807: Pleasant Street: opened and in 1811 straightened (to its present alignment) from its intersection with Central Street eastward to the foot of the hill. This work was done by Jabey Bennett, director of the

Windsor and Woodstock Turnpike Company.

1812: Church Street: this was originally the "old highway" and was first opened in 1812. No buildings were erected on this highway "for several years." In 1823 Sylvester Edson leased of Dr. John D. Powers a portion of the slope above the pearlash, extending along the south side of this highway on which three tenements soon went up.⁷ The history up to 1888 of these three tenements is worth noting. Dana writes: "the first of the three... North Universalist Society."⁸

1825: High Street was first opened and laid out in 1825 by Charles Dana and Amos Ralph, selectmen. Previously this route had a local road and a bridle-path or pent road. As the hill side of this road was all pasture the "entrance to the street was shut off by a fence, with bars set up to let the cows in."⁹ As houses were built along this street, the fence was moved further back accordingly, until it stood beyond Cross street when the gate was taken away altogether.

1836: River Street: "The highway on the westerley side of the Quechee, leading from the upper to the lower bridge (Elm street bridge)' as it is described by Dana.¹⁰ Up until 1828 there were only three houses between these two bridges. Until 1836 the land belonged to someone living in another town, Derby, whose father had lived in Woodstock. This tract was bought by Russel Streeter, Nahum Haskel and others who proceeded to erect buildings on their new purchase at once.¹¹ At the lower end of River Street all the land on the west side of the road up to the foot of the hill was once a bog and a pond of water. By 1888 the hill had

at the Church St
Carroll Park St

News Papers
of the Age W.W. Mastor Editor
and Standard L.O. Greene Editor

Officers
of James Judge Sup. Court Res Pleasant St.
George B. County Clerk, Office Court House
and E. High Sher. W. Res. Elm St.

Attorneys
Wm W. Office Phoenix Block Central St.
Wm J. Office Bank Block Elm St.
Wm F. Office Bank Block Elm St.
Wm F. Office Bank Block Elm St.
Wm F. Office Phoenix Block Central St.
Norman Office Phoenix Block Central St.
Wm A. Res Elm St.
Wm F. T. Office Phoenix Block Central St.

Blacksmiths
Wm O. Blacksmith Coverage & Sleigh Trimming Central St.
Igham L. Blacksmith Coverage & Sleigh Trimming Central St.

Carpenters & Builders
Wm A. Carpenter & Builder Res Lincoln St.
Wm S. Carpenter & Builder Res South St.
Wm S. Carpenter & Builder Res South St.

Hotel
Hotel opposite Park C. A. Strickland Prop't

Liveries
Wm O. Livery & Boarding Stable opposite Park
Wm L. M. Livery & Boarding Stable Elm St.

Photographers & Artists
Wm Henry Photography Rooms Elm St.
Wm S. P. Portrait Printer Res Elm St.

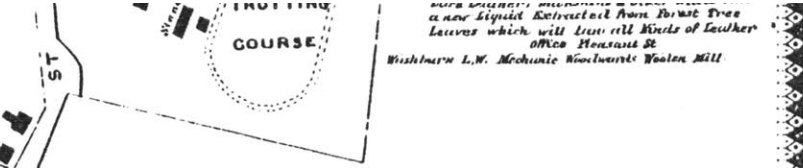
Physicians & Surgeons
Wm S. Physician & Surgeon Res Elm St.
Wm S. Physician & Surgeon South Woodstock
Wm S. Physician & Surgeon Res Elm St.
Wm S. M.D. Dentist Office Bank Block Elm St.

Wm S. J. A. Dealer in Books & Stationery
Hotel & Dealer in Hardware Groceries Iron Bait & S
Oils Elm St
Kings C. W. Bookseller, Binder & Circulating Library
Elm St
Mastack J. H. R. Son Dealers in Watches & Jewelry
Phoenix Block Central St
Mellish Geo Dealer in West India Goods & Flour
Central St.
Pratt Lewis Bookseller & Stationery Central St.
Palmer & Smith Books, Stationery & Rubber Goods,
Phoenix Block Central St
Tate C. R. Books, Stationery & Rubber Goods Phoenix Block
Central St

Residents
Willing F. Res Pleasant St.
Churchill W. T. Res Church St.
Pich C. W. Res Elm St
Kennedy J. Res Mountain St
Marsh Chas. Res Elm St.
Mower Gen. L. Park St Rear of M. E. Church

Wm S. J. A. Dealer in Books & Stationery
Hotel & Dealer in Hardware Groceries Iron Bait & S
Oils Elm St
Kings C. W. Bookseller, Binder & Circulating Library
Elm St
Mastack J. H. R. Son Dealers in Watches & Jewelry
Phoenix Block Central St
Mellish Geo Dealer in West India Goods & Flour
Central St.
Pratt Lewis Bookseller & Stationery Central St.
Palmer & Smith Books, Stationery & Rubber Goods,
Phoenix Block Central St
Tate C. R. Books, Stationery & Rubber Goods Phoenix Block
Central St

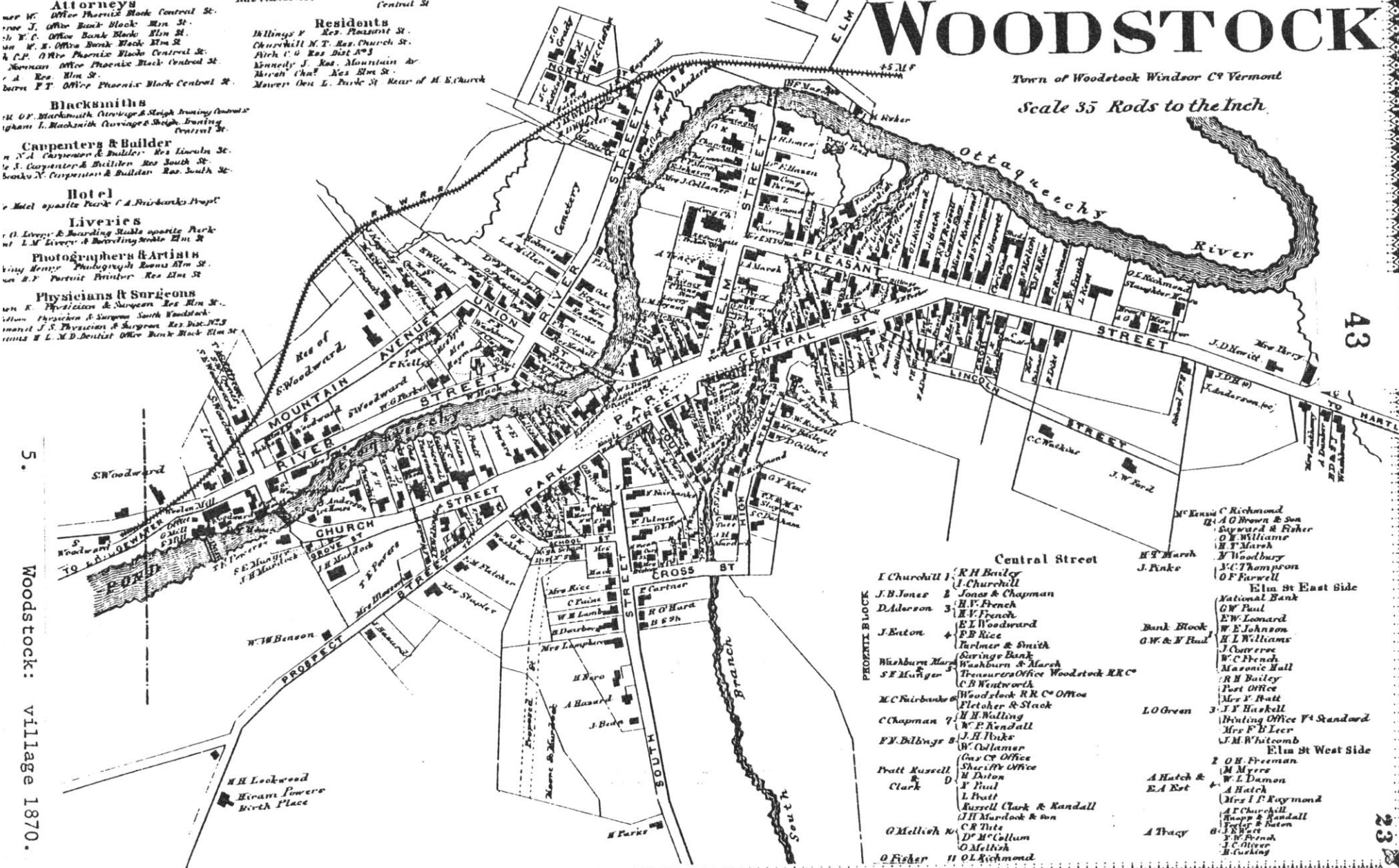
Meat Markets
Richmond O. L. Central St
Whitcomb J. M. Elm St.



Washburn L.W. Mechanic Woodworth's Woolen Mill
a new liquid Extracted from Forest Trees
Leaves which will clean all kinds of Leather
Office Pleasant St

WOODSTOCK

Town of Woodstock Windsor Co Vermont
Scale 35 Rods to the Inch.



PROPERTI BLOCK	Central Street	Elm St East Side	Elm St West Side
1	I Churchill	R H Bailey	J O H Freeman
2	J B Jones	J Churchill	M Morse
3	D Aderson	Jones & Chapman	W L Damon
4	J Eaton	H V French	A Hatch
5	Washburn	H V French	Mrs I F Raymond
6	S F Mudge	E L Woodward	A F Churchill
7	M C Fairbanks	E B Rice	Rupp & Randall
8	C Chapman	Palmer & Smith	Tracy & Bates
9	F Y. Billings	Savings Bank	J H French
10	Pratt Russell	Washburn & Marsh	J C O'Brien
11	Clark	Treasurers Office Woodstock R.R. Co	Masonic Hall
12	O Mellish	C B Wentworth	R H Bailey
13	O Fisher	Woodstock R.R. Co Office	Post Office
14		Fletcher & Slack	Mrs F B Pratt
15		W E Walling	J Y Haskell
16		W E Kendall	Printing Office Vt Standard
17		J H Baker	Mrs F B Leer
18		W Ollamer	J M Whitcomb
19		City Office	
20		Sherriff Office	
21		M Dison	
22		J Paul	
23		L Pratt	
24		Russell Clark & Randall	
25		J H Murdoch & son	
26		C A Tite	
27		D M Collum	
28		O Mallick	
29		O L Richmond	
30			
31			
32			
33			
34			
35			
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5. Woodstock: Village 1870.

been "completely built over."¹² On the east side were three houses (Bradley, Meyers and Rickard, now Anderson, 1847). One of the twin houses was recently "made over" by Mr. Billings.¹³

1851: Cross Street: all the buildings on this street had been erected by this time.

1851-1852: Mountain Avenue: all the buildings on this street had been erected since 1852.¹⁴ So the street was laid out to build houses along in the same manner as River Street.

1868: Linden Street: was laid out and built (shown as a proposed street in south part of village in Beers map of the village. It lies west of South Street.)

Perhaps the one element that has contributed so much to the making of the New England village image is the central open space, the village green or common. The various uses it was put to are hard to argue with as they are based largely on recorded fact. However, the interpretation of why it was there, in other words, its intended or planned purpose by the early settlers has had various explanations. One traditional explanation, which uses the Woodstock common as such an example has it that "the early village planners must have consciously attempted to create open spaces for purposes of community amenity and as an advantageous setting for dwellings."

In Woodstock this was, however, not the case. A brief history of the common follows.

References: Chapter 2/Woodstock: section two

1. Dana, op. cit., p. 11.
2. Ibid., p. 18.
3. Ibid., p. 23.
4. Ibid., p. 18.
5. Ibid., p. 177.
6. Ibid., p. 553.
7. Ibid., p. 168.
8. Ibid., p. 168.
9. Ibid., p. 165.
10. Ibid., p. 169.
11. Ibid., p. 169.
12. Ibid., p. 176.
13. Ibid., p. 177.
14. Ibid., p. 169.
15. Reys, op. cit., p. 106.

Woodstock Common

In 1793 the common was enlarged to its present dimensions excepting a slight extension at the west end, which was added before 1820. There is no evidence that the ground was cultivated until long after it became public ground (presumably before 1793).¹ The first common, before the 1793 enlargement, was a triangle of about 1-1/2 acres and 35 rods. According to Dana "it began at a point near the foot of Church hill, on the south side of the road, then down the road along the front line of the buildings (as they were in 1870) in a north-easterly direction 34 rods, to a point below the Eagle Hotel (now the Woodstock Inn), then across the Park in a north line for 11 rods and 5 links, then south-westerly along the highway 22 rods, then south-westerly along the highway 22 rods, then a few degrees more southerly 22 rods, to the place of the beginning."²

In 1810 Lombardy poplar were planted "in great numbers about the Common," however some of the townspeople did not approve of the type of tree and the trees were "torn up in the night time" and thrown into the river. Between 1820 and 1830 the Common was levelled, sowed with grass seed with some rye or oats with it. The next spring some trees were planted along the roads flanking the open space. Although the trees were given some protection they did not last long, "many of them being broken down and some pulled over."³ In 1830, in order to improve the Court House green, a subscription was raised, a meeting held and a committee appointed to execute the improvements.



6. Woodstock: village 1915.

Mr. Williams took charge of the job. Mr. Willard was "called upon to engineer the manner of laying out and enclosing the grounds."

At this point it is of interest to note that the park would at times be covered at the eastern end by the flooding of the South Branch.

(Its course over the flat on which the village is built was in early times very winding and the land on both sides of the stream very

swampy.) "That portion of the meadow above Cross street was much of the year given up to water, and the liability to overflow extended to the grounds on the Common, so that the land in front of Mr.

Williams' house and the stone buildings often would be covered with a sheet of water, affording in the winter season fine skating fields

for the boys." This must have been a pleasant site when the water was frozen, however, not at all pleasant otherwise. It is therefore

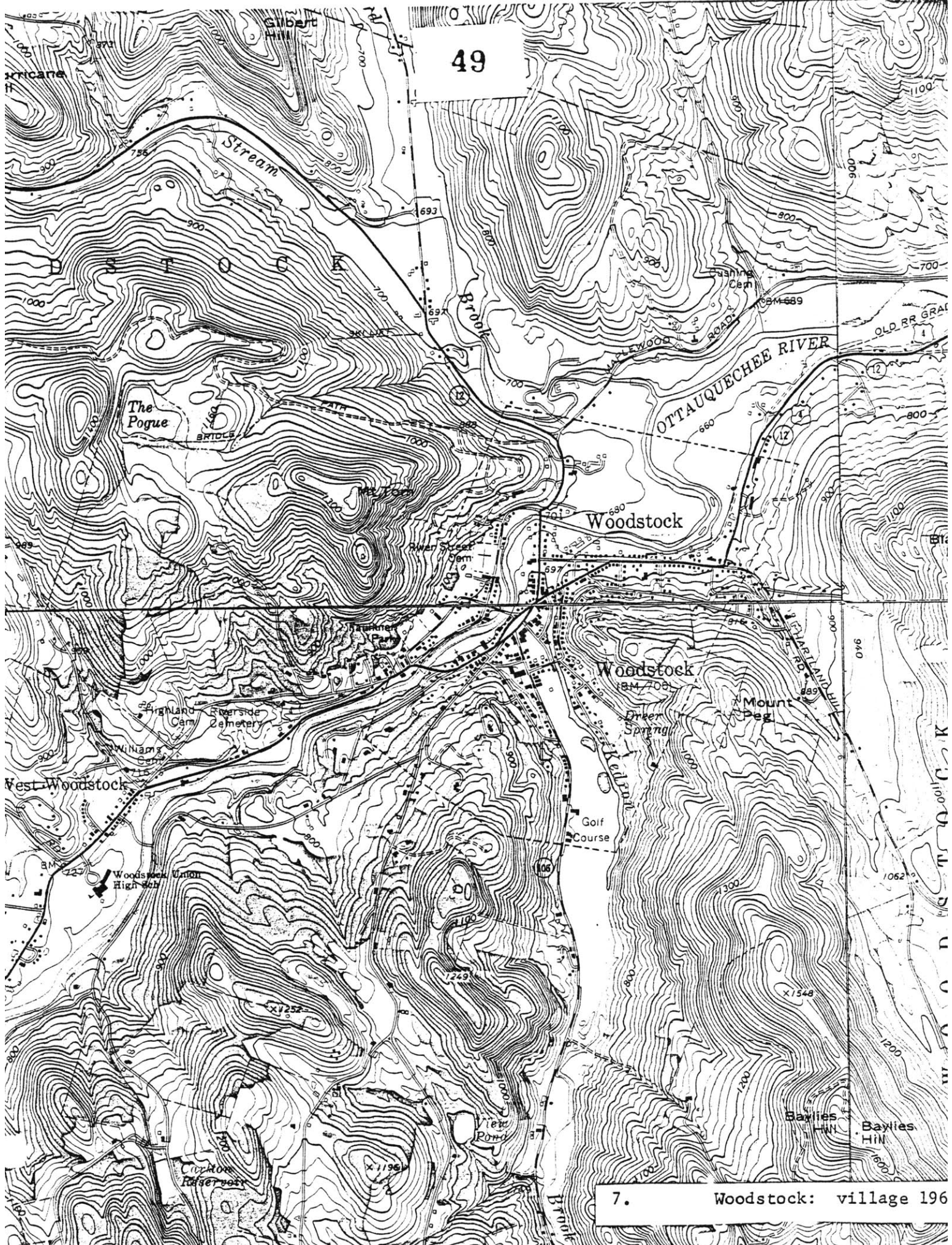
not surprising that we find Williams taking charge of this venture as the excess dirt from the levelling of the Common was used to raise

the level of the surrounding east end of the Common (including Williams' property) so that it no longer flooded.

The Common was enclosed in a rail fence painted white which was removed 48 years later in 1878 and replaced with an iron rail fence paid for by private subscription, including \$500 each from Nathan T. Churchill and Frederick Billings. The 1878 fence cost "a little over \$2000 and was built under the direction of O.P. Chandler, Justin F. Mackenzie and George W. Paul.⁴

(ii) Companies and Corporations in Woodstock

Having given a brief history of the town charter, the general



49

7. Woodstock: village 196

subdivision, the first settlers as well as the physical layout of the Village of Woodstock, it is now necessary to mention, in outline the four companies and one society whose respective roles in bringing change to Woodstock will be obvious. They are:

The Windsor and Woodstock Turnpike Co.

The Royalton and Woodstock Turnpike Co.

The Agricultural Society for the County of Windsor

The Woodstock Railroad Co.

The Woodstock Aqueduct Co.

The Windsor and Woodstock Turnpike Co.: incorporated November 5, 1799. Among its members from Woodstock were:

Jabey Bennett - director

Jesse Williams

Charles Marsh

Benjamin Swan

William Rice.

The Royalton and Woodstock Turnpke Co.: chartered in 1800. The application was made by Charles Marsh.

The Agricultural Society for the County of Windsor: The first annual meeting was held May 2, 1820 in the Court house in Woodstock Village. The Society died out in 1823 and was reconstituted (or a new one formed) in 1846. Woodstock, being the shire town, was the usual place for the annual exhibitions. The first exhibition was held on the Common, "with the pens arranged around the park fence." The Court house was also used for "the show of fancy and other articles."⁵

The fairgrounds shown in the 1870 map were purchased in 1855.

The elected officers for 1821 were:

William Jarvis - president

George Zebina Curtis

Jabey Proctor vice presidents

Titus Hutchinson

Norman Williams - secretary

The Woodstock Railroad Co.: 1863: an act was passed incorporating
the company; 1867 the company was formed, the directors being:

P. T. Washburn - president

T.E. Powers

A.G. Dewey

Charles Dana

F.W. Clarke

L. Pratt

Franklin N. Billings

Charles S. Raymond

Otis Chamberlin.

The company had a clear charter, which was to construct a railroad
"to run from some point in the village of Woodstock to some point on
or near White River or Connecticut River either in the town of Hart-
land or Hartford as the committee should elect."⁶

1868: contract awarded to Ralph Jones & Co. of Port Hope,
 Ontario.

1869: work began, roadbed completed to Quechee, before funds

ran out. No work for five years.

1870: railroad bonded in the sum of \$350,000 and bonds to that amount were issued (bearing 7% interest running 20 years). The bonds failed to be disposed of until finally the town of Woodstock, acting on instructions in an act of the Legislature (25 October 1872) voted (2 April 1875) to guarantee the interest on \$250,000 of these bonds, to be issued for the completion of the railroad.

1874: new contract awarded to Mr. S.S. Thompson of Lyndon to complete the road.

1875, September: first trains run over the railroad just in time for the Windsor County Fair.

1875, October: first regular service.

Since that time until 1888 the railroad earned on average, over and above its running expenses, more than \$5000 a year, which went towards paying the interest on the bonds of the company. In 1888 the officers of the company were:

Frederick Billings - president

Justin F. Mackenzie - vice president

Charles P. Marsh - clerk

James G. Porter - superintendent and treasurer.

The Woodstock Aqueduct Company:⁷ brought water to the village in December 1887. The system consisted of 8", 6" and 4" heavy cast iron pipe running from a specially constructed reservoir.

1879: a committee was appointed to investigate the feasibility of a water supply to the village. It was assumed, after a report with a cost estimate was submitted, to be "inexpedient for the village to assume such an undertaking at that time."⁸

1880: act passed by the Legislature incorporating the Woodstock Aqueduct Company. The act authorized the village to contract with the company for the supply of water for fire purposes, for watering the streets and for other uses for a term not exceeding ten years.

1886, Summer: Company organized with capital of \$36,000 and a contract made with the village. Subscriptions for the greater part of the stock having been bought, a contract with R.D. Wood and Co. of Philadelphia for the construction was made.

1887, December: system completed for a sum of \$35,000, consisting of "13,310 feet of 8 inch pipe extending from the reservoir to the center of the village, 2012 feet of 6 inch pipe and 14,350 feet of 4 inch pipe, making with the 4 inch supply from the Williams brook, about seven miles of pipe."⁹
The mains were laid six feet under ground and the system designed that any street could be cut off without disturbing others. There were 30 hydrants in the village of Woodstock and two in West Woodstock.

The members of the 1879 investigating committee were:

O.P. Chandler

Justin F. Mackenzie

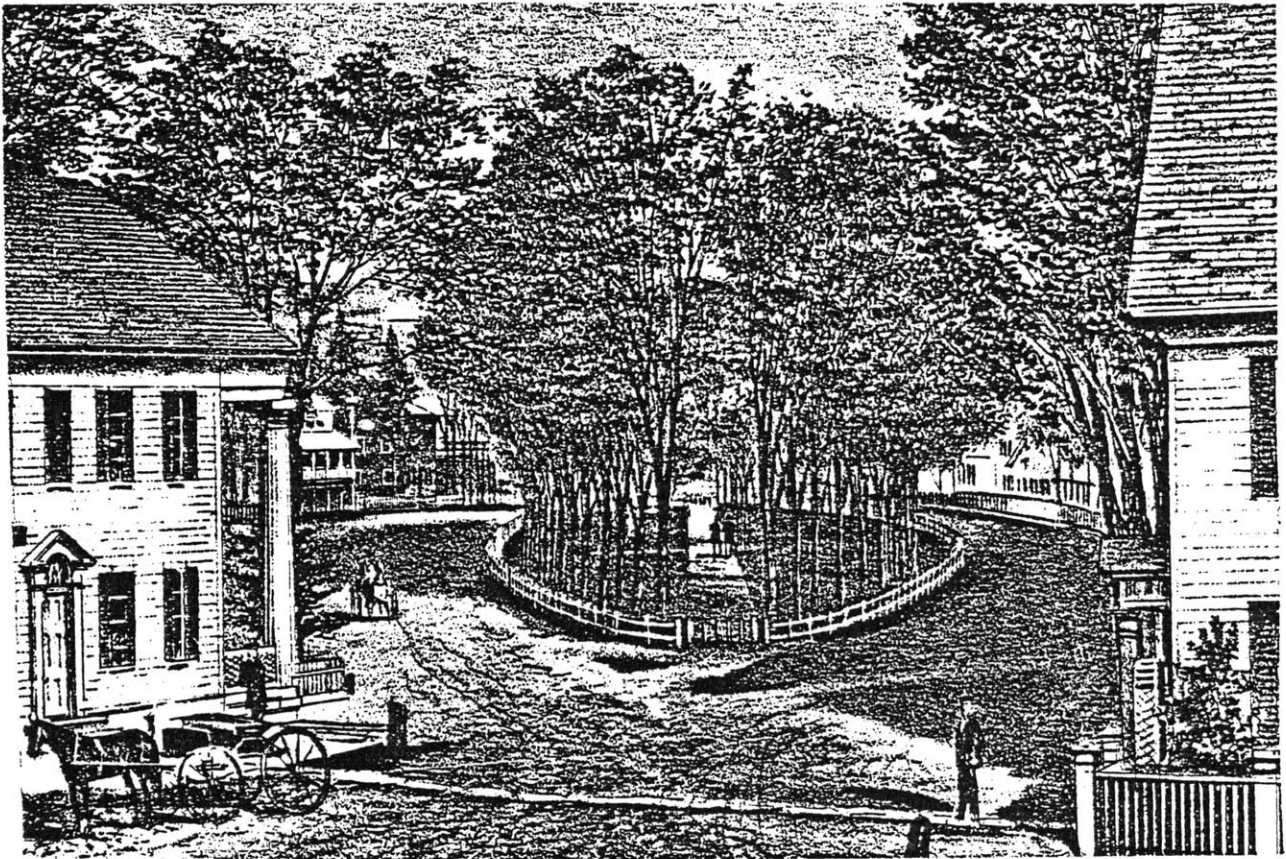
Charles Chapman.

The executive committee who ensured that the R.D. Wood contract was executed correctly were:

Frank S. Mackenzie

Luther O. Green

Frederick W. Wilder



1. Woodstock common about 1860. (Beers Atlas)

References: Chapter 2/Woodstock: section 3

1. Dana, ibid., p. 200.
2. Ibid., p. 200.
3. Ibid., p. 201.
4. Ibid., p. 202.
5. Ibid., p. 536.
6. Ibid., p. 543.
7. Ibid., p. 537.
8. Ibid., p. 536.
9. Ibid., p. 537.

2.2.4 Corporate capitalism and its role in the making of Woodstock.

A number of investigations in the development and growth of Woodstock have been made. The first, for the whole town, was a history of the charter and the initial subdivision of land: the characteristics of the first settlers as well as their kinship ties with other settlers who were the first to transform the land. Then, in more detail, for the Village of Woodstock, the making of the village in terms of the streets and common. Finally, an outline of those organisations that were responsible for the major physical transformations to the village.

The charter and initial subdivision.

Of the eleven portions that the town was initially subdivided into, not one of the owners lived or farmed in Woodstock. Apart from some 700 acres set aside for the different religious organisations as well as for the "first settled schoolmaster," the rest, some 20,000 acres, was owned by individuals for speculative reasons. Of this 20,000 odd acres, 5250 acres were owned separately by three persons who lived in New York City, 2050 acres by two persons living in New Jersey, 3000 acres by a Massachusetts colonel who "was in the habit of visiting Woodstock yearly to look after his rents and possessions in general."⁴⁵

The largest landowner in the town was Oliver Willard whose initial portion of 10,000 acres was enlarged to the entire town (over 26,000 acres) when he bought out the other proprietors in 1772. Willard, who for many years speculated largely in the New Hampshire Grants, was the person that

Governor Benning Wentworth appointed in the original town charter to call the first town meeting and to act as moderator for that first meeting. Willard filled many public offices and was a lawyer by profession.

The Governor himself was a real estate speculator. In each new town proclaimed there was to be set aside "the Governor's farm" or "lot." This tract of 500 acres was usually in one of the corners of the town lands so that it could be contiguous with the three other Governor's farms. A continuous area of some 2000 acres was the result.

Although some of the original proprietors lost their claims when the Governor of New York reissued the charter under the seal of the State of New York, those proprietors who managed to be in the charter consolidated their landholdings considerably.

The first settlers.

In the summer of 1768 Oliver Willard deeded 400 acres to Andrew Powers in payment of a debt.⁴⁶ Powers, soon after, sold some of the land to families who wanted to live and farm in the town. This was the start of any physical change to the landscape of the town. Until now nobody had lived in the town. In the same way that the first settlers in Weathersfield cultivated the land, so too did the first families in Woodstock.

The first group of settlers were more like an extended family, rather than individual speculators. Given the primitive and difficult conditions under which the settlement was started, kinship ties were most important to the physical and perhaps more important mental well-being of the first

settlers. In a sense they were speculators, but relying on their physical labor to transform their assets into something of value. In many cases the lots were not owned by the families that worked them until certain minimum areas had been fenced and cleared and that they were living off the land for a certain number of years. For the proprietors this was well and good, because it was the settlers labor that was turning the valleys and foothills into productive farmland, not theirs. At the same time, this effort was increasing the value of the adjacent wild land for the non-resident proprietors.

The extent to which the first settlers social composition resembled an extended family is demonstrated in Woodstock. Of the first 27 households that settled in the town up to 1774, twenty of those households belonged to eight families. In addition, 22 of the 27 households were related by marriage.

Of these first settlers, John Hosington and his son, Joab, are of importance because it was upon their land that the Village of Woodstock developed. Most of the early families were settling on lots of 50 or so acres. Only two families of the initial 27 bought over 500 acres. The first was Benjamin Emmons who bought 700 acres from Oliver Willard, as well as an undetermined amount (less than 200 acres). The other family was that of Joab Hosington, who along with Emmons shared a number of town offices together.

Joab Hosington, who was a large landowner in Windsor County, bought large tracts of land from Oliver Willard and Jonathan Grant, both original

proprietors. Joab settled in the spring of 1772 and took out a license as a tavern keeper the following year. The position of the Village of Woodstock today lies within the 1000 acre purchase that Hosington made from Willard and Grant. It is of interest to note that Joab Hosington was the town clerk in 1773. He also was selected to be overseer of the poor, commissioner of highways, and surveyor of highways for the town. These offices except for that of clerk he held jointly with two other persons, one of them Benjamin Emmons.

Joab's son, John Hosington, on the other hand, owned a total of 200 acres in several lots. One lot took in the eastern half of what was to become Pleasant Street and the adjoining slopes. His other lots took in what were later to be Marsh, Billings and more recently Rockefeller properties.

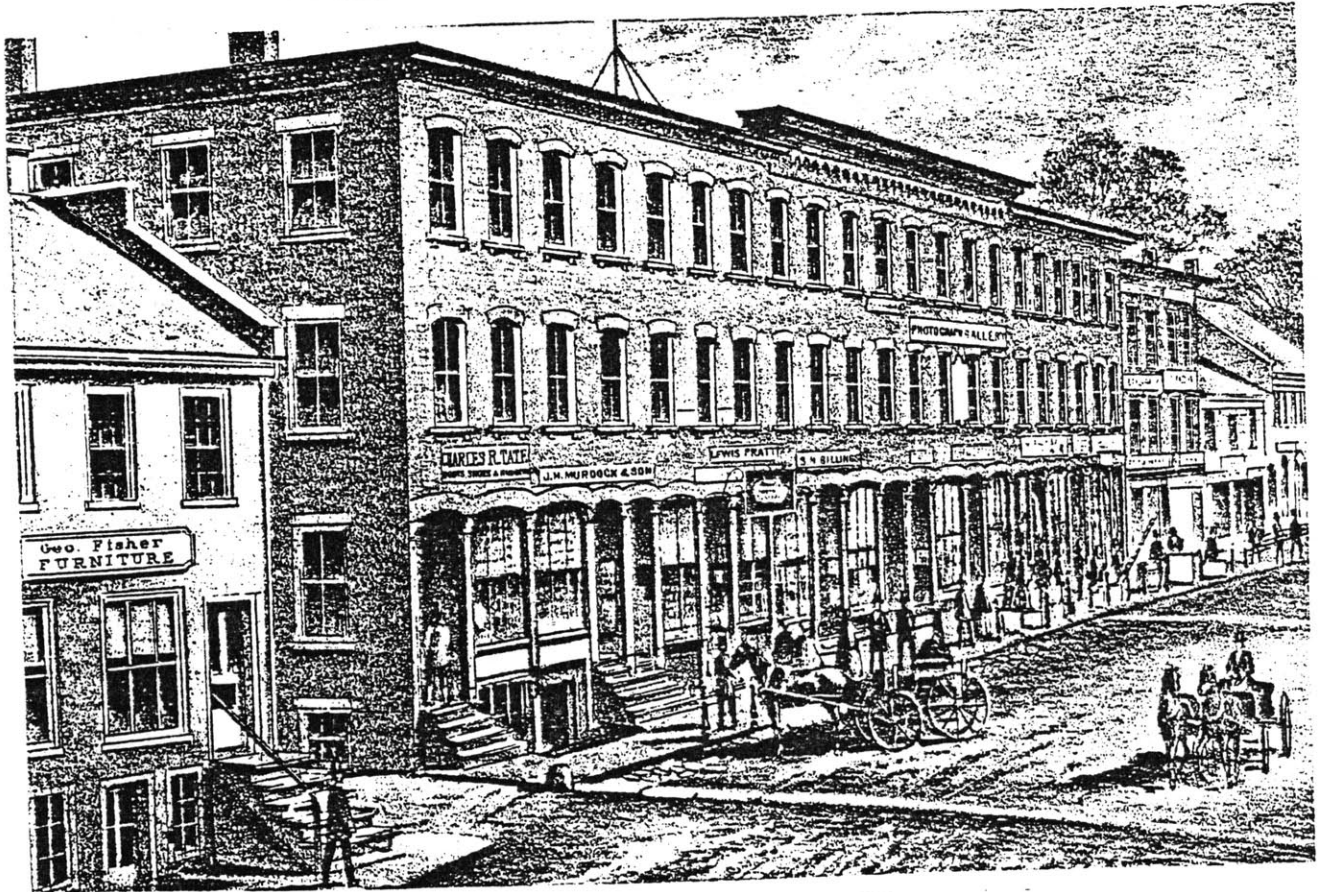
Thus, since the start of the town, the land where the valleys of the South Branch, the Barnard Brook and the Qttauquechee River meet, and which was in due course the site of the Village of Woodstock, had always been owned by the most affluent individuals, whose income was derived not from transforming the land into a productive unit, but from gains in speculating with it.

The making of the Village of Woodstock.

The conventional physical description of the early New England settlement as having a "sharp break between village and countryside" was not accurate for Woodstock.⁴⁷ Furthermore, the notion that these communities structured themselves around an open central space--the village green or common, again in Woodstock was not the case.⁴⁸



2. Woodstock village: shops on Central Street about 1970 (postcard).

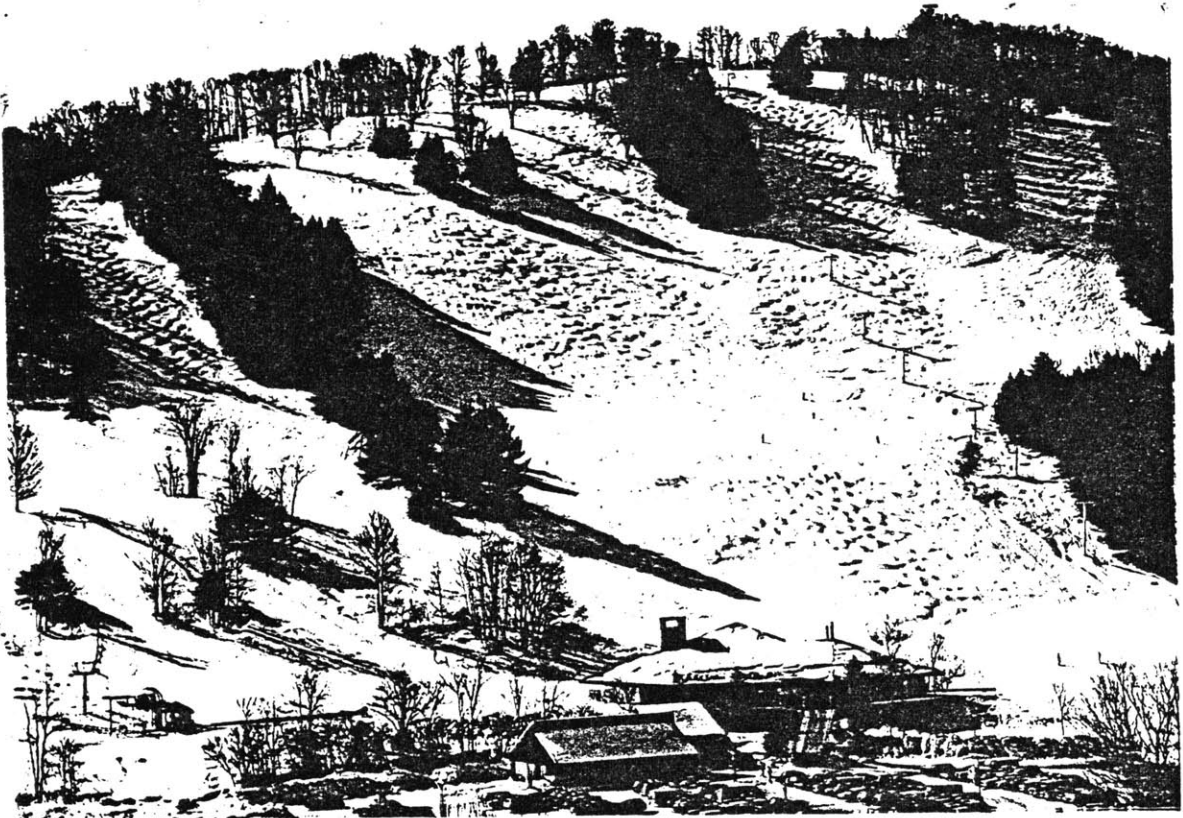


3. Woodstock village: shops on Central Street about 1860. (Beers Atlas)

The first common was laid out in 1793, twenty years after the first town meeting, and it was not until 1820 or 1830 that any attempt succeeded in planting the open space with grass and trees. Up to that time there had been a succession of businesses and sheds built on the space. The Woodstock Common we see today (1981) is a delapidated version of the improvements of over one hundred years ago, which at that time were made more than one hundred years after the town was first settled.

A more recent interpretation (1978) of the growth of the New England village is that the formation of the compact settlement took place during a vigorous, but brief period of commercial prosperity during the early federal period.⁴⁹ Woodstock Village would seem to follow this pattern although because it is in northern New England, at a slightly later date. The main village building period was during the fifty or so years from 1830 to 1880. A description has been made earlier of this formation as well as the individuals who were responsible for the development. What is apparent when these descriptions are analysed is the fact that the development process was in the hands of very few people and that control from generation to generation stayed in the same families.

It has been demonstrated elsewhere that the early communities of New England were communities of common social values.⁵⁰ Dissenters to prevailing opinion, if they persisted, were expelled or their lives made so intolerable that they left. This was usually on religious grounds, but not always, and because there was an abundance of land, they could establish communities elsewhere. Woodstock was no different, although the degree to which people left because of religious beliefs was much less than in



SUICIDE SIX; WOODSTOCK, VERMONT

Suicide Six is a compact, modern family ski center located just north of Woodstock, Vt. 18 trails and open slopes provide ample terrain for all levels of skiing ability. Three alpine lifts, including 2 double chair lifts, a beautiful new base lodge, and 30 acres of snowmaking make skiing here a most pleasurable experience. The famous "Face" as shown here, is considered one of the East's finest slalom hills.



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Post Card

Four horizontal lines for writing an address on the postcard.

V5 Photography by ALOIS MAYER

most other communities at the time because the original settlement had not been established for religious reasons. There are very few accounts in the written histories of Woodstock of how the community dealt with fundamental differences or with minority groups. In Dana, writing in the 1880's, there is however the following account:

In 1823 Sylvester Edson leased of Dr. John D. Powers a portion of the slope above the pearlash, extending along the south side of the highway, on which three tenements soon went up. The first of the three to be built stood nearly opposite the Universalist Chapel. It was occupied by the colored folks. After standing thus occupied some twelve or fifteen years, it became a trial to the neighborhood, and in consequence was visited one night by a band of men, about 40 in number, and incontinently torn down. So swift was the work that time was not allowed Mr. Freeman to get even his best furniture out. 51

This account is relevant because a number of writers have pointed out that because residence, not property, was the basis of town citizenship all persons living in the community could legitimately participate in the political life of the town. It would seem however that it was a qualified residence, and even then dependent upon the prevailing opinion.

Another aspect of the New England community that has been given much attention is the town meeting form of government. This was not as it would seem to be, a democratic decision-making mechanism for competing interests, but rather, because of the like-minded-ness of the community it was "an instrument to implement and maintain a fundamental agreement."⁵² Also because the positions of town office were not paid for, wealthier men tended to be elected to those positions.⁵³ Woodstock was no different, during the major village building period, 1830-1880, the development of

the town was controlled by perhaps ten persons. Most of them were large landowners, merchants, mill owners or lawyers, i.e., who earned their income from nonagricultural activities and certainly did not earn their living through manual labor (although there was no class implication at that time to that form of livelihood).⁵⁴

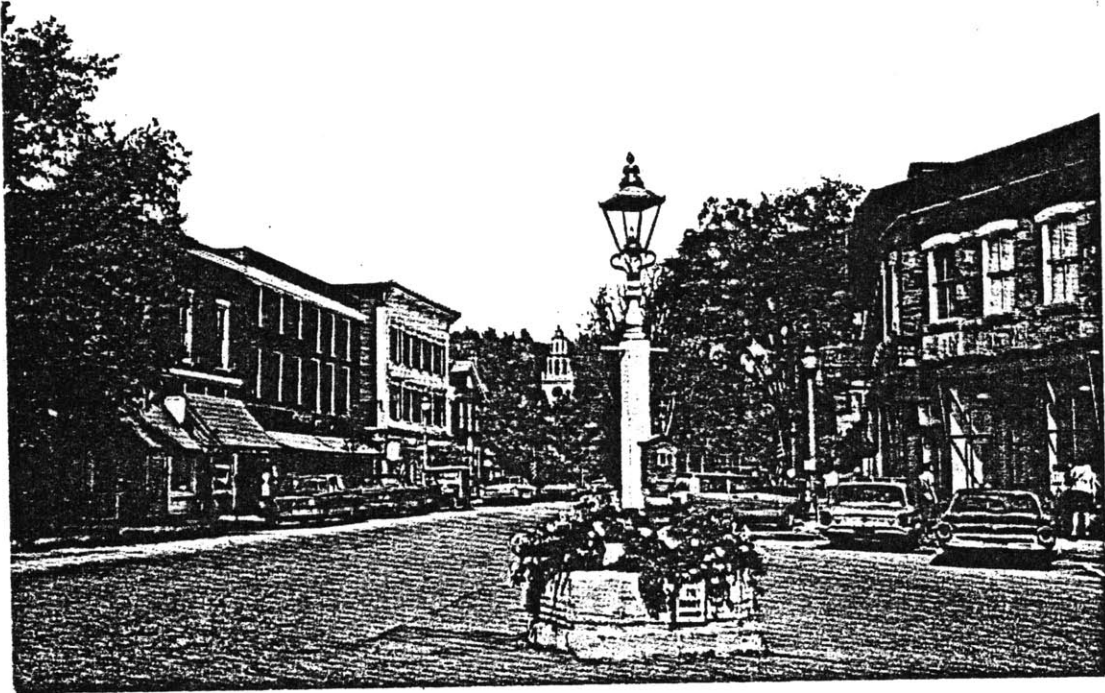
The chart on the following page lists the various offices that individuals held during the major village building period. As can be seen, the power and control was limited to very few people.

A final word about the large estate and mansion which lies to the northwest of the village should be made. The estate covers most of Mt. Tom and includes (on the east) some of the most fertile land in the valley. This point in the valley, so far as it is known, was the first point occupied by any settler.⁵⁵ The mansion was built by Charles Marsh (1765-1849), was bought by Frederick Billings (1823-1890) after Marsh's death. The building is now a Registered National Historical Landmark owned by Lawrence Rockefeller (born 1910) whose wife, Mary French, is Frederick Billings' granddaughter.

The Rockefellers, through the corporate divisions of Rockresorts, Inc. and the Woodstock Resort Corporation, own a number of houses in the village, mainly around the common, as well as the Woodstock Inn which also faces the common. The local ski complex, Suicide Six, which is a few miles north of the village in Pomfret, is also owned by the Rockefellers.

	Elm Street	Pleasant Street	High Street	Woodstock common	Windsor & Woodstock Turnpike Co.	Royalton and Woodstock Turnpike Company	Agricultural Society for the County of Windsor	Woodstock Railroad Co. director 1867	Woodstock Railroad Co. director 1888	Woodstock Aqueduct Co.	town clerk	selectman	town representative	attorney	bank director	Eagle Hotel - now Woodstock Inn
Charles Marsh	⊗				⊗	⊗			⊗				⊗	⊗		
Frederick Billings				⊗			⊗	⊗							⊗	⊗
Charles Dana			⊗				⊗					⊗			⊗	
Jesse Williams	⊗			⊗								⊗				
Nathan Churchill				⊗								⊗	⊗		⊗	
O.P. Chandler				⊗					⊗			⊗	⊗	⊗		
Justin Mackenzie				⊗				⊗	⊗			⊗				
Benjamin Swan					⊗								⊗	⊗		
Titus Hutchinson						⊗						⊗	⊗	⊗	⊗	
Norman Williams						⊗							⊗	⊗		⊗
Amos Ralph			⊗									⊗				
Charles S. Raymond							⊗							⊗		
James G. Porter							⊗	⊗								
Charles Chapman									⊗						⊗	
Luther O. Greene									⊗						⊗	⊗
Jabey Bennett	⊗															

5. Woodstock residents and their involvement in town organizations during the 19th century.



6. Woodstock village: Elm Street from Central Street. (postcard)



7. Woodstock Inn about 1960. (postcard)

References : Chapter 2: Woodstock: section 4

45. Dana, op. cit., p. 8.
46. Ibid., p. 18.
47. Reys, op. cit., p. 106.
48. Ibid., p. 107.
49. Wood, J.S. The Origin of the New England Village. Ph.D. dissertation, Pennsylvania State University, 1978.
50. Zuckerman, op. cit.
51. Dana, op. cit., p. 168.
52. Zuckerman, op. cit., p. 187.
53. Cook, E.M., Jr., The Fathers of the Towns, Baltimore. Johns Hopkins Press, 1976, p. 85.
54. Ibid., p. 87.
55. Dana, op. cit., p. 191.

2.3 Stowe: 1900 until 1960

2.3.1 The history of the name

In the original charter granted by Governor Benning Wentworth, dated 8 June 1763 the town is referred to as "Stow." The "e" seems to have been added for the first time in the warning for the town meeting of 1838.¹ It has been assumed that the name came from a town in England.² There is a Stow in Middlesex County, Massachusetts, that was named after a town in England,³ and although it is probably a coincidence, the names of at least three of the original grantees of Stow, Vermont are names that are listed in "Vital statistics of Stow, Mass."⁴

There is a "Stow" in Lincolnshire, a "Stowmarket" in Suffolk and a "Stow on the Wold" in Buckinghamshire, England.

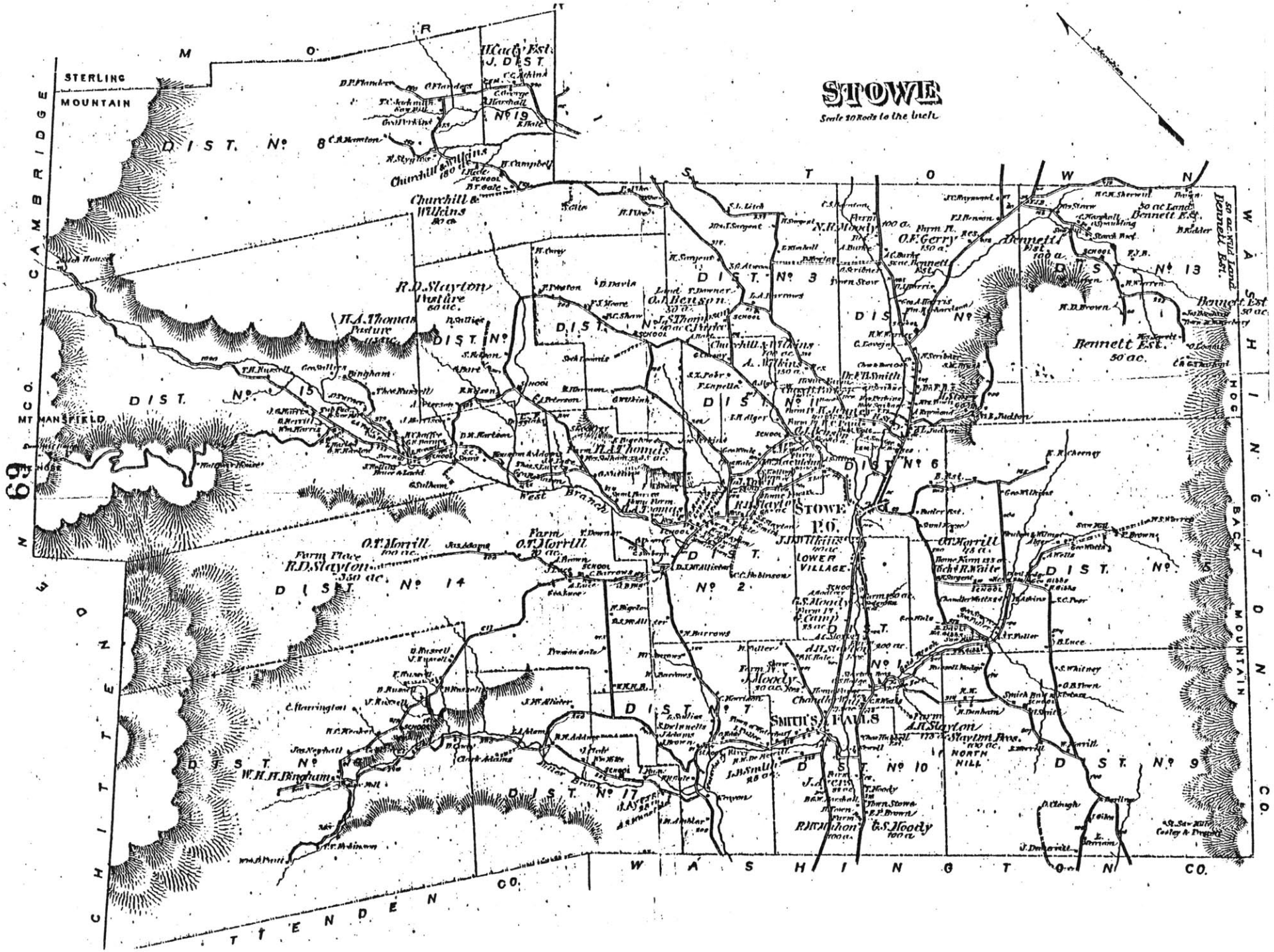
2.3.2 The making of the town

The town was chartered in 1763 but it was only in 1793 that settlement in the town began.⁵ The seemingly long delay is not unusual considering that during that time the New Hampshire Grants were in dispute, the Revolutionary War happened, and that Vermont only entered into the Union two years earlier in 1791 as the fourteenth state.

The names of the early settlers do not appear among those of the original grantees.⁶ This, as in the case of Woodstock and for most other northern New England towns, needs some explanation. There were usually three groups of persons involved in the establishment of these new settlements. First, the grantees, in whose name the original charter was proclaimed;

STOWE

Scale 20 Rods to the Inch.



8. Stowe: town 1870.

second, the proprietors who generally were speculators, who purchased the town site from the grantees. Third, the settlers, who purchased lots from the proprietors. It was the settlers who transformed the land from its wild state into a productive landscape and in so doing increased the value of the surrounding uncultivated wilderness for the proprietors. The proprietors administered the town site (usually from some well-established community some distance from the new settlement) until there were enough landholding settlers to make a political town government by electing the necessary officers.

The three groups, grantees, proprietors and settlers, were not always made up of different persons. The degree to which the same person was a grantee, a proprietor and a settler varies. For instance, in the early covenanted communities of New England, the grantees were the settlers, and because the establishment of these towns were not primarily speculative ventures there were no proprietors. In Woodstock, Vt., at one time before settlement but after the proclamation of charter, a single proprietor, Oliver Willard, owned all the land, save the 500 acre "Governor's lot," in the town. In the records of Stowe there seems to be no distinction between grantees and proprietors, the Governor simply designated the 64 men in the charter as "Proprietors."⁷ From this we can assume that by this time the proprietors are wholeheartedly in the real estate business getting towns chartered as speculative ventures.

Stowe officially became a town in 1797, when the first town meeting had completed the election of the town officers. It is of interest to mention the various offices as they give an idea of what kind of administrative

tasks were needed to maintain and control the new community. The term of office was one year and most of the services rendered were voluntary, although the expenses of "official" duty, i.e., representing the town at state and legal proceedings was paid for after being voted on by the community. The names of the various offices were: moderator, town clerk, treasurer, three selectmen, two constables, three listers, grandjuryman, three fence viewers, three highway surveyors, three haywards (to look after hedges and fences to keep cattle from injuring them as well as to impound estrays),⁸ a sealer of weights and measures, a tythingman (a parish officer to preserve good order in the church during divine service. This "moral officer" also recorded any disorderly conduct and enforced the observance of the Sabbath)⁹ and a pound keeper (whose barnyard was the pound).

There were at this time (1797), thirty-two heads of families in Stowe. This is half the number of families in the original charter of 1763. It is 34 years since proclamation, much more than the five year limit as laid out in the original charter. In Massachusetts the General Court ordered a maximum of seven years between proclamation and meeting the minimum requirements of settlement. These and other requirements of charter were only on paper, which were rarely enforced, allowing for the real purpose of charter, land speculation, to proceed without hindrance and at its own pace.

The livelihood of the early settlers was not unlike that of most Vermont towns, including Woodstock and Weathersfield. The pioneers cleared the land of the forest and produced potash from the fallen trees to buy those commodities that they did not make or grow themselves. This was a phase of relative self-sufficiency. By the mid-1800's the landscape,

especially the hillsides, had been transformed into pastureland, primarily to feed sheep but for cattle and some horses as well. At the peak of the sheep boom the town had about 8000 sheep and just over 2000 inhabitants.¹⁰ This economic phase is characterised by general commercial agricultural production providing markets in the growing towns and cities with food. However, when railway transport brought cheap western produce into the large towns and cities of the east, the hillside farms could not compete, and Stowe, like the rest of Vermont turned to dairying. At one time there were more cows than people in Vermont. Stowe, in 1930 was no different from the rest of the state, having about 2800 dairy cows on more than 100 family farms. The town population at that time was 1653.¹¹

In the 18th century the economic base of the town had shifted from relative self-sufficiency to commercial agriculture, based in the closing years of the century on wool. During the 19th century the economic base shifted from sheep to dairy farming in order to provide the urban centers with specialized agricultural products that the commercial agricultural areas of the west could not compete against. In the 20th century, again, the economic base shifted, this time not as a result of the competitive market forces from the west, but from leisure demands of the inhabitants of the urban centers themselves. Recreation, particularly during the summer months, had since the 1880's become popular, and at the turn of the century was, along with specialized dairy products, becoming the new industry. With the increase in automobile ownership in the 1920's came an increase in touring and vacations in areas that were not well served by railroads.

The nearest rail connection to Stowe was at Waterbury Junction, a few miles south of Stowe Village. In 1894 the Mt. Mansfield Electric Railroad was chartered and was opened for traffic in 1897.¹² This connection, offering passenger and freight service between the two towns operated until 2 May 1932, when due to competition from the privately owned automobile, the company was forced to close down.¹³

It is about this time, 1930, that winter sports began to be an important component of the recreation industry in Stowe. Up until this time the recreation industry had been predominantly a summer activity. The next section will look at the growth and formation of that industry in the town as well as the nature of the transformations it has made to the landscape of the town.

2.3.3 The recreation industry and effects on Stowe.

The early development of Stowe has been similar to Woodstock and many other Vermont towns that were settled in the closing years of the 18th century. In each of the various periods the dominant economic activity had a direct effect on the character of the landscape and on the spatial pattern of settlement. This section will concentrate on only one aspect of that development, the recreation industry, concentrating on the years 1930 through to 1960.

The recreation industry prior to 1930 cannot really be called an industry; it was, however, from the very early days certainly a business.

Stowe's first settler, Oliver Luce, who arrived in 1793 was the first person to accommodate paying guests. The first official tavern (a

structure 40 by 20 feet having seven beds) was run by Nathan Robinson who moved to Stowe in 1798. The position of this tavern was about a mile north of the present village.¹⁴

Samuel Dutton, a shoemaker, came to Stowe from Woodstock in 1811 and built a tavern on Main Street in the Village of Stowe.¹⁵ This was the first of a number of taverns and hotels to be built in the center of the village. Dutton's tavern was later moved down the street towards Waterbury.

In 1817 Colonel Ashael Raymond, who kept both a store and a hotel in the village, sold the store and ran the hotel until his death in 1849. The building later became the Raymond wing of the Mt. Mansfield Hotel, of which more will be said later.

In 1833 Peter C. Lovejoy built himself a dwelling at the intersection of Rt. 108 and Rt. 100.¹⁶ In 1850 he traded the dwelling for a farm with Stillman Churchill. Today both the house and the farm are directly involved in the recreation industry, the former as "the Green Mountain Inn," the latter as "the Fountain" on Rt. 100.

Churchill added two wings, a dance hall, and built a double porch on the front of Lovejoy's house and opened the remodelled structure as a hotel, calling it the Mansfield House (now the Green Mt. Inn).¹⁷ Churchill lost this property by mortgage foreclosure to W.H.H. Bingham, who in turn deeded it to the Mt. Mansfield Hotel. When the Mt. Mansfield Hotel burned in 1889, Mansfield House, which stood immediately west of the hotel, was deeded to W.P. Bailey who owned and operated it as the Brick Hotel. (This choice of name one presumes is as a result of the fire

next door.)*

In 1893 Mark Lovejoy bought the Brick Hotel and altered the building, calling it the Green Mt. Inn.¹⁸ The present day structure (1981) called the Green Mt. Inn and Motel, on the same site, has had extensive alterations and modernization, including the addition of a motel in response to the demands of the winter recreation industry.

Stowe's largest hotel, the Mt. Mansfield Hotel, was built in 1863 on the south side of Main Street in the village.¹⁹ It was extended in 1864 and had 200 rooms, a spacious lobby and parlors. It was over 300 feet long and three and a half stories high, with two wings in the rear, and could accommodate 450 people.²⁰ At the back of this huge building (especially for its time) was built one of the largest livery barns in New England, in order to house stage, livery and saddle horses as well as the equipages of hotel guests. This huge hotel, which attracted guests from all over New England had a succession of owners. The largest entrepreneur seems to have been C. Bailey of Concord, New Hampshire, who at one time managed the following resorts in and around the village: Mt. Mansfield Hotel, Mansfield House (now the Green Mt. Inn), the Halfway House, the Summit House (built by W.H.H. Bingham in 1858), and the Notch House.²¹ The last three are along Rt. 108 towards Mt. Mansfield.

The Mt. Mansfield Hotel (in the village) burned in 1889 and the huge barn was demolished in 1953 as it was too great a fire hazard for the village.²²

*Author's note.

Seven other facilities for vacationing guests are worth mentioning as they are located along Rt. 108 which links the village with the Mt. Mansfield ski areas, an axis which over the last 20 years has been the locus of most of the recreation-related development. The Lodge, Barnes Camp in the Notch, Summit House, Notch House, Ranch Camp on the South Fork, the Traveller's Inn and the Fountain (the farm Churchill traded for what is now the Green Mt. Inn) were located along this axis from the village to the mountain. Three of these facilities were eventually bought out by the Mt. Mansfield Company, Inc.,²³ who since the 1930's have, perhaps more than any other company organised winter sports into an industry in Stowe.²⁴ The formation of this company and the persons involved in its early operation will be discussed in the next section.

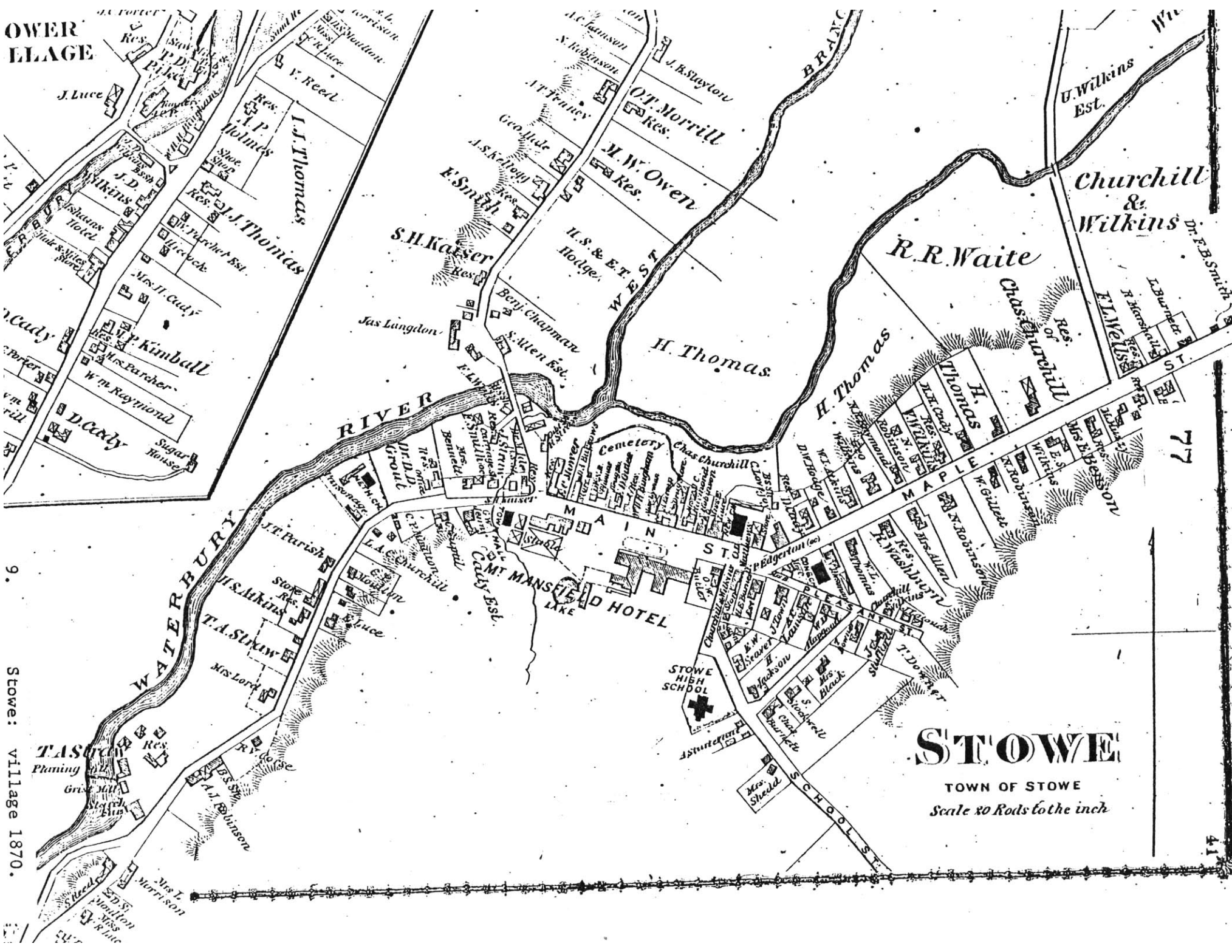
On the copy of the Beers map of Stowe Village (c. 1870) the entire south side of Main Street is taken up by the Mt. Mansfield Hotel,²⁵ the structure in front of the "stable" is the present day Green Mt. Inn. On the north side of Main Street can be seen the properties of W.H.H. Bingham, C. Lovejoy and Mrs. M.C. Raymond.

The development of the recreation industry from 1930 until 1970.

The recreation industry in Stowe started as a summer visitor business. Winter sport, organised as Carnivals, was popular in the first decade of the 20th century, but it is only in the 1930's that winter sports at first and then skiing later became the industry it is today, giving Stowe the reputation of being the "Ski capital of the East."

The introduction of the ski-tow onto the slopes of Mt. Mansfield as well

OWER
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9. Stowe: Village 1870.

STOWE

TOWN OF STOWE
Scale 80 Rods to the inch

as the business interests of a few entrepreneurs in the 1930's and 1940's enabled the development of the ski industry to flourish in Stowe.

In 1932 the Stowe winter carnival was revived, the previous carnival being held in 1923. It drew a crowd of 300 compared to the over 2500 over four days in 1923. The following year, 1933, the Stowe winter carnival was attended by over 1000 people.²⁶ At this time there were no commercial ski centers in Stowe or in Vermont.²⁷

The reintroduction of the carnival was an effort of the people of the town to stimulate the town economy which was failing, as were many during the depression. The carnivals of the early 1920's and the early 1930's were centered in an around the Village of Stowe, the huge mountain to the west of the town was not used at all, except by a few adventurous visitors for hiking expeditions.

It was the introduction of the ski-tow that really transformed the skiing business and turned it into an industry. The year after the Lake Placid Olympics, in 1934, the first ski-tow (powered by a Model T engine) in the United States went into operation in Woodstock, Vermont. The first ski-tow in Stowe was installed in 1936 and went into commercial operation in 1937. It was 1000 feet long and powered by a 1927 Cadillac engine. To many orthodox skiers the introduction of the ski-tow was a travesty on a vigorous sport. The idea was repulsive to most skiers at the time when the moulding of a good herringbone on a hillside was half the art of skiing and the downhill trek was the reward for the difficult climb up. The ski-tow was "a commercial artifice for drawing to the hills

sluggish recruits for whom skiing wasn't intended." What the ski tow did do was to change the nature of skiing from a vigorous sport into a vigorous entertainment. In 1933 there were no commercial ski centers in Vermont, twenty years later there were over sixty, each with a ski-tow of some sort ranging from a single tractor-driven rope tow on private pastures of a few hundred feet to the enormous operations that developed at Stowe.²⁸

Later in the same season that the ski-tow went into commercial operation at Stowe (1937) the Eastern Downhill Championships were held in the town. Special "Skimeister" trains from New York and Boston had been running since 1935, and for the three-day Washington's Birthday weekend in 1937 more than 800 passengers came to Stowe. It was subsequently described as the largest overnight skiing expedition ever to be carried by snow train in the United States. The day of the race transformed Stowe as an estimated 10,000 spectators and over 3000 cars poured into Stowe heading for the ski slopes.²⁹

The following year another ski-tow twice the length of the first went into operation, and two years later in 1940 the first chairlift up Mt. Mansfield went into commercial operation. It was 6300 ft. long and cost \$75,000 to put into operation. It was owned and operated by the Mt. Mansfield Lift Inc., whose president, Roland Palmedo, was also the president of the New York City Amateur Ski Club in the early 1930's.³⁰

Roland Palmedo was perhaps one of a group of seven actors who between them developed and controlled the ski industry in Stowe. Palmedo was a New

York City investment banker who, along with the members of the New York City Amateur Ski Club in the early 1930's, enjoyed skiing at Stowe. The second was Sepp Ruschp, an Austrian ski instructor who arrived in 1936 at the invitation of the Mt. Mansfield Ski Club. The third actor was C.V. Starr, who in 1919 at the age of 27 had started an insurance company in Shanghai, China. It was now a worldwide complex of insurance firms. Starr visited Stowe for the first time in 1943 and together with Sepp Ruschp organised the company that owned the fourth ski-tow (and eventually all the ski lifts) in the town.³¹ Along with Palmedo, Ruschp and Starr was a fourth entrepreneur, Franklin Griffin. Although not as powerful as the first three, he was one of the first entrepreneurs in Stowe. He built the second ski-tow in 1938 and was the first president of the Mt. Mansfield Ski Club, the same club that invited Sepp Ruschp to Stowe in 1936.³²

The fifth, sixth and seventh actors are all of relevance because of the land they control or own. The State of Vermont, who through the Vermont Forestry Service* control most of Mt. Mansfield and certainly those slopes that were of interest to Palmedo, Ruschp and Starr, namely the Mt. Mansfield State Forest. Nearly two-thirds of the Mansfield ski complex lies within the state forest, i.e., on public property. For the privilege of operating on this land the early Mt. Mansfield ski-tows and lift businesses entered into leases with the Vermont Forestry Service.* The first lease is dated 14 November, 1939, with payment a nominal \$1 a year plus 10% of of gross receipts over \$40,000. It was not until 1946 that the state

*Later the Forests and Parks Department.

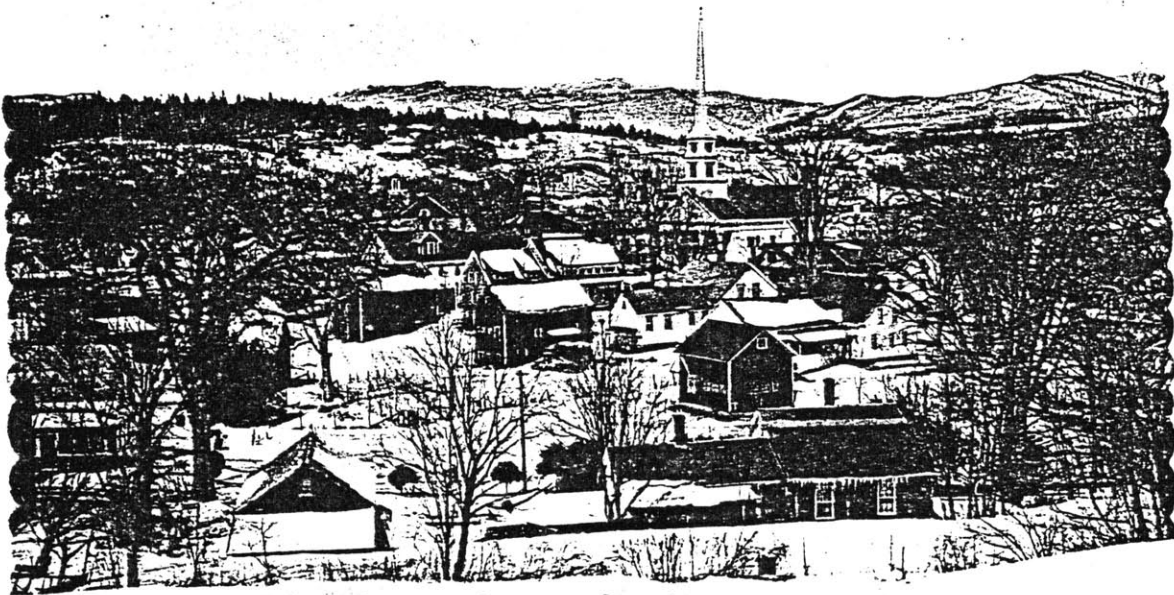
received anything beyond that dollar. For that year receipts of the Mt. Mansfield Life Co. reached \$43,878.50 and it paid the state \$387.85 as the 10 per cent of the amount above \$40,000. Since then the annual payments have increased (and the lease terms have undergone revision). For the 1968-69 fiscal year the Mt. Mansfield Co. paid \$60,937 to the state and \$57,100 for the following fiscal year.³³

The sixth actor was the Burt Co., who had large logging domains on the Stowe side of Mt. Mansfield. The Burt family had for a number of generations been residents of Stowe. It was the same C.E. and F.O. Burt Company who were the last users of the big barn behind the Green Mountain Inn before it was torn down in 1953. They used it to house their logging horses.³⁴ (See previous section and Beers map of 1870.) Craig O. Burt, Sr., had in 1922 been responsible for the construction of the road that made automobile traffic up to the Mt. Mansfield summit ridge possible.³⁵ He was the same person who purchased from a Jeffersonville man and installed the first ski-town in Stowe in 1936. It went into commercial operation the following year having cost Burt \$900.

The seventh and final major actor is the University of Vermont, who own some 400 acres along the summit of Mt. Mansfield. This land was originally deeded to the University on the condition "that use of the area be devoted to educational and scientific purposes."³⁶ The land was deeded by J.B. Wheeler and W.H.H. Bingham in 1859. It was Bingham who in 1858 built the Summit House on Mt. Mansfield and whose residence can be seen on the north side of Main Street on the Beers map of 1870.

With these events the development in a sense has gone full circle. Of the seven major actors, three were residents of the town (the Burts, Roschp and Griffin), and none of them were from farming backgrounds except the Burts, who had been in the logging business, which was more extractive than reproductive in nature at that time. The other four actors, who, while there were individuals involved, were both national and international business corporations or state institutions. An itemized history of these developments from 1932 until 1971 is given on the following page.

The next section will describe the changes that the development of ski-tows and trails has caused in three selected parts of the town.



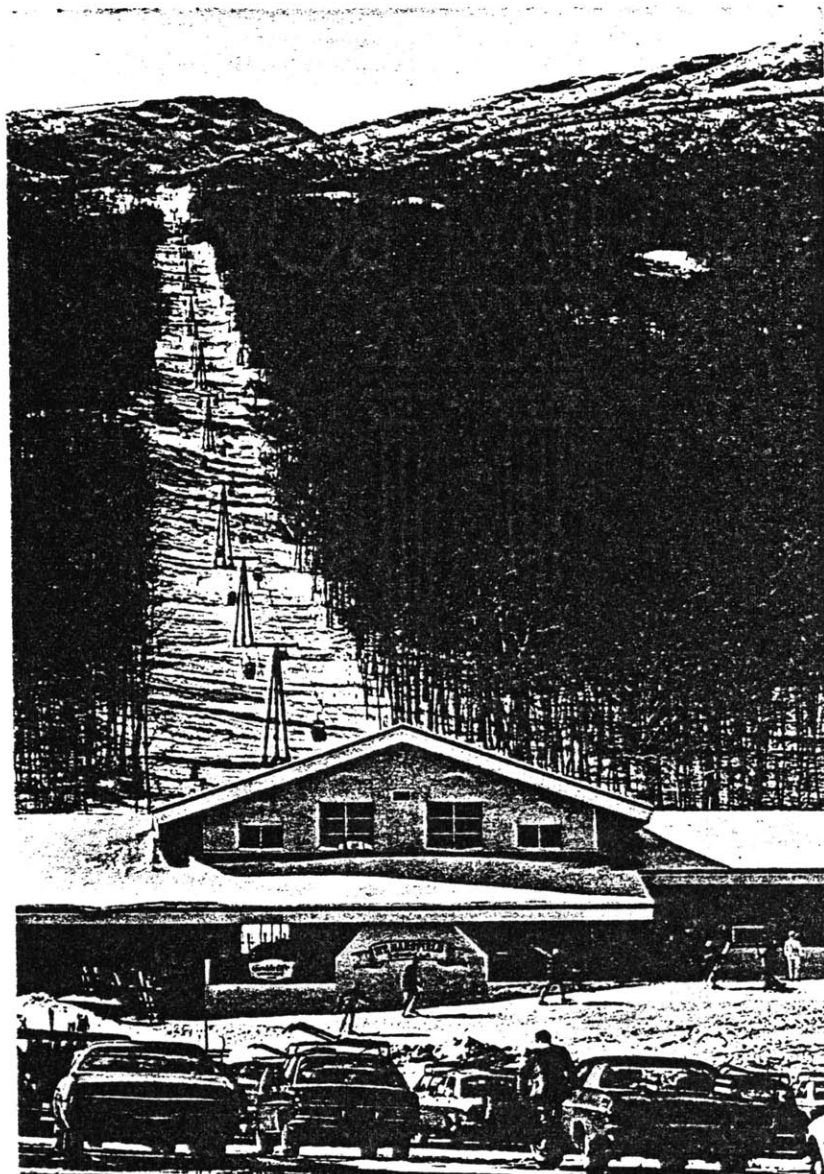
Winter in Vermont

An itemized history of the ski industry in Stowe.

- 1932 .Winter carnival revived after 10 years, attendance 300 persons, organized by the townspeople.
- 1933 .Lake Placid Olympics in upstate New York
 .Winter carnival in Stowe, attendance 1000 persons, organized by the townspeople.
 .Civilian Conservation Corps builds first ski trails in Stowe. Organized by the Federal government and the state Forestry Department.
- 1934 .First ski-tow operated in the United States at Woodstock, Vt. Powered by a Model T truck engine. 37
 .Stowe Ski Club reorganized as the Mt. Mansfield Ski Club with headquarters at the Ranch Camp. Franklin Griffin, president.
- 1935 .Start of the "Skimeister" trains from New York and Boston, to Waterbury, just south of Stowe.
 .First ski patrol in the United States formed at Stowe. Known as the Mt. Mansfield Ski Patrol it was organized by C.O. Burt, Sr., Franklin Griffin and Charles Lord at the suggestion of Roland Palmedo who was president of the New York City Amateur Ski Club in the early 1930's.
- 1936 .Sepp Ruschp arrives as ski instructor from Austria at the invitation of the Mt. Mansfield Ski Club.
 .First ski-tow in Stowe installed by C.O. Burt, Sr., who bought it from a Jeffersonville man for \$900.
- 1937 .First commercial operation of the Burt ski-tow. It was 1000 ft. long on the Toll House slopes which were owned by the Mt. Mansfield Hotel Co., Inc., the director of which was Sepp Ruschp.
 .Eastern Downhill Championships moved to Stowe. Town inundated with 10,000 spectators and over 3000 automobiles.
- 1938 .Second ski-tow, 2000 ft. long on Mt. Mansfield slopes, owned by Franklin Griffin.
- 1939 .Third ski-tow, a 6300 ft. long single chairlift put into operation at a cost of \$75,000 by the Mt. Mansfield Lift Co., Inc., whose president was Roland Palmedo. Initially the capacity of the tow was 200 skiers per hour, later increased to 300 per hour.
 .First lease agreement between the Vermont Forestry Service and a private corporation to operate a ski business on public land.
- 1943 .C.V. Starr, developer of an international group of insurance companies visits Stowe on vacation for the first time.

- 1944 .C.V. Starr visits Stowe for second time.
 .Sepp Ruschp made director of the Mt. Mansfield Hotel Co.
- 1946 .First summer operation of Mt. Mansfield Lift Co., Inc., as
 a tourist attraction.
 .First lease payment to the Vermont Forestry Service of more
 than \$1 for operating a ski business on public land. The
 amount paid was \$387.85.
- 1947 .Fourth ski-town, a 4000 ft. long T-bar put into operation by
 the Smugglers Notch Lift Co. Inc. made possible by C.V. Starr
 pledging 51% of the capital needed for the venture to Sepp
 Ruschp.
- 1948 .The Mt. Mansfield Hotel Co., Inc., takes over the Mt. Mansfield
 Ski patrol, i.e., Sepp Ruschp incorporates his ski patrol into
 his hotel and ski-tow company.
- 1949 .The Mt. Mansfield Hotel Co., Inc., acquires 90% of the stock
 of the Mt. Mansfield Lift Co., Inc., as well as 90% of the Smug-
 glers Notch Lift Co., Inc. I.e., Sepp Ruschp is now director
 of the company that controls the largest ski-tows on the mountain.
- 1950 .The Mt. Mansfield Hotel Co., Inc., renames itself the Mt.
 Mansfield Co., Inc., with Sepp Ruschp as director and C.V. Starr
 as its first president.
 .Mt. Mansfield Co., Inc., acquires the Lodge at Smugglers Notch.
- 1953 .The Mt. Mansfield Lift Co., Inc., a division of the Mt. Mansfield
 Co., Inc., has its one millionth customer, a skier from
 Cambridge, Mass.
 .C.V. Starr steps down as president of Mt. Mansfield Co., Inc.,
 (remains on the board) and he personally nominates Sepp Ruschp
 for president, who is then elected.
 .In 1933 there were no commercial ski areas in Vermont, now in
 1953, there are over sixty in the state, of which the complex
 at Stowe is the largest.
- 1960 .A Riblet double chair, paralleling the 1940 lift is put into
 operation by the Mt. Mansfield Co., Inc.
- 1961 .C.V. Starr resigns from board of directors of the Mt. Mansfield
 Co., Inc.
- 1967 .Mt. Mansfield Co., Inc. directors get stockholders approval
 of plans for major expansion program of facilities, including
 snow-making equipment for the Spruce Peak area as well as for
 a new gondola lift with four passenger enclosed cabins.
- 1968 .Snow-making equipment installed on slopes.
 .C.V. Starr dies, aged 75.

- 1969 .Gondola in operation along with a base terminal building, the Cliff House and the associated complex of five new trails.
- 1970 .In Stowe there are more than sixty lodges, inns and motels with accommodation for more than 4500 people.
- 1971 .Sepp Ruschp is president and general manager of the Mt. Mansfield Co., Inc.
- 1975 .Mt. Mansfield Company, Inc., builds fifty-one town house condominiums in the Toll House development site. Plans the construction of an additional lift and further condominium development in two other sites, the first near the Lodge at Smugglers Notch and the other in the Spruce Peak area.



9. Stowe: The Mt. Mansfield Co. gondola. (postcard)

References: Chapter 2 /Stowe: section 1

1. Bigelow, E.L. Stowe, Vermont, ski capital of the East, The Stowe Historical Society, Stowe, 1964, pp. 8 and 11.
2. Vermont Historical Society Quarterly, October 1952, p. 274.
3. United States Geological Survey Bulletin #258.
4. Bigelow, op. cit., p. 8.
5. Ibid., p. 8.
6. Ibid., p. 9.
7. Ibid., p. 9.
8. Websters International Dictionary, 1922 edition, p. 990.
9. Ibid., p. 2163.
10. Bigelow, op. cit., p. 196.
11. Ibid., p. 196.
12. Ibid., p. 112.
13. Ibid., p. 113.
14. Ibid., p. 147.
15. Ibid., p. 147.
16. Ibid., p. 148.
17. Ibid., p. 148.
18. Ibid., p. 148.
19. Ibid., p. 148.
20. Stowe Historical Society, A Brief History of Stowe Vermont. 1973, p. 10.
21. Bigelow, op. cit., p. 149.

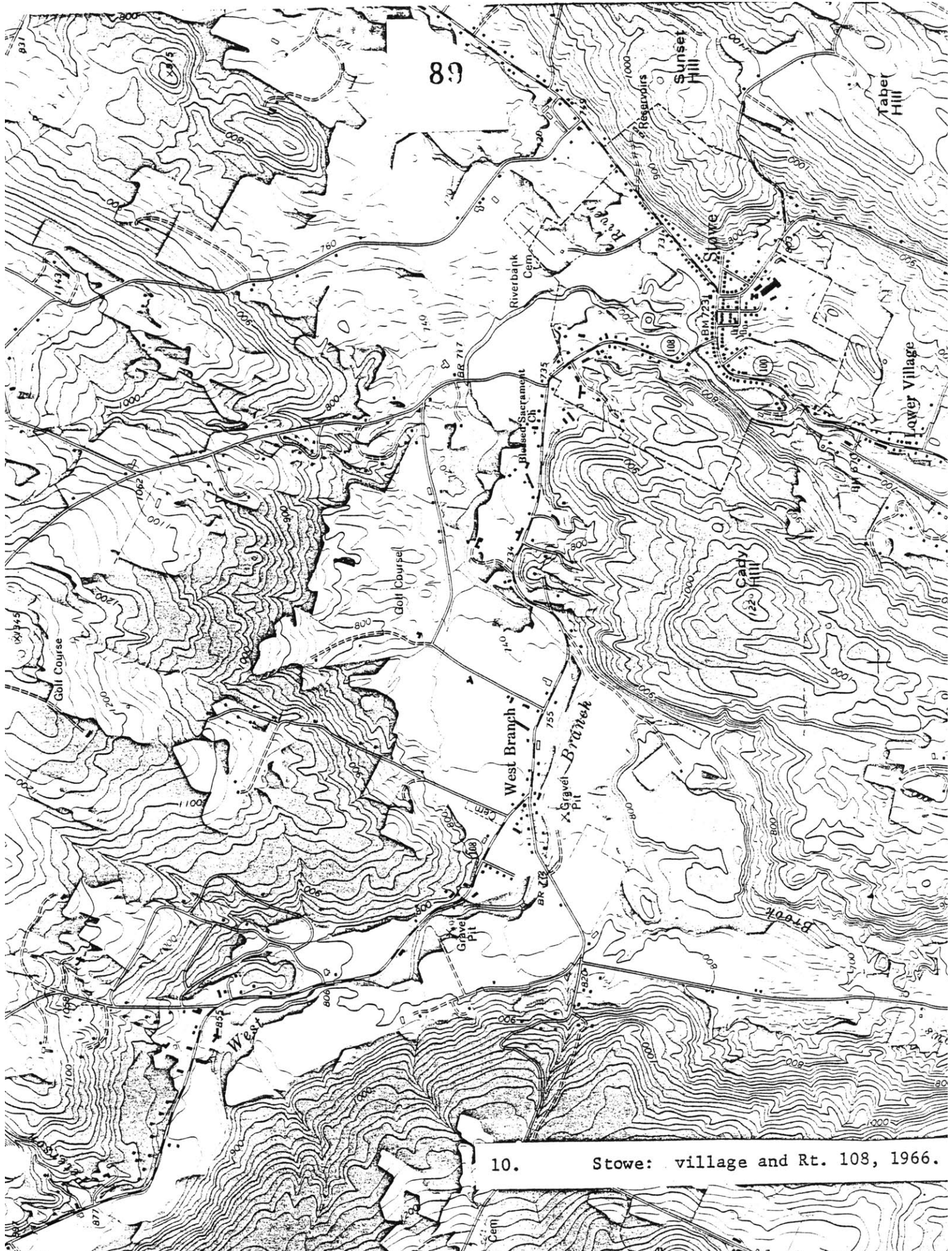
22. Stowe Historical Society, op. cit., p. 10.
23. Bigelow, op. cit., pp. 148, 149.
24. Hagerman, R.L., Mansfield, the Story of Vermont's Loftiest Mountain.
Canaan, N.H., 1975, p. 71.
25. Beers, F.W., Atlas of Lamoille County, Vt., 1869, p. 41.
26. Hagerman, op. cit., p. 68.
27. Storrs, Lee W., The Green Mountains of Vermont, New York, 1955,
p. 260.
28. Ibid., p. 260.
29. Hagerman, op. cit., p. 69.
30. Ibid., p. 68.
31. Ibid., p. 71.
32. Ibid., p. 67.
33. Ibid., p. 72.
34. Bigelow, op. cit., p. 148.
35. Hagerman, op. cit., p. 60.
36. Ibid., p. 98.
37. Sources differ as to what type of engine powered the first ski-tow
in the United States. Hagerman (1975) has it as a Model T truck
engine, while Storrs Lee (1955) has it as a Buick engine. However,
in conversation with a relative of the owners of the farm on which
the ski-tow operated, I had it confirmed as a Model T truck engine.
(Author's note: South Pomfret, December 1980.)

2.3.4 Corporate capitalism and its result in Stowe.

The most marked physical transformation to the landscape of the town happened on the slopes of Mt. Mansfield and Spruce Peak. Until recently this consisted mainly of ski-related development such as terminal buildings, lodges, base houses and the like. Recently (1975) however, the Mt. Mansfield Co. has begun to develop condominiums both on the old toll road and in the Notch.¹ Further development of this kind is planned. That the ski industry in Stowe was developed by corporate urban capitalists has been shown in the last section. The result of this investment and the growth of this activity has had other effects to the Stowe landscape. This section will deal with the changes that have occurred to three other parts of the town: first, commercial development along Rt. 108 which links the village to the ski areas; second, residential development in the Gold Brook area just off Rt. 100 south of the village; and third, changes to the village itself.

The Rt. 108 commercial development.

Apart from the ski complex development this road has perhaps more than any other area of the town changed its character completely. It has been transformed from a rural road into a version of the traditional suburban American "strip." An approximate count indicates that there are approximately thirty motels and inns along this five miles or so of rural road.² In addition to this there are restaurants, tennis clubs, a country club, ski shops, antique shops, specialty stores, construction and realty offices, a trust company, two small shopping centers, an FM



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10. Stowe: village and Rt. 108, 1966.

radio station (WRFB FM 102), a movie house, a theatre, clothing stores, a clinic and two churches.

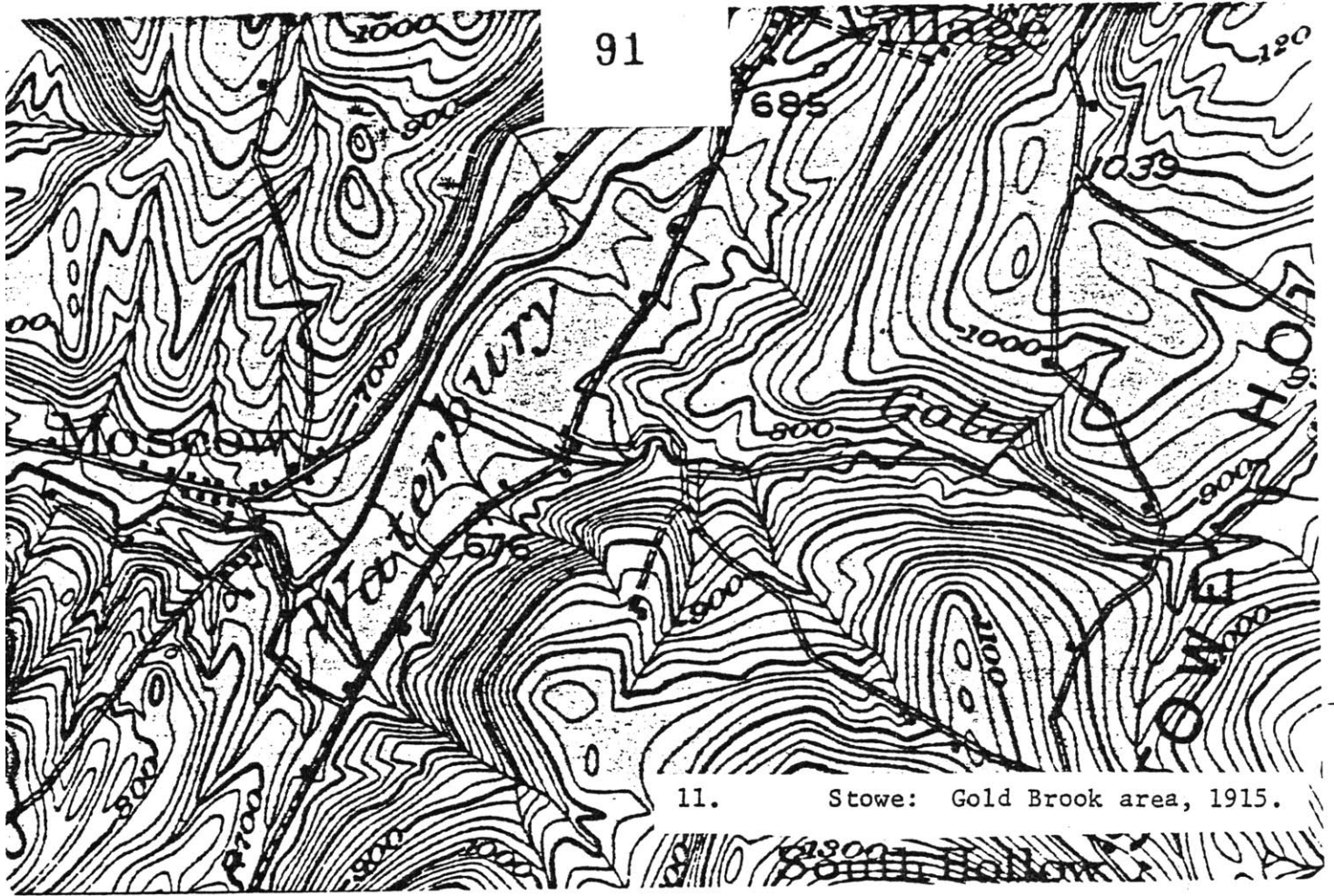
The physical appearance is controlled by various zoning and sign ordinances but the basic form, a suburban commercial strip, is clear. There are no large retail outlets like K-Mart or Stop and Shop, as the majority of the customers only stay, on average, three nights in the year. Again on average 90% of the customers are from out of state and spend about two-thirds of their total trip expenditure on food and lodging.³ It is then expected that in the town as a whole, but concentrated along Rt. 108, there are more than 42 restaurants, cocktail lounges and pubs.

The pattern of ownership seems to be the same as for any suburban development in or around a large city except that there are no large shopping centers leasing space to national franchises. It would seem that the ski complexes on Mt. Mansfield perform this function. The exact ownership pattern is difficult to obtain, but from a visual survey it would seem that the majority of the businesses, unlike the ski-complexes, are owned by small family or single entrepreneurs either operating on their own or on a franchise.

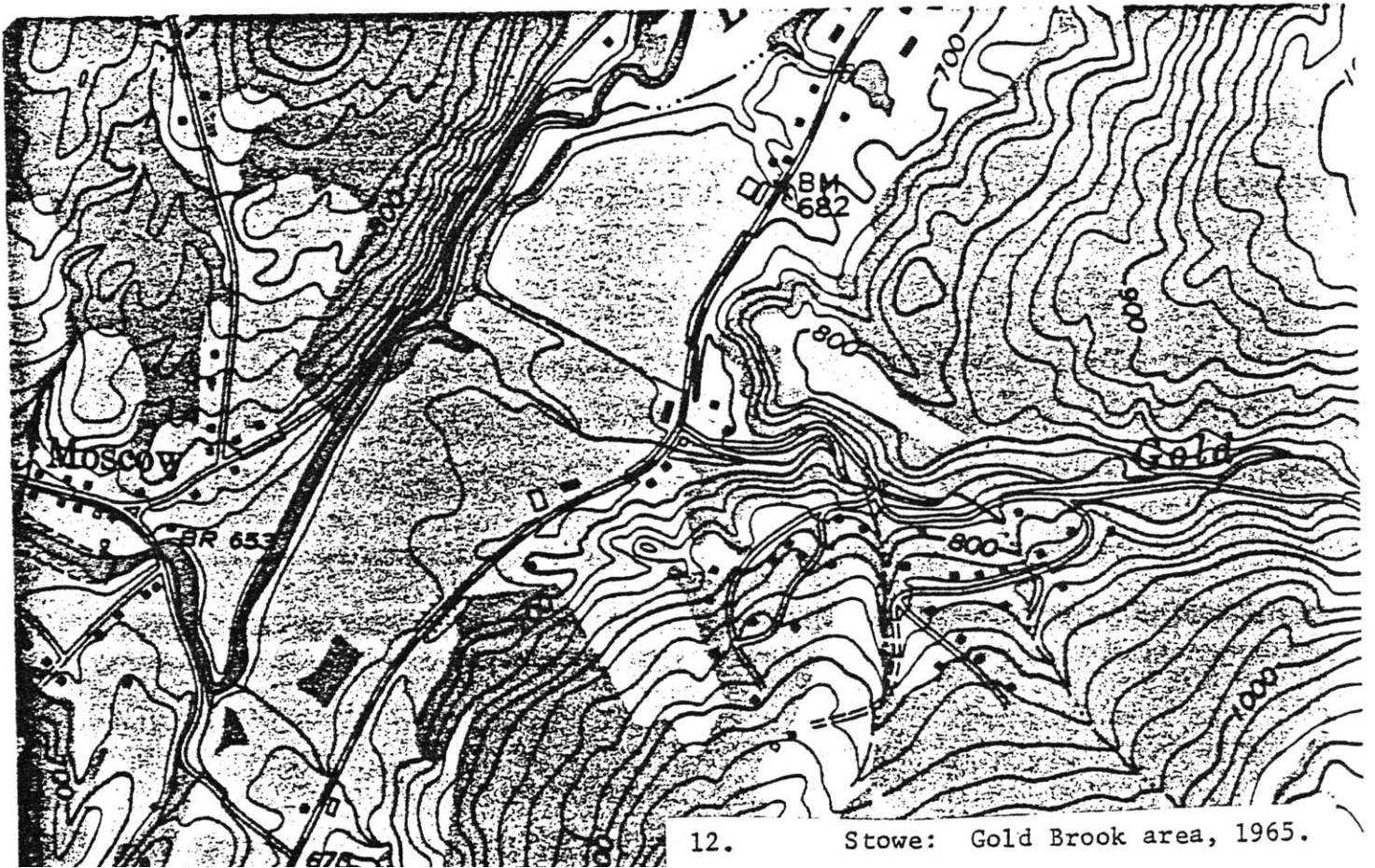
The map of Stowe showing the village as well as the development along Rt. 108 was flown in 1966 so not all the development to date (1981) is shown.

Residential development in the Gold Brook area.

The two maps of this area should be compared in order to understand the



11. Stowe: Gold Brook area, 1915.



12. Stowe: Gold Brook area, 1965.

character of this development. The maps show the area in 1915 and again in 1966.

The single family houses of which there are twenty-nine shown lie within an area of less than sixty acres, giving an average lot size of about two acres, similar in size to typical suburban development. Whether this development is as a direct result of the ski industry on the other side of town is difficult to prove, what is however the case is that investment into new ski-trails and tows is decreasing while investment into vacation homes is increasing. This is borne out by the fact that since 1966 (the date of the map) much more residential development has occurred. (See Chapter 3 for the increase in building permit issuance in the Mad River Valley communities.) The trend would seem to be that the development of vacation homes is becoming less dependent on ski-related facilities as the median age of the skiing population group gets older. (The next chapter deals with this trend in more detail.)

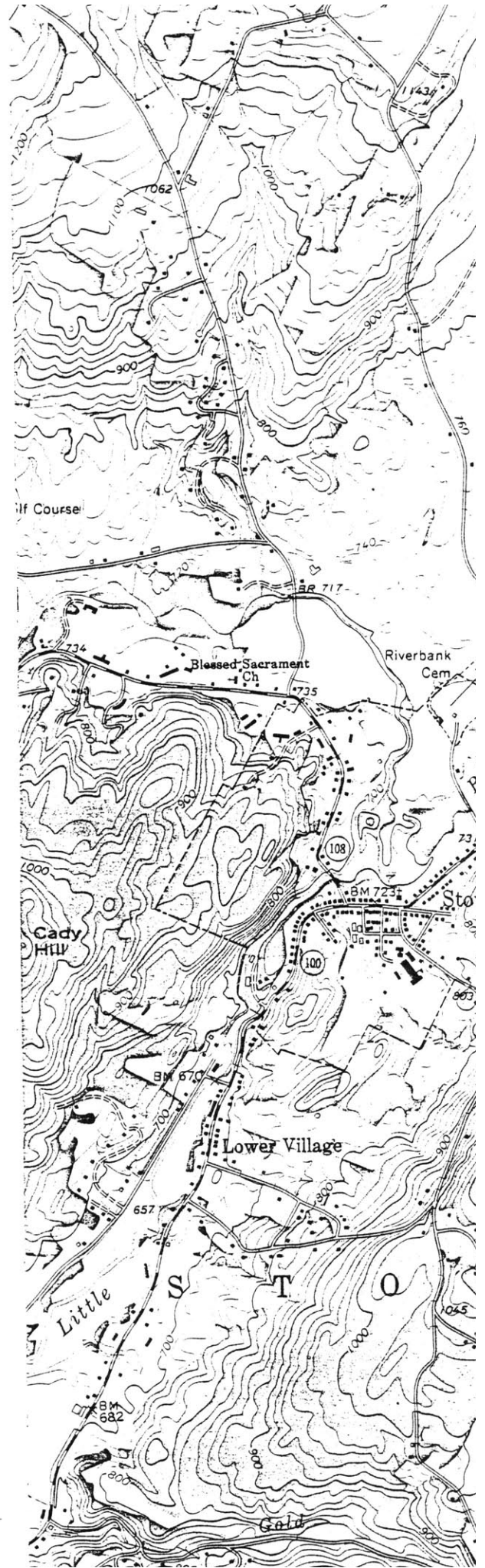
What is important to establish at this point is that these houses are on subdivisions of a suburban size and that the layout is suburban in character. The lots are too small to be agriculturally productive for market produce and are away from the most fertile soils. As will be seen in the following chapter, they are maintained by urban incomes.

Changes to the Village of Stowe.

There have been very few physical changes to the village. A comparison of the village as it was in 1870 and as it was in 1966 shows the addition



13. Stowe: Little River Valley, 1915.



14. Stowe: Little River Valley, 1966.

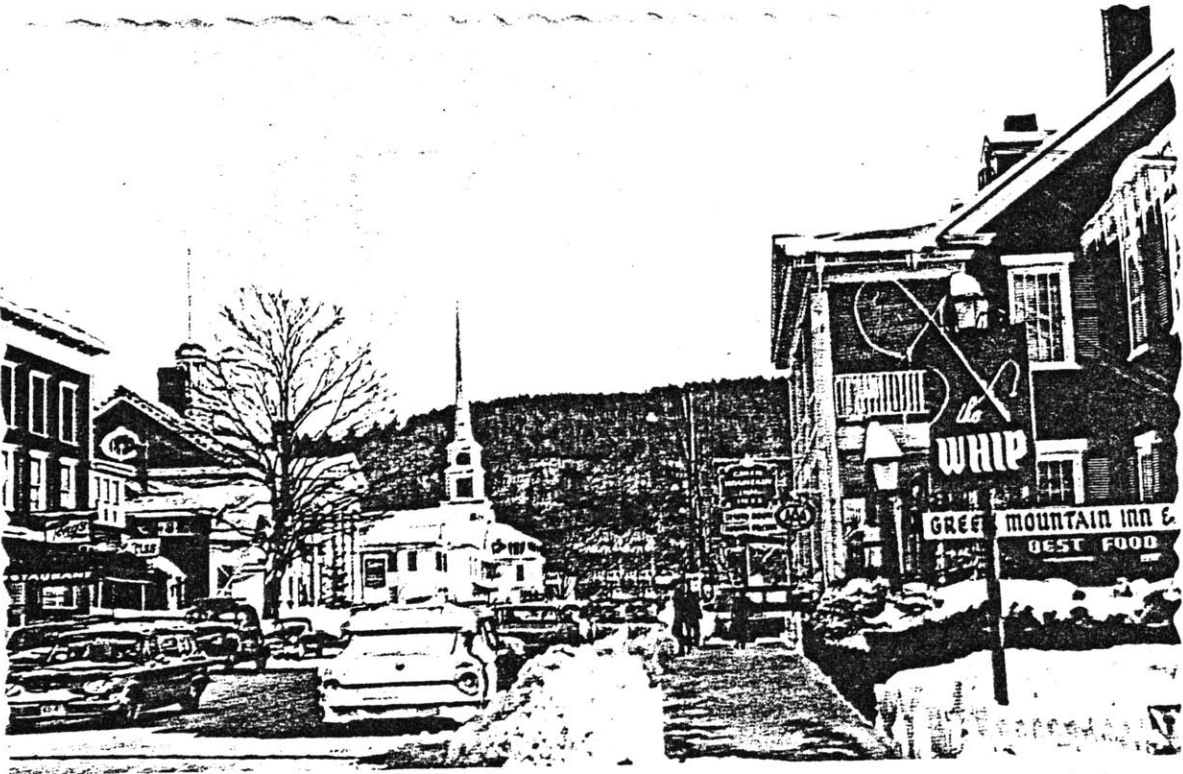
of only two streets, a small number of houses and one or two businesses. This is true also for the village of Woodstock and to a lesser extent Warren and Waitsfield. One major physical change is the disappearance of the Mt. Mansfield Hotel. In a sense, it has been replaced by the ski complex and lodges on the slopes of Mt. Mansfield itself.

The real change has occurred to the function of the village, and as a consequence to the content of the structures. The stores of the village sell the day-to-day necessities as well as house the administrative functions of the town, but the number of specialty shops, realtors, antique shops has grown and in many cases taken over what were residential structures. There is also an information agency to coordinate both summer and winter activities in the town. The village has become a service center for a different kind of activity serving a predominantly non-farm population.

There is also a laundromat, supermarket, as well as a recreation center, the local newspaper and the old high school which has been rennovated into an art school for the summer visitors. (The new high school needless to say is along Rt. 108 near the ski slopes.) The town offices, bank and community church are on Main Street, while the post office is down a side street. The Green Mountain Inn, however, is in the center of the village at the t-intersection of Rt. 100 (Main Street) and 108.

This undeveloped image, or rather "untouched image" of the village is not through any neglect. It has its commercial value as well as being protected by law.⁴ It is this view of the settlement, particularly of the New England village with its steepled church set in a frame of white

houses (preferably around a common as at Woodstock) that has become a national symbol, a model setting for the American community.⁵ It is certainly one of the most powerful items in the iconography of America, and is the essence of "rural."



Downtown Stowe, Vermont

Photo by Don Bristol

10. Stowe village: Main street looking east. (postcard)

References: Chapter 2/Stowe: section 2

1. Hagerman, R.L., Mansfield, the Story of Vermont's Loftiest Mountain. Canaan, New Hampshire: Phoenix Publishing, 1975, p. 116.
2. Jeffery, L. Stowe, Vermont, poster. Jackson, NH. Mintowski Publications, 198.
3. Bright, G.M. The Vermont Economic Almanac, Bellows Falls, Vt.: Vermont Business World, 1980, p. 85.
4. The Vermont Municipal and Regional Planning and Development Act (Chapter 117), p. 4.
5. Meinig, D.W. The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes. New York: Oxford, 1979, p. 169.

2.4 An explanation of Woodstock and Stowe.

An interpretation of the physical pattern as well as the different images of the two towns can now be made. This will be explained in three different ways, first by the nature of the control over the land, second through the pattern of economic activity and also as a result, the two images that the towns generate.

The nature of the control of the land.

The basic and perhaps the most important characteristic in the development of both towns was in the difference in the control of the land. In Woodstock control was gained through owning the land itself whereas in Stowe, where the important potentially revenue-producing land was in the public domain, control was gained through a legal partnership between private entrepreneurs and the state. A further difference was that in Woodstock the land, especially in the Marsh-Billings-Rockefeller estates, was maintained and transformed not to produce an income but for personal pleasure. Billings income came initially from a law and real estate practice in California and then later through the development of railways through the west. Woodstock was the place to return after making a profit.

Stowe on the other hand was the place where the profit was being made. Land ownership had a different history in Stowe because people like Ruschp, Starr and Palmedo were from out of town (unlike in Woodstock) and there were no family estates between the slopes and the village. The only resident family in the ski industry who had considerable land holdings in the town were the Burts, but then again the land that they owned was the major source of income. Furthermore, the land that they did have

some early control in has remained in an ever more concentrated form of control by the Mt. Mansfield Company.

The consequence of these different forms of control as well as the profitability of the land to those groups of people who gained control, has been that in Woodstock very little urbanization of the countryside has occurred; whereas in Stowe there have been many competing commercial interests investing in the development potential along the routes to the ski-slopes. As a result strip development primarily along Rt. 108 between the village and the slopes has developed. The opposite has happened in Woodstock. As there was no necessity to maximise financial profits from investments and property in the town (this was being done more efficiently in the west and on the west coast) and because most of the land surrounding the village as well as a good deal of the village itself was owned by these resident capitalists, selective development and more importantly, maintenance and preservation was the result. Two examples will show this, firstly the only hotel in town, the Woodstock Inn, is owned and operated by the same family corporation that built and operates the ski-slopes just outside the village at Suicide Six. There is no hotel development either at Suicide Six or along the road between the village and the ski slopes. The demand, of course, for hotel accomodation is not as great in Woodstock as it is in Stowe, but one could make the case that there has been no concern to exploit this potential market to its full.

The pattern of economic activity.

Stowe has a local industry, both of skiing, recreation (summer and winter)

as well as a growing vacation home sector. The economic base of Woodstock is the urban-industrial network of corporate capitalism of which the town and especially the village setting is the vacation home.

This has a direct effect on the nature of the market that the two locations are seeking to exploit and hence on the type of physical development.

Although the Woodstock Inn and the Green Mountain Inn at Stowe (both in the village) charge about the same price for a room, the difference is that one has to make a reservation long in advance for the Woodstock Inn.

In Stowe most of the specialty shops and boutiques are on the Rt. 108 strip, in Woodstock everything and much less of it is in the village itself. The commercial development at the eastern end of Pleasant Street in Woodstock is primarily service oriented and is less than one half mile long. It is not characterised by large parking lots (albeit they are landscaped) as is the Rt. 108 development in Stowe.

Woodstock Village, like Stowe Village, has not changed physically much in last one hundred years (for the same reasons as Stowe) as well as because of selective development by the major landowners. However, the greatest difference has been that, unlike Stowe, Woodstock has had almost no commercial strip development. For the Marsh, Billings and Rockefellers, no large profits are being made in the town. Woodstock was the place where one rested, after having made one's profit elsewhere.

Different images.

Both towns have similar origins but as a result of the nature of the control over major portions of the land, especially in and around the villages,

the images of these two towns are very different. The issue is not that clear, however, because it is the image of the village, not the town as a whole that has the greatest impact. At this level both villages are more or less similar. Woodstock is larger and perhaps more picturesque than Stowe but it does not have Mt. Mansfield as a backdrop.

However, if one is to look closely at the extent to which the towns and especially the villages have changed over the last one hundred years or so, the difference is quite clear. The village as shown in the Beers drawing of about 1870 is almost the same village as today. There is no additional development that needs to be added to this map to make it contemporary. The town has the same conservative New England Yankee image of more than one hundred years ago. Stowe on the other hand, would need to have an additional five or six miles of intensive suburban commercial development added to it, most of it with names like "Scandinavia Inn, Buccaneer Motel and Stoweflake Resort." It is a mass market oriented image because that is where the demand is. It is also at the other end of the same economic process that Woodstock represents.

The next chapter will detail some aspects of this economic process and the effects of this market demand for rural landscape in the Mad River Valley towns of Warren, Waitsfield and Fayston.

3.0 Landscape and landuse: The Mad River Valley.

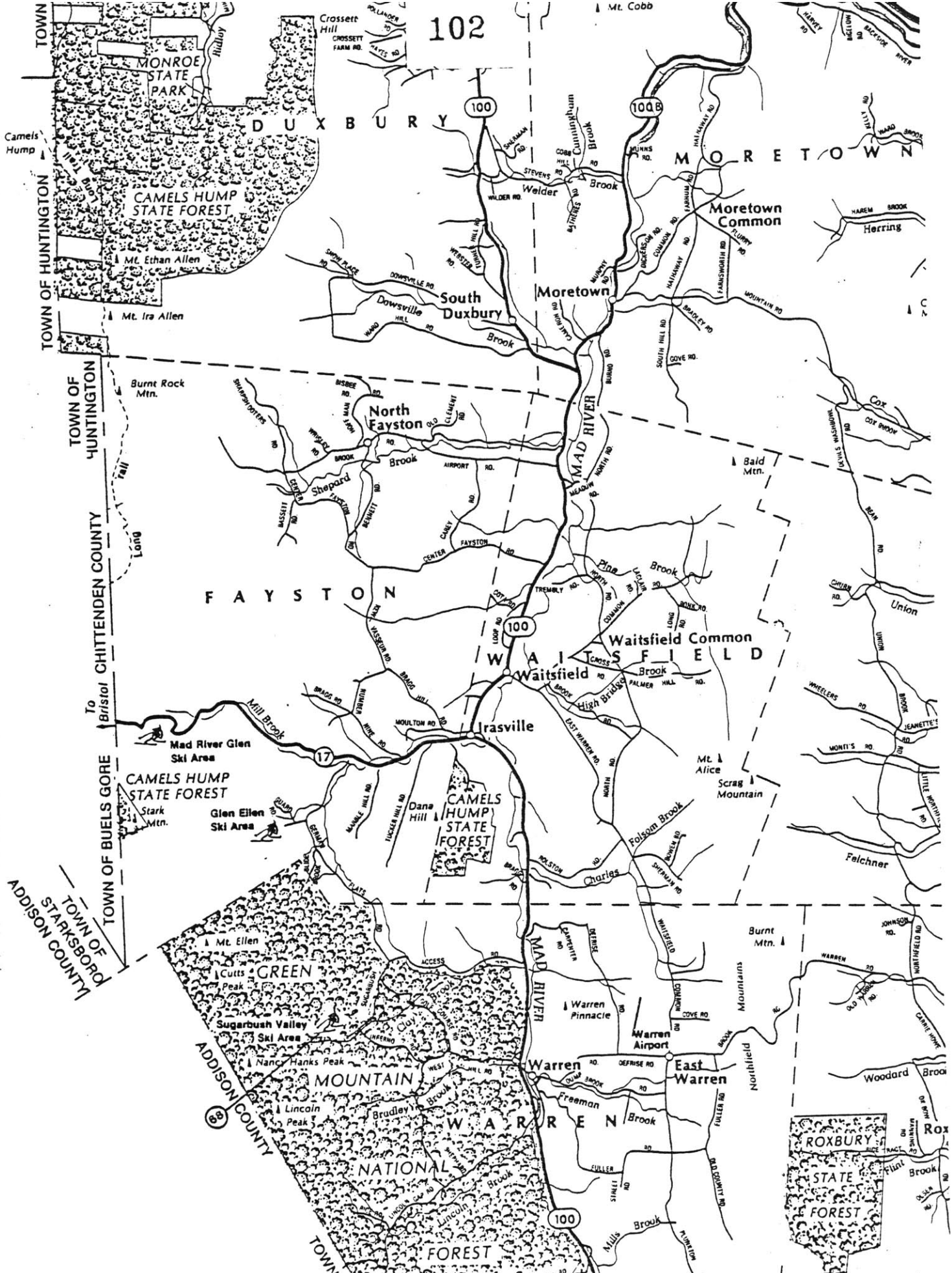
3.1 Introduction

This chapter will concentrate on the first and third hypotheses mentioned in Chapter 1, namely:

that capitalism, through the mechanism of metropolitan capital is transforming the economic and social relations of the local community and that some of the effects of these transformations can be observed in, and help to explain, the changing physical pattern of the settlement. Second, that the transformation of the rural landscape from a result of human use to a commodity for market consumption is the inevitable consequence of such an economic process.

Thus far we have dealt with the physical transformations to two separate towns during different periods, Woodstock during 1760 and 1880 and Stowe from 1900 until 1960. The recorded events (on both paper and the ground) have had the advantage of hindsight and distance in the explanations. This chapter will deal with the more recent transformations to a group of settlements emphasizing the nature of the process on these communities during the years 1960 until 1980.

The towns of Warren, Waitsfield and Fayston together form the southwest corner of Washington County in central Vermont. There are three local political units to this area because the town political and the town spatial are coterminous, and the area collectively is known as the Mad River Valley. The valley which runs north-south is bounded on the east by the Northfield mountains and on the west by the Green



15. Warren, Waitsfield and Fayston, 1980.

mountains. Vermont Rt. 100 runs along the valley floor through the towns of Warren and Waitsfield following the course of the Mad River until about the village of Moretown, where the river and Rt. 100B head east to link up with the Winooski River and Interstate 89 respectively. Rt. 100 carries on northwards crossing Interstate 89 at the town of Waterbury before carrying on to Stowe in Lamoille County and points further north.

3.2 Increases to the use of the landscape.

Local communities are all too aware of the transformations that physical development has been making to their towns. In July of 1979 the Mad River Growth Study (MRGS), began with the goal of assisting the towns of Warren, Waitsfield and Fayston in managing their future. The MRGS is being executed by local professionals under sponsorship by the Central Vermont Regional Planning Commission through a grant from the Farmers' Home Administration.

*A Plan of Waitsfield,
Drawn by
Edmund Rice,
March 1816*

Moretown

South 46° 30' East 6 Miles 12 Chains & 25 Links.

120	119	118	117	70	69	68	67	24	23	22	21	1
Daniel Mathews	Beriah Green	Ephraim Smith	Joseph York	Grammar School	Charles Kingsbury	Solomon Strong	John W. Dana	Amasa Brown	John Marsh	James Mathews	Benja. Burtch	2
122	121	116	115	72	71	66	65	26	25	20	19	3
Eli Willard	James Hawley	Daniel Brown	Charles Nelson	Daniel King	Stephen Maine	Enoch Emerson	John Deane	Luther Richards	Charles Killam, Jr.	John Barrett	Reuben Spencer	4
124	123	114	113	74	73	64	63	28	27	18	17	5
Enoch Emerson	Amos Bignal	Christopher York	Ephraim Eddy	Ezra Wait	Ammi Currier	John Benjamin	Solomon Burk	Samuel Treat	Zebulon Lee	Charles Kingsbury	John Hodges	6
126	125	112	111	76	75	62	61	30	29	16	15	7
Luther Richards	Joseph Farnsworth	Minister	Ebenezer Brown	Theophilus Clark	Amos Bignal	John Beane	Aaron Whipple	Aaron Whipple	Reuben Spence	Daniel Matthews	Wm. Strong	8
128	127	110	109	78	77	60	59	32	31	14	13	9
Edward Whitman	Ministry	Joseph York	Barnabas Strong	Paschal P. Enos	John Barret	Gilbert Hodges	Wm. Lathrop	Ezekiel Rooks	Samuel Harris	Isaac Maine	Stephen Keyes	10
130	129	108	107	80	79	58	57	34	33	12	11	11
Town School	John Strong	Solomon Strong	Noadiah Bissel	Samuel Treat	Ebenezer Brown	Ezra Jones	Barnabas Spencer	Daniel Brown	Noadiah Bissel	Stephen Jacob	Isaac Maine	12
132	131	106	105	82	81	56	55	36	35	10	9	13
Roger Enos	Christopher York	Ezra Jones	John Fay	Josiah Averill	Stephen Maine	Benja. Wait	Isaac Dana	Ammi Currier	Grammar School	Stephen Keyes	Solomon Burk	14
134	133	104	103	84	83	54	53	38	37	8	7	15
Sanford Kingsbury	Deering Spear	Benajah Strong	Wm. Strong	Roger Enos	Gilbert Wait	Josiah Averill	Nathan Eddy	Isaac Dana	Daniel King	Joel Matthews	Gilbert Hodges	16
136	135	102	101	86	85	52	51	40	39	6	5	17
Gilbert Wait	Ephraim Smith	Minister	Ezekiel Rooks	John Strong	John Fay	George Denison	Beriah Green	Stephen Tilden	College	Joseph Farnsworth	Benja. Burch	18
138	137	100	99	88	87	50	49	42	41	4	3	19
John Marsh	Eli Willard	Stephen Tilden	Joel Matthews	Zebulon Lee	Moses Leavitt	Nathan Eddy	Ephraim Eddy	Roger Enos, Jr.	John Hodges	Town School	Joseph Fay	20
140	139	98	97	90	89	48	47	44	43	2	1	21
Edward Whitman	Sanford Kingsbury	Roger Enos, Jr.	John W. Dana	Joseph Fay	Barnabas Strong	Paschal Enos	Benajah Strong	Gideon Lewis	Amasa Brown	George Denison	Samuel Harris	22
142	141	96	95	92	91	46	45	140	150			23
Stephen Jacob	Wm. Lathrop	Theophilus Clark	Barnabas Spencer	Ministry	Ezra Wait	Charles Nelson	Moses Leavitt	James Matthews	John Benjamin			24
144	143	94	93	147	148							25
Andrew Spaulding	Andrew Spaulding	James Hawley	Deering Spear	Gideon Lewis	Benja. Wait							26
146	145											27
Charles Killam, Jr.	College											28
SL	24											29
												30
												31
												32
												33

Fayston North 41° East 6 Miles 67 Chains & 40 Links

South 44° West 5 Miles and 27 Chains

Northfield

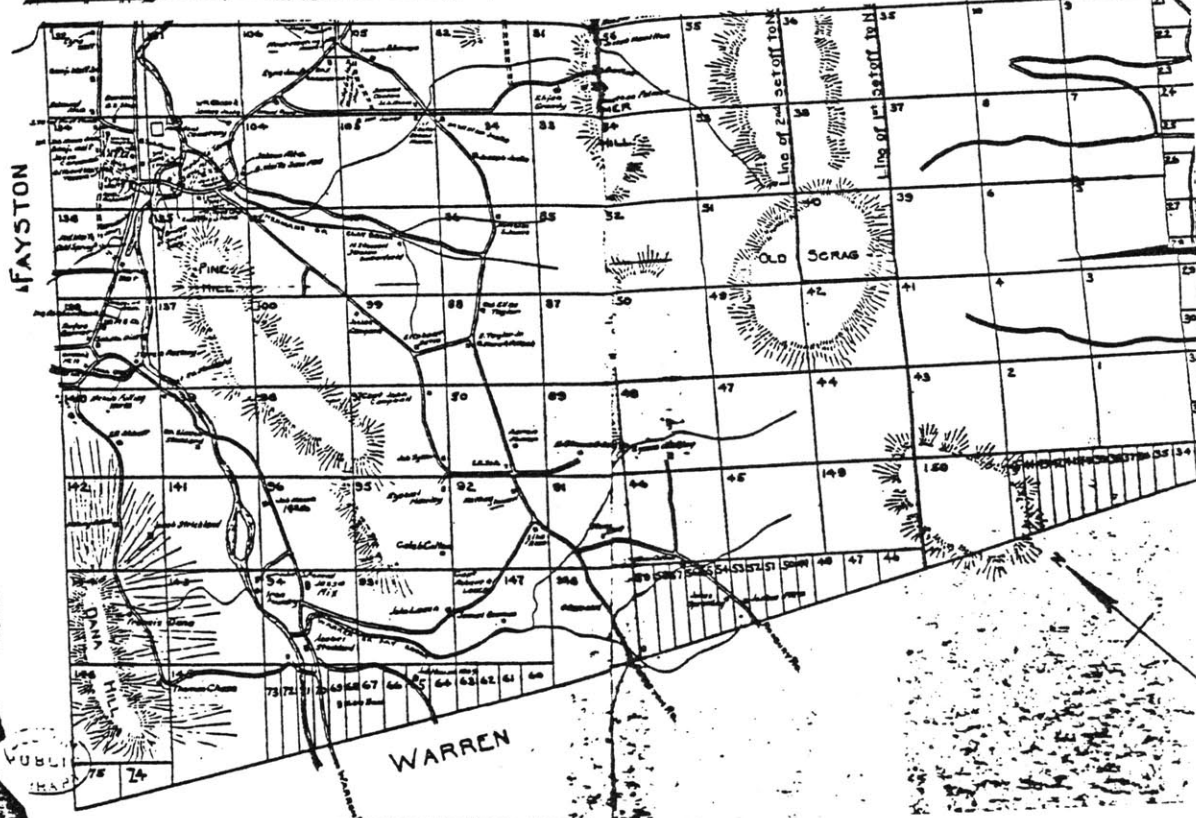
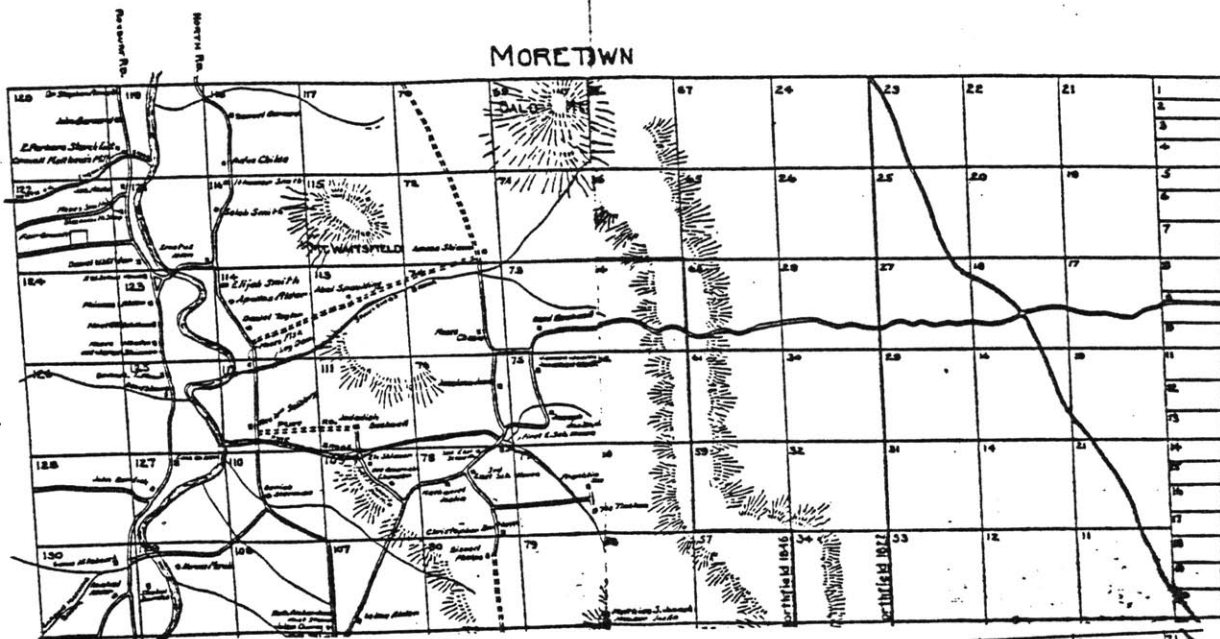


North 61° West 6 Miles
Moretown

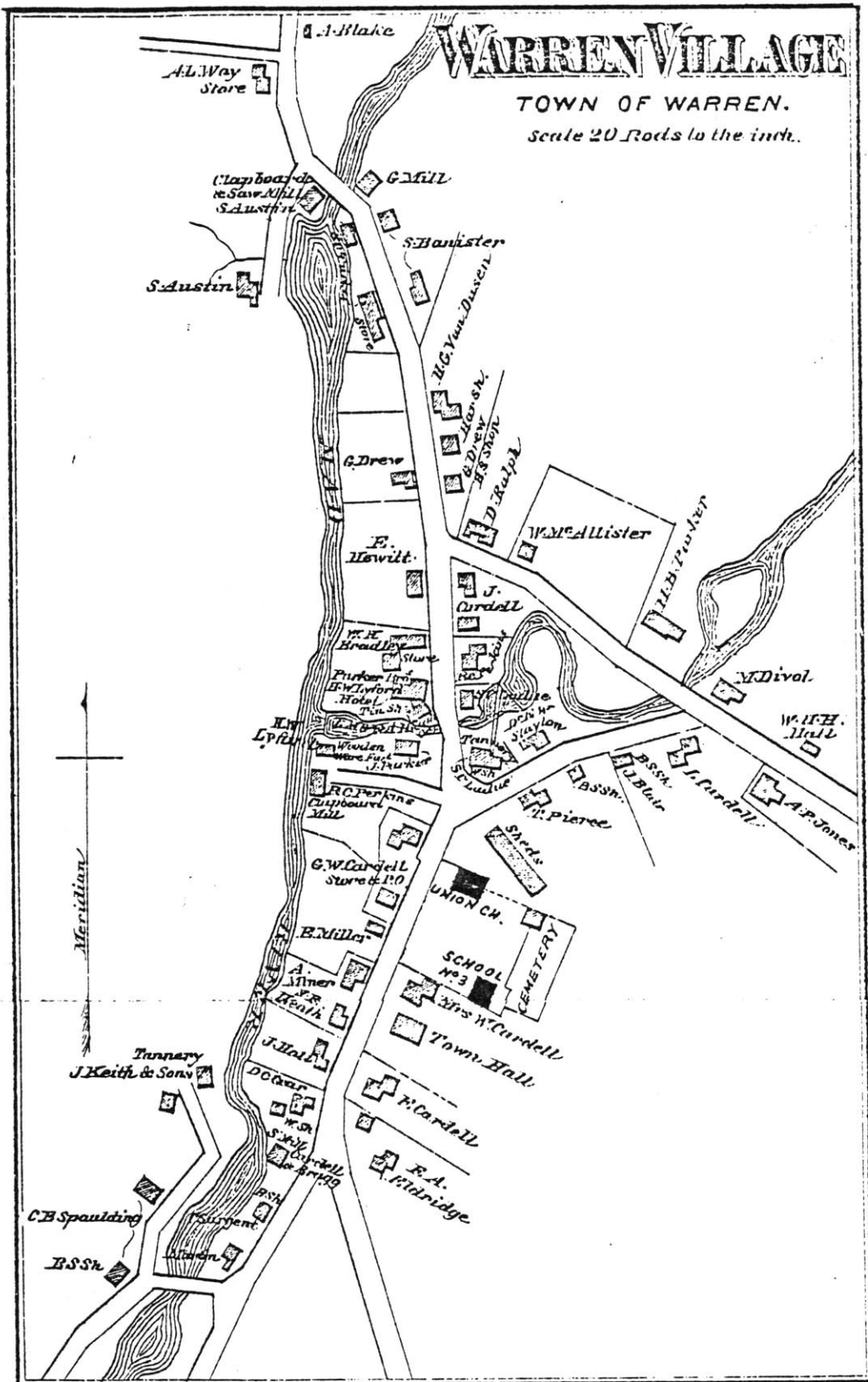
MAP OF WAITSFIELD, VT.

Showing lot lines, streams, roads,
residences clearly settled and
location of public buildings.

Roads show ———
Discarted roads ———



17. Waitsfield: town showing lots and early development

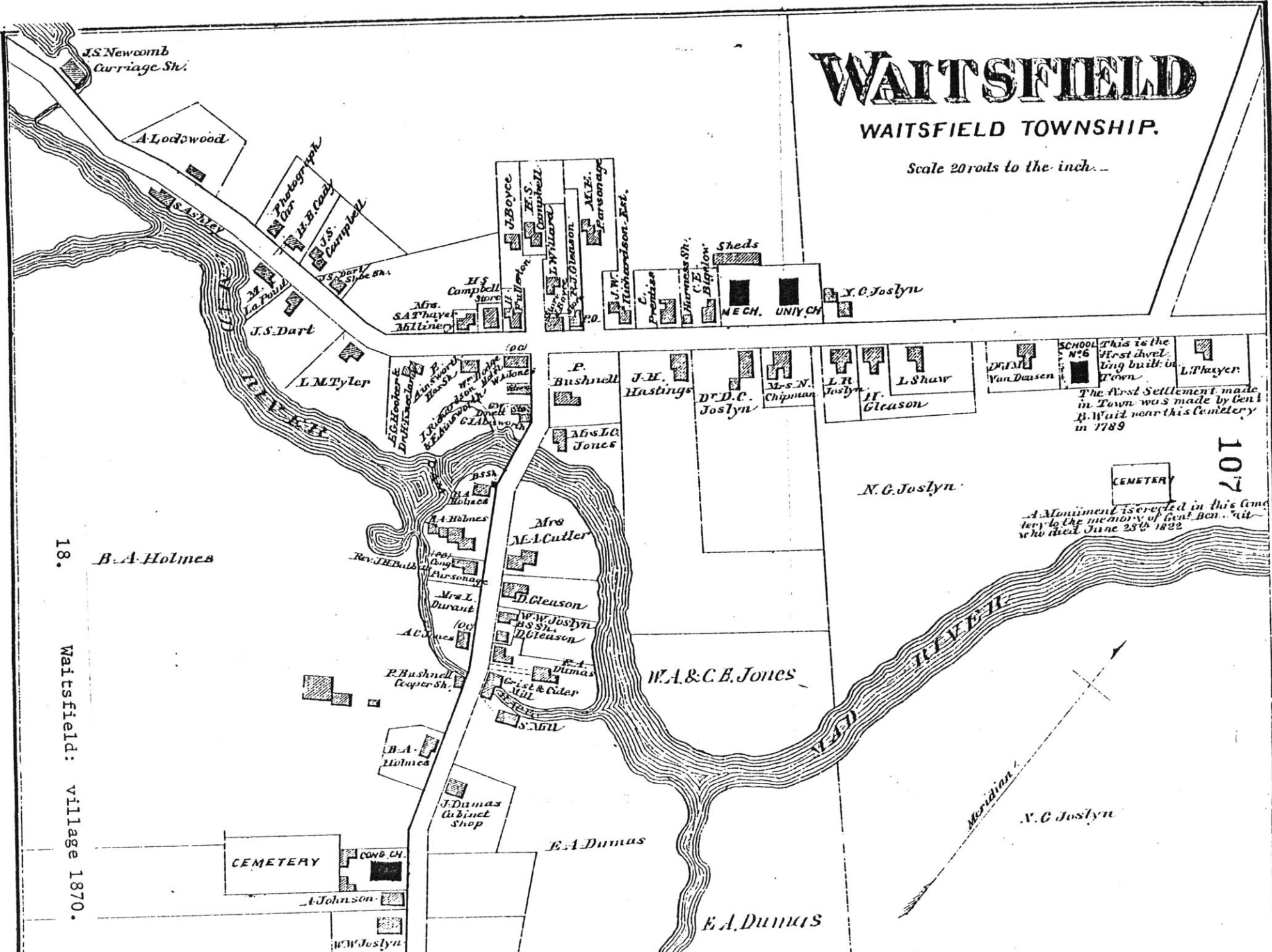


19. Warren: village 1870.

WAITSFIELD

WAITSFIELD TOWNSHIP.

Scale 20 rods to the inch.



18. Waitsfield: Village 1870.

This is the first dwelling built in town.
The first settlement made in town was made by Genl. B. Wait near this cemetery in 1789.

A Monument is erected in this cemetery to the memory of Genl. Ben. Wait who died June 25th 1822.

107

Meridian
N.C. Joslyn

3.2.1 Trends in the use of the landscape.¹

A number of categories have been measured for the 1960-1979 period for the three towns of Warren, Waitsfield and Fayston. It is presented on a three town or area-wide basis. This section will describe eight categories briefly to demonstrate the nature of the change in this area.

The unit of change is the annual average rate and was developed for each category by determining the percent increase or decrease from year to year and then arriving at a mean annual increase for the period covered.

The eight selected categories are population, income, employment, building permits, commercial space, electric demand, traffic accidents, and crime.

The categories are summarized in the table at the end of this section.

Population.

The change for the period 1960-1979 is as follows:

1960	1285
------	------

1979	2587
------	------

change + 1302 + 101%, i.e., population during this period

never declined, but has grown at an annual average rate of 3.9%. For the period 1965 to 1979 the rate of increase was 4.8%. The population in Washington County (within which the towns lie) grew at an average annual rate of 1.2% between 1960 and 1979.

Income.

The per capita income was calculated by the total amount of the area's reported income divided by the number of residents.

For the Mad River Valley		current dollars	constant dollars
	1969	2723	2447
	1979	6064	2777
For Vermont	1979	7410	3404

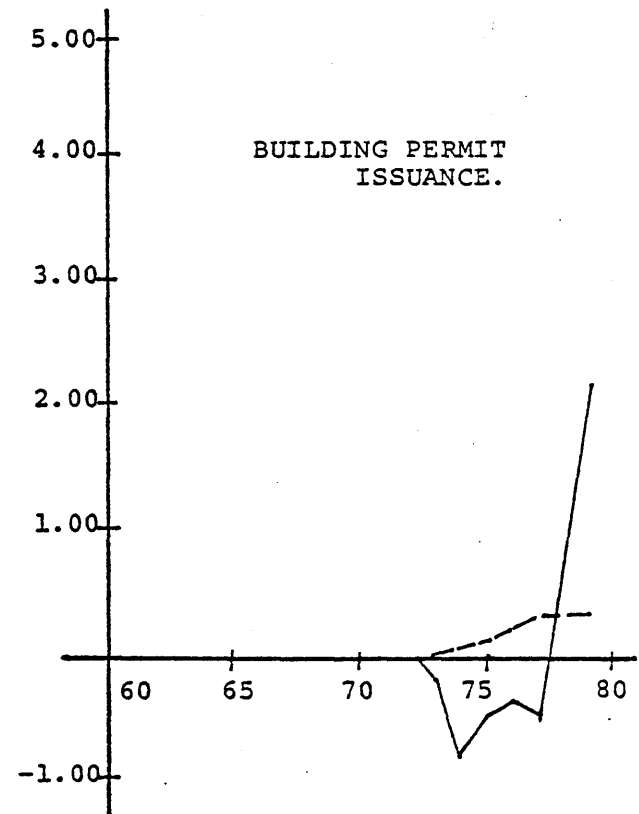
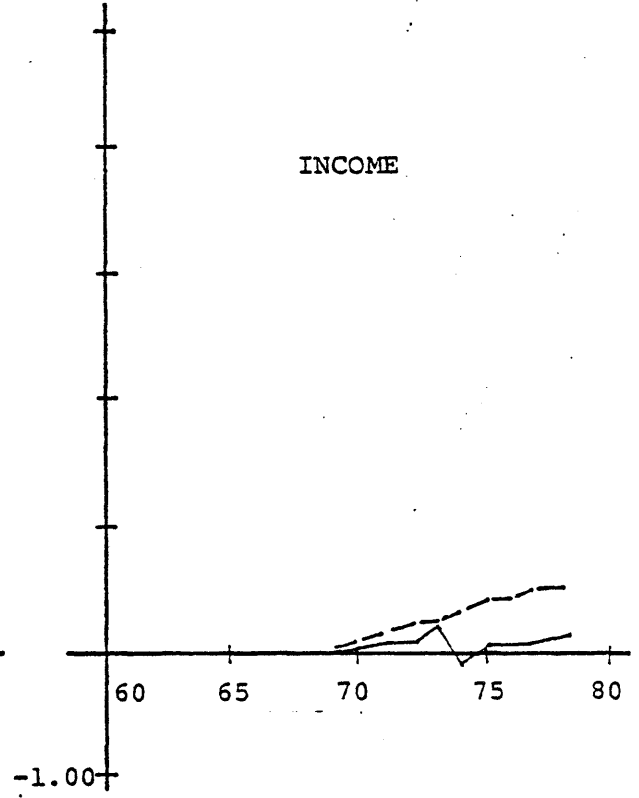
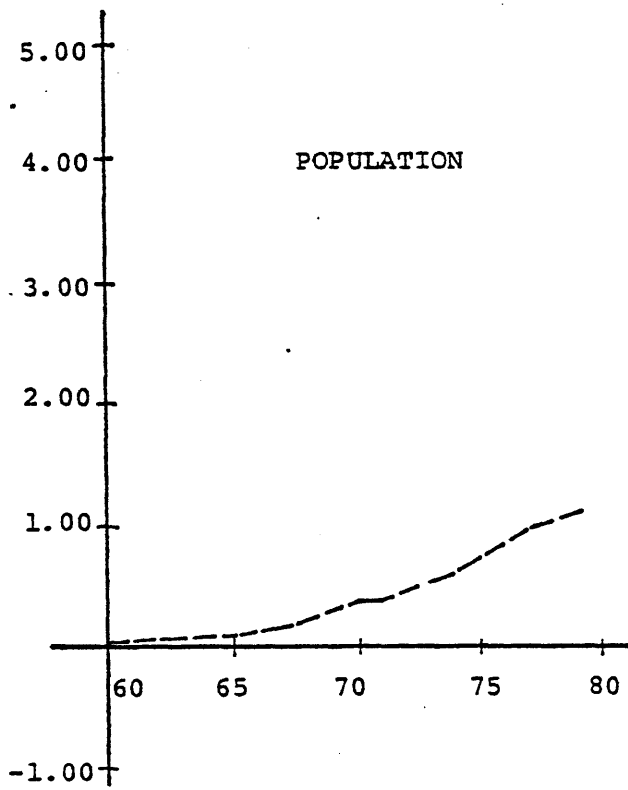
This means that in terms of real purchasing power income has increased, over the period 1969-1979 by 13.5%, on an average annual basis of 1.4%, much slower than population (1965 to 1979, 4.8%).

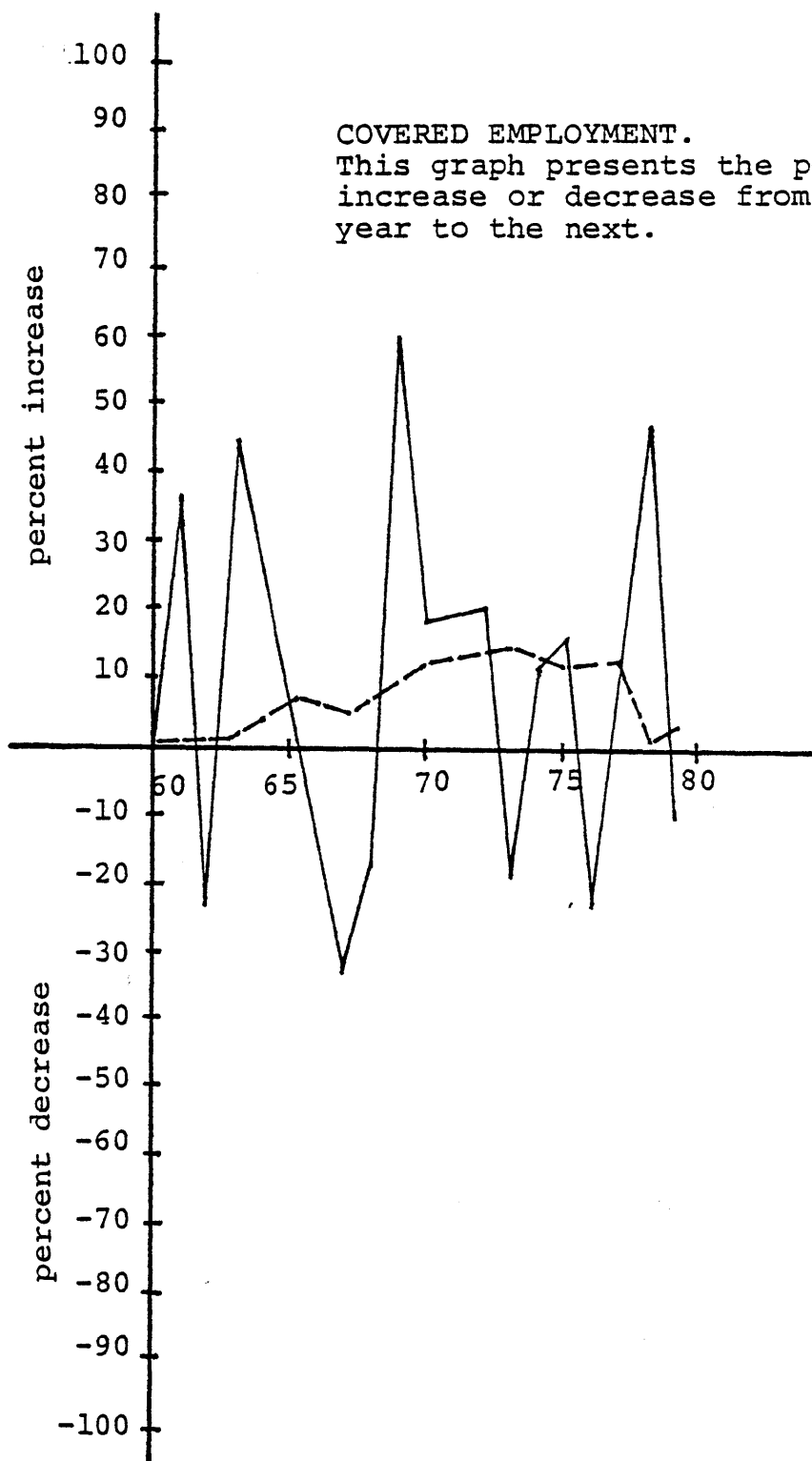
Employment.

Changes in the unemployment compensation laws, as to type of workers covered, make it impossible to compare accurately the quantity of Valley jobs at the beginning of the period to the end. However, the MRGS excluded those years in which changes were instituted (1971 and 1977) and arrived at an annual growth rate for employment of 14.8%, far in excess of population change (3.9%). These figures are misleading and it is important to note what the nature of this employment is. During the study period the total number of listed jobs in the Valley declined six times, in the month of April of each year, which is a transition time in the seasonal economy of the Valley. The graph on the following page demonstrates the character of the employment situation vividly.

Building permit issuance.

The period used was 1972-1979 and the information was obtained from each town.





year	number permits issued	
1972	144	
1979	433	
change	285	201%

This increase was not constant, with decreases experienced in 1973, 1974 and 1977. The average annual rate of increase was 44.4%. See graph on the following page.

Commercial space.

This data has been recorded, in terms of square footage, since 1966.

year	square footage	
1966	74,664	
1979	158,664	
change	+84,000	+113%

The annual average rate of growth in commercial space has been 6.4%, about 30% faster than growth in permanent population. There were no annual declines. In the regression analysis a negative correlation was detected in the relationship between the rate of population growth and that of commercial space. The strength of the correlation is only moderate, and the statistical significance marginal. The authors of the MRGS, however, suggest that it may indicate that commercial space has "caught up" with the resident population it is intended to serve, and that future growth will not be accompanied by commercial expansion at a comparable rate. An alternative explanation would be that growth in commercial space is not dependent on resident population only, and that tourist

population will significantly influence the relationship between commercial space and population (resident and otherwise).

Peak electrical demands.

Electrical demand is at its highest during the months of December through March, when the ski season is at its height and heaters and ski-tows and other electrical power-users are operating. Peak demand is the crucial variable as the system has to be designed to supply the highest demand placed on it.

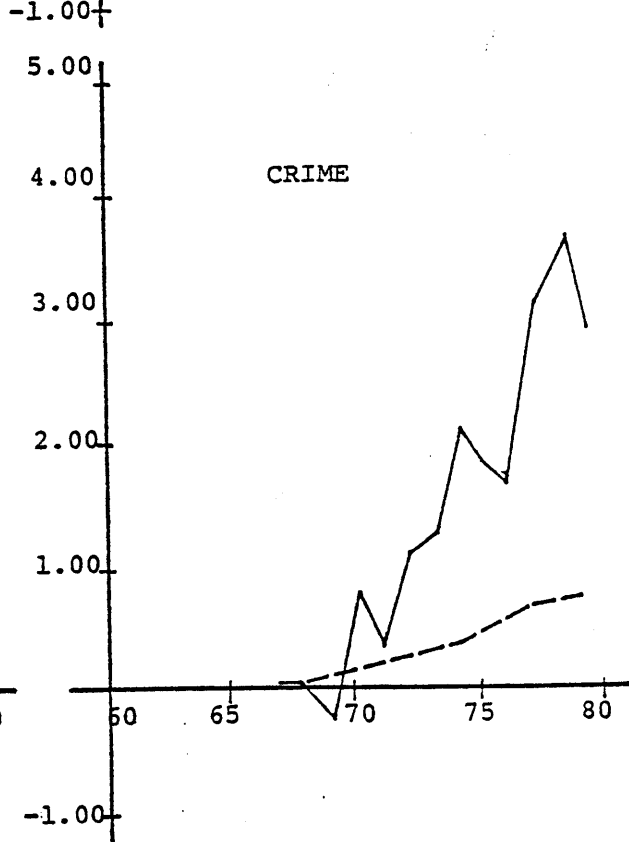
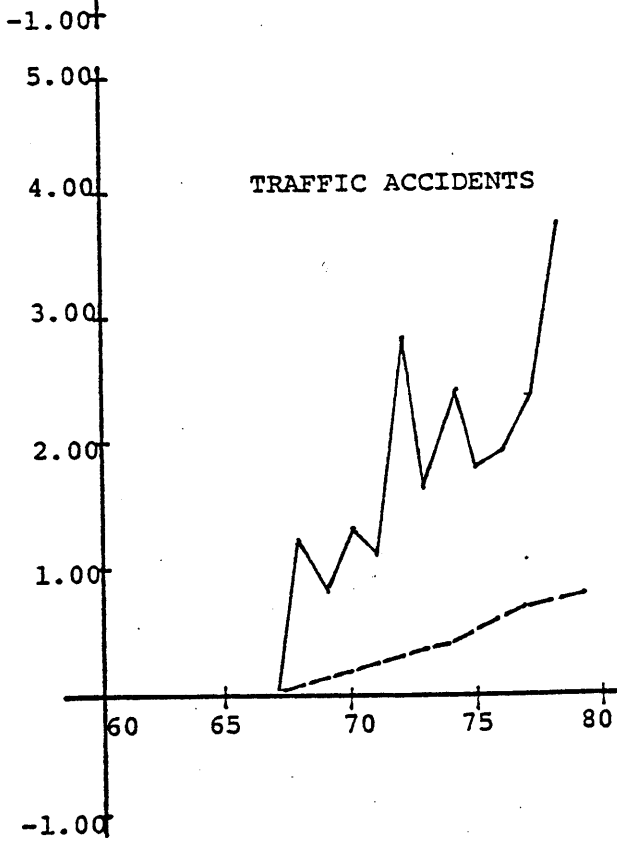
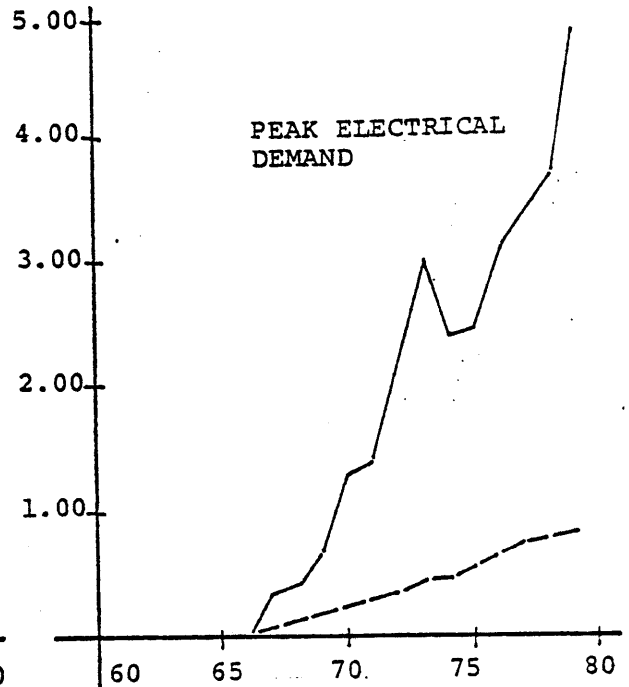
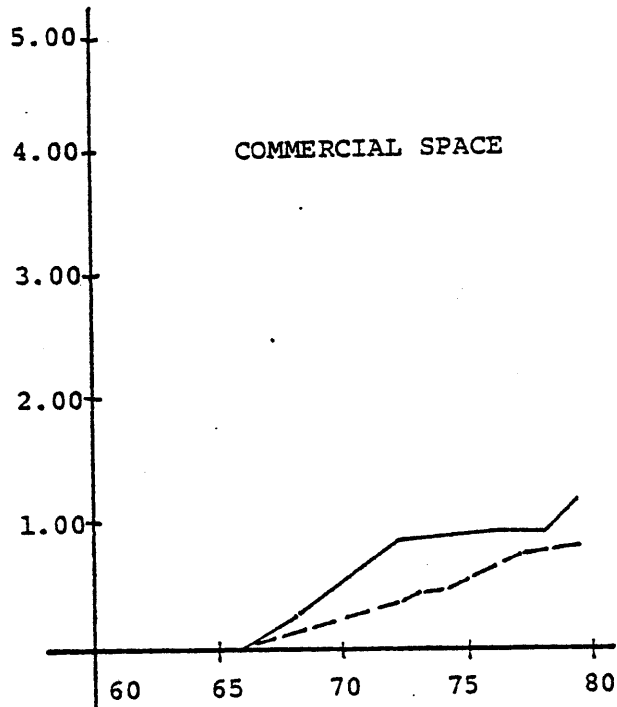
year	megavolt amperes	
1966	13.398	
1979	19.994	
change	+16.596	+488%

This represents an average annual growth in peak electrical demand of 15.7%. The statewide growth rate for the same period is about 4%. See graph on following page.

Traffic accidents.

These figures represent reported accidents on Valley roads as maintained by the Vermont Agency of Transportation.

Year	number of accidents	
1967	16	
1979	76	
change	60	+375%



The average annual growth rate in auto accidents was 218%, far in excess of growth in resident population. See graph on following page.

Crime.

These are reports of major crime based on information provided by the Vermont State Police.

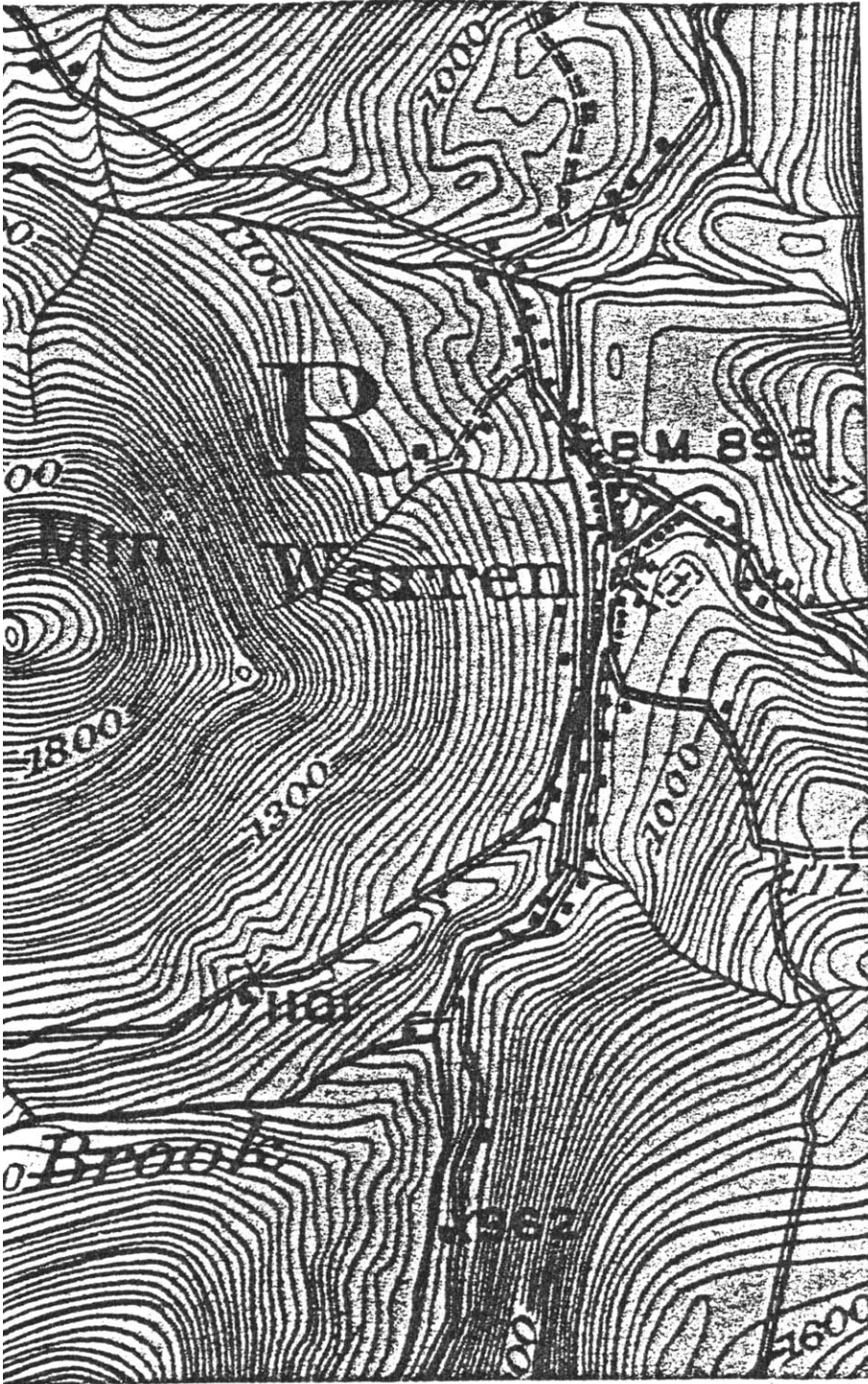
year	report of a major crime		
1966	31		
1979	124		
change	+93		+300%

The average annual growth rate was 20.5% for the Valley as compared with 8.3% statewide. A major crime is either breaking and entering, larceny, auto theft, robbery, rape, aggravated assault or homicide. See graph on preceding page.

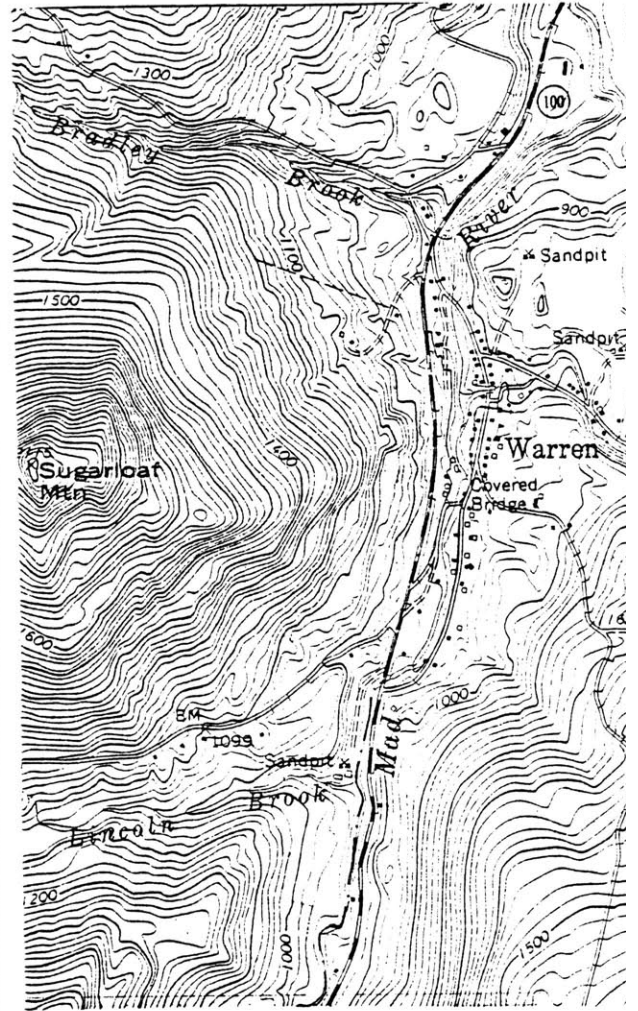
<u>CATEGORY</u>	<u>PERIOD</u>	<u>ORIGINAL VALUE</u>	<u>CURRENT VALUE</u>	<u>AVG. ANNUAL GROWTH RATE</u>	<u>RATIO TO POPULATION GROWTH</u>
Population	1960-79	1,285	2,587	3.9%	--
School Enrollment	1960-79	337	565	2.8%	.7
Per Capita Income	1973-78	2,477*	2,780*	1.6	.3
Covered Employment	1960-79	**	**	14.8%	3.8
Building Permits	1972-79	144	433	44.4%	9.25
Commercial Space	1966-79	74,664	158,664	6.4%	1.3
Peak Elec Demand	1966-79	3,398	19,994	15.7%	3.3
Traffic Accidents	1967-79	16	76	21.8%	4.5
Crime	1966-79	31	124	20.5	4.3

*Factored for inflation - 1967 constant dollars.

**Not comparable.

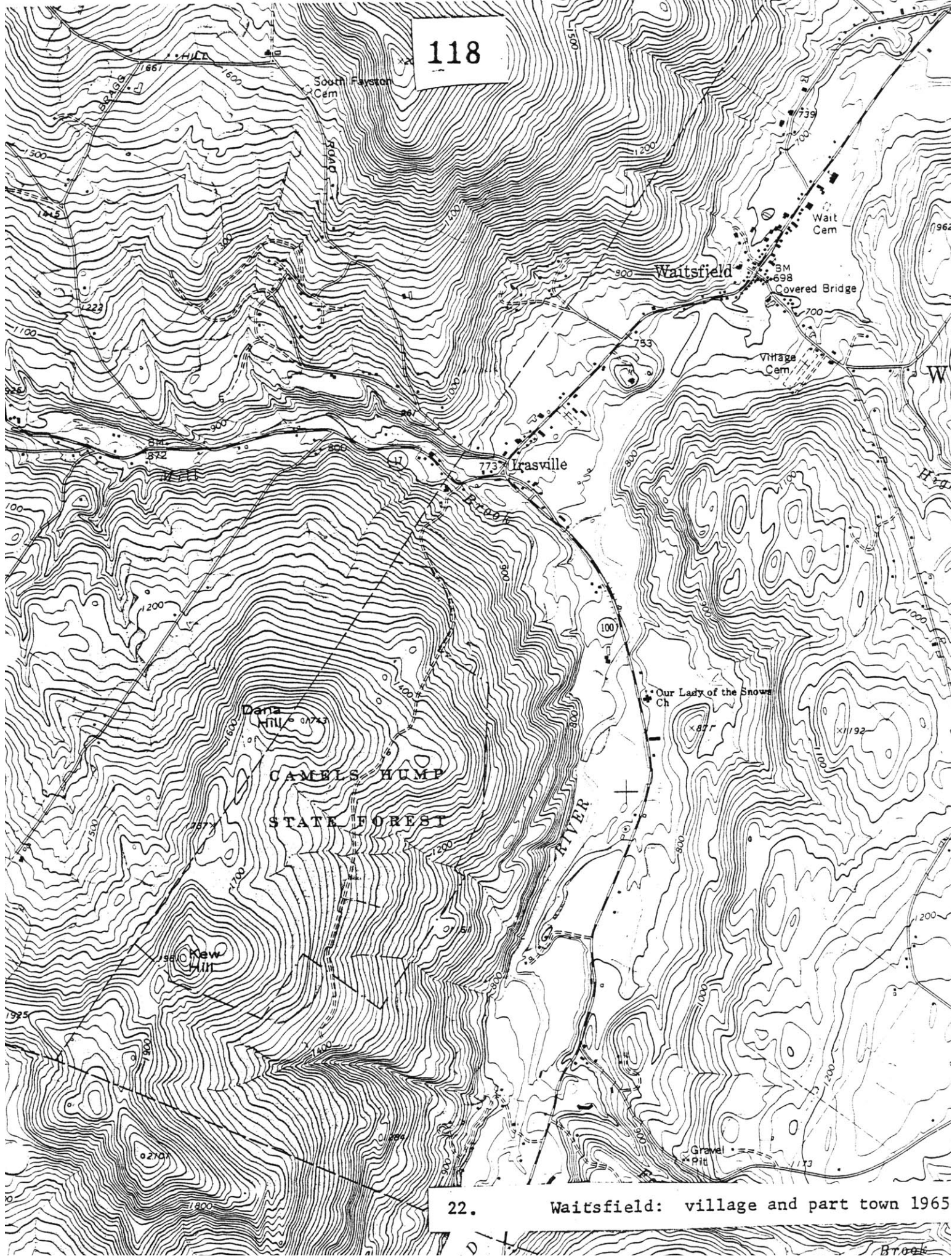


20. Warren: village detail 1915.



21. Warren: village detail 1962

118



22. Waitsfield: village and part town 1965

3.2.2 The carrying capacity of the landscape.

The most recent growth (1965-1979) in the Valley is startling. Increases of 200 to 300 per cent on the overall and annual growth often three or four times that of population growth are not uncommon.

The most recent growth has been caused by the development of the ski/recreation industry. While it is convenient to look at the growth trends and their implications for future growth in the valley (the data has been collected and aggregated in that category), it will be of use to separate the ski and recreation because they are responding to the same population shift different. The skiing age group (25-29) seems to be on the decline, while the more general age group for recreation is on the increase.²

However, for the moment skiing and recreation in general will be discussed as one category.

What is of importance is the nature of the growth trends and more particularly the physical transformations that occur to the landscape as a result of this growth. Large increases in power consumption, building permit issuance, traffic congestion, commercial space and crime, growing proportionately much faster than the population increase would seem to indicate the transformation of a rural environment into an urban one. This is further reinforced when at the same time per capita income is growing slower than population and housing for residents is becoming less and less a reality. These characteristics would seem to be similar to big city neighborhood problems. As was noted in the development of Stowe, what is happening is that the rural landscape is becoming part of

120

GREEN MOUNTAIN
NATIONAL FOREST

W A R R E N

Double Top
Mtn

Warren
Pinnacle

Warren

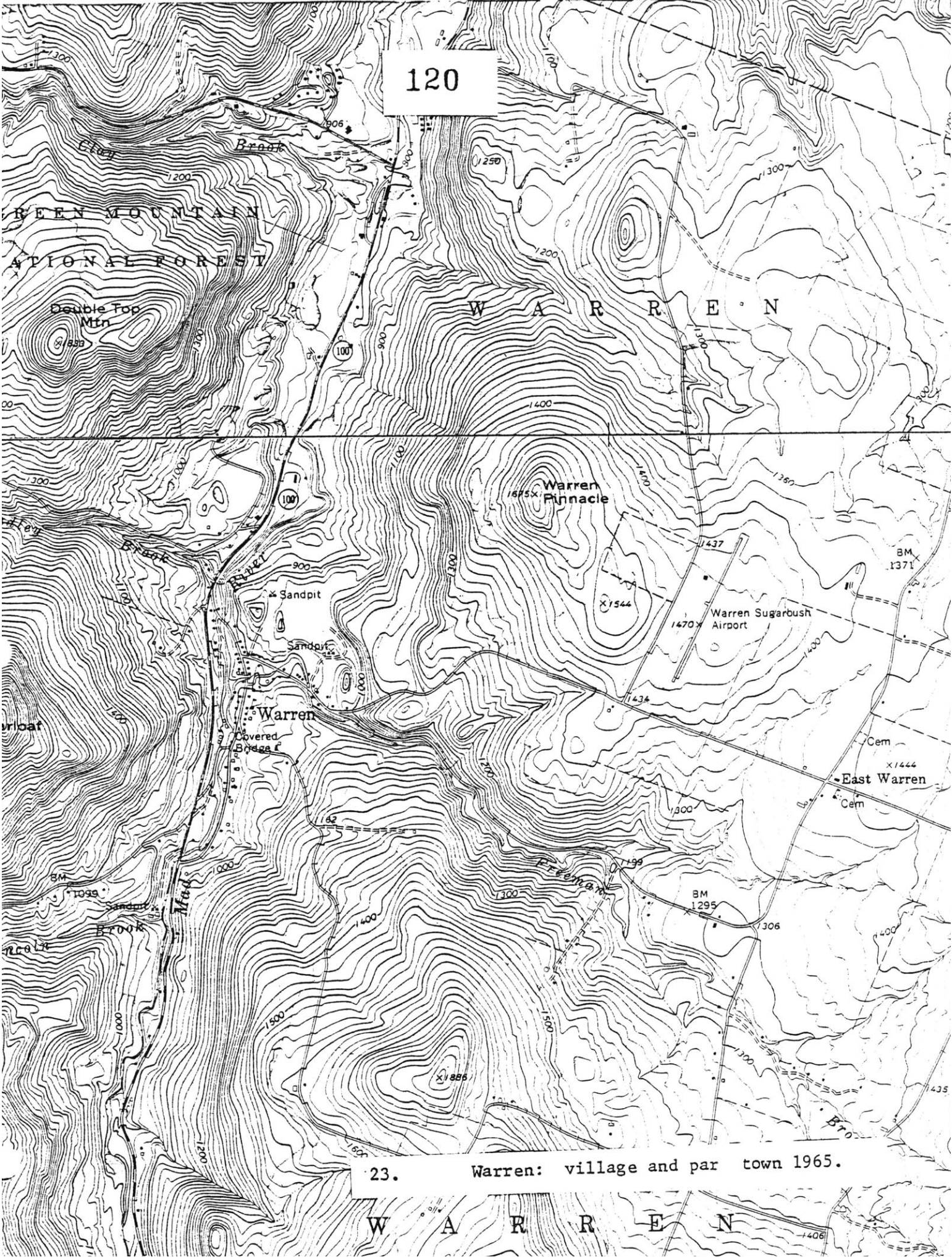
Warren Sugarbush
Airport

East Warren

23.

Warren: village and par town 1965.

W A R R E N



the physical metropolitan development although it is some 200 or 300 miles from it. In other words, it is being suburbanized.

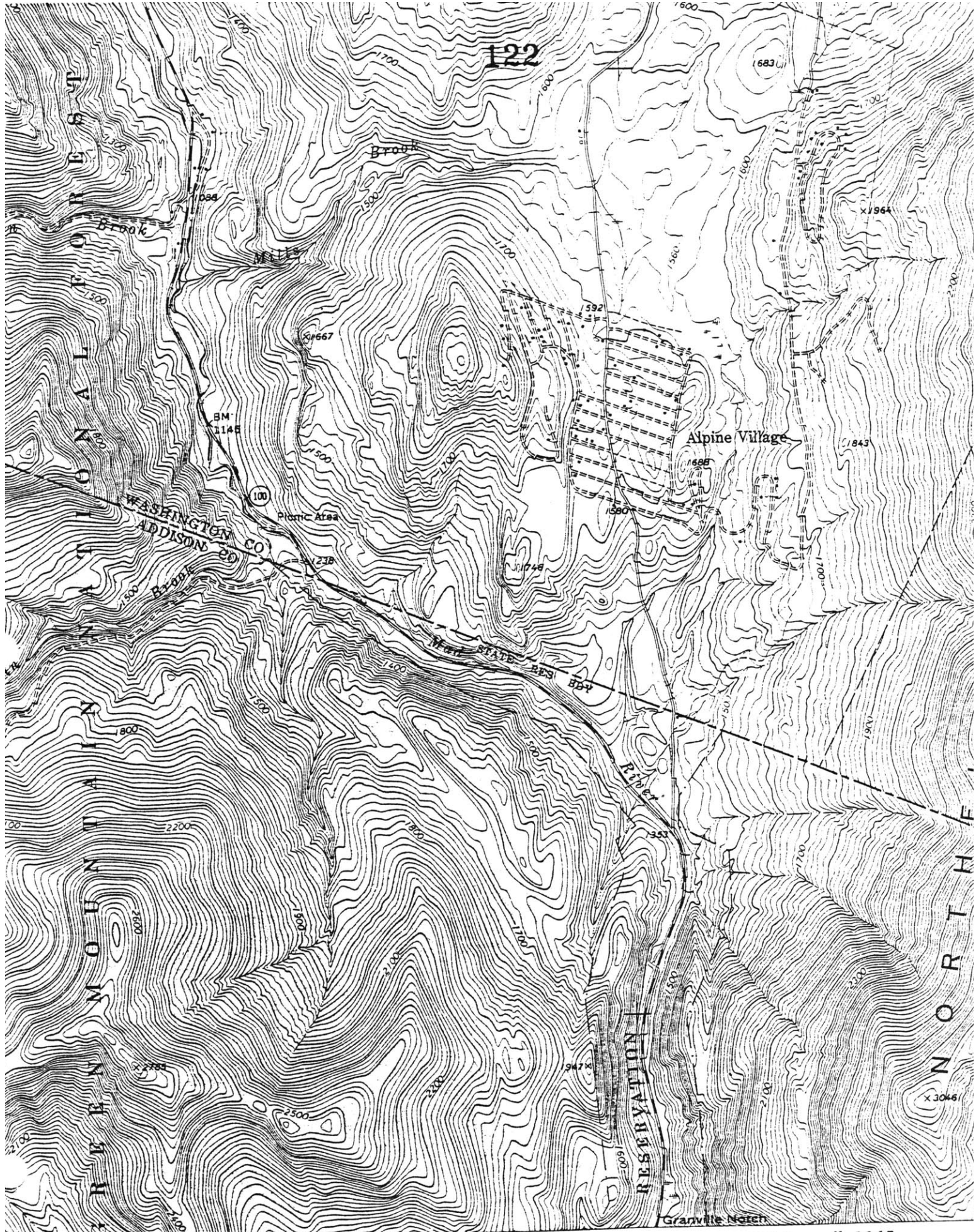
Just as in the past, previous land uses (wheat, sheep, dairying) have had their effect on the landscape,³ so too has the ski and recreation industry, because it is physically a completely different character.

All the previous transformations were physical changes as a result of the effects of metropolitan capital; now, however, the transformation is the metropolitan capital itself in the form of housing and completely decentralized small businesses. This is the urban system or the city itself in the rural landscape, not just the second order effects such as market shifts from one form of agricultural product to another.

This needs some clarification and to do this a distinction must be made between the ski industry and the recreation industry.

The downhill ski industry is in decline. This is because of the aging of the population group that gave the ski industry its incredible growth. The median age in the United States is now (1981) 30 years and by the year 2000 will be 35.5 years. The ski industry is patronized by the 25-29 year old age group, and by the year 2000 there will be 2.5 million fewer persons in this age group.⁴

This is borne out in physical terms by the kind of development that is being done by the large ski complex owners, namely condominium development with emphasis on cross-country skiing (an older age group) with important additions--golf, tennis and raquet ball facilities.⁵



So, large condominium development by the Mt. Mansfield Co. in Stowe, or the Alpine Village in Warren plus the whole series of complexes at Sugarbush like "Bridges," "Sugar Run, "Middle Earth," and others is and will continue to be more so the next major land use for the landscape. At present most of this kind of development is linked to downhill skiing complexes, but not to all of them; and as the population ages, so the necessity to be close to ski-tows and downhill ski facilities will decline.

The question then becomes, how many homes, supported by an urban income, can a rural environment support before it becomes a low density suburb, and along with being a "suburb," all the urban characteristics of such a setting? Agricultural activity then becomes the land use to be preserved and housing creates the nature of the place. Apart from the access road development, the bulk of the ski industry is located on state forest land or marginal upland meadow. Thus in spatial terms there was not that much competition for agricultural land by the ski industry, although the agricultural opportunities have declined because market influences caused by the ski industry as well as alternative opportunities available to the agricultural landowner. It is common to hear (although I don't know what the facts are) of farmers (who own their farms) selling agricultural land to real estate speculators at urban land values and then retiring to Florida on the profits. The problem is that, to a large degree, the housing is locating there because of its proximity to the agricultural land use. That is what, apart from the village and the state forest, makes it rural. Taken a step further, agricultural activity becomes abstracted into being a view of agricultural landscape and only that. All that is left in the

end, is the view of the unused barn, which is of value not because of itself but because it gives value to the vantage point from which it is seen. More particularly, it is seen from an urban value system or perspective, and is being supported by an urban income. A farmer's view of a barn is a very different perception. The problem remains, because, in order for the land to remain agricultural it has to be worked, so in the same sense that a city park or town square has to be maintained in order to create amenity, so too the agricultural landscape has to be maintained, this time not for its produce but for the view that it creates.

To illustrate the point, one facet of this process, housing, will be looked at in more detail.

Housing in the Mad River Valley.⁶

In 1979 there were slightly more than 2200 dwelling units in the three town area, of which 34% were permanent residences (owner occupied and renter occupied). The vacation home supply is divided roughly evenly between single family and multifamily (condominium) residences, but multifamily residences have dominated the new housing market in recent years, totalling almost 75% of the building permits issued since 1977.

The effect of this demand for vacation homes is that property values have risen dramatically. This makes it increasingly difficult for moderate income residents to own or rent a dwelling in the Valley. Houses that were selling for \$25-30,000 in 1975 were valued at \$45,000 plus in 1979. At that time very few homes were selling for less than \$55-60,000. In 1980 a two bedroom condominium in the "Middle Earth" development started

CONDOMINIUMS



BRIDGES



MIDDLE EARTH

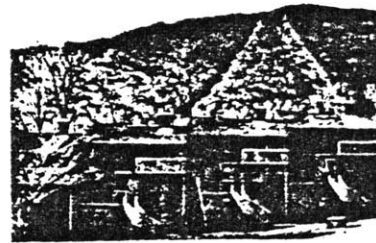


DRUMLEY'S

CONDOMINIUMS



CLARIERE



FORUM



SUGAR RUN

CONDOMINIUMS

We have an excellent selection of condominiums available at Sugarbush, Sugarbush North and throughout the Mad River Valley. Some are exclusively ours. A sampling:

Bridges. All the amenities are right here. Indoor and outdoor pool and tennis, squash courts. In house rental program. Award winning design. Units start at \$75,000.

A VARE best buy is this immaculate two bedroom, two level Middle Earth at Sugarbush. Enjoy it with your family; rent it seasonally or short term when not owner occupied. Owner is very anxious to sell. Furnished and equipped, it is offered exclusively at \$69,900.

Drumley's on the German Flats Road where the action is. Designed for gracious living, convenient to recreation and entertainment. Resident manager, pool and tennis. Three bedroom, two bath units. Several to choose from starting at \$79,500.

Needs lots of room? Try this five bedroom Timberline with loads of living and sleeping space. Private sauna and many extras added by owner. \$80,000. Others starting at a low \$70,000, and pool and tennis is included.

Butternut Hill offers the convenience of condominium ownership in a beautiful natural setting of woods and mountains. An energy efficient one bedroom unit with three sleeping lofts (loads of fun for the kids) is offered at \$57,000. We also have a two bedroom unit for \$58,000. Pool and tennis included.

An exceptionally attractive two bedroom Sugar Run on German Flats between Sugarbush and Sugarbush North. Beautifully furnished and many built in extras, \$77,500. And another one bedroom plus loft Sugar Run featuring the architecturally exciting living area that every one loves. Offered furnished at \$54,000.

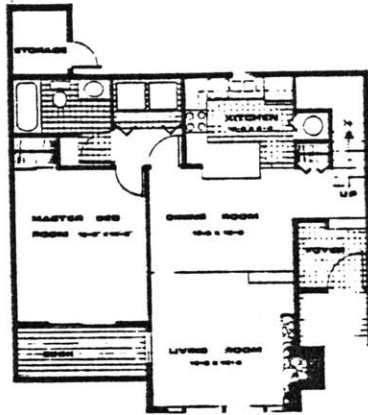
Forum, Castlerock and Clariere as they become available. We also handle other condominiums including Battleground, South Village, Unihab and Top of the Valley.

at \$79,000. In another development, "Battleground," a two bedroom condominium sells for \$85,000 and a three bedroom unit for \$104,000.

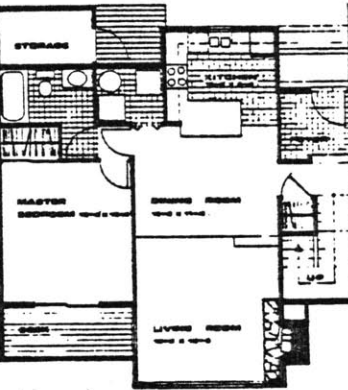
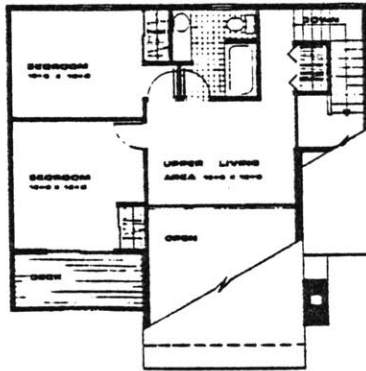
The same is true for land, although the price has been escalating not only because of the vacation market demand but also by the expense and difficulty of obtaining subdivision permits for small lots under present environmental regulations.

Income and availability of housing.

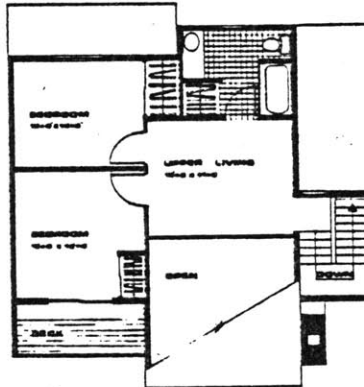
The extent to which metropolitan capital is directly affecting the availability of housing can be seen when one compares the ability to pay for housing and what is offered on the market. Income tax returns for the three towns indicate that 70% of the workers earned less than \$15,000 a year. Department of Employment Security data shows that in 1978, 44% of the work force was employed in commercial services (hotels, motels and retail trade) and that the average income for these jobs was just over \$6000 per year. Construction workers make up 20% of the labor force and earn approximately \$11,900 per year. These figures are perhaps a little low as many of the people employed in the commercial/service sector receive a certain amount of undeclared income, as well as the fact that there is a "swing labor force" that works in commercial services in the winter, and either in construction during summer or collects unemployment. Be that as it may, in order to purchase a \$50,000 home at a mortgage rate of 12% interest with a 25% down payment over a 20 year term, (very easy terms comparatively), a person would have to earn \$19,700 per year to keep up the \$410 montly mortgage payment at 25% of his or her monthly



PLAN A
3 BEDROOM & 2 LIVING AREA/2 BATH



PLAN B
3 BEDROOM & 2 LIVING AREA/2 BATH



A Perfect Site - Ski To and From The Lifts

SUMMIT's Trailside location allows you to park your car and enjoy the largest variety of ski trails and lifts east of the Mississippi. Physically, the elevated site affords magnificent views of the Valley and distant intersecting ridge lines. Vil-

lage restaurants, nursery and shops are all nearby. You can choose from Chez Henri, a fine French restaurant, a pizza place, a discothèque, the Phoenix - home of mouth watering desserts - or a Deli.

A Million Dollar Sports Complex

Just below Summit, offers indoor & outdoor tennis, squash indoor swimming, racketball and saunas. An 18 hole award winning Robert Trent Jones golf course is nearby, along with some of the best fishing, canoeing, hiking and soaring that Vermont has to offer. Bundy outdoor concerts, the Valley Players and Green Mountain Music Series are all part of the summer fun at Sugarbush.

The Finest Architecture - Inside and Out

SUMMIT is built to withstand the rigors of Vermont winters and conserve energy. Central Vermont's first electric off-peak heating system will save owners an average of 35% on their utility bills. Six inches of insulation is used in exterior walls and twelve inches in the ceilings. Thermopane glass is used throughout. The rustic wood exterior and wood shingle roof are engineered for enduring beauty. Ceramic tile entries, Bigelow carpeting and pine trim all add to the distinctive interiors.

Creature Comforts

Your SUMMIT home is designed to comfortably accommodate you, your family and friends. Every unit has a washing machine and dryer. The frost-free refrigerator and self-cleaning oven are low maintenance. The brick fireplace, focal point of the living area, is built by Vermont's finest craftsmen, and it has a wood mantle. The deck off both living room and master bedroom is oriented southerly for maximum sunlight and view.

A SUMMIT Rental Program

That really works will be available while you're away. If you wish to rent, a steady cash flow will maximize your tax advantage and minimize the out of pocket cost of ownership. Cleaning for your tenant, lease signing, check writing and all other details will be attended to for the absentee owner.

gross income. In fact the rising cost of heating fuel and general cost of living suggest that the actual income level necessary to meet those payments is closer to \$25-30,000. This is impossible when 70% of the Valley workers earned less than \$15,000 a year in 1978.

By looking in detail at the nature of the housing market in the Valley the initial interpretation, i.e., of metropolitan capital transforming the social relations and with it the physical pattern of development, is substantiated. The Valley seems no longer to be undergoing rural change (i.e., one agricultural land use to another agricultural land use) but rather it is being transformed by income generated in contexts that are urban by people using urban institutions, into a low density urban suburb.

The next chapter will show in outline how the successive transformations to the Vermont landscape, beginning with settlements like Woodstock in the 18th and 19th centuries through to Stowe and the Mad River Valley towns in the 20th century, have altered the country town and its surrounding landscape. It will also try to explain why the most recent trend, measured by the growth in vacation home construction and typified as "suburban development" is perhaps the phase that transformed the landscape from a rural into an urban environment.

References: Chapter 3

Landscape and Landuse: the Mad River Valley

1. This section is based on a report produced for the Mad River communities titled Mad River Valley Growth Study, Interim Report: Inventory and Analysis, May 15, 1980. It was sponsored by the Central Vermont Regional Planning Commission, through a grant from the Farmers' Home Administration.
2. _____, Growth Potential of the Skier Market in the National Forests. Washington, D.C., 1981, p. 1.
3. Wilson, H.F., The Hill Country of Northern New England, Columbia University Press, 1936.
4. _____, Growth Potential of the Skier Market in the National Forests, p. 2.
5. Hagerman, op. cit., p. 116.
6. _____, Mad River Growth Study, pp. 67-75.

4. The Vermont landscape.

Introduction.

As a result of looking at the growth and change that has occurred in five Vermont towns an understanding of the relationship between social process and settlement form has been sought. A central assumption throughout this discussion has been that the meaning of the idea of the natural landscape has not remained the same, that it too has changed, along with the physical environment.

The natural environment.

If it is important to understand the relationship between the country and the city, it is then also necessary to understand how the meanings of these terms have changed, because those changes in meaning are directly linked to the nature of the capitalist mode of production, which is itself evolving. By tracing, at a local level, the various transformations, first to Woodstock and Stowe, then in the Mad River Valley towns, an understanding, at a local level, has been gained. Now, by tracing at a more general level changes in the capitalist mode of production and relating those changes to the physical transformations that were the consequence, a more accurate understanding of the meaning of the relationship between the country and the city can be made.

What follows is an outline of these changes and how the rural landscape of Vermont changed as a result. These observations, while made for the state as a whole do not include all the productive components of the

economy. The observations concentrate only on those aspects that have had the most pronounced direct effect on the rural landscape.

The idealization of the meaning of landscape.

There seem to have been five stages to these changes since Colonial European settlement started to transform the landscape. Each stage is characterised by a predominant land-use or product. These stages are not real, in the sense that they exist only to structure the description, and some characteristics of one stage are continuous throughout later stages. However, it is nevertheless a useful way of describing the pattern of change.

The first stage, lasted up to about the mid 1820's.¹ The economy of Vermont, especially the country towns, was relatively self-sufficient with a small market for surplus farm products. In northern New England it continued well into the 1820's and 1830's, and even later in the more inaccessible hill towns. The early economies of Weathersfield and Woodstock as described earlier typify this stage.

The main effort was to establish settlement and build roads and to clear patches of the virgin forest to grow grass and crops. Bog meadows, ditches, drainage ponds and forest clearings characterise the landscape.² At that time the idea of the natural landscape was of a wild, inhospitable, at times dangerous environment.

The second stage, from the mid 1820's until the mid 1860's, was one of transition from a self-sufficing agriculture to commercial agriculture. This was the beginning of the country/city relationship as we see it

today. It is also the time when capitalism, through the market mechanism grows to such a size that it becomes the principle mechanism in inducing change. The manufacturing towns were growing rapidly and the demand for food from the non-agricultural population created markets for the Vermont farmer on a much larger scale than ever before. In southern New England this period lasted from about 1810 to the close of the Civil War.³ In Vermont it began at different times after about 1825, depending on the remoteness of each locality from market and transportation facilities.

The railway, particularly in the late 1830's, increased further the trend away from the self-sufficing character of the first stage. (The railroad connection to Woodstock was begun in the 1860's and service started in 1875.) For the land this stage was the start of a new land-use and consequently a new rural landscape. Up until now change had been relatively slow, and of the same kind. Agricultural products like wheat and vegetables were grown on the more gentle hillsides and valleys. The forests were the source of fuel and lumber for local consumption. A fair amount of logging, however, particularly down the Connecticut River, had slowly been eroding the forests of the best trees. Now a new use which would change the landscape more drastically was introduced.

The sheep industry, particularly on the upland farms, began to be the predominant use. The forest, where economically feasible, was replaced with sheep pastures.

This was the time when most of the village of Woodstock as we know it today was laid out. The Beers map of 1870 was actually published in

1869 and must have been surveyed in the mid 1860's, at the end of this stage. On the same map can be seen at the western edge of the town the mills of S. Woodward as well as the extensive town properties that he owned along River Street and Mountain Avenue. In the life of Woodstock at this time Charles Marsh was a prominent figure and his "successor" Frederick Billings was practicing law and speculating in real estate in San Francisco and California as well as the railway corporations. It was also towards the end of this stage when the Woodstock Common was changed into what we know today.

The third stage, from the mid 1860's until 1900, shows a marked decline in rural population and improved farm land. This was caused by a number of factors: Increasing competition from western staple crops in New England markets as well as the diminishing supply of family labor caused by the comparatively better wage-earning work in the cities of southern New England and New York. The sheep industry, as rapidly as it came, disappeared because of its inability to compete with western competition as well as imports of Australian and South American wool.

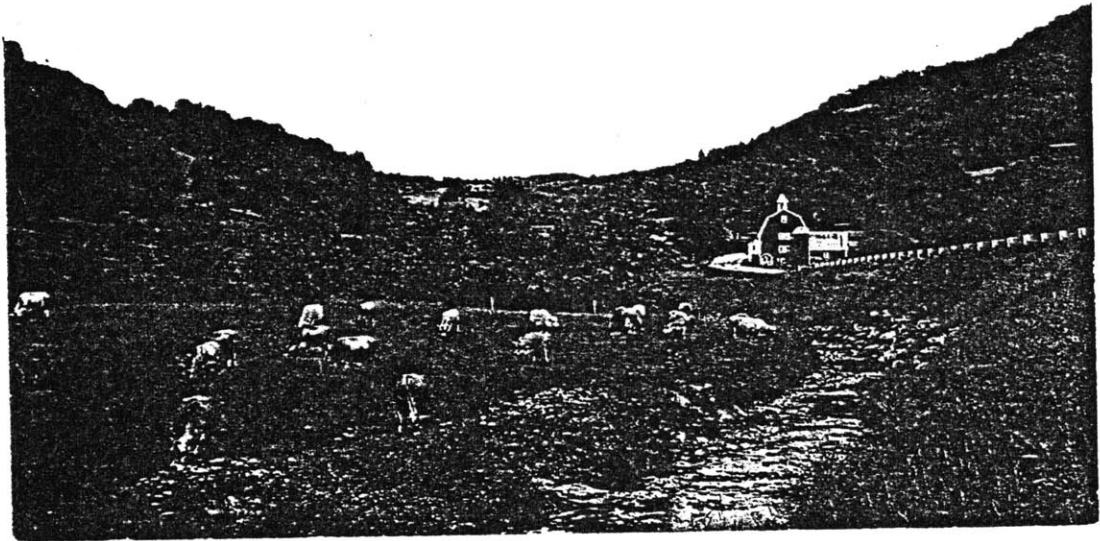
The so-called "abandoned farm" of which so much was written during the 1890's was the most tangible effect of these market forces. The farms were not really abandoned, but rather unoccupied as many of the farmers had the double burden of having to find an income from other activities and at the same time continue paying tax on their land in order not to lose it.⁴ In response to these changing market forces the growth of creameries for the manufacture of butter and cheese developed. Cows could use the upland pastures of the sheep; however, butter and cheese with refrigerated

railcars eroded this form of production as well. It was the supply of fresh milk at a later stage that enabled the dairy industry in Vermont to thrive.⁵

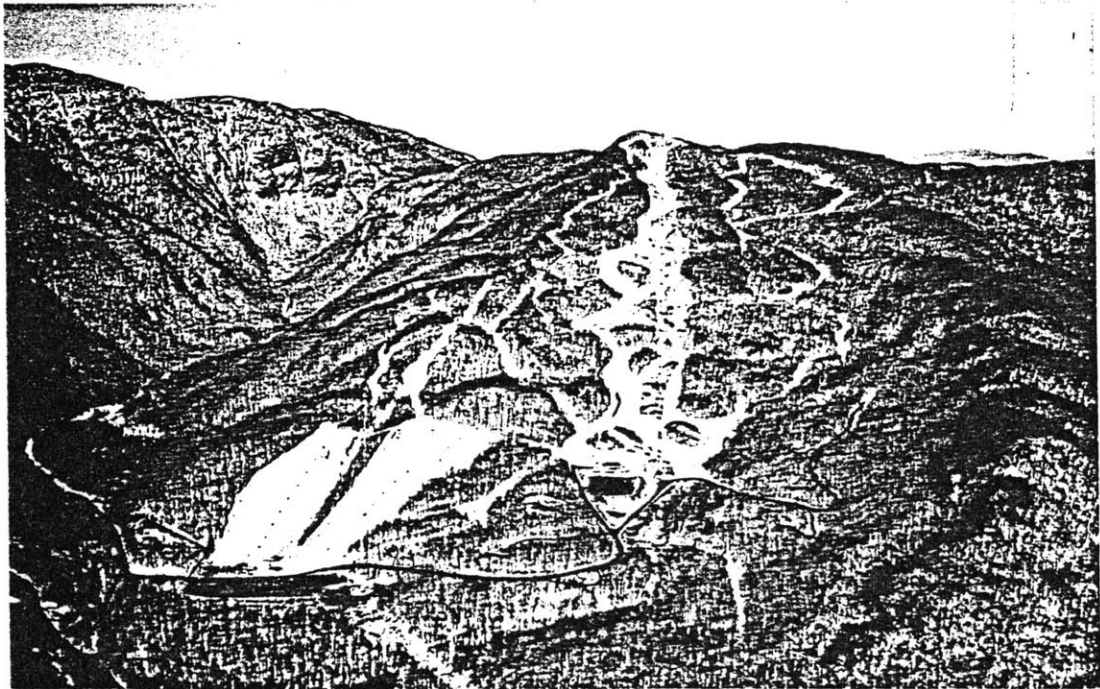
The market, controlled primarily by the interests of metropolitan capital, continually seeking the highest profit margins, based on its own specific internal rationale, was continually transforming the physical environment. This time, not by the introduction of an economically profitable activity and hence land use (the sheep industry), but by its concentration elsewhere. The sheep industry, for metropolitan interest, was still going on, only elsewhere without any mechanisms to deal with the negative change it left in its wake. It is this characteristic, perhaps more than any other of this particular mode of production, that is its most destructive.⁶

This combination of financial and political power, as evidenced by the investment into the railway business and the Homesteading Acts of 1862 and 1864, pursuing different ends from those of the sheep farmers in the local setting is reflected in the second growth forests that began to grow back where they had been cut back a short time before.

The fourth stage began with the start of the dairy industry at the turn of the century. As an industry in Vermont today, it is the largest agricultural activity.⁷ Two things make this possible, the distribution system from the farms to the cities and then the cities themselves. The railroad and much later the interstate system enables this production to continue. However, in 1930 the country still had a settlement pattern of dispersed rural homesteads, small service centers and fairly compact



13. Vermont landscape: dairying. (postcard)

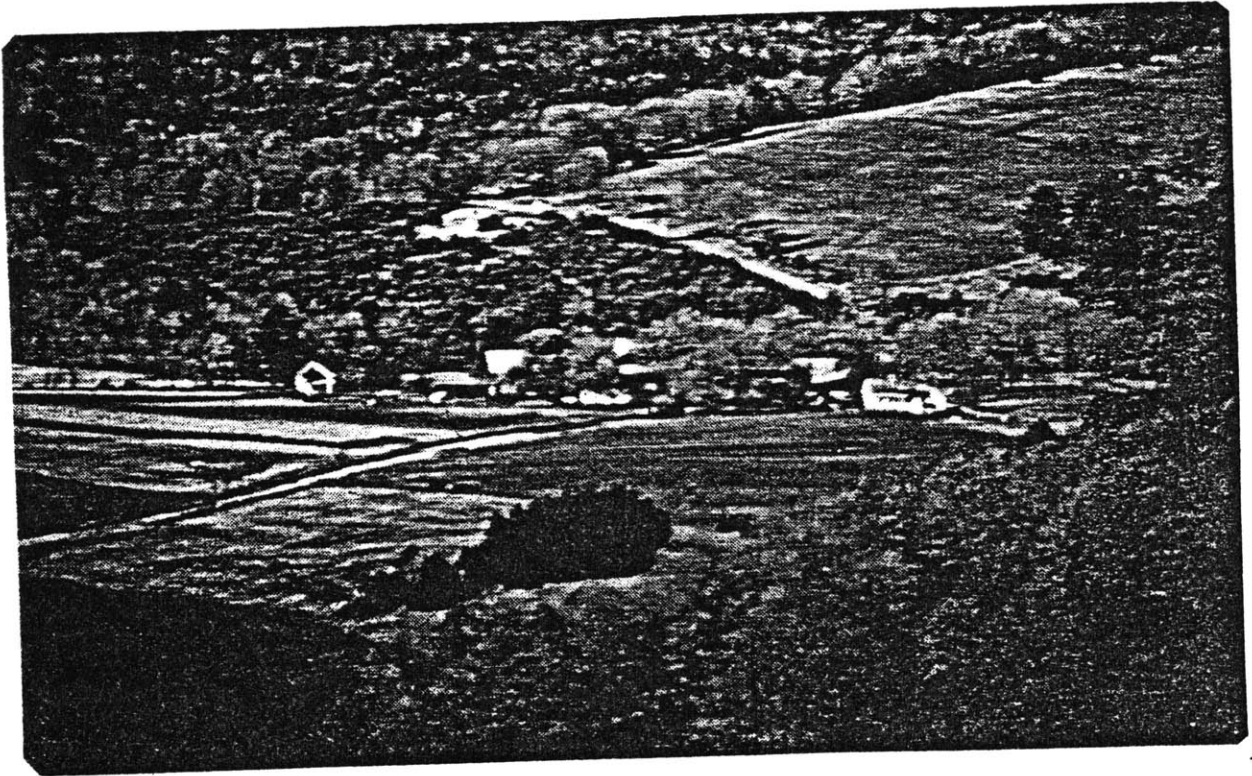


14. Vermont landscape: skiing, Mt. Mansfield area. (postcard)

cities fringed with suburban growth, "though there was already a blurring between city and country in a narrow peripheral urban zone."⁸

The effects of this stage have been described in the early growth of the recreation industry in Stowe. The railway, and then the expanded use of the private automobile in the 1920's (which was the railroads' demise), introduced the large country hotel, like the Mt. Mansfield Hotel, right into the center of these rural villages. Along with these hotels went the construction of the mountain lodge or "summit house" to cater to the demands of a growing urban middle class for nature. This is the beginning of a fundamentally different interpretation of the meaning of natural landscape for a number of reasons, two of which are: first, that the meaning is derived from an urban perspective and is seen as a contrast to the city. Nature is seen as the cure to whatever are the imagined as well as real. ills of an urban existence. Second, it is the view of the natural landscape without any relationship to the activities that produced it in the first place. Up until this point the meaning of landscape is indistinguishable from the social process that produces the landscape, namely agricultural activity. Now, the landscape, as an object, especially to be seen as an experience rather than lived, is the basis of its meaning. Put another way, the natural environment has changed from a landscape of work produced by participation and action to a landscape of play to be consumed on personal terms at will and which is produced by someone else.

The fifth stage is really a continuation of the fourth although after 1930 it has a different character because of the growth of the ski



15. Vermont landscape: the country near Woodstock. (Alex McLean copyright 1980)



16. Vermont landscape: the city in the country near Ludlow. (Alex McLean copyright 198)

industry and, more recently the development of vacation homes. These effects have been described using Stowe as an example. The strip development along Rt. 108, the Gold Brook residential development as well as the increase in the concern for the historic preservation of the village, are the physical consequences of this altered meaning and in turn have helped change the meaning.

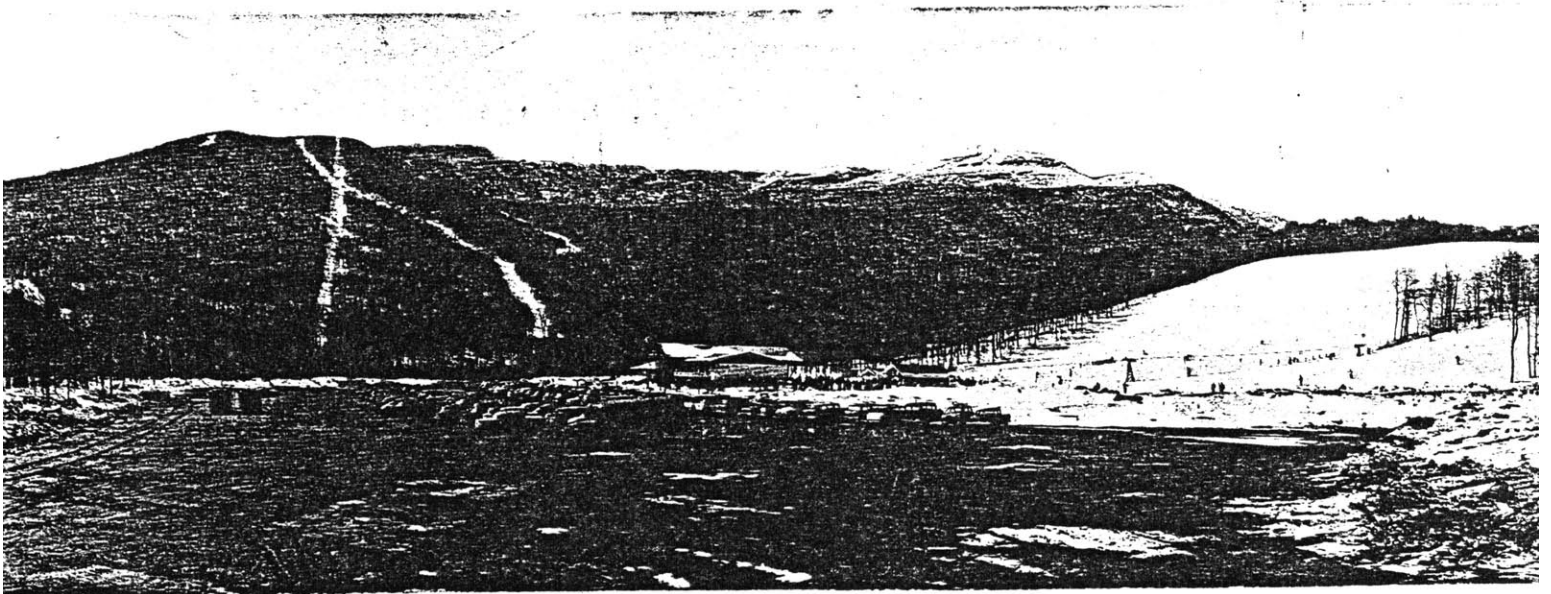
The Vermont landscape.

In terms of the economic process this fifth and final stage can be seen as the last of a series of attempts to industrialize the rural economy. The effects of this last transformation have been discussed in the section on the towns of Warren, Waitsfield and Fayston in the Mad River Valley. The topography of Vermont has not enabled this to happen, and in a sense has suffered as the agricultural industry was industrialized in a setting far more profitable to it--the flat plains of the west. First, with the introduction of the silo and the large barn, winter feeding of milk-producing cows was made possible. Then with the advent of the ski tow, snow-making equipment and the increase in communications, the industrialization of the rural Vermont landscape is complete.

The paradox is that it is the same physical features and climate (the mountains, narrow valleys and forests as well as the snow and changing seasons) that made its industrialization unprofitable, that has in the end been the reason for its industrialization and consequent urbanization.

In all these stages there have been successive transformations to the

landscape and along with every transformation a change in the meaning of the idea of the natural landscape. The change in the meaning would seem to follow a pattern which is best described as a successive idealization of nature. This is particularly evident at the turn of the century where the meaning changes in order to adjust to the changing realities caused by the shifts in the economic productivity of the land as determined by the profitability of metropolitan capital. In other words, the successive transformation of the rural landscape, (including the villages, farms and recreational activities) can be seen as moving away from local, direct social use towards the production of a landscape as a commodity for market consumption, which because of the nature of capitalism has less and less local meaning.



17. Stowe: Mt. Mansfield ski area parking lot. (postcard)

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5. Conclusions.

This essay has tried to show how the nature of a particular economic process, capitalism, as characterised by the relationship between the country and the city, has effected the spatial pattern of the country town and its surrounding landscape. By looking at selected periods over the entire history of this process in five Vermont towns it has been found that the relationship between the country and the city has always had the same structure and that the control over the means of production has always had persons with relatively speaking the same social status using similar financial instruments.

Furthermore, although these changes have always been caused by the same mechanism, the effects are not the same. Thus, to understand why a particular setting is the way it is, or to explain the distinguishing characteristics of a place, an investigation of local events within a larger context is always necessary if any real meaning is to be made. This means that for the understanding of the nature of the physical environment an understanding of its social causes is essential.

Finally, what can the conclusion be for the relationship between the country and the city? It would seem to be that the relationship has completely consumed itself, and that for the American countryside what we are seeing is not the transformation of the countryside into the city as was the typical expansion process, but rather the building of parts of the city in the country.

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