CRAFTSBURY

A BRIEF SOCIAL HISTORY

BY

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PUBLISHED BY THE HAZEN ROAD DISPATCH
GREENSBORO, VERMONT

REVISED EDITION
JUNE 1986
REISSUED JUNE 1987
FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1977

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$3.00

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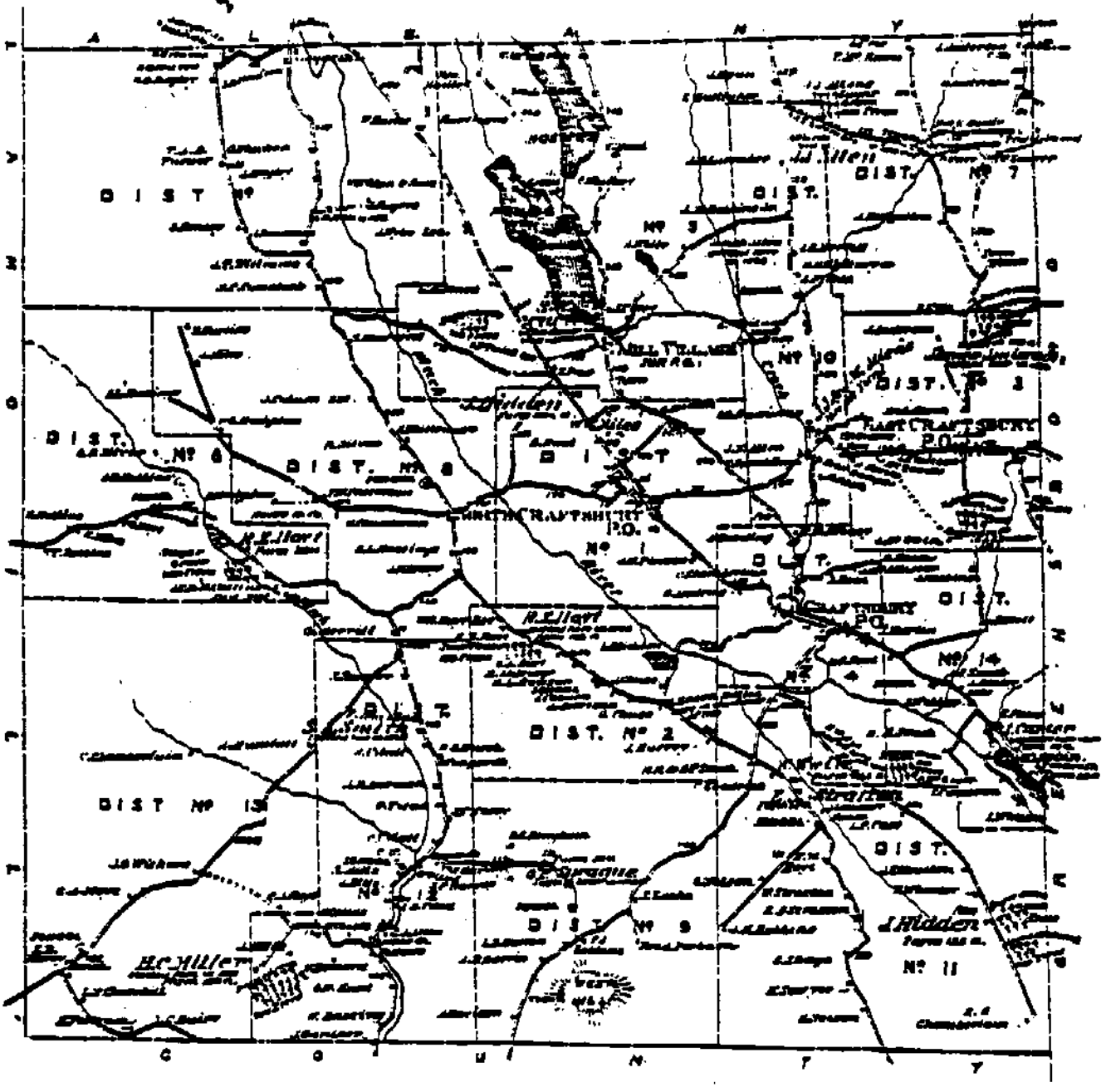

PREFACE

Craftsbury is the oldest township in Orleans County and was for several decades the economic and cultural center for the entire region. Today it is still an important agricultural and cultural center that attracts thousands of visitors each year. The town offers two fine inns, a flourishing sports center, an old high school in Craftsbury Academy and the recently established and accredited Sterling Junior College. When the Smithsonian Institution made its famous film on flight for the Museum of Air and Space in the late 1970s and wanted a perfect New England setting, it chose Craftsbury Common.

Craftsbury has had a unique history, but, unfortunately, few have attempted to record it. Except for a few booklets published several years ago and more recent articles in The Hazen Road Dispatch, there is no record of the town's growth. This work is not intended as a complete town history but rather as a brief portrait of the town as it was in the early years of its development. A formal history is badly needed and should be the primary task of the recently founded town historical society.

This is a revised and expanded version of the 1977 and 1980 versions of this work.

This writer wishes to express his deep appreciation to the following people for their help and advice: the late Miss Jean W. Simpson; the late Miss Mary Jean Simpson; the late Dr. Philip Gray; Miss Mary Duston; Ethan Hubbard; and Robert Kinsey. Special thanks to Bill Humphrey of the historic Craftsbury General Store for promoting several hundred sales of earlier versions of this booklet.

Daniel A. Metraux
June 1986

CHAPTER I

EARLY CRAFTSBURY

Northern Vermont remained an unsettled wilderness until late in the 18th century. French Canadians from Quebec had attempted to settle a few areas near Lake Champlain early in the 18th century, but each attempt ended in failure. Colonists from New York, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut began entering Vermont around 1700, but by the time of the American Revolution, there were few settlements north of Montpelier and Peacham.

The land which makes up the present township of Craftsbury was purchased from the Republic of Vermont in 1981 by 64 families living in or near Sturbridge, Massachusetts. The leaders of this venture were Ebenezer Crafts, a Yale graduate, farmer, lawyer, and colonel in the American Army during the Revolution, and Timothy Newell, a prominent Sturbridge farmer. They named the town Minden after an important battle between the British and French during the Seven Years War in Europe. 1 The name Minden was changed to Craftsbury in 1791 in honor of Col. Crafts.

Present-day Craftsbury lies in the southern corner of Orleans County (Lat. 44*39'; long. 4*32')bordered by the townships of Albany, Greensboro, Wolcott, and Eden and comprises an area of 36 square miles. The original town charter divided the town into 12 ranges and each range into 12 lots, each lot being a half-mile square. Two lots were granted to each proprietor on the condition that he would clear five acres of land and build a house within three years of his arrival. The remaining lots were divided in the following manner: one for a mill lot, one for a meeting house, two for the benefit of future colleges in the state, two for public schools, two for churches, and two for the first ordained minister to come to town.

Nobody really knows when the first white men first entered what is now Craftsbury, but it is possible that one of the parties from Rogers' Rangers passed through the area in late 1759 after their massacre of the St. Francis Indians in Quebec. Col. Moses Hazen led a work party which built part of the Bailey-Hazen Military Road through Craftsbury in 1779. This road later provided access to the township for the early settlers.

Although charters had been granted for Craftsbury (then called Minden) and Greensboro in 1781, no actual settlement took place in these and neighboring towns until the late 1780s and 1790s.

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Craftsbury was first settled in 1789 by Col. Crafts. He, along with Benjamin Jenkins, Nathanial Babcock and others, fleeing the depression of post-Revolutionary War Massachusetts, built a road from Cabot to Craftsbury in 1788 and 1789. In 1789 and early 1790 these men cleared land in their lots, built crude houses, and helped Col. Crafts build a saw mill. They all made preparations for the construction of a grist mill which was completed in 1792. These early mills were built near the site of the original settlement in Craftsbury township, which today is the village of Craftsbury Common.

The Vermont that these early settlers saw was much different from that which one sees today. Ethan Hubbard, a former Director of the Vermont Historical Society, says that Rogers' Rangers saw nothing but unbroken forest. Indians had been in the area for centuries, but left few permanent marks on the land. Maples 200 feet tall were girded by the first settlers to allow enough sun to hit the ground so that they could grow food. Because of the impenetrable forest, everything came late to Vermont; the railroads, the first canal, roads. Farmers had to trudge 50 miles for groceries. Seth Hubbell, the first settler in Hardwick, struggled by oxcart and snowshoes with his first wife and 5 children from Connecticut. Col. Crafts pulled his wife on a sled 120 to Craftsbury.

Col. Crafts and his colleagues returned to Sturbridge in late 1790 to make preparations to leave their old homesteads. In February, 1791, close to 150 men, women and children left Sturbridge for Craftsbury. The journey was difficult; roads, where they existed, were often impassable, and several feet of snow made the journey difficult. They completed most of the last 50 miles of the trip over the Bailey-Hazen Road, which had been built by the US to provide the American army with an access route to Canada, but which had never been used. When the Craftsbury-bound settlers arrived in Cabot in early March, 1791, they found it impossible to draw their teams any further through the snow. The men were obliged to provide themselves with snow shoes to draw their dependents on handsleds for the last lap.

The original settlers fared very well in 1791 and before long were joined by others from Worcester County in Massachusetts. The town was officially organized in March of 1792 and on July 4th, 1791, the first church was organized with a membership of 25. The town was organized into 2 school districts in 1791. It was the first permanent settlement in what is now Orleans County and one of the earliest settlements anywhere in northeastern Vermont.

One of the conditions for the grants was that land had to be settled within four years of the granting of the town charters. One Jesse Leavenworth filed a petition in 1790 on behalf of Greensboro, Craftsbury and five neighboring towns for an extension of the four year limit. Conditions were bad and many of the original grantees had second thoughts about making the trip. Roads to the townships were virtually non-existent and each settler had to undergo extreme hardship to survive. The few settlers of the region were determined to keep their land and were terrified that failure of adequate settlement in their towns might lead to outside challenges to the charters. To avoid such a calamity representatives of these endangered towns petitioned the Legislature for extensions of the four year clause. According to Leavenworth's petition, some of the early settlers

> have exerted themselves, to the utmost..., yet the general Scarcity of Bread, for the past two years ...did disappoint all their hopes. Notwithstanding about thirty Persons contracted to settle in Walden... not one of them has yet made settlement...Greensborough has three families and Minden three--the Petitioner doth not in the least Doubt the Exertions of the principal settlers of those towns. Col. Craft who is largely interested in the town of Minden, has left no stone unturned to advance the settlement of that town, and the Proprietors of Greensboro and Hardwick have not been idle, yet these difficulties have been equally insurmountable. 2

This petition was tabled and no further action was taken, but it is interesting to note that no action was taken to take away the land from the charter holders. There were, however, other messy questions that the Legislature had to deal with, namely taxation and the responsibility for the building of roads.

One of the basic conditions for the settlement of any community was the establishment of roads and bridges for trade and travel. A substantial portion of the petitions sent to the Legislature dealt with the problem of construction and maintaining road and bridges. In the early years the task of building roads and bridges fell upon the shoulders of the few settlers. This building involved a considerable amount of time, effort and expense which had to be borne by the settlers themselves. The only way that they could be compensated for these efforts was to raise funds through a local land tax on all land including unimproved lands without the express consent of the Legislature.

The settlers could have levied "highway rates" on the improved land thereby placing the entire burden on those who had cleared land and were developing the towns. The more appealing alternative was to seek a tax on unimproved land which would compel non-residents who would benefit from any local road construction to share in the costs of building highways and bridges.

One of the most active of the road builders was Col. Ebenezer Crafts of Minden (now Craftsbury). In a 1788 petition Crafts, the founder of CRaftsbury, notes that he and 15 families had set out for Minden from Massachusetts the year before. It had been their understanding that the Hazen Road from Peacham through Greensboro to his land in Minden was to have been kept in good condition by the State. Unfortunately

> when we arrived in Pechem (Peacham) found to our Mortification the Road impassable for nearly 30 Miles- we were nearly 200 Miles from our homes could not return without great Injury to ourselves and impead the Settlement of our Township we therefore hired our cattle & horses to pasture...for nearly a fortnight and went to work in clearing the road making Causeways Repairing and building Bridges until we expended one hundred & 5 1/2 days of hard Labor before we reached the line of Minden...Your petitioner is far from representing or desirous of being understood that he has made a good road of it but Wishis and prays the Honorable Court to oblige the Propprietors of the Townships from Peachem to Minden to contribute a Tollerable sufficiency to repair the roads & bridges...

Crafts wanted a one and a half penny tax on land in all the villages along the parts of the Hazen Road except for Minden where he wanted a tax of two pence per acre. He was especially critical of the State's bad record in keeping up its roads and was especially anxious to get money from the proprietors who said that they would settle in Craftsbury, but who had not as yet done so.

In September of 1790 Crafts and other settlers of Greensborough, Cabott and Minden petitioned for a tax for, among other things, a survey of a road to Canada. They stressed the economic advantages of such a road because Canadian "Markets are known to be preferable to the Markets in the United States." The request was granted.

The early history of Craftsbury is in a general sense typical of that of other northern Vermont towns in the early nineteenth century. Before one can study Craftsbury history, it is essential

to make some mention of studies of statewide trends during this same period. The best analysis of this topic is Lewis D. Stilwell's book, Migration from Vermont, first published by the Vermont Historical Society in 1948 and republished in 1984. Stillwell points out that while exact figures are not available, probably "more than half the sons and daughters of the Green Mountains had left their old homes before the Civil War began... Other states have prospered throughout many decades of a long history; but Vermont's boom times came early and were brief."

Stillwell indicates that the early settlement of Vermont was delayed for a variety of reasons. People need a reason to leave their homes and move far away and it took at least a century for the sons of farmers in southern New England to use up the land and to see the need for roots elsewhere. Furthermore, Vermont formed a natural buffer zone between the French and the English as well as their Indian allies. Only when the French threat had been removed was it safe to settle in Vermont. Unfortunately, the political status of Vermont was not settled until the 1780s. Officials in New York and New Hampshire often issued conflicting land grants and a settler was never secure in the ownership of his land and some settlers (Green Mountain Boys) actively fought attempts by New Yorkers to claim title to their lands. Northern Vermont's settlement was further retarded because of its proximity to the Canadian border and British forces who with their Indian allies so often threatened American colonists in that region.

After these turbulent beginnings Vermont's population exploded after 1783. With all of the old barriers removed, the way was open to settlers from Connecticut and Massachusetts and elsewhere. Colonel Ebenezer Crafts was typical of the people who sought a new beginning in Vermont. A prominent citizen of Sturbridge, Massachusetts, he had become bankrupt because of carelessness with his personal finances and was able to start a new life in Vermont with a clean slate.

Stilwell calls the period between 1783 and 1808 the "boom years." From a small start the population reached nearly a quarter million by 1820. There was, of course, massive migration from outside, but since the population was very young and it was not unusual for a couple to have as many as six or more children, the birthrate was at one point six times higher than the death rate, further accounting for the rapid growth.

Population figures for Craftsbury bear all this out:

1791	18	1840	1151
1800	229	1850	1223
1810	566	1860	1413
1820	605	1870	1330
1830	982	1880	1381

The only difference is that because of its remoteness, population shifts were twenty to thirty years behind townships that had been settled earlier.

It is not hard to find out what attracted the settlers to Vermont. Land was cheap and plentiful and access roads such as the Bailey-Hazen Military Road made penetration easy. Clearing the forest and building homes was a major problem, but once there was a clearing, life was comparatively easy.

Today Vermont is famous for its poor soil, yet "the earlier settlers had no such dubious opinion of Green Mountain soils. To them Vermont was the land of agricultural promise toward which the lucky finger of manifest destiny distinctly pointed. Nor was their optimism entirely mistaken. When the lands were first cleared, the new fields had ' a thick stratum of vegetable mould,' the rich legacy of the slaughtered forests. As long as this rich humus lasted, even the poorer uplands bloomed with wheat. The bitter practical joke on the settlers came when this aboriginal goodness was gradually used up or washed away."
Early settlers of Craftsbury and Vermont also talked of the vast amounts of fish and game that were readily available.

"The early settlers seem to have been as optimistic about Vermont's climate as they were about its soil. They thought that the winters were steadily growing milder, and the long heavy snows seem to have been seriously regarded as a fertilizer which enriched the ground. If this were true, the upland mountain towns, which were often buried in whiteness from late October until early May, must have seemed extremely fertile."

The quarter century between 1783 and 1808 were boom years.
Farming was good and Vermont products such as butter and potash were in great demand in southern New England and Montreal.
The growth of mills and small industries in the valleys occurred as people moved down from the hills where the first settlements had been--the early settlers favored the hills because the higher ground was drier and less tangled with underbrush.

Today one can walk through the beautiful woods of Craftsbury and Greensboro and discover cellar holes and other signs of former habitation. The soil is hard and rocky and one can wonder what

possessed people to settle here in such great numbers. Many signs of this brief boom period are gone and long forgotten. What is remembered by Vermonters is the hard period that followed this boom.

Professor Stilwell calls the period between 1808 and 1820 the time of "discouragements and departures." "The year 1808 may be selected as a turning-point in Vermont's development. Before that time prosperity and optimism were dominant, not to say rampant; and emigration was, comparatively, moderate and painless. But in 1808 began the procession of misfortunes which reduced much of the prosperity to poverty and transformed the previous emigration into an exodus. The figures tell the story. Population between 1808 and 1820 increased only 8 percent. So small a gain is startling. Among so young a people- two-thirds of them under 26 years of age, births must have exceeded deaths by more than eight percent. The increase, for instance, in the whole United States during the same decade, was 32 per cent. When an adolescent community like Vermont grows only one-third as fast as its mature neighbors, something is radically wrong." The population of many townships also began to decline. Only a few places like Craftsbury and Greensboro fought this trend, but even here the rate of growth declined.

Politics and bad weather brought the boom to an end. President Jefferson's embargo on trade with Great Britain threatened northern Vermont's profitable trade with Montreal which in Greensboro and Craftsbury consisted of large shipments of butter and potash.

The citizens of Craftsbury faced their first major test in 1812 after the outbreak of war with Great Britain. Most of the sections of the Bayley-Hazen military road were still usable and local residents feared that the British would use it as an invasion route to the south. The British never came to Craftsbury, but it is said that the sound of cannon being fired many miles away on Lake Champlain somehow reached the town, throwing the people into a panic. Legend has it that some residents thought the British were in the area of Eden Mountain, only a few miles away, and there was a mass exodus from town. One must remember that Craftsbury was located along the frontier region of two warring states and there was a real reason to be afraid of an enemy attack, but few people actually left for safer regions and a few of those who fled never returned. Their land was taken over by the township and sold to newcomers. Admiral Perry's victory over the British on Lake Champlain, however, ended the immediate threat of an invasion and Craftsbury's growth continued after the war was over.

Craftsbury became indirectly involved in the war in 1813 when a band of Vermonters were found smuggling cattle through the township destined for the British army in Quebec. The US government had placed a ban on all trade with Britain (including Canada), but this brought great hardships on many Vermonters whose entire livelihood depended upon trade with such Canadian cities as Montreal. Smuggling good Vermont cattle to feed the British army was a common practice. Collins in his History of Vermont writes that:

> As the British army's demands for beef increased, encounters land became more frequent. Through the northern woods, the back pastures, and in infrequented places along the main roads smugglers took droves of cattle for the use of the British army. Eastward, through the woods to the Connecticut River, this exciting but scattered trade went on.
>
> In the year 1813 a young lad from Albany was out one day in the timber, when he espied a large drove of cattle on what was known as Corey's smuggling road. This was a passage that the smugglers had cut in the woods, and it ran from Craftsbury through Albany, under the side of the mountain towards Lowell, coming out into the old Hazen Road about west of where Albany Center now stands. What the boy saw was a drove of cattle on its way to feed the British army.

The boy ran to Irasburg and alerted Major Enos, the local US official of customs, who in turn rounded up a posse and went after the smugglers and their cattle at Curtis' tavern near Lowell Corners.

> The smugglers determined to rely on the sympathy of the Lowell people and fight. Posting two men at the bars of the inclosure where the cattle were quietly feeding, they threatened to shoot the first man who attempted to let them out. The major, on reviewing his force, found that neither he nor the entire force had brought as much as a horse pistol with them. But they had what was much better, good courage. Two of his men, armed with stout canes, marched up to the guardians of the bars and informed them that the first man who fired a shot would be laid dead. Then a third man, Wyram Mason, coolly took the bars out one by one and laid them aside. The entire drove of cattle passed out and were headed back over the mountain without a shot being fired. The smugglers tried to rally enough men to retake the cattle, but they were not able to do so. The cattle, 110 in number, were taken to Craftsbury Common that night and guarded by citizens

until morning.

Craftsbury's second great crisis came in 1816 and 1817 when there was a summer that simply never came. Vermonters are now familiar with the old saying, "1816 and froze to death." According to the Vermont Historical Magazine 3:

> The growth of the country experienced another severe check in 1816. That year was memorable as one of extraordinary privations and sufferings. An unusually early spring had created expectations of a fruitful season and an abundant harvest, but on the morning of June 9th there occurred a frost of almost unprecedented severity followed by a fall of snow which covered the ground to the depth of almost a foot and was blown into drifts 2 and 3 feet deep. All the growing crops were cut down. Even the foliage on the trees was destroyed, and so completely as respected the beeches that they did not put forth leaves again that year. No hope or possibility of a harvest remained, and the farmers had before them the gloomy prospect of extreme scarcity if not actual famine. Their forebodings were more than realized. Not a single crop came to maturity. Wheat alone progressed so far that by harvesting it while yet in the milk, it might be mashed into dough and baked or boiled like rice. There was neither corn nor rye that which was bought abroad, sometimes for as much as three dollars a bushel and sometimes more. Provisions of every kind were very scarce and very high. Fresh fish and vegetables that could be used as food were converted to that purpose. There was extreme suffering through the summer and still greater distress that winter, but it is not known that anyone perished by starvation.

It snowed every month that summer. Farmers in Craftsbury had to slaughter most of their valuable farm animals; housewives were forced to catch all forms of wildlife including field mice, and many children ate twigs and beech leaves. Fortunately the summer of 1817 was normal weatherwise and the people were able to replenish their food supply.

Craftsbury, like most Vermont towns, enthusiastically supported Lincoln in 1860 and 1864. 128 men enlisted or were drafted into the Union Army during the Civil War and a substantial number of them never returned. Craftsbury soldiers, according to one journal, fought with "quiet distinction" despite the great number of deaths. One of the dead was the grandfather of Homer Reed who survived the privations of Andersonville only to starve to death on the way home because he too quickly ate all the provisions

given to him.

While most of Craftsbury's original inhabitants came from the Western part of Massachusetts, many of the later settlers were from Scotland. Families with such names as Calderwood, Macomber, Gebbie and Simpson settled in the Greensboro-Craftsbury area in the 1840s and 1850s. These families generally settled on land ranging in size from 75-150 acres. A century ago the average farmer in Craftsbury had 5-15 dairy cows and grew various grains, corn and some vegetables.

The first Scots who came to Craftsbury had a great impact on local inhabitants. "A lot of them (the old Yankees) just plain did not like them. They were hard working and thrifty and if they thought something was going to waste, they'd just grab it...It was somewhat upsetting to my (Hill) family to find that its favorite brown ash had been made into a pair of snowshoes by our neighbor." 4

The future of Craftsbury and the whole region is hard to determine. The number of working farms in the region continues to dwindle, but the historical decline in population has been reversed since 1960. The few surviving farms are much bigger and tend to specialize in dairy farming. The Brass Knocker Farm in East Craftsbury, for example, has well over 100 head of cattle and is a major producer of milk.

While the local economy has not been thriving in the 1980s, there were no indications of collapse. The town supports two general stores, a garage, two schools, and several other small businesses. The inns are doing well as is Sterling College with its 70 students. The future looks good.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY

Farming has always been the largest single occupation of Craftsbury and the economy of the township has always been dependent on agriculture and dominated by it. Most of the land belonged to farmers and was used for agricultural purposes, and most of its small industries depended upon the prosperity of local farmers and were instituted to meet their immediate needs. Farmers were the creators and possessors of wealth.

Craftsbury was founded by people who had to depend upon agriculture to survive. They had to be self-sufficient as a cooperative unit. Their primary concerns upon arrival in the township were on building a home and planting crops. At first Craftsbury farmers farmed for private consumption only, and it was not until the 1820s that people were growing crops for a profit. Grain was quite literally the only cash crop grown. There was a great shortage of hard currency which led to the use of grain in the payment of taxes or goods at the local general store.

Potash and the salts of ashes were the chief sources of income for the settlers of Craftsbury. Potash, an alkali, is one of the necessary ingredients in the production of soap and glass. Potash is also necessary in its soap form for the cleansing and manufacture of woolens and linens.

Potash was made from such hardwoods as elm; when the trees were chopped down, they were rolled into heaps, cut into a convenient length, and consumed into ashes. A large elm often yielded as much as 5 tons of wood, which, after burning, leaching, and boiling was reduced to about 40 pounds of potash, worth about $40 at the local market. The farmer who did not produce potash could always sell plain ashes from his hearth. Hearth ashes were purer and brought a higher rate per pound.

According to the Vermont Historical Magazine: 5

> The settlers (of Orleans County), like the pioneers of all new countries, brought but little with them. Their own strong arms were their main reliance. As soon as a cabin had been erected to shelter their families, they commenced the clearing away of the forest and the opening up of the fields from which to gain a subsistence. The trees fell before the repeated blows of the axe, were cut into convenient lengths,

> and consumed into ashes. These were carefully saved, conveyed to the nearest store, and exchanged for necessary articles and provisions. Many settlers found it expedient to work their ash into black salts, thus lightening the labor of their transportation. In this manner they were conveyed 10-20 miles to a market. In some instances where farmers were too poor to own a team, they have been known to take a bag of salts on their backs to the nearest store. It was fortunate for those hardy pioneers that potashes always brought a remunerating price in the not remote market of Montreal. Serious inconvenience and probably much suffering would have ensued but for this. The little stores in these country towns each had its ashery, and all were eager to purchase. Upon the sales of their pot and pearl ashes in Montreal they depended almost entirely for the means of remittance to their creditors in large American cities. So important was this traffic that in most of the interior towns of Vermont, not a dollar could be raised except for the sale of ashes. Without this, goods or provisions could not have been collected and the growth of the country impeded in its advance and prosperity.

Craftsbury achieved economic stability in the late 1820s and 1830s. At this time the town's farmers began to diversify their crops and activities and to specialize in various fields. The following figures are indicative of Craftsbury's agricultural activities in 1840:

Farm animals:

Horses	333
Cattle	1718
Sheep	3166
Swine	658

Crops: (bushels)

Wheat	1730
Barley	1049
Oats	14398
Rye	167
Buck Wheat	830
Indian corn	1928
Potatoes	47906
Hay (tons)	3171
Sugar (lbs)	35412
Wool lbs	7980

Cattle and sheep were the most important of the farm animals in Craftsbury and were the staples of the town's economy after the War of 1812. Cattle produced meat, milk, and butter for home consumption and butter and cheese for export to Montreal and Boston. Sheep were also extremely important, for they provided mutton for eating and wool for trade and clothing.

Vermont was the wool capital of the world during the second quarter of the 19th century. Spain was forced to sell off a large part of its merino sheep in 1811 to pay off its debts incurred during the Napoleonic wars, and many of the sheep were purchased by Vermonters. By 1820 the state had developed a thriving trade in wool and by 1840, there was one person for every 10 sheep. Wool production only declined in Vermont after the Civil War when the railroads in the West allowed sheep from the wide open spaces of Wyoming and Montana to dominate the wool trade.

Craftsbury was not one of the key sheep raising centers. In 1840 sheep outnumbered people by only 3-1 and only 4 tons of wool were produced. Nevertheless, some of this wool was probably exported, providing farmers with an extra source of income.

Oats, wheat, barley, corn and potatoes were by far the leading crops. Potatoes were used for immediate consumption while corn and wheat were important for such things as the production of corn meal and bread. Oats were an important cash crop; oatmeal was in demand in Montreal, so oats that were not used locally were sent to a hulling mill where oat meal was manufactured. Annually about 50 tons of oat meal (and 48 tons of pearl ashes) were sent north on the market road to Montreal.

Southern Quebec was then only sparsely populated and Montreal grew to depend on trade with towns in northern Vermont and New York for agricultural products. Montreal, on the other hand, was the largest city in the vicinity and a major source of supplies. Trade with Vermont provided these Vermont towns with a source of supplies not available elsewhere. Besides ashes and oats, Craftsbury provided Montreal with beef, pork, mutton, cheese, grain, and maple sugar. These products were sent in winter when fresh products could be frozen. They were freighted north on sleds drawn by 4 to 8 draft horses. Craftsbury was very famous for its very high quality of butter which eventually became its most important single product for export.

Craftsbury was the first town to be settled in what is now Orleans County, and thus it had the first stores and industries in the area, making it the commercial and industrial center of the region for 40 years. As late as 1820 there were no major stores

in such neighboring towns as Greensboro, Lowell, Jay, Eden, Wolcott and Albany. As stores were opened in these towns and industries were started, Craftsbury began to lose its dominance. Craftsbury also lost some of its major industries after the Civil War when towns like Hardwick and Morrisville, with their access to powerful streams and railroads, began to grow. The nearest railway passed through Greensboro Bend and Hardwick.

Craftsbury's industrial predominance in the early 19th century was made possible by its rugged terrain. Its numerous streams were an easy source of water power, and there were as many as 2-3 mills on each of these streams. The villages of Craftsbury, East Craftsbury, and Mill Village grew up around such mills and today if you walk along the streams you will find remains of these mills, especially in Mill Village and by the stream just south of Craftsbury village.

Most of the early industries of Craftsbury were centered around the immediate needs of the farmers and were usually run by people who were also part-time farmers. Sawmills were the first mills to be built in Craftsbury and were the most common. This was due to the high cost of transporting lumber. Where logs could be floated down river the problem was simple, but this was only possible where there were large broad rivers. Thus, so long as wood was to be cut in Craftsbury, there were small local mills, and it was not until the advent of steam power and the disappearance of good timber that these mills began to disappear.6

Next in importance were the grist mills and hulling mills necessary for the grinding of meal and manufacturing of oatmeal. Early Craftsbury residents sometimes pounded their grain at home with mortar and pestle, but this was a laborious and unsatisfactory process, and it was much easier to take the grain to the local grist mill for grinding. Other industrial enterprises in 1820 included 2 clothing mills, 1 carding machine and 1 pottery.

Blacksmiths were also of great importance. They were needed to shoe horses and oxen, make hardware for new buildings, repair and make new tools for farmers and other craftsmen and make and repair kitchen and house utensils. The 5 blacksmiths in town in 1860 also made nails.

Carding mills were important during the wool period. This was one of the largest and most complex of the early New England mills to build (they cost $400 in 1840), but it was in great demand since it saved the average housewife a tremendous amount of time and labor. When the demand for Vermont wool declined, so did the need for carding mills. By 1860 there were none in town.

The industries present in 1840 and 1860 in Craftsbury are as follows:

1840: 2 grist mills, 1 hulling mill, 2 carding machines, 10 sawmills, 2 fulling mills, 3 carriage makers and 1 oil mill.

1860: 1 Woolen factory, 7 stores, 2 grist mills, 5 sawmills, 1 hulling shop, 5 blacksmiths, 3 wheelwrights, 1 tannery, 1 tinshop, 5 shoe shops, 2 harness shops, and 3 hotels.

Craftsbury Common was the first (1789) of the 4 main villages in Craftsbury to be settled. Craftsbury village was not settled until 1818, but because of its central location and access to a large stream, it became the industrial and commercial center of town a century ago. In 1825 William Randall built a sawmill in the village, and in 1842 John Pullerston started a hulling mill there. 7 years later a woolen mill was built there by James E. Burnham. This factory at one time did a good business; it employed 10 workmen and produced 50-75 yards of woolen cloth per day. In 1869 a sash and blind factory was built in the village.

Mill Village and East Craftsbury grew in the 1820s and 1830s. Mill Village is a hamlet located to the north of Craftsbury Common; a saw mill was built there in 1859 and later had a hulling mill as well as a large general store. East Craftsbury, which has always been a tiny village, served as the commercial center for farmers in western Greensboro, southern Albany and parts of Glover. It had a large general store, a blacksmith, a tavern, post office, and was a stopping point between Greensboro Bend and Craftsbury Common. It was settled by Scots in the 1830s and 1840s [2] and dominated by the Simpson family until 1980.

The East Craftsbury General Store:

Local historian Mary Jean Simpson once wrote an article in a 1925 issue of the Orleans County Monitor. She describes her family's store in the 1860 as follows:

> The East Craftsbury General Store consisted of one big, low room with smoke-blackened walls, from which opened two other smaller rooms. In the midst of the large room stood an immense box in which a fire crackled...Along the right side of the room ran a long, red counter. Behind it the walls were lined with shelves containing all kinds of merchandise and in front of it a row of nail kegs, flanked at one end of the cracker barrel and at the other end by a large hogshead. At the front of the counter was the post office which

consisted of a seat of a wooden cupboard divided into small compartments for mail, with a square opening in the middle through which the clerk would pass out the letters and papers upon the arrival of the early stage from Barton.

In the rear was another red counter with deep shelves and drawers behind it and on the left a long table, also red, piled high with clothing, blankets, and huge bolts of cloth. A pile of salt cod fish, a wood container of mackerel and a box of smoked herring filled the air with tantalizing odors. Barrels of beans, coffee, buckwheat flour, salt and West Indian brown sugar stood against the wall and above the shelves bore the mysterious sign, "W. I. Goods and Groceries." There were ranged rows of round wooden boxes containing pepper, ginger, and snuff. Underneath were small drawers bearing illegible signs but containing such ordinary commodities as shot, salt peter, tobacco, soda, lamp wicks, stove blacking and dozens of other articles of like character. Handmade wooden buckets full of maple sugar and strong yellow butter were piled on the counter beside a basket of eggs and a large round cheese. At the left and rear newly sheared bales of wool ready to be sent to Boston by the next freight tram gave off a thick greasy smell, and a pile of wooden butter tubs rose unsteadily towards the ceiling. From hooks on the walls hung a motley collection of articles; cowhide whips, wooden rakes, leather harnesses, axe helves, sperm oil lanterns, a saw, a wiffle tree, a pair of copper-toed boots and a brass kettle gleaming against the dark background of the dry goods shelves where were displayed dress materials of worsted, calico, and silk. Also bolts of denim, ticking unbleached cotton cloth, and heavy homespun woolens. In 2 glass showcases at the ends of the table were all sorts of milliners and dressmakers' supplies along with some very stylish bonnets and a fine red wool shawl, bought by Mr. Simpson on his last trip to Boston...

Under the opposite corner were straw-covered bales with characters and containing bright green tea; also boxes of twisted tobacco and a bucket of hard glue, shiny and evil smelling. High on the shelves were piles of white plates, cups and pitchers, stone crocks and queerly shaped pots and jars, side-by-side with wooden chopping bowls and tin buckets.

This store was later converted into a fascinating library and museum by the late Miss Jean W. Simpson.

The advertisement for the store in 1878 ran as follows:

> East Craftsbury: J. W. Simpson. Dealer in staple and fancy goods, boots and shoes, hats and caps. Groceries, queensware, hardware, nails and glasses, drugs and medicines, paints, oils, dye stuffs, family medicines, perfumes and notions generally. Goods sold for cash. Call and examine my goods.

Mr. Simpson may have had some competition from I. P. Whitney's general store in Craftsbury Common: "I will sell my wares...at the lowest price for cash or ready pay. And I invite all persons desiring goods in my line to bring their oats, corn, old rags, iron (old) Feathers, scrip, and etc. and give me a call and exchange for goods, as I will not be undersold in Orleans Co."

CHAPTER III

EDUCATION

The creation of an efficient educational system was one of the prime concerns of the early settlers of Vermont. The first state constitution insisted that every township must have a public school, that every county must have an academy, and that there should be a state university. The primary and secondary schools were to be maintained by the towns and counties respectively, but the system as a whole was under the authority of the Legislature. The constitution was later amended to read that schools ought to be established and that townships should be responsible for local education.

A state law enacted in 1787 provided for the division of towns ~~into convenient school districts~~ and the appointment of trustees in each town for the election of a prudential committee by the inhabitants of each district to which power was given to raise money for the construction and maintenance of school houses and the payment of all operational costs.

School was open to all children regardless of their economic and social backgrounds. Originally students received only a very rudimentary education for there were very few schools and a lot of work to be done at home, but as the state became more settled, the citizenry became much better educated. Few Vermonters went beyond elementary school, but most knew the basics of reading, writing and math.

The average school was a one-room affair built on a small (generally quarter-acre) lot. All of the children in the first 8 grades were taught in the same classroom. Most of the teachers were women, but one often found an arrangement where women taught during the warmer months of the year and men in the colder months. In Craftsbury some schools seem to have operated for about three months in the summer and three months in winter with the winter term starting after Thanksgiving.

Education played an important role in the thinking of Craftsbury's founders. Some of the original settlers were themselves college graduates who brought with them a highly developed view of the world in which education played an important role. The creation of a good educational system for their new town was one of their prime concerns.

Craftsbury voters in 1797 decided to raise 25 bushels of wheat

for the support of a school. The next year they voted to defray the cost of building a school house, and a bit later the town was divided into two school districts. The number of school districts grew to 12 in 1840 and 14 in 1860. In 1882 the town was divided into 14 districts and employed 23 teachers (1 male) to whom was paid an aggregate salary of $1,306.82. There were 300 students who cost taxpayers $2,445.19. Thus, 53.4% of taxes were used to pay salaries.

There is an interesting old record book in the Simpson Library in east craftsbury for School District #7 in the NE part of Craftsbury with data from all district meetings from the 1820s to the 1860s. A close examination of this document reveals a lot of information concerning schooling in mid-19th century Craftsbury.

For example, a meeting was called for 26 October 1829 to discuss the following matters: 1] Choose a moderator for the meeting. 2] To see if the school district will raise money for the coming winter. 3] To see if the district will defray expenses necessary to board the school teacher and for wood and repairs for the school house.

The residents of the district then voted that each family would have to provide the school with a quarter of a cord of wood "for each scholar aged 4-18." They also voted to pay $1 per week in grain to defray the expenses of the school teacher that winter and $20 to cover school costs. Voters at a March 1830 meeting agreed to have a summer session that summer and to raise $15 to cover costs payable after the Fall harvest. 7

There were no local facilities for an education beyond the 8th grade until 1820 when a select school for 15 pupils was organized with classes in private homes. Craftsbury finally erected an academy in 1829 and began classes there in 1832.

The academies appeared in remarkable numbers in Vermont and, in fact, all over the US in the early 19th century for a variety of reasons. According to one scholar, they were: "Belief in the equality and in the need of a republic for an educated citizenry, belief in practical education and in the perfectibility of man, local pride, the tendency to encourage private endeavor rather than continuing public responsibility--all had their impact. Thousands of institutions were the result...The academy fit the American ideal; it added a smattering of both useful studies and traditional book learning, a veneer of education. This was considered good by Americans who distrusted the narrow erudition of the college graduate..."8

Craftsbury Academy fits this model. According to the 1839 catalogue, there was a large number of trustees, but only 2 instructors to teach 70 students, 43 of whom were male. Miss Augusta Stevens was the preceptress and taught painting while Simeon H. Stevens, A.B., taught everything else. The catalogue describes the school:

> Craftsbury Academy is located in a pleasant and retired village, noted for its salubrity of climate, and the beauty of its natural scenery. The student is removed from the noise and bustle of the larger village and is less exposed to temptations and allurements from his business. The Trustees and Instructors assure the Patrons and Friends of this institution of their determination to render it a favorable resort of youth wishing to pursue a THOROUGH course of study. Board can be obtained for $1.50 a week-lights excepted. 9

There were 4 terms in a year starting in August, November, February and May. Tuition in 1839 was $3.50 a term for THE LANGUAGES and higher English branches, $3.00 for the Common English branches, $3.00 including paints for Painting and Drawing. Instruction was divided into 2 departments: The Classical Dept. included "those fitting for college and pursuing the study of languages. The Teachers, or High-School Dept., consists of young gentlemen and ladies preparing for teaching. A regular course of study is recommended for this department, which may be accomplished in 3 years; - the design of which is to raise the standard of common education - to call the attention of the parents and guardians of youth to a more thorough consideration of the importance and value of mental and moral culture." 10 A wide array of books was used. Advanced Latin students read Virgil and Cicero's Orations while students of Greek read the Anabasis of Xenophon. Students of French read works by Racine and also L'Histoire de Charles XII.

In the 1870s there were about 100 students and 2 teachers, a preceptress who taught drawing, music, elocution, and bookkeeping, and the principal, George Washington Henderson, who taught everything else including Latin, Greek, French, German and sciences. This situation has improved over the years, but even in 1952-53, when my brother, Eric Metraux, taught there for the astounding salary of $2500, he was obliged to teach Latin, French, and a survey of English literature. He politely refused to coach the girl's basketball team and was instead forced to lead the dramatic society.

The original brick building of the Academy was pronounced

unsafe in 1868 because of poor construction and was torn down. The school moved to the old Town House, which burnt down in 1879. The construction of the present building began in 1879 and was ready for use that fall.

STERLING COLLEGE

The newest educational institution in Craftsbury is the tiny but vigorous Sterling College located only a few hundred yards from the Academy, the smallest public high school in Vermont.

A generation ago many American colleges developed innovative programs to appeal to students who wanted something other than the more traditional education available at most schools. Beloit College, for example, had a curriculum that stressed a great deal of choice in what a student would study, a field term where the student would have to support himself working for a semester, and a more flexible calendar which permitted the student to design his own schedule. Beloit has long since abandoned this program and colleges everywhere are returning to curricula with more set requirements.

Sterling College of Craftsbury Common, however, is bucking the trend. It offers a unique program with a focus on nature and ecology and stresses training in team work, decision-making and interdependence while taking advantage of the region's rural setting. It is a new college that was gradually organized in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Twenty years ago Sterling was a traditional boy's prep school, but plummeting enrollments at prep schools nation-wide forced Sterling to face its chief liability: a remote, northern location. Rather than abandoning the school, however, the school's leaders decided to use their rural isolation as an asset. Young people were becoming enthusiastic about ecology, the out-doors, and nature and Sterling already had a well-established out door survival training program to build on.

In 1973 Sterling dropped its traditional prep school curriculum. And in 1974 it inaugurated a unique new program it christened The Grassroots Project. Grassroots teaches farming, forestry, conservation, and outdoor survival skills.

Today Sterling has received accreditation which means that students can transfer credit received at Sterling to other colleges. It attracts about eighty students a year and a very low student-faculty ratio of 5 to 1. Tuition is not cheap; students

pay over nine thousand dollars a year for room and board.

Sterling College offers two forms of programs, the Grass Roots Project in Vermont, which is for one year, and the two-year long Rural Resource Management Program (RRMP).

The Grassroots program, according to the college catalogue, "integrates learning in the world of natural resources and provides training in agriculture, forestry, and wildlife management." The curriculum combines classroom, laboratory, and outdoor work sessions. The student takes such courses as Conservation Skills, Fundamentals of Ecology, Introduction to Forestry, Writing and Communications, Plant and Soil Science, Resource Issues, Vertebrate Natural History, and Bounder, a program of outdoor survival training.

The RRMP starts with the assumption that "Good managers must be good workers, but good workers are not necessarily good managers." It teaches that " good management is the product of experience, skills training, intelligence, productive work, and motivation, all in combination with a deep sense of committment." The RRMP incorporates the Grassroots project as its first year and leads to the Associate in Arts degree. During the second year the student has two terms of mainly academic work followed by an 8-10 week internship with a business, government agency, or organization involved in resource management. The internship "allows students to observe directly how management problems are solved and decisions made in resource-related businesses."

Although nature, ecology, and resource management are the themes of an education at Sterling, its president, Dr. A. Perry Whitmore, stresses that Sterling is above all a liberal arts school. "We are not a technical or vocational school. Our theme is the outdoors, but our ultimate goal is to prepare students for life." Ned Houston, Dean of Sterling, says that Sterling's goal is to help the individual achieve success by learning to work together with others and learning to think of practical solutions to problems." 11

Dean Houston came to Sterling in 1985.12 His background is English literature, but "I started out on a potato farm in Maine and I have come a full circle back to an emphasis on nature. My own experience in the liberal arts, however, will help me guide Sterling as a liberal arts school." Dean Houston comes with a training in social ecology.

Dean Houston says that a lot can be learned from having a group chop down a large tree or being forced to start a fire in winter

moose.]

Community efforts in terms of food and agriculture were extremely common. In 1797, for example, every man and boy came out and cleared off Craftsbury Common. They all planted potatoes and later divided them amongst all town residents. In the winter of 1816-17, all of the families had to pool their resources to survive. Once one family of 7 was left with only a half loaf of bread, but it had to somehow share it with another family of 7 that had no bread.

The family functioned very necessarily as a collective and mutually dependent whole. The male head of the family was responsible for bringing in food through agriculture, hunting or purchase at a store or making whatever money a family earned. The women were in complete control of the homes and had to rear children, do all the cleaning and cooking, and make most of the clothing. With few exceptions the woman's place was in the home and the family was her frame of reference; she was an equal and vital partner to her husband who ran the farm.

Most women were housewives, but a few others became school teachers and one Craftsbury girl, Fanny Burnham Kilgore, became the first American woman admitted to the Bar. Women were as well educated if not more so than men; there were two 19th century female poets of note in Craftsbury. One of them, Elizabeth Allen (1796-1849) once described her early life in Craftsbury:

> I was born in Craftsbury at a period when there were not a dozen inhabitants in town. My parents, having emigrated from Brookfield, Mass., were among the first pioneers of northern Vermont. We were surrounded by a vast tract of wilderness, which the Indian hunters claimed as gameland.
> They looked with an evil eye on those they regarded as intruders on their rights, and not infrequently came to our door filling us with dread by their warlike array of rifle, tomahawk, and scalping knife.
>
> We were denied all literary privileges--three months in a district school taught in our house, being all the advantages I ever enjoyed. Providence had endowed me with a propensity which disadvantages and crosses could not suppress. I became passionately fond of reading, and grasped at everything that came within reach. In writing I had no instruction, but, by self-effort, succeeded in forming a running hand, by which at a later period I was able to entertain an extensive correspondence. I had no writing materials, and it was often the case that I employed a carving knife to mend my pen,

while my paper was the blank side of an old letter or even a piece of brown paper.

Religious Life:

The Congregational church, which dominated so much of the rest of New England, had stiff competition in Vermont from four other religious denominations- the Free Will Baptists, the Methodists, the Universalists and another Baptist sect which called itself "the Christians." Despite their many differences, these sects had many characteristics in common. They were democratic churches that believed in the attaining of salvation through faith and had the aim of making the world a better place to live in through Christianity. They were denominations of reform and social justice. They were later joined by the Catholic church which became prominent with the great influx of French Canadians from the north and immigrants from Portugal and Italy who came to this area in the late 19th century to work in mills and quarries.

According to Anne H. Wilson:

> So closely have our town and our church been intertwined in their developments that another of the earliest recorded events in their mutual history again indicates the importance of religion in the lives of those first citizens. In the earliest days of Minden, the Rev. Mr. Paine, the minister of Sturbridge, Massachusetts, traveled to Vermont's northern wilds to preach to his transplanted parishioners. The service was held in a clearing on the Common, there being no structure in 1790 adequate to accommodate the gathering. As his text that day nearly 200 years ago, Rev. Paine chose the first verse of the 35th chapter of Isaiah: "The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them; and the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose. 13

Craftsbury in about 1850 was fully represented by 5 denominations: Congregationalists, Baptists, Covenanters, Universalists, and Methodists. The Congregational church was the first to be organized--on 4 July 1797. It had an initial membership of 25, one of whom, the Rev. Samuel Collins, served until 1804 as the first minister. Nehemiah Lyons was the first deacon. The Methodist church was first organized in 1818 and grew rapidly enough to soon have its own church in Craftsbury village. It was united in a circuit until 1830 when it became an independent church with its own minister. By the 1870s it was the largest denomination in town with over 170 members.

The church in the 19th century exerted considerable social and political influence over the citizenry. As is true with many new enterprises, leaders are often the ones to get the severest criticism, and so it was with Craftsbury. Col. Crafts himself was excommunicated from 1801-1803 because according to church records:

> Whereas public reports have, for sometime, circulated that Col. Crafts, a member of this church, was sometime in the month of June (1800) last guilty of the scandalous sin of using profane language in the presence of a number of persons; and also of saying to Mr. Daniel Kelsey, 'Go with me,' with such threatening words as gave evidence that his intention was to fight with Mr. Kelsey.

The Covenanters of East Craftsbury:

A century ago the village of East Craftsbury was dominated by a church whose teachings were so severe that its followers were denied many of the very basic pleasures of life. The church denied its parishioners the right to consume any alcohol, voting in elections, and even the use of an organ in church. The Covenanter church has long since disappeared from Craftsbury, but its history is of note.

East Craftsbury and portions of neighboring western Greensboro were settled by people of Scottish origin after 1840. Many farmers and tradesmen came directly from Scotland to Craftsbury and Greensboro and quickly created numerous farms and businesses which generally thrived in the severe climate of northern Vermont, With them came elements of their culture including their church.

The Covenanters were originally groups of Presbyterians in Scotland in the 1640s who were bound by an oath (covenant) to sustain each other in defense of their religion from outside attack - namely, from the Anglicans of England. They believed that "Every nation or people...existed by virtue of a covenant with God, an agreement whereby they promised to abide by His laws and He in turn agreed to treat them well." 14 To achieve salvation in heaven, they had to live in a pure world, but because the world was manifestly impure, they felt a compelling obligation to do battle with its impurities. God demanded perfect obedience. Man must live a pure life free of sin and contamination and must in no case associate with people who engaged in any sinful activities.

The Covenanter church of East Craftsbury was a hard and austere church that demanded many sacrifices from its members. The first

Covenanter group in Craftsbury was organized as early as 1816, but the primary impetus for the Covenanter movement came in 1788 when Robert Trumbull, a preacher from Cambuslang, Scotland and --later-- Wilbraham, Massachusetts, settled in the village.

Mr. Trumbull originally belonged to the Congregational Church, but he "was never satisfied with this body of Christians on account of their heterodox views respecting the atonement of Christ and their loose practices in many ways. He earnestly desired and ceaselessly labored to secure a return to puritan orthodoxy."15 After 1816 the Covenanter society in East Craftsbury grew rapidly and became a fully established church with the later waves of migration from Scotland.

Miss Mary Jean Simpson, who died in 1977, had clear memories of the Covenanter church in her village: 16

> It was a plain and beautiful church with French wall paper, a high pulpit, and side pews for deacons and elders. It was a Scottish church whose members believed in a very strict worship service. There was no organ in the church; in fact, there were no man-made instruments allowed except a tuning fork. There was a dignified and reverential service. Each person had his own psalm book and sang psalms from them. There was no choir of any kind since each person was expected and encouraged to use his own voice. Sunday was seen as a day of complete rest and prayer. Nobody was allowed to pursue any occupational activities of any kind and fancy outings or other forms of merriment were not encouraged. There was a mid-week prayer meeting on Wednesdays at the parsonage.

The church began to lose members steadily in the early 1900s. One problem was that church members could not vote in elections or hold public office. Young males in the church were somewhat resentful of this regulation and in general opposed some of the severe rules of the church. Many younger residents of the region began to join the United Presbyterian Church in Craftsbury which had an organ and allowed people to vote.17

The last pastor, the Rev. John C. Taylor, was able to keep the church united and strong during his tenure which began in 1873. After he died, however, what was left of the congregation split into 2 factions and it no longer was possible to maintain the church. It was at this time that negotiations began for the sale of the church building since most former members were going to other area churches. The old church, incidentally, was in the space now occupied by the Casa Mia Garden.

A problem arose, however, when the National Covenanter Church refused to sell the land to the United Presbyterian Church. The Covenanters were willing to sell to any other bidder and did sell it to Tom Silver, a local cattle dealer for use as a cow shed. John W. Simpson was so shocked by this development that he bought the property from Silver and hired a local carpenter, Charles Willey, to take the building down piece by piece. It was later reconstructed in Craftsbury Common next to the Academy where it first served as the school's gym and later as its junior high school. The United Presbyterian Church was built and dedicated free of debt in 1916 and flourishes to this day.

Daily Life:

Life in Craftsbury was both agricultural and provincial until the early twentieth century. There was substantial contact with the outside world - open roads north and south and a rail connection in Barton and Greensboro Bend as well as frequent shipments of butter and other products to Canada and southern New England - but people rarely traveled. Local residents worked their farms, socialized with their neighbors, and went to church. There were few books, magazines, or newspapers. National and world news was rarely discussed and few of the inventions of the outside world made their way to town.

The average Craftsbury resident was a relatively poor farmer who had to work extremely hard to survive. There was little great poverty--there was always enough food to go around--but there was little wealth as well. Farmers were largely involved in subsistence farming, raising a great many crops to support themselves and to feed their animals. They were involved in endless chores including the endless splitting of wood, drawing manure, cutting hay, making repairs, and planting and harvesting their crops. Henry Allen in his diary of 1878 mentions 56 separate jobs or chores performed over the course of a year.18

While life was certainly provincial, it was by no means dull. There was a great amount of socializing within the township and frequent picnics and parties. Henry Allen remarked that a party had been fun, but that "there was too much kissing, awful muddy." 19 Much of one's social life, however, centered around the church; there was church and Sunday School on the Sabbath, choir practices, and young men's meetings. Speakers from outside came to the church frequently to talk on a variety of intellectual topics. In times of difficulty, neighbors helped each other. There was a very real sense of community.

Everybody was related to everybody else, or so it seemed. Marriages were generally generated from within the community, and since few people left or came to the township, Craftsbury was a self-contained community--a kind of extended family. Many children were born, but many died before reaching adulthood. Those who did would last 40-60 years--old age in the contemporary sense was rare.

Religion was extremely important. Virtually everybody was obliged to attend church at least once a week, but there was a significant difference in the degrees of strictness of the various churches. Covenanters had to lead a severe and simple life, but other churches were much more liberal.

CHAPTER V

TOWN GOVERNMENT

Craftsbury in its early years served as one of the administrative centers of Orleans County. In 1799 the Legislature made Craftsbury and Brownington half-shire towns and mandated that court sessions should be held alternatively in either town on the fourth Monday of November and March. Col. Crafts was an early judge of probate. Court sessions in Craftsbury were held in a building upon the same site where Craftsbury Academy now stands. Early residents called this building the Old Court House and used it as a church, town hall and court house. This structure was dismantled in 1829 and was replaced by a new town hall which burnt down in 1879. Col. Joseph Scott's buttery was once used as a jail.

Craftsbury has always had the traditional form of government for townships. The traditional Town Meeting system of government, which has proven so durable in Vermont, originated in its present form in southern New England. The first town meetings were held quite often with few officers and many restrictions on the right to participate in voting. This form of government gradually changed over the years, and by the time that Craftsbury was established, these restrictions had been lifted in favor of universal manhood suffrage. The charters of most townships instituted the Town Meeting as the main organ of local self-government.

The Town Meeting remains as the principal governing body of Craftsbury. It is, in effect, the town legislature in which every legal voter is entitled to speak and vote. Aside from the election of various town officers, the major decisions made at Town Meetings concern finances. Decisions reached by town voters are the policies which the town's 3 selectmen must implement during the coming year.

Although Craftsbury had been settled somewhat earlier, the town was not officially organized until the first town meeting was held in March of 1792. Col. Crafts was elected moderator and his son, Samuel Crafts, became town clerk, and Ebenezer Crafts, Nathan Cutler, and Nehemiah Lyon became selectmen. At this meeting it was "voted, that all town and freeman's meetings be hereafter held at Col. Crafts' until otherwise ordered."

CHAPTER VI

THE LIGHT SIDE OF CRAFTSBURY HISTORY: THE DEVIL STRIKES CRAFTSBURY

(Copied from the Monitor of July 6, 1885)

Lightning did considerable damage here on Sunday night, June 28th. It struck Mr. Rawson's barn in the village, shattering one of the rafters, tearing off boards and shivering them into kindling wood, split a post, damaging a haycutter and playing some other freaks. It killed a horse belonging to Nelson Hoyt, valued from $125 to $150. It struck the barn of James Young, who had just been milking, and after turning out his cows, went into the house; while there the lightning struck two cows and set the barn on fire, but Mr. Young succeeded in putting out the fire.

But the strangest scene occurred at Russell Hoyt's at about 9:00. Mrs. Hoyt, Mrs. Town, her sister, and Miss Amanda Allen, a granddaughter of Mrs. Hoyt, were in the sitting room, Mr. Russell Hoyt was asleep in a small bedroom adjoining the sitting room; Hamilton Harriman, Mrs. Hoyt's son, and a hired hand had just gone upstairs to bed, when a loud clap of thunder was heard; and a minute later a strange noise in the ell part of the house. Ham and the hired man, thinking that lightning had struck the house, went down to investigate matters. At every flash of lightning, the noise was heard, but between the flashes all was quiet. The women were thoroughly frightened, but Miss Allen carried the light while Mr. Harriman opened the door into the milk room, but the wind blew out their light and they went back to the sitting room; meanwhile, the crashing and thundering continuing in the ell. Another light was procured and they started to ascertain the cause of such an earthquake, but as they opened the light in the kitchen the light again went out, and they again retreated. Mrs. Hoyt had become anxious about Russell, so she went into the bedroom to arouse him, but being quite deaf he had slept on during the tumult, and he did not feel disposed to get up, but snuggled back to sweet dreams. After a short council, Mr. Harriman and the hired hand decided to reconnoiter from outside of the house. Every light had gone out in the house, but the same noise continued. They took a look but could see no cause for the rumpus.. Miss Allen, being faint with fright, decided to make a call on her nearest neighbor. She thought it would be more convenient to go just then than to wait until morning, and Mr. Harriman was beginning to feel the need for company also, so they called upon Mr. Paterson and invited him down with his lantern, which he set on the piazza, when the noise was heard

rumbling through the kitchen into the front part of the house.

Mr. Paterson cried with a stentorian voice, "Out of this house this minute all of ye, or you'll be killed." While he and the other men took a short run down the road, Mrs. Hoyt, hearing the noise coming nearer made another rush for the bedroom to save Mr. Hoyt. She opened the door and put her hand in, but withdrew it suddenly, the sensation being like that of coming into contact with the wet hair of a huge animal.

She informed the men in the yard that some animal was in the bedroom; and they being reassured that it was not thunder and lightning, brought the lantern in and found the five-year old colt standing on the backside of the bed, the bed-stead broken down and Uncle Russell missing.

He had had a startling experience, being asleep, when all at once, he was awakened by somebody trying to get into bed with him. Feeling a tremendous weight, he cried out, "What are you here for? What do you want?" and throwing up his arms, he embraced a hairy beast; he thought there was some mistake; he said he thought it was the "devil," and he got out of that pew without ceremony, surrendering the room to the intruder; but one leg gave out here, it having been hurt by the horse's foot. His arm was badly hurt and he received a bruise on his forehead. It was a narrow escape, but no serious injury resulted from the adventure.

The horse was secured and led to stable. Upon examination, it was found that he broke out of pasture, being crazed by lightning and rushed for the house, landing upon the piazza, demolishing flowerpots, etc.; he then took a trip into the shed and destroyed 2 brass kettles and sundry other things; from the shed he pushed into the milkroom; here he knocked down a cupboard, smashed up a churn, butter worker, sink, two or three large pans full of milk and many other things. He shut the door in the shed and could not get out until he made a bound through the door into the kitchen, and from there he bounded into the bedroom, and there they found him. He was badly cut and bruised but bids fair to recover. Uncle Russell is lame and sore, but tells of his adventure in his own comical way to the enjoyment of all who hear him.

CHAPTER VII

INTERESTING PERSONALITIES OF THE PAST AND PRESENT

Craftsbury has produced an unusually large number of famous and interesting people. It has had as residents two governors of the state, a senator, and a whole host of persons who have either gone out into the world to establish their reputations or who came to Craftsbury after having won recognition elsewhere. The first female lawyer admitted to the Bar in the United States, Carrie Burnham Kilgore, was born here, and Elliot Merrick, whose books describe life in the township during the Depression, lived here for many years. A Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of North Dakota, Burleigh F. Spaulding, was born in Craftsbury, and the founder of the first normal school in the country, the Rev. Samuel Reed Hall, was principal of Craftsbury Academy for several years.

There follows a brief account of Col. Moses Hazen, who built the last leg of the Bayley-Hazen Military Road, Col. Ebenezer Crafts, Samuel C. Crafts, Horace F. Graham, George Washington Henderson, Mary Jean Simpson, Jean W. Simpson, and Robert Kinsey. Because there are other studies of the Crafts' and Gov. Graham in local libraries, more attention is devoted to the others.

COLONEL MOSES HAZEN

Wherever one goes in northeastern Vermont, one encounters the name of Col. Moses Hazen. There are innumerable signs plotting the course of the Bayley-Hazen Road, such place names as Hazen's Notch, institutional names such as Hazen Union High School in Hardwick and the old Hazen Road School House in Greensboro, and at least one journal, the Hazen Road Dispatch. They all memorialize Col. Hazen who otherwise is one of the forgotten heroes of the American Revolution.

Col. Hazen (1733-1803) was born in Massachusetts, but by the time of the French and Indian War (1754-63), he was a tanner living independently of his family. He fought as a Ranger along with Robert Rogers and led his men to many stirring but brutal victories in Quebec. He joined the prestigious British Forty-fourth Regiment from which he was retired on half pay for life.

Hazen throughout his life sought security and investment in real estate. He wanted to become an aristocrat, a member of the landed gentry. He attained this by buying the equivalent of a

feudal estate, a seigneury, just north of the Vermont border on the banks of the Richelieu River. He married a French-Canadian and settled down to a life of rural ease. He settled down in the 1760s and early 1770s to a life of ease receiving a good living not only from his pension, but also from his lands along the Richelieu, a key north-south transportation route at that time that was bounded by some of the best farm land in Quebec.

Unfortunately, the American Revolution demolished his way of life. His estate lay in the path of the American invasion of 1775. He at first appeared to be on the British side--he stood to lose his generous pension and estate if he did not do so, but later he tendered his services to the American cause which he serverd with unswerving loyalty until the end of the war in 1783. It is not entirely clear why he first performed a few services for the British and then, still early in the conflict, abruptly changed sides and fought hard under General Washington. Some Americans mistrusted him, but he soon won the full confidence of the leaders of the American army with the possible exception of General Benedict Arnold who carried on a nasty feud with Hazen during the early years of the war. Hazen and Arnold kept filing charges against each other leading to many needless time-consuming trials where both men were always cleared of charged leveled against them.

Hazen became one of the top-ranking officers in the American army. He brought several dozen Canadians with him who served in either his regiment or brigade. General Washington sent him on many missions some of which were quite successful. He was associated with many leading figures of the time including Lafayette.

During the Revolution Hazen constantly lobbied for an invasion of Canada. During the ill-fated 1775-76 American invasion of Quebec, Hazen was actively leading troops and recruiting Canadaians for service in the American army. The invasion was a disaster, but Hazen succeeded in gathering nearly a regiment of Canadians, mainly French, who fought under him throughout much of the rest of the war. Because of his and his men's ties with Canada, he tried to get Washington interested in a new attack on Canada and was successful enough to get authorization to extend General Bayley's military road up through what is now Hazen's Notch.

Hazen argued that a road from the Coos country of New Hampshire directly to St. John's in Quebec would be the best access route for an American army attacking Quebec. Although the road was never completed, it created three important by-products. It was,

as Washington feared, a potential invasion route from Canada to Coos and Indian parties similar to the one which attacked the garrison at Greensboro appeared even while construction was under progress. It was later used by British raiders intent upon capturing General Bayley. In addition, it went through unclaimed territory that would be open to settlement with the return of peace.

Despite his military successes, he experienced many failures as a civilian. He was a speculator in lands, certificates and public securities, but his failures and poor judgement led to frequent indebtedness and prison for debt 14 times. Rather than sticking to a few safe projects, he was a man of compulsive action devoting his time to a massive array of projects and paying little attention to any one at a time. His drive led to his eventual physical and emotional collapse and a stroke that incapacitated him in the few years before his death, but almost up to the day he died he was still wheeling and dealing.20

Col. EBENEZER CRAFTS was the founder and one of the first settlers of Craftsbury. He was born in Ponfret, Connecticut on 22 September 1740 and graduated from Yale in 1759. He lived in Woodstock, Connecticut before moving to Sturbridge, MA., where he purchased a farm and the Publick Inn. He was a very energetic man with a powerful physique. It is said that when he was young he could lift a barrel of cider and drink from the bung. He fought in the American Revolution and in 1785 was commissioned as a colonel in the army. He was given the task of putting down the infamous Shay's Rebellion in Western Massachusetts in 1786-87. The inflation and economic recessions that followed the Revolution had a devastating effect on Col. Crafts' businesses. These debts and large gifts to charity left Crafts near bankruptcy. He was forced to sell his land and inn to pay off his debts and left for Craftsbury, which he had chartered in 1781, to start a new life. He played an active role in the founding of the town and held a number of town and state offices. He died on 24 May 1810.

SAMUEL CHANDLER CRAFTS: A MASTER POLITICIAN

Samuel Crafts (1768-1853) was active during the comparatively

quiet period between the Revolution and the Civil War, a time when the foundation of the American Republic was being built. As a town official, governor of Vermont, and a member of the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate, Samuel Crafts was one of the architects of the new nation.

Crafts graduated from Yale and accompanied his father, Ebenezer Crafts, from their old home in Sturbridge, Massachusetts to Craftsbury in 1790. He professed to be delighted to his move to the wilderness of Vermont, writing:

> I am extremely pleased by the appearance and situation of this place which in a few years will exceed any place I ever saw. Last night a Gentleman, a large proprietor in Greensbury [Greensboro] tarried at our house. He went with me to several hills from which we could see all over Minden [Craftsbury]. The prospect exceeds anything which can be described and though prejudiced in favor of Greensbury, he gave Minden the preference...As for my part, I am extremely well contented...I could never wish to see Sturbridge again.

Crafts settled down to a life of pioneer settler and local leader, but it was obviously neither a very happy or successful life for those who first came to the Greensboro-Craftsbury area. By 1802 some residents of Craftsbury had sent Crafts to the Southeast in order to find them a new home. The diary of a man who met Crafts en route has an explanation for the distress of these early settlers.

> Crafts acquainted me with the intent of his journey, which was to satisfy himself respecting the reports of the salubrity and extraordinary fertility of the banks of the river Yazous [in Mississippi]...One of his motives for emigrating into so remote a country [as the Yazous] was founded on the length of the winters, which in the state of Vermont, are as severe as in Canada, and clog the activity of its inhabitants for more than a third of the year; another was the small value of the products of their land [in Vermont]...

Crafts returned to Vermont and despite these early complaints, the War of 1812, and the endless winter of 1816 when it even snowed heavily in July and August, the community stayed. As time passed the regions population grew as fast as Crafts' political career. Crafts became immersed in state politics, serving in the State Legislature, the Executive Council of the state, chief judge of Orleans County before being elected to three terms in the House

of Representatives starting in 1816 and to three terms as Governor (1828-30).

Crafts had a disasterous marriage. His wife, Eunice, was Crafts' emotional opposite. She was flighty, insecure, and highly volatile and led a very hard life bringing up Crafts' children and managing their large Craftsbury farm while her husband was pursuing his political career in Washington. To his relief, Eunice, now quite insane, died, probably a victim of suicide, died in August, 1829.

While in Washington Crafts was a National Republican or Whig, a strong supporter of Henry Clay and his American System. He was in favor of protectionism in trade and supported internal improvements. He was an opponent of slavery and once advocated sending all Negroes to a self-governing colony in the Western Territories of the United States. "Thus in a few years would America be free from that 'broadest, foulest blot of human nature.'" He was not a leader in Congress, but was well respected as a man of great integrity and education.

He did not enjoy much of a social life, but was rather depressed after dining at the residence of President Monroe. He noted that eating at the home of the President was no "great thing" with "nothing very extraordinary for eating." Each person "helped himself to such dishes as were near him, boiled beef, a boiled ham, and some birds the size of a robin. This is all eating at the President's amounts to, except that you must pay the hack for taking you there and back, one dollar." This was quite in contrast to a visit to the house of the British ambassador in Washington, Lord Ashburton, where he was once presented with a twenty course meal consisting of the ginest delicacies and some of the best wines of Europe.

Most of the time, however, the dour and serious congressman from Vermont confined himself to his boardinghouse. He did not partake in the many parties and gay social life invented by other members of the House and Senate during all the months that they had to live in the city that Crafts called a most desolate place.

As governor of Vermont Crafts was active in promoting good moral and social values. He believed in the ascendency of the federal government which dealt with such major concerns as commerce, defense, and foreign relations. The role of the state governments, according to Crafts, was limited to the moral and social virtues promoted by Crafts. Thus, while in office he advocated a higher tax on liquor licenses, and worked for the rehabilitation of prisoners. He was a good and popular admini-

strator.

Crafts' term as Senator lasted only a few months. When Vermont Senator Prentiss resigned near the end of his term in 1842, the Governor of Vermont appointed Crafts to represent Vermont in the Senate for the last weeks of the 1842 session.
He wrote his daughter that:

> I was never more busily engaged than I have been for most of the time since I have been here. We spend from six to eight hours each day in session; there is besides much business to look over and examine by committees, constant requests from some part of the State to examine claims, alter post roads, or change postmasters, &c making a very considerable correspondence.

Upon his retirement from politics in the 1840s Crafts continued the life as an active farmer despite his advanced age, taught Sunday school and was a leader in his church. He was proud of the fact that he could split wood with considerable skill almost up until the day he died.

MARY DUSTIN

Another vital person of the community today is a descendent of the Crafts family--Miss Mary Dustin. Now in her early nineties, she has served the community well in many ways. She was the public library's librarian for many years, its correspondent for the Hardwick Gazette, a leading force in the town's historical society, and a leader in the Search Light Club. Her list of good deeds and service to the community would more than fill this book.

MEMORIES OF MISS JEAN W. SIMPSON (1897-1980)

(From an obituary in the Hardwick Gazette written just after his death by this writer)

The death of Miss Jean W. Simpson in East Craftsbury on 2 January marks the end of an era. She was the focus of life in this tiny village, but the limits of her influence and of the affection that people had for her knew no end. Life in East Craftsbury will never be the same without her and her death is widely mourned.

It is difficult to measure her life and accomplishments. To be sure, she built a wonderful library for the township that is in

some respects the best library in the region. It is a tribute to her that the library was open for business as usual the very afternoon she died- she certainly would have wanted that. The library will be her lasting memorial.

Miss Jean also served in the State Legislature, was very important to such institutions as the local church and schools, and helped to organize (and continually supported) various local organizations and clubs such as the local girl scouts. Older residents will never forget the many plays she put on and pictures of her riding her chariot on Old Home Day each August in Craftsbury Common will linger in our minds forever.

However, the true greatness of the woman concerned the small things she did for so many individuals. Her whole life concerned the needs and wants of others and she was always extremely generous in everything she did. She wanted very much to make others happy and took great delight in working to accomplish this goal. What is even more remarkable is the fact that she never cared to have her good deeds made public. Her relationships with people were private and she took delight in them.

To be sure, I did not know her all that well. I would see her a dozen or more times a year either in the library or at her home next door where one could cheaply purchase vast amounts of maple syrup. Whenever I would leave with a huge pile of books or several cans of syrup, she would say, "Oh Goodie! I love to have our books go out and circulate as far and wide as possible" or "We love your business. Oh Goodie! Now be sure to send the syrup far and wide."

She always charged ridiculously low prices and more often than not would shove a free can of syrup at you. She meant it as a Christmas, mud season, Halloween, or Thanksgiving gift, but her memory was never that good and one would often have to remind her that one had already received a "gift" for that " season."

Miss Jean's father was a famous and very wealthy New York lawyer who had left Craftsbury as a boy and graduated from Amherst. He was a confidant of President Coolidge, owned two mansions on Fifth Avenue, and had Rodin sculpt a likeness of his wife's head. Miss Jean was born in Brooklyn Heights and spent her youth amidst the luxury of Fifth Avenue society, but she loved Craftsbury and moved there in the late 1920s following her father's death. She became the local matriarch-buying up hundreds of acres of property and building a farm her father had started as a means of employing locals during the Depression. She was a shrewd businesswoman, but used her profits and time to serve the

community--giving jobs, houses, and other benefits to what was back then an impoverished area. The fact that the township has survived so well and so many of the local people remain is a credit to her love and dedication for the community. She was an eccentric-often walking her tired old dogs (she collected strays and helped them like so many others in the area) wearing the oldest and most tattered of clothes, but it all seemed a game she would play to amuse us and herself.

My experiences with her in the library were always enjoyable. I have a fascination for Craftsbury history and her help was invaluable in helping to write this history. Her library is a treasure trove for the local historian, and Miss Jean would let one take out precious documents for research at home. She was fond of my six-year old daughter Katie and took delight in playing on the floor with her. Quite often her assistant, the late Miss Arlene Daniels, would join in. When Miss Jean was healthier, it was quite amusing to see her chasing after balls that Katie sent flying everywhere. When I was told that Miss Jean had died, she nodded and said, "That's too bad...She was such fun to play with."

The library and other major accomplishments of Miss Jean will continue to live on. However, her love for and close relationships with the hundreds of people who were part of her life are gone, and we must all feel a sense of loss.

I last saw her on December 22 (1979). She was not in the library, so I went over to her home to say hello. She had been ill, but was feeling better. She was seated in her favorite chair and was getting ready to go to church to participate in the annual Christmas pageant. A large gold star on a long pole lay before her as did several other props. She was very excited about going-she really loved being with children and they adored her. After about 15 minutes of polite chatter I said that I was going to take some syrup from the kitchen on the way out. As I left the room her last words to me were, "Oh Goodie."

A TRIBUTE TO MISS MARY JEAN SIMPSON (1899-1977)

Miss Mary Jean Simpson was an accomplished scholar and public servant. She served in the Vermont State Legislature, was Dean of Women at the University of Vermont in the 1950s, and two decades before that served as the first female Secretary to the US Senate. Her accomplishments are well chronicled elsewhere, but her writing has been largely ignored in recent years. She was, however, a solid local historian who wrote several interesting articles, many of which are still on file at the East Craftsbury library. In tribute I include a brief portion of her "Early History of Orleans

County, Vermont (1927) where she discusses the problem of women's rights in early Vermont.

"The residents of Orleans County last century were intensely interested in public affairs and took their duties as citizens very seriously. The proportion who voted was considerably higher in those days than now (1927) and the men elected to public office were held in strict accountability; if they gave satisfactory service they were continually re-elected. The women, although they did not vote, were actively interested in town affairs. I have before me as I write, a copy of a letter written by the grand-daughter of Augusta Crafts Paddock, who was herself the daughter Ebenezer Crafts, to one of the Crafts descendants now living in Craftsbury.

" This letter is an account of some of the stories told by Mrs. Paddock including the following--the story of a July 4th celebration held on Craftsbury Common years ago.

" The Masons had arranged to hold a big Masonic parade as part of the day's events and were to meet at Dr. Scott's tavern, the house just across the Common, to have dinner, after which they were to march around the Common and, as the letter expresses it, "have a time." A table had been set out of doors and a booth built for there were far too many to seat in the tavern dining room.

" Of course, the women were not expected to attend the celebration. They were supposed to stay quietly at home and look after the children while their lords and husbands made merry on the Common. Mrs. Paddock, then a widow, was living with her 2 boys in a house by the Common. She was a woman of spirit who did not relish the fact that the women of the village were to have no share in the day's doings. She therefore invited all the women in the village to come to her house at 9:00 with instructions to bring something to eat with them, even if it were no more than a sheet of gingerbread, and on <u>"no account"</u> to let the men know of their plans. She set a long table in the front yard. There was a young man, not a member of the Masonic order, who boarded with her, and he was also invited to the party and asked to play his flute, which he agreed to do.

"Mrs. Paddock ripped the binding off her blue silk petticoat, sewed on white stars and stripes, and fastened it to a staff. Then she gathered the women about her, and marched out onto the Common where the Masons were already drawn up in full regalia, with flags and a band. Mrs. Paddock and her blue flag were soon noticed and a messenger was sent to ask their intention. The

answer was that they were all peaceful citizens residing on their own domain and enjoying the Fourth as they saw fit. The leader of the men then invited the women to join their ranks. This was accepted and the women were cordially received and told to fall in behind. That, however, Mrs. Paddock and her band would not do.

"'We will march under our own banner to our own music, and in the front ranks, or not at all,' was her reply. The men reluctantly agreed. Later Mrs. Paddock thanked them in a graceful speech and concluded by saying, 'But there is one thing that you may not have known, and that is in following our flag you were under petticoat government, for this flag is made of a petticoat.' This speech was greeted by cheers and the ladies were all invited to dinner and given the seats of honor at the table.

"Thus you can see that the women of Orleans County began early to demand their rights, which were galliantly granted to them, and which they have been exercising, with discretion and restraint, ever since."

GEORGE WASHINGTON HENDERSON: CRAFTSBURY'S BLACK PRINCIPAL

Vermonters have been famous for their liberal views on racial issues. It was the first state to outlaw slavery and there was strong abolitionist sentiment before the Civil War. This toleration may have been helped by the fact that Vermont has never had more than a few hundred Blacks in the state at any time--it is really a fairly segregated society where Blacks do not pose a perceived threat to any whites. Vermont attracted a few highly educated Blacks after the Civil War including two notable educators who came to Orleans County- Alexander Twilight, who built a school (the current headquarters of the Orleans County Historical Society) in Brownington and George Washington Henderson (18501936) a former slave who served as the headmaster of Craftsbury Academy for 5 years.

Henderson was born into a Virginia slave family and had no real education before he was brought to Vermont after the war by a graduate of the University of Vermont who had served in the Union army. He was tutored at the soldier's home and later graduated from Underhill Academy. He entered UVM in 1873 and graduated Phi Beta Kappa at the top of his class. He served as principal of Jericho Academy in 1875-76, of Craftsbury Academy from 1877-80 and 86-88, and of the Newport Graded School from 1885-86.

In the early 1880s Henderson took time off from Craftsbury and studied at the Yale Divinity School and the University of Berlin in Germany. He left Vermont in the late 1880s and had a disting-

uished career as a professor, dean and scholar at various southern universities.

Margaret Hazen Muller described the Vermont part of his career as follows: 21

> All indications are that Mr. Henderson was invited to become principal of Craftsbury Academy because he was well known to Craftsbury people and was considered one of the best teaching prospects of his class, Craftsbury having long been devoted to the best. It was a town turned outward toward the rest of the world. In the 1870s few citizens of Craftsbury had so much as set eyes on a dark-skinned person, but they were fully aware of the bitterness of the struggle that had led to abolition. They had been steadfast in their loyalty to the Union and rejoiced in Emancipation.
>
> As a child I had heard of Mr. Henderson-that he had served as principal, that he had done a fine job, that he had been much loved. His name was always used with pride and respect as if something fine or remarkable had occurred, and, of course, it had. When a principal serves a town well, he becomes theirs for all time and Craftsbury people spoke of him as "Our Mr. Henderson" even after he had earned more impressive titles. He was an out-of-stater whose tactful ways of instituting improvements pleased Vermonters, and he was in turn pleased by them. His contact, in a sense, was for life.
>
> He built the school's first real library and many of the books he chose are still there. When the school burnt to the ground a century ago, he was the key figure in leading its reconstruction. Although there were about 100 students at the school then, he and a white preceptress were the only teachers. He taught Greek, Latin, French, German, science and math; she taught drawing, music, elocution, and accounting.
>
> Henderson and the preceptress, a local girl, fell in love and were married. All seemed to be going well when a heartbreaking tragedy occurred--Mrs. Henderson and her infant son fell ill when they were in Newport and both died. There is a monument in an Orleans County cemetery which marks their final resting place. The shaft also bears the name of Henderson, but he is buried far away, in Xenica, Ohio. His wife's death probably convinced Henderson that he needed a change in scenery. He left, carried on his remarkable academic career, and remarried. Nevertheless, for many years he continued to serve on the Board of Trustees of Craftsbury

Academy and returned for several visits.

HORACE F. GRAHAM:

Horace Graham (1862-1941) remains one of the real enigmas of Vermont history. He had a celebrated public career that included a term as governor of the state, many terms as State Auditor, several terms in the State Legislature, and long-term service to Craftsbury. He was also one of the only Vermont governors ever to be convicted of a major crime while in a public office.

Graham was born in Brooklyn, New York on February 7, 1862, but he moved to Craftsbury as a youth and is one of the most celebrated graduates of Craftsbury Academy. After graduating from Columbia College and Columbia University's Law School with honors, he became a successful lawyer in Craftsbury and represented the town in the legislature in 1892, 1900 and 1924. He was town moderator from 1902-32. He was elected as State's Attorney for Orleans County in 1898 and 1900, was a Presidential Elector in 1900 and was Auditor for the state from 1902-1916.

By all accounts Graham was a successful and respected governor while in office. His major accomplishment was a wholesale restructuring and modernizing of the administrative sector of state government to make it far more efficient. Graham was an efficiency expert. He also anticipated the American entry into World War I and was able to get large appropriations from the Legislature to prepare the state national guard for war service.

Sadly, disaster struck the Graham Administration in its closing months in 1918, the state's Bank Commissioner announced that there had been irregularities in the books of the State Auditor's office in 1916, the last year of Graham's term as Auditor. It was discovered that at the close of fiscal 1916 the Auditor had drawn orders totalling $2,181.50 "for which there were no receipts or vouchers showing expenditures." Further investigation showed that Graham had drawn orders amounting to $26,000 with no credit vouchers available.

It has never been clearly determined whether Graham stole the money or whether the vouchers had been lost, stolen or were missing. Bookkeeping practices were not very thorough at that time. By August there were calls for Graham's resignation from the Republican State Committee, but the Governor refused to issue any comment until December 30th, 1918 when he said that he would say nothing concerning his indictment for grand larceny and

embezzlement except at his trial.

Graham went on trial in January of 1920. He was found guilty of malfeasance and was sentenced to a term of 5-8 years in prison. Governor Clement, Graham's successor, pardoned Graham the same day his sentence was announced, stating that "Your services to the State of Vermont during the two years of your Governorship were second to those of no other Governor since the days of Thomas Chittenden. Whereas I accept the action of the honorable court, nevertheless, on account of the great and valuable service which you have rendered to the State of Vermont and the suffering which you have endured by reason of your indictment and trial, I grant you unconditional pardon, and restore to you full citizenship in this State, which has in the past so highly honored you."

Graham always maintained his innocence, but the late Miss Jean Simpson, who knew Graham well, told me that Graham was in fact guilty, having helped himself to public funds to meet a private emergency.

Graham returned to Craftsbury where he resumed an active political life. He was a popular public speaker and spoke on many festive occasions such as the town's 150th birthday in 1789. He died in 1941.

ROBERT KINSEY: JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRAT AND VERMONT REPUBLICAN

Nearly two centuries ago Thomas Jefferson proclaimed that the new republic must be based on an agrarian democracy. According to Jefferson, one could find in the collective will of the people the safest and most virtuous, if not always the wisest, depository of power. He was convinced that education would perfect their wisdom. The Jeffersonian ideal was the citizen-farmer, a person whose life exemplified the concepts of hard work, common decency, simplicity and equality. The Jeffersonian government would be a republic with mild laws and equal opportunity, a helper and asylum for the oppressed and run by the citizen-farmer who was simultaneously a plower of land and a wielder of political power.

Vermont is one of the few places in the US where anything even remotely approaching Jefferson's prescriptions can be found. It has a rapidly decreasing number of farmers, but it is one of the most rural states in the nation and has a citizen-legislature whose 180 members must have or have had other careers and who by and large cannot afford to become professional politicians. The small size of each constituency allows each legislator to be in

easy touch with every citizen. There are few farmers left in the legislature, but virtually every major profession in the state has at least token representation.

Vermont also has a collective political stance that would have pleased Jefferson. It is one of the most progressive states of the nation in its concern for the environment and in the dignity, health and economic conditions of its people. It is a place where the average worker of limited means and education has a very real chance to enter politics and wield considerable public power.

The Jeffersonian ideal in Vermont is perhaps best exemplified in the life and political career of Robert Kinsey, a farmer and legislator (Republican-Craftsbury) who in less than a decade entered politics as a novice and became the majority leader of the state's General Assembly. He is one of the most influential politicians in the state, but states avidly that "I would first consider myself a working farmer and the legislative bit is my serious hobby."

Kinsey, who was born in 1927, is a successful farmer, but no more so than many other farmers in northeastern Vermont. He is a dairy farmer with 130-140 head of cattle and a large chunk of land in eastern Craftsbury. Born in Barton, he came to the Greensboro-Craftsbury area after World War II; he worked for Howard Findlay (Andy Urie's) in 1947 and actually moved to the area after he and his wife Eunice were married on May 1, 1948; and soon thereafter bought a farm that has grown in size to 550 acres today. Through hard work, dedication, and a deep love for his profession, he and Eunice have raised a family of 7 children and have become respected community leaders.

These accomplishments are impressive, but by no means extraordinary. One can also say that Kinsey is not a terribly ambitious man. What then has brought his meteoric rise to prominence? In states other than Jeffersonian Vermont, such a rapid ascension to power would have been difficult and even in Vermont it requires something special. The answer is to be found in Kinsey's view of life as a constant "challenge."

"Challenge" is a word Kinsey kept using during a 1983 interview with this writer. "Farming is always a great challenge." Running for political office is a "genuine challenge." Seeking leadership posts in the Assembly is a "strong challenge." But Kinsey does not seek challenges in an irresponsible "for the thrill of it" manner. He does not always succeed in what he tries to do, but when he does accomplish something meaningful, he stays with it and always seeks to improve things he is working on. His

life is like a pyramid; he keeps what he has, but keeps working toward some unseen pinnacle. He still is a "dirt farmer" who milks his cows "at both ends of the day." His political career has been one of careful and steady development. In the legislature he assigned himself apprentice roles on a wide variety of committees before seeking genuine leadership positions.

Despite his success he constantly seeks new challenges. At the time of our interview he had become an accomplished runner who had removed a lot of chubbiness from his large frame and who was no longer the stout farmer I had first met in 1974. Several winters ago he entered a marathon ice-skating race on Lake Memphremegog against some of the best skaters in the world despite the fact that he had not skated in thirty years. Why? "Because it was a real challenge. I wanted to see how well I would do." For once he did not win. He was holding his own until he had a bad fall. In fact, Kinsey is prone to accidents and in the summer of 1986 was hospitalized and then bed-ridden following an operation to repair his damaged leg. Unfortunately, he is no longer running.

Kinsey granted this interview under conditions that would have pleased Jefferson. He had called me to arrange an interview early the next day only hours after I had nearly run down his wife Eunice as she carried a bucket of raspberries across the road to their home and had asked her to have Bob arrange to set a time for our talk. When I arrived at the Kinsey farm that hot and damp August morning, I found a note asking me to drive some miles away and then to walk to a large muddy field where he was cutting hay. It was refreshing to see Kinsey attacking the most difficult field on his farm on the day that many of his neighbors first heard that he was contemplating a run for the Speakership of the Vermont House. In 1984 Kinsey succeeded in getting the Republican nomination for House Speaker, but enough members of his own party were determined to sabotage his election by voting for the minority Democratic candidate that Kinsey lost by a narrow margin. When I asked him in 1986 if he would seek that post again,he replied, "Sure, at least in theory. In fact, however, it is one of those things that only comes once in a lifetime."

Kinsey never contemplated a career in politics. His first love has always been farming and he would never do anything that would take him far from Craftsbury for long. "I have never considered a career in politics. I have been to Washington, DC twice and that is quite enough." He was an active elder in the Presbyterian church in East Craftsbury and a content farmer when on 28 October 1966 he badly injured his back in a fall from his roof. He returned to his chores within 5 days and went back to finish up

work on the roof on November 28 ["it hurt like hell"], but he had to face the fact that he might have to give up full-time farming.

A daughter and then the rest of his family persuaded him to enroll in college and he was soon a full-time student at Lyndon State College. At 38 he was one of the oldest freshmen, but he went on and graduated in 1970 with a major in history and a minor in education. He also returned to full-time farming.

Education has meant a lot to the Kinsey family. Five of their children have attended college and Eunice Kinsey has recently graduated from Johnson State College with a degree in art. Kinsey stresses that farming has become such a complex business that it requires somebody with management experience to run a farm in Craftsbury today. Kinsey also credits his education and study of world history as being crucial to the reshaping of his world view. Without any higher education, he notes, "I might have become a super-right conservative." In fact, he considers himself to be a moderate. ["Everybody considers himself a moderate. It's the other guy who is always the extreme."] which is in fact an accurate self-portrayal.

Kinsey was debating his future plans in early 1970 as his graduation day approached, but again fate entered the picture. That spring the local member of the House, Roland Lawrence, decided to vacate his seat to run for the State Senate. Friends persuaded Kinsey to consider a run for the House; he thought about it during sugaring, accepted the challenge, and won a hard-fought race.

His first committee assignment was on the powerful House Ways and Means Committee and his appointment there shows how politics at times can be played out on the House floor. According to Kinsey, he received the appointment due to political manipulation. A powerful Republican member and candidate for House Speaker, "Peanut" Kennedy, who ran unsuccessfully for governor in 1974, was being challenged by a more moderate and experienced lawyer named Frank Bunting. A House member had promised Kennedy his vote and then had turned around to proclaim his support publicly for Bunting. When Kennedy won the speakership, the Burlington lawyer "who did not know one end of a cow from the other found himself on the Agriculture Committee" while Kinsey, who had voted for Kennedy, got an excellent post. A few days later, however, Kennedy called Kinsey to his office to tell him that in exchange for his appointment, Kennedy wanted Kinsey to vote according to the Speaker's instructions.

Kinsey, who is noted for his independence, however, refused

Kennedy's request and voted against him on at least two key issues that session. This flirtation with independence was at first quite costly to Kinsey's career; he was soon demoted to the Municipal Corporations Committee. Kinsey served on a number of committees soon winning the respect of colleagues for his knowledge of Assembly operations as well as for his independence, hard work, and integrity [If I give my word to somebody, that's my bond."] He fought hard to be elected Assistant Majority leader in 1976 and Majority leader in 1978.

As Majority Leader through 1984 Kinsey saw his chief responsibility as being well informed on House business and passing on new information to other members. He shared the responsibility for the organization of House business and was the liaison between the House and the Governor. His chief responsibilities, however, are to his constituents. Even though he is always reassured of re-election every two years, he goes to the homes of many constituents as possible before an important vote. When there is no clear consensus, he votes his conscience. "The people who voted for me gave me their trust."

Kinsey is proud of the fact that Vermont has a citizen-legislature. "My pay (1983) is 10 percent of what they get in Massachusetts," but he believes that he and the rest of the legislature serve Vermonters with efficiency and distinction. "There is enough work Montpelier to keep us going full time, but the danger of becoming too professional is to lose touch with the people. Professional politicians are too busy to spend much time at home. Citizens trust their citizen politicians and can easily talk to any of us." No member of the House has an office or secretary except the Speaker; Kinsey had an office which he visited only on occasion. There are a few paid researchers who can be helpful when an important bill comes up, but more often than not members rely on the expertise of other members because of their diverse educational and professional backgrounds. Kinsey feels that the very size of the House (150 members) is good--it is the same size as the Massachusetts House--and he would not want to make the House any smaller. With so many members, he argues, one is guaranteed greater citizen-member contact and a broader spectrum of backgrounds and occupations being represented. Furthermore, when you have 150 members, it is harder to "wheel and deal" exchanging votes and making bargains "which is the sad fate of the state Senate which has only 30 members. The sheer bulk of the House is in itself a further guarantor of democracy."

Kinsey, however, does find some fault with the current system. He argues that two groups are over-represented in the House--older retired people and the wealthy from other states who have come to

Vermont to retire or work and who take an interest in politics. They have the time and money to run without having to worry about jobs. "Younger working people are badly under-represented." Kinsey suggests raising House salaries somewhat so that younger Vermonters can afford to serve in government.

Kinsey states that although he is a strong supporter of the free-enterprise system, "it does not answer all of our problems." He suggests that while government cannot and should not be asked to solve every problem in society, there are those people who do need help and society should help them. He is critical of those conservatives who say, "If you don't work, you don't eat. If I, in the State Legislature, were to say, If you don't work, you cannot eat, then my (the State Legislature's) job becomes to guarantee every one a job which it cannot do."

One area of deep personal interest is that of nuclear power. He has visited the state's one nuclear plant and has studied the issue in depth and he has done this, he has changed from being a strong supporter of nuclear power to a mild critic--such incidents as Three Mile Island and the disaster in Kiev, Russia deeply worry him. He is satisfied with the performance of the Yankee Plant in Vermont and suggests that it be maintained, but he opposes further development in Vermont. He supports Act 250 but wants further "fine-tuning."

Kinsey has always run as a Republican because his family (including a grandfather who served in the 1927 legislature) has always been Republican, but at a time when the philosophical differences between the 2 parties are becoming more pronounced on a national level, there is little difference in ideology between the two Vermont parties. He notes with regret that leaders of both parties are quite moderate, thus giving the voter little choice. In fact, Kinsey has the respect of so many Democrats in his district where any mediocre Republican would face a strong Democratic challenge [Mondale ran well above his national average here in 1984 and Senator Stafford actually trailed his Democratic challenger here in 1982] that in 1982 Democrats urged their voters to endorse Kinsey.

Kinsey can go on representing the area as long as he is willing and able. He is a hard worker with a great deal of charm, education and wit and works hard to cultivate a feeling of trust. Jefferson would approve of both Kinsey and the Vermont citizen-legislature.

NOTES:

THE COVENANTERS OF EAST CRAFTSBURY

A century ago the village of East Craftsbury was dominated by a church whose teachings were so severe that its followers were denied many of the very basic pleasures of life. The church refused to allow the consumption of alcoholic drinks, voting in any elections, or even the use of an organ in church. The Covenanter church has long since disappeared from Craftsbury, but its history is quite interesting.

East Craftsbury and portions of neighboring western Greensboro were settled by people of Scottish origin after 1840. Many farmers and tradesmen came directly from Scotland to Greensboro and Craftsbury and quickly created numerous farms and businesses which generally thrived in the severe climate of northern Vermont. With them came many elements of their culture including their church.

The Covenanters were originally groups of Presbyterians in Scotland in the 1640's who were bound by oath (a covenant) to sustain each other in defense of their religion from outside attack- namely from the Anglicans in England. They believed that "Every nation or people ... existed by virtue of a covenant with God, an agreement whereby they promised to abide by his laws, and He in turn agreed to treat them well." (1) To achieve salvation in Heaven, they had to live in a pure world, but because the world was manifestly impure, they felt a compelling obligation to do battle with its impurities. God demanded perfect obedience. Man must live a pure life free of sin and contamination and must in no case associate with people who engaged in any sinful activities.

The Covenanter church of East Craftsbury was a hard and austere church that demanded many sacrifices from its members. The first Covenanter group in Craftsbury was organized as early as 1816, but the primary impetus for the Covenanter movement came in 1768 when Robert Trumbull, a preacher from Cambuslang, Scotland and-later- Wilbraham, Massachusetts, settled in the village.

Mr. Trumbull originally belonged to the Congregational church, but he "was never satisfied with this body of Christians on account of their heterodox views respecting the atonement of Christ and their loose practices in many ways. He earnestly desired and ceaselessly labored to secure a return to puritanic orthodoxy." (2) After 1816 the Covenanter society in East Craftsbury grew rapidly and became a fully established church with the later waves of migrations from Scotland.

Miss Mary Jean Simpson of East Craftsbury, who died in 1977, had clear memories of the Covenanter church in her village. "It was a plain and beautiful church with French wall paper, a high pulpit, and side pews

1. Edmund S. Morgan, THE PURITAN DILEMMA (Boston: Little,Brown, 1958), p. 19.
2. Quoted from the REFORMED PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN AMERICA (1888).

for deacons and elders. It was a Scottish church whose members believed in a very strict worship service. There was no organ in the church; in fact, there were no man-made instruments allowed except a tuning fork. There was a dignified and reverential service. Each person had his own psalm book and sang psalms from them. There was no choir of any kind since each person was expected and encouraged to use his own voice. Sunday was seen as a day of complete rest and prayer. No one was allowed to pursue any occupational activity of any kind and fancy outings or other forms of merriment were not encouraged. There was a mid-week prayer meeting on Wednesdays at the parsonage."

The church began to lose members steadily in the early 1900's. One problem was that church members could not vote in any elections or hold any office. Young male members of the church were somewhat resentful of this regulation and in general were opposed to some of the severe rules of the church. Many of the younger residents in the area began to join the United Presbyterian Church in Craftsbury which had an organ and allowed people to vote.

The last pastor, the Rev. John C. Taylor, was able to keep the church united and strong during his tenure which began in 1873. After he died, however, what was left of the congregation split into 2 factions and it no longer seemed possible to maintain the church. It was at this time that negotiations began for the sale of the church building since most former members were now going to other area churches. The old church, incidently, was in the space now occupied by the Casa Mia Garden.

A problem arose, however, when the National Covenanter Church refused to sell the land to the United Presbyterian Church. The Covenanters were willing to sell the land and church to almost any other bidder and finally did sell it to Tom Silver, a local cattle dealer. He wanted to turn it into a cattle shed. John W. Simpson was so shocked by this development that he bought the property from Mr. Silver and hired a local carpenter, Charles Willey, to take the church down piece by piece. The building was later reconstructed in Craftsbury Common right next to the Craftsbury Academy where it first served as the school's gym and later as the junior high school there. The United Presbyterian church was built and dedicated free of debt in 1916 and flourishes to this day.

Collins, served until 1804 as the first minister. Nehemiah Lyons was chosen by the town to be the first deacon.

The Church had a number of difficulties in its early years, and after 14 years of existence there were fewer members than in the beginning. Subscriptions were often paid in wood, candles, oil or labor. At a special meeting in 1800 it was voted to raise $150 to build a special place of worship, which was completed in 1802. In 1817 it was voted to allow each of the five denominations in town to use the building in rotation, one each week. The Congregationalists, who had organized an independent society in 1809, apparently best survived this competition.

The Methodist church was formally organized in 1818 and grew large enough to build a separate meeting house in Craftsbury village. It was united in a circuit until 1830 when it became an independent church. The Methodists eventually had the largest of the denominations in Craftsbury with 171 members in the mid-1860's.

East Craftsbury was largely settled by people of Scottish origin, and thus the local Covenanter church was located there. It was a hard and austere church which demanded many sacrifices from its members. Because of this, it began to lose many members by 1900, and was disorganized on March 31st, 1911. Because this church is no longer with us and since it has an interesting history, a brief discussion of its history is worthwhile.

The book, History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America (1888) gives the following history of the church:

> The Craftsbury congregation of Covenanters is pleasantly situated in Orleans County, some 25 miles directly south of the Canada line. It occupies an extensive and beautiful table land between 2 ranges of the Green Mountains. The first Covenanter in this vicinity was Mr. Robert Trumbull, originally from Cambuslang, Scotland, and who removed from Wilbranam, Massachusetts, to this place in 1788, as one of the first settlers of Craftsbury. Mr. Trumbull was a member of the Established Church of Scotland, and, in coming to America, connected with the Congregational Church, so prevalent in New England. He was never satisfied with this body of Christians on account of their heterodox views respecting the atonement of Christ, and their loose practices in many ways. He earnestly desired and ceaselessly labored to secure a return to puritanic orthodoxy. After unsuccessful efforts in this direction, he waited upon the Congregational services at Peacham and Barnet, but things were no better in those churches. It was suggested to him that no denomination would fit his ideas and principles unless it was the "McMillanites" down at Ryegate, who had the Rev. William Gibson for their pastor. He determined to hear Mr. Gibson. It was a communion Sabbath, and the preacher was unusually comforting and eloquent on this occasion. Mr. Trumbull remained until the close of the services on Monday, and then returned to Craftsbury contented that because

he had found a denomination of Christians with which he could find fellowship in all his views.

In June, 1807, the Rev. Mr. Gibson preached in Craftsbury in compliance with a cordial invitation extended by Col. Crafts, Mr. Trumbull and others. This was the first Covenanter preaching known to have been given in Craftsbury. In the spring of 1808, Mr. Trumbull and his family connected with the Covenanter congregation of Ryegate. Mr. Gibson preached his last discourses in Craftsbury, September 4, 1814. The subject of his morning lecture was a part of the 53rd chapter of Isiah, and in the afternoon he preached from the sixth verse of the same chapter. On the following Sabbath, the Rev. Mr. Farren, the Congregational minister, argued against the doctrine of universal atonement, which was the system known as the Hopkinsian heresy. This discourse of Mr. Farren gave offence to many of his hearers, and a considerable number left the communion of the Congregational Church and kept secret meetings with Mr. Trumbull. In the winter of 1815, the Rev. John Cannon, then a licentiate, preached with great acceptance, and convinced many of the impropriety of the New England custom of beginning the Sabbath on Saturday evening and ending it on sundown on the Lord's day. In September, 1816, the first session meeting was held at the house of Mr. Robert Trumbull, and the Craftsbury society became a regularly organized congregation...

The society continued to enjoy the ministrations of the Rev. James Milligan of Ryegate until 1833, when they felt they were able to support a pastor themselves. In the spring of 1833, the Rev. Samuel M. Willson became the pastor when their membership numbered 60 communicants. Mr. Willson labored diligently for 12 years and gathered many into the church. He resigned in 1845, and returned to the State of New York. In 1846, the Rev. Renwick Z. Willson, nephew of the former pastor, took charge of the congregation...and after 9 years of service, he resigned. Henceforth the pastorates were of short duration owing to the severity of the climate and paucity of members...The congregation is small, but they are a worthy people and have a noble history for faithfulness to Reformation principles...

Miss Mary Jean Simpson of East Craftsbury has very clear memories of the Covenanter church. She remembers it as a plain and beautiful church with French wall paper, a high pulpit, and side pews for deacons and elders. It was a Scottish church whose members believed in a very strict worship service. There was no organ in the church; in fact, there were no man-made instruments allowed except a tuning fork. There was a dignified and reverential service. Each person had his own psalm book and sang psalms from them. There was no choir of any kind since each person was expected and encouraged to use his own voice. Sunday was seen as a complete day of rest and prayer. No one was allowed to pursue any occupational activity of any kind and fancy outings or other forms of merriment were not encouraged. There was a mid-week prayer meeting on Wednesdays at the parsonage.