Tracks across Vermont: *Vermont Life* and the Landscape of Downhill Skiing, 1946–1970

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Between the 1940s and 1960s, Vermont's downhill ski industry blossomed statewide as ever-increasing numbers of visitors streamed to the Green Mountains to ride new chairlifts, ski new trails, and experience the thrill of speed and adventure in the state's scenic mountain environment. From pioneering resorts established in the 1930s and 1940s, such as Stowe, Mad River Glen, and Bromley, to mid-century giants like Sugarbush, Killington, and Mount Snow, Vermont's ski industry grew throughout the twentieth century into a highly organized, multimillion-dollar business. In the late 1940s, for example, skiers' expenditures in Vermont were running at about five million dollars annually. By the early 1960s, that figure had risen to well over thirty million dollars.[1] Statistics such as these, however, only hint at the massive changes that skiing brought to the landscape of Vermont. As the sport grew in popularity and profitability, a host of new landscape features such as roads, hotels, restaurants, vacation homes, and entire resort complexes of base lodges, ski trails, ski lifts, maintenance garages, and parking lots spread across the state. Features such as these brought readily apparent physical changes to Vermont's landscape, as well as to the meanings, values, and uses ascribed to it.[2] For an understanding of the history of resort-based skiing in Vermont, the sport's role in producing these physical and conceptual changes needs to be closely examined. In what ways did skiing transform the

shape and meaning of Vermont's landscape, and what do these transformations reveal about the sport's broader history? What types of places and what groups of people were most affected by these changes in Vermont? What was the scale of landscape change produced by skiing, and what does this scale suggest about the sport's potential impact on larger sets of natural and cultural resources? More broadly, what do Vermont's ski landscapes divulge about the relationships between geographic inquiry and sport history?

This essay explores questions like these by adopting geographical perspectives on landscape change. It suggests that an understanding of ski history (in this case as it applies to Vermont) benefits significantly when viewed in a larger historical geographic context. In recent years, historians have produced critical and engaging work dealing with the history of skiing in the American West—some of which offers valuable insights into the evolution of ski landscapes.[3] Historians of skiing in New England, however, have devoted less attention to the sport's impact on the regional landscape, and they have done less to incorporate geographic perspectives into a broader understanding of ski history. The region's most committed and prolific historian of skiing, E. John B. Allen, has even gone so far as to argue: "Sport geographers spend much of their time accounting for the places where sports occur. To date, they have not tackled skiing. I suspect the reason is that there is little to say: the sport is carried on in snow country."[4] Allen is certainly correct that geographers focus on location and spatial distribution, but the identification and description of phenomena or regions—as central as they are to the project of geography—are not disciplinary ends in and of themselves. Bather, they provide valuable frameworks upon which to build deeper questions about the morphology of landscapes and about the cultural attitudes that shape them. Indeed, questions such as these are what allow geographers to move beyond oversimplified or environmentally deterministic claims, such as assuming that skiing, as a sport, will develop anywhere and everywhere it snows. Without question, snowfall and topography are essential prerequisites for downhill skiing, and without question they can tell us all we need to know about why skiing has *not* developed in parts of the United States. However, the extent to which downhill skiing has successfully taken root in other parts of the country (particularly since World War II) has depended on a variety of other factors, including cultural attitudes toward recreation and development, location relative to skiing populations, capital investment, advertising, and technological innovation-not the least of which is artificial snowmaking.[5]

A geographic perspective on ski history can help shed light on factors such as these, and while geographers have indeed been slow to explore the historical evolution of ski landscapes, some in the discipline have explored the sport's spatial distribution and contemporary environmental impacts.[6] The reasons for this lack of attention to ski history, however, are surely not due to a lack of information or a lack of potential topics for analysis. In contrast to the arguments of Allen, a geographer's perspective on Vermont's ski landscape has great potential to shed light on ski history, sport history, and the broader history of recreation and landscape change in the twentieth century. In fact, criticisms and shortcomings on the part of both ski historians and ski geographers offer a valuable invitation to enrich and broaden our understanding of ski history by exploring what one sports geographer has described as "the changing character of the sports landscape and the symbiosis between sports environment and those who participate in it."[7]

"Landscape" has long been a standard unit of study for cultural and historical geographers. Some scholars have distinguished between "natural" landscapes and "cultural" landscapes, although there are, in truth, few places in the world where people have not left a cultural imprint on the land. By contrast, others speak more simply of "landscape" as the "composite of the historical interaction between nature and human action."[8] In recent decades, critical turns in geography have added considerable depth to more traditional, materialist interpretations of landscapes by treating them as social constructions, as representations of power, or as signifiers of class, race, and gender. Landscapes, after all, are products of culture, and as such they harbor and reflect symbolic meanings and cultural ideologies. Nonetheless, landscapes remain rooted in physical form, and the values and meanings behind them cannot be understood nor can their cultural and historical significance be assessed without looking closely at their visible features.[9] Historical geographers, for example, have long used landscapes as documents capable of providing information about people, events, land uses, and attitudes from the past. Whether studied in their present form or as they were at some time in the past, landscapes can provide us with historical clues and can serve as what Peirce Lewis has called "our unwitting autobiography, reflecting our tastes, our values, our aspirations, and even our fears in tangible, visible form." Similarly, geographer Karl Raitz has written of sport landscapes: "In a tangible way, sport is an autobiographical slice of the larger world we occupy.... Understanding sport's full dimension—how the values, attitudes, and symbols we associate with sport are manifest on the land—will help us to understand our cultural makeup and breadth."[10]

This essay adopts a similar perspective, analyzing the relationship between downhill skiing and landscape change in Vermont from 1946 to 1970. By focusing on skiing's tremendous power to alter lands and lives beyond those immediately associated with the sporting activity itself, it argues that the history of skiing has as much to do with landscape resources such as hotels, parking lots, and ski lifts as it does with specific events and personalities associated with the ski slopes. The broad, diverse, and often elaborate collections of resources that spread with skiing across the Vermont landscape created what Raitz refers to as a sports-landscape "ensemble."[11] The growth in size and complexity of Vermont's ski ensemble after World War II dramatically reshaped many of the state's natural and cultural resources, and it dramatically reshaped locals' and tourists' relationships to their surrounding environments. The spread of this ensemble by 1970 ultimately helped prompt the passage of Vermont's famous Act 250—the nation's most powerful statewide environmental legislation passed up to that point. The story of how patterns such as these unfolded in Vermont between the 1940s and 1970 sheds light on the history of skiing and on the history of sport more generally, as a reminder to view them within their larger contexts of landscape change.

This study draws principally from a discrete set of archival information: advertisements, photographs, and articles published in the popular magazine *Vermont Life* from its start in 1946 to the pivotal year of 1970 when the magazine, like many Vermonters across the state, made a dramatic shift in its relationship to skiing and landscape change. *Vermont Life* began publishing at a time coincident with the rise of resort-based skiing in Vermont, and to this day, many of its photographs remain the most telling and widely circulated images of the state during the second half of the twentieth century. Established as an arm

of the Vermont Development Commission—an agency devoted to state-level advertising—the magazine served as a promotional tool for Vermont's aggressive publicity campaign by producing articles on the state's culture, scenery, and opportunities for tourism. "The aims of *Vermont Life,* "its editors claimed in 1959, "are simple: to so interest people with Vermont's charms that they may wish to visit and see more—perhaps eventually to live here. It is not a magazine of controversy nor yet of rosy superlatives. It is intended to reflect the frank yet friendly character of Vermont and Vermonters themselves." Of course, *Vermont Life* represents only a fraction of the published, primary material on skiing in the state, and in terms of perspective, its largely nonconfrontational and promotional stances often masked dissenting views about the state's ski industry. Yet its influence as a popular opinion- and image-maker remained quite powerful, and for this reason it remains a crucial source from which to draw information on skiing in Vermont. From its start, *Vermont Life* found eager audiences from within and from beyond the state's borders. By the late 1950s, 85 percent of its 41,000 subscribers were nonresidents, while by 1970, 90 percent of its 100,000 subscribers lived outside the state." The articles they read and the pictures they absorbed helped define and chronicle a powerful public image for Vermont. In creating that image, *Vermont Life* has bequeathed a valuable starting point from which to develop a framework for the historical geographic study of Vermont's ski landscape.

Vermont's history of organized skiing begins long before 1946, when *Vermont Life* first began documenting the sport's dramatic postwar rise. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, skiers and ski jumpers flocked to winter-sports destinations across the state in places like Brattleboro, Rutland, and Woodstock. By far, Vermont's best-known ski destination in the 1930s, and even into the 1950s, was Stowe—the widely-proclaimed "ski capital of the East." During the 1930s, the Civilian Conservation Corps cut a number of popular, challenging trails on Stowe's Mount Mansfield to which skiers flocked on special "snow trains" from cities like Boston and New York. Organized skiing developed early in other areas of the state, such as at Woodstock, Pica, and Bromley, but nowhere was skiing as popular as at Stowe. Here was the site of world championship races. Here was the site of Vermont's first chairlift (once "the longest in the world"), its longest trails, its most challenging terrain, and, as the highest mountain in the state, its best snow. Without question, Stowe was the undisputed king of Vermont skiing in the 1930s and 1940s. Stowe retained its prominence following a massive business reorganization and expansion in the early 1950s, but it soon found itself in competition with a host of rival resorts. In the postwar years, Stowe was forced to share space in the collective ski imagination and on the pages of *Vermont Life* with a variety of other up-and-coming resorts such as Mad River Glen, Sugarbush, and Mount Snow. *Vermont Life* turned a great deal of its attention toward these other resorts, often producing one or two feature articles on the state's new resorts each year. Stowe remained a crucial icon for Vermont's ski industry, but the sport and the landscape changes associated with it did not remain in Stowe alone.[13]

All of Vermont's ski areas, whether large or small, old or new, depended on the state's abundant snowfall and mountainous topography for their success, and *Vermont Life* missed very few opportunities to remind readers of Vermont's geographical suitability for the sport. If skiers wanted deep snow and challenging terrain, authors suggested, Vermont was ready and able to deliver. Year after year, the magazine ran photographs and captions

featuring scenes of snow and sun all framed against inspiring, challenging, and aesthetically pleasing topographic backdrops. In addition, early issues of *Vermont Life* provided maps depicting annual snowfall, and they offered detailed descriptions about the state's distinct, high-elevation climatic zone where, readers were told, snowfall increased to a dramatic maximum of 120 inches per year. Even when it rained in cities to the south, even when there was fog and mud in Vermont's lower elevations, skiers need not despair: "Up in the Green Mountains in that 120-inch belt," one author wrote, "the temperature would be about 30, the base would be intact, it would be snowing briskly. And everybody would be having a wonderful time."[14]

Vermont's natural resources were an important selling point for the state's ski industry. Images such as this map of isonifs (or lines of equal snowfall), published in *Vermont Life* in the late 1940s, helped transform snow from a nuisance into a valuable commodity. *Map by the Vermont Development Commission, courtesy of* Vermont Life.

Articles in *Vermont Life* reinforced a growing sense that skiing was the most logical use of the state's untapped natural resources. As part of a larger commodification of nature, the rising profitability and popularity of skiing transformed the meanings and images of snow from a liability and a nuisance to an opportunity and a revenue-generating asset. According to *Vermont Life's* perspective, locals once accepted winter weather with "resignation and despair," yet with the rising popularity of winter sports, many now felt "more kindly towards the season their forefathers dreaded." Such perceptions of Vermont's winter climate helped produce conceptual reinterpretations of nature that paved the way for the future expansion of skiing in the state. Indeed, whatever one's prior opinion of snow, it now offered new and potentially profitable opportunities. Snow was "white gold," proclaimed *Vermont Life's* first article on skiing, and Vermonters and visitors were encouraged to "stake out their own claims" to this "commodity that can be enjoyed or sold to advantage."[15]

But no matter how deep the snow or how high the hills, new sensitivities toward nature's opportunities also fostered new understandings of nature's limitations. Even in a

landscape as well-endowed as Vermont's, ski-resort owners and ski promoters were forced to modify the natural environment in ways designed to protect their investments, to meet skier demands, and to control the natural risks built into a sport so dependent for its success on the weather. These patterns are perhaps best expressed by the growing networks of ski trails that snaked their way down the state's mountainsides during the 1940s and 1950s, for indeed, as one author pointed out with reference to trails: "Although Nature provides the basic ingredients, her unaided efforts are not quite enough." Unlike many sports, skiing moves its participants over large spaces, and it is often best enjoyed when one has a sense of isolation and individual freedom on the slopes. In order to meet skiers' demands and to provide unique, varied, safe, and uncrowded conditions, resort owners and developers needed to continually expand their trail systems onto new land and new mountains across the state. Without question, skiing in Vermont's rugged mountains demanded that trails be "carefully designed and laboriously cleared." At the Big Bromley ski resort, for example, owner and brewing mogul Fred Pabst used "dynamite, bulldozers, and thousands of man hours of hard work" to reshape trails and to shape the experience of skiers as they sped downhill.[16]

Through this process of landscape change, developers like Pabst helped craft new relationships between skiing and the natural world. Because ski-industry profits are so dependent on the vagaries of nature, resort owners and operators have long looked for ways to control those vagaries as much as possible. Pabst's meticulous trail-clearing efforts in the 1940s and 1950s, for example, were part of a larger effort to minimize the amount of snow needed to cover the trails at Bromley—many of which faced south and so were subject to greater rates of snow loss. In an era when snowmaking was not as practical or profitable as it is for many resorts today, Pabst was able to reduce the amount of snow needed to cover his trails to a mere four inches. In this way, he earned some measure of control over the natural environment, and he made the snow surface safer, more manageable, and more accessible to a wider range of skier abilities.[17]

The landscape changes prompted by developers like Pabst ultimately engendered broader changes in the human geography of Vermont—changes that extended far beyond the slopes themselves. As the crowds increased on Vermont's slopes and as pressures for services intensified, it became clear that ski-related developments would need to spread well beyond Vermont's mountainsides. Indeed, just as developers like Fred Pabst recognized the need to reshape Vermont's natural, mountain environments, they also recognized that cutting down trees, carving trails, and installing ski lifts meant little without creating a larger service landscape for those who flocked to their new resorts. Skiing in Vermont was largely dependent on visits from weekend or weeklong travelers—most of whom came from cities like New York and Boston, and all of whom needed places to stay, places to eat, and things to do once the ski lifts stopped running. After all, *Vermont Life* reminded readers, "skiers, no matter how avid, must sometimes pause to eat and sleep."[18]

To meet the needs and expectations of these skiers, developers and local entrepreneurs in towns across the state produced a broad new landscape ensemble devoted to tourism. This ensemble of vacation homes, hotels, roads, and restaurants was already well established in Stowe by the end of World War II, where skiers in 1946 could find a variety of "hostelries and homelike inns" at this, Vermont's premier resort. The progress of this en-

The diversity and extent of Vermont's ski ensemble was often expressed in advertisements such as these. Here, Vermont's resorts are sold based on their full, varied, and hospitable services. *Advertisement by the Vermont Development Commission, courtesy of* Vermont Life.

semble quickly found its way onto the pages of *Vermont Life* after 1946 as newer resorts opened across the state. At the Mad River Glen ski resort, which opened in 1948, readers were assured that "the matters of housing and food and convenience were not left to chance development." Here, locals and newcomers formed the Mad River Association—an agency designed to coordinate and provide services such as food and housing to the growing number of tourists visiting that part of the state. Even as early as 1949, the association was able to advertise the availability of five hundred rooms in a combination of new hotels, bunkhouses, country inns, and local farmhouses—all in a place that had until recently been a remote and heavily forested area. In addition to food and housing, skiers also needed good winter roads and consistent highway maintenance in order to reach their destinations. "Reliable snowfall, good ski trails or open slopes, some form of uphill transport, and adequate overnight accommodations are all important," one author wrote. "But without a first class motor highway leading right to the development, the facilities will not be attractive to large numbers of winter recreationists." Toward that end, the Vermont Highway Department joined forces with individual ski-area developers to provide necessary transportation improvements. Readers were reassured that "all the major skiing areas in Vermont are located on State highways, which are kept well plowed and sanded throughout the winter months." And at Mad River Glen, the state went still farther by providing

funds for "a wide smooth highway from Route 100 on the valley floor to a big parking loop right at the base of the Lift."[19]

The growing range of services and amenities put into place during the 1950s went a long way toward meeting the basic needs of skiers in Vermont, and toward producing a landscape that *Vermont Life* described as welcoming, entertaining, and, perhaps best of all, diverse. The intimate Burrington Hill, for example, laid claim to being the smallest ski area in the world in the mid-1960s, while just ten miles away, Mount Snow claimed to be the largest. At Sugarbush, skiers were promised a diverse array of opportunities including "top facilities for serious skiers; an easy, informal atmosphere; spectacular scenery; prime conditions for beginners; and with these an emphasis on the social, after hours pleasures of a winter holiday." Other resorts depended heavily for their appeal on promotional gimmicks or unique additions to the ski landscape. Perhaps no resort represented this trend better than southern Vermont's Mount Snow. Spearheaded by its visionary president, Walt Schoenknecht, Mount Snow quickly developed a reputation for its intriguing and unorthodox amenities. A showman at heart, Schoenknecht used ultra-modern chair lifts, an indoor skating rink, a year-round outdoor swimming pool, a two-hundred-foot ice fountain, and a base lodge graced with parakeets and goldfish to cultivate an atmosphere that often seemed more like a carnival than a landscape of sport.[20]

Vermont's postwar vacation homes and resort architecture offer additional evidence of the dramatic landscape changes inspired by skiing. By comparison to the clapboarded farmhouses and weathered barns so often foregrounded by *Vermont Life* photographers, ski architecture moved the state in decidedly new and modern directions. For example, Wilmington's "Snow House"—a double A-frame ski lodge featured in the magazine's winter issue of 1959 and 1960—offered readers a glimpse of what was quickly becoming a

By the 1950s and 1960s Vermont's ski landscape included resources and activities that were often only remotely connected to the sporting activity itself. Outside Mount Snow's base lodge, for example, winter meant both swimsuits and parkas. *Photograph by Hanson Carroll, courtesy of* Vermont Life.

statewide boom in ski-home development. Like many of the thousands of vacation homes popping up across Vermont, Snow House was as "continental as a Swiss chalet," and its floor plans, approximate cost, and modern interior seemed a marked contrast to the state's characteristically simple, white-steepled, New England architecture. By the late 1960s, other ski homes typified what the magazine referred to as a new "Americanization of ski architecture"—a style in which "Old World heritage is often still obvious but is now pleasantly blended with more indigenous forms and contemporary styles." These contemporary styles were brought to bear at resorts themselves, such as at Bolton Valley where designers created an entire complex based on modern "organic architecture" and "environmental design." Here at Bolton Valley, readers were told, the base lodge made skiers feel "part of the ski slopes flowing around and through it" by creating a sense that one was both indoors and outdoors at the same time.[21]

If these architectural styles seemed to be taking Vermont in decidedly new and modern directions, so too did the ski tows and chairlifts that were spreading rapidly across the state. Beginning with a handful of ski tows in the early 1930s, Vermont's total number of lifts increased dramatically during the 1950s and 1960s, until by 1970, over two hundred lifts were registered with the state's Division of Passenger Tramways.[22] Many tourists and Vermonters alike prided themselves on the state's long history of ski-lift innovation and on the ever-increasing ability of its lifts to draw crowds to Vermont and to handle those crowds once they arrived. Even by the 1940s, no one could doubt the impact that lift technology was having on the sport of skiing, and few would dispute *Vermont Life's* claim that early ski-lift development in Woodstock, Vermont ushered in the "spectacular development of downhill skiing in America."[23] With claims to the nation's first rope tow (installed at Woodstock in 1934), the nation's first T-bar ski lift (installed on Pico Peak in 1940), and trend-setting and experimental lift designs at resorts like Bromley and Mount Snow, Vermont seemed to many industry observers to be on the cutting edge of modern ski-area development.[24] The rapidity and extent of that development prompted some observers to draw connections between ski-lift technology and the larger patterns of landscape change that by the 1960s were sweeping across the state. The popular Vermont author and historian Ralph Nading Hill, for one, labeled ski-lift development a "revolution" with repercussions that reached far beyond the mountains themselves. The shift from seemingly "innocent" rope tows in the 1930s and 1940s to more technologically complex T-bars and chairlifts brought ever-increasing numbers of visitors and an ever-changing, ever-expanding landscape designed to service their needs:

> Thus it came to pass that at the foot of the ski tows were constructed great parking lots for the cars that brought the people to engage in their struggle against gravity.... And around the ski tows grew clusters of buildings to feed and amuse these people, and on the roads near these tows arose lounges, chalets, A-frame cottages and every manner of structure where these thousands could rest and dress their wounds between campaigns; and in the stores of the towns near these tows was piled apparel of every description and paraphernalia to bind the feet of the thousands to their boards. And thus, a great industry, where a few decades before there had been none, was born in the mountains.[25]

From its earliest years, *Vermont Life's* coverage of large new resort complexes like the recreational Stowe Center—a "business and service enterprise of a type new to New En-

gland and Vermont"—had hinted at a growing disjunction between the state's new landscape ensemble and its more traditional patterns of land use. But initially, *Vermont Life* downplayed the social, economic, and environmental repercussions of such changes, giving little indication that landscapes of skiing disrupted or were incompatible with land-use patterns of the past. This was particularly true of the magazine's first decade when editors offered little to suggest that photographs and descriptions of crowded ski lifts, trails, and parking lots were in any way out of synch with horse-drawn sleigh rides, nineteenth-century farmhouses, or sleepy wintertime villages. In the town of Woodstock, where organized downhill skiing had developed in the early 1930s, winter tourism seemed to have had little impact on the town. Woodstock, one author wrote, "appears today much as it did seventy-five or a hundred years ago. It has stood intact against the changes modern times have wrought—generally to ill effect—in so many other communities." Similarly at Stowe, the pace and extent of tourist development had seemingly done little to spoil the town which, *Vermont Life* noted in 1952, made full use of its resources through its blend of agricultural, industrial, and tourist economies.[26]

A great deal of promotional imagery associated with Vermont emphasized traditional rural scenes and a landscape seemingly untouched since the nineteenth century. Photographs like this one from East Burke, for example, helped build an important reputation for Vermont as a place to get away from the complicated bustle and modernity of urban life. *Photograph by Grant Heilman, courtesy of* Vermont Life.

Any apparent compatibility between traditional landscapes and Vermont's ski ensemble could be partly attributed to the renovation and adaptation of preexisting buildings to suit the new industry's needs. Many of the state's venerable old farmhouses, for example, offered "beauty at a bargain" as winter and summer vacation homes, as well as a degree of historical charm not found among newer constructions.[27] For others, the similarities between a more traditional image of Vermont and its new ski industry extended beyond the visual landscape alone: for many, skiing seemed compatible with the state's traditionalized Yankee culture. Time and again, authors in *Vermont Life* invited tourists to experience the state's seemingly unchanging culture as expressed in "our beautiful countryside, the friendliness of our people, and the 'Vermont way of life.'" That "Vermont way of life"—a somewhat nebulous concept built from nostalgic rural-landscape imagery and from traditionalized Yankee values such as honesty, tidy thrift, patriotism, and a reverence for the past—was a strong selling point for Vermont and a valuable complement to the opportunities offered by the state for modern ski development. Even the "abrupt impact of [Mad River Glen] on this unspoiled snow corner of Vermont," the magazine argued, had not spoiled the region or its people. The high levels of cooperation between local residents and the resort's developers insured that "it would, apparently, take more than a new major ski resort to unsettle the descendents of Mad River's early settlers." Indeed, *Vermont Life* often portrayed locals as highly receptive to the skiers who streamed across the state's borders. Upon finding such a "warm welcome" in Vermont, for instance, one skier could not help but ask himself, "I'd like to know where I got the idea Vermonters were stand-offish." At Mad River Glen, newcomers and locals seemed to share mutual interests in civic responsibilities: "These old timers looked with polite interest on the little group of [investors] ... and quickly absorbed the project, appropriating a new lodge owner for a town lister, making local 'school teachers' out of the experts at the Lift's famous ski school, drafting the Lift's capable manager for scoutmaster of local Troop 100."[28]

In the broadest sense, then, promotional articles such as those found in *Vermont Life* often suggested that skiing was not at odds with the state's culture and traditional, historical patterns of land use. In large part, the success of *Vermont Life's* photography (and the tourist industry these pictures helped to build) rested on promoters' ability to capture a nostalgic sense of Vermont's rural past. If the rest of the nation had left its rural roots behind in favor of a complex and uncertain future, Vermont's seemingly timeless landscapes and social values—such as those popularized by *Vermont Life* and by Vermont's Norman Rockwell—offered attractive counterpoints. *Vermont Life's* success, however, also rested on the magazine's ability to convey the excitement and the sense of newness associated with skiing. Yet to suggest that the sport disrupted or harmed the state's traditionalized rural past would run the risk of undermining the long-standing ability of nostalgic rural imagery to attract tourists to the state. One way to get around this was to grant skiing its own rich sense of historical depth and historical legitimacy. Early articles on skiing in *Vermont Life,* for example, featured Vermont's "pioneer ski communities" such as Brattleboro (the birthplace of "the winter idea") and Woodstock (the "cradle of winter sports"). Woodstock's history of winter sports, in particular, extended as far back as the 1890s, giving it perhaps the "longest known record of continuous promotion of winter sports on a commercial basis" in the nation. Other articles went still further, suggesting that ski

history dovetailed with the state's more distant past. Before the use of ski tows or chairlifts, downhill skiing in Woodstock had been founded on and intimately connected to the "matchless paradise" of open pastures created by the region's long history of agriculture. Other writers drew connections between skiing and the state's one-hundred-year history of summer tourism. In West Dover, former summer homes owned by the Theodore Roosevelt family were converted into ski lodges. And the success of skiing at Stowe, another article suggested, was best viewed within the larger context of that town's long and proud history of tourism—a "tradition of summer recreation that goes back a hundred years."[29]

In spite of this apparent compatibility between past and present, between locals and newcomers, and between traditional and modern landscapes, many Vermonters and tourists alike viewed ski-area developments with more than a little skepticism. After all, landscape features such as outdoor swimming pools and two-hundred foot ice fountains did more than change the state's physical appearance: they produced entirely new ways of assigning meaning and value to Vermont's natural and cultural resources. In the end, those new meanings and values initiated a struggle for control over the future development of Vermont's rural landscape and the passage of sweeping new legislation designed to control growth. By the 1960s, occasional articles in *Vermont Life* were bringing the impacts of skiing into sharper focus, suggesting that past and present visions of Vermont were not so easily reconciled into a coherent picture for the state's future. If the small Vermont ski area of the 1940s seemed like a cozy mix of locals and outsiders, the large resort of the 1960s

Images like this in *Vermont Life* of chic skiers and ultra modern chairlifts at Sugarbush offered a stark contrast to more traditional rural scenes. Both, however, became part of Vermont's mid-century landscape, and both were important to the success of tourism in the state. *Photograph by Hanson Carroll, courtesy of* Vermont Life.

seemed more like "a small city, which in reality is what a ski area must be. A completely independent complex with its own water supply, power source, sewage, heating, fire prevention, restaurant facilities, and even its own hospital for injured 'citizens.'" Not all Vermonters were comfortable with images such as this, and even *Vermont Life's* largely celebratory coverage of skiing could no longer ignore locals' and tourists' concerns about the impacts that the sport was having in the state. In a 1964 article, for example, Vermont author Noel Perrin described a growing tension between what he called "the two faces of Vermont." On the one side were those Vermonters and tourists who were pushing the state toward social and economic modernization, while on the other were those who saw the state as a last stand for a more traditional, if vaguely defined, Yankee way of life. "In the last five years," Perrin claimed, "the balance has perceptibly tipped in favor of modernization," and it was looking now, more than ever before, as if Vermont's "last standers" were a dying breed. The future of Vermont's landscape, in Perrin's self-admitted "partisan view," was decidedly bleak: "Most of Vermont will look like—well it will look like central New Jersey with hills.... There will, to be sure, be three or four villages left in which last-stand life goes on. Two of these, I guess will be commercial ventures, and two will be owned by the state. All four will be pure fake."[30]

By 1970, statistics on tourism and ski-resort growth reinforced concerns among many, like Perrin, who were alarmed by the quickening pace of landscape change in Vermont. For instance, the total acreage either owned or leased by Vermont's 36 major ski areas in 1970s equaled one percent of the state's entire land mass.[31] If at first glance this figure seems in the least bit small, it is important to recognize that it applied only to the ski-resorts themselves—not to the larger landscape ensemble of hotels, roads, restaurants, and vacation homes that by 1970s seemed to show no sign of slowing down. With a population in 1970 of about 500,000, Vermont had over 22,000 vacation homes, and by 1973, the momentum of development carried that figure to nearly 30,000.[32] In response, a *Vermont Life* article titled, "Who Owns Vermont?" raised alarming concerns that the state was being sold off to a diverse and wealthy cadre of buyers from around the world, leaving very little room for "native Vermonters." "In thirty representative towns spotted across the state," the author noted, "more than half the acreage is owned by nonresidents—and these are *not* in major ski areas nor predominantly on lakesides." For some, however, all was not yet lost. On the surface, Vermont author Rockwell Stephens argued, many places in the state looked the same in 1970 as they did twenty-five years before, and one could still find examples of Vermont's trademark, harmonious blend of village, farm, and forest. But, he warned, "the appearance is deceptive, for within this rural framework the force of change is everywhere at work." Family farms were on the decline, industry was on the rise, and "tourism poured money and people into the state to create a wholly new industry, affecting every segment of its economy and people."[33]

This rising tide of concern even reached into the offices of *Vermont Life,* when in 1970 its editors announced a major shift in the magazine's perspective. Aside from a handful of articles, *Vermont Life's* reputation prior to this had been built largely on sentimental depictions of the state's postcard image, or on what its editors now referred to as "the old-fashioned way of life then typical of much of Vermont." By the magazine's twenty-fifth anniversary in 1970, its editors could no longer avoid the fact that many readers viewed

nostalgic, rural images as hopelessly out of touch with the state's contemporary reality and contemporary problems. As an introductory article to the magazine's anniversary issue stated:

> By the late Sixties ... more readers were calling for frankness-recognition of rural slums, urban blight and of scenic despoliation—and for *Vermont Life* to rake an activist role instead of purveying pretty pictures. Its mission of attracting people to Vermont, some said, had worked too well. The magazine should turn its aim to keeping Vermont unspoiled.[34]

Like many residents across the state, some at *Vermont Life* felt that the threat of despoliation had "appeared first in the new and greatly expanded ski areas—at Pico, Stowe and Mad River." In fact, Rockwell Stephens argued, "A good case can be made for the thesis that skiing is at the root of the past quarter century's remarkable developments." Such despoliation, then, was the challenge posed by skiing for the people of Vermont; the next logical step was to find and offer solutions that would guide the state toward a more agreeable future. As *Vermont Life's* editors wrote in 1970: "The magazine, then, at this start of its second quarter-century, seeks to point to the dangers, but even more to their logical solutions. It still paints the remaining glories of Vermont—but not now to create more demand—rather to accentuate the values which remain."[35]

Vermont Life was not alone in their questions and in their search for solutions to a quarter of a century of ski development. By the late 1960s, state government officials had begun casting about for legislative solutions to what many now perceived as a significant disjunction between the classic image and the contemporary reality of rural Vermont. What they ultimately produced was the passage in 1970 of the nation's most stringent state-level land-use legislation to date. Commonly known as Act 250, this historic environmental legislation required that all proposed developments in Vermont larger than ten acres be carefully reviewed by local and state planning boards to assess their impacts on the state's natural environment and larger cultural landscape. Although contentious from the start, Act 250 gave Vermont a national reputation as a leader in scenic, natural, and historical preservation, and it gave those who opposed the state's growing ski-area ensemble a weapon with which to fight. In the years to come, Act 250 and the intensified public debates that surrounded it would introduce considerable legislative barriers to unrestricted development in Vermont. Skiing would, of course, continue to transform the state after 1970, posing new challenges and new opportunities for Vermonters, but in the wake of Act 250, skiing's tendency to transform its surroundings both far and wide, would never again go unchallenged.[36]

The quarter century leading up to 1970 was one of the most transformative periods in Vermont's landscape history. As ski-area development spread across the state it brought dramatic physical changes as well as dramatic shifts in the ways that many people interpreted and understood the state's future. *Vermont Life* tracked and helped perpetuate many of these changes by advertising the state's ski industry and by establishing popular imagery that defined winter tourism in Vermont for audiences around the United States. Consequently, the historical documentation that the magazine has left behind offers a good starting place from which to formulate geographical questions and insights about the history of skiing.

Most importantly, the stories told on the pages of *Vermont Life* call attention to both the tremendous capacity of skiing to transform the state's landscape and to the benefits of viewing ski history from a larger historical geographic framework. The scope of skiing's landscape impacts in Vermont between 1946 and 1970—even when viewed entirely from the pages of *Vermont Life*—were dramatic indeed, despite the fact that the magazine's promotional stance often created a sense that ski landscapes were compatible with, or at least not terribly disruptive of, what had come before. Ironically, just as *Vermont Life's* editors depended on nostalgic photography and stories, they also depended on the rapid, extensive, and decidedly modern growth of skiing to fuel the magazine's exciting, upbeat style of journalism. And herein was the root of the paradox posed by skiing for Vermonters. By the 1960s, traditionalized images of farmhouses, maple syrup, and church steeples began colliding with those of chairlifts, ski shops, and inns both on the pages of *Vermont Life* and out in the landscape itself. By prompting that collision, skiing's rapid spread across Vermont ultimately generated struggles for control over the use and meaning of the state's rural landscape. What would Vermont look like in another twenty-five years? Would Vermont be transformed according to modern precepts of growth and development, or would it remain an icon of the nation's rural past? Who would control the development of the state's landscape in the future?

In 1970, questions like these were on the minds of many, although answers to such questions lay far in the future. What they communicate, however, is that skiing transformed Vermont's landscape to an extent unthinkable to many in 1946 and, consequently, that historical and geographical clues about the history of skiing—and of recreational sports more generally—are often found among places and events located far from the sporting activity itself. Skiing in Vermont created a larger landscape ensemble that ultimately forced even those with few direct connections to the sport to face and accept a powerful truth: The tracks left by skiing do not melt with the coming of spring. By developing and exploring new questions about the historical geography of those tracks—about the paths they cut through the physical and conceptual landscape of Vermont—scholars with a shared interest in skiing and other recreational sports can gain still deeper insights into the past, present, and future of American sport.

1. *The Ski Industry in Vermont* (Montpelier, Vt.: Central Planning Office, State of Vermont, 1965).
2. Works that explore the broader history of landscape change in Vermont include Jan Albers, *Hands on the Land: A History of the Vermont Landscape* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 2000); Christopher McGrory Klyza and Stephen C. Trombulak, *The Story of Vermont: A Natural and Cultural History* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1999); Harold Meeks, *Time and Change in Vermont: A Human Geography* (Chester, Conn.: Globe Pequot Press, 1986); William C. Lipke and Philip Grime, eds., *Vermont Landscape Images, 1776-1976* (Burlington, Vt.: Robert Hull Fleming Museum, 1976). For a good discussion of contemporary landscape change in Vermont written from a journalist's perspective, see Joe Sherman, *Fast Lane on a Dirt Road: Vermont Transformed* (Woodstock, Vt.: The Countryman Press, Inc., 1991). For a highly critical and thinly disguised autobiographical account of land-use issues in Vermont during the 1960s and 1970s, see Steve Chontos, *The Death of Dover, Vermont* (New York: Vantage Press, 1974).
3. Hal Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth Century American West* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1998); Annie Gilbert Coleman, "Culture, Landscape, and the Making of the Colorado Ski Industry" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Colorado, Boulder, 1996). Also see Annie

Gilbert Coleman, "The Unbearable Whiteness of Skiing," *Pacific Historical Review* 65 (November 1996): 583-614.

4. E. John B. Allen, *From Skisport to Skiing: One Hundred Years of An American Sport* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993), 159. Allen has published a number of articles on skiing, as well as a valuable full-length pictorial history [*New England Skiing, 1870-1940* (Dover, N.H.: Arcadia Publishing, 1997)]. Other historians have criticized sport geographers on the grounds that their work lacks historical rigor. As an example, see Stephen Hardy, review of *The Theater of Sport,* ed. Karl Raitz, *Journal of Sport History* 24 (Spring 1997): 117-119. Discussions of Vermont or New England ski landscapes can be found in Albers, *Hands on the Land,* 291-295; Thomas Rumney, "The Development of a Winter Sports Landscape in Vermont: Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Proceedings: New England-St Lawrence Valley Geographical Society* 25 (1995): 198-201; Albert S. Carlson, "Ski Geography of New England," *Economic Geography* 18 (July 1942): 307-320.

5. Geographers have produced a great deal of work treating topics like these within the larger context of tourism and recreation. For good overviews that explore both contemporary and historical topics, see Janet Mace Valenza, *Taking the Waters in Texas: Springs, Spas, and Fountains of Youth* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000); C.M. Hall and S.J. Page, *The Geography of Tourism and Recreation: Environment, Place and Space* (London: Routledge, 1999); Orvar Lofgren, *On Holiday: A History of Vacationing* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Douglas G. Pearce and Richard W. Butler, eds., *Contemporary Issues in Tourism Development* (London: Routledge, 1999); Steven Hoelscher, *Heritage on Stage: The Invention of Ethnic Place in America's Little Switzerland* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998); George Ringer, ed., *Destinations: Cultural Landscapes of Tourism* (London: Routledge, 1998); John owner, *An Historical Geography of Recreation and Tourism in the Western World, 1540-1940* (Chichester, U.K.: John Wiley and Sons, 1996); Richard Butler and Douglas Pearce, eds., *Change in Tourism: People, Places, Processes* (London: Routledge, 1995); Patrick McGreevy, *Imagining Niagara: The Meaning and Making of Niagara Falls* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994); John A. Jakle, *The Tourist: Travel in Twentieth-Century North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).

6. For discussions of sport landscapes, including those produced by skiing, see Karl B. Raitz, ed., *The Theater of Sport* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); John Bale, *Landscapes of Modern Sport* (Leicester, U.K.: Leicester University Press, 1994); John F. Rooney and Richard Pilsbury, *Atlas of American Sport* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1992); John Bale, *Sports Geography* (London: E. & F.N. Spon, 1989); John F. Rooney, *A Geography of American Sport: From Cabin Creek to Anaheim* (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1974).

7. Bale, *Sports Geography,* 4.

8. Michael P. Conzen, "Introduction," in *The Making of the American Landscape,* ed. Michael P. Conzen (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 2.

9. For a valuable, recent review of the evolution of the concept of landscape within the discipline of geography see Richard Schein, "The PIace of Landscape: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting the American Scene," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 87 (December 1997): 660-680. For other examples and important works on landscape interpretation, see Donald Meinig, ed., *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); John R. Stilgoe, *Common Landscapes of America, 1580-1845* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1982); John Brinkerhoff Jackson, *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1984); Conzen, ed., *The Making of the American Landscape;* George F. Thompson, ed., *Land-cape in America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995); Denis E. Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, *The Iconograpby of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988). Also see Don Mitchell, *Lie of the Land: Migrant Workers and the California Landscape* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996). For a valuable historiographical review of historical geography, see Michael P. Conzen, "The Historical Impulse in Geographical Writing about the United States, 1850-1990," in *A Scholar's Guide to Geographical Writing on the American and Canadian Past,* eds. Michael P. Conzen, Thomas Rumney, and Graeme Wynn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 3-90.

10. Peirce F. Lewis, "Axioms for Reading the Landscape,"in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays,* ed. Donald Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 12; Karl B. Raitz, "The Theater of Sport: A Landscape Perspective,"in *The Theater of Sport,* 9. For a useful discussion of methods in landscape analysis, see Deryck W. Holdsworth, "Landscape and Archives as Text," in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes,* eds. Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), 44-55.
11. For Raitz's discussion of landscape ensembles as they relate to skiing and to other sports, see "The Theater of Sport," 21-27.
12. *Vermont Life* 13 (Spring 1959): back cover. For reviews and details of the magazine's history see *Seaons of Change: Fifty Years with* Vermont Life, *1946-1996* (Montpelier, Vt.: *Vermont Life,* 1996).
13. Although Stowe was so important to Vermont's ski industry, the fact that it did not receive a disproportionate share of attention on the pages of *Vermont Life* calls attention to the fact that the resort was already so well known by the mid-1940s as to not need the type of publicity that the state's newer resorts required. On Stowe, see Robert Hagerman, *Mansfield: The Story of Vermont's Loftiest Mountain,* 2nd ed. (Canaan, N.H.: Phoenix Publishing, 1975); George T. Mazuzan, "'Skiing is not merely a schport': The Development of Mount Mansfield as a Winter Recreation Area," *Vermont History* 40 (Winter 1972): 57-59; Edwin Bigelow, *Stowe Vermont: Ski Capital of the East, 1763-1963* (Stowe, Vt.: The Stowe Historical Society, 1964).
14. Murray Hoyt, "How to Get the Most From Vermont's Skiing," *Vermont Life* 13 (Winter 1958-1959): 3.
15. John McDill, "Woodstock: Cradle of Winter Sports," *Vermont Life* 2 (Winter 1947-1948): 19; A.W. Coleman, 'White Gold," *Vermont Life* 1 (Winter 1946-1947): 8.
16. Coleman, "White Gold," 4; Pat Harty, "The Story of Bromley Mountain," *Vermont Life* 7 (Winter 1952-1953): 20. For more on Bromley's trail designs, see Robert M. Coares, "My First Pair of Skis," *American Ski Annual and Skiing Journal* 39 (November 1955): 43-49. For discussions of the environmental impacts of recreational activities like skiing, see Zbigniew Mieczkowski, *Environmental Issues of Tourism and Recreation* (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, Inc., 1995).
17. Many Vermont resorts did not embrace snowmaking until the mid to late 1960s, and snowmaking was not given a great deal of attention in *Vermont Life* prior to 1970.
18. Baird Hall, "Mad River Glen," *Vermont Life* 4 (Winter 1949-1950): 32.
19. J.E. Hart, "Tryst with Winter," *Vermont Life* 1 (Winter 1946-1947): 19 (1ST QUOTATION); William F. Corry, "Winter Highways," *Vermont Life* 1 (Winter 1946-1947): 28 (3RD AND 4TH QUOTATIONS); Hall, "Mad River Glen," 32-33 (2ND AND 5TH QUOTATIONS).
20. Hanson Carroll, "'Smallest Ski Area in the World' ... Burrington Hill," *Vermont Life* 18 (Winter 1963-1964): 45; Carroll, "Sugarbush," *Vermont Life* 15 (Winter 1960-1961): 1(QUOTATION); Carolyn E. Long, "Mount Snow Skiing," *Vermont Life* 10 (Winter 1955-1956): 20-25. Schoenknecht also received a great deal of coverage in the national press, and he made a great splash with his public efforts to convince the Atomic Energy Commission to use a controlled nuclear blast to enlarge Mount Snow's ski terrain. This story, however, did not make it into *Vermont Life.*
21. Florence Thompson Howe, "A Snow House," *Vermont Life* 14 (Wincer 1959-1960): 43-45 (1ST QUOTATION); Fletcher Manley, Jr., "Houses for Mountainside Living," *Vermont Life* 22 (Winter 1967): 32 (2ND QUOTATION); "Bolton Valley: A New Idea in Outdoor-Indoor Living Designed for One of the Newly Developed Major Vermont Ski Areas," *Vermont Life* 22 (Winter 1967): 22 (3RD QUOTATION). Ski architecture and resort design received national coverage in architectural periodicals during these decades as well. For an early example from Vermont, see "Ski Lodge," *Architectural Forum* 80 (February 1944): 95-96.
22. "Tramway Data," 19 March 1970, Division of Passenger Tramways, Department of Labor and Industry, State of Vermont.
23. McDill, "Woodstock: Cradle of Winter Sports," 16.
24. Vermont's oft-repeated claim to the nation's first rope tow has since been challenged by ski historians who note that Woodstock's tow was modeled after one already in place in Canada and that

skiers had been using a similar rope tow in Truckee, California, since the 1920s. For discussions of Woodstock's rope tow and of the controversy over who has the right to claim the "first" rope tow in the United States, see Ellen Lesser, *America's First Ski Tow, Commemorative Album* (South Pomfret, Vt.: Teago Publishing Company, 1983), 11-13; Charles Edward Crane, *Winter in Vermont* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1941), 201-210; Bill Berry, "Eyewitness to History: The First American Tows," *Snow News* 4 (August 1992): 6; Robert O. Baumrucker to The Vermont Historical Society, 29 September 1992, "Ski Tow Controversy File," Woodsrock Historical Society, Woodstock, Vermont.

25. Ralph Nading Hill, 'Came the Revolution," *Vermont Life* 19 (Winter 1964): 10-11.
26. "Stowe Center," *Vermont Life* 3 (Winter 1948-1949): 50 (1ST QUOTATION); McDill, "Woodstock: Cradle of Winter Sports," 14 (2ND QUOTATION); A.W. Coleman, "Mountain Town," *Vermont Life* 6 (Summer 1952): 29.
27. Nelson Hayes, "Beauty at a Bargain," *Vermont Life* 8 (Spring 1954): 26-29. Vermonters had been selling the state's abandoned farms as summer homes since the late nineteenth century, Many of these have since been converted to ski homes as well.
28. Mortimer Proctor, *Vermont Life* 1 (Fall 1946): inside cover message (1ST QUOTATION); "Why Ski?" *Vermont Life* 5 (Winter 1950-1951): 30 (4TH AND 5TH QUOTATIONS); Hall, "Mad River Glen," 33 (2ND AND 3RD QUOTATIONS).
29. Coleman, "White Gold," 4-5 (1ST QUOTATION); McDill, "Woodstock: Cradle of Winter Sports," 14, 16 (3RD, 4TH, AND 5TH QUOTATIONS); Frederick F. Van de Water, "Brattleboro: Birth of the Winter Idea," *Vermont Life* 3 (Winter 1948-1949): 2-5 (2ND QUOTATION); Long, "Mount Snow Skiing," 23-24; Coleman, "Mountain Town," 21 (6TH QUOTATION). For explorations of the roots of Vermont's tourist industry and of the power of nostalgia in tourist promotions in Vermont, see Dona Brown, *Inventing New England: Regional Tourism in the Nineteenth Century* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995); Louise B. Roomet, "Vermont as a Resort Area in the Nineteenth Century," *Vermont History* 44 (Winter 1976): 1-13; Andrea Rebek, "The Selling of Vermont: From Agriculture to Tourism, 1860-1910," *Vermont History* 44 (Winter 1976): 14-27.
30. "The Mountain and the Chair Lift," *Vermont Life* 20 (Winter 1965): 17; Noel Perrin, "The Two Faces of Vermont," *Vermont Life* 19 (Winter 1964): 27, 32-35. For a valuable look at issues of modernity and tradition in twentieth-century Vermont, see William Lipke, "From Pastoralism to Progressivism: Myth and Reality in Twentieth-Century Vermont," in *Celebrating Vermont: Myths and Realities,* ed. Nancy Price Graff (Middlebury, Vt.: The Christian A. Johnson Memorial Gallery, Middlebury College, 1991), 61-88.
31. J. Robert Hill, *1970 Vermont Ski Area Survey,* Vermont Interagency Committee on Natural Resources, (n.c.: n.p., 1970), 2-11. This state report defined a "major ski area" as any area having at least one cable-type lift.
32. Vermont Agency Environmental Conservation, *Vermont Vacation Home Industry,* 1973 (Montpelier, Vt.: The Agency, 1974), 3; Harold Meeks, "Vacation Homes in Vermont," *Proceedings: New England-St Lawrence Valley Geographical Society* 16 (1986): 98-112.
33. Margaret D. Smith, "Who Owns Vermont?" *Vermont Life* 25 (Autumn 1970): 10; Rockwell Stephens, "Twenty-Five Years of Change," *Vermont Life* 25 (Autumn 1970): 4.
34. "Vermont Life's Birthday," *Vermont Life* 25 (Autumn 1970): 3. For other discussions of these changes in the magazine, see Tom Slayton, "Five Decades, Six Editors, One Magazine: A History of Vermont Life," in Seasons of change, 14-19.
35. "Vermont Life's Birthday," 3 (1ST AND 3RD QUOTATIONS); Stephens, 'Twenty-Five Years of Change," 4 (2ND QUOTATION).
36. For a general account of Act 250, see Phyllis Myer, *So Goes Vermont: An Account of the Development, Passage, and Implementation of State Land-Use Legislation in Vermont* (Washington, D.C.: The Conservation Foundation, 1974).